

KANDYAN KINGDOM OF CEYLON

1707-1760

By

Lorna Srimathi Dewarajah

A Study of the Political, Administrative and
Social Structure of

THE KANDYAN KINGDOM OF CEYLON

1707-1760

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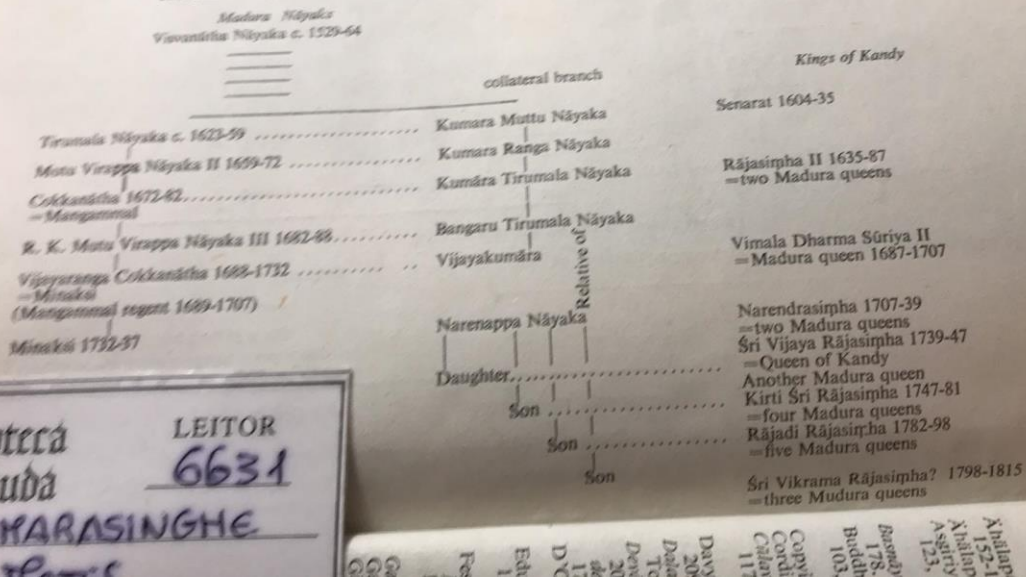
NOME SARARASINGHE

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE II

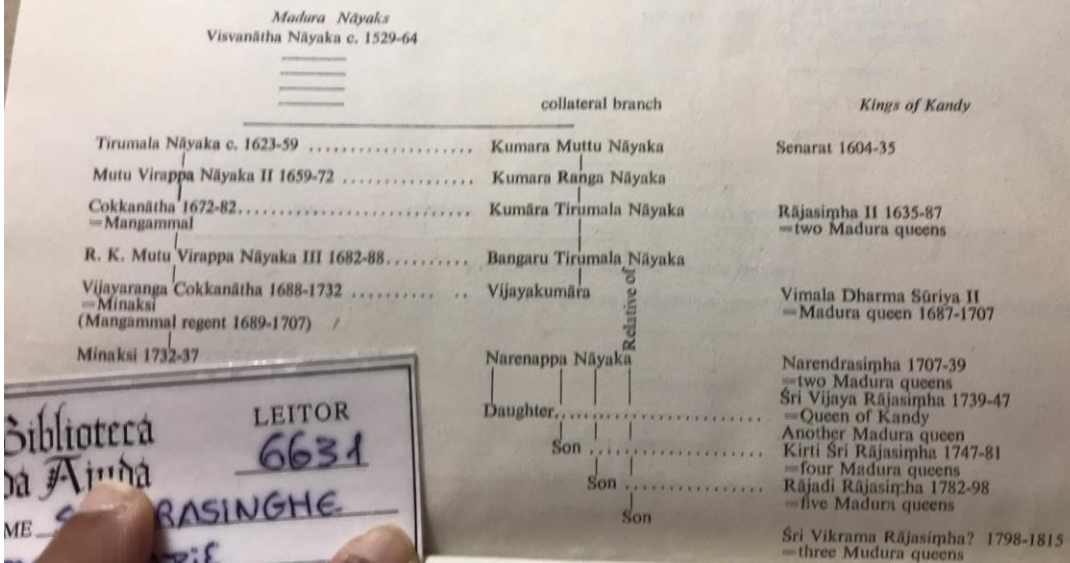
The Madura Nāyaks after Tirumala Nāyaka showing the Collateral branch and the connexion with Kandy



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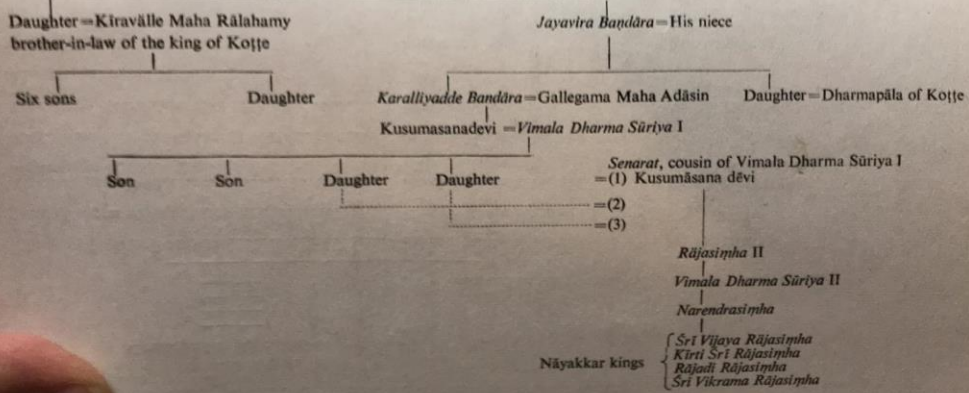


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GENEALOGICAL TABLE I

Kings of Kandy

Senasammata Vikramabāhu



Kings of Kandy are *Italicized*
Dotted lines indicate marriage alliances

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 the Madras Presidency,
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 in the *Kandyan*
 C. R., Vol. XVI,
 Military Diplo-
 ma, Ph.D. Thesis
 of Total Power,
 Year 1781, Bang-
 Journal of South

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Sanskrit given by Kiril Sri Rajasekhara to the Keralakal Vithara in 1754.

ÄHÄLAPOLA SANNASA OF A. D. 1745¹

Sri! By His Most Gracious Majesty our Supreme Lord and God, King of the Illustrious Lanka, by the light of His incomparable and most profound divine wisdom made the following edict.

Varadamune Vijayasundara Mudiyanähe served and continued to serve the king with affection and then obtained a great many favours among which was a sannasa giving him permission to convert into a paddy field any land he might wish to have in any place below Narangashinna and above the ferry Timbillatoṭa.

Mädabaddē Ekanāyaka Mudiyanähe also having served the king with true loyalty and sincere affection obtained the office of disāva of the Seven Korales, and in consideration of his military exploits and of victories gained in battle, he obtained the present of an elephant and a chain of four strands and continued to serve His Majesty.

The grandson of Śrī Nivāsa Mahā Thera, who is a descendant of Bhuvanekabāhu Thera, whilst performing the service of bearing the royal betel tray, face to face before His Most Excellent Majesty, the great king Rājasimha, accompanied His Majesty to Madakalapuva (Batticaloa) to perform military service with loyalty and sincere affection and obtained as reward two Kaffir women and the appointment to the following offices:-Chief of the King's Wardrobe, Chief of the Washer's Department and officer in charge of the Queen's Storehouse.

