

LEARNING INCUBATES FASHION: THE CASE OF THE KANDYAN KINGDOM OF SRI LANKA

Gayathri Madubhani Ranathunga

*Senior Lecturer, Fashion Design and Product Development Degree Course, Department of Textile and Clothing
Technology, Faculty of Engineering, University of Moratuwa, Moratuwa, Sri Lanka*

ABSTRACT

Fashion, an essentially dynamic human activity, earns its survival by influencing others. There are assumed to be some theories behind influence in fashion, hence this research aims to find out the base of those influencing process in fashion. A qualitative approach was used for this purpose with a certain study setting. Kandyan reign of Sri Lanka from 14th Century to 1815 is a well-known historical era for the strong effects of foreign influences on the society. Clothing attitudes of the selective Kings of the era were studied in this research. Plenty of resources such as living evidences, documented information and murals are available in this setting. The analysis was explored through socio-cultural, administrative, religious and economic factors of the era. The analysis has resulted in developing a theory trial and error learning to explain how such status was instrumental in bringing about in influences in fashions. Methodology of the research was based on 'Grounded Theory Method'. Details are gathered and analyzed in a way that the logical philosophy is generated. The possibility of their modification as to the practicability in the future application to the product development of the fashion industry has been discussed. Validity is tested from cross checking of data, and comparing with formerly established theory related to the field.

KEYWORDS: *Costume of the King, Fashion, Foreign Influences, Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka, Trial and Error Learning*

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INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka is situated at the southern tip of the Indian peninsula which has been a famous international naval route and bringing forth foreign influences to the country for times immemorial. The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka located in the central hills of the country lasted almost 3 ½ centuries from 1474 - 1815 (Silva 2005, 134-301p). The whole period faced different foreign influences. At its beginning, South Indian influences gradually descended. The Portuguese colonial occupation lasted for almost of 130 years from 1506. Then next the Dutch lasted for 163 years and the British for 33 years. As a result of colonial inspiration from the 16th century onwards, the natives soon embraced Western cultural values. These foreign influences first affected in changing the costume of the King. It can be seen that Kings recognized foreign influenced dress as a problem solving tool. Their problem was to safeguard the throne from their own royal clan and foreign invaders. They adapted foreign dress by considering its political advantages. Military power and wealth of Westerners were instrumental in bringing forth influences on Sri Lankan native dress.

They tried and learnt different strategies over course of time to win over the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British faith in order to gain military aid to protect the sovereignty. At the begging, it was tried out a wide variety of strategies consecutively such as paying tributes, sending valuable gifts, allowing Christian activities at the Kandy premises then at last they learnt that the wearing foreign dress was able to provide more advantages. The dress was the climax of leaning in the process of testing different strategies in order to win over Westerners faith. Psychologist Green F. (Puri and Tyler 1998, 310) says that learning is only one in influence in behavior. Thinking is the most important element in learning. Thinking is the internal manipulation of symbols, words and images (Puri and Tyler 1998, 310). Green (Puri and Tyler 1998, 310) explains an important task in thinking is problem solving. They tend to make use of particular strategies, making diagnosis is an example of such strategies. It is a method of applying a particular set of rules for working out the solution to a problem. Trial and error problem solving strategy in which all possible combinations of behavior is tried until a solution is found. Insight refers to mentally manipulating symbols to get an answer.

METHODOLOGY

The study began with observational study of temple paintings, sculptures, sketchers of the period. Reliability of the data which was incorporated in the research is of much concern. Pictorial data were cross checked with different literary sources such as temple murals, particular literature. Finally, the reinforced concepts were compared with formally established philosophy in order to forward timely necessary concepts. The focus of the research is to generate theories of influence on fashion. Therefore, the methodology of the research should be articulated towards development of theories. “Grounded theory methodology” well accomplishes the target goal and was selected for the research. It is a systematic data analyzing process. It consists of memoing, coding, concept mapping to discover patterns of concepts. Revision of the theory was needed to validate the theory. The developed theory was compared with formerly established theory “trial and error learning’ founded by psychologist Thondaik in 1911. The theory which was developed through the Kings of the Kandya era was well matched with Thondaik’s theory.

