

**DRESS FASHIONS OF ROYALTY
KOTTE KINGDOM OF
SRI LANKA**

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Dr. Priyanka Virajini Medagedara Karunaratne



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Dedication

*For Vidyajothi Emeritus Professor Nimal De Silva
Eminent scholar and ideal Guru*

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DRESS FASHIONS OF ROYALTY KOTTE KingDOM OF SRI LANKA

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Foreword

This collection of writings provides an intensive reading of dress fashions of royalty which intensified Portuguese political power over the Kingdom of Kotte. The royalties were at the top in the social strata eventually known to be the fashion creators of society. Their engagement in creating and practicing dress fashion prevailed from time immemorial. The author builds a sound dialogue within six chapters' covering most areas of dress fashion by incorporating valid recorded historical data, variety of recorded visual formats cross checking each other, clarifying how the period signifies a turning point in the fashion history of Sri Lanka culminating with emerging novel dress features. This scholarly work is very much vital for university academia and fellow researches in the stream of Humanities and Social Sciences interested in historical dress fashions and usage of jewelry. Furthermore, the content leads the reader into a new perspective on the subject through a sound dialogue which has been narrated through validated recorded historical data, recorded historical visual information, and logical analysis with reference to scholars of the subject area. Therefore the reader is guided into cross referencing over a variety of data gradually and will gain reliable and analytical interpretation of the subject.

Preface

Dress has always been a distinctive mark of a historical period. It is often discussed in relation to fashion and therefore it is subject to change. This scholarly work is a comprehensive study of some little known dress fashions in use during the Kotte period (1400-1597 AD). The hundred and ninety seven years of Portuguese activity in the Island have attracted many scholars. Aspects of Portuguese policy, history, spiritual conquest have been studied by them in detail. But the present study I believe is the first work which attempts at a comprehensive study and that relates political and cultural history in order to identify how dress changed when the royalties converted to Christianity. In the last phase of the Islands' pre - colonial history Kotte was one of the Kingdoms into which it was divided. Sri Lanka's first contact with Europeans occurred during this period. However at that time South Indian influence was much stronger and directly affected the kings' court. This work looks at such issues as the thinking on which kind of political and cultural forces influenced adoption new dress fashions by the royalty, the kind of men that came to Kotte to influence conversion to Christianity, the nature of converting that was done and the means adopted to do so.

This book had its origins in my PhD studies. I completed in 2012. The present scholarly work grew out of these early seeds.

The source material for a study of dress fashions during the Kotte period has necessarily got to be entirely from original sources, both Portuguese works and historical literary works. The accounts of Portuguese historians such as the accounts of Correa, Faria y Sousa, Barros and do Couto, Antonion Bocarro, Queiros and Ribeiro provide much information about the activities of Portuguese as well as Sinhala royalties. Also utilized are chronicles, Sinhala poetical literary works, original letters sent by the Portuguese to the royalty and the Sinhala Kings and vice versa, registers' reports and research papers published by scholars of the subject area and history, as secondary sources. Due to the availability of less primary sources two cloth paintings at present preserved at the National Museum, Colombo, Rambawa door jamb at Uda-Aludeniya temple at Gampola and wall paintings preserved in the dome of Gadaladeniya Temple at Gadaladeniya, Kandy were observed in depth and dress details were recorded methodologically. My choice of subject was, therefore, prompted by the availability of material. Secondary in depth observations were carried out with two ivory caskets of the Kotte period, at present in dresses which display varied from royalty, elite, foreign delegations, common people, court dancers and soldiers showing the cultural aspects of the Kotte kingdom. The credibility of gathered data was confirmed by cross checking with literary sources accompanied by random interviews. Visual representations such as temple paintings belonging to the Gampola and Kandy period were thoroughly observed and analyzed systematically. A complete list of the sources referred to and authorities relied on are provided in the bibliography.

The dimensions of change over time manifest themselves in the presentation of new alternative fashion objects to a social system of potential adopters, ultimately resulting in a shift in popularity from the existing fashion objects to the newly emerging fashion objects. Change is implicit and critical to the fashion process. Changes which occur over time include change in the object, change among the individuals adopting, and change in the level of acceptance of the various competing fashion objects.

I have to thank many people for the interest taken and the help rendered in this publication. First and foremost I have to thank my guru and my supervisor Vidyajothi Emeritus Professor Nimal De Silva, under whose guidance my research was carried out. He has gone through several successive drafts of work with great care, pruning down much that was superfluous, correcting errors and making numerous suggestions. I am also grateful to my loving mother who has been a towering pillar behind my success. My gratitude also goes to all my teachers who laid the foundation for my education. Finally my thanks are also due to Deshamanya Mr, Sirisumana Godage and his dedicated staff for their co-operation and assistance in the publication.

Last but not least my heartfelt blessings go to Lakshitha my loving husband and my precious children Sandeev, Lakdiv, and Princess Ayuni for their loving support and encouragement throughout the process of my work.

Introduction

This publication is an outcome of my PhD research which gives an intensive reading of dress fashions of royalty which intensified Portuguese political power over the Kingdom of Kotte. This scholarly work is very vital for university academia and fellow researchers in the field of Humanities and Social Sciences who are interested in historical dress fashions and usage of jewelry. Furthermore, the content lead the reader to discover a new perspective on the subject through a sound dialogue which has been narrated through validated recorded historical data, recorded historical visual information, and logical analysis with references to scholarly work on the subject area. Therefore the reader is guided to cross referencing over variety of data gradually and will gain reliable and analytical interpretation of the subject.

Royalty: Fashion Creators

The royalties were at the top of the social strata eventually known to be the fashion creators of society. Their engagement with creating and practicing dress fashion prevailed from time immemorial. The author builds a sound dialogue in six chapters' covering most areas by incorporating valid recorded historical data, a variety of recorded visual formats cross checking each other, clarifying how the period signifies a turning point in the fashion history of Sri Lanka marking the culmination of emerging novel dress features.

The basic proposition in this scholarly work is that Kotte, from its earliest Portuguese occupation in the 15th Century until the 16th Century marked the turning point in fashion history.

Fashion is a social artifact

In history fashion was a mirror of a particular time, its zeitgeist, meaning the moral character and mood of a period or of a civilization. History reveals how things have changed. The process of evolving fashion is arbitrary. It is very clear that a style means an arbitrary composition of a holistically emerging form of clothing. Forms are finite in number and meanings are infinite. Dress fashion concerns the human body, the relationships of man to body as well as the relationships of body to society. This phenomenon was expressed by the great poets, during the sixteenth Century in the Kotte period in Sri Lanka. Dress is a social artifact. In most Asian cultures men and women show tremendous creativity in the adornment of their body by means of dresses and jewelry. Clothes permit the wearer to play with his or her identity. They are often used to define, to present, to deceive, to reveal and to conceal. What is interesting is why people make certain choices of dress. Dressing is very much a creative act.

Fashion becomes “exclusive”

When initially introduced, the fashion object is characterized by conspicuous newness and novelty, and therefore becomes “exclusive” when compared to existing and accepted fashion objects. The fashion line of the royalties during the 16th Century accompanied luxurious textile materials such as brocade, velvet, silk and fine cotton for their dresses. Ferguson (1907) also mentions the King’s dress during the sixteenth Century. He says The”King was clad in a silken *bajo*. *Bajo* is a fashion of a closed jacket

and girt with a cloth likewise of silken which reached to his knees...” Queyroz (1930, 179) in reporting the Portuguese Ambassador’s first audience with the Sinhalese King in AD 1505 the royal attire of King Dharma Parakramabahu IX (1489-1513 AD) is described thus; ‘He was girt with a cloth of silver, the ends of which fell on his feet, which were shod with sandals studded with rubies.’ Very often the King utilized silk material in terms of different purposes related to his dressing purposes. It is noted in “Vijayantatantraya” that when the King is crowned a length of white silk cloth is used to wrap the knot of hair on his head. (Jayasooriya 2001, 262, v 97) Its length should be 12 cubits. The two descriptions have been given by Pieris (Pieris 1992, 39) and Queyroz (1930, 181) and need to be considered in parallel with the indications given by the Vijayanthathantaya shilpa text. Pieris noticed that the King wore a kind of *mitre*, studded with gems and large pearls whereas Queyroz has described the same crown as a brocade *mitre* with precious stones with large pearls and two gold horns. These two descriptions show some differences regarding the outer appearance of the crown while showing some similarities regarding inlaid stones.

The “fashion” object as a specific stylistic product

Five major stylistic characters were identified in the research such as volume, knot, pleat, fold, and drape. The dresses of royalties and elite were stylized with ample volume. The ample volume emphasized extravagant dress silhouette (dress shape) by using two methods. The first method was the usage of a considerable amount of layers of fabric wrapped around the lower body. The elite male lower body dress, known as *mul anduma* is a creation of an amalgamation of several fabric layers. The *thuppottiya* is a white cloth of eight or nine cubits long made with two pieces neatly joined in the

middle: single widths are called *paday* and measure six or seven cubits in length and four to six spans in breadth. The second method was where some of the items of dress were intentionally created on a large scale such as the sleeves of the King's upper body dress (*Juan Hette* or jacket) and elite male upper body dress (jacket). The queen's lower body dress comprised many layers of fabrics creating an enormous volume at the rear of the female body.

The special dress item known as kerchief or *mottappiliya* (kind of a shawl) which covers the whole body of elite female and Queens gave extra volume to the body enhancing the feminine abstract silhouette. Knots were seen as common stylistic elements of royal and elite unisex fashion which apparent highlighted the height of the male and female body significantly. Twisting and coiling ends of fabric of long lower body dress of royalty and elite added varieties of knots to the silhouette.

Pleats create a textural effect to the surface of the long lower dress of royalty and elite. It also added value to visualization of the form of dress. Multiple ripples of pleats validated ultimate delicacy of fabrics. Pleats applied to the middle below the navel of both sexes enhanced the horizontal axis of the body. Firm creases of pleats flow downwards by gradually increasing the gap of each line of the pleat. As the wearer moved the body the pleated section expanded and created extra space for the body.

In addition to a deliberate attempt at design, the form and the structures were changed and organized by internal explicit design units such as folding. The folding method was incorporated by frilling, and tucking. The folds depicted in fashions of dress show how they manipulates the fabric to express creative forms within the fabric. Fold

constitutes a move from effective to affective spaces; folding is a description of activity, intended to flow smoothly and continually with no evidence of ambiguity of interruption' (Bradley Quinn, 2003) Styled folds that have been identified as the uncommon beauty of Kings' and Queens' Costumes. The folds can be classified according to the length in three ways; the long, medium and short fold.

Draping is a stylistic specific method of arranging the lower body cloth which fit to the human body. Coomaraswamy (1913, 195) states that 'needless to remark, there is much art in wearing garments which are not fastened by any stitch, pin or knot'. In reality the relation between the classical female body and its drapery is somehow always more complex. The gracefulness or the impressiveness arises because of the tension created between the plumb- downward drapery of the costume and absolutely straight posture of the upper body of the females.

Hybrid Fashion

During the early phase of the 16th Century, the majority of social and cultural influences came from South India. The forms of dresses show a hybrid formation of South Indian and Sinhalese traditional sartorial dress features. The Queens with *mottappiliya* and bun type hair style give evidence of South Indian style. However native Queens or *Yakadadolis* showed their individuality by practicing many styled lower body dresses. They seemed to be different forms of dresses compare to the South Indian Queens' dresses. Folds forming were significantly unique to the Sri Lankan Queens' dresses. Later on they adapted the long sleeved jacket with the draped cloth and combined it with South Indian inspired hair styles and formed a new dress style as they were creative enough

to circulate dress signs. It is understood that they changed cultural codes as they wished. It is understood that there was a unique way of assimilating Western dresses by the royal ladies of the Kotte period.

The motivations for adoption may have ranged from a variety of psycho-social satisfactions which are achieved by the object of adoption, to a perception of the object's superior functional quality. It is visible that the process of the influence of Western dress on the Kings of the 16th Century was an impact of social satisfactions. The very subtle manipulations of some Western dress features that were aesthetically blended with Sri Lankan sartorial sense are highly remarkable. Direct representations of different dresses and details are not great, instead the King adapted to the Portuguese long coat or *Cabaya*. King Wimaladharmasooriya and Prince Dharmapala adapted the Portuguese style jacket and long jacket called *cabaya* with the so-called Sinhala long piece of cloth. Wearing a long *cabaya* or as the jacket in the context of Portuguese adherence is a sign of both their societies, but also visible in their participation in a cultural tradition.

King Joao of Portugal wore long trousers as a lower body dress. These trousers were called *calcao* or breeches. He wore a pair of shoes with stockings. His shirt had long sleeves and he wore a long cloak. Prince Dharmapala wore a long coat over a long piece of cloth after he was crowned in a manner similar to the Portuguese King. He is seen swearing an oath of loyalty to the Portuguese crown and he was clad in an over-coat to resemble and obey the Portuguese crown. The edge of the coat is decorated with some beads. It was said that there was an exchange of *cabaya* and a type of a headdress of Portuguese dignitaries with the Sinhalese delegation. Before the coronation took place, "the Sinhalese

delegation had to compliment the King's gesture exchanging their usual costumes for crimson *cabaya* and white *toucas*. The word *touca* refer to the turban. (Pieris 1992, 51) Two grandfathers of Prince Dharmapala, King Raigam Bandara and King Mayadunne seem to be wearing long sleeved jackets for the upper body and long cloths with pointed edges for the lower body. Both jackets have simple circular neck lines and open in front. They wore some heavy earrings and wore turban styled headdresses.

Fashion is an object of social change

Fashion reflects a certain period of time, and also a certain place. Here I consider place as the definite era of Kotte. By careful observation of fashion, in a certain period can we can derive many views on time and place. In this study I hope to bring out a conceptual scheme to understand changing fashion as a social process. That change led to bring many new concepts to the society as well as bringing new dress styles to society. The dimensions of change over time, the manifestation of which is the presentation of new alternative fashion objects to a social system with potential adopters, ultimately results in a shift in popularity from the existing fashion objects to the newly emerging fashion objects. Change is implicit and critical to the fashion process. Changes which occur over time include change in the object, change among the individuals adopting, and change in the level of acceptance of the various competing fashion objects.

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Chapter 1

Royalties: Fashion Creators

One of the distinctive features of dress is that a group of people shares a particular pattern or style of dress. The overall style of a dress is a consequence of the culture of that society, and the traditions of that people. The way people dress and adorn the body with a variety of jewelry and the method of arranging cover to the areas of the body is part of their culture and traditions.