After him Vijayasundara Mudiyanähe having served in the presence of their Supreme Majesties, the three great kings, Rājasimha, Vimala Dharma Sūriya and Narendrasimha obtained the following appointments under the said three kings:-Chief of the Queen's Storehouse, Basnāyaka Nilame of the Nāta devāle and Maha devāle, Disāva of Batticaloa, Uḍapalāta, Four Korales, Mātale and Ūva and First Adigār.

After him Ähālapola Vijayasundara Vikramasimha Chandrasekera Seneviratna Mudiyanähe, who served in the presence of His Majesty, the great and eminent king Narendrasimha obtained the appointment of Basnāyake Nilame of the Maha devāle, Disāva of Uḍapalāta and First Adigār and continued to serve in the said offices.

1. A palm leaf copy of this sannasa is available at the British Museum, Or MSS. 12138. A photo copy is available at the Ceylon National Archives, H.M.C. 5/63/115(2). A translation appears in *L. G.*, p. 200. The above is an adaptation of Lawrie's translation.

His Supreme Majesty the great king Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha, protector of the whole world was at the city of Senkhaṇḍa Sailābhidhānapura, } otherwise called Śrīvardhanapura (or Kandy) which abounds in all the wealth and prosperity possessed by all other cities, who was installed Emperor of the whole Island of the Illustrious Laṅka, being moved by His divine wisdom and mercy made an order to perpetuate the existence of the *kṣatriyavaṃsa* which has continued to exist without any break in the Illustrious Island of Laṅka. The said Mudiyanāhe having borne this order most respectfully on his head brought princesses from Madura of the solar dynasty, with great effort and having undergone great many troubles and solemnized the marriage, for the prosperity and improvement of the world; and further he the said Mudiyanāhe caused a new city to be built at a place called Hapugastāna situated in a delightful locality; and thus with great faith, loyalty, sincerity and affection served the king. In consideration of the said services His Majesty has been pleased and of His own accord appointed the said Mudiyanāhe as Disāva of Batticaloa, Tambalagamuva, Pānava, Nuvarakalāviya and the Seven Korales and His Majesty has likewise been pleased to grant unto the said Mudiyanāhe the following villages and lands:— Vēvāla, Pokaṭiyamulla, Unumuva, Yaṭiniyara, Kahakūmburuvēla, Kaḍadekavāva, Valtota, Bokalāvāva, Mahavelakūmbura, Karañḍa, Dimulamure, Polvatta *asvādduma*, Gampaha, Nugedeniya and Iriyagolledalupata, all in Āhālapola in the Uḍugoḍa Korale of the district of Mātale. From the province of the Seven Korales, the village called Gurussa in the Hiriyala Otatapattuva, Vādduva *asvādduma* in the Tittavāligam dahaya; From Harispattuva, the field Unumuva in Gallāla of Galasiyapattuva; from Hevāhāṭa in Megodatihe the field of Dikkenā.

That all the aforesaid villages including the lands therein contained, namely, high and muddy lands, houses and gardens, trees and leaves, forests rills and streams, appurtenant thereto have been granted in *pravēṇi*² unto the said Vijayasundra Vikramasimha Chandrasekera Seneviratna Mudiyanāhe's children, grandchildren and descendants as their *pravēṇi* property for ever and ever without any disturbance and free from all services, tributes and tithes. This copper sannasa was caused to be written and granted by His Majesty's order, in the Saka era 1667, called Krōdhana, on Monday the twentieth day of the waning moon of the month of Nikini.

2. Lands given in *pravēṇi*

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military assistance from these "terrible brigands," against a common foe, the Portuguese. Vimala Dharma Sūriya I (1592-1600) obtained help from the Tanjore-Madura area, and the contingents who came over, called *baḍagas*,²⁸ were according to Queyroz,²⁹ the best fighting men in India. In 1602, the Portuguese were patrolling the eastern waters of Ceylon, so as to prevent Vimala Dharma Sūriya receiving reinforcements of *vaḍuga* troops from the Nāyaks of South India.³⁰ The next king, Senarat, and also Sankili king of Jaffna, received military aid from the *vaḍugas* (1618).³¹ Perhaps the military assistance paved the way for matrimonial alliances, for soon after this, in the reign of Senarat's successor, Rājasimha II, we see the beginning of a series of inter-marriages between the members of the royal family at Kandy and the *vaḍuga* Nāyaks of Madura. The Sinhalese sources always speak of South Indian brides who came to the Kandyan court, as belonging to the *Vaḍugakula* of Madurāpura.³² Evidently, the *baḍagas* of the Portuguese, the *baddegas* of the Dutch³³ and the *vaḍugas* or *vaḍigas* of the Sinhalese sources, all refer to the body of Telugu speaking people who followed the Nāyak governors to the south and settled in the Tanjore-Madura area, and many of whom adopted the name of Nāyak.

We shall now proceed to trace the history of the ruling Nāyaks of Madura in order to find out precisely the connections they had, if any, with the royal family in Kandy. Tradition is almost unanimous in ascribing the foundation of Nāyak rule in Madura to Viśvanātha Nāyak (c. 1529-1564), a trusted servant of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya (1509-1530), and the son of one of the king's officers.³⁴ Viśvanātha was appointed viceroy of the southern provinces of the Vijayanagara empire which included the Paṇḍya and Cōla coun-

28. "João de Barros and Diogo de Couto, History of Ceylon", *J. R. A. S. C. B.*, Vol. XX, No. 60, 1908, pp. 427, 443.

29. Queyroz, pp. 535-36.

30. Tikiri Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon 1594-1612*, p. 43.

31. C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-38*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1968, pp. 210; Queyroz, pp. 654-56; V. Vriddhagirisan, *The Nāyaks of Tanjore*, p. 80.

32. *M. P.*, verse 511. *Vaḍuga* is sometimes spelt as *vaḍiga* in Sinhalese works. The word *kula* is used loosely in Sinhalese and could mean family or caste. To refer to the *vaḍugas* of Madura as a *kula* would therefore be erroneous. However, in Ceylon the *vaḍugas* tried to preserve their exclusiveness as a caste.

33. *Memoir of Jan Schreuder*, p. 30. Schreuder was the Dutch governor of the maritime provinces of Ceylon from 1757-62.

34. See p. 22.

tries.³⁵ With this dawned a very eventful period in the history of Madura, during which the famous Nāyak dynasty was to hold sway, break away from the nominal overlordship of Vijayanagar and raise the country to a very high level of civilization. Shortly after this Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya died and his brother Acyūta Rāya ascended the throne. The Cōla country with its headquarters at Tanjore was separated from the viceroyalty of Madura and entrusted to Sevappa Nāyaka, the husband of the younger sister of Acyūta Rāya's wife.³⁶ Thus there arose a line of Tanjore Nāyaks who unlike the Madura Nāyaks, could boast of kinship with the imperial line of Vijayanagar.

Viśvanātha was the founder of a prosperous line of rulers of whom Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-1659) was the greatest. He shook off the nominal allegiance of Vijayanagar and made Madura independent. When the kingdom of Vijayanagar disintegrated the Muslim armies of Bijapūr and Golkondā pressed southwards and the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura had to bear the brunt of these onslaughts. Tirumala Nāyaka and his successors were preoccupied in stemming the tide of Muslim advance to this region. It is said that when Tirumala Nāyaka was ruling he had a younger brother named Kumāra Muttu Nāyaka who was second in command to him.³⁷ This deputy of Tirumala Nāyaka is of interest to us since two of the Nāyakkar kings of Ceylon seem to be connected with the descendants of Kumāra Muttu Nāyaka. According to the *History of the Karnataka governors*,³⁸ every king who ruled after Tirumala Nāyaka had a deputy of this collateral branch to assist him. After Tirumala Nāyaka his son by a secondary wife, Muttu Virappa Nāyaka II (1659-1672) was crowned and along with him Kumāra Raṅga Nāyaka, son of Kumāra Muttu Nāyaka, ruled as deputy.³⁹ His reign too was one of continuous struggle against the Muslims. His son Cokkanātha (1672-82) succeeded him and he was assisted by

35. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, *Sources of Andhra Rājūla Chāritra*, a Telugu Manuscript and translated in pp. 319-336; Nāyaka Dynasty of Vijayanagar, 'Tamil Nadu', App. B, pp. 453-461; P. Madura, p. 51.