Results and Discussion: Political Factors Affect in Influence Fashion

During the 15th Century, Sri Lanka was divided into two main administrative units in the West and Centre (Kotte, Kandy) and one subordinate unit of North (Jaffna). The Kingdoms of Kotte and Kandy had often internal conflicts. The situation was well described by the Historian Abeyasinghe (1973,11-21) “as for the first four decades Kandy had to resist the superior power of Kotte which was trying to re- establish its authority over the central highlands”. During the reign of Parakamabahu VI (1411-66) The Kandyan Kingdom became a subordinate unit of the Kotte Kingdom, administered by an official appointed by him (Silva 2005 139p). Senasammatha Vikamabahu (1474-1511) established the Kandyan Kingdom as an independent Kingdom after fifty years of domination by the Kotte Kingdom. (Silva 2005 140p). Therefore, it is clear that Kandyan Kingdom had many internal conflicts with the Kingdom of Kotte. This situation was developed rapidly later. After 1521 the Kotte Kingdom was effectively divided between two brothers, one ruling from Kotte and the other from Sitavaka. This was the adversary that Kandy had to face. The internal troubles of Kotte and Sitavaka and their external conflicts with Portuguese helped to stabilize the fledgling Kingdom. Henceforth till 1592, Kandy, hedged in by three ambitious neighbours was shifting loyalties, contracting matrimonial alliances, and applying diplomatic pressures as survival tactics (Karunarathne 2016, 38p). Dewaraja who is exponent in the Kingdom of Kandy and foreign affairs (1985/86 121p) explains that the Portuguese in the middle of the sixteenth century dominated more of the World and more of its trade than any other country. They were

armed with the best artillery that Europe could produce and had the technical skills of ship-building and navigation at their disposal. Moreover Dewaraja explains (1985/86 121p) that it is in 1592 that the real saga of the Kandyan Kingdom begins. The absorption of the Kingdoms of Kotte and Sitavaka by the Portuguese as a part of their dominions made Kandy the sole repository and respective of Sinhala power. Kandy had no military power compared to the Portuguese. Politically too she was weak (Dewaraja 1985/86 125p). Therefore, they had to follow survival strategies. The Portuguese with their reputation for superior weapons and military tactics, doubtless, appeared the best choice as allies. Therefore, according to the invitation of the King of Kandy several Portuguese military groups marched to Kandy in 1543, 1546 and 1547 (Encyclopedia of Sinhalese, 434p). Portuguese voyages to East were in another intention. They were inspired by the twin motives, love of God and the lust for gold (Dewaraja 1985/1986, 121p).

Historian Abayasinhe (1973, 14-15 p) states that the Kandyan ruler offered to pay the salaries and expense allowances of the Portuguese soldiers coming to reinforce his defenses, such many being calculated on a more generous scale than the Portuguese government itself paid. The King also offered the Portuguese a factory at Trincomalee bay of the North Sri Lanka, to be garrisoned by them, the expenses thereon also being borne by the King. A yearly tribute of 15 tusked elephants and 300 oars for the gallery was also suggested. As the need for Portuguese aid became more pressing, the King subsequently added other concessions he would give his daughter in marriage to whom so ever the Portuguese wished, and would embrace the Christianity faith with the hair and the members of the royal household. Andre de Souza, a Portuguese high office visited Kandy and his journey exemplified Kandyans expectations and Portuguese response (Silva 1967, 38). Gaspar Correa (-1583) was one of the earliest historians to chronicle the Portuguese exploits in the orient (Ferguson, 2010, 3p). It was recorded that Antonio Moniz was sent with a hundred men on behalf of the King of Kandy (Ferguson, 2010, 72p). At the Kingdom the King received him with many honours, listening to his doctrine and showing great willingness to become a Christian, and would be willing to visit the King of Portugal, and pay him his tribute (Ferguson, 2010, 72p). From 1539 onwards Correa (Ferguson, 2010, 3p) deals with very important events there is the scheme of the King of Kandy to get Portuguese military aid for his conversion to Christianity. According Correa, 18th August 1546 Jorge de Sousa recorded that they had news from Ceylon that the King of Kandy had turned Christian through the teaching of the Father Francisco (Ferguson, 2010, 7 2, 85p). Vira Vikrama, alias Jayavira baptized 9th March 1546 under name of Dom Manuel. At the occasion, the King was presented a small band, put him into higher spirits and given him greater courage, as an alternative he requested symbolic payment in the form of a Portuguese style coat and a cap (Silva 1967 31/45/48). Silva (1967 35p) claims that to the Franciscan Fraternity the news was a full scale trump, as the King Vikrama Bahu was the biggest catch to fall into their net. Silva concluded (Silva 1967 29p) that the story of the attempts of the Franciscan missionaries to plant the seed of the gospel in the Kingdom of Kandy is a classic example of how the spread of Christianity in the land was inextricably entangled with political intrigue; the religious confraternity found.

