# THE DEPICTION OF CLOTHING FASHION IN PRINT MEDIA

### Sulari De Silva

Department of Textile & Clothing Technology, University of Moratuwa, Sri Lanka sulari@uom.lk

**ABSTRACT**: The mass media is one of the most influential sources on fashion today; the influence is complex and diverse. Throughout the last century, in Sri Lanka, the print media have become an opinion leader of fashion and played a vital role in shaping 'fashion' into a complex social and cultural phenomenon. Thus, as both an art form and a commercial enterprise 'fashion' has begun to depend upon attention in media.

This study analyses the relationship between print media and popular fashion in Sri Lanka, providing a historical overview from the beginning of print media to discuss their specific orientation towards fashion coverage.

Today, newspapers and magazines - the print media in Sri Lanka, as a form of traditional media, work in a different contextual structure of fashion coverage and their function is more of a commercial nature which largely depends on advertising. The shift of fashion models from being product-centric to being consumer-centric is evident in the recent past as newspapers and magazines are losing ground in favour of electronic media and of online communication media. However there are number of newspapers and magazines exist today in many different forms and genres the country has no highly developed media system, with extremely elevated levels of media-usage.

This study demonstrates the relationship between print media and fashion in Sri Lanka under three phases. The first phase is the era of the beginning of print media in the country. The second phase is the period dominated by the print media as an industry. The third phase is its decline, where other forms of media influences on fashion.

Keywords: Fashion, Print Media, Fashion Opinion Leader

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Newspapers in Sri Lanka differentiate between broadsheets and tabloids from the outset of newspaper publishing. This study, through a content analysis of selected newspapers and magazines and an interview survey with media professionals, confirmed that most of Sri Lankan newspapers - both tabloid and broadsheets - have paid a great attention to cover fashion related issues from the outset of newspaper in the country. In the mid twentieth century, the midmarket Sinhala and Tamil titles and primarily, women's newspapers and magazines were the leaders, in terms of quantity of fashion coverage, whereas English weekly broadsheets and lifestyle magazines pleased themselves with more up-market fashion reporting in terms of quality fashion coverage. According to the research findings, it can be argued that the English daily and weekly newspapers and English lifestyle and society magazines usually employed established journalists who enjoy celebrity status by the Newspaper industry itself. In general, the cover page images, advertisements, celebrity articles, stories and depictions of stereotypical characters could be more

influential in terms of their expressions, visual codes, the structure and use of space, mise-en-scene, brand names, models, texts and slogans, to restructure Sri Lankan fashion, almost for a century.

### 2. METHODOLOGY

In this study, more than three hundred issues of different genres of newspapers and magazines (weekly newspapers, women's and cinema newspapers, fashion & lifestyle magazines etc) were examined to identify the characteristics of images, articles, features and advertisements that could be influenced on fashion. Archives of the selected issues of some old newspapers were also analysed. It should be emphasized here is that this study particularly focused on the cover pages and inside visuals and fashion or style related contents.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