36. R. S.

37. M.

History, "Tanjavūri
Lenzie collection edited
*Studies in the Third
Kingdom of Madura*",
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Kumāra Tirumala Nāyaka, son of Kumāra Raṅga Nāyaka, Cokkanātha changed his capital from Madura to Trichinopoly, very likely because of its superiority as a defensive stronghold.⁴¹ Cokkanātha succeeded in repelling Muslim attacks but in spite of these initial successes, before Cokkanātha died the kingdom of Madura had shrunk a great deal. Consequently Cokkanātha's young son, Raṅga Kṛṣṇa Mutu Virappa Nāyaka III (1682-1688), inherited only a part of his ancestral territories, the rest having been annexed to Mysore, Tanjore and Ramnad.⁴² During this period Bangaru Tirumala Nāyaka, son of Kumāra Tirumala Nāyaka was second in power.⁴³ Mutu Virappa Nāyaka was succeeded by his infant son Vijaya Raṅga Cokkanātha (1688-1732). During the first eighteen years of his reign his grandmother, Maṅgammāl (wife of Cokkanātha) acted as regent and wielded sovereign power till in 1706 Vijaya Raṅga Cokkanātha assumed the reins of government.⁴⁴

While these events were taking place in the mainland, Rājasimha II (1635-87), in his highland kingdom of Kandy was fighting a desperate battle to safeguard his country from the hated Europeans on the coast, first the Portuguese and then the Dutch. Amidst the troubled politics on both sides, we hear of a series of matrimonial alliances between the Madura Nāyaks and the ruling family at Kandy. The Madura and Tinnevely districts of south India were separated from Ceylon only by the Gulf of Mannar, and as a result there had been frequent contact over the centuries, amicable as well as hostile, between Ceylon and this area. The practice of securing brides from south India was not a new phenomenon. Vijaya, the legendary founder of the Sinhalese race, refused to be consecrated unless he had a queen of noble rank. His ministers therefore sent envoys "with many precious gifts, jewels and pearls and so forth, to the city of Madura in Southern (India) to woo the daughter of the Pandu king for their lord."⁴⁵ The mission was a success and Vijaya was duly crowned. Close upon another hundred maidens were sent from Madura as spouses for the ministers of Vijaya.⁴⁶ Candamukha Siva (A.D. 103—112) had a consort named Damiḷā-

40. William Taylor, O. H. MSS., p. 33.

41. J. H. Nelson, *The Madura Country*, Pt. III, p. 182.

42. R. S. Aiyar, *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 193.

43. William Taylor, O. H. MSS., p. 35.

44. R. S. Aiyar, *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 222-223; William Taylor, O. H. MSS., p. 35.

45. *MP*, VII, 49, 50.

46. *MP*, VII, 53.

dēvi,⁴⁷ but it is not known from which part of the Tamil country she came. It is seen that the Sinhalese considered it a privilege to intermarry with the Madura dynasty. "Though repeatedly entreated by the Cōla monarch, the king Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110), proud of his family would not give him his younger sister. On the contrary he fetched the Pandu king who came of an unblemished line and wedded to him his royal sister Mittā by name."⁴⁸ Parākramabāhu VI (1412-67) of Kōṭṭe gave his daughter in marriage to a Tamil.⁴⁹ Thus we have several recorded instances of such intermarriages, but it was only in the late seventeenth century that it became a matter of policy for the chief queen or queens to be obtained from Madura. The reasons which may have prompted the Sinhalese kings after the late seventeenth century to contract these matrimonial alliances with the opposite coast can reasonably be inferred.

One good reason why such marriages should have been sought may be found in the need to curb the growing power of the nobles who had by this time become a threat to the security of the throne. More intermarriages with the nobility would mean a further growth in the power of the Kandyan nobles who even at this time were a factor to reckon with. By introducing these south Indian elements to the court the kings were possibly trying to check the influence of the insubordinate Sinhalese nobles. With regard to the marriage of Narēndrasimha (1707-39), the contemporary Sinhalese poem *Mandārampura Puvata* hints that "the king contracted the marriage in order to quell the power of his rebellious chiefs who were coveting the throne, and also to produce a pure royal line unmixed with the nobility. Therefore he ignored the royal maidens of Ceylon who were of "mixed descent" and invited the daughter of the king of Madura."⁵⁰

Marriages with the ruling family of Madura would also solve the dynastic problem created by the disappearance of all the other Sinhalese kingdoms, that of finding brides of appropriate social status. From the time of Vimala Dharma Sūriya I (1592-1604) onwards the royal family at Kandy was the only one of that rank in the Island.⁵¹ The kings desired a consort of the *sūriyavaṃsa* or

47. *MV.*, XXXV. 48. *Damiḷādevi* means the Tamil queen.

48. *CV.*, 59. 40, 41.

49. N. D. de S. Wijesekere (ed.), *Sālahiṇi Sandēsa*, Verse 96.

50. *MP.*, verses 433-36.

51. The Jaffna dynasty too ended in 1619.

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solar lineage to grace the occasion of their consecration and also to produce an heir acceptable to the people. It was seen that before Vimala Dharma Sūriya I, the kings of Kandy intermarried with the Kōtte dynasty or with the house of Kiravālle in the Four Korales which claimed royal descent.⁵² By the beginning of the seventeenth century both these lines were extinct and we have seen that Vimala Dharma Sūriya's successor, Senarat, married his predecessor's widow and then her daughters by her first husband. They were the only maidens of royal blood the Island could boast of; so that Senarat's successor turned in search of a royal spouse to the kingdom of Madura, which was close geographically, and closer still in historic associations with Ceylon.⁵³ Whether the consorts who came from Madura were of the requisite royal blood remains, however, to be seen.

According to the *Cūlavamsa*,⁵⁴ Rājasimha II (1635-87), revived the practice of securing brides from Madura. Although Jan Schreuder, the Dutch governor of the maritime provinces (1757-62),⁵⁵ says that Narēndrasimha (1707-39), was the first king who was related to the Malabar⁵⁶ nation by marriage, the *Cūlavamsa* statement by reason of the author's better knowledge of the genealogy of the Kandyan kings is more reliable. Robert Knox, who spent a long period of imprisonment in the Kandyan kingdom, in the time of Rājasimha II, substantiates the *Cūlavamsa* when he says that the king's "right and lawful queen was a Malabar".⁵⁷ Another reliable witness is Disāva Tennakōn, one of Rājasimha's warriors, who reported to the Dutch that the king was married to two princesses from Madura.⁵⁸ It is known that the king had a secondary wife, Vāligama *duggannā mahatmayo*, a Kandyan lady of noble birth to whom he gave lands and wealth.⁵⁹ But queenly rank and status were reserved from this reign onwards for the Madura

52. See genealogical table I. The history of this family is given in *Kiravāllē paramparāva*, B. M. Or. 6606 (50).

53. See, map reproduced on endpapers.

54. *CV.*, 96. 40.