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

its status during 19th Century in Sri Lanka, it provides an important hint that how much dress and Christian faith was bond together. Nevertheless, Roman Catholicism and Protestant Christianity were supported by the Kings of Kandyan Kingdom. Christianity was not only tolerated but also was respected in the Kandyan Kingdom. In 1547 two friars entered the Kingdom of Kandy, without any opposition and built a church on a piece land donated by King Jayavira Bandara, the successor of the King Vikramabahu (Peter 1983,143). In 1547, The King Jayavira Bandara donated a land to build a church. This church was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Don Peter p.43).

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

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

The Dutch admiral Joris Van Spilbergen (1568-1620) visited Kandy in 1602 on request by the King Vimala Dharm Suriya I (Paranavithana 1997 25P). It was recorded that 3rd July the clerk returned from the King of Kandy with two of the King's agents and with letters, presents of golden rings and large spear for the General. The King of Kandy through his letters and his agents of Portuguese who served for him offered all friendship and cargo that he was able to give and requested that the General would come and visit him in his royal court in Kandy (Paranavithana 1997 25p). Furthermore, the King sent a letter to the admiral presenting the friendship of his friends and enmity of his enemies (Paranavithana 1997 26). By the middle of the seventeenth century the maritime province of Sri Lanka passed into the hands of the Dutch who were first invited by the King of Kandy to help him oust the Portuguese.

The King Vimala Dharma Suriya I dressed more into Western sartorial etiquettes. The earliest known portrait of a Sinhalese King is that of Vimala Dharma Suriya I., in A.D 1602, given in Spilbergen's *Historiael Journal*. 1605, and reproduced in 'IndischeBatikunst', by Rouffaer and Jouynboll, Vol. III' (Paranavithana/Coomaraswamy 1956, p.33,XXIIplate.) Ferguson Donalds (1927, 337-409) reviews the visit of Spilbergen to Ceylon in May 1602 concluding historical records. Orientalist Nell (Vol.III, No.49) suggested that as Spilbergen and other Dutch visitors were accompanied by artists to get first- hand information of the country and so the illustration in the *India eOriental* is may be a good likeness of Vimala Dharma Suriya and his attire.

According to the image of the King the costume is consisted of an extravagant long lower cloth and a jacket for the upper body. Standard jacket of the upper body was made by mixing together different cultural influences. Coomaraswamy (1959) states that items of the jacket are similar to the Western jacket with a collar, cuffs, buttons and silver button chains. It is possible that King Vimala Dharma Suriya I introduced the jacket as an upper garment

for Kings as jacket with long sleeves and a collar which might have been adapted from Portuguese. King of Portugal (1495-1521), Dom Manuel the Fortunate and Portuguese Captains-General, Jeronimo de Azavedo as evident in the sketch of Ferguson's description (Ferguson, D.1907. p284) and Portuguese Captains-General, Pedro Lopes de Sousa who is depicted in the sketch of Silva and Beumer (Silva, De R.K. and Beumer, W.G.M.1988. p.16) were depicted with collared jacket. There is some basis for this hypothesis because the name of the jacket as stated by Codrington (1910, 19) *juwan* jacket, derived its name from Vimala Dharma Suriya I's baptismal name of Don Joao d' Austria. Consequently King Senarath (1604-35), King Vijayapala (1634-1654), King Rajasimha II (1635-87) to King Narendrasimha (1707-39) wore jackets like Portuguese.

According to the King Vimala Dharma Suriya I's own words he wanted Kandy to become a Netherlands. The king expresses his feelings as, "candy is now Flanders" (Ferguson 1927, 384). He used his education, awareness of the Western culture to impress the Dutch admiral. As the royalties gradually learnt Western language, embraced religion, and followed social etiquettes that made a suitable ambience and encouragement to those who valued the Western way of life. Christianity brought with it not only a religious faith but also a culture, mainly Christian religious culture (Peter 1983, 158). His attitude was observed by the Dutch and concluded as "Dona Catherine visits no pagodas, Don Joan the king what he does is mostly to please the Sinhalese" (Ferguson 1927,400). His real attempt was to win over the foreigner faith. Their judgment about the King was positive. The Sinhalese King was recommended by the Dutch admiral as "since Vimala Dharma Suriya I was baptized as a Christian he grew up as a great and strong man, physically sound and a man of great power and very intelligent (Paanavithana 1997 37p).

Even though the First generation of the Kingdom of Kandy was converted to Western life style coercively, the next generation was taught and trained the Western culture by their parents. Queen Dona Catherine kept Franciscans friars at the royal palace to teach Portuguese language and Western etiquettes to her children. One of the princes tutored by the Franciscans was Rajasimha II (1635-1687) who succeeded Senarat as King in 1635; another was the King Vijayapala, District of Matale of Central hills of the county took a great effort to win over the faith of the foreigner. King Vijayapala was completely converted into the Western way of life (Pieris, 1927). The dress of the King Vijayapala is well described in the collection of letters belong to him (Pieris, 1927). On his Baptism, he dressed as a Portuguese.