Before the advent of the Portuguese (Western influence) Sri Lankans including royalties never covered their upper bodies. They used a plain long cloth to wrap the lower body by using many folds, pleats, and knots. The length of the lower dress was defined according to the social strata. The royalties were at the top in the social strata, eventually known to be the fashion creators of society. Their engagement in creating and practicing dress fashion prevailed from time immemorial. The Portuguese conquered the island (1505 AD) and established their power gradually throughout the lowlands of Sri Lanka including Kotte. Their influences in political, economic, cultural and social strata were huge and directly affected the lives of people of the society. By this time the royalty was directly inspired by Western sartorial trends and led to drastic changes in the way of practicing traditions of Sri Lankan fashion forms. The Kotte period of Sri Lanka

marked the culmination of emerging novel dress features. This period signified a turning point in fashion history where the Western fashion (Portuguese) directly influenced fashion. The Portuguese influence brought many social and cultural changes due to the changing of the state religion into Christianity. The royalty had direct contacts with the Portuguese Kings and diplomats and they embraced certain items of dress, mixed and mingled with their traditional dress and created a novel dress. This process of mingling, of mixing and matching of several dress details is called hybridization and showed a dramatic composition of Western, South Indian and Sri Lankan dress details. With the Portuguese invasion novel dress fashions were introduced with new articles (items) such as attached collar (*tippet*), buttons, cuffs, hats, and new dress forms like trousers (*pantaloons*) coat (*cabaya*) and jacket (*hettaya*). The historical narrations of Sri Lankan dress fashions of the royalties show that the religion of the particular society played a pivotal role in forming the ideology of the wearer. Consequently with the advent of the Portuguese to Ceylon in 1505 AD the state religion was instrumental in changing the ideology of the royalty after their conversion to Christianity.

Sovereignty of the King

The King was at the apex of the pyramid in society and represented the state and the center of political life. Beside the term *Rajan* and all other terms, titles for the King already existed in Sanskrit literature in Sri Lanka. The concept of King is distinguished by the term *Maharaja* (Great King or *Rajadhiraja* (Ruler of the King) (Pathmanathan, 1986/87) *Mahipathi* (Lord of the earth) and *Deva* or *Deviyo*¹ (god). The

1 Paul E Pieris p72 Portuguese Era

The names of some of the *Deviyo* offered clear indication of their being deified men: *WanniyeBandaraDeviyo*, *KeerthiBandaraDeviyo*, *MenikBandaraDeviyo*, *KumaraBandaraDeviyo*, *IrugalBandaraDeviyo*.

title corresponds to 'Our Majesty'. (Geiger 1960) Over a long time throughout history culture built certain stereotypes for the King as a living God which affected the cognition of people in society. The representation of the God in sculpture or in paintings therefore could be hypothesized as the representation of a King. Because the artists of the period had no imagination of how the god should be represented, he saw the live model of the King who was considered the rightful² Lord of the earth.

Queens of the Kingdom of Kotte

Randoli (Royal) and Yakadadoli (Inferior)

Two categories of Queens were traced from the literature. The Queens who belonged to the Royal caste were known as *Randoli* (Fernando 1976, 32- 36) and the inferior wives of the King who belonged to *Govivansa* (cultivator caste) known as *Yakadadoli*. (Dolapihilla 2006, 301) King Buwanekabahu VII (1521-1551) had two sons by his *Yakadadoli* Queen and they were not right for heirs to the throne. (Pieris 1992, 93) They followed some standards and norms in their dress styles in keeping with the tradition and culture of the society. The people who served at the royal court, known as elites of the society and their wives ultimately became elite in the society. They were represented in the society as fashion followers of the royal ladies. During the consecration the two Queens

2 Paul E Pieris p54 Portuguese Era

Rightful Lord of the Earth, the fortunate One, descended from the Kings of Anu Raja Pura, Greater than all those of the earth, sprung from *Deosin* in this island of Ceilao, rightful lord of the empire of Cotta (Kotte) and of the kingdoms of Jaffana Patao and Candea (Kandy), a god of war in subduing rebels, who are as women and not men, rightful heir of the Kings of Dambaden (Dambadeniya) and of the great peak of Adanm, preserver of the law of Buddha, executioner of the traitor kings of the *AryaWansa* (Arya clan), descended from the son of the sun like a star in the firmament, true master of all the sciences, lawful descendant of Wijaya Bahu.

had important roles to play. While the chief Queen has to pour water from a golden jug, *Vijayantatantraya*³ gives a description of the roles and duties that Queens should follow. (Jayasooriya 2001, 261) *Vijayantatantraya* also refers to two Queens, namely chief and junior. (Chapter 15 v 96, 103, 110, 117, 118, 119, 120, and 124) There were seven images in the ivory caskets identified as Queens.

Contemporary literature of the time including *sandeesa kavyas*⁴ (panegyric poems) highlighted some of the names of the Queens of contemporary Kings who ruled during the Kotte period. In the *Thisara sandesa* it was *Sumithra Devi* the mother of Parakramabahu V (1344-1359 AD) and in the *Paravi sandesa* and *Gira sandesa*, it was *Sunethra Devi* the mother of Parakramabahu VI (1411-1466 AD) who receives a word of praise from the poets. It is noticed that the wife of a contemporary King was nowhere mentioned in the literature of the 14th and 15th Centuries. According to the matriarchal social order that had come to the fore at that time, the King's wife was of no consequence. The sovereignty in fact rested with the eldest or the chief female member of the family and her brother or son acted as her steward. This is also the reason why during the Gampola period the existing sources omit reference to the father of any King in contrast to the practice of earlier historical writings. (UCHC 655)

3 An ancient manual which indicates making crowns, jewelry, descriptions of coronation ceremony and its ritual.

4 (Pathmanathan, 1986/87, 105)

Sandesa kavya is a secular poem which originates during Gampola period (14th Cen). The use of long compounds, allegorical descriptions, rhythmic versification, metaphorical expressions and copious references to puranic myths became the characteristic features of literary compositions. Some of the characteristics are can be seen in following description of the Salalihini Sandesha.

There friend, feast your gaze on the great Lord Parakramabahu
Who is the sun's Race as sun to the lotus pound
In whose bosom home Lakshmi the goddess lies always

The consort of Parakramabahu VI (1411-1466 AD) is said to have been a lady from *Kiraveli*, but her name has not been recorded. Nor has she been mentioned by the panegyrists who have been eloquent over his mother, *Sunethra Devi* and his daughter, *Ulakudaya Devi*. Whether the *Kiraveli* princess was the mother of *Ulakudaya Devi* too is, yet to be discovered. (UCHC 671). Pieris P.E (1992, 77) stated that King Buwanekabahu's VII principal Queen belonged to the Gampola family and their only daughter was *Samudra Devi*. Queyroz mentions *Samudra Devi* as *Subudura Banduge alias cura A daz*. This latter conceals her alternate name of *Kuda Biso Bandara*, (Biso Bandara- Adahasyn) (Portuguese word *Adahasyn* means princess) which appears in my *ola Raj* and the former that of *Samudra Devi*. According to Queroyz' description of pedigree of *Vidiye Bandara* it is said that King Buwanekabahu's Queen was *Kapuru Lama Ethani* and her daughter was *Lama Ethani*. *Vidiye Bandara* was the son of *Lama Ethani*. The Rajawaliya states that *Vidiye Bandara's* mother was a Soli princess and the father was prince *Thaniya Wallaba*. Gunasekera's translation of the Rajawaliya states that the youngest daughter of Mayadunne (1521-1581 AD) was married to *Vidiye Bandara* and that was the reason of the viceroy's order for his imprisonment. Pieris states that prince Wijayapala⁵ (1634-1654 AD) married *Kuda Tikiri Biso Alias Mayadunne Biso Bandara*. Queroyz states that *Kuda*

5 (Pieris 1927, 27)

Prince Vijayapala (a petty prince of Matale District) was one of the three children of gentle and cultured prince Senevirat was completely converted into the western way of life.

(Pieris 1927, 10)

Prince Vijayapala grown up as a Christian once he says that 'though I am a Chingala by blood I am a Portuguese in my ways and my affections'. He was purely influenced by western culture not only he admired the western, but also considered the western as the best.

Biso Adahasyn was the wife of Vidiye Bandara Raja. He also states that *Vitiye Raja* continued at Pelenda and while there he married the daughter of Mayadunne Raja. Pieris states (1992,70) that the marriage of Vidiye Bandara and *Samudra Devi* in 1538 had resulted in the birth of a son in the same year. The birth of Dharmapala was known in Lisbon in early 1539 . Furthermore Pieris has stated that Rajasingha's (1581-1593 AD) two his to grand sons Rajasuriya Kumarayo (prince) and Jayasuriya Kumarayo (prince) were the children of his daughter *Menik Biso Bandara* of Udapola family who had been given in marriage to a Cholian prince. (Pieris, 1992, 267, 268) also states that Vdiye Bandara's widow was *Maha Tikiri Biso* and his daughter was *Menik Biso* who married a Pandyan prince name Harineswara Kumaraya (prince) .

Chapter 2

Fashion of Royalties: Kings and Queens

The traditional Queen's dress was composed of a piece of a long cloth and bare upper body with an adorning abundance of jewelry. Mudiyanse (n.d, 105) observed the dress quite differently .He stated that,

‘consorts of the Kings were shown without any kind of headdress. They usually wore a hair knot at the back. Breasts were prominent and obviously a jacket was worn. Lower body were covered with a long piece of cloth with gracefull folds .These folds probably survive in modern times in the form of the *Neriya*, of the Kandyan saree. From the waist of the female is seen hanging loosely a strip of cloth gradually broadning towards the end. A three fold belt most probably of cloth holds the garment fastned to the body of the lady’

Her jewelry seems simpler. She wore a necklace, arm-let, a fore head band and a pair of ear studs. However, a particular wood carving at *uda Aludeniya* temple, Gampola period shows no indication of a jacket worn on the upper body. Her hair arranged in a chignon style which was very popular during the period.

It is quite noticeable that during the period the lower dress of the Queen has not acquired many rapid changes in

the early and middle stages of the sixteenth Century. The full dress of a Queen was completed with the lower dress, upper body jewelry, armllets, anklets, belts, necklace, earrings, , and headdress. There were several styles of lower dress created by the manipulation of a silk cloth or *helaya*. The length of the dress is long up to the ankle. The cloth or the *helaya* created a definite dress form by wrapping it well around the contours of the lower body. Several wrappings around the posterior caused the rear part to get voluminous. To create the lower dress differently by adding layers of folds than one piece of cloth had to be used. The styles of the lower dresses show some different tastes of the Queens. Finally the dress was confined to the waist by wearing a belt. Lastly the abdominal part of each female is shown to be very bulky because several swathes of fabric are gathered at the hip area.

The cut and sewn dresses were introduced during the Kotte period with the influence of the Portuguese bodice. A jacket with a frilled collar called *Manthe jacket* was the novel fashion followed by the Queens of the court. The jacket might have had some subtle pleats that had been emphasized by the artists.

However, the long lower dress with a *long sleeved jacket* and a *shawl (Lansolu)* the *frilled jacket* and one piece of dress like a *long robe* were the newly introduced dress forms for the Queen due to the changes that took place in the local tradition due to the impact on the female members of royalty embracing Christianity. (Pieris 1948, 7) When the Queens changed to the new dress form the elites of the royal court also changed their dresses too. They followed fashions of their superiors. In the mean time elite females adopted long robe dresses. The original form of the conventional dress of the Queens continued from early times showing much South Indian assimilations.

Newly Introduced Dress Articles

Mottappiliya (Head cover) was one of the newly introduced dress article worn by the royal ladies (Queens) and was known as the *Kerchief* traditionally popular as *mottappiliya*. Coomaraswamy (1956) identified *kerchiefs* (Rathanasara 1955, 15- 22) as *lensu* or *ports* usually covered with pattern work worn by men on the head as a small turban. By his identification it could be assumed that the *kerchief* had been used as another form of dress article during the Kandyan period. Vangeyzel (2008, 17) described *mottappiliya* as *mottappiliya*, and stated that it was a cloth used by women to cover the head. By wearing a *mottakkiliya* the whole body is concealed. The pictorial evidence shows that *mottakkiliya* was popular among a limited circle of women, most probably among ladies of royal status. During the Kotte period evidences proved that this was much less used. However *mottakkiliya* gained its high popularity during the Kandyan period. Most of the elite women followed this as a fashion style, imitating their royal ladies. .

Inspirational Dresses from South Indian Queen

The Queens from South India wore lower dresses formed from central pleated folds. It was arranged as a decorative style with fan- shaped ends. The style of the lower dress is called *sakaccha* (Kumari 1995, 34) style. The dress is confined by a waist band which has many strings with some gems or types of beads. She covered her shoulder partly with a piece of cloth. However the body shape was enhanced by wrapping a transparent cloth.



Fig 1 : **The Queen of Krishnadevaraya, Vijayanagar Period**
(Huntington 1985, 586)

Inspirational Dresses from the Portuguese Queen



Fig 2 : **Mary of Austria Princess of Asturia(1528-1603)**



Fig 2 : **MariaManuela of Portugal, Princess of Austria (1543-45)**
The dresses of the Queens of Portugal showing elegant dresses with the decollete neck syle.



Fig 3 : Queens in the 5th Ivory casket in the victoria & Albert museum, London. (Amin and Schwabe 1999, 8)

The two identical female heads show some dress fashions during the Kotte period. The upper in Sinhalese dress and the lower in European dress. According to Jaffer and Schwabe (1999,8) these were representations of Dharmapala's (1551-1597AD) wife (Pieris 1992, 202) because the royal sunflower is depicted above her head. On adopting Christianity she took on a Christian name and identity and the dual representation is probably of her before and after conversion. (Pieris 1992, 8) The upper female dress is shown with a frilled collar which was reminiscent of the

Kandyan manthe Jacket style inspired by Portuguese fashion. The lower female figure's dress shows a dress which has a wide neckline called 'decollete' (wide neckline) European styled dress. Figure 1 and 2 the dresses of Queens of Portugal showing elegant dresses with the decolette neck style.

Female identity is marked by the Queen's lower dress, with side folds, jewelry and hair styles. These objects are used to express femininity. It is evident that different forms of lower body dresses would have been popular among the Queens during the sixteenth Century. However during the later phase of the period the Queens were inspired by Portuguese dress fashions, since they converted to Christianity. The last Sinhala Queen of Sri Lanka, Dona Catherina was brought up under Portuguese culture from her early childhood. Gradually she became Portuguese in her outlook. She changed the dress in order to follow the Western style. It is accepted that changing dress signs immediately communicates changing social reality.

