THE TROUSER UNDER THE CLOTH:
Ceylon/Sri Lanka, personal space in decolonization

by Anoma D. Pieris
Bachelor of Science in Built Environment
University of Moratuwa
Katubedde, Shri Lanka
January, 1989

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Signature of author

Anoma D. Pieris
February, 1994

Certified by

Sibel Bozdogan
Assistant Professor of Architecture

Accepted by

Chairperson, Departmental Committee on Graduate Students

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Fig 1 Personal space in decolonization
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Abstract
This thesis examines the processes of decolonization in Ceylon/Sri Lanka, through the expressions of personal space surrounding the event of political independence. Personal space is understood as dress, manners, and lifestyle which extend to the choices made of residential architecture in each period. The period before independence, 'The trouser under the cloth', is influenced by colonial projections of self, imposed by the colonial administration. The period after independence, 'Personal space in decolonization', is seen as resistant to these previous identities with attempts made at cultural revival by emergent nationalist movements. Each of these periods feature hegemonic cultural processes and an intellectual bourgeoisie that figure prominently in their projection. The positions adopted by this intellectual bourgeoisie to promote or challenge these processes often reveal attempts at maintaining the imaginative potential of the nation. The shift from a filiative to an affiliative conception of society and their own identity provoke a more secular interpretation for 'the people'.

The objective of this thesis is to use architectural examples to illustrate the degree to which political ideology infiltrated personal space during the decolonizing process and to examine the structures that were invented/imagined, for alternative (non political) means of cultural self empowerment.

Thesis Supervisor: Sibel Bozdogan
Title: Assistant Professor of Architecture
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My parents and friends who assisted me in the collection of data and kept me informed of recent developments in Sri Lankan architecture.
I knew that man, and when I could,
when I still had eyes in my head,
when I still had a voice in my throat,
I sought him among the tombs and I said to him,
pressing his arm that still was not dust:

"Everything will pass, you will still be living.
You set fire to life.
You made what is yours."

( Neruda, "The People", from Fully Empowered )
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.........................................................................................................................3  
Acknowledgements........................................................................................................4  
Dedication ..........................................................................................................................5  
Table of Contents ...............................................................................................................6  

**SECTION 1: The Looking Glass**  
**1.0 Introduction** ........................................................................................................10  
**1.1 Theoretical Positions**  
The identity of the Nation ..............................................................................................15  
The location of Culture ....................................................................................................17  
Decolonizing cultural resistance ......................................................................................18  
The rise of Official Nationalism ......................................................................................20  
The role of the intellectual bourgeoisie ..........................................................................21  
**1.2 History - The Identity of the Sri lankan Nation** ......................................................23  
The period of Sri Lankan nationalism .............................................................................23  
Cultural resistance and the role of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie ........................................24  
Post - independence Nationalism ....................................................................................26  
**1.3 Method - Architectural representation** .................................................................28  
Cultural hegemony - Gramsci .......................................................................................28  
Imagination and invention - Anderson/Hobsbawm ........................................................30  
Cultural Signification - Barthes .....................................................................................31  
Filiation and Affiliation - Said .........................................................................................32  

**SECTION II: The Trouser Under the Cloth**  
Discussion: ......................................................................................................................34  
**2.0 Architectural representations of Empire** ...............................................................37  
British- colonial architecture ..........................................................................................38  
The Public Works Department .........................................................................................38  
The Residency ..................................................................................................................40  
Educational and religious architecture ............................................................................40  
The sports club ................................................................................................................41  
The Architect ..................................................................................................................41  
The colonial exhibition, the museum and archeology ....................................................42


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1 The Colonial Residents</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Planter's bungalow</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Colonial bungalow</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rennaissance Classical mansion</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 The Ceylonese Burghers</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Young Ceylon circle</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cultured Gentleman - Charles Ambrose Lorenz</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cultured Gentleman - Richard Morgan</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 The Emergent Indigenous Elite</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kandyan Elite</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite Formation</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Karave Elite</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social exhibition</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite Residences</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SECTION III: Personal Space in Decolonization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0 Resistance and Nationalist Revival</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early national consciousness</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist Revival</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Cultural Regeneration - Art</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coomaraswamy and tradition</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 43 Group</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 The Architecture of a New Nation</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Trinity College chapel</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Independence Hall</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New University</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Alternatives to Identity</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Eastern bungalows</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The American style</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The International style - the Baur building</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 The reinvention of the vernacular
Andrew Boyd .................................................. 155
The Pioneers .................................................. 157
  • Minnette de Silva ........................................ 159
  • Ulrik Plesner ......................................... 163
  • Geoffrey Bawa ....................................... 166
  • Valentine Gunesekera ............................... 169
  • Justin Samarasekera ................................. 170

3.5 Regional Representation ............................................ 203
The KAACC ................................................. 204
The Mahaweli New Towns ............................. 205
The Tangalle Bay Hotel ............................... 205
The New Parliamentary Complex ................. 206
The ascendency of the tiled roof .................. 208

Conclusion
Summary: ...................................................... 220
The iconography of the Kandyan roof .......... 221
The designed 'vernacular' ............................. 222

Appendix 1 History of Sri Lanka - relevant historical events ...... 234
Appendix 2 History of the de Soysa family ................ 236
Appendix 3 A description of the dress of native headmen .... 237
Appendix 4 Caste Listings ............................... 238
List and Source of Illustrations .................... 239

Bibliography
Section I ..................................................... 244
Section II .................................................... 245
Section III .................................................. 247
Fig 2 Alice, the Lion and the Unicorn.
SECTION I: The Looking Glass

1.0 Introduction

"It didn't hurt him", the Unicorn said carelessly and he was going on, when his eye happened to fall upon Alice: he turned round instantly, and stood for some time looking at her with an air of the deepest disgust.

"What is this?" he said at last.

"This is a child!" Haigha replied eagerly, coming in front of Alice to introduce her, and spreading both his hands towards her in an Anglo-Saxon attitude. "We only found it to-day. It's as large as life and twice as natural!"

"I always thought they were fabulous monsters!" said the Unicorn. "Is it alive?"

"It can talk," said Haigha solemnly.

The Unicorn looked dreamily at Alice, and said "Talk child." Alice could not help her lips curling up into a smile as she began: "Do you know, I always thought Unicorns were fabulous monsters, too! I never saw one alive before!"

"Well now that we have seen each other," said the Unicorn, "if you'll believe in me, I'll believe in you. Is that a bargain?"

( Lewis Carroll-Through the Looking Glass 1)

The act of approaching the looking glass, let alone stepping through it, expedites the process of self discovery. Yet, synchronously it liberates the imagination. For what we see is only a reflection, a reversal of ourselves into which we may weave the narrations of our own identity.

The looking glass reversal of the centre and the margin, of Alice and the Unicorn exist symbiotically within the de-colonizing process where we2 are each inadequately cast as reflections of the other within the dual identity of ourselves. We are both Alice and the Unicorn.

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1 Through The Looking Glass and What Alice Found There. ch vii The Lion and The Unicorn. pp146
Illustration - John Tenniel. The story illustrates a popular rhyme
The Lion and the Unicorn were fighting for the crown:
The Lion beat the Unicorn all around the town
Some gave them white bread and some gave them brown:
Some gave them plum cake and drummed them out of town.
2 we - refers to the decolonized society.
The Trouser Under the Cloth, *sarama yata kalisama*, is the name given to a peculiar mode of dress prevailing during the late colonial period (British colonialism 1815-1948). It was worn largely by a westernized elite and was adapted for/from the official regalia of the 'native' component of the colonial administration. It consisted of a Western-style, two-piece suit with the trouser enveloped in a traditional sarong. The short cloth thus became a gestural reference to a previous identity, manipulated against the hidden aspiration to be western. The dynamics that controlled the concealing and revealing of western aspirations created the dilemmas of post-colonial identity.

The manipulation of identity and the representation of self within the choices presented by the political environment of independence, became the legacy of the (this) select educated elite who had been both created and legitimized by the colonial administration. Whereas in the colonial period they led the avant guard of exclusive westernization, the objectives of nationalism provoked a reversal of ideological status. The cultural priorities of the educated elite shifted towards local tradition. Ironically, this reversal was mirrored by an equal and opposite shift on the part of 'the masses'. Post-independent society, demonstrated their democratic status by exercising that previously denied right of access to westernization.

The reversal of elite positions within the decolonizing process and consequent manipulation of political identity creates yet another opportunity for interpretation- the often explored duality of Ariel and Caliban in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. An intriguing image of this duality is to present the same actor playing both roles, sometimes the airy, light-footed spirit Ariel, sometimes the grotesque, contorted slave Caliban. The transformation from one character to another of the same recognizable persona is not unlike the role demanded of the intellectual bourgeoisie: servant of the empire, simultaneously empowered and subjugated. Here is a group that manipulated that contradictory position to the advantage of both themselves and their nations.

---

3 *Saramayata Kalisama* is the Sinhalese term, *Saranayata Mahattaya* translating as 'gentleman under the cloth' was another iteration of the same.
4 Members of the same elite group acted both politically and culturally.
10 E.Said Culture and imperialism p214
Architecture can be seen as one mode of self expression through which we may examine the dual consciousness of nation-ness. The architecture of post-colonial nationalism, imbued with the western ideals of modernism, is in itself a projection of this predicament. To what extent are these political projections in sync with the personal representations of self in residential architecture? To what extent is residential architectural expression dependent on the definitions imposed on it by political formalization?

Architectural identities in post-independence Shri Lanka pioneer interpretations of national consciousness through the idiom of modernist architecture. Emerging since the late nineteen-fifties, they straddle the space between two clear demonstrations of nationalistic revival (1956, 1983)⁵. Whereas the colonial image of empire was willingly appropriated by residential architecture, the political image of a new nationalistic architecture seems less acceptable. Residential architecture exists in tension between overtly nationalistic projections, and attempts at maintaining an autonomous international dimension in architecture.

By adopting Said's interpretation of the Gramscian division of consent and dominance society⁶, it is possible to analyze residential architecture both before and after independence against the background of contemporaneous political architecture. The issues considered would be the methods used to maintain the clarity of this division. The work selected, however, is largely representative of the elite clientile, and is a cogent expression of their⁷ reversed ideological position.

The critical point of departure in post-colonial architecture lies in the choice of adapting the language of the so called 'vernacular' architecture as representative of self and nation. The democratic value of this architecture is its disassociation with previous feudal hierarchy. As indigenous architecture, it displays 'timeless values' while fulfilling the techtongic, climatic and topographic definitions of contextual modernism.