55. *Memoir of Jan Schreuder*, p. 30.

56. The Portuguese, Dutch and British sources frequently refer to the Nāyakkār families who came over to Ceylon as Malabars. They did not come from Malabar which is on the west coast, but from Madura, Trichinopoly and Tanjore which lie upon the eastern Coromandel coast. The error arose because that portion of the Coromandel coast closest to Ceylon was called by the Arab merchants Ma'bar, which means a passage.

57. Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of Ceylon*, p. 54.

58. "Report by Disava Tennakon in 1676", translated by J. H. O. Paulusz in *J. R. A. S. C. B. (N.S.)*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, July 1958, p. 165.

59. A. C. Lawrie, *Gazetteer of the Central Province*, p. 753.

ladies. Rājasimpha's queen bore him a son who ascended the throne as Vimala Dharma Sūriya II (1687-1707).

Vimala Dharma Sūriya followed his father's example and "as his *aggamaheṣī* he took the daughter of the *māheṣī* in the town of Madhurā."⁶⁰ Although the *Cūlavamsa* refers to Rājasimpha's queen as a "princess" from Madura and Vimala Dharma Sūriya's queen as the "daughter of the *māheṣī*" from Madura it is difficult to ascertain what connection the queens had with the ruling Nāyak family. The author of the *Cūlavamsa*, a monk, was not sufficiently conversant with either the political situation or the geography of Madura to make any specific statement. Even if he had been equipped with the required knowledge, the loyal chronicler might well have preferred to state that the queens of Kandy were of royal birth whether they were or not.

A few Dutch letters and a Sinhalese manuscript have helped to provide some evidence about an embassy to Madura in 1705, to look for a bride for the son of Vimala Dharma Sūriya II, the heir to the throne. The Dutch at this time controlled the seas around the Island and held the principal ports and therefore tacit Dutch approval was necessary for any communication between Kandy and South India. The Dutch did not lose anything by obliging the king. On the contrary they stood to gain a great deal for by this means they could place the king and the court under obligation to them.

Early in 1705 the chiefs of Kandy wrote to the Dutch requesting them to grant passage in their ships to two ambassadors who were to go to the court of Madura on the important mission of finding a bride for the heir to the throne.⁶¹ In 1706, two Sinhalese chiefs Palkumburē *mohottiyār*⁶² and Uḍōviṭa *muhandiram*⁶³ embarked in a Dutch ship from Colombo from where they proceeded on an embassy to the Madura court, obviously on the same errand. They returned in the same manner to Colombo where they were treated by the Dutch with full honour.⁶⁴ A complete report regarding

60. CV., 97. 2. The kings of Ceylon were polygamous and only a lady of equal rank could become *māheṣī* or queen, with an important role to play in the *abhiṣeka* or consecration. A king could have more than one *māheṣī* and the first of them would normally be entitled to the rank of *aggamaheṣī* or chief queen. But as we shall see later a ruler might have more than one *aggamaheṣī* as well.

61. Court Chiefs to Governor Simons, 1705, CNA: 1/3259.

62. *Mohottiyar* was an official whose function was the keeping of records.

63. An office of varying rank; sometimes a title of honour given to men of the highest caste.

64. Court Chiefs to Governor Simons, 1706, CNA: 1/3259.

this mission, made by Palkumburē and Uḍōvita to the chief adiga, is preserved in a Sinhalese document.⁶⁵ According to this, the preliminary negotiations for a marriage alliance were carried on by two south Indians, Venkatapati Nāyakkar and Rāmanātapillai.

These efforts were followed by the appointment of the Kandyan mission whose full complement consisted of Palkumburē, Uḍōvita, Mattamagoda *mohottāla*⁶⁶ and two others namely, Sidambararāta, son-in-law of Mattamagoda, and Totagamuve Aḍayappan.⁶⁷ The two mentioned last were Tamils who had settled in Ceylon and they accompanied the envoys to act as interpreters. The party set off from Colombo and reached Tuticorin where they tarried in the residence of the captain of the fort. The envoys remained in Tuticorin, while the two middlemen, Venkatapati Nāyakkar and Rāmanātapillai, the two interpreters and a few Dutch soldiers proceeded to Trichinopoly. In May 1706, the envoys left Tuticorin and when they had come within a league of the city they were left in charge of one Raṅgappa Nāyaka.⁶⁸ During the period that they were in the city of Trichinopoly they remained with a polygar named Raja Tondaman. In the month of July the envoys were conducted to a pavilion, where they were interviewed by Rāma Nāyaka and the Raṅgappa Nāyaka and an official named Mutuven Hayyen. The Sinhalese envoys presented three letters, written in Sinhalese, Tamil, and Telugu, communicating the wish of the king of Kandy.⁶⁹ It was promised that the Kandyan king's request would be granted without delay. The envoys were then given leave to depart. Although this report gives graphic details of the journey to Madura, no account of the audience with the ruling Nāyak of Madura is given, nor are we told the results thereof. It is extremely unlikely that the envoys were ushered into the presence of the ruling Nāyak, Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha. Just at this time the long regency of Mangammal, his grandmother, had ended and the king had assumed sovereign power.⁷⁰ If the envoys had had an audience with the king, the fact would certainly have been prominently mentioned in the report. Governor Simons remarks that the ambassadors were

65. P. M. P. Abhayasingha (ed.), *Uḍarāṭa Vittī*, pp. 122-129.

66. Another form of *mohottiyār*.

67. Cornelis Joan Simons, Dutch governor of Ceylon from 1703-1707, refers to this embassy of five people which was sent to Madura in 1706 to fetch a bride. See, *Memoir of C. J. Simons*, p. 7.

68. *Uḍarāṭa Vittī*, p. 127.

69. *Uḍarāṭa Vittī*, p. 128.

70. See, p. 26.

not even well received.⁷¹ The above mission we understand from Dutch sources was not a success but the Kandyan court acknowledged the facilities afforded and the honour done by the Dutch and thanked the governor.⁷²

On the fourth of June 1707, Vimala Dharma Sūriya died⁷³ and his seventeen year old son ascended the throne as Śrī Vīra Parākrama Narēndrasimha (1707-39). It is little known that Narēndrasimha had a Kandyan wife, a noble lady of exquisite beauty, the daughter of Monaravila, disāva of Matale, a great favourite of the king's father.⁷⁴ He seems to have married her after his accession, but the date of the marriage is not known. She is said to have borne a son to the king, regarding whom there is no further information. However, immediately after his accession the king resumed the efforts to find a royal consort in south India. His mother and grandmother both hailed from Madura, and he too turned in that direction in search of a bride, in spite of all the qualifications of the Monaravilas as parents-in-law.

The parentage of Narēndrasimha's south Indian *mahesī* is a very pertinent question for it was her brother who ascended the throne in 1739 as Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha and founded the Nāyakkar dynasty in Ceylon. Surprisingly enough in spite of the importance of this question no serious attempt has been made so far to trace the ancestry of this princess.

According to the *Cūlavamsa*, Narēndrasimha in order to protect the royal dignity in Laṅkā fetched princesses from the town of Madura and made them his first *mahesīs*.⁷⁵ Thus we learn that the king had more than one south Indian queen bearing the title of *aggamahesi* or chief queen.⁷⁶ The Dutch governor, Jan Schreuder states, that this king was married to a princess of the opposite coast

71. *Memoir of Governor Simons*, p. 7. The Governor states that even at the time of his writing (16 December, 1707), when Vimala Dharma Sūriya, too, was dead, nothing had come out of this mission.