During the early phase of the sixteenth Century, the majority of social and cultural influences came from South India. The forms of dress showed a hybrid formation of South Indian and Sinhalese traditional sartorial dress features. The Queens with the *mottappiliya* and bun type hair style give evidence of South Indian style. However the native Queens *Yakadolis* show their individuality by practising many styled lower body dresses. They appear in different forms of dresses compared to the South Indian Queens' dress. Fold forming was significantly unique to the Sri Lankan Queens' dresses. At last they adopted the long sleeved jacket with draped cloth and combined with South Indian inspired hair styles formed a new dress style as they were creative enough to circulate dress signs. It is understood that they changed cultural codes¹ as they wished. It is understood that there was

1 (Shukla 1994, 17)

a unique way of assimilating Western dresses by the royal ladies of the Kotte period.

The King's Dress

One of the historical evidences of the King's attire can be found in the description given by a Portuguese historian Queyroz (1930, 179) in reporting the Portuguese Ambassador's first audience with the Sinhalese King in AD 1505 the royal attire of king Dharma Parakramabahu IX (1489-1513 AD) is described thus; 'he was girt with a cloth of silver, the ends of which fell on his feet, which were shod with sandals studded with rubies.' Furthermore he says that the king was dressed in a white 'cabaya'. Ferguson (1907) also mentions the King's dress during the sixteenth Century. He says that the "King was clad in a silken *bajo*. *Bajo* is a fashion of a closed jacket and girt with a cloth likewise of silken which reached to his knees..."

There are some indications of the dress of the King found in poetical literature. It is said that the King had used shawls as part of his upper dress and wore fine clothes for the lower body. According to the *sandesa* poetry there were two types of shawls worn by the King during this period; a flower decorated shawl or a shawl embellished with gems. *Kavyashekaraya* (verse 33) says that the king had a shawl across his left shoulder.

Culture provides the distinguishing concepts of clarity to dress and details of its associated rules. Code is the concept known as rules of association or underlying patterns provided by culture. Codes help to form an understanding of the message. Furthermore it can be considered as a set of rules or an interpretative device known to both the transmitter and receiver, which assigns a certain meaning or content to a certain sign.

(Rouse 1993, 21)

Every culture has its own tools or norms which guide people on how to be groomed or get dressed in a particular way. Codes are social conventions and each community shares the same meaning

<i>Ketapath vima</i>	<i>nethulu</i>
<i>Weda ran minibarana</i>	salu
<i>Wadamin mal</i>	solu
<i>Pelanda edawasa lesata</i>	<i>sulakulu</i>

<i>Rusiru siruru nan bharanin sarasa</i>	<i>gena</i>
<i>Vimal uthuru salupata</i>	<i>kara damagena</i>
<i>Kiyana vedi ganam thiu kan</i>	<i>puragena</i>
<i>Pasindu pandi waran siya piriwara</i>	<i>gena</i>

Furthermore it describes dresses as appropriate for the day in the mirror room with garments (*salu*) ornaments and flowers. Parakumbasiritha (verse 34) described the lower garment which covers the King's thighs.

<i>Silumini raja mohu dewatora</i>	<i>puwala</i>
<i>Salumini baradel gawasatha</i>	<i>lakala</i>
<i>Mululowa usulana ran tem</i>	<i>uwala</i>
<i>Lelu men danamana pinawai</i>	<i>nowala</i>

Material and Colours of the King's Dresses

Colours of the dress often speak their respective meanings. It is also a mysterious stimulus evoked suddenly in a person's mind according to deciphered meanings of certain objects. Dress is one of the objects that has colour with it and makes meaning that is decoded only by experience. (Barthes 2006, 50) Very often the white colour has been utilized for several purposes of the King's rituals. At the coronation ceremony the King should use white garments. *Vijayantatantraya* Ch 15 Verse 81 stipulates that "he (King) should divest himself of all ornaments already worn and he must put on *white garments* and mount the auspicious seat and place his feet on the platform on which the ploughshares

were placed”. (Jayasooriya 2001, 261) It is also described that “when he is thus consecrated, the King attiring himself in clean white garments should put on the sixty four ornaments and crown”.

Very often the King utilized *silk* material for different purposes related to his dressing. It is noted in *Vijayantatantraya* that when the king is crowned a length of *white silk* cloth is used to wrap the knot of hair on his head. (Jayasooriya 2001, 262, v 97) Its length should be 12 cubits. This ritualistic wrapping of the head by a white cloth is referred to in the contemporary literary work of the time *Kavyashekaraya*. It mentions that the great grandfather of Parakramabahu VI (1411-1466) of Kotte, Prince Sumithra of the lineage of king Dharmasoka, when he was appointed as the *JayamalaMahipathi*, (Paranavithana 1960, 660) had his head wrapped with a *white cloth* when King Devanampiyathissa placed the crown on his head.

The ceremonial robe is said to be of three kinds in different lengths in cubits as 13, 9, or 7. The entire cloth should be draped around the King from left to right. He also used a *silk shawl* while he was presents at the *Dharmashala* or the religious place. *Parakumba Siritha*² (verse 60) indicates that King Parakramabahu VI was dressed in *silk cloth*. Sometimes, it mentioned the quality of the silk cloth that the King wore. He got a gift of fine *silk* from a foreign King. (Verse151)

2 Paranavithana (1997, 17)

Eulogistic epithet. Parakumba Siritha also composed with the inspirations of Teligu Padyalu a kind of separation poem which was composed to flatter the grace of the King by the weeping consort of the King. Also Tamil eulogistic epithet called *Virindu* or *Kalamba Kavi*. War poems also started during the period of Sitawaka in the region of Rajasimha I, he became an adherent of Savism. In Tamil war poems called *Parani*. Even though the difference in the context but the similarity can be seen the purpose of being it narrated.

Kapurusandunmuwamada soda suwadaethi
Rusirusiumpatasalusamagananveni
Wathurulesingenanandesanirindunithi
Athurunodiwedawedaehisitithi

Barbosa refers to *silk cloths* of *Pegu* called *Patola*. (Pieris 1992) Sometimes the King used gold and silver as an added value to enhance the timeless quality of dresses and give a cozy look to dresses. The description of Queyroz noted that the King was long girt with *cloth of silver*; the King’s Lion Throne of six stages was covered with *cloth and gold*. The King wore a *white cabaya*. (Pieris 1992, 39)

The Kings of the Kotte period communicated vital expressions through their dresses. A variety of dress details, different usage of precious stones, vastly differentiated evolved shapes of dresses and amalgamated parts they wore communicated a mixture of South Indian regional and far beyond the Western avant- garde sense of expression. The very subtle manipulations of some Western dress features that were aesthetically blended with Sri Lankan sartorial sense are highly remarkable. Direct representations of different dresses and details are not much, instead the King adapted the Portuguese long coat or *Cabaya*. King Wimaladharmasooriya (1591 - 1604 AD) and Prince Dharmapala (1551-1597 AD) adapted Portuguese style jacket and long jacket called *cabaya* to the so- called Sinhala long piece of cloth .Wearing a long *cabaya* or the *jacket* in the context of Portuguese adherence is a sign of both their societies, but also visible in their participation in a cultural tradition.

Dharmapala’s long *cabaya* or Wimaladharmasooriya *jacket* and his four cornered flat crown were carefully manipulated dress signs which would reveal their loyalty

to the Portuguese rulers as well as showing their changing attitudes. However when people feel it is necessary or wish to show loyalty to a particular group, or when it is necessary for political bonds and divisions to be clearly visible, the dress signs played a vital role. During the sixteenth Century, the jacket worn by the elites became the sign of commitment to their loyalty to Portuguese rule. They used the jacket and other Portuguese styles fashions as a visual symbol of their loyalty. However, King Buwanekabahu VII (1521-1551 AD) never changed his religion; or his attitudes, he wished to see his grandson, Prince Dharmapala (1551-1597 AD) become the King of Kotte while following a Portuguese lifestyle communicated vitality in his thoughts by keeping and maintaining Sinhala dress etiquettes. The King always exhibited the right behavior according to the traditional royal dress. At the same time these Kings would prefer to experience novel feelings by changing some dress parts in line with Portuguese manipulation.

Chapter 3

Jewelry Fashion of Royalties: Kings and Queens

One of the distinctive features of dress is that a group of people shares a particular pattern or style of dress. The overall style of a dress is a consequence of the culture of that society, and the traditions of that people. The way people dress and adorn the body with a variety of jewelry and the method of arranging cover to the areas of the body is part of their culture and tradition.

In every culture Jewelry had great importance. It was not used merely to beautify the body, but acted as a store of wealth, marked rituals of life, signified status, conferred respectability and marked the wearers' identity and social rank. Poetical literature has ample examples of using a variety of jewelry on different occasions by different people. It is believed that jewels and gems have a vital relationship with the subjects of fortune and health and could harness or influence the powers of nature and the divine. As an individual or social and traditional practice of wearing certain varieties of gems by Kings prevailed throughout history. However not only the Kings but also other royal members of the court, several categories of people, the common people of the court and elite also followed the same practice and continued the tradition of using jewelry for decorative purposes within their socially prescribed limits

Ornaments of the King; Royal Insignia and Personal Ornaments

The King used special ornaments to adorn the body parallel to his clothing in order to articulate dress styles. The King used two sets of ornaments, personal ornaments (64 ornaments) and the royal insignia. (The Dictionary of world art vol 24; s.v. jewelery) (Perera 1914, 36) The five insignia are considered as treasures to be carefully protected and are sandal (*pakuda*), chowrie (*chamara*), sword, (*khadga*), parasol (*chatra*) and the Kings' throne (turban or *diadem*). (Ariyapala 1968, 68) The King utilized sixty four ornaments to adorn his body. He used these ornaments during the consecration ceremony. These ornaments are very special to the Sri Lankan Kings because of the strong integration of the wearer in relation to the culture and tradition which they live. These ornaments are traditionally prescribed to a crowned King as well as it is specified by their length, breadth, circumferences, forms, quantity of gold and precious stones which were required for each. The king should wear these ornaments for the consecration ceremony and also for the special ceremonies of the state. The silpa text *Vijayantatantraya* describes well the process of making all the ornaments, and which place of the body it should adorn. (Jayasuriya 2001, 218-240) Apart from the king his two Queens are to be permitted to be decked with sixty four ornaments during the consecration ceremony. (Jayasuriya 2001, 264) By referring to chapter nine in the *Vijayantatantraya* it is understood that from the beginning of the making of the ornaments up to adorning the King's body is a cultural process. Then sixty four ornaments become the signifier and signified royalty.

Accessories of the King

The King used many accessories apart from royal insignia. At certain occasions many historians and eye witnesses revealed their observations on notable accessories. One of the historical evidences of the King's attire can be found in the description given by a Portuguese historian Queyroz (1930, 179) in reporting the Portuguese Ambassador's first audience with the Sinhalese King in AD 1505 the royal attire of King Dharma Parakramabahu IX (1489-1513 AD) is described thus; 'he was girt with a cloth of silver, the ends of which fell on his feet, which were shod with sandals studded with rubies.' Furthermore he says that the King was dressed in a white '*cabaya*'.

Sometimes the King gave precious stones as presents to people. (Paranavithana 2002,74) During the period of King Buwanekabahu VII (1521-1551 AD), Karawe Warnakulasooriya Pathabandi Muhandiram Ilenaide was appointed as Maha Muhandiram and granted an umbrella studded with presents of pearls and other insignia of honor were gifted to him (Sri Lak Indo Studies 30)

The Crown

The crown is one of the most essential parts of the King's dress and it comprises several pieces made up of gold and precious stones. Interesting pictorial references to the crowns discovered of the King of Kotte differed from each other. The crown played an important role as a silent metaphor in the language of royal fashion. It expressed social stratification, power, wealth, personal desires, aspirations, origins and continuation of tradition.

The crown is also known as *kirita* or *makuta* in Sanskrit. The *kirita* is a development of an idea of *usnisa* as a natural protuberance on the top of the head of a great man and

the stylistic representation of usnisa as an ornamental and detachable head – wearer of a royal personage or a celebrity. (Ramachandra 2003, 321) According to the *Vijayantatantraya* during the consecration ceremony of the King and his royal consort are allowed to wear a crown. (Jayasuriya 2001, 264,265) As an argument can bring out the representation of the god was absolutely similar to the King's representation, because the Kings' image was very familiar and the most influential live visual of that period. So the representation of the crown of the god and the King's crown would be similar. The pictorial evidences show that the Portuguese King also had a crown but it was not as high as the Sinhalese crown. The Sinhalese crown took a triangular shape vary to the symbolic meaning it ascribed.

The two descriptions have been given by Pieris (1992, 39) and Queyroz (1930, 181) and need to be considered in parallel with the indications given by the *Vijayantatantraya* shilpa text. Pieris noticed that the King wore a kind of mitre, studded with gems and large pearls where as Queyroz has described the same crown as a brocade *mitre* with precious stones with large pearls and two gold horns. These two descriptions show some differences regarding the outer appearance of the crown while showing some similarities regarding inlaid stones. The Kudumirissa inscription also mentioned the King's crown. (Gunasekara 1887) The Sinhala and the Portuguese Kings of the sixteenth and seventeenth Century utilized many types of crowns. They were different in shape and structures. The crown is one of the items of the five- fold royal insignia belonging to Sri Lankan Kings. According to the *Vijayantatantraya* it is mentioned that when the King wore the diadem (half-crown) only, he may still go on the circumambulatory tour of the city. If he was to wear a crown devoid of precious stones, he may tour elsewhere. (Jayasuriya 2001, 254)

The shape of the high makuta or crown is formed out of three straight lines in which both ends meet, taking the symbols of a blazing fire (symbolizing Brahma, the creator), linga or phallus. The triangle also represents the three Gods of the universe according to Hindu belief (Trimurti - Brahma, Visnu and Siva), three stages of nature (Bhur, Bwah and Swah Loka), and three stages of Life (birth, life and death).

There are five types of crowns utilized by the Kings. The *Siddha* crown (celestial) *Mini* (jewel), *Simha* (lion), *Vyaghra* (tiger) , and *Ruwan* crown (Golden). The *Siddha* crown is conical in shape. Hence it is called the Pagoda crown and; it is said to have been the head dress of the God Kings. The Panegyric poem "*Parakumba Siritha*" states that King Parakramabahu VI (1411-1466 AD) wore a *Siddha* crown. (Paranavithana 1997, verse 28)

Vijayantatantraya also mentioned three types of sovereigns and six types of crowns. Within that, four types of crowns are worn by the *Chakrawarti* Kings and the other two were not mentioned for any particular type of King. A chakrawarthi King or the King who exercises his sovereignty over the world should wear two types of crowns *Chakravalacakravarthin* (Jayasooriya 2001, 252) crown and a *Deva kuta kirita*, (Jayasooriya 2001, 262) The King Parakramabahu of excellent qualities, who wore sixty four regal ornaments and the *siddha* crown in the city of *Raigampura*, like unto *Indra*, quelled the destruction wrought by the *Wanni* Kings of *Velanda - Govi* tribe and merchant and farming tribe who knew no better bravely made the faith to shine and set up the race of sun.