## PORTRAYALS OF FASHION IN EARLY NEWSPAPERS

The beginning of the newspapers in Sri Lanka was marked by the Colombo Journal in 1832 (De Silva 1998). Followed by this there were few more newspapers which were almost exclusively meant for the relatively small, cloistered British community of officials and a growing number of businessmen and plantation owners. This period - the Victorian era being the heyday of British colonization, it was natural that news of the colonies was sent back to Britain (De Silva 1998). Newspaper engravings (line blocks and wood-engravings, and by early 1900s photo-engravings) of this period became a big stride portraying period's lifestyle and fashions of both local and European inhabitants of the country. However, these newspaper engravings were rare in the early nineteenth century and became more frequent after the 1830s. In early periods these illustrations were confined to English newspapers in Britain (De Silva 1998). The first illustrated material on Sri Lanka that has been able to trace in a British newspaper, Penny Magazine in 1832 (De Silva 1998). Later on, the engravings were appearing in newspapers such as the Colombo Observer and the Examiner. However, many other English newspapers (local and British) like the Patriot, the Buddhist, Ceylon Herald, Baptist News and General Intelligencer, had no illustrations whatsoever. One of the early papers, the Ceylon mirror, a weekly launched in the 1850s and going on for nearly fifty years, printed only advertisement illustrations. The Ceylon Mail - a weekly, in the late 1880s, had illustrations such as of the Colombo regatta, and horse races in Colombo. In 1842, the Illustrated London News was founded and it became the most influential of all the weekly newspapers, reporting many historically significant events of the time. The Graphic was another newspaper which gave wide coverage to such events with illustrations (Hemapala 1987, De Silva 1998, Rajapakse 1993). In these newspapers, British Governors, officers and other successful and rich Europeans and their mistresses were frequently portrayed in their dwellings, places of work, or participating in leisure and sport activities or special events with several of their Sri Lankan (Ceylonese) employees and associates. As newspaper engravings demonstrate, the Europeans dressed up formally for all these occasions to play parts in what was an imperial 'drama'. Clothing and fashion, was a way of exhibiting the might of the British Empire symbolically, ceremonially, and ritually. Edwardian fashion was in vogue during this period. As depicted in newspapers, the dress worn by European

women consisted of layers upon layers of long petticoats with puffy sleeved and highcollared chemise, or 'S' shaped or hourglass silhouette of one or two piece dresses. As women began participating in sports and leisure activities, casual and comfortable sport clothing became popular and appeared in newspapers more frequently. European male dresses worn by English men were depicted more factually as three-piece suits consisting of a 'sack coat' with 'waistcoat', trousers and 'top hats' and evidence for men's casual wear as; 'lounge' or 'sack suits' worn with 'stiff bowler hats'. Talented illustratorsii drew exquisite plates for newspapers, which covered rare occasions and unforgettable fashionable styles portraying people with their clothes with fine details. The dresses of the upper class Sinhalese were also depicted and, the evidence proves that those were elaborated with sufficient details to be influenced on period's fashion. The Ceylonese urban upper class men (male employees to the British Government) used many items of Western dress ensemble including the 'bush-shirt' and 'bush coat' with a sarong or tweed clothe with an underneath trouser. The urban upper class female dress of this period was very much similar to Edwardian fashion but the traditional elite female dress was the Kandyan Sari or a Western dress. However, the people of lower classes, both men and women, were portrayed in those newspapers, in an interesting way, with their particular draped clothes, as they were in rural settings performing daily activities. These uncut and unsewn clothing invariably worn by Ceylonese people was asserted in newspapers very frequently mainly for the purpose of depicting exotic sentiment among British people. Usage of these English newspapers was constrained and distributed only among the British people and the local upper class Ceylonese and therefore, not influenced on local populace by any means.

During the same period, Sinhala language newspapers<sup>iii</sup> began with the publication of Lankalokaya in 1860 and were hugely popular among Sinhalese majority. This first generation of Sinhala newspapers marked two significant turning points in the history of print media in Sri Lanka (Pannasekara 1965, Rajapakse 1993, De Silva 1998). Firstly, it identified the nation's rapid social and economic growth and the need for the Sinhalese to be in touch with 'news' and information; and secondly, the emergence of the Sinhala newspapers marked an ideological awakening of the Sri Lankans (Rajapakse 1993, De Silva 1998) and these turns very much benefited to grow up new ideologies in clothing traditions and fashion in the country.

The latter part of the nineteenth century saw the Buddhist-Christian newspapers racing each other to secure dominance in the clash of ideologies and those newspapers stimulated the socio-political aspirations of the wider native population of the country. In spite of these religious presses, the Sinhala revivalist movement continued to harness ideologies through other daily and weekly newspapers. These newspapers playing a very significant role in the success of Sinhalese National Movement encouraging the use of Swadeshi (made in own country by own people) goods, industries (textile weaving mills, printing press etc), national education, languages as well as dress and social manners among the Ceylonese citizens. News and information were very frequently published in newspapers covering events, such as, opening of a textile mill, or a weaving school and a public rally of Mahatma Gandhi during his visit to Ceylon etc. While those religio-centric press gained momentum, so did the secular Sinhala press, which produced many new publications focusing on literary and scholastic interests, some others focused on the wellbeing of the Ceylonese people. As