72. Court chiefs to Governor Simons, 1706, CNA: 1/3259.

73. *Memoir of Governor Simons*, p. 6.

74. *Kaliṅgubōdhi Jātakaya*, a contemporary Sinhalese poem found in the Hugh Nevill collection of ballads in the British Museum, No. 857. The relevant verses are given in *Vihāra Vaga Vitti* (p. 100) by Gunnāpāne Vajirañāṇa. During this period the king's secondary wives were known as *yakada dōli*, meaning iron palanquin, since they were entitled to such a vehicle as opposed to the *randōli* or golden palanquin which was the preserve of the chief queen.

75. *CV.*, 97. 24.

76. A king could not only have two *mahesīs* but also two *aggamahesīs*. In the Potgul vihāra inscription in Polonnaruva queen Candavati is described as *dutiyam aggatam gatā*, showing that she was the second *aggamahesī* of Parākramabāhu I (1153-86), the first being Lilāvati. See, *E. Z.* II, p. 241.

who was the daughter of one Piṭṭi Nāyakkar of the *baddegas* caste.⁷⁷ A Sinhalese manuscript written in the late eighteenth century mentions the fact that Narēndrasimha married two princesses from south India.⁷⁸ The *Mandārapura Puvata* too refers to Narēndrasimha's consort as the daughter of a king of Madura.⁷⁹ All the sources quoted above, Pali, Dutch and Sinhalese, agree on one point, that the maidens who came over from south India were of royal birth. But an interesting Tamil document, perhaps the only south Indian source which refers to these marriage alliances, contradicts this view and regards the queen, very likely the first, as the daughter of a very poor man. We have to examine the relative authenticity of these sources. The authors of the *Cūlavamsa* and the Sinhalese sources, all being loyal Kandyans, would in any case have credited the Kandyan queen with royal birth. Schreuder calls her a "princess" but adds that she was "the daughter of one Piṭṭi Nāyakkar of the *Baddegas* caste."⁸⁰ This makes it fairly evident that Piṭṭi Nāyakkar had little connection with the direct line of Nāyak rulers. If there was such a connection the Dutch, who were familiar with the Madura area and who were chiefly instrumental in bringing the brides, would have been aware of it. Piṭṭi Nāyakkar apparently, was not a man of much consequence. His name does not figure in the genealogical lists of the main Nāyak family or of its collateral branch.

The Tamil document entitled *Narrative of the affairs of Kandidesam*,⁸¹ found among the Mirtanjaya manuscripts provides further information regarding the ancestry of the queen of Narēndrasimha. This document was written between 1798 and 1803. Its author, who remains anonymous, may have had access to more reliable sources regarding the parentage of the bride who came from his

77. Schreuder, p. 30.

78. "Madurāpuren ā Vittiya", in A. J. N. Marambe (ed.), *Siṃhala Kaḍḍayim saha Vitti*, pp. 67-69.

79. Verse 436.

80. *Zynde een dogter van eenen Pittinayeker uyt het Baddegas geslagt*. Schreuder, p. 129.

81. Edited and translated by Rev. William Taylor, in *Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil language*, Vol. II, App. G, pp. 42-49. An English version of a document containing the same information is found in the *I. O. Collection* (General), Vol. 4, p. 107. This particular conclusion it says that it was translated in internal evidence the document was of Kandy who came to the throne in the years (1798-1803). I am grateful to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, for the document.

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country, although his knowledge of Ceylon history is not very accurate. After a legendary account of the origin of kingship in Siṃhaladesam (the land of the Siṃhaḷas, or Ceylon), the document gives the following series of events: There was no female of the Kandyan royal race and therefore the minister decided to send suitable envoys with costly gifts to negotiate an alliance of marriage with the royal house of Madura or Trichinopoly. They received an interview with the king of Madura, but when the request was made the king was enraged and refusing to accept the presents from the king of Kandy questioned, "Is your king of our caste? Heretofore has there been agreement between us and will there be henceforward? Have you dared without fear to come and ask a female from me?" Thus saying he is said to have ordered his attendants to carry the envoys outside the fort without permission to return. He strictly charged all his relatives not to give any female to them. Regardless of the king's order a very poor person in the country, a Hindu by birth, accepted the gifts from the Kandyan envoys and agreed to give them his daughter. The envoys were asked to proceed to the island of Ramesvaram, and the poor man and his family met them there under cover of night. Here both parties embarked on a *dhoney*,⁸² and when they arrived in Kandy the nuptials took place. Some time elapsed and the king died childless, and the brother of his queen ascended the throne as Vijaya Bala Maha Raja, who could be easily identified as Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha.⁸³

It is left to decide how much credit we should give to this story. Unfortunately we do not know anything about the author of the document in order to establish the aim he had in view; whether he was merely narrating events or trying to bring discredit upon the kings of Kandy. So that we have to examine this story in the light of the other evidence at our disposal. We have seen from Dutch sources that a similar deputation sent earlier by Narēndrasimha's father to the same king, Vijayaṅga Cokkanātha, was not successful and that the Kandyan envoys were not well received.⁸⁴ On this occasion he condescended to see them, but the king of Madura was highly enraged at the audacity of the Kandyan king. The reasons for Vijayaṅga Cokkanātha's arrogant attitude were according to our source, firstly, that the king of Kandy was of a dif-

82. A small boat used in the shallow waters between India and Ceylon.

83. William Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, Vol. II, App. G, pp. 43-47.

84. See, pp. 30-31.

ferent caste from his own and secondly that there had been no previous intermarriages between the royal families of Madura and Kandy. If we give credit to this story then it disproves what we learn from the *Cūlavamsa* and the Sinhalese sources about the royal birth of the south Indian queens of Rājasimha II and Vimala Dharma Sūriya II. Regarding matters of caste the Nāyaks were very conservative. The caste system was considered sacrosanct and there were occasions of royal interference to check breaches of its rules.⁸⁵ Some of the earlier Nāyaks issued orders prohibiting the five sub-divisions of the Kammalar or artisan caste from inter-marriage.⁸⁶ In matters of religion too they remained traditionalists as is proved by the unremitting care and love with which they put up a bold defence of Hinduism against Christian missionary propaganda. A proposal of marriage from the Sinhalese Buddhist king of Kandy would not have been therefore very palatable to Vijayaṅga Cokkanātha.

We have no independent evidence to corroborate what we learn from the indigenous sources about the royal birth of the queens of Rājasimha II and Vimala Dharma Sūriya II. We know for certain from Dutch sources that the attempt made by the latter king to procure a royal bride for his son was not successful.⁸⁷ If we accept the evidence of the Mirtanjaya manuscript Narēndrasimha's own attempt was also unsuccessful. Piṭṭi Nāyakkar obviously had little connection with the ruling Nāyaks. Even if his family had had any wealth or influence earlier, it had lost them all by the time he agreed to give his daughter to the king of Kandy; for he came over to Kandy with his wife, son and wife's brother, Māpella Nāyakkar and continued to reside there.⁸⁸ Evidently Kandy was a far more congenial home than their own, for thither they flocked with their kith and kin. We are therefore inclined to accept the Tamil document when it says that Piṭṭi Nāyakkar was a destitute subject of the king of Madura, but it is perhaps not unlikely that the family had seen better days. Regarding the earlier queens of Rājasimha II and Vimala Dharma Sūriya II; we cannot accept either the *Cūlavamsa* or the Mirtanjaya manuscript unless further evidence is forthcoming. The brides did come from Madura, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the royal family.

85. R. S. Aiyar, *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 256.

86. *ibid.* App. D, Inscription No. 124, p. 351.