The King of *Jambudvipa* was crowned with *kirita* (Jayasooriya 2001, 252) crown. A King of *pradeepa* (Jayasooriya 2001, 252) (Island based sovereign) should wear the *Pradeepa Chakrawarthin* crown.

There is another type of crown mentioned in the above silpa text(manual) called *Indra* crown. In addition to that there are five more crowns which should be worn by sovereigns in order, one each year commencing from the year of his first consecration. Those are *Ardhakirita*, *Patrapurnima*, *Apsara*, *Bandhanasraya*, and *Pancadaiva*. Sometimes the King wore a half crown, called diadem. Only when the King has worn the diadem that, he could go on a city tour, however if he wore a crown devoid of precious stones, he could tour elsewhere. (Jayasooriya 2001, 254) When the King is crowned he should wear a triple garland containing chains of precious stones. At the same time he should adorn the shoulders with pearls and replicas of jasmine flowers. When the King wears an *Indra* crown he should fasten an abdominal band called the *Matsyadvaya*. It covers the area between the navel and the line of the nipples. When the King wears the *Visnukirita* crown he should wear the *Visnucchanna* abdominal band. In addition to that when the king wore the *Devakuta kitita* when he is crowned as a *Chakrawartha* King he should adorn his shoulders by a triple garland containing chains of precious stones.

According to the pictorial references the Kings used categories of crowns. He utilized all the crowns one by one in order of the legitimacy of arraying himself rather than his personal choice. In the meantime the King was bound to follow the dress traditions in the society as he always obeyed the Sinhalese tradition which testified his sovereignty. It is evident that the King had to follow several dresses and details to the body spaces with articulated styles of adornments according to fashion and the tradition of the society.

Usage of Gems- Historical Evidences

The literature has provided facts on usage of gems by the Sinhala King. Gems were used for three main three

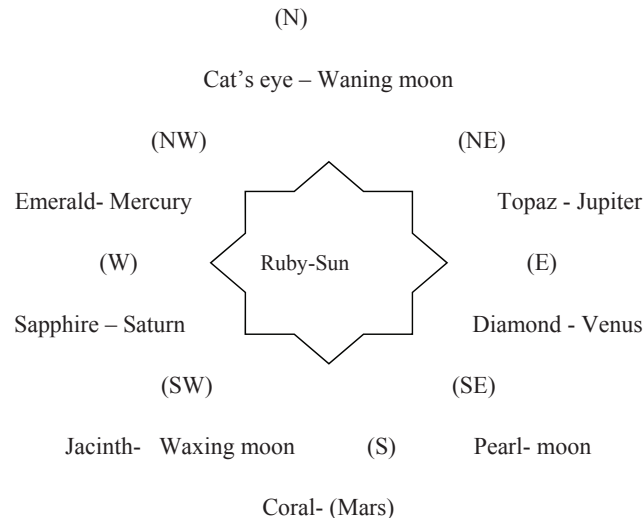
purposes; for decoration of royal insignia, for jewelry, and for ritualistic purposes. The denotative meaning of the possession of gems is wealth and prosperity. In fact the usage of gems by the King connotes several meanings. If the King wore a crown devoid of precious stones, the literature (Jayasooriya 2001, 254) states that the King may tour elsewhere (within the inner city). Therefore it is proved that connotations of gems were strongly associated with the royalty and tradition.

Furthermore the literature states the use of rubies by the Sinhala King for many purposes. Among them he used rubies to decorate the sandals, hand and toe rings, earrings, and waist band. The earliest historical records provided information about the finest rubies found in Sri Lanka. (Barnard 2008, 33) In Sanskrit, the ruby has been called by various names such as *Padmaraag*, *Lohit*, *Shohnratna*, *Rabiratna*, *Shohnopal*, *Kookbinda*, *Sougandhik*, and *Basuratna*. The ruby symbolizes the Hindu triad of *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Shiva*. Metaphysically they are matter, spirit and time but as with lesser gods their functions overlap and they tend to coalesce. They represented by a single symbol the ruby. Red is the color peculiar to the creative power, that is *Brahma*, *Vishnu* is fire as the ruby is; fire is the symbol of the ever changing, that is time and hence *Shiva*. The Hindu philosophers know well that destruction was change; the permanence of the works of *Brahma* was realized. (Waylaand, 1915) According to the Hindu mythology they divided gems into four castes. The *Brahmins*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Sudra*; the *Brahmins* and *Kshatriya* wore sterling rubies the others wore varieties of spinel. (Waylaand 1915, 142)

Vijayantatantraya mentioned that a gem ornament studded with an exalted ruby is what the King should wear. The ornament is known as the *Kaustubha* gem ornament. It is of foremost importance for all crowns and other ornaments,

and is denotes imperial power. It has two strings of diamonds on the two sides and a row of jingling bells in the middle. It is triangular in shape. (Jayasooriya 2001, 230) This ornament should be fixed over the region of the heart. The possession of a ruby confers safety upon the owner and insures the best of fortune, provided it is kept clean and uncontaminated by contact with rubies of inferior rank.

The ruby is also connected to the *kalpa* tree (mythical tree of life) and it was the ripe fruit of the tree. Among the *navaratna* gems the ruby (Jayasooriya 2001, 136) is set as a horoscopy square in the middle, symbolizing the sun. The Ruby is also considered as one of the *maharatnani* (Barnard 2008, 33) or great gems of Hindu traditional gemology. The Ruby ensures *Raj yoga* or high public honor.



The second most used gems were *navaratna*. In Hindu tradition each planet is associated with a precious stone; ruby for the sun, pearl for the Moon, coral for Mars, emerald for Mercury, topaz for Jupiter, diamond for Venus, and sapphire

for Saturn. In addition to these planets, two astronomical nodes, *rahu* and *kethu* governing solar and lunar eclipses, are recognized and associated with gemstones. *Rahu* was a demon who was cut in half by god Vishnu when he was caught by the sun and moon in the act of drinking amrita, the nectar of immortality. He attempted to swallow the sun and moon in revenge, but could not hold them in as his body had been cut in half. In total there are nine planets, the *navagraha*.

The corresponding jewels known as *navaratna* are often seen as a set. Each planet and therefore each stone has a powerful influence which may be malign, or benign, and wearing each stone can avert its negative effects or harness its positive influence. However according to tradition this is only believed to work if the jewel has been consecrated according to the correct ritual, and at an auspicious time determined by astrologers. In addition, stones must only be used if deemed suitable to a person's astrological chart. Each stone relates to a cardinal point and they are often arranged as a three by three square with the ruby representing the sun, as the center, or in a line.

Before the consecration of the King it was prescribed that nine gems should be provided in the nine chambers. (Jayasooriya 2001, 255) The four pots containing the nine precious stones should be erected in the four corners. For the same ceremony it is also prescribed to use thorny conches with engravings of nine gems placed at the base of the four pillars. (Jayasooriya 2001, 256) Apart from the ritualistic ceremonies *navaratna* is also used as an embellishment for jewelry. The poetic literature *Parakumba Siritha* mentions that the King used *navaratna* for the crown, and for bangles. *Vijayantatantraya* mentions the King's *navaratna* gem studded ring which he had worn (Jayasooriya 2001, 216)

In first audience given by a Sinhalese King to the Portuguese Ambassador it was seen that the King of Kotte utilized an abundance of several gems and precious stones (Longworth 2002, 117) for his headdress, sandals, rings, and earrings. Pieris (1992, 39) says,

‘While on his head there rested a kind of mitre studded with gems and large pearls, and falling in two points over his shoulder ... his feet which were protected by sandle glittering with rubies. A profusion of rubies, diamonds and emeralds covered his fingers and weighed down his ears till they nearly reached the shoulders’.

Concain terra de India, who served in the Portuguese service and wrote a letter that indicated some notes about the King of Ceylon.

‘They say that the King of this Island has two rubies of such colour and so lustrous that they are like a flame of fire and though they call them by another name I reckon them to be carbuncles (Spinel ruby)’ (Pieris 1992, 376)

The *ParakumbaSiritha* (Paranavithana 1997 verse35) (Annex 5 N) refers to the King’s yellow ruby (*Dinakarasiyaramini* or *Padmaraga*) studded *Manimekala* (Seneviratne 1915, 129- 132) (*Inasada*, or waist dress)

Ferguson also mentioned the King’s gem studded toe rings, finger rings, earrings and gem studded headdress.

‘The King barelegged with many rings on his fingers and toes, and in place of a crown he had on his head a cap with two horns of gold and very fine precious stones and he had earrings of the same’ (Ferguson 1907, 2004-400)

King Buwanekabahu VII (1521-1551 AD) also used precious stones for the décor of his clothes. It is said that the King’s lower garment was decorated with gems. This is proved by the *Paramumba Siritha* (Paranavithana 1997,

verse 34). He sat on a throne of ivory called the Lion throne which was covered with golden cloth embellished with gems. The King Buwanekabahu VII *Dipatchakkra wasti* was sitting on a golden throne decked with nine kinds of gems. (Pieris 1992, 39)

The use of gems by the Sinhala Queen is enormous. However the connotations of gems associated with the Queen is very different to the connotations associated with gems linked to the Sinhala King. The *Hansa Sandesa* (verse 115) mentions the Queen who wears on her head the ornaments of the Triple Gem. By wearing gems she shows her innate gentleness and surpasses the full moon. Here the gems are taken as a metaphor for religiousness. The connotations are directed beyond to the temporal attributes of the Queen to her religious attributes. It is realized that the connotations of wearing gems by the consorts of Sinhala Kings are totally different to the Western connotations associated with gems wearing by the consorts of the Western Kings. According to the Western connotations the spouse provides poetic proof of the wealth and power of the husband. Thus the showing off of wealth was different from the whole mythology of woman during the sixteenth Century.

Usage of Gold by the Royalty - Metaphor

The King used gold more than others. In addition to the Kings and Queens the elite used gold. As a metal gold has an intrinsic value relates to the connotations of kingship. Evidences proved that the King had the rightful ownership for the possession of gold. (Silva 1990, 15)

The crown is of gold. Gold is a common metaphor used in many social contexts. As a metaphor, it refers to what is superlative in all human belongings. Indeed, gold symbolizes what is purest, noble, enduring, ideal and most valued in terms

of human aspirations, behavior and human relationships. Because it is impervious to weathering it does not rust, tarnish or dull with time. The King also used a gold cloth to cover the seated throne. Based on evidences mentioned below we can suggest that the King had used a greater profusion of gold throughout his life time than others.

The consumption of gold by the King circulated in five contexts and connotations are varied from context to context.

1. Gold used for making body adornments.
Eg: Crowns, jewelry, accessories
2. Gold as an object had been utilized as a metaphor for body for enhancement of the body or the body feature.
Eg: The King's face described as a golden mirror (Paranavithana 1997 verse 79)
Ran ketapathak siriatha ran dapanev uvanatha sonda
The King's face is golden in colour
Mananada minibarana lakala parakumraja hema pata
The King's strong limbs are as golden pillars
Mululowa usulana rantem uwala
3. Gold had been utilized as an item which the King generously gifts to the elite and as presents to foreign diplomats. Here gold is used as a medium to show the King's generosity.
The King gifts gold, gems, pearls, and silk cloths
The King's palace and its pinnacle is of gold
Ganaran kothin dilihena mini resvihidu

4. Gold has been used as some attributes of the King.
The King's fame was all over the world as hoisted golden banners
Ran kodi menvenhi mululowa pasindu
The King's fame is as golden nectar in a lotus flower
At the same time the King is as a tree of generosity which had given golden pollen.
Muthumal pipirana ron wela pehesera

The value associated with gold inevitably connotes the ideology of the King. It is also seen that the connotations associated with gold is multifaceted when it circulated throughout the tradition of the society.

It is understood that denotation and connotation are two levels of meaning. It is also considered as two types of meaning.

Wearing a crown or a turban mentioned above is said to connote the power or the status of the person wearing them. It should also be pointed out that a strongly opposed pair of objects, or dichotomy, rooted in culture such as crown and turban have connotations of power. It is the same as to imply that it is possible for trousers to imply masculinity so strongly that people can be used to stand for it because they have become exclusively identified with it. The turban without a crown may be denoting that the King is in an informal setting. But wearing a short lower cloth worn without a crown may in turn have connotations that suggest what it is unfit for a formal ceremonial setting of work. The trickiness of these concepts does mean that may be used to work on a number of different levels and in all sorts of places.

Finally it must be pointed out that denotation and connotation are analytic concepts or two levels. It is never the case that one receives denotative meaning and then, later, the connotative meaning. The two types of meaning are understood at the same time, although denotative and connotative meanings must be separated in this way in order to carry out the analysis and explanation of fashion of dresses. Denotation and connotations are different types or levels of meaning; the next section will consider the different ways in which meanings are produced or generated.

Jewelries of Royalties during Kotte period

Magnificent jeweled collar “*Mahaderisana Male*”

At present offered as an honor to the Tooth Relic at temple of the Tooth Kandy

H.C.P Bell(1920, 36) stated that when the King SakalakalaWallaba Raja was summoned to take charge of the army, he sent his parasol and white shield the emblems of royalty and the magnificent jeweled collar, the *Derisana Male*, which he wore round his neck. According to Bells description it could be assumed that the *Derisana Male*, would be quite big kind of a neck ornament only which used by the royalties. Such a *Derisana* belonging to King Keerthi Sri Rajasinha (1747 - 1782 AD) in Kandy has been placed at the Temple of the Tooth relic in Kandy. (Pieris 1992, 44)

The royal grant (*Sannasa*) of Perappanmulla mentions that prince Madagoda Duggannai Hiti Bandara of Madampe received a *Derisanak* (a special necklace) to be worn around his neck. A *Derisanak* is a valuable special necklace, which hung almost to the waist. It is important to note that this type of necklace was normally presented by Kings as a mark of favor. (Pieris 1992, 44)

Warrior’s anklet “Virakkala” (Figure 8)

Virakkal of King Buwanekabahu VII of Kotte

Ivory casket inv.no.1241Munich Treasury, Germany
Top left on the lid

Figure 8 shows *Virakkal* of King Buwanekabahu VII (1521-1551 AD) wore when he was at the Hindu shrine of god Vishnu. Pieris stated that the King SakalakalaWallaba(One of the six sons of King Vira Parakramabahu VIII (1485- 1508 AD))Raja of Madampe(zonal King) took his *virakkala* on his foot and place on the neck of Mahanthe Ekanayake Mudaliya. (Pieris 1992, 45)Virakkala is Tamil in origin for “warrior’s anklet” (Bell 1920,45)This is similar to the South Indian ornament called Virakazhal which is a bell suspended on a string worn over the calf or just below the knee representing bravery. (Sthapathi 2002, 147)

Sixty four royal ornaments worn by King BhuwanekabahuVII (1521-1551) (Figure 6)

According to Austin Silva this scene refers to the King’s Coronation ceremony. (Silva 1974, 51) The King is in the *Chitrakuta* Mandape at Jayewardenepura.(Kotte) He is wearing a multi tired crown of Lanka and holding a lotus flower, one of the five emblems of Lord Buddha (Jaffer and Schwabe 1999,7) There is a large stone slab which formed part of the Coronation platform which could still be seen in the back yard of the residential quarters of the monks in the *Parakumba Pirivena*. An insight into the majesty, power and splendor which pervaded the palace ceremonies could be gleaned from *Sannas* No 1, 2, issued by Bhuwanekabahu VII of Kotte. According to *Sannas* No 1- “His majesty issued this sannas (grant) sitting in glory like Indra upon his Throne

under the *Makara Thorana* and the white canopy, encircled by his Ministers in the *Chitrakuta*. In *Sannas* No 2- “ his majesty sits upon his Lion Throne shining with variegated embellishments in his palace at Jayewardenepura Kotte in the midst of Mudaliyas (elite) of the city. (Alwis1976, 17)

Sixty four royal ornaments

The sixty four royal ornaments are traditionally prescribed to a crowned King as well as it is specified by their length, breadth, circumferences, forms, quantity of gold and precious stones which were required for each. The King should wear these ornaments for the consecration ceremony and also for the special ceremonies of the state.