mentioned, Ceylon's Sinhala press was deeply rooted in the political and ideological power struggle against the colonial missionary culture which had spread throughout the whole country during this period. This movement began to create a sense of self-reliance, self-respect and self confidence among local citizens which was suppressed for a longer period and these revivalist ideologies were extensively disseminated using newspapers. These ideologies bred the national consciousness on a large scale and aspired for socio-cultural behaviors such as clothing etiquettes and introduction of new forms of dresses for a new way of life for the people of the country.

Anagarika Dharmapala was one of the leading contributors to this Buddhist and national revival movement who led to the emergence of many Sinhalese newspapers. In his newspapers, there were many public service and etiquette announcements which placed an emphasis on the idea of an enhancement of living standard of middle-class Sinhalese. Anagarika Dharmapala's Sinhala Bauddhaya, a weekly publication which carried provocative columns and articles written by Dharmapala himself was very much popular and influenced on people's mind-set (Wickramasighe 2003). By gradually shaping public opinion on personal beliefs, and even people's self-perceptions, newspapers influenced the process of socialization. In addition, these newspapers made a great attempt to introduce an ideal image, particularly, of the Sinhala Buddhist woman appeared in newest attire that was constructed by nationalists who were provoked by British colonial discourses on culture and society. Christian missionaries and educational authorities viewed Sinhala Buddhist women as unrestrained and sought to convert native women to Christianity in the hope of making them more civilized, obedient, and serene in manner (De Alwis 1997). Responding to these characterizations, male nationalists viewed the project of instilling the virtues and etiquettes of Victorian femininity, domesticity, discipline, and restraint in Sinhala Buddhist women as essential to transforming women into symbols of national greatness. Anagarika Dharmapala's involvement was significant in recasting women as religious, moral, educated, and accomplished. He introduced (Ohoriya)", specially for middle class Sinhalese women as a new dress code and new rules of comportment and ideas on general hygiene and good housekeeping, by his own newspapers. It seems that, commingled with these anti-imperialist rhetoric and ideology, many parts of society enthusiastically embraced codes of manners and behaviors that newspapers insisted on.

Later on, there was a new shift in the readership trend, with a transition from the traditionalist revivalist newspapers to sensationalist publications that were fundamentally secular in their content. Followed by this movement, there emerged a number of different newspaper categories. For instance, Kawata Kathikaya, Kawata Anjanama, Pawule Mithraya, Denumethi Kawataya, Dinakaraprakaashaya and Muniandi were few of the sensationalist or comic tabloids at time that were used to denounce the British Government and prevailing social norms, mainly, of upper class Ceylonese. These were few page tabloids with exceptional humor in its illustrations as well as generally lengthy accompanying verses and stories<sup>iii</sup>, it was at time satirical but more often tended to be directly critical of various social mores (De Silva 1998). There were many fine examples to evident how these newspapers used to criticize the 'new women' and their fashion and styles during this period, sometimes very powerfully influenced than the revivalists' newspapers.