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5 1956 - the Sinhala Only Bill that created a national language and marginalized ethnic minorities. 1983 - Northern (Tamil) terrorism the ethnic riots and consequant government agenda of nationalism.
"Gramsci has made a useful analytic distinction between civil and political society in which the former is made up of voluntary affiliations like schools, families, and unions, the latter of state institutions whose role in the polity is direct domination. Culture, ofcourse is found to be operating within civil society, where the influence of ideas, of institutions, and of other persons works not through domination but by what Gramsci calls consent."
7 The architects in most instances belong to the same elite group as their clientile.
However, the displacement of the 'vernacular' and its reappearance as a designed architecture, economically inaccessible to a greater number of people, reduces its potential for representation.

Herein lies the paradox of post colonial identity. The potentially democratic agendas are in most instances enforced by a powerful (political) elite in the process of creating a national identity resistant to colonialism. The accessibility to the democratic process thereafter is often limited by the same elite. The 'people' who constitute the democratic principle find themselves excluded.

Alice had seated herself on the bank of a little brook, with the great dish on her knees, and was sawing away diligently with the knife."It's very provoking!" she said, in reply to the Lion (she was getting quite used to being called 'the Monster'). "I've cut several slices already but they always join on again!"

"You don't know how to manage Looking glass cakes," the Unicorn remarked. "Hand it round first and cut it afterwards."

This sounded nonsense, but Alice very obediently got up, and carried the dish round, and the cake divided itself into three pieces as she did so. "Now cut it up," said the Lion, as she returned to her place with the empty dish.

"I say, this isn't fair!" cried the Unicorn, as Alice sat with the knife in her hand, very much puzzled how to begin. "The Monster has given the Lion twice as much as me!"

"She has kept none for herself, anyhow," said the Lion. "Do you like plum cake Monster?"8

Like Alice in the division of the plum cake, the democratized polity has become the manipulated party who are necessary for the task of cutting and serving the pieces that recreate the new nation. Yet once the initial decolonizing act is accomplished, their share in determining the policy of the independent nation is severely limited9.

By understanding the positions adopted by the intellectual bourgeoisie, we may assess their contribution to the imagination of the new nation. Their self projections are seen as representative of consent society that maintains the personal space for individual10 expression.

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8 Lewis Carrol. Through the Looking Glass p 148 same as footnote1.
My interpretation here is of Alice (the manipulated party) cutting and serving the cake yet being left no share of it.
9 By the political elite
10 selective individual in their case
The potential of consent society lies in the structuring of agendas best able to resist totalizing identities and presenting accessible alternatives for representation. Representation, for the purpose of this study, is described through public exhibition in dress lifestyle and through residential architecture. In architecture, this necessitates a critical appraisal that extends to the character of recent work so that we may consider attitudes representative of our collective imagination.

Post-Colonial, Shri Lankan architecture displays an inertia of self evaluation. Architectural representation in published/academic work seldom ventures beyond essentialism, orientalism, or the coffee table. If architecture is to participate in the formation of accessible secular identities, their is urgent need to reassess its cultural projections. This thesis is an attempt to draw the field of Sri Lankan architecture into the framework of cultural theory by exploring its potential for self representation.
1.1 Theoretical Positions

The identity of the Nation -
How does one capture that illusive moment of nation-ness, the moment of standing before a double leaf mirror to watch an image multiply ad-infinitum? How can one reclaim the individuality of the original identity once it becomes blurred through replication?

Seamus Deane describes all nationalisms as having a metaphysical dimension, for they are all driven by an ambition to realize their intrinsic essence in some specific tangible forms- an ambition that is intensified to the point of absurdity when a nationalist self conception imagines itself to be the model to which all others should conform. The result is the anthropomorphising of the nation through the invention of a 'national character' projected through political or cultural identities; the imposition of a singular definition on what is often a complex and heterogenous people.

Homi Bhaba describes how the projection of a national character places the 'people' both as the historical objects of nationalist pedagogy and the subjects of a process of signification. The pregiven historical origin that is used to authorize nationalist pedagogy is contested by the signification of national life as a repeating and reproductive process generated by the "living principle" of the people. "The scraps, patches, and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into the signs of national culture, while the very act of the narrative performance interpellates a growing circle of national subjects." The sovereignty of the nations self generation (the image of the people) is thus interrupted by the differentiated signs of self, projected by the personal space of the people.

This personal space of the people which Bhaba describes as the performative component of the national character exists in tension with the political projections of the nation. Throughout the processes of decolonization we see attempts made by political society to claim and structure personal space so as to conform to first colonial and later nationalist representations of national culture. This is often achieved through the processes of

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1 Seamus Deane, Introduction, Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature p8
2 Homi K Bhaba DissemiNation, Narrating the Nation p 297
3 Ibid
4 Ibid p 299
cultural hegemony that define for each society the elements of what Bourdieu describes as, 'symbolic capital'.

Personal space is seen as the envelope of dress, lifestyle, manners, etc. that immediately surrounds a person and provides him with the tools for individual expression. It is maintained by each successive generation through the creation of traditions that homogenize aspects of a changing identity into the personal space of the individual. But how are we to represent the heterogeneity of this personal space within the singular projection demanded by the conception of a nation?

Homi Bhaba suggests that the split between the representation and the effective ideology of nationness necessitates shifting from one enunciatory position to another. He sees this split as revealing the 'conceptual ambivalence' of modern society and offering new possibilities in interpreting the idea of the nation. "The nation reveals, in its ambivalent and vacillating representation, the ethnography of its own historicity and opens up the possibility of other narratives of the people and their difference."

The necessary ambivalence of nation-ness is also projected by the irreconcilability of the contradictions contained within its definition. Benedict Anderson describes these as the three paradoxes that lie within the concept of a nation: "(1) The objective modernity of nations to the historians eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists; (2) The formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept ...vs the irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations; (3) The political power of nationalisms vs their philosophical poverty."

The last of these paradoxes that posits the political power of nationalism against the philosophical poverty of the nation concept describes an opposition that threatens the autonomy of cultural expression. It is within this paradox that we see the loss of individual self consciousness to the forces of political manipulation. To maintain the cultural processes that empower the individual, we need to curtail the processes through which political ideology infiltrates culture.

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5 Pierre Bourdeau, Distinction 1979
6 Ibid 298
7 Ibid 300
8 Anderson Benedict, Imagined Communities p5
The location of Culture

The location of culture within the discourse of the nation requires what Said calls an 'analytic pluralism'. Culture itself may be presented through shifting definitions which often reveal the agendas that are intended. The conventional definitions of culture\(^9\) are of practices such as description, representation, communication or as a concept implying refinement or an elevated understanding. Cultural practices exist in relatively autonomous aesthetic forms yet have the power, as in the narrative form (the novel), to "block other narratives from forming or emerging"\(^11\) The relationship between culture and imperialism as represented through orientalist projections - in popular conceptions such as (folk) lore and specialized disciplines such as ethnography and historiography, are examples he gives of this condition.

The concept of society as an elevating element ("each society's reservoir of the best")\(^12\) links cultural representation to identity of a nation. Said describes it as "a theatre where various political and ideological causes engage one another."\(^13\) This form of culture is most appealing to the nationalist agenda and is used to express resistance to the colonial order. Attitudes of resistance and the repatriation of pre-colonial tradition is often propagated through education, literature or the media during the period of independence. The choice is often made of a particular cultural identity to represent nationhood. The pitfall of such self-conscious projections of culture is their reduction of a potentially heterogeneous form to something singular, essentialist or nativist.

The danger of qualified definitions lies in the marginalization of identities that do not fall directly within the selected representations. The experience of separatist movements within the decolonizing process are a testimony to such marginalizations.

In many of these cases what we are faced with is a selective cultural representation. Just as selectivity may be used to project attitudes or agendas it may also be used to exclude certain agendas that challenge representations. The appropriation of a cultural framework within which to project political agendas helps conceal the underlying motive through a

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\(^9\) Said, Introduction, Culture and imperialism
\(^10\) Ibid p xii
\(^11\) Ibid p xiii
\(^12\) Ibid p xiii Said presenting Matthew Arnold’s definition of culture.
\(^13\) Ibid p xiii
process of naturalization. In this way culture can be conceived as "a protective enclosure: check your politics at the door before you enter it." 14

"A radical falsification has become established in this separation. Culture is exonerated of any entanglements with power, representations are considered only as apolitical images to be parsed and construed as so many grammers of exchange, and the divorce of the present from the past is assumed to be complete." 15

Decolonizing cultural resistance
In the case of newly independent nations, the disentanglement of cultural representation from politicized representation requires a process which Said describes as, 'decolonizing cultural resistance.' 16 The term 'resistance' in today's expression of the word carries with it an impedimenta of imageries that have been conjured up by the experience of decolonization. Like the rabbit that is eternally being produced out of a magicians hat, it continues to exhaust the potentials of our imaginations. The occupation of this nation-space, however, is in turn a colonization by political ideologies and exclusions. What then can be presented as a 'positive' manifestation of resistance?

Edward Said maintains that, "at its best the culture of opposition and resistance suggests a theoretical alternative and a practical method for reconceiving human resistance in non imperial terms." 17 Taking the Ariel /Caliban opposition, he interprets it in the following manner.

"How does a culture seeking to become independent of imperialism imagine its own past? One choice is to do it as Ariel does, that is, as a willing servant of Prospero; Ariel does what he is told obligingly and, when he gains his freedom, he returns to his native element, a sort of bourgeois native untroubled by his collaboration with Prospero. A second choice is to do it like Caliban, aware of and accepting his mongrel past but not disabled for future development. A third choice is to be a Caliban who sheds his current servitude and physical disfigurements in the process of discovering his essential, pre colonial self". 18

He makes the valuable point that to avoid chauvenistic and xenophobic nationalism it is necessary for Caliban to understand himself within the context of the larger processes of

14 Ibid p xiv
15 Ibid p 57
16 Ibid p 215
17 Ibid p 276
18 Ibid p 214
decolonization; "to see his history as an aspect of the history of all subjugated men and women" and not as an isolated example of victimization.19

The process of repatriating a dismembered identity requires mechanisms that can displace the process of dismemberment. In resistance-culture it must posit a challenge to the hegemony of empire by usurping its hegemonic position. This shift of hegemony and the political mechanisms of its perpetration often develop through parallel or imitative manifestations of the previous hegemonic process. It presents through a parallel construct an alternative series of replications. In the decolonizing of empire, for instance, the nationalists must decode the myth of empire only to replace it with a myth of equivalent substance. "The slow and often bitterly disputed recovery of geographical territory which is at the heart of de-colonization is preceded- as empire had been by the charting of cultural territory."20

"To achieve recognition is to rechart and then occupy the place in imperial cultural forms reserved for subordination, to occupy it self consciously, fighting for it on the very same territory once ruled by a consciousness that assumed the subordination of a designated inferior other."21

The three great topics that emerge in decolonizing cultural resistance are as follows.22 First is the insistence on a coherent and integral representation of the community's history so as to "restore the imprisoned nation to itself." Language, and the revival of national culture through 'vernacular' language, is central to this idea. This saw the creation, in Benedict Anderson's terms, of "unified fields of exchange"23 that were exercised through the novel and the newspaper. Second is the perception of resistance as an alternative reading of human history that attempts to infiltrate and transform historical narrations presented by Eurocentric interpretation. Said suggested Rushdie's work 'Midnight's Children', contributes to such an effort. Third is the shift from separatist nationalism towards more integrative veins of human community and human liberation.