The sixty four ornaments comprise five-fold varieties of each of them. Those are arranged from big toe rings to crown, as ankle bands, calf bands, waist girdles, abdominal bands, a variety of necklaces and a crown. (Jayasuriya 2001, 218) Each one of the above described ornaments has a specific part of body to adorn. It is mentioned that there are twenty five ornaments to be worn by the King at the time of the preparatory rites, prior to his consecration (*abhiseka*). (Jayauriya2001, 252)The *silpa* text (manual) Vijayanthathantra states how the ornaments should be specific to each body part, (Jayauriya 2001, 218)

- Big toe ring up to the waist - 21 ornaments
- Waist up to the ear - 21 ornaments
- For two arms - 22 ornaments

Jewelry worn toe up to the waist	
waist girdles	6
abdominal bands	6
anklets	7
toe rings	10
Jewelry worn below the waist	
Caranabharana	A jewelry worn on the part of the foot just next to the toes
Visandhabarana	Another foot ornament adjoining the caranabharana
Jangavalaya	Circlet which was worn around the shank between the ankle & the knee

(Jayauriya 2001, 238)

Apart from the King his two queens are to be permitted to be decked with sixty four ornaments during the consecration ceremony. (Jayasuriya 2001, 264)

Jewelry worn waist up to the ear	
Channavira	Chest ornament
Jatrumala	Variation of a channavira. Garland worn over the , shoulder
Kanthalamkara	- Neck band
Galamauktika	Throat ornament
Usnisapathra	Forehead band
Sikkabandhanapathra	Top knot of hair
Kaustubha	Stone ornament
varieties of ear ornaments	
Varieties of arm lets	
Varieties of Bracelets	
Varieties of Bangles	
Varieties of Rings for the right hand & left hand	

(Jayasuiya 2001, 239- 240)

According the *silpa* text (manual) the King should wear twenty five ornaments (Jayasooriya 2001, 239) during preparatory rites. It is noted in the *Vijayntatantraya* as a necklace of 16 auspicious symbols called *Sodasayudhamala* , an earrings form of *vajra*, a *vajra* bracelet, a pendant called *candrakarsapana*, a gold thread *Svarnasutra*, *Sankasuthra*, a seed necklace *Sarsapahara*, *Siddhartharaka*, metal bangles made of five metals, five weapons of *vajra*, a conch, an elephant goad, sword, hatchest, five bracelets of wood, two toe rings of gems set in the middle, *navagraha* ring, a necklace called *kantaka*, turban called *panchanga*. Among the arm ornaments the King wore a symbolic bangle made up with fifteen heads representing the fifteen sub Kings' earlier referred to over whom he dominated. (Alwis 1976, 35)

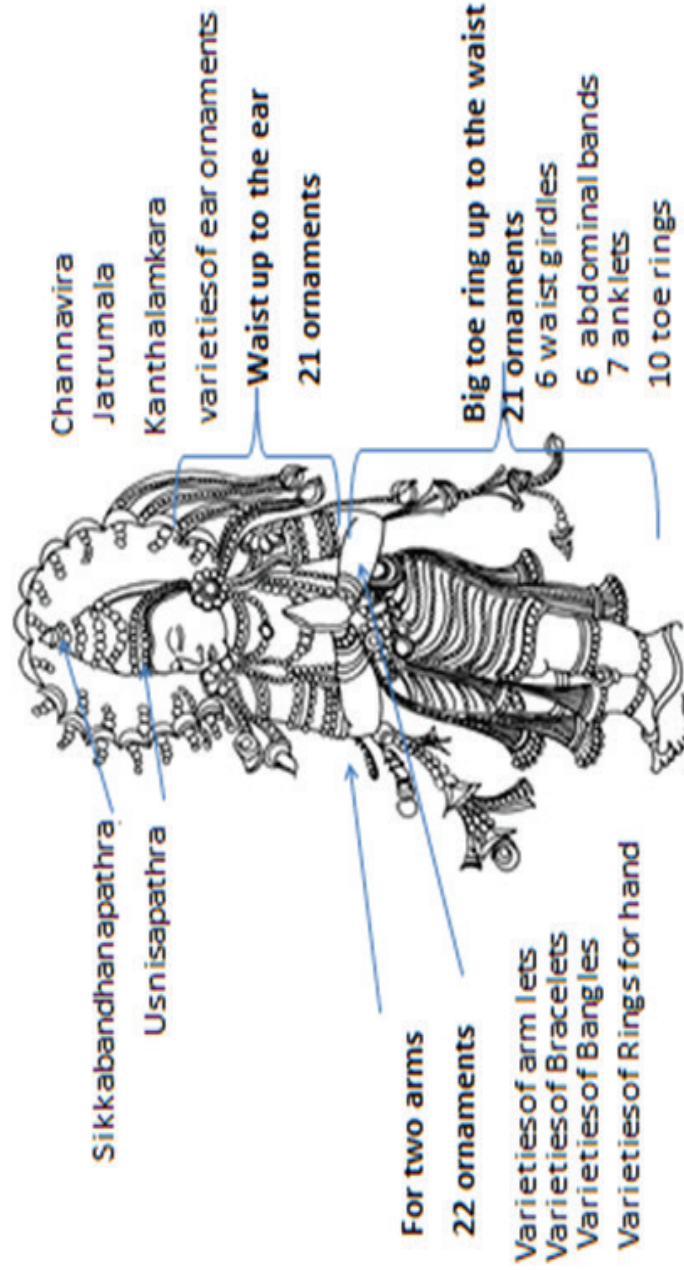
Out of the arm ornaments the rings are more prominent ornamentation used by the earlier Kings. According to the *Vijayntatantraya* the right hand (*Dhakshina mudrika*) and the left hand (*Vamahastha mudrika*) were adorned with a variety of rings. (Alwis 1976, 35)

Finger	Dhakshinamudrika	Vamahasthamudrika
Thumb	Ring studded with pearl	Ring with rows of gems
Index	Ring studded with nine gems	Ring with rows of diamonds
Ring finger	Ring studded with dazzling gems	Ring with emerald stones
Little finger	Ring with blue sapphires with engravings of flowers and buds	Ring with cat's eye gems

(Jayasuiya, 2001)

Among the rings the nine gem studded ring has a strong link with culture. The nine stones refer to the original sense of the heavenly bodies of soul , Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, and Luna have a strong symbolic meaning too.

How the each jewelry specific to each part of body (Figure 8)



The King also used many gem studded toe rings to adorn the feet. Ferguson also mentioned the King's gem studded toe rings, finger rings, earrings and gem studded headdress.

'The King barelegged with many rings on his fingers and toes, and in place of a crown he had on his head a cap with two horns of gold and very fine precious stones and he had earrings of the same' (Ferguson 1907). King used rubies for décor his finger rings and for ear rings too. Pieris (1992, 39) says that "profusion of rubies, diamonds and emeralds covered his fingers and weighed down his ears till they nearly reached the shoulders". Concaín terra de India, who served in the Portuguese service and wrote a letter that indicated some notes about the King of Ceylon.

'They say that the King of this Island has two rubies of such colour and so lustrous that they are like a flame of fire and though they call them by another name I reckon them to be carbuncles (Spinel ruby)' (Pieris 1992, 376)

Gems and jewelry symbolized power and as imperial gifts by the King to courtiers, princes, foreign delegates. King Buwanekabahu VII (1521-1551 AD), of Kotte to appease the new viceroy whom he had offended, sent him a present of 15,000 parados the viceroy and a large present of jewels to be conveyed as a present to the queen of Portugal. The presents included a large collar of gold set with pearls and rubies with 3 crosses of precious stone pendants with a large stone in the centre, a collar of gold set with pearls and cats eyes having in the middle a large cats eye surrounded by rubies, three bracelets of gold set with precious stones, a large ring set with a cat's eye surrounded with rubies and a handsome unset cats-eye. Pieris (1992, 114)

Coronation Crown of King Buwanekabahu VII (1521-1551) (Figure 6)

Ivory casket inv.no.1241 Munich Treasury, Germany
Rear view, bottom right end of the gable

On the right end of the gable shows King Buwanekabahu VII (1521-1551) as Buddhist-King with a crown, but wielding a sword and that on the left. The crown consisted of some strands with gems of stones falling down from both sides of ear. Pieris (1992, 39) says, ‘while on his head there rested a kind of mitre studded with gems and large pearls, and falling in two points over his shoulder ...

Crown for council : King Buwanekabahu VII (1521-1551) (Figure 7)

Ivory casket inv.no.1241, Right end of the gable ,
Munich Treasury, Germany

King Buwanekabahu VII (1521-1551) sitting on a lion throne wearing the multi-tiered crown. (Amin and Schwabe 1999, 1-14)

Usnisa – patta (kiritapatta)) (diadem) of King of Kotte (Figure 1)

“Rambawa” wooden door jamb at UdaAludeniya temple, Gampola

This is the crown of the King shown in Uda Aludeniya. In this representation there can be seen an additional detail of an oval shaped implementation or it could be a “halo”. *Vijayntatantraya* (Jayasooriya 2001, 214) refers to the royal *usnisa* as *usnisa – patta* or turban or diadem (*kirita*) and

turban (*pattaka*) It says that the middle projection should have a lotus – petal shaped gem set in it and five lotus bud shaped gems set in five places and should be decorated with pearl strings. The turban should be fixed before the anointing of the King.

Floral Crown of King BuwanekabahuVII (1521-1551) (Figure 8)

Ivory casket inv.no.1242 Right end of the gable Munich Treasury, Germany

The figure 8 shows a floral crown worn by King Buwanekabahu VII when he attended religious occasions. Kavyashekaya (canto 8, verse 34) describes the floral adornment with lotus flowers as the King dressed himself for the rites for the gods. It described that the King was decked with flowers and had worn a crown full of flowers. Also it mentions a bouquet of red lotuses which was worn by the King.

Headwear for casual occasion (Figure 5)

Cloth painting I (Dambawa): Reg.no 85.133.1 at the Ethnology division National, museum, Colombo.

The figure 5 depicted a special kind of turban with projecting two horns. These turbans are worn by the King when he was absent from the King’s council. Ferguson identified similar kind of turban which has been worn by the King. He (1907, 2004-400) says that ‘the King barelegged with many rings on his fingers and toes, and in place of a crown he had on his head a cap with two horns of gold and very fine precious stones and he had earrings of the same’

Headwear for casual occasion: receiving a visitor in the King's audience hall (Figure 9)

Ivory casket inv.no.1242, Munich Treasury, Germany
Rear view, top left of the lid

This figure 9 shows a simple style of headdress used by the king when he is present in the palace where he meets the visitors. These different types of crowns and different styles of headdresses show that the King used traditional shape of high *makuta* or the tired crown for special purposes as for King's consecration or for coronation (*abhisheka*) ceremony. Also he used to wearing different types of headdresses while he was present at casual occasions.

Chapter 4 Society and Culture

Brief Social and Cultural History before the Portuguese Occupation

During the early fifteenth and sixteenth (1411-1597AD) Centuries the culture of the Kotte period could be identified within three phases. The first phase could be identified along with the time the Kingdom had strong links with the Chinese Emperors. These connections led to the assimilation of several cultural ideas by the Kotte kingdom. Sino –Sri Lanka relations were thoroughly established during the reign of the third Ming Emperor Young –Lo. Cheng – Ho. The naval admiral of the emperor visited Sri Lanka at least five times in 1406, 1409, 1411, 1430, and 1432 AD. In his second expedition to Sri Lanka he brought presents to the Sri Lankan King from the Chinese Emperor. But King Vira Alakeshwara did not show a friendly attitude. This led to a battle and in 1411 A.D he captured King Vira Alakeshwara and his kinsmen and took them to the Chinese court put the Chinese Emperor sent them back with his nominee to the throne .This incident is referred as the Chinese Stratagem or *CheenaMayama* in *Saddarmarathnakaraya*. (Weerasingha 1995, 36) Sheng-Ho visited Sri Lanka and bestowed gift offerings to the Buddha

and erected an edict. King Parakramabahu VI (1411-1466 A.D) dispatched seven missions to the Chinese Court in the following years, 1416, 1419, 1421, 1423, 1433, 1445, and 1459 A.D.(History of Ceylon Uni of Ceylon 651)

Kotte and Hinduism

The second phase could be noticed as an extension of Hinduism and values of the prevailing Buddhist cultural practices that operated at the time. The second phase could be noticed as the new beginning of culture with Portuguese influences which operated mainly with the centralized King's Court. With the impact of Portuguese cultural practices the so- called traditional thinking pattern of the people of the country and their dresses changed in keeping with the Portuguese style. During the Kotte period due to the influence exerted by Hinduism, Hindu rites and rituals were practiced. Assimilation of the Sanskrit language into Sinhala literature gave access to manuals on secular branches of learning. This opportunity led to increasing Sanskritization of the Sinhala language through assimilation of Sanskrit loan words (Pathmanathan 1986/87,105). Several secular poems composed during this period were the *Salalihini*, *Gira* (Parrot), *Parevi* (Pigeon), and *Hamsa* (Swan) *sandesayas*. Eulogies, like the *ParakumbaSiritha* were poetical works written in this period. Secular poems are a useful source of information on the social, economic and political conditions of the country.