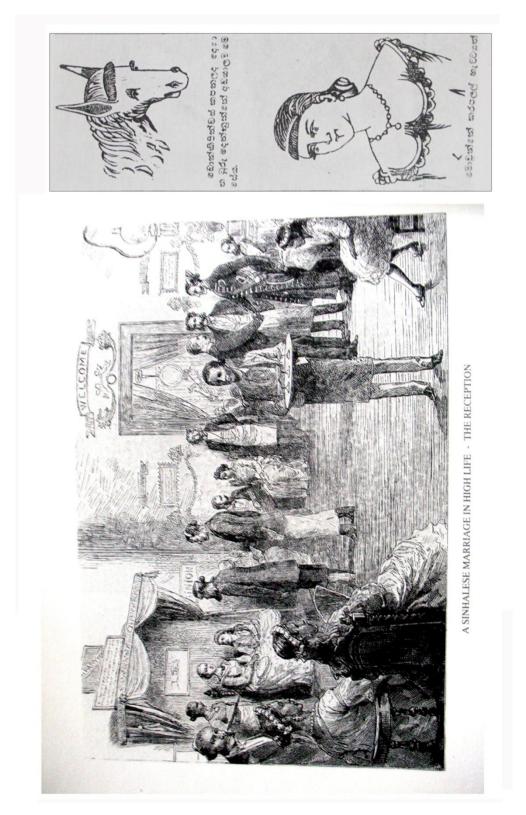


Figure 1: Depictions of Fashion in Early Newspapers (Left: The Graphic 1887 / Right: Kawata Kathikaya 1900) (Source: De Silva, 1998, Newspaper Engravings of Ceylon)

Commercialization of the Sri Lankan Press and Fashion Coverage in Newspapers The early newspapers of Ceylon, which for decades had been in the hands of revivalist groups and smaller sociopolitical actors, or individual social critics and activists (both male and female) eventually became overshadowed from the late 1890s by national newspapers developed by professional newspaper producers who were rapidly carving a niche in the country's growing newspaper industry. Accordingly, the 1890's became the turning point in Sinhala media, with the launch of daily newspapers was led by Dinapatha Pravurti and Lak Rivi Kirana, and, later, Dinamina. The transition of newspaper publishing from the Sinhala revivalists to Sinhala Buddhist bourgeois was epitomized by Don Richard Wijewardene's newspaper 'dynasty' which by the early 1900's had become the undisputed media monopoly in Sri Lanka. As a result, during this period, many leading broadsheets and tabloids in all three languages (Sinhala, Tamil and English) tended to aim at nationwide readership largely focusing on trade and industrial affaires, yet, usually having closer relationship with politics and current affairs as well, to add news value for publications (Rajapakse 1993). However, these newspapers very rarely covered issues of fashion and clothing other than such issues were commonly portrayed in advertisements. The research findings proved that by 1930s to 1950s, newspapers were filled with lot of advertisements that focused mainly on consumer goods and there, clothing advertisements comprised a larger part. Relatively few pages were allotted to celebrity articles in these newspapers but very rarely fashion oriented.

At the turn of the twentieth century, newspaper industrialists and marketers alike soon realized that there were the main readers for both general interest newspapers and consumer product advertising, at the time of rising industrial consumerism in the country and that began a profitable relationship between newspaper publishing and the advertising industry. The invention of photography and, later, the combination of photography with newspaper publications, 'information' rapidly shifted from a written culture to visual culture. The visual culture formed by the newspapers in early society ubiquitous, complex and powerful as there were no other media to be influenced with. The images were usually integrated with texts and came with a caption or an accompanying text. However, until late 1960s most images in newspapers were black and white lithographs of manual drawings.

The most successful newspapers of later half of the twentieth century - from late 1950s - became reference for contemporary fashion with number of larger images and writings on how to dress, what products to buy, how to make clothe in new style.... By the early 1960s, the pages of newspapers consisted of number of feature articles of latest dresses, hairstyles, decorating, and, most of all, fashion consumer products. While Sinhala newspapers were targeting at majority of middle class population, the English broadsheet newspapers targeted at the urban affluent class, featuring latest fashions very frequently. Providing space for new social class for freedom, English newspapers, however, attentively and selectively portrayed images of what was socially acceptable and obviously, these newspapers attempted to create and reflect prevailing social norms. During this period the newspaper industry was benefited a lot from publishing fashion related articles and visuals of the latest social events and celebrities that stimulated readers.

Even so, daily or weekly broadsheets did not have a separate 'fashion page' until late 1960s. In early 1960s, national daily newspapers, specially English newspapers, started separating a 'fashion page' which is continued till today and the trend became a positive aspect of fashion journalism in the country.