Decolonizing cultural resistance makes it possible to formulate a concept of nation that is independent of politically motivated processes. Benedict Anderson proposes a definition
of the nation as "an 'imagined political community'- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."\(^{24}\) This definition is generated by the personal space of the nation. Anderson attributes the possibility of 'imagining' a nation to the loss of the following certainties:\(^{25}\) First, that a particular language held access to the universal values of religion, the rise of print capitalism, and the birth of the novel and the newspaper. Second, that politics and divinity were a linear hierarchic extension; the origins of the elective democratic process. Third, that history and cosmology were a continuation, one of the other (the introduction of scientific rationalism).

Although the ideals of nationalism and liberation espouse this expandability of personal space, the pursuit of a previous western construct has too powerful associations. Similarly, the pre-colonial ordering of a feudal society is inflexible to the democratic principle. It is in the inability to extend the discussions of nationalism beyond their political representations that Anderson sees an inherent weakness in the political conception of the nation. The process of selective repatriation and the consequent exclusion of cultural material extraneous to a particular political agenda begs a form of cultural invention. Such calculated inventions run the risk of marginalizing the rejected material and restricting the cultural imagination. The reclaiming of cultural territory is accomplished through a process of invented political ideology which Benedict Anderson calls, 'official nationalism.'\(^{26}\)

**The rise of Official Nationalism**

The attempts at creating an official nationalism saw a systematic reclaiming of each one of the previous certainties through a process of re-mystification. It involved the politicizing of the imagined community by invading personal space with public space definitions. The 'erosion of the sacred imagined community' that had made space for administrative vernaculars accessible to a majority of the population had created powerful new impulses for vernacular linguistic unification.\(^{27}\) It was to create languages of power that marginalized other languages. The connection of language to previous historic generations, implying historic continuity, created access routes to old hierarchies and dynastic stratification. "The official nationalism can best be understood as a means for

\(^{24}\)Ibid p6
\(^{25}\)Ibid p 35
\(^{26}\)Ibid chapter 6
\(^{27}\)Ibid p 77
combining naturalization with retention of dynastic power.(however) in almost every case official nationalism concealed a discrepancy between nation and dynastic realm".28

The political agenda of official nationalism penetrated and propagated its ideology through mass media, educational policy and administrative regulation. It was consolidated through the series of national emblems such as flag, costume, national anthem. The particularity of these choices and the reduction of language to a sign of nationness robbed it of its imaginative potential.29 Anderson sees this process of logoization as an extension of the colonial processes of map and census. The reduction in this case of the individuality of identity to a replicable series of classification.30 Official nationalism had chosen to interpret the cultural space of the nation.

**The role of the intellectual bourgeoisie**

For post-colonial nations the interpreters throughout the decolonizing process were a particular social group known as the intellectual/political bourgeoisie. A group that had been central to the processes of resistance and repatriation. It was this intellectual bourgeoisie who acquired hegemony over cultural representation. They themselves a creation of the colonial administration selected out of the indigenous population straddled the temporal boundary between two worlds. The Trouser Under the Cloth, Alice and the Unicorn,31 all these are images of the duality of shifting perceptions.

"There was, to be sure, always a double aspect to the choreography of the great religious pilgrimages- a vast horde of illiterate vernacular speakers provided the dense, physical reality of the ceremonial passage; while a small segment of literate, bilingual adepts, drawn from each vernacular community, performed the unifying rites interpreting to their respective followings the meaning of their collective motion".32

The engagement of the bourgeoisie within the processes of resistance came with what Roberts refers to as the moment of recoil33 Here, the racist policy of the colonial

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28Ibid p 86
29In the Barthesian sense
30Anderson, *Imagined Communities* p 184
31see introduction
32Anderson, *Imagined Communities* p 54
33Roberts Michael, *People Inbetween* p 158 - " As the excelleny author of the Constitutional History of England remarks " whatever maybe the pressure of a conquered people there will come a moment of their recoil".
administration was questioned against their humanitarian projection of the enlightenment principle. Thus, the learned narrative of enlightenment could be used to challenge the intentions of Empire. Early secular nationalisms are to a great extent an extension of this narrative. The pursuit of knowledge, ensconced in the enlightenment principle, was in turn able to affect a revival of indigenous culture. This was initiated by an indigenous elite who applied western political constructs for the repatriation of indigenous identity. This parallel representation of east and west, of colonizer and colonized, co-habited during the period immediately preceding independence.

This cultural alternation is particularly manifest in the activities of the bourgeoisie due to their relative mobility within social structure. As Anderson discusses, the aristocracy had a fixed and personalized political base that was clearly identifiable and prevented self-mobilization outside a preconceived order. The aristocracy had always occupied public space and were legitimized within the boundaries of its definition. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, could structure their personal space for self empowerment. "Here was a class which, figuratively speaking, came into being as a class only in so many replications....Thus in world historical terms the bourgeoisies were the first classes to achieve solidarities on an essentially imagined basis."

The boundaries of this mobility were the boundaries of the 'vernacular legibilities' that marked the territory within which the bourgeoisie operated. The greater expansion of personal space into public territory demanded the extension and hegemony of this vernacular. The cohabitation of alternating identities had to be replaced by the identity that gave most political leverage and in the era of independence- the identity that best empowered nationalism. The political intelligensia, who were schooled by the colonial administration, had in effect to, "relearn their past through language" in order to maintain accessibility to the voting population. "The new middle class intelligensia of nationalism had to invite the masses into history; and the invitation card had to be written in a language they understood".

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34 Anderson, imagined communities, p77
35 Ibid p 77
36 Ibid p 196
37 Ibid p 80
1.2 The Identity of the Sri Lankan Nation

"The starting point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is 'knowing thyself as a product of the historical process to date, which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory...therefore it is imperative at the outset to compile such an inventory."" 38

The period of Shri Lankan Nationalism

The period of Shri Lankan nationalism is painfully described by the attempts to address internal cultural differences. Situated strategically at the southern tip of the Indian subcontinent and limited by a natural frontier of ocean, Sri Lanka may claim suzerainty over her own vacillations. She has always been independent, heterogeneous, and until recent times, non-ethnographic in her national representation. Her traditions assisted/dismembered by several hundred years of colonial domination are largely borrowed or invented. Essentialist notions in her national agenda project the identity and interests of a largely indigenized Sinhala (Buddhist) identity that constitutes seventy-two percent of her sixteen-million-strong population. Sinhalese implies the speakers of the Pali derivative Sinhalese language that is associated with Buddhism. Buddhism, since its introduction to the country in 250 B.C., has created a formidable legacy of traditions in the forms of art, literature and architecture. This legacy, often closely allied with the existing dynastic tradition, has by virtue of its antiquity been applied didactically to the identity of the nation. This identity marginalizes the remaining per centage of the population in terms of their ethnicity (Tamils 20.5%, Moors 6.7%, Burghers and Eurasians .4%, others .1%), and also in terms of religion (Christianity, Islam and Hinduism) In short, it marginalizes migrant identities that defy homogenization. However, the identity of many migrant groups are blurred by absorption, integration and indigenization to such an extent that the original Sinhalese (Aryan) identity has no clearly ethnic claiments. The dynastic principle itself is sufficiently exemplary of crosscultural miscegenation.40

38 Antonio Gramsci, *The Prison notebooks: selections* p 324 refered to by Said in *Orientalism* p 25
40 Marriages between Ceylonese and South Indian Royal houses being common
Due to the smallness of its size and the autonomy of its geographical location, the Sri Lankan example is an intense vignette of the decolonizing process. Her post-colonial consciousness is marked by her efforts at self invention and dogged by the miasmatic results of those efforts.

Like most post-colonial nations, Sri Lanka experiences a duality of perception regarding culture. On the one hand is the political projection of the essentialist avatar shrouded in a rhetoric of blame that is manipulated by the nationalist agendas. On the other hand is the Orientalist projection of the 'native' peoples against the humanist projection of the Westerner. These are the mixed messages that formulate post-colonial cultural values. Further along the journey towards modernization, we may see an a cultural representation of the dominant industrial processes and the conversion of 'culture' into a tourist commodity. Crucial to post-colonial identity is the ability to resolve these dichotomies and represent culture through its multifarious complexities.

How could Sri Lanka best represent her cultural identity as the "hybrid heterogenous, extraordinarily differentiated and unmonolithic" creation that it is? How can she best express her two-thousand-year-old civilization and her four-hundred and thirty years of colonial experience that have become hopelessly enmeshed within her single identity? I would like to return to early projections of nationalism and the choices of a secular, humanistic, democratic principle to understand how those perceptions were demonstrated.

**Cultural resistance and the role of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie**

Historical examples of acts of resistance (such as the 1817-1818 and 1848 rebellions in the Kandyan provinces) dated from an early period, but these were extensions of opposition to initial British domination. They were encounters between the British and the Kandyan people instigated by the aristocracy displaced through British dominion. This group were replaced by a westernized elite a product of the colonial order. We find, however, that the effort to maintain the narrative continuity of history calls upon such incidents as markers that maintain the separation of colonial from national culture.

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41 Said, *Culture and Imperialism* p xxv referring to colonized cultures.
42 K.M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka* chapter 17
If we are to trace the moment of recoil in the history of Ceylonese nationalism it would be the moment when 'negative consciousness' seeped into the self consciousness of the Ceylonese 'Cultured Gentleman'. The cultured gentleman, a projection of colonial, orientalist values, was a social projection appropriated by the Burgher (creole) and the indigenous urban elite population. Nurtured within the colonial order and schooled in the enlightenment principle, it was they who first projected its egalitarian and humanitarian rationalism against racist exclusiveness.