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

Similarly, the period from 1658-1796 is generally regarded as the Dutch period. A set of letters written by himself to the King of Portugal is in the Museum of Lisbon. Most of letters reveal his personal desires, attitudes and expectations. Once he wrote as "I seek your friendship because you are a people of good faith, generous nature, great intelligence, and high reputation, such no other nation process (Pieris 1927 27p). King Vijayapala says that "though I am a Sri Lankan by blood I am a Portuguese in my ways and my affections" (Pieris 1927,10) He was purely influenced by Western culture not only he admired the Western, but also he considered the Western as the best (Pieris 1927,27). The following description of Prince Vijayapala's normal behaviour has been preserved by an eye-witness, Captain Ribeiro as, 'he was always very cheerful and friendly with the Portuguese: but when he spoke with the natives, has bearing royal, austere, and very stately' (Pieris P.E, 1927 11p). He often wrote to the King of Portugal requesting political protection. Each letter

he carefully composed about his self-development that he gained as a Christian. His explanations definitely had the intention of impressing the Westerners. The prince Vijayapala continuously reported to the Portuguese King about his gradual development and increased the attempt when the internal enmities increased. The prince Vijayapala wrote as, "I learnt very good customs and etiquettes and some special habits which royal persons employ" (Pieris 1927, 31).

The successor of king Senerath was King Rajasimha II (1635-1687). He totally followed western dress styles. He grew up in a strong western environment. The mother, queen Dona Catherine's influences over her children was strong. Therefore, according to her supervision appreciation of western elements would have been increased at the palace.

Full figure sketch of the King Rajasimha II is depicted in Robert Knox's *An Historical Relation of Ceylon*, Glasgow, 1911. Dewaraja (1988, 16p) claims that Robert Knox depicted the conditions he observed during his period of captivity 1660-1679, these conditions tally very closely, except in minor details, with those given by British writers of the early nineteenth century, thus evident that in spite of political changes. According to his description he later lived as a free civilian among Kandyans. Therefore, it can be suggested that if he was not able to record according to his own observation definitely his description based on auditory details.

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

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

In fact, his costume differs from early king's costumes. He richly clads as a European gentleman. Unlike other kings he wore shoes, stockings and trouser. The trouser drapes straight from the waist up to ankle. The trouser seems to be a loose garment. The lower ends of the trouser are tight and fastened with buttons. As Robert Knox claims the headdress indeed is not a crown but a cap.

As he had exotic tastes we could imagine that his clothing styles were a result of the cross fertilization of many foreign features that he had acquired. Marcelis Boschewer says that King Rajasinha II could read, write and speak Portuguese indeed, at this time he closely involved with foreigners, as he was fighting or negotiating with Portuguese, Dutch, French and Danes at various times (Ferguson, 1909 43p). Ferguson (1909 42, 43 p) states that Rajasimhe's Buddhism was greatly permeated by Hindunism and some extend by Christianity.

Rajasimhe II (1635-1687) of Kandy who solicited Dutch help against the Portuguese (Dewaraja 1988 4p). Silva (Silva 2005, 172p) claims that negotiation between Rajasimhe II and the Dutch was conducted over a long period, but were successfully concluded in 1638. Each side hoped to use the other for its own ends. For Rajasimhe II the sole objective was the expulsion of the Portuguese and he was willing to pay a heavy price for this. Rajasimhe was prepared to assign them a monopoly of the spice trade of the Island in return for aid against the Portuguese. Silva (2005, 189p) explores that in April 1665 three months after Rajasimhe's fist appeal for assistance, two Dutch companies marched in the Kandyan Kingdom. Silva (2005 189) determines that the aim of the Dutch was not to save Rajasimhe but to expand Dutch power. However, During the period of 1629-36 Dutch cruisers destroyed nearly 150

Portuguese ships. Most of them in the straits of Malacca or off the Malbarcoast(Silva 2005,718p). The extension of Dutch control over all the ports of the Island had an economic motive which was Just as to establish dominance over the trade of the Island. Many ports of the east coast had been brought under Dutch control between 1666-1668 and then in 1670, a decision was taken to establish a commanding position in the Island's trade. Cinnamon had been successfully and exclusively controlled almost from the very moment of the establishment of Dutch role. The export of elephants, areca and pearls was now declared a monopoly of the company (Silva 2005 189p).