87. See, pp. 30-31.

88. Schreuder, p. 30.

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87. See, pp. 30-31.

88. Schreuder, p. 30.

The consecration of Narēndrasimha and the *mahesī* from Madura was celebrated with great magnificence. In the month of February-March of the year 1708, the king issued a mandate granting the village of Ambokka in north Mātale to Hulangamuve *Mudaliyā*⁸⁹ who had been one of the envoys sent to Madura to fetch the bride.⁹⁰ In January 1710, another bride came over to Ceylon with her family and retinue. Active Dutch assistance was given at every stage of the journey and until the royal party was given over to Kandyan charge at the frontier, they were protected by and were in full charge of the Dutch.⁹¹ Nothing is known about her parentage but the king was deeply grateful to the Dutch for all these favours and granted several concessions to them soon after the bride's arrival.⁹² Narēndrasimha had no children by either of the *aggamahesīs*, and the king nominated as his successor the brother of his first queen who had remained at the court ever since his sister married the king.⁹³

Why was this Madura youth chosen as heir to the throne of Kandy, following a mode of succession that had never been known in Ceylon? The king had no sons by the *aggamahesīs* but as has been seen⁹⁴ Narēndrasimha had a secondary wife, a Monaravila lady who bore him a son. In this case it seems very likely that the boy died young for we hear no more about him. But Schreuder⁹⁵ also refers to another concubine, a woman of the high *vellāla*⁹⁶ caste, who bore the king a son named Unambūve Baṇḍāra, who did survive. The bar to his succession was the lack of royal status in the mother. Such children were regarded as *bhinna mātuka*,⁹⁷ born

89. *Mudaliyā* or *mudali* is a title of honour given by the king to nobles of high rank. *Mudali* is also the name of the subcaste to which these nobles belonged.

90. A manuscript copy of the original Sinhalese grant is found in the library of the Land Settlement Department, Colombo. It is bound with several other grants of the same period in a volume entitled, *Sannas of the Central Province*, Vol. I (p. 87). *Lawrie's Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 41, gives an English translation of the grant. The grant was made to Hulamgamuve Mudaliya "for performing the service of going to Madurapura to fetch the bride for the incomparable and extremely magnificent ceremony of consecration." Hulamgamuve rose high in the king's favour and in 1733 he became the second *adigār*.

91. Governor and Council of Ceylon to Governor-General and Council, 14 February, 1710, *K. A.*, 1678, ff. 117-120.

92. Governor and Council of Ceylon to Governor-General and Council, 15 November, 1710, *K. A.*, 1678, ff. 302-305.

93. *M. P.*, Verse 510; *CV.*, 98. 1.

94. See, p. 31.

95. Schreuder, p. 30.

96. Tamil equivalent of the *govikula*, the highest caste among the Sinhalese.

97. *CV.*, 38. 80. Even in the 5th century Kassapa I was considered a usurper because his mother was not of royal rank. A Telugu manuscript in the Mac-

of a mother of unequal rank, and as such not to be considered as legal claimants to the throne. They were given lands and titles and joined the *bandāravaliya*,⁹⁸ or the nobility. According to the law of succession that prevailed in Ceylon the throne passed almost always from father to son, born of a *mahesī*, or from brother to brother; even though we have instances of matrilineal tendencies operating and the *bhāgineyya* or sister's son playing an important role.⁹⁹ But when Narēndrasimha selected the brother of his chief queen, the son of Piṭṭi Nāyakkar, as his successor to the throne of Kandy his act was without precedent in Ceylon's history. This form of succession did not prevail even among the Nāyaks of Madura. In their case the throne normally went from father to son. When Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha died without male issue it was his wife Mīnākṣi (1732—36) who assumed the reins of government supported by her brother, Venkaṭa Perumāḷ Nāyaka.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps the choice of the queen's brother was influenced by the *marumakkathayam* law which prevailed among the Nāyaks who had settled in Malabar and who were known as nayars or nairs. The most outstanding feature in the Malabar nair society was the *tarvad*¹⁰¹ wherein the mother and all her children, both male and female, all her grand children by her daughters, all her brothers and sisters and the descendants of the sister's side, however distant their relationship, lived together. Fathers were practically ignored in the law and descent was traced entirely through the mothers.

Kenzie Collection gives illustrations of this aspect of succession in Ramnad in the eighteenth century. "The mother of his son, Bavanisangardevan, was not born of a good caste, and by consequence Bavani-sangar-devan who was born of her, did not inherit the kingdom;" or again, "They crowned Tagapen-devan, the son of the former's elder sister. After he had ruled four months, as there was a fault in his mother's pedigree, there was a dispute among the relatives, it being asserted that he had no claim to the crown, and was not suitable for government." William Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, Vol. II, App. p. 51.

98. Only the offspring of a king by a secondary wife of the *govikula* was called a *bandāra* and joined the *bandāravaliya*. The designation *bandāra* was not accorded to the offspring of the king by a woman of a lower caste.

99. See, W. Geiger, Introduction to the translation of *CV.*, "Kingship and the Law of succession in medieval Ceylon," p. XXII; Heinz Bechert, "Mother right and Succession to the throne in Malabar and Ceylon," in *C. J. H. S. S.* Vol. VI, Jan.—June 1963, No. 1, pp. 25-39. M. B. Ariyapala, "Succession to the throne in ancient Ceylon," *U. C. R.*, Vol. XII, No. 4, Oct. 1954, pp. 195-216. Ariyapala supports the view that succession depended on primogeniture.

100. R. S. Aiyar, *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 232.

101. A *tarvad* is an extended matrilineal family. A nair family consists of a woman and her sons and daughters and the children of those daughters and so on. The offspring of the sons do not belong to the *tarvad* but are affiliated to the *tarvads* of their consorts. See, K. M. Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India*, pp. 336-339.

The eldest male was the head of this whole group. The law by which succession was regulated in these *tarvads* was called the *marumakkathayam*, which means succession by nephews. The name may be misleading for it was not restricted to nephews alone, for a brother or any other kinsman on the female side if he happened to be the eldest male member at the time, could succeed to the headship of the *tarvad*.¹⁰² The law of succession to the throne in the ruling houses in Kerala was also in accordance with *marumakkathayam*.¹⁰³ These mother-right institutions were not confined to Kerala alone. Their influence has been felt most markedly even in the Tamil areas in the southernmost part of the Indian peninsula, in the regions of Tinnevelly, Madura, Ramnad and Tanjore.¹⁰⁴ Kandy had associations with all these regions and Madura was the home of the Nāyaks who came to Kandy. It is therefore tempting to conclude that it was the *marumakkathayam* law which influenced the accession of the son of Piṭṭi Nāyakkar to the throne of Kandy as Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha.

When the new ruler came to face the problem of finding a suitable consort, the same causes which had led his immediate predecessors to look for a ruling family in south India for a bride obviously still operated. Moreover events in Madura had by now made it more probable that an alliance with the Kandyan ruler would be seen as acceptable or even desirable. In 1732, the long reign of Vijayarāṅga Cokkanātha over the Madura kingdom came to an end. He left no male issue and had no male relative to succeed him. His widow, Mīnākṣi, assumed the reins of government with the help of her brother Venkaṭa Perumāl Nāyaka.¹⁰⁵ She adopted the son of Bangāru Tirumala Nāyaka, Vijayakumāra, declaring that her husband had authorized her to adopt the infant. But another party was formed whose avowed object was to depose the queen and set up in her place Bangāru Tirumala Nāyaka, the father of the infant she had adopted.¹⁰⁶ Tirumala must have claimed the crown by virtue of his descent from Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-59) and the

102. T. K. Gopal Panikkar, *Malabar and its Folk*, p. 14; also K. M. Kapadia, *Marriage and Family in India*, pp. 336-337.