The 'negative consciousness' that grew within the Burghers of Ceylon was provoked by the derogatory label 'half caste' that was thrown in their direction by the colonial administration. This overt racial prejudice even led them to refer to themselves as 'men of colour'. Roberts describes this act of donning a nativist mask in defense of their position. In the Gramscian sense, this would be perceived as an example of hegemonic practice, "when those of subordinate status don the symbols of their subordination."

Thus the ideology projected by colonial rule is reproduced to effect its own exposure. In offering and maintaining intellectual avenues of resistance, the Burghers placed themselves in a 'didactic and reformatory' role which points out Roberts was paralleled by the leaders of sinhalese nationalism. The important difference between these two parallel agendas, however, was that while the burghers projected a Ceylonese patriotism, the Sinhalese nationalists were formulating an ethnocentric resistance.

On the part of the emergent ceylonese middle class the force of resistance was an extention of their stand against the discrimination of the empire's moral order. At first they reacted by distancing themselves from the process of homogenization imposed by British ethnographers. Whereas the greater number of the population were reduced to the status of objects in the series of native representations, the middle class had maintained individuality by allying themselves with the moral order of the Empire. It was only when overt racial discrimination by the British contradicted the validity of this order that they began to present opposition to British policy. The British attitude towards these primary efforts was to label them place seekers exploiting an opportunity for self

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43 Roberts in People Inbetween introduces the idea of 'negative consciousness in the Gramscian sense as used by Ranjit Guha ( A rule of property for Bengal )
44 Roberts, People Inbetween p153
45 Ibid p 152
46 Ibid p8

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advertisement. The Ceylonese had begun to question the schizophrenic attitude of imperialism.

Thus initial resistance to Empire and the consequent repatriation of the indigenous culture was effected by a group of individuals who had shifted their alliances from Empire to the Ceylonese Nation. The same rigour that they displayed towards the accumulation of western knowledge was now directed towards consolidating a national consciousness. The processes of repatriation often ran parallel with and extended a challenge to the colonial order. In the case of Buddhism, for example, the religion was reorganized according to the victorian moral order as a form of Protestant Buddhism. It involved the invention of a catechism, the introduction of pandols and carols and a culling of superstitious cultural practices. In the case of national identity, it involved the invention of dress, language, cultural morality and associated symbolism. The pressure to chose particular representations for a national identity were digressing from secular interpretations.

Post-independence Nationalism
In Ceylon the post-Independence era (after 1948) was a gradual saturation of political ideologies and official nationalisms. These, in turn, were delineated and reinforced by the claims of marginalized groups and consequant separatisms. The power of linguistic (vernacular) nationalism in the context of the decolonizing experience extended a political invitation to the urban and rural masses. At the level of sign and symbolism the repatriation of cultural territory was consolidated by implicit dynastic references. Memory of pre-colonial hierarchies were used to validate post-colonial power structures. The weapons of linguistic nationalisms were wielded and sharpened against the representations and representatives of the colonial cultured gentleman. The rise of linguistic nationalisms inundated any possible solidarities of a secular nature.

It is evident that contemporary Sri Lankan political representation favours Sinhala Buddhist identities in its nationalistic agendas, demonstrated in recent allusions to dynastic symbolisms and heraldic motifs often depicted architecturally. This is perhaps a

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47 Ibid p 120
48 Ibid p81
49 The first political representatives of the Ceylonese nation was through the Ceylon National Congress that represented the English speaking middle class opinion.
50 Gananath Obeyesekere, Colonel Olcotts reforms of the 19th century and their cultural significance
reaction to national insecurities created by Tamil terrorism and the recent Indian presence. It is important, however, to view these manifestations as equally instrumental in marginalization.

What is most compelling about the Sri Lankan experience is its dislocation. The layering of invented identity is discernible, the imaginings are self evident, the vacillations predictable. The complexity seems to be created by the agglomeration of separable antecedents. But most of all and perhaps most important, the 'imaginings' of this 'community' by virtue of numbers (or lack of it) are no longer an abstracted notion but a physical reality. The Sri Lankan consciousness is in most instances the consciousness of an enumerative group.
1.3 Method-Architectural representation

"We live of course in a world not only of commodities but also of representation, and representations-- their production, circulation, history, and interpretation-- are the very element of culture. In much recent theory the problem of representation is deemed to be central, yet rarely is it put in its full political context, a context that is primarily imperial. Instead we have on the one hand an isolated cultural sphere, believed to be freely and unconditionally available to weightless theoretical speculation and investigation, and, on the other, a debased political sphere, where the real struggle between interests is supposed to occur. To the professional student of culture-- the humanist, the critic, the scholar-- only one sphere is relevant, and, more to point, it is accepted that the two spheres are separated, whereas the two are not only connected but ultimately the same".51

Representation, like nation-ness, calls subliminally upon the resources of the collective imagination. The naivete with which rural children clamour to have their photograph taken is curiously not in anticipation of the the product- i.e. the photograph. It is the act of being captured in time, being represented, that satisfies their imagination. Their's is a projected faith in the invisible process of photography. For many post-colonial nations, however, the choices that are made are largely dependent on the magnanimity of the representer, and the "acquiescence of those who (in Marx's words) cannot represent themselves and therefore must be represented by others."52

Cultural hegemony - Gramsci

Cultural hegemony expressed in Gramscian terms describes a form of hegemony where "the supremacy of a social group manifests itself either as domination or as intellectual and moral leadership. In his book Orientalism 53, Edward Said further elucidates the Gramscian interpretation of hegemony as a form of cultural leadership that might exist in a society which is not totalitarian and where certain cultural forms predominate over others. This creates a distinction between civil and political society, where civil society is made up of voluntary/non coercive affiliations and political society is made up of state institutions that play a dominant role in society. Culture would, by Gramscian interpretation, be " found operating within civil society, where the influence of ideas, of institutions, and of other persons works not through domination but by...consent."54

51Said, Culture and Imperialism p 56
52Ibid p 277
53Said, Orientalism pp6-7
54Ibid p7

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These distinctions allow us to explore the co-existence of these facets of society within the form of a class-based cultural hegemony that blurs the clarity of their separation." For Gramsci, it serves primarily to demonstrate that civil society, which in liberal thought is presented as an autonomous sphere having no relation to claim interests is, in fact, the place where the hegemony of the bourgeoisie is exercised". For Gramsci, it serves primarily to demonstrate that civil society, which in liberal thought is presented as an autonomous sphere having no relation to claim interests is, in fact, the place where the hegemony of the bourgeoisie is exercised".55 Edward Said further describes how Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* illustrates the process by which imperialist hegemony is extended through the nationalist bourgeoisie. "To tell a simple national story therefore is to repeat, extend, and also to engender new forms of imperialism. Left to itself, nationalism after independence will crumble into regionalisms inside the narrow shell of nationalism itself".56

Post-colonial architectural discourse (in Shri Lanka) extends from the early integration of colonial styles up to present day regionalisms. Primarily, it encompasses self conscious representations of the colonized and decolonized people within the framework of political architecture. Juxtaposed to the dominant form of architectural production (political society) runs an undercurrent of residential architecture (civil society) which we may interpret as a fairly autonomous form of self representation. The counterplay of the one against the other reveals the pattern of cultural hegemony prevalent during post-colonialism and offers us an interpretation of the continuous drama of social change.

My use of Gramsci’s analysis is intended as a tool by which to expose the processes of cultural hegemony. It is an exploration of Gramsci’s presentation of the organic intellectual allied with an emergent class against ruling class hegemony. The objective is to assess the projections of a secular nationalism by individuals or groups who are, "mainly led, not by their class spirit but by a general humane spirit."57 The closure of the Gramscian argument is in the projection of a hegemony of the working class and the creation of the integral state.58 I would like to discuss Benedict Anderson’s description of the rise of the vernacular languages as a democratizing process59 while keeping in mind the Gramscian distinction. For architecture, particularly architecture in decolonized nations, the repatriation of the vernacular architecture has presented a strong opposition to

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55 Chantal Mouffe, Introduction, *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, p10
56 Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, p159 reference by Said in *Culture and Imperialism* p 273
57 Arnold discussed by Said in Introduction: Secular Criticism, *The world the text and the critic*. p15
58 Mouffe, Introduction, *Gramsci and marxist theory*. p 15
59 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, chapter 5
political projections in the field of cultural representation. Being largely generic and domestic in its scale it is perhaps ideally manipulated between civil and political structures. Concentrating on residential representations, this thesis hopes to discuss the progression of Ceylonese/Shri Lankan architecture from colonial mansions to a designed vernacular.

**Imagination and invention - Anderson/Hobsbawm**

In an attempt to clarify the division or merger of political and consent attitudes in prevailing architectural examples, I have chosen to illustrate this condition through the distinctions of *invention* and *imagination* as presented by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*. Anderson is critical of Ernest Gellner's commentary that, "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist." 60 Anderson argues that Gellner assimilates invention to 'fabrication' and falsity rather than imagining and 'creation'; - seeming anxious to show that nationalism masquerades under false pretenses yet implying that true communities exist which can be advantageously juxtaposed to nation. Anderson’s definition of nation is as an imagined political community that is imagined as both limited and sovereign.

The Invention of tradition’ by Hobsbawm's definition illustrates a process by which attempts are made to establish continuity through the repetition of certain self conscious practices. Self conscious because it supercedes the requirements of pragmatically-based norms. Hobsbawm describes networks of convention and routine as not being, "'invented traditions' since their functions and therefore their justifications are technical rather than ideological.(in Marxian terms belonging to the base rather than the super structure)." 62 This distinction between base and super structure is once again connected to invention by Timothy Brennan who comments on,"the way that various governments invent traditions to give permanence and solidity to a transient political form".63 .It is important to recognize the distinction between the processes of invention that release the potential of the creative act and the processes invented for its delimitation.

Having adopted the position that the ‘imagined community’ of the nation is interrupted or encouraged along the course of its imaginings by invented traditions, it is possible to

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60 Anderson, *Imagined Communities* p 6
61 True is criticised by Anderson as an essentialist projection.
62 Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* p 3
63 Timothy Brennan, The national longing for form, *Nation and Narration* p 47
explore the extent to which each of these creative devices may contribute architecturally to the definitions of self against the framework of official nationalism.  