The current situation is that every newspaper, either broadsheet or tabloid, Sinhala, English or Tamil, newspaper has a separate fashion page, but still though they are not serious about 'fashion featuring' or not in journalistic standard. In Sinhala newspapers fashion has long been treated as the 'necessary filler' something that cannot be missed but something that does not hold much importance. However with the emergence of newspaper supplements in 1980s, some newspapers are largely focused on fashion. Fashion features in newspaper supplements are of vital importance to the newspaper publishers as they carry large economical importance with pages reserved for fashion advertisers. A further interesting point brought up by this study is that the majority of articles and fashion features in these newspapers are entirely non-critical, non artistic; fashion is mainly looked at from a positive angle. In many cases, these articles and images are superficial, often overblown and improper. It's just that it seems odd to treat as artistic or high quality. The provoking portrayals in these fashion plates are not suitable for using to raise sense of fashion, trends, social norms, and notions of ideal bodies as some high art pieces or 'high fashion' do. These models to objectify and degrade women, using misogynistic imagery (and language) that many readers would find not only distasteful or offensive but also really quite inappropriate fashion. At present, Sinhala newspapers tend to use such images frequently to increase newspaper circulation rightly fitted into consumer capitalism emerged by mid 1990s.

However, the fashion coverage in English Dailies and Weeklies is completely different in many ways from Sinhalese newspapers. Usually English Newspapers have a separate staff for the supplement and 'features section', as well as freelance fashion writers who are also used frequently for writing fashion articles. They often function as inside and outside experts that are brought in to write about certain fashion trends or events. The features editors, journalists and writers of English newspapers in Sri Lanka are well-educated and well exposed individuals of affluent class and they have a good judgment on selecting topics to cover appropriate themes of fashion. The fashion articles and news features published in 'features section' usually cover different but important fashion related subjects. As an example, English newspapers address more frequently nonconformist fashion and styles (fashion subcultures, street fashion, and fashion from foreign cultures) that can never be seen in Sinhala newspapers. Accordingly, this study has found that the supplements of English newspapers contribute a lot for dissemination of fashion covering leading fashion events, social gatherings, international shows, designer collections, designer & celebrity articles as well as art and entertainment. It can be further emphasized that, by providing a display window for contemporary fashion, these newspapers are function as a pillar of support for the fashion industry as well as the newspaper industry.

The newspaper and magazine industry was in fear of collapse under the threat of new media in the late 1990s. However re-inventions, new launches and innovations such

as glossy magazines, new genres (Youth magazines, Lifestyle and women's magazines) have seen a strong performance during this decade. This study further claims that by early 2000s, an estimated more than one million youth, business and lifestyle magazines featuring fashion content were sold, which is a 35% increase from the year 2010 (newspapers and magazines published by Wijaya Newspapers only). This development is largely seen as a result of new monthly titles, 70% of which are celebrity titles and fashion articles whose circulations have grown 40% between 2010 and 2012 to account for 35% of the weekly magazine market. The success of newer titles such as GO (a Sinhala youth magazine) and Satyn, Esteem, Living (English lifestyle magazines) has been influential in the monthly magazine market, as has the launch of smaller size formats. These magazines remain the Sri Lanka's most influential magazines on fashion and though their advertising content of inclusive fashion houses/brands dictates much of the category of fashion coverage, this is arguably what their readers expect and look for. However these popular magazines with large circulations flash vulgar and obscene glossy photographs on their cover pages and in fashion or celebrity articles. Newspapers continue to use women to peddle the newspaper titles and to present women as sexual objects. These images can be decoded in terms of pose and expression of models, and camera angles/views etc. The models, their poses and expressions however are worthless to represent fashion.

# **Women's Newspapers and Magazines**

From the beginning of women's newspapers with Piyamuthuhara in 1888, historically, there has been frequent publication of women's newspapers but all of them ceased after a few issues (Goonatilke 1985, Hapuarachchi 1998). The Lack of financial resources for the publication, and small market caused the shutdown of newspapers. But these early newspapers earned no profits. From the beginning, women's newspapers contributed to wider cultural processes, as revivalists newspapers did, which define the position of women in society, promoting a certain kind of femininity which contains a set of practices and beliefs. The women's newspapers in Sri Lanka thus can be defined as pervasive in the extent to which it acts as an agent of socialisation, and the remarkable degree to which it deals in and promulgates values and attitudes sometimes through fashion criticism.