Kotte and Kandy

In the early years of the sixteenth Century, when the Portuguese first visited Sri Lanka, the island was divided into three major political units and a number of lesser principalities. When the Portuguese had first contacts with Sri Lanka, the Kingdom covered the south- Western lowlands. In the previous Century Kotte exercised effective suzerainty

over the rest of the island but since the days of Parakramabahu VI (1411- 1466) it had been gradually losing control over various parts of the Island. However even in the early sixteenth Century it remained the strongest Kingdom in Sri Lanka and the King of Kotte still claimed to be the overlord of the whole Island. During that time the central highlands of the country were under the rule of a separate monarch. Sometimes after the arrival of the Portuguese, the capital of the hill country was transferred from Gampola to *Senkadagala* (Kandy).

Kings of Kotte Period

1. Buwanekabahu V (King of Gampola in the early part of his reign) 1371- 1408 (37 years)
2. Parakramabahu VI 1411-1466 (55y)
3. JayaweeraParakramabahu 1466-1469 (3y)
4. Buwanekabahu VI 1469-1477 (8years)
5. PandithaParakramabahu VII1477 (short time)
6. ViraParakramabahu VIII 1477-1489 (12years)
7. Dharma Parakramabahu1489- 1513 (24y)
8. Vijayabahu VI 1513-1521 (8years)
9. Buwanekabahu VII 1521-1551 (30 years)
10. Dharmapala 1551- 1597 (46 years)

(Silva, 2005, 742)

The Portuguese and the Kotte Kingdom

Missionary Enterprise : Conversion Buddhistin to Christianity

The Portuguese crown established a monopoly over missionary effort in Kotte during the 17th Century. As Abeyasinghe (1966, 192) states the primary task of missionaries was not conversion. The real conversion started after the arrival of Friar Joao de Vila de Condein (1545) with a group of four Franciscans on an invitation extended by Buwanekabahu VII the King of Kotte. (Perera 1955 26). The King readily welcomed the missionaries and gave them permission to construct churches and preach in his Kingdom. He offered to construct monasteries for them and granted the Franciscans an annual income of 250 *pardaos*. As a special favour he decreed that Christians would be exempt from *marala* dues (death duty). (History of Sri Lanka vol 11 , 74) Queyroz states that Buwanekabahu refused to change his religion chiefly because of political reasons. It is undoubtedly true that conversion to Christianity would have lost Buwanekabahu what little support he retained among the Sinhalese. On the other hand, in his correspondence with the Portuguese in Goa in Lisbon, he never cited politics as the reason why he refused to accept Christianity. He stood squarely on his convictions. Writing to the Portuguese governor of India on November 1545 he declared “ No one alike, great or small, calls anyone father save his own, and I am unable to believe in another God but only in my own...” (History of Ceylon 74) In fact, Buwanekabahu that emerges from contemporary documents is somewhat different from the weak and vacillating personality he is often depicted to have been. Franciscans were basically engaged in educational activities where most princes of royalties learnt from them. Prince Dharmapala of Kotte baptized in 1557 led many of

the nobles and the ladies of the Court in embracing the new faith. Abeyasinghe (1966, 192) In 1594 with the King himself, the Queen, the King’s uncle Tammita Surya Bandara, Dom Fernando Samarakoon Mudliyar, important officials like Edirille Bandara and many other nobility had converted.

Fra Joao approached the King with a most earnest prayer and asked him to gather together in the royal palace all the wise men of the kingdom, and all the ministers of idols, so that in the presence of the King and the Christian religion, on the previous agreement that those, who were defeated that disputation would speak for the religion of the others. While accepting a gift offered to him, the King on the day agreed upon by both parties, the King and his entourage assembled in the hall together with the Frairs and the captain of the Portuguese. (Perniola, 1989,42)

Among them a renowned poet during the period known as Alagiyawanna *Mukaweti* converted to become Dom Jeronimo Alagiyawanna (Azevedo had stood as godfather to the three converts with the name D. Jeronimo). Followed by this attitude the four sons of the King of Uva baptized in 1606. (Followed by the royalty many of the fishing population of the coastal areas were converted. The death of Dharmapala in 1597 established hundreds of Christian parishes. The golden age of the Franciscan missionary endeavor in Ceylon reported 70,000 converts among the fishing community. According to the report presented to the King of Portugal there were converts exceeding 30,000. Converts were given baptismal names that they could use. If they used local names it was taken as non- catholic. (Pieris, 1949, 34) The converts in every generation produced a crop of conversions and they became political refugees who settled in Portuguese territory. Queyroz criticized that the Sinhalese “make religion a matter of convenience” (Queyroz, 1930, 699).

The pope, Gregory XIII, replying a letter of Dharmapala in July 1578 call "him a tender plant... transferred..." (Perniola, 1989,42)

Trindade writing in the same strain about Fransiscan missoionasies refers to "the new shoots they had planted" (Abeyasinghe 1966,206) and how after Dharmapala's Conversion the franciscans" garnered a rich harvest" (Queroz, 1930, 235)

Kotte and Vijayanagar kingdom

During this time Jaffna was in many ways distinct from other Kingdoms. Jaffna made a link between the two Sinhalese Kingdoms in the south and the powers of South India. Jaffna had strong ties of culture and commerce with Vijayanagar and its successor states of Tanjore and Madura. Jaffna was well known for the production of cloth. (Silva 1972, 2) The boundaries of Kotte were from the Western coastal region south of Mannar across north- central Sri Lanka, then southwards along the Eastern seaboard. These areas were ruled by petty chieftains called *Vanniyars*. During the sixteenth Century most of the *Vanniyars* of the Eastern coast came under the overlordship of Kandy while those in the North-Central came under allegiance to Kotte, Jaffna or Kandy.

The Portuguese first visited Sri Lanka in the East mainly to trade. After that they visited Sri Lanka and built a fort in Colombo in 1518 and secured a more favorable position by means of a treaty of alliance with the Kings of Kotte. (Silva 1972, 2) In the year 1521 the Kingdom of Kotte was partitioned through a revolt of the three sons of King Vijayabahu (1513-1521), Buwanekabahu (1521-1551) Mayadunne and Raigam Bandara, against their father and put him to death. (*VijayabaKollaya* 1521AD) The eldest

Buwanekabahu ruled the Kotte Kingdom while at the other two; Raigam Bandara ruled Raigama and Mayadunne (1521-1581) ruled Sitawaka. Mayadunne's first attempt to gain power over Kotte was in 1526 and onwards, Buwanekabahu VII was saved by the arrival of the Portuguese expeditionary forces from Goa. Buwanekabahu wanted his grandson to become his successor and made the necessary arrangements with the alliance with the Portuguese. Silva says that, (1972, 3)

‘However he never agreed to the complete destruction of his brother's power, or to give up Buddhism, the faith of his people, in order to accept Christianity.’

The young Prince Dharmapala, who was proclaimed King by the Portuguese on his grandfather's death in 1551, was induced to accept Christianity

Chapter 5

A group of caskets of 16th Century presently located at foreign museums

The earliest references to ivory caskets from Ceylon in the Portuguese royal collection occur in 1546-48, at which time two are recorded in the inventory of Queen Catherine (1507-78), wife of Dom Joao III (r.1521-27). She is known to have been interested in oriental curiosities, going so far as to send two agents to the East (One went to Goa) exclusively in order to obtain them for her collection. Ivory caskets from Ceylon featured in the collection assembled by the Queen, and inventories made in the years 1550-54 and 1558 indicate the both possessed and divested her of such objects. After the 1550s Catherine's interest in Sinhalese objects subsided and she turned to before this, she had begun to send ivories to members of her family such as her niece Maria of Parma, the wife of Alessandro Farnese; her niece and daughter-in-law, Joana of Austria; and her daughter Dona Maria, the wife of Philip II of Spain. The collections of other rules of the period, which were also related to her, such as the Habsburg princes Philip II and Rudolf II, Albrecht V of Bavaria and the Tyrolean ruler Ferdinand II, similarly included Sinhalese ivories. There are six caskets already exhibited in museums in Europe.

- Two caskets place in Kunsthistorisehes Museum, Vienna. Austria
- Two caskets place in Residenz, Munich, Schatzkammer. Germany
- One casket in Museum Fur IndischeKunst, Berlin .Germany
- One casket in Victoria and Albert Museum United Kingdom

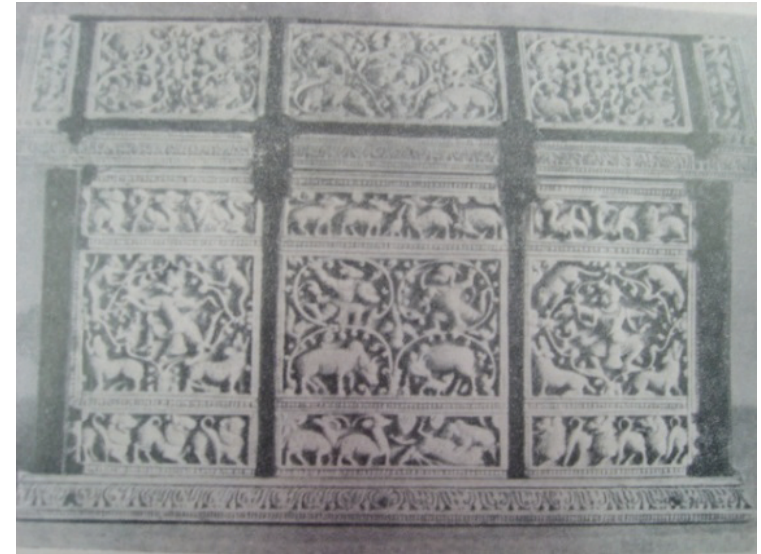
Kunsthistorisehes Museum, Vienna

Casket -	1
Place of origin:	Kotte
Date:	Before 1542 AD
Artist/Maker:	Unknown
Materials and Techniques:	Ivory
Museum number:	Inventory no 4743
Size:	149x 25x 16cm



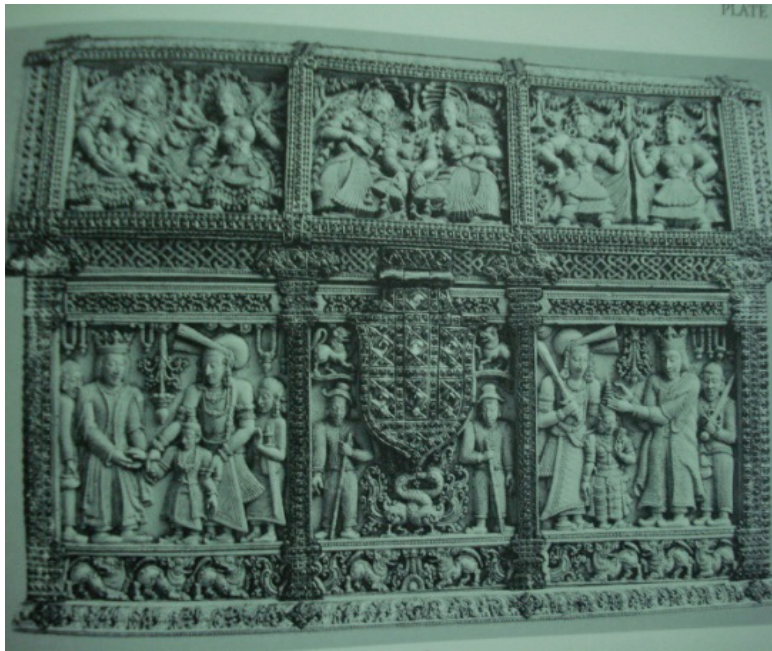
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Casket -	2
Place of origin:	Kotte
Date:	Before 1542 AD
Artist/Maker:	Unknown
Materials and Techniques:	Ivory
Museum number:	Inventory no 4745
Size:	11x 16.3x 9cm



Residenz, Munich, Schatzkammer

Casket -	1
Place of origin:	Kotte
Date:	Most probably 1543
AD	
Artist/Maker:	Unknown
Materials and Techniques:	Ivory
Museum number:	Inventory No 1241
Size:	18x 30x 16cm





Casket 2 Residenz, Munich, Schatzkammer

Casket -	2
Place of origin:	Kotte (made)
Date:	1547 AD
Artist/Maker:	Unknown
Materials and Techniques:	Ivory
Museum number:	Inventory No 1242
Size:	15x 25x14cm





146D



Casket at Victoria and Albert Museum United Kingdom

Casket - The Robinson Casket
 Place of origin: Kotte
 Date: 1557 AD
 Artist/Maker: Unknown
 Materials and Techniques: Carved ivory, with silver gilt hinges, and gold

Filigree lock and handle set

with sapphires

Museum number: Inventory No IS.41-1980
 Gallery location: Medieval and Renaissance,
 room 63, case 2
 Size
 8.9x 21.9x 15cm

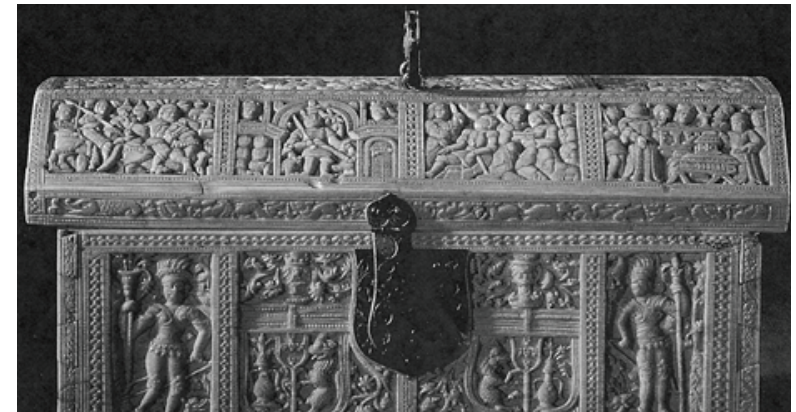




Casket at Museum Fur IndischeKunst, Berlin

Casket - 1
 Place of origin: Kotte
 Date: 1578 AD
 Artist/Maker: Unknown
 Materials and Techniques: Ivory

Museum number: Inventory No 19928
 Size 13.5x 5.5x 11.5cm



Chapter 6

NOTES ON THE FIGURES

Figure 1

King of Kotte: wood carving

“Rambawa” wooden door jamb at UdaAludeniya temple, Gampola

Gampola period Vishnu devale (deistic shrine) of the AludeniyaRajamahaviha¹ is a spectacular door frame carved of sandal wood. At the lower end of both door jambs facing the worshipper as he enters the *devale*(deistic shrine) are carvings of a couple. They represent either the donors of this frame, the King and Queen of Kotte or pair of dancers (Shroder, 1990.446)

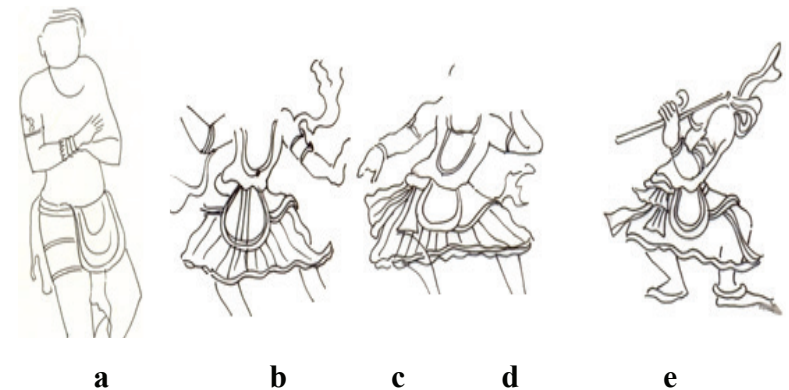
¹ Shroder, 1990

It is traditionally believed that this vihara was founded by MayimBandara during the reign of Buwanekabahu IV (1341- 1351) who was ruling from Gampola. Based on the evidences an old manuscript, the King of Gampola donated a door frame which he had received as a gift from the King of Kotte to Aludeniya. As with the 15th Century ivory delegate caskets these wood carvings are part of the few serving artistic works which can be related to the Kotte period.