Cultural signification - Barthes

Finally I would like to apply a Barthesian analysis to deconstruct the mythologies appropriated on either side of the decolonizing process, the construction of the cultured gentleman before independence, and the construction of official nationalisms.

Taking Saussure's definition of the sign as a double entity composed of the signified and signifier, Barthes presents myth as "a type of speech chosen by history" that may appear in the representation of, for example, a photograph, an object or a newspaper article. By Saussure's definition, the signified is the concept; the signifier is the acoustic image; and the relation between concept and image is the sign which is a concrete entity.

In the case of the cultured gentleman, for example, the signified would be elite status. This status is consolidated through a system of signs and symbols. The signifiers I have selected are dress and residence as public display. However, myth, according to Barthes, is a second-order semiological system. That which is the sign in the first system becomes a mere signifier in the second. Thus these manifestations of elite status, in turn, signify the imperial categories of legitimization. The fundamental characteristic of the mythical concept is its appropriation by a particular group at whom it is directed. In this case, emergent elite seeking legitimization. Finally, myth has a double function of creating an understanding and making an imposition.

During the passage into the second order of the system (in passing from meaning to the form), the image loses some knowledge which is received once again in the form of the concept. This emptying out of the meaning in order to assume the form empoverishes the original signifier. Homi Bhaba suggests that there is a disjunction of signifier and signified within the dissemination of the national ideal which contributes to the ambivalence of 'Nation' as a system of cultural signification. He addresses what he terms "the double narrative of the people" A pedagogical definition of nationality

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64 Anderson, Imagined Communities, chapter 6
65 Saussure, Course in general linguistics referred to by Agrest and Gandelsonas in Ideological Consumption or Theoretical work
66 Roland Barthes, Mythologies, p 110
67 Ibid p 114
68 Homi Bhaba, DissemiNation, Nation and Narration pp 291 - 320
becoming inappropriate when applied to representing the cultural heterogenity of a people.

In the case of official nationalisms for example the signified is 'national identity'. It is consolidated through signs selected from invented and existing traditions. The choice of representative signifyers create exclusions. For example, the symbol of the Lion on the national flag of Ceylon implied the Sinhalese race (sinha=lion therefore lion race) and excluded other races. This was protested and rectified in 1952 with two stripes representing the Tamils and other minority groups. The signs of official nationalism, however, are meant to be appropriated by the entire nation. At the second level the sign would therefore imply the motives of the signified as an ethnocentric representation. The signifyers I have selected are traditional architectural features.

Barthes further presents myth as a form of depoliticized speech which accelerates the processes of naturalization. These signs claims innocence of political agendas and assume 'authentic' or timeless interpretations. This analysis may be applied in the case of essentialist, nativist and vernacular architectural representations. The representation of identities, separate from their historical circumstances, renders them available for commodification.

"Bourgeois ideology continuously transforms the products of history into essential types...it cannot rest until it has obscured the ceaseless making of the world, fixated this world into an object which can be forever possesed, catalogued its riches, embalmed it, and injected into reality some purifying essence which will stop its transformation, its flight towards other forms of existence."

Filiation and Affiliation- Said
Edward Said, in his discussion of secular criticism, describes how the passage from nature to culture is marked by the passing from filiative to affiliative relationships within the social order: "...the transition from the failed idea or possibility of filiation to a kind of compensatory order that whether it is a party, an institution, a culture, a set of beliefs or even a world vision, provides men and women with a new form of relationship." Whereas filiation is dependent on blood ties and biological relationships, i.e. "the realms

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69 Ibid p 143
70 Ibid p 125
71 Said Edward, Introduction: Secular Criticism: The World the Text and the Critic
72 Ibid p 19
of nature and of life,” affiliation is generated through processes that belong exclusively to culture and society.

These new affiliations emerge as forms generated by the modern cultural process for itself and, "demand a validity which transcends the moment and is emancipated from the pulse of life." Life according to Simmel, "is always in opposition to form." Thus, cultural processes may emerge as criticisms of a filiative order. This opens up a framework for the operation of the intellectual bourgeoisie for as Lukacs suggests, "only class consciousness, itself an insurrectionary form of an attempt at affiliation, could possibly break through the antinomies and atomizations of reified existence in the modern capitalist world order." The liberative potential of affiliative social organizations, however, often collapse into the old filiative definitions in attempts to maintain hegemony over particular expressions of culture. This is achieved by, "(reinstating) vestiges of the kind of authority associated in the past with the filiative order."

The body of this thesis has been structured so as to describe the shift from filiative to affiliative relationships that are marked by the event of independence. This shift is apparent in the changing social representations during and after colonialism. The period before independence, 'The Trouser Under the cloth', is marked by filial relationships such as race caste etc., and shows how each of these groups represented themselves through their choice of colonial residences. These choices also extended to dress and public display of elite status. The period after Independence, 'Personal space in decolonization', is marked by affiliations between groups of individuals responding to the emerging national consciousness. It is at first described through the secular identities projected by the intellectual bourgeoisie that later succumbs to official nationalism. Residential architecture during this period is an expression of the identity projected by particular styles in architecture and adopt attitudes towards nationalist representations. In each case, the intention is to examine how personal space was maintained in the context of current political representations.

73 ibid p 20
74 Ibid p18 Said discussing George Simmel
75 Ibid p 19 Said discussing Lukacs' History and Class Consciousness
76 Ibid p 19
77 Ceylon became Independent in 1948

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SECTION II: The Trouser Under the Cloth

Discussion:
"The photograph, fine child of the age of mechanical reproduction, is only the most peremptory of a huge modern accumulation of documentary evidence which simultaneously records a certain apparent continuity and emphasises its loss from memory. Out of this estrangement comes a conception of personhood, identity which, because it cannot be 'remembered' must be narrated." 1

The period before independence2 of what I chose to refer to as the late colonial period under British domination is an important backdrop to emergent nationalisms. It is a period during which elite formation as a recognizable process is most distinct. Architecture is seen as one of many representations which sought to maintain the hegemony of colonial culture through the process of elite formation. The position adopted by certain filiative, elite, ethnic groups was to appropriate the values of the empire. My intention is to present the position of the Ceylonese elite during the early Twentieth century so as to examine how it became reversed with emergent nationalisms.

The narrative is located in what Anderson refers to 'homogenous time'3- the time space of the newspaper and the novel. A few contemporary novelists that use 'nation as metaphor' have reintroduced geneology into the timeframe of the novel thus inventing a framework for a narrative sequence (e.g. Salman Rushdie in Shame, Gabriel Garcia Marquez in One Hundred Years of Solitude) . I have chosen in this study to adopt the devices of both geneology and photograph to introduce my own narrative for architecture. It is a device by which I will attempt to maintain a temporal continuity while describing the architectural expression of the period.

For this particular section, I will rely heavily on the invaluable source book of the period-the Twentieth century Impressions of Ceylon, edited by Arnold Wright and published by the Lloyds' Greater Britain Publishing Company Ltd in 19074. It was compiled so as to express "the value of a fuller knowledge of the Britains Beyond the Sea"5 and the

1Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, p 204
2Before 1948
3 Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities p 24 in reference to the term used by Walter Benjamin, in Illuminations p 265
4 During the time of governor Blake and under his patronage.
5from preface, Twentieth century impressions of Ceylon.
contributions in the form of photographs of elite men their families and their residences are an appropriate testimony to the aspirations of the period. For my analysis on the Burghers and on Elite formation, I am indebted to the work of Michael Roberts on this subject.6

To maintain the chronological clarity of my geneology (and largely due to accessibility of information) I have selected the geneology of a particular Karave7 elite family, the de Soysa/Pieris family from the town of Moratuwa, to describe the transformation of indigenous peoples through the hegemonic appropriation of western culture. I am particularly interested in its architectural manifestations. My use of the terms elite, bourgeoisie, or middle class, unless specified may be considered interchangeable.

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6People Inbetween is a collaborative work by Roberts, Raheem and Colin-Thome; I will refer to it through Roberts the first of its authors (as it appears on the cover) for convenience.
7Fisher caste
Fig 3 Map showing some significant locations on the island Ceylon/Sri Lanka
2.0 Architectural representations of Empire

"The Earth was made for Dombey and Son to trade in, and the sun and moon were made to give them light. Rivers and seas were formed to float their ships; rainbows gave them promise of fair weather; winds blew for or against their enterprises; stars and planets circled in their orbits, to preserve inviolate a system of which they were the centre". 8

The administrative unit of the colonial powers in the island 'Ceylon' grew out of a small migrant settlement adjacent to a sea port and was fashioned for colonial habitation. Successive generations of Portugese and Dutch colonials fortified themselves within this area which had once housed Moorish and southasian traders. The site was first selected and fortified by the Portugese in 1505 because of its adjacency (6 miles) to the royal court at Kotte which had a monopoly over the trade of cinnamon. When the court, for the sake of self preservation, was shifted to Kandy in the central highlands, Colombo still remained the accessible colonial centre. The Dutch strengthened the fortifications further. In time, and with commercial expansion under British rule, Colombo grew to signify the power interest of the nation.

"All these western powers made Colombo the principle distributing center of the Island's import and export trade, and recognized it as the capital city of Ceylon. Thus Colombo grew in the past five centuries by filling marsh land and cutting back jungle around a bleak coastal headland which was its nucleus. In a sense Colombo is a city forced on the peoples of Ceylon in spite of themselves. It was never a creation of their own choice or making."9

When Kandy, and thus the whole island, fell under British dominion in 1815, Colombo was maintained as a direct route from a port via Kandy to the newly established plantation sector.

"Once the Central highlands became a centre of coffee production (1830s - 1880s), the primacy of this axis was confirmed, albeit transformed into one of manifest economic significance - a conduit for the appropriation of surplus".10

The introduction of the first railway line 1857 -67 and a network of roadways consolidated this position.

8Dickens Charles, Dombey and Son p 13 (refered to by Said in Culture and Imperialism p50)
10Michael Roberts, People Inbetween, p 101
The journey from the provinces to Colombo, facilitated by newly built roads and new methods of transportation, became a journey for social mobility, attracted by commerce, beurocracy, and education. The colonial city expanded with the feverish opportunism of its pilgrims, and ancient identities were discarded in favour of colonial precedents.