However, fashion coverage within newspaper in general, in its modern sense, has been in existence since 1950s in women's newspapers (Goonatilke 1985, Hapuarachchi 1998). Looking at few editions of women's newspapers (prominently Vanitha Viththi) from 1950s it can be argued that the fashion columns appeared in these publications although in a much lesser quantity and different formats. The content was largely aiming at the lower middle class female. Written in a factual style they were largely informing about new fashions emerging from urban upper class, political and social elites and more notably from movie stars, whilst also offering advices as to what to wear for certain occasions or how to make a dress in a newest style. There were dozens of tabloid papers crowding market newsstands by 1960s, yet a full color tabloid launched in 1980s with publicity blitz. Because of its inextricable relationship to feminine status, fashion remains peculiar in this regard. It has a presence in both the women's newspaper market and in the ordinary press. Where the readership for the women's newspapers can be assumed to be interested in fashion, there is less of an emphasis on fashion

having to prove itself. In concerning itself with Sri Lankan fashions in designer level, newspapers helped Sri Lankans to become loyal to its own brands and fashions instead of focusing on and idealizing international trends (except Indian styles), like those originally associated with other categories of newspapers. However, in this study, it is unable to demonstrate a fashion newspapers' potential for social influence without having empirical data if the fashion newspapers can attain loyal consumers. Popular newspapers and advertisements displayed the values, expectations, and obstacles for men and women in daily life, thus impacting decisions made by men and women every day. Suburban families relied on magazines for entertainment as well as a source of social and political information. Few of the earliest and most successful of these magazines, the Vanitha Viththi 1957, Shri 1963 and Kumari 1979, became a fine reference for Sri Lankan women 'on how to dress, and what products to buy'. These newspapers did portray more freedom for the 'new woman', but they also portrayed images of what was socially acceptable, as far as women's appearance and their social role. The pages of the newspapers featured the latest dresses, hairstyles, decorating, and, most of all, consumer products. All mainstream women's newspapers in Sri Lanka were tabloids or in magazine format and were usually consisted of similar contents.

Previously, from 1950s to 1980s, women's magazines were obsessed with the construction of stereotype roles of women, portraying them as living for home, babies, cooking, clothes and good looks. To aim at the newly emerged working women, almost during the 1980s, companies were starting to draw up new marketing strategies and change the way women were portrayed, as women begin to view themselves differently. Subsequently, new types of women portrayals surfaced from the pages of new women's magazines and these were young, fashionable, and often financially independent women that constituted a valuable market for modern consumer goods. While observing some selected images and newspaper texts, it can be mentioned that the newspaper portrayals of women, tended to show them liberated from their housework and were working women of fashion conscious. However, themes addressed in traditional type of women's newspapers such as social issues and career development, reflecting the changing lifestyle of women occupied much less space than fashion and beauty content. However, women's (colored picture) magazines such as Tharuni, Sirikatha, Nawaliya, (published by the leading newspaper publishing houses in Sri Lanka) are even now creating a culture of domesticity with a focus on cooking, house decor and childcare, as well as on (orthodox) fashion and beauty.

There were only two English magazines or newspapers that can be found in the Sri Lankan history, Ceylon Women published in 1950s and Lanka Women (LW) continuing its publication until now is very much popular among Sri Lankan English speaking women. However, this type of English glossy magazines are criticized as they make women feel bad about themselves by showing them the beauty 'ideal' and providing many pages of advice on how readers could improve their looks, or personalities, which would exhaust readers' time and money. Another point is that the commercial representations of femininity were responsible for the growth of the manipulative diet, beauty and plastic surgery industries, sumptuous clothing market with of a range of products and women were represented as objects of consumption.