Lawrie Archibald Campbell, A Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon, Vol 1 George JA Skeen, Government Printer Ceylon 1896, p18

The crown of the King shown in UdaAludeniya represented an additional detail of an oval shaped implementation or it could be a “halo”. Vijayntantraya (Jayasooriya 2001, 214) refers to the royal *usnisa* as *usnisa-patta* or turban or diadem (*kirita*) and turban (*pattaka*) It says that the middle projection should have a lotus – petal shaped gem set in it and five lotus bud shaped gems set in five places and should be decorated with pearl strings. The turban should be fixed before the anointing of the King.

The lower dress of the King is unique in form because it had a circular shaped dress feature. In fact the feature was depicted in a more pronounced manner during the sixteenth Century King’s dress. Even though this was mainly worn by the Kings, elite of the court also seem to have adopted the feature in a different way. Pictorial evidences show that the feature evolved gradually throughout the history with subtle adjustments in forming the shape of it. Inspirational Imagery Sources that support Circular Fold



Mural painting in Thivanka Chullawagga at the National Museum,, Colombo Image house, Polonnaruwa

Figure a Shows evidence of the circular fold represented in the lower dress shown in mural painting in the Thivanka Image house at Polonnaruwa.

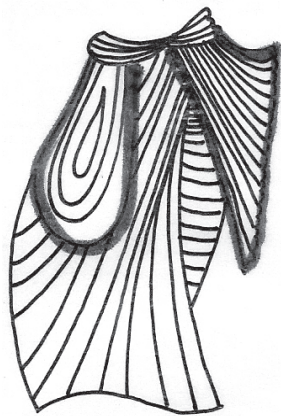
Figure b, c, d show another depiction of circular folds in the lower dresses of the dancers and a musician painted on the cover of the palm leaf manuscript of “Chullawagga” presently at the Colombo museum. The work was done during the period of Dambadeniya (1272-1293) in the reign of King Parakramabahu II. (1230- 70 AD) However the feature became prominent during the Kotte period (1411-1597) and has been exquisitely carved and drawn in respect of male garment.

South Indian Inspiration for Circular Fold in the King’s Dress



f

South Indian architect (Karanrisc 1960, PL 56)



g

Cloth painting Reg .no 85.133.1 National Museum, Colombo

Figure e shows that the circular dress feature was popular during the sixteenth Century in South Indian dresses. During the sixteenth Century the King arranged the circular fold in a different way. It was refashioned in its form to a much greater extent by manipulation of the fabric in great width and length. This feature was depicted only for the King’s dress and could be seen during Kotte period. However, also visible was a similar formation of arranging the fold in a circular manner practiced by some of the respective occupational ranksserving in the King’s court. Through detailed observations it was proved that it was fixed in quite a different manner by the officials

Figure 2
King of Kotte

Gadaladeniya Temple: Gampola , mural painting in the in the dome

WessantharaJathaka story

The lower dress shows a side fold which has a pointed edge. The fold on the left side of the waist developed in its size a much greater extent during the last phase of the sixteenth Century, evident in the dress of King Wimaladharmasooriya 1(1591-1604 AD)

Figure 3
King of Kotte

Gadaladeniya Temple: Gampola , mural painting in the in the dome

WessantharaJathaka story

King's lower dress seems very simple and confined by a waist band. The front a fold seems to have a pointed edge.

Figure 4

King of Kotte

Cloth painting I (Dambawa): Reg.no 85.133.1 at the Ethnology division Colombo museum

The King's lower dress is arranged by one piece cloth wrapped around to give prominence to the designed hem line and a border. The fold around the waist would be thick and tucked at the left end of the waist

Figure 5

King of Kotte

Cloth painting I (Dambawa): Reg.no 85.133.1 at the Ethnology division Colombo museum

The image shows the same waist band tucked at the right end of the waist and serves as a pleated fall arranged much longer than the former, which falls to the middle of the lower dress. There is a border around the hem of the dress. This is remarkable because it gives insight to the weaving industry in the country. During the Vijayanagar period (1336-1565) the Kotte Kingdom had close ties with them in many ways Codrington (1917, 103) states that Sri Lanka paid taxes to the VijayanagarKing. It can be assumed that the Kotte period would have influenced the textile designs which were popular during the Vijayanagar period. The textile designs appearing in the Lepakshi mural paintings at Vijayanagar show some similarities to the textile designs in the dresses of cloth paintings. There are scores of dress designs and borders in paintings

at Lepakshi. Among these designs checks, stripes, flowers, dots, are often repeated. The colours of costumes in the mural paintings in the Vijayanagar period are white, black, green, black and brick red. In the contemporary literature *kavi* or brick, *chengavi* or red colour with the glow of fire appear to be very popular. (Kumari 1995, 35)

Figure 6

King of Kotte King Bhuwanekabahu VII (1521-1555 AD)

Ivory Casket, inv.no.1241, at Munich Treasury, Germany. The right end of the gable.

King is in the *Chitrakuta Mandape* at Jayewardenepura. (Kotte) According to Austin Silva (1974, 51) this scene refers to the King's Coronation ceremony. He wore a textured long lower cloth with two side folds. King According to the Vijayantatantraya the King's ceremonial *robe* is to be in three lengths; namely thirteen, nine and seven cubits in length. The width was supposed to be three cubits in every case. (Jayasuriya 2001, 262) However Vijayantatantraya has not indicated for which occasion or for which stage in the consecration he should wear them. It could be assumed that most probably these three lengths of robe must have been worn by the King at three different stages at which he should have been dressed at a consecration ceremony.

Figure 7

King of Kotte King Bhuwanekabahu VII (1521-1555 AD)

Ivory Casket, inv.no.1242, at Munich Treasury, German. The right end of the gable.

King is at the *ChitrakutaMandape* as the Buddhist King at Jayewardenepura.(Kotte) The long lower dress seems having decorative flower details within the pleats.

Figure 8

King of KotteBhuwanekabahuVII (1521-1555AD)

Ivory Casket inv.no.1241at Munich Treasury, German, rear view, top left of the lid

The King is participating in a ritual ceremony at the religious place in front of the four armed god Shiva. The god is riding on his bull, Nandi. (Silva 1974, 51)

Figure 9

King of KotteBhuwanekabahuVII (1521-1555 AD)

Ivory casket inv.no.1242 at Munich Treasury, German, Rear view, top left of the lid

The King is receiving a visitor in the King's audience hall. King wore a lower cloth which reached to the knees. The lower body dress consisted of side knot which seems hanging right side of the waist.

Figure 10

Prince of KotteDharmapala (1551- 1597 AD)

Ivory casket inv.no.1241 at Munich Treasury, German,Rear view, bottom right

The clear evidence of prince Dharmapala's attire found in ivory casket inv.no 1241 depicting scenes relating to the embassy to Lisbon must have been made after the envoy from Kotte returned home in 1543AD. (Amin and Schwabe

199, 1-14) He is shown wearing a ceremonial dress exclusive to the Emperor. The lower dress comprises falling folds on both sides of the waist. On the front of the casket are scenes of the coronation of the effigy of Dharmapala and has rich gold mounts inset with cabochon rubies and sapphires. The front right and left panels depict, respectively, the crowning by Dom Joao 111 of the effigy of Dharmapala and swearing of an oath of loyalty to the Portuguese crown by the young prince. The lower dress comprises falling folds on both sides of the waist. This representation gives similarities to the traditional King's dress features of King' Buwanekabahu IV (1341-51AD) of Gampola.

Figure 11

PrinceofKotteDharmapala (1551- 1597 AD)

Ivory casket inv.no 1241at Munich Treasury, German, front left panel

Prince Dharmapala is wearing a long coat over a long piece of cloth after he was crowned as being similar to that of the Portuguese King. He is swearing an oath of loyalty to the Portuguese crowned he was clad in an over-coat to resemble and obey the Portuguese crowned. The edge of the coat is decorated with some beads. It was said that there was an exchange of *cabaya* and a type of a headdress of Portuguese dignitaries with the Sinhalese delegation. Before the coronation took place, "the Sinhalese delegation had to compliment the King's gesture exchanging their usual costumes for crimson *cabaya* and white *toucas*. (Turban) (Pieris 1992, 51) They entered a state coach in the accompany of the Marquises of Villa Real and Ferreyra and drove up to the palace. (Pieris 1992, 88)

Figure 12**King of Sithawaka** Mayadunne (1521-1581 AD)

Ivory casket inv.no 1241, at Munich Treasury, German, left gable

Left gabled side of the ivory casket¹ shows the coronation of King Bhuwanekabahu in the *Chitrakuta Mandape* at Jayewardenepura Kotte, with his one of the two brothers Mayadunne (Rambukwelle 1996, 43) stands on his right side. (Silva 1974, 71) (Schroeder 1990, 468) He wore long sleeved jacket for the upper body and wore long cloths with pointed edges in the lower body. The jacket has a simple circular neck line and open in the front.

Figure 13**King of Raigama** Raigam Bandara Bandara

Ivory Casket inv.no 1241, at Munich Treasury, German, left gable

Left gabled side of the ivory casket¹ shows the coronation of King Bhuwanekabahu in the *Chitrakuta Mandape* at Jayewardenepura Kotte, with his one of the two brothers Raigam Bandara on the left side. (Rambukwelle 1996, 43) (Silva 1974, 71) (Schroeder 1990, 468) He wore long sleeved jackets for the upper body and wore long cloths with pointed edges for the lower body. The jacket has simple circular neck line and open in front.

Figure 14**Queen of Kotte**

Rambawa'' wooden door jamb at Uda Aludeniya temple, Gampola

The lower dress comprises with two pieces of clothes; and the front arrangement of folds is defined by as layers long up to the ankle. Each fold is emphasized the body contour as well as the height of the wearer. Usually the whole dress was tightened to the waist by a fabric belt. When the woman after finishes her dressing her abdominal seems much bulky because it wrapped and gathered with several wad of fabrics. From the waist of females is seen hanging loosely a strap of cloth gradually broadening towards the end. A threefold belt most probably of cloth holds the garment fastened to the body of the lady.

Figure 15**Queen of Kotte**

Ivory Casket inv.no 1241 at Munich Treasury, German, Rear view, left in the corner

Here the fashion style of the lower dress depicted with a significant detail called *neriya*. Even though this detail was emerged during Anuradhapura period as a subtle suggestion of a dress article, however was not prominently shown. Besides during sixteenth Century it developed much greater and practiced by the Sinhala Queens of the court. This was the period could be traced as the era of introducing the *neriya* in vogue. The front of the long cloth arranged as a fan shaped fold.

Figure 16**Queen of Kotte**

Cloth painting ii (Dambawa), Reg.no 85.133.1, Ethnology division-National Museum, Colombo

This shows a new dress style which emerged during the Kotte period. This is one of the newly introduced dress article

worn by the royal ladies (Queens) was known as Kerchief traditionally popular as *Mottakkiliya*. Coomaraswamy (1956) identified kerchiefs (Rathanasara 1955, 15- 22) as *lensu* or ports usually covered with pattern work were worn by men on the head as a small turban. By his identification it would be assumed that the kerchief had been used as another form of dress article during Kandy period. Vangeyzel (2008, 17) described *Mottakkiliya* as *Mottappiliya*, and stated that was a cloth used by woman to cover the head. By wearing a *Mottakkiliya* the whole body is concealed. The pictorial evidence shows that *Mottakkiliya* was popular among limited circle of women, most probably among royal status ladies.

Figure 17
Queen of Kotte

Ivory casket inv.no 1241, at Munich Treasury, German, rear panel bottom middle panel

The lower dress was fully composed with folds. The central fold is two layered and with a design at the fringe. A prominent geometric pattern was embodied on the narrow border across the dress. The border of the central fold is echoed with the border in the side folds. The arrangement of the narrow border supposed that the lower dress would have been composed with one piece of cloth. The surface texture depicted in horizontal lines suggested expansion of the fabric. There were some folds on both sides of the waist. The fold of the lower dress is apparently confined by a decorated waist band with decorated designs. This shows the Upper body covered with pair of breast cups. Her body adorned with necklaces, ear ornaments, upper arm and wrist ornaments.

Figure 18
Queen of Kotte

Cloth paintingii(Dambawa) Reg.no 85.133.1.Ethnology division, National Museum,Colombo

The lower dress shows with a *neriya* detail, and central fold expanded bottom in a fan shaped design. It also shows with a waist cloth band which was formed in the same cloth. The lower dress was white in colour and the red colour border which shows the wrapped pattern of the dress.

Figure 19
Queen of Kotte

Ivory casket inv.no 1241, at Munich Treasury, German, Right end of the gable

The lower dress seems very simple. It can be identified as a piece of cloth called as *helaya* simply wrapped around the waist. One end of the cloth is tight to the inside cord tight to the waist and other wrapped around the body and tucked to the other side of the hip. Then the decorated front piece of the *helaya* appeared as decorative fold. However there was no indication of pulled out folds that arranged onto the waist as *neriya*.

Figure 20
Royal Princess of Kotte

Ivory casket inv.no 1241 ,at Munich Treasury, German,right end of the gable

A virgin from a royal clan "*ksatriya*" (Schroeder 1990, 468) dressed in a quite different upper dress. She wore a long sleeved jacket with high neck and there is an opening in front.

It shows direct inspirations of Portuguese fashion. The long sleeves were designed with cuffs and attached with buttons.