The Dutch maintained well a textile monopoly within the country. They strategically made the environment to depend only on their textiles. First they achieved the autocratic power for all maritime lands around Sri Lanka. With the political expansion of 1665 AD and the increase in the lands and subjects of the Dutch in Ceylon influenced deeply to their trade policy (Arsarathnam 1956, 159). They could now supply all these people with their clothing (Arsarathnam 1956, 158).Then they strictly restricted other private trading activities carried out by Hindus and Muslims and increased discriminatory duties. To begin with a duty of 5% on cloth,20% on salt and ¼ real on each amanam of are canut was imposed in all Dutch ports on all Muslim and Hindu merchants. In 1665 this was raised to 10% on cloth, 30% salt(Arsaratnam 1958p.160). As a result of that King Rajasimha II owing to his hostility towards the Dutch as inevitably the Kingdom happened to depend on Dutch supplies. Then people could come to the Dutch areas and purchased and sold their surpluses (Arsarathnam 1956,159). Not only that, by late 17s all cloths that were sold in the Island should come from the Dutch warehouses and stamped with the Company's seal. Other textile trading was liable to confiscation (Arsarathnam 1956, 171). There for it was became to a high demanding factor in maintaining good faith with the foreigners.

The royalty and nobles appreciated and adapted foreign dresses, material and accessories that came through trade gradually as rampage. Luxurious textiles, accessories and other exquisite articles were imported for the use of royalties and nobles during the Kandyan era. According to early records it was said that an officer of the Dutch East India Company named Van Golle took a great effort to find out some accessories to the King (Dewaraja 1988, 102). In the late seventies, the sartorial taste of Sri Lankans was improved as many nationalities took cloth from all parts of the 'Coromandel' coast into the Archipelago in large quantities. Portuguese, Danish, English, French and Indian merchants bought a great deal of cloth (Arsarathnam 1958,170).

British messengers John Pybus and Hugh Boyd (1762, 1782 AD) visited Kandy to obtain permission of the King to have trade alliances with them. Out of these significant personalities, fifty four Dutch ambassadors visited Kandy between 1701- 1750 AD (Abeysinghe 1985/86, 26-33). Abeysimhe T.B.H (1985/86,25) remarks that "the annual diplomatic mission was the instrument through which the informal agreement between the Kings of Kandy and the Dutch East India company was sustained and renewed periodically". There were also mere benefits to the Kings of Kandy.

Theoretical Analysis: Influence Process of Trial and Error Learning

Pictorial evidences represented different time period of the Kingdom, depicted Kings gradual development of Western dress desire. Early King of Vimala Dharma Suriya I (1592-1604) showed themselves in a half a way of Western etiquettes. He experimented partially without taking a high risk thus it was successful as they obtained Westerners aids without any objection from his own people. Therefore, it can be suggested that he learnt by his experiments that wearing foreign cloths gave them a profitable outcome. His novel styled royal costumes were neither similar to full Western

etiquettes nor traditional Sinhalese costume inherited from previous generation. It was developed by him through experiments by mixing the traditional outfit and Western dress styles together. But finally, a constant practice throughout many generations they realized that converting to Christianity and the wearing Western dress was the best and only way to win over the Westerners. Therefore, it is possible to recognize that Kandyan royal costume was a result of a chain of experiment of multiple trials.

This learnt behavior enhanced through generations. When the third generation began the Sinhalese King was hardly identified as a Sinhalese as his dress was totally foreign. The Royalties constantly preceded the usual procedure of sending valuable gifts, paid attention to foreigners, converted into Christianity and in the mean time they practiced the Western dress. However, as the dress is a powerful signifier that uplifted and struck than other strategies.

This experimenting process has conceptual elements similar to trial and error learning described by Thorndike (psychologist, 1911). As Thorndike explains those working of trial and error learning talk of reinforces. A reinforce is anything which makes a particular response more probable. This experiment might involve putting a hungry rat into a box with an illuminated button. When the rat presses the button it receives a food reward. Rats tend to explore their environment, and, eventually, by chance, the rat will press the button and get the food. Over a period of time it will learn by trial and error learning to press the button almost as soon as it is put into the box. The explored theory was 'a reinforcer is anything which makes a particular response more probable' (Puri and Tyler 1998, 310).

Summary

The research found out a schematic pattern in influence fashion. It was shown that political factors have direct correlation in influence fashion. Kings of the Kandyan Kingdom adapted western dress considering its political advantages. They learnt that western dress had immense capability in solving problems. At the beginning, they tried and learnt different strategies in order to win over the westerner's faith and receive military aids. During the course of time they learnt through their experience that wearing western dress give more rewards. It can be suggested that the trying of various methods, alternatives were carried out until the right one happens to appeared or be found.

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