Accordingly, it can be pointed out some of the changing trends in Sri Lankan idealization

of women in newspaper portrayals across the twentieth century through fashion in each decade: as the cinched-waist ideal of 1940s and 1950s (even with the sari), the flat-chested and straight bodied mod and mini fashions of the 1960s and the full-chested hourglass figure of the 1970s and yuppie styles in 1980s.

## 4. CONCLUSION

This study clarifies the relationship of print media and fashion and reveals that how it acts as an opinion leader of fashion during the past century in Sri Lanka. Print media helps from the beginning to boom up mass fashion culture and democratization of fashion disseminating opinions, suggestions and discourses.

Moreover, the study has highlighted that the media can benefit a lot from fashion industry and fashion itself can use media as the easiest and most influential mode to diffuse novel trends.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tamil and other language newspapers were not included in this research sample.

ii"අඳින හැට්ටය තමන්ගේ පයෝධර, බඩ සහ පිට සම්පූර්ණෙන් වැසෙන ලෙස ඇඳීම කළ යුතුය. දස රියන් දිග රෙද්දිකින් ඔරිසය හෙවත් සාරිය ඇන්ද යුතුය....... ඉන්දියාවේ වංගරට, මහාරාෂ්ටු, දෙමළ රට, කෂ්මීර, ගුර්ජරා රට කුල ස්තීුන්, කුල කුමාරීන් හැඳ පොරවන ඔහොරි වර්ග නොහොත් ඒක සාටක බොහෝ මිළට විකුණනු ලැබේ. ලංකාවේ උඩරට ස්තීුන් හැමෝම ඔහොරිය පෙරවීම කරන බව දක්නා ලැබේ. පහතරට ඔහොරිය ඇඳීම ලන්සි ආණ්ඩු කාලේ නවත්වන ලද්දේය.... උඩරට සෑම ස්තීුන්ට ඔහොරිය සාධාරණයි. පහතරට සියලු ස්තීුන්ට ඔහොරිය හැඳ පොරවන්නට පුරුදු කටයුතුය... පහතරට සිංහල ස්තුීන් ස්වල්ප දෙනෙක් විසින් ඔහොරිය පොරවන්නට පටන්ගෙන තිබේ. ඔහොරිය පොරවන්නට පළමුවෙන් පහතරට සිංහල ස්තීුන්ට මවිසින් අවවාද කළේ වම් 1884 දීය. ඔහොරිය පොරවාගෙන මහබෝමැඩ වන්දුනාවට කොළඹින් මගේ මෑණියෝ ද උපාසිකාවුන් කීපදෙනෙක් ද පිටත්වුනෝය. කබා කෑල්ලත් උදරය පෙණෙන් ට තනාගත් කොට හැට්ටයත් කුල ස්තියකට යෝගා ඇඳුමක් නොවේ. ආර්ය ස්තීන්ට යෝගා ඇඳුම ඔහොරියයි. ඔහොරිය නොහොත් සාරිය දුවිඩ, වංග, ඔඩ්ඩි, ගුජිර, මහාරාෂ්ටු රටවල ස්තූීන් එක අන්දමට අඳින්නේ නැත. කේරළ දේසේ කොච්චි ජාතික ස්තූීන්ගේ වස්තු ඇදීම රඹුක්කන පළාතේ හීන කුල ස්තීන්ට සමානයි. මදුරාසියේ බුාහ්මණ ස්තීන් අඳින සාරිය දිගින් රියන් දසසතරකි. වංග දේශීය කුල ස්තීන් අදින සාරිය දිගින් රියන් දසයකි. මහාරෂ්ටු ස්තීන් සාරිය පිටපොටක් ගසා · ලොරවා ගන්නීය. ගුජිර රටේ ගුජරාතික ස්තීුන් අදින සාරිය පාර්සි ස්තීුන් අදින සාරියට සමානයි. මෙය පුියදර්ශනීය සෝබන ඇඳුමකි. මහාරෂ්ටු, දුවිඩ, ආන්ධු රටවල ස්තීන් හිස වසා ගන්නේ නැත. වංග, මගධ, කාසි, කෝසල රට ස්තීුහු හිස වසා ගනිත්. සියම් රට ස්තීුන් පිටපට ගසා වස්තු ඇඳ ලේන්සුවක් නොහොත් රොමාලයකින් පයෝධර පමණක් වසා ගන්නීය. පහතරට සිංහල ස්තුීන් අඳින උදර පෙන්වන කොට හැට්ටය අශෝභන ඇඳුමකි. මෙවාර් රටේ ස්තීුන් වස්තුයකින් මුහුණ වසාගෙන උදරය පෙනෙන්ට සායක් ඇඳීම කරන්නීය. මෙය අපුිය දර්ශනයකි. උදරය පෙන්වන කොට හැට්ටය පමණක් ඇඳීම ස්තුී ලීලාවට අශෝභනයි. ඔහොරිය පොරවීම සකල ස්තීුන් කටයුතුයි". - අනගාරික ධම්පාල (Source : ගුරුගේ, ආනන්ද 1991)