"By the early Twentieth Century Colombo had grown to be a primate city, dwarfing the other towns in its settlement size and its functions. Above all it was by then, if not earlier the centre of political and financial deals within the island, its principle port and the arena for social display. One of the most remarkable developments in the history of British Ceylon was the manner in which so many of the provincial notables and magnates in other urban centres eventually ended up in Colombo."11

**British-colonial architecture**

The architecture of Empire was best expressed in the area of Colombo known as the 'Fort', in reference to the previous Dutch and Portugese fortifications. Under the British, these walls were rapidly demolished to allow for further expansion. The few examples of Dutch-period buildings remaining in Colombo present an interesting contrast to their British-period neighbours. The Dutch hospital building on Canal row with its long low verandah, tiled roof and interior courtyard is a fairly muted expression of imperial dominance. The British-period buildings, in contrast, adopted a Renaissance Classicism of continuous arcades and elaborate decoration. This style which had been applied throughout Europe "was presumed to reflect fundamental and eternal principles."13 The scale and grandeur of their imposing presence expressed and elaborated on the intentions of Empire. It was an invention for perpetuating British superiority through self aggrandisement. The choice of renaissance classical style was selected by the British as 'universally' applicable, and being of mediterranean origin, adaptable to a warmer climate. Unlike their predecessors who limited spectacle to religious architecture, the British extended it to the buildings for commerce, administration and the military.

**The Public Works Department**

The execution of these buildings by British engineers took place under the auspices of that the Public Works Department. This institution which has its beginnings in the very inception of British rule undertook the construction of roads, railways, bridges, municipal works and architecture. "In Britain the Royal Engineering College at Cooper's

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11 Ibid p 27
12 18th Century
13 Norma Evenson, *The Indian Metropolis* p 47
hill was created in 1871 specifically to train civil engineers for the Indian PWD. Ceylon, no doubt, benifitted. Dominated by Royal engineers and civil engineers, The Public Works Department was responsible for practically all the political representations of the imperial presence in the period architecture. To get some understanding of the processes involved, we may extract a record from the scrupulous history of the Public Works Department. The following is a description of the construction for the main administrative building of the PWD in 1908.

"Owing to the foundings of the buildings being poor, it was considered necessary to reduce the weight upon them as much as possible by erecting a building of composite construction, i.e. a steel framing with light brick walls or linings. This work when completed will be the first public building of this kind in Colombo, in that practically the whole of the pillars, stanchions, roof and dome are of steel, with the walling composed of compressed lime and clay bricks. The foundations were formed by sinking 150 cement concrete cylinders varying from 8 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 6 inches in diameter to a depth of 10 feet below ground level. The whole of the external and verandah cylinders 122 in number are linked solidly together by means of a armoured concrete girdir... The first floor will be composed of concrete in a series of arches with galvanized corrugated sheet iron along the intrados. The work done during the year has been the sinking of all the cylinders and the laying of the lower half of the armoured concrete girdirs. several bays of steel framework have also been erected, and the rest of the steel work is well in hand at the factory."

The complexity of the construction process is evident. The British were instrumental in the introduction of new materials and factory processes which were necessary for the scale of buildings undertaken. Fresh from the experience of the industrial revolution and eager to experiment, British colonial architecture accentuated the difference between industrial methods and the local unmechanized systems. The role of the architect in the PWD was less important. The buildings were generally according to the beaux arts plan with elaborate details and decorations.

"The building is two storeys and the elevation is to be finished in red brickwork, slightly relieved by cream brickwork dressings and terra cotta details, while on the front and sides there will be a spacious verandah to both floors. The elevation has been designed in a suitable and effective manner, a broad and free treatment being arrived at. The angles are strongly marked by projecting masses, the porch and gable sufficiently marking the centre, whilst a plain octagonal brickwork tower and concrete dome afford a striking finish to the whole composition."

The PWD building stood amidst an entire generation of like imposing structures. Among others described are the General Post Office designed by Mr Tomalin, the Colombo

14 Ibid p 48
15 Bingham, History of the Public Works Department, vol 1, p 89
16 Ibid
Railway Terminus designed by Messrs Slinn, and the Colombo Museum designed by Mr J.G. Smithers.

**The Residency**

Equally prominently placed in the city and falling within the jurisdiction of the PWD architecture, was yet another form of political architecture - the Residency. As might befit the colonial representative of the crown the Governors residence was a large and elaborately designed mansion which expressed his authority and served as a popular model for extravagant residential architecture. In fact, the early descriptions of architecture in the city of Colombo were often a catalogue of residency buildings. A degree of prestige was attached to the building type, and the Queen's House Colombo was later to become the residence of the President. The PWD records describe a number of residencies. 17

The PWD records have this account of Queens house from James Cordiner's description:

"The house formerly occupied by the Dutch governor van Angelbeek is the largest and best dwelling house in the fort of Colombo, and is now (1807) occupied by Major General Right Hon.Thomas Maitland, Governor of the island. It is situated in the principle street, and composed of two regular storeys. From the upper balcony on one side is an extensive view of the sea, the road and shipping. On the other is a richer prospect, comprehending the lake, Pettah cinnamon plantations, and a wide range of the inland territories, bounded by Adam's Peak and many lesser mountains".18

**Educational and religious architecture**

Educational and religious architecture in the British period was situated at the margin of consent society, and expressed colonial attitudes through stylistic agendas and associations. They expressed a British, rather than colonial identity, and replicated stylistic examples. Whereas schools would immitate the forecourt and surrounding buildings of the British Public school pattern (e.g. St Joseph's College, The Prince of Wales College), church architecture was a manifestation of the Gothic style. Unlike the religious buildings of other colonial powers that had undergone many transformations,

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17 Ibid, vol I, II, III - the Government house Colombo 1799, the house of a Dutch gentleman Mr Sluisken which was occupied by governor Frederick North before he removed to Hulsdorff, the house of van Angelbeek later(1807) occupied by Thomas Maitland (also known as Kings/Queens house), Mount Lavinia House built under Sir Edward Barnes, and the Kings Pavillion Kandy by the architect captain R.E.Brown.

British Colonial churches seemed to have been transplanted from some little town in England. It is interesting, however, to note that this continued to be the norm even when the patronage of construction became local.19

The Sports Club
Yet another social institution through which British hegemony was exercised was in the realm of sport and its institutionalization in the form of the club. Roberts describes that as the institutionalization of leisure by the Victorians took root, several British clubs—the turf club, the lawn club, the golf clubs, and a cricket club located themselves within the residential suburb. The club called for specific attire, various types of leisure activity such as cricket, bridge, or ballroom dancing. The games would be introduced through the curricula of leading schools.20 Since they were inaccessible to Ceylonese and other 'blacks', the middle class set up their own clubs. The Orient club, founded in 1894, was one such opposition that barred members of the British community from becoming members. It was to some extent a challenge extended to the British policy of exclusion, a challenge that countered the policy through parallel denial. Being so, it had a highly cosmopolitan membership within the Ceylonese society and reflected the anglicized world of the rising local elite.

The architect
The status of the architect within the colonial administration is best described through an example of the work of Mr James George Smithers FRIBA (1833 - 1910), the first government architect of the PWD.21

"During his eighteen years (1865 -1883) residence,(he) designed and carried out a large number of buildings all over the island, and always so far as we know with approval. Old residents will recall how freely Mr Smithers artistic taste and professional attainments were called into requisition in preparing for the reception of Royalty,...For it will be remembered how he was called to design and carry out the arrangements, buildings and construction of the Ceylon court at the Colonial and Indian exhibition in London 1886 (including the 'Ceylon Tea House', Ceylon Porch - now at the imperial institute and); also the ornamental Indian screens enclosing the Ceylon court and other works at the Paris exhibition, and the dagaba forming the central feature and other works at the Glasgow exhibition."

19.e.g. The Holy Emmanuel Church Moratuwa, built under patronage of the deSoysa family was built as a Gothic Cathedral complete with marble pillars, wooden arches, stained and coloured windows and with a solid 120 ft tower. (The De Soysa Saga p 41)
20Michael Roberts, People Inbetween p 103
21Bingham, History of the Public Works Department p 151
Among many administrative buildings the most important work carried out during his period in office was the Colombo Museum. Founded in 1877 by Sir William H Gregory, this building was to house the cultural artifacts that were being discovered through archeological excavation. On retirement, J G Smithers published an exhaustive work on the architectural remains of Ceylon titled *Architectural remains, Anuradhapura Ceylon, comprising the Dagabas and certain other ruined structures; measured drawn and described by J G Smithers*. It was published by the colonial government.

The activities of the architect extended beyond physical architecture into the realm of representation. In the case of Smithers, we see his participation in three areas of orientalist classification practiced by Empire.

**The colonial exhibition, the museum and archeology**

The PWD architect was called upon to represent political images of Empire at home and in Europe in reduced architectural forms through the colonial exhibition. While the Tea House and the Porch are British colonial 'inventions', the dagaba (stupa) is a reflection of orientalist interests in archeology developing at the time.

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition also displayed seven Sinhalese men, four employed as attendants at the Ceylon Tea House, and the others on display as the carpenters and silversmith who had created the exhibits. Such attempts at ethnographic representation of a colonized people and their reduction to a replicable series for classification was operative in the colonial administration (e.g. census map and museum). My interest in mentioning the exhibition is threefold. First, it focuses on architecture as representation of Empire, and describes a process through which the colonized culture is displayed through/as artifacts. Second, it extends the role of the colonial architect to encompass representation at home. And third, it describes a link between the local elite and the processes of colonial representation (the objects at this particular exhibition were largely provided by the de Soysa family previously mentioned, the carpenters being from their hometown Moratuwa)

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22 Ibid
23 Introduced with the carriage
25 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, chapter 10
The role of the museum and archeology was to create internal political distinctions. As Anderson observes, "museums and museamizing imagination are both profoundly political."26 The popularity of orientalist studies and the collection of artifacts for British museums had initiated an "archaeological push" which, according to Anderson, had three manifestations.27 The first of these was in education where a conservative educational program was created to resist efforts at more progressive schooling. A revival of 'native' culture assisted in keeping the 'natives native'.