103. Heinz Bechert, "Mother Right and Succession to the Throne in Malabar and Ceylon", in *C. J. H. S. S.*, Vol. VI, Jan.-June 1963, No. I, p. 26.

104. *ibid.*, p. 27. For succession by sister's sons in Ramnad in the eighteenth century see, William Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, Vol. II, App. p. 51, "Chronicle of the Acts of the Sethupathis, the Rulers of the Ramnad Capital." This is a translation of a Telugu manuscript found in the MacKenzie Collection.

105. R. S. Aiyar, *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 232.

106. See genealogical table II.

connection thereby made with the deceased king Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha. While the struggle between the rival parties was distracting the kingdom, the armies of the Nawab of Arcot invaded Madura.¹⁰⁷ A series of confusing incidents followed, after which Bangāru Tirumala Nāyaka took refuge in Śivagaṅgā, an area to the south east of Madura. Its Rāja Uḍayar Tevar allowed him the use of the fort of Vellaikurichchi in Śivagaṅgā.¹⁰⁸ The rest of the kingdom of Madura fell to the Muslim army of Chanda Sahib, and Mīnākṣi ended her own life. Her death brought about the virtual extinction of the Nāyak dynasty of Madura, for Bangāru Tirumala Nāyaka could do nothing and by calling the Marathas to his aid he lost all chance of restoring Nāyak rule.¹⁰⁹

It was at this time, when the Madura kingdom was reduced to complete anarchy and Bangāru Tirumala Nāyaka was living almost in exile in the fort of Vellaikurichchi, that Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha ascended the throne of Kandy and sought a wife from among his own relatives in south India.¹¹⁰ For this purpose he sent messengers to Madura in 1739. By this time Mīnākṣi was dead and the relatives of Bangāru Tirumala Nāyaka had all left him and dispersed in various directions. One of them is said to have reflected, "The king of Kandy is of our religious persuasion; we may be permitted to give him a wife."¹¹¹ The fact that the king of Kandy was a *vaḍuga* and a Hindu by birth was evidently known to his countrymen. They were unaware of the fact that, as will be seen later, the king, on his accession, had embraced Buddhism¹¹². Since the position of the Nāyaks was much more precarious than it had been in the days of Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha, members of the family thought it advisable and even desirable to accept the offer from the king of Kandy. The process may be followed in the "Narrative of the affairs of Kandidesam," which may be corroborated from the Dutch sources. Two of the relatives of Bangāru Tirumala Nāyaka, Rāma Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka and Nārenappa Nāyaka, made

107. R. S. Aiyar, *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 232; Also "History of the Karnataka governors who ruled over Pandyamandalam," in William Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, Vol. II, p. 37.

108. William Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, Vol. II, pp. 41-43. Also "Muttiah's chronological and historical account of the modern kings of Madura," a manuscript written in 1794, dealing with the Nayaks of Madura, found in the I. O. Library; MacKenzie Collection (General), Vol. IV, p. 102.

109. R. S. Aiyar, *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 234; J. H. Nelson, *The Madura Country*, p. 261.

110. William Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, Vol. II, App. G, p. 47.

111. *ibid.*

112. See, p. 78.

their way to Ramnad and Lakshmipuram to meet the Kandyan envoys. Nārenappa Nāyaka had a daughter of marriageable age. The brothers agreed to the Kandyan request for her hand and with their families they accompanied the envoys to Ceylon.¹¹³ Nārenappa Nāyaka, with his wife, two sons, two brothers and brother-in-law, all settled in Kandy.¹¹⁴ He was destined to be not only the father-in-law of one king, but father of the next two kings of Kandy, for his two sons, the one five or six years old in 1740, the other still an infant were successively to succeed Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha.¹¹⁵

There is considerable doubt about the social status of the earlier Madura brides but that Nārenappa Nāyaka's daughter had some royal blood in her cannot be doubted. It is known that Nārenappa Nāyaka and Bangāru Tirumala Nāyaka were descended on their mother's side from the sisters, Kanakavalliammā, and Ariyarsammā.¹¹⁶ We have also the evidence of Joan Gideon Loten, the Dutch governor of the maritime provinces (1752-57), who gathered his information from "intelligent natives," that Nārenappa's paternal grandfather, Periya Tirumala Nāyaka, was married to a sister of a prince of Madura.¹¹⁷ Thus on his mother's side he could trace a kinship, though remote, to Bangāru Tirumala Nāyaka who belonged to a collateral branch of the Madura ruling line; on his father's side he could trace his ancestry to a sister of a prince of Madura. Nārenappa's wife, mother of the queen of Kandy, was the great grand daughter of one Mutu Tirumala Nāyaka, son of Ādimuttu Virappa Nāyaka and a relative of the prince of Madura.¹¹⁸ Thus Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha, whatever his ancestry may have been, was now established on the throne of Kandy and married to a lady whose mother and father could both claim kinship with the Madura dynasty. It is probable that both Nārenappa Nāyaka and his brother Rāma Kṛṣṇappa who had served Bangāru Tirumala Nāyaka¹¹⁹ were *pālaiyakarans* or polygars. In their hey-day the polygars had maintained powerful armies in the service of the Nāyak rulers with whom they claimed kinship. It must be admitted,

113. William Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, Vol. II, App. G, p. 47.

114. Schreuder, p. 30. Schreuder refers to two brothers of Nārenappa Nāyaka. The second may have come later.

115. A third son born to the wife of Nārenappa Nāyaka in Kandy did not rule. Schreuder, p. 30. See genealogical table II.

116. William Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, Vol. II, App. G, p. 49.

117. *Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten*, p. 3.

118. *ibid.*

119. William Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, Vol. II, App. G, p. 47. P. E. Pieris has suggested that the Nāyaks who gave their daughters to the kings of Kandy were polygars. See, P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon and the Hollanders*, p. 42.

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that at the time of the marriage alliance with the Kandyans the family had fallen on evil days. From the beginning of the eighteenth century Madura as a whole had been thrown into confusion by Muslim and Maratha raids and many polygars had lost their fiefs and fled, especially towards the south. It was the landless polygar of a dispossessed Nāyak, in exile in Ramnad, who came to terms with the Kandyan envoys of Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha. There was little to hope for in south India and once he had come to Ceylon for his daughter's nuptials,¹²⁰ he showed no wish to return, but settled instead in Kandy with his kith and kin.

The process of linking Kandy with Madura did not stop here, for seven years later, on April 21, 1747, the king was married to a bride who came to Kandy from Madura. In 1747, a distinguished embassy headed by the disāva of the Three and Four Korales arrived in Colombo to inform the governor that His Majesty had married the princess from Madura. The *Onderkoopman*, Gustaff Ludowyk van Liebeherr was sent to congratulate the king.¹²¹ While the ambassador was still in Kandy Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha died on August 11, 1747. As he was childless, he had nominated as his successor his eldest brother-in-law who had been living in the court ever since his sister had married the king.¹²² By this peculiar mode of succession, the now almost entirely foreign dynasty was again perpetuated.