### <sup>iii</sup> නෝනා කෙනෙකුගේ ඇඳුම්

ඉංගුීසි පතුයක පුසිද්ධ කර තිබෙන මෙහි පහත දක්වන කාරණය පිටරට වාසීන්ගේ කොයි කොයි මෝස්තරත් පිළිගන්නා වූ අප රට වාසීන් ද මෙනෙහි කර බැලීමට අනවශා නොවේ යැයි සිතමු.

දැනට බොහෝ නෝනාවරු අදින ගචොන්වල පිටිපස්සෙන් බිම ඇදී ගන යන 'ටෙන්' නම් දිග කෑල්ලක් තිබේ. මෙවැනි ඇඳුමක් ඇඳගෙන ගිය එක් නෝනා කෙනෙකු පස්සෙන් එක් මහත්මයෙක් පාරේ ගියේය. නෝනා වීටීයේ හුඟක් දුර පයින් ගමන් කළ පසු ආ කරත්තයට නැගුනාය. වීදිය දිගේම බිම ඇදී ගිය ගචොමට එකතු වී ආ රොඩු ගොඩක් ඈ කරත්තයට නැගුන ස්ථානයේ වීටීයේ දමා ගිය බැවින් පස්සෙන් ගිය මහතා මෙය සෝදිසි කර බලන්ට, එසේ කිරීමෙන් ඔහුට සම්බවුනු දේවල ලේඛනයක් දී තිබේ.

ලොකු සුරුට්ටු කෑලි 2, කුඩා සුරුට්ටු කෑලි 9, ඌරු මස්වලින් සාදන ලද කෑමකින් කැබෙල්ලක්, කොන්ඩේ සවි කරණ පිණිස පාවිච්චි කරණ (හෙයාර්පින්) කම්බි කුරු 7, දත් කටු 4, දුම් බොන මැටි පයිප්ප කෑලි 1, පැනි දොඩම් බික් කෑලි 3, සතෙකුට දෙන ලද කෑම කැබලි 1, සපත්තු අඩියුකින් බාගයයි, විකා දැමූ දුම් කොළ කැබලි 1, මේ ඇර පිදුරු, මඩ, ඉරා දමාපු කරදාසි කැබලි යනාදී රොඩු ස්වල්පයක්ය.

බොහෝ දෙනා මේවා තමන්ගේත් අනුන්ගේත් ගෙදරවලට ඇතුල් වෙනතුරුත් ගෙණ යනී රෝග බෝවීමට පවා හේතුවිය හැකි, රටේ තොටේත් පාරවලත් තිබෙන නොයෙක් අපිරිසිදු දේ ගෙදරවලට පවා ගෙන යාමට හේතු වූ මේ ඇඳුම් පාවිච්චිය ආණ්ඩුව විසින් වැළැක්විය යුතු නැද්දැයි මෙය ලියා අරින ලද මහතා අසා තිබේ. (Source : 1893.6.3 දිනකරපුකාශය)