The archeological reconstruction of historic monuments was projected so as to maintain the ideological advantage of colonialism. The ancient monuments were presented as built either by another race (not of the 'natives') or posited against their present decadence.(they "were no longer capable of their putative ancestors' achievements")28 Ironically, it was these very avenues of representation that were repatriated and re-invented to fire the culture of resistance.29

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26 Ibid p 178
27 Ibid p 181
28 Ibid p 181
29 To British colonialism
Fig 4 Figure ground map of Colombo today indicating arcaded colonial buildings, the President's house, and the Public Works department.
Fig 5 The architecture of Empire: above - arcaded commercial buildings in Renaissance Classical architecture
below - The Public Works Department.
Fig 6 above - Religious Buildings, St Thomas' Mutwal and All Saints Hultsdorp
below The Orient club, Colombo
2.1 The Colonial Residents

"On the contrary", said Anthony, "perfectly imaginable. The club every evening between six and eight; parties at government house; adultery in the hot weather, polo in the cold; incessant bother with the Indian servants; permanent money difficulties and domestic scenes; occasional touches of malaria and dysentry; the monthly parcel of second-hand novels from the Times Book Club; and all the time the inexorable advance of age --- twice as fast as in England." 30

The dwellings of the British-colonial residents in Ceylon may be broadly divided into two categories: the colonial bungalow with its adaptation to a warm climate which we find in the coastal regions, and the planters bungalow that replicates the British country house and is found in the more temperate hills. I would like to begin by discussing the manifestation closest to Empire - replication.

The Planters bungalow

One of the major undertakings of the British in Ceylon was the creation of a plantation industry in the central highlands for the production and export of coffee and coconut in 1837, and later coconut cinchona, tea and rubber. This necessitated the construction of roads and railways and the topographical transformation of an entire region.

Said observes that John Stuart Mills projects the colonies as, "outlying agricultural or manufacturing estates...(that) cannot be regarded as countries with a productive capital of their own...[but are rather] the place where England finds it convenient to carry on the production of sugar, coffee and a few other tropical commodities." 31 This leads to the "physical transformation of the realm through what Alfred Crosby calls ecological imperialism " 32

Whereas the first generation of British in Ceylon had been commercial, administrative and military personnel, there now came the next generation in the form of planters. The British planter, usually allotted plantations in the hill country, built for himself an image of an English country house and lived in the style of a manor. The architecture of Nuwara

30 Aldous Huxley, Eyeless in Gaza. p 230
Eliya, an English colony created in the central highlands, is a town-size expression of this anomalous position.\textsuperscript{33}

Originally created in 1825 as a convalescent centre for troops, Nuwara Eliya became popular due to its temperate climate. In 1846, Governor Edward Barnes decided to establish a colony encouraging the construction of stately homes by leading British personalities. The grey stone churches and Tudor style houses, red brick post office, clubs, rose gardens, golf course and brewery served to complete the picture. Nuwara Eliya is an example of colonization where the appearance of an entire area was physically transformed to replicate empire. So much so that a recent advertisement for the exclusive 'Hill Club' (hotel) Nuwara Eliya carried a slogan to the effect that since England is full of foreigners one might find an unspoilt piece of England at the Hill Club in Nuwara Eliya. The town remained exclusively British until the turn of the century (1910), when Sir Solomon dias Bandaranaike and Mr F.C Loos were the first Ceylonese to have built houses there. (It was only around the first world war that a number of Ceylonese began to build there- Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and ELF de Soysa are mentioned.)

Other isolated examples of consciously replicated British residences such as Tudor style buildings do exist, but were more often oddities, the results of nostalgia or efforts made at a visual facade level. In Colombo, the present Wycherly college the residence of Jonathan Spittle is one such example, and at Andigama is Dacre's castle, built along the lines of Warwick castle in England by the planter Dacre F.C.Dyson is yet another extreme example. It is important to note that due to the novelty of the plantation industry and of the colonization of the central highlands, this building type had no previous precedent.\textsuperscript{34}

The Colonial bungalow
Apart from the British planting community, the remainder of the colonial population inhabited urban centres. They performed a range of services within the colonial administration. Their numbers were augmented by a large Burgher population.\textsuperscript{35}

"The British community in and around Colombo were highly stratified....officers, lawyers and businessmen drawn from the upperstrata of society in Britain and the 'petty

\textsuperscript{33}Donovan Moldrich, The Story of Modern Nuwara Eliya.
\textsuperscript{34}Since the British were the first to colonize the central highlands
\textsuperscript{35}Burgher - People of Dutch and Portugese descent who stayed on during British rule.
world' of the soldiers, policemen, shop assistants, valets, coachmen, artisans, governesses and maids."

In the coastal regions the more typically adapted British colonial bungalow had a previous colonial precedent. However, these dwelling types differed greatly from the dwellings of the Dutch through the introduction of certain elements. The Dutch house was built in kabuk (laterite) with a long, low-eaved verandah and gable roof and was far simpler in style than the British bungalow. The bungalow usually a masonry building retained the verandah with the addition of a porch and a side (office) room introducing hips and bays into the roof structure. In plan the Dutch 'Sale'or hall was converted to a deep central living room extending further through a grand archway into a dining room. As always, bedrooms were ranged on either side of the central space while the kitchen and bathrooms were entirely separated. The separation of the kitchen served the dual purpose of avoiding both the servants and the heat and soot of the stove. The residence of the British colonial would be adequately described through the bungalow example and be seen as an adaptation of houseform to a different climatic circumstance.

The architecture of the colonial bungalow both during the Dutch and the British period was generously appropriated by the local urban population. It is most apparent in coastal towns such as Colombo, Negambo, Moratuwa, Panadura, Galle, and Matara. Appropriation took place largely via a newly formed urban elite who communicated colonial attitudes and lifestyles to their own caste communities. This elite was created by colonial trade out of marginalized coastal caste communities, a large number of whom were sometime immigrants. The marginalization from the established caste hierarchy fired their sense of opportunism, and the first move towards elite status was marked by the purchase of a colonial residence.

The examples of colonial bungalows that I have chosen to illustrate are specific in their connection to elite status. They are buildings that were to reappear later in the possession of families of the local elites. The colonial owners of these houses were either British or were members of the privileged Burgher population.

Among the residences purchased from British owners the most famous is Bagatelle house in Colombo. It was built by Charles Edward Layard (in 1822?) and was described as a

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36 Michael Roberts, People Inbetween, p 50
37 The office room was often an embellishment, used as a bedroom for the son/sons of the family.
38 On the Western Coast North and South of Colombo.
magnificent mansion. At the time there seems to have been a tendency for naming houses after games.\textsuperscript{39} The 19th-century illustration of the building (it is no longer standing) shows a large, two-storey house with a colonnaded verandah standing in a well-laid-out garden. Charles Edward Layard was the father of CP Layard, a civil servant and among other offices held that of the first mayor of Colombo. Bagatelle was bought by Jeronis de Soysa and became the property of his son Charles. In 1870, Charles Henry de Soysa entertained Queen Victoria's son, Alfred, in these premises and hence changed the name to Alfred House. Among other houses of British owner-ship purchased by the de Soysas were Brodie House, Coldecott House and Selby House.

**The Renaissance Classical mansion:**
In the latter half of the British colonial period, a new form of architecture began to replace the bungalow. Appearing first in the form of the colonial residency, its style rapidly infiltrated colonial circles. It was a domesticized version of the Renaissance Classical style invented once again for self-aggrandisement. In Ceylon, this residential type was most frequently replicated in the colonial capital. Norma Evenson describing the architecture of Madras and Calcutta comments that,

"However comfortable a dwelling, the bungalow by this time was being supplanted by the externally more impressive classical mansion. It was reported that the bungalow was 'not to be considered as a criterion of the general aspect of English residencies, which are usually lofty and stately-looking mansions, with facades adorned with spacious porticos supported on pillars of sufficient width to admit two carriages abreast.' The interiors of such houses were described as being much the same as in England".\textsuperscript{40}

The change in architectural style was supported by lavish decoration of the interior and a life style far more extravagant. Evenson suggests that the introduction of Palladian style in England (e.g. Chiswick house) was perhaps responsible.\textsuperscript{41} Benedict Anderson quotes this as exemplary of official nationalism which,

"permitted sizeable numbers of bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie to play aristocrat off centre court: i.e. anywhere in the empire except at home. In each colony one found this grimly amusing tableau vivante: the bourgeoisie gentilhomme speaking poetry against a backdrop of spacious mansions and gardens filled with mimosa and bogainvillea, and a

\textsuperscript{39} Bagatelle was the name of a game played on a table having a semi-circular end with nine numbered holes. Balls were struck from the other end with a cue. It has been suggested that this may be the reason for the name.

\textsuperscript{40}Norma Evenson, *The indian Metropolis* p 55

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid p 48
large supporting caste of houseboys, grooms, gardeners, cooks, amahs, maids, washerwomen, and above all horses.42

This was a position that was similarly transferred to the local elite who would assume positions of status that were functional only within the margins of the colony and whose ascent did not proceed beyond its boundaries. Thus it was this style of architecture and accompanying lifestyle that was most instrumental in describing the coming of age of elite status. To get an idea of the processes involved in this architectural style, I have included an excerpt from the autobiography of Dr. Lucien de Zilva, a burgher gentleman who built his house 'Tintagel' in 1929, towards the very end of the British period.43 The architect employed was Mr. Homi Bilimoria.44 This was a time when electricity was available to private residences.

"The central corridor running from north to south had a marble fountain with coloured electric bulbs. The corridor was enlarged to a hexagonal space round the fountain, and the concrete floor above was cut to coincide with this area, and a wooden carved railing was fixed for protection. The roof above the aperture was covered with hundreds of glass tiles. This contrivance was copied from the Hope de Paris, Seville. Unlike most big buildings in Colombo which were dark in the centre, this house was flooded with light. For the front verandah and the steps I procured marble from north India, like that used by the Moghuls in Agra. The verandah was paved with white slabs, and a row of black slabs next withion the outer border of white....A hundred and twenty one points of electric light were available. The front verandah and the corridor had large pendant globes. The drawing room with its parquet floor of teak blocks was floodlit. The north west corner of the house had a tower like those in front, and was accessible by a wooden staircase, leading up to an entrance with a top covered by a movable lid...The maintenance of such an establishment was expensive, and required a large staff of servants. We had a butler with a white turban and coat, a house cooly, cook, kitchen mate, dressing boy, two ladies ayahs, gardener and poultry man, three grooms for three horses, chauffer for the ladies, car cleaner to go about with me, as I always drove myself, and to assist chauffer in the maintenance of four cars, two burgher seamstresses who came home in the morning and went home after tea.

This particular example also mentions attached bathrooms and kitchen, a feature that was becoming more popular since the introduction of electricity. A similar description would accommodate many elite mansions of the period. The attention to detail expensive materials mouldings turrets and towers appeared and re appeared in these styles. Although an architect and most often a British architect would be involved in the house design the architecture of the period was dependent on the skills of building contractors.