Figure 21

Royal Princess of Kotte

Ivory casket inv.no 1241, at Munich Treasury, German, right end of the gable

A virgin from a royal clan “*ksatriya*” (Schroeder 1990, 468) dressed in a quite different upper dress. She wore a long sleeved jacket with high neck. It shows direct inspirations of Portuguese fashion. The long sleeves were designed with cuffs. The lady in the ivory casket was the first time that the shawl was illustrated in pictorial format. The complete dress form with the shawl had become very popular during the Kandy period.

List of Places Visited

Buddhist temples belongs to the Kotte era were not existed at present due to the Portuguese destruction. However the two ivory caskets which belong to the Kotte era were kept at present in the Treasury of Munich, Berlin provides

unique visual evidences of dress fashions pertaining to the era. Besides existed literature and relevant documents provided ample information about the dress fashion of Kotte era needed to cross check with parallel dress fashions which operated other kingdoms in Sri Lanka. The temples belong to the Kandyan period were well preserved at present context, give much convenient to study the tradition of fashions of Sri Lanka. The reliability of data was secured by cross checking the present visuals along with literature triangulation. The

selected list of places provided below will be facilitated any scholars and for interested parties who inquire further reading on the subject matter.

No	Selected site	Location
1	Kandy Museum	Kandy
2	SooriyagodaVihara	Sooriyagodagama
3	DegaldoruwaVihara	Amunugama
4	GangaramayaVihara	Lewella
5	HaloluwaVihara	Haloluwa
6	SellawaliVihara	Pallegama, Haloluwa
7	SendeniyaVihara	Daulagala
8	WalgampayaVihara	Danthure
9	KotabogodaVihara	Yatinuwara
10	NiyamgampayaVihara	GampolaMariyakade
11	UdaaludeniyaVihara	Gampola
12	HindagalaVihara	Hindagala
13	Gadaladeniya	Handessa
14	Lankathilaka	Handessa
15	AmbekkeDevalaya	Handessa
16	HangurankethaVihara	Hanguranketha
17	PusulpitiyaVihara	Hewaheta
18	SagamaVihara	PathaHewaheta
19	KadadoraVihara	Hewaheta
20	DambawaVihara	Mathale
21	DambullaVihara	Dambulla
22	NalandaGedige	Naula

23	Kottibulwala	Balangoda
24	Rathnapura museum	Rathnapura
25	WalalgodaVihara	Rathnapura
26	SamanDevala	Rathnapura
27	AramanapolaVihara	Rathnapura
28	BarandiKovil	Seethawaka
29	Archaeology meseum	Polonnaruwa
30	Thriwanka Image house	Polonnaruwa
31	Galvihara	Polonnaruwa
32	Daladamaligawa	Polonnaruwa
33	Dimbulagala caves	Dimbulagala
34	Pulligida cave temple	Dimbulagala
35	Gonagolla caves	Ampara
36	SithulpawwaVihara	Hambanthota
37	WessagiriyaVihara	Anuradhapura
38	Mihinthale	Mihinthale
39	MuthiyanganaVihara	Badulla
40	DovaVihara	Badulla
41	WijesundaramayaVihara	Dambadeniya
42	MeddepolaVihara	Giriulla
43	BeragalaVihara	Yatigaloluwa, Alawwa
44	GanepalaVihara	Alawwa
45	NakkawattaVihara	Kuliyapitiya
46	Giriguharamaya	Narammala
47	RajamahaVihara	Narammala
48	PanavitiyaAmbalama	Narammala
49	Kabellelena Caves	Wariyapola
50	PadeniyaVihara	Padeniya

51	RathkarawwaVihara	Kurunegala
52	BihalpolaVihara	Katugampola
53	RidiVihara	Rideegama
54	YapahuwaVihara	Yapahuwa
55	BambaragalaVihara	Theldeniya
56	YatemahanaVihara	Mawanella
57	Dodanthale	Mawanella
58	Sri Jayawardanaramaya	Allegama ,Mawanella
59	YatimahanaBudulena-gala	Rambukkana
60	SalawawaRajamahaVihara	Hemmathagama
61	DanagirigalaVihara	Mawanella
Visited Craft Villages		
62	Neelawela village	PathaHewaheta
63	Mangalagama	Kegalle
64	Bulumulle	Kandy
65	Danthure	Yatinuwara
66	Elugoda	Penideniya



Figure 1



Figure 2

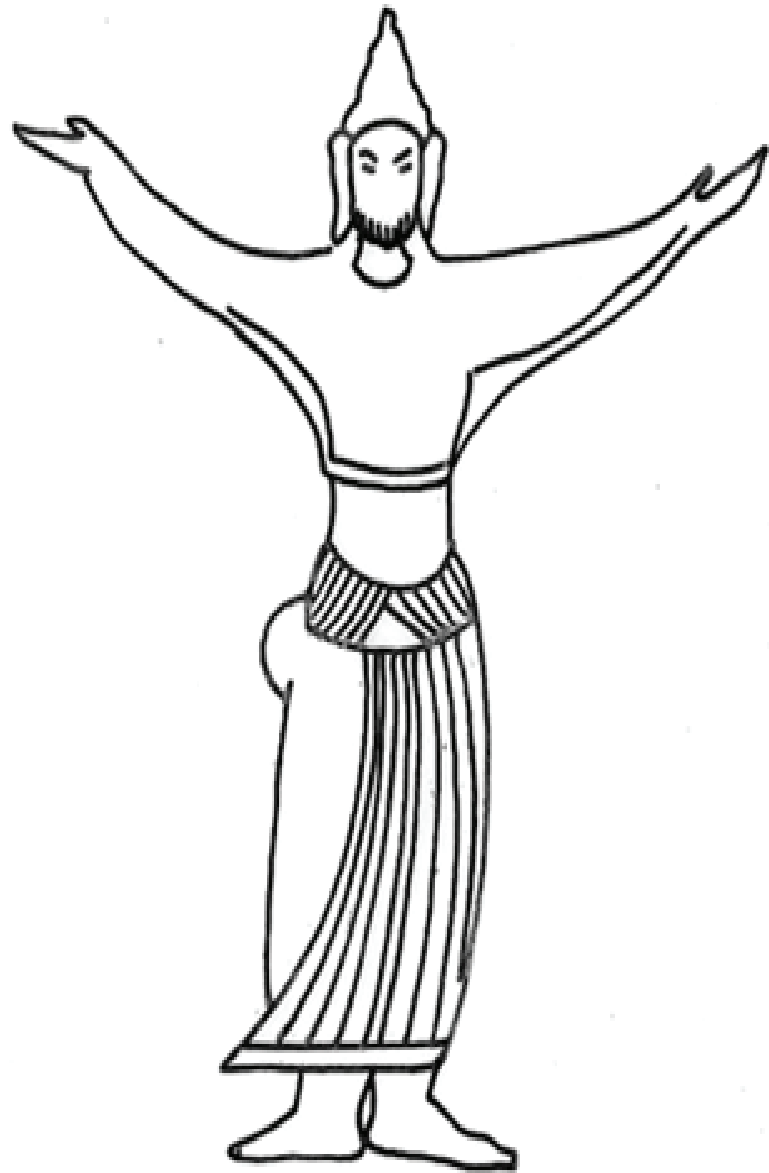


Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



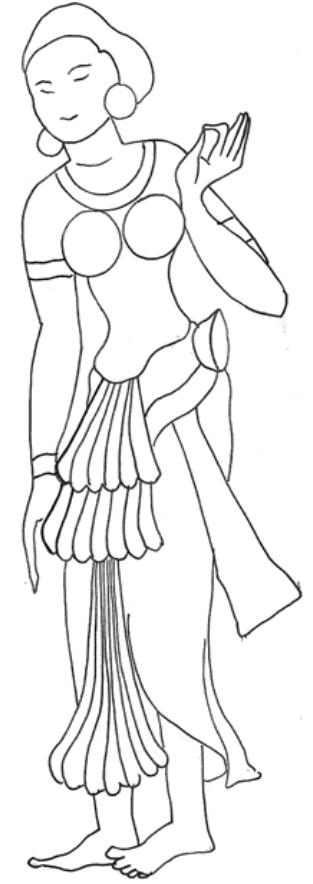
Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14



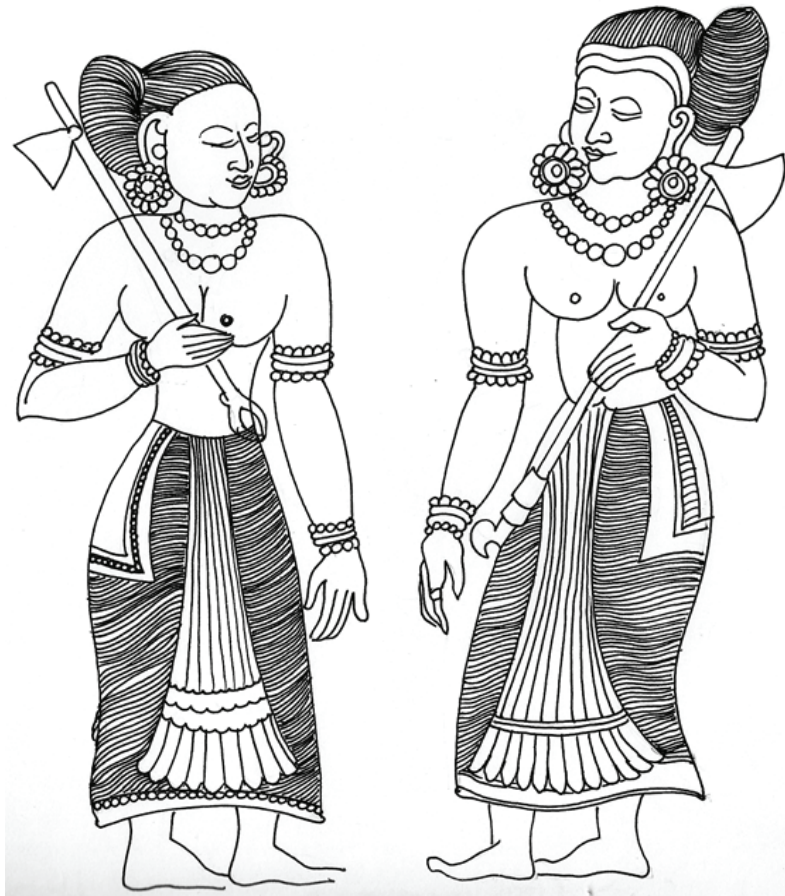


Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19

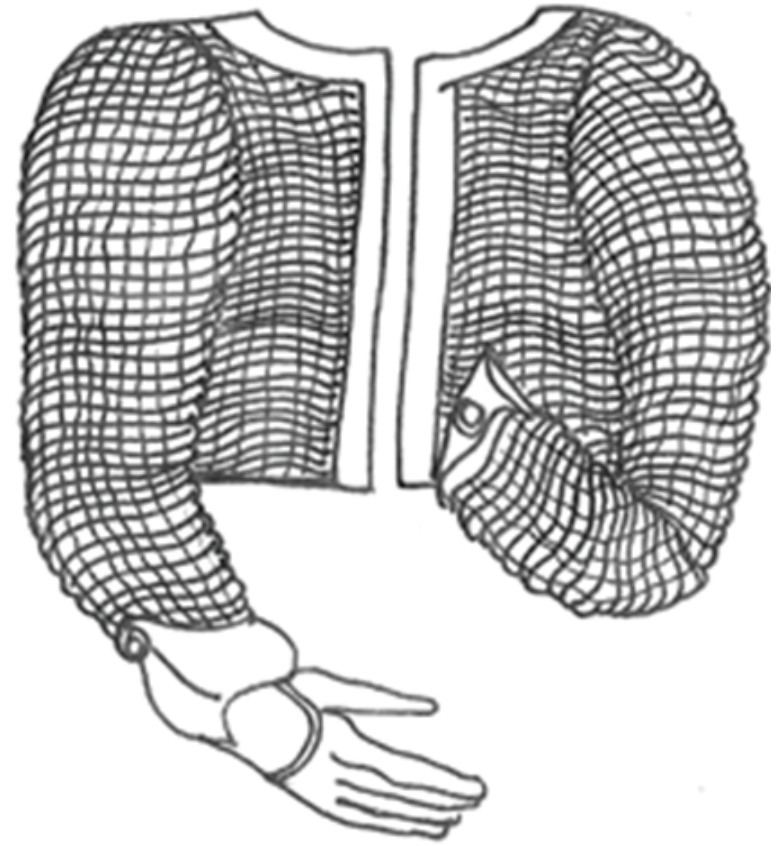


Figure 20

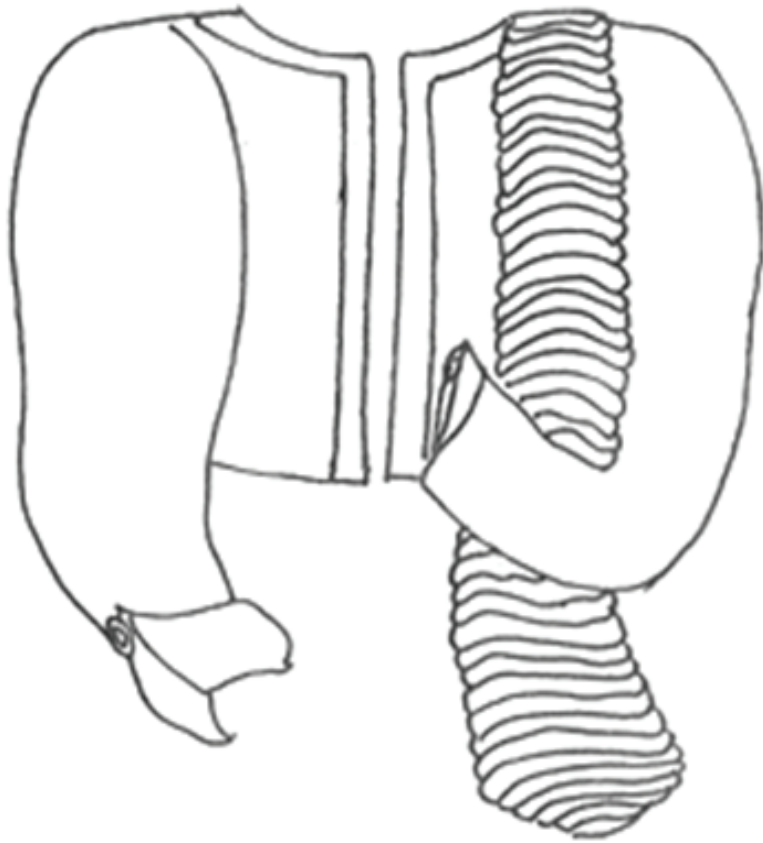


Figure 21

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