Kirti Śrī Rājasimha was a tender youth when he succeeded his brother-in-law and it was not till the year 1751, that he assumed the reins of government, having according to the custom of the country girded on the sword of state.¹²³ In 1749, he married the daughter of a certain Nāḍukaṭṭu Sāmi Nāyakkar.¹²⁴ The bride came to Jaffna in the Company's sloop, accompanied by her father, two sisters and two brothers and proceeded through the Company's territories to Puttalam and then to Kandy. The king contracted three further Nāyak marriages, with the daughter of Gabadadorai Nāyakkar, who came with his wife to Kandy; with the daughter of Rāma Nāyakkar who likewise settled at the court¹²⁵ and finally on

120. The Minutes of the Dutch Political Council of 15 June 1740, mention the fact that a Kandyan embassy had arrived to announce the marriage of the king.

121. Governor to the king of Kandy, 20 June 1747, CNA. 1/3355.

122. Schreuder, p. 30.

123. PRO/CO/54/125, *Memoir of Stein Van Gollennesse*, Dutch governor of the maritime provinces (1740-51), writing on 28 February, 1751.

124. Schreuder, p. 30; Loten, p. 3. The king's marriage was discussed in the Dutch Political Council, Colombo, on 15 December, 1749.

125. Schreuder, p. 30.

January 3, 1770, with another south Indian bride. She had come from Negapatam to Mannar in a Dutch boat and had been escorted by the Dutch to Nuvarakalāviya, on the borders of the king's territory.¹²⁶ We do not learn anything more about the ancestry of these queens from Dutch sources. But the Tamil document already mentioned states that two of them were descendants of Vijaya Rāghava (1633-73) Nāyak of Tanjore and the other two were the king's own relatives.¹²⁷

The series of royal marriages with south Indian families had created at Kandy towards the middle of the eighteenth century quite a colony of Nāyakkār relatives of the king. They were so numerous indeed that a special street was set apart for them in the capital. This was known as Kumārūpe Vidiya and after British occupation, Malabar Street. No Sinhalese was allowed to enter this street, not even the Buddhist monks.¹²⁸ The strength of the South Indian connection was well displayed at the death of Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha. He had no children by any of the Madura queens. On the other hand he had had six daughters and two sons by his favourite *yakaḍa dōliya*, Māmpīṭiyē *duggannā unnānse*, daughter of the late disāva of Bintānna and grand-daughter of the blind and aged Māmpīṭiyē disāva,¹²⁹ a distinguished scion of one of the eminent Kandyan families of the eighteenth century. The Māmpīṭiyē lady bore six daughters and two sons to the king. Both sons survived the king and all six daughters married Nāyakkār relatives of the king.¹³⁰ A grant of 1782¹³¹ referred to the *yakaḍa dōliya* as the queen of Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha (*biso ṭhānātra prāpta*), and her noble qualities were described in eloquent terms. She caused several religious works to be copied and was so lavish in her generosity to the monks that she was regarded as a mother to the

126. Dumbāra Rālahamy, disāva of the Three and Four Korales to the disāva of Colombo (a Dutch official), 9 January, 1769. MacKenzie (Private) Collection. I. O. Library, Vol. 80.4, pp. 82-85.

127. William Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, Vol. II, App. C, p. 49. The fact that there were marriage connections between the Kandyan dynasty and the descendants of Vijaya Raghava, Nāyak of Tanjore is confirmed by a Telugu manuscript, Tanjavuruvari Carita, cited by T. Venkaswami Row in *A Manual of the Tanjore*, District in the Madras Presidency, p. 758.

128. *Diary of John D'Oyly*, p. 102, entry for 21 March, 1812.

129. Schreuder, p. 30.

130. *Lawrie's Gazetteer*, p. 528.

131. Manuscript in the Land Settlement Department, Colombo, in *Sannas of the Central Province*, Vol. III, p. 307, No. 1663. Māmpīṭiyē *duggannā unnānse* granted lands in the Paranakuru Korale in the Three and Four Korales to a monk. This is perhaps the only land grant of the period in which the donor is a concubine of the king.

saṅgha. Schreuder reports that the king held her in great esteem far more than his south Indian queens, and as a result the Māmpīṭiyēs wielded considerable influence in the court.¹³² But neither the rank and power of the Māmpīṭiyēs nor the king's passionate attachment to this *yakaḍa dōli* was of any consequence in the selection of a successor to the throne. For the claims of Māmpīṭiyēs' sons were overlooked and the choice fell on the king's brother who was living in the court. The king's two brothers who had been in Kandy from their infancy were made *uparājās* and shown every kind of distinction.¹³³ The elder, known to the Dutch as Astan Andevar, had grown up to be a distinguished and capable youth who had won the affection of the Kandyans to such an extent that they considered him the king's natural successor.¹³⁴ The prince's devout faith in Buddhism endeared him to the hearts of the people and the Kandyans acquiesced in the will of the monarch. As a result, when Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha died in 1782, the second son of Nārenappa Nāyakkar ascended the throne as Rājādi Rājasimha (1782-1798).¹³⁵ The last Nāyakkar King, Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha (1798-1815), it should be mentioned (although his reign does not fall within the scope of this work), was an obscure youth, whose parentage is still open to doubt, "uneducated, and having nothing to recommend him but a good figure."¹³⁶ With his reign Sinhalese kingship in Ceylon terminated.

Of the four kings who formed the Nāyakkar dynasty only the two sons of Nārenappa Nāyakkar could boast of a somewhat remote connection with the royalty of south India. How then did they maintain their position on the throne amidst a powerful land-owning oligarchy? One reason certainly was the mistaken notion prevailing in Ceylon that the Nāyaks of Madura belonged to the *kṣatriya vaṃsa* or the royal lineage. It has been said of Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha in a royal grant that he had invited noble *kṣatriya* princesses of the Sūriyavaṃsa (*sūriyavaṃsōtthūta utum kṣatriya dēvīn*), in order to perpetuate the existence of the *kṣatriya vaṃsa* which had continued unbroken in the Island of Laṃkā (*Śrī Laṃkā dvīpayehi asambhinnava ā kṣatriya vaṃsaya matu dīrgha kālaya*

132. Schreuder, p. 30.

133. *CV.*, 98.84 and 85. The title of *uparaja* was conferred on the heir to the throne. In the eighteenth century it had apparently depreciated in value when it was held concurrently by more than one person.

134. *Loten's Memoir*, p. 3.

135. See genealogical table II.

136. John Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, p. 312.

sthirava pavatnā karuṇādhyāsayen).¹³⁷ Contemporary Sinhalese literary works and land grants of the period abound in grandiose titles regarding the illustrious *kṣatriya* ancestry of the Nāyakkār kings of Kandy. The Nāyaks who in their south Indian home were contended with their śudra origin¹³⁸ had a sudden rise in the caste scale when they crossed the Palk Strait to occupy the throne of Kandy and the haughty Kandyan nobles prostrated themselves at their feet, regarding them as the *kṣatriyas* of the solar race. The term *kṣatriya* was loosely applied in Ceylon as there was no powerful Brahmin element to regulate the claims of caste. Anyone who happened to occupy the throne was necessarily a *kṣatriya* of either the solar or lunar dynasty.

The Nāyak kings who held the throne of Kandy, with the exception of the third and fourth who were brothers, were all of different families. Had it been possible for the throne to descend in one family from father to son and especially if there had been intermarriages with the Kandyan nobility, the dynasty in two or three generations would have become naturalized. In spite of the wide gulf that existed between the Mughal rulers and the peoples of India, yet in two or three generations the dynasty became Indianized, because the throne passed from father to son and also because the rulers adopted a deliberate policy of intermarrying with the local Hindu rajas, especially the Rājputs. Instead of this, in Ceylon, there occurred a constant recruitment to the throne, of fresh families from south India. The dynasty therefore continued to the last as essentially a foreign one.