42 Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, p 150 - 151
43 Lucian de Zilwa, Scenes of a Lifetime p 169-170
44 Who is described as a Parsee architect.
Over long years of experience certain contractors had gained a reputation for building in the colonial style and were able to accommodate a large variety of details. One such contractor is Wapche Marikar whose personality is thus outlined in the Who's Who of Ceylon 1928. Born of 'humble beginnings', he was able to establish himself as a building contractor and landed proprietor well known for his honesty and as a respected member of the Moorish community. Among the public buildings, he built were The Galle Face Hotel, The Colombo Museum and Zahira College (which to a certain extent was endowed by him). A number of residences were created under his expertise for elite families in Colombo. Curiosly, in the case of most residences, it was the name of the client and the contractor that lingered. The individuality of the architect seemed unimportant. For the best examples of these types of residences, one must examine the lifestyles of the emerging elite.

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45 He is reputed to have built College House, Donald Obeysekere's house, and Belvedere
Fig 7 The Planters Bungalow: above- Broomfield belonging to Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, below- Dacre's Castle
Fig 8 British Colonial Residences: above - The old Quee’s house, Colombo, drawn by Andrew Nichols. 
below - The 19th Century sketch of the Bagatelle mansion
Fig 9 A typical plan of a Dutch house, measured drawing by Varuna de Silva
2.2 The Ceylonese Burghers

The position of the burghers in Ceylon are important because of their situation within a rising westernized middle class, and the alliances they sort with early nationalisms. The status of the burghers under the British, although not equal, was governed by definite advantages. The British considered them "valuable auxiliaries" in the perpetuation of colonial rule in the island. Their knowledge of the 'natives' proved useful to the new administration. Their alliance to their European descent was considered a given.

They filled the majority of clerical posts in civil, military and judicial offices and was described as the "backbone of the Clerical Service". Their position outside the caste and communal system allowed them to play an important legal role as arbiters and enabled them to, "provide reciprocal patronage to rising Sinhala merchant princes". They had access to certain clubs, freemasonry and other British social institutions. They formed alliances through schools, churches and the legal institution. But most important, the burghers became an exemplary medium through which the local elite would inbibe the 'refinements' of English culture.

What we witness is, "a process in the constitution of a status group in British Ceylon, the fashioning of its middle class. The values of this status group, the ideal of a Cultured Gentleman, were part of the process by which the middle class constructed its power in the polity...the process by which the middle class were incorporated into the British colonial order".

The Young Ceylon circle

Let us examine the constitution of the cultured gentleman and the hegemonic process by which he was instituted. The example I have chosen is that used by Michael Roberts in his work People Inbetween, the example of the Young Ceylon circle. Young Ceylon was a periodical created by a group of burghers, C.A Lorenz and the brothers Nell, for the enthusiastic pursuit of "the spirit of enquiry (which it regarded as ) the distinguishing feature of the present age." This may be understood as the beginning of

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46 Michael Roberts, People Inbetween p 47
47 Ibid p 90
48 Ibid p 93
49 Ibid p 67
50 Ibid p 59
an affiliative relationship although it was a selective representative of a particular group of people. Its motto\textsuperscript{51} was "We have united for Art and Knowledge and emulate one another in various competitions" Roberts describes their work as the adoption of Augustan, Romantic, Christian and Liberal ideas\textsuperscript{52} and places it within the enlightenment legacy of the period. Roberts further discusses the projection of civilisation as the self consciousness of the west and manners (respectability) as the expression of the inner man.

What is critical about Roberts' analysis is his effort to draw associations and parallels between the ideals of the Young Ceylon circle and the inspirations of early nationalism. The search for knowledge, according to Roberts, influenced the re-orientation of certain members of the elite within Sinhala culture. Two of the alliances sited by him are one, the contributions made to Young Ceylon by James de Alwis, an early nationalist and the purchase made in 1859 (from John Selby\textsuperscript{53}) at their instigation of the newspaper, the Examiner. The Examiner, under the editorship of their group not only supported the launching of the first Sinhala newspaper the Lakminipahana in September 1862 but also described it as, "setting forth...the genesis of Ceylon national life, as a paper that braved...the breeze in fighting against anti -native spite and malice, as a journal with which are associated the proudest memories of our national history, the examiner is precious to us Ceylonese. It is the oldest monument of native talent, it alone proved in early days that a Ceylonese could do as much as an Englishman".\textsuperscript{54}

The position of both the promotion of the Lakminipahana and the purchase of the Examiner are significant from the point of view of the role newspapers play in creating a national consciousness (a factor which Benedict Anderson describes as a daily ritual that contributes to the concept of an imagined community).\textsuperscript{55} The significance of the above description is the burgher identification of themselves as Ceylonese in opposition to the English- a factor that was to feature strongly in the pro-liberation and anti-racist attitudes engendered through the enlightenment ideal. We see the strong expression of patriotic sentiments in the following verse by Louis Nell.

"Oh my poor country! I may well explain
Too well I guess Thou art unloved though won

\textsuperscript{51}Ibid (translation from Tieck's dedication to Schlegel)
\textsuperscript{52}Ibid p v
\textsuperscript{53}of Selby house
\textsuperscript{54}Roberts, People Inbetween, p 159
\textsuperscript{55}Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, p 34
The Burghers continued to support a Ceylonese non-ethnic, identity during the period preceding Independence. Their position can be seen as similar to that of creole pioneers in the new world. However, the rise of biogenetic nationalism was to effectively quell these ideals. The negotiations for a definable ethnic identity that could manipulate the franchise of the majority excluded burgher interests and provoked their, "shift from the centres of power brokerage to the margins."

**The Cultured Gentleman - Charles Ambrose Lorenz**

Returning to architecture and recognizing the impetus to emulate the described values through lifestyle and behavior, I would like to describe the residences of two burgher 'gentlemen', C.A Lorenz and Richard Morgan. These two personages are connected in many ways. A private correspondence from Lorenz to Morgan regarding the principal objective of the *Examiner* states, "we shall prove that Ceylon after all has arrived at a position when her children can speak for themselves; and that, in doing so, they can exercise the moderation which even English journalists have failed to observe." This implies that the attitude is one shared by both Lorenz and Morgan and, indeed, both their lives are exemplary in their attitude towards the nation and its inhabitants. Both their photographs "grace the treasured family album of the Hannedige Pieris's", and their houses are among the Pieris purchases.

The houses of Lorenz, for indeed they are many, were appropriated by leading families of existing and emergent elites who came to prominence during colonialism. The purchase of the house implied the acquisition of the 'symbolic capital' with which it was associated (namely lifestyle, society, status). The reputation of C.A. Lorenz epitomized the aspiration of 'the cultured gentleman'. "He became as Roseta Henry has observed a culture hero for burghers in both contemporary and subsequent generations" Roberts points out that the construction of Lorenz into a Gentleman hero was facilitated by his

56Michael Roberts, *People Inbetween* p 157
57Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, chapter 4
58Michael Roberts, *People Inbetween* p 178
59Ibid p 159
60Ibid p 93
61Ibid p 70
62Ibid p 81
affiliations with three powerful networks: Burgher notables, the old boys of the Colombo Academy and the legal profession.

"he possessed a methodical rigour and commitment to his profession which led him to organize study classes, publish law reports and write learned treatises, a social interest which embroiled him in the publication of a newspaper, as well as the discussions in the legislative council and the agitations of the Ceylon League in the 1860's and a joie de vivre which brimmed over in music making and bandingale".63

Lorenz was born in 'Rose cottage', about half a mile from Matara fort. It is described as a single-storeyed house of moderate size with a fairly large compound reaching down to the river. Lodge harmony, where the family moved to later, adjoined Rose Cottage and is described as larger and more commodious. "Lodge Harmony is equipped with a double drawing room and a large number of large, lofty and well ventilated rooms." A sketch of one of the rooms shows the family engaged in the enjoyment of music making, and explains how Lodge Harmony acquired its name" for one daughter is seen playing on the spinet, the forerunner of the piano, another on the harp, the elder son on the cello and the younger son Charles Ambrose himself, on the flute on which he was a most skilled performer."65 Before he left for England in 1853-55, Lorenz is said to have resided in sea street in the Pettah or old residential quarter. The Pettah and Mutwal were residential quarters adjacent to the Fort and harbour and home to the early colonial, and consequently, the elite population. It was, however, this very adjacency that accelerated its demise. Development of the port and the coal dust from steam ships soon made these environments unhealthy and provoked an exodus of its inhabitants. The newer residential areas at the turn of the century were Cinnamon Gardens, Kollupitiya and Bambalapitiya. Lorenz owned houses in Mutwal and Maradana.

In Maradana66 he lived first at Gatherum, situated at the heart of a forest (now a dense urban area) where he was known to entertain frequently. It is suggested that this accounts for the name of the house, gather-em.67 This house was later acquired by Tudor Rajapakse, a leading entrepeneur of the Salagama (cinnamon pealer) caste- caste that came to prominence during Dutch times through the cinnamon industry. He was made

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63Ibid
64E.H.Vanderwall, The Homes of Lorenz 122 - 123
65Ibid
66Maradana is from marandan meaning cinnamon.
67E. H.Vanderwall, The Homes of Lorenz p 127
Mudaliyar of the Governors gate in 1890. The house is still in the possession of his descendents.

From here Lorenz moved to Elie house in Mutwal, a house built by Mr Philip Anstruther, Colonial secretary (popularly known as the one armed Rajah). Mr Anstruther named it Elie house in honour of his ancestry for he was "the grandson of the third baronet of 'Elie House' in the country of Fife", Scotland. Anstruther sold the house to Mrs Angela Brown who in turn sold it to Lorenz for 2500 pounds. The grounds were said to have been over fourteen acres and planted with tropical fruit trees imported from Singapore. Elie house was recorded in the history of Ceylon by Emerson Tenent in 1859.

"The most picturesque spots in the environs of the town lie to the north of the fort on the angle between it and the embouchure of the river Kalany; and here, after a few weeks to the Governor, we took up our residence at Elie house, a mansion built by Mr. Anstruther my predecessor in office. It stands on the ridge of a projecting headland, commanding a wide prospect over the Gulf of Mannar; and in the midst of a garden containing the rarest and most beautiful trees of the tropics, tamarinds, jambus, nutmegs, guavas, mangoes and oranges, the graceful casuarinas of Australia, and the beautiful travellers palm of Madagascar".

I have included the entire excerpt so as to illustrate the preoccupation with detail and hyperboly common to writing at the time. The last occupant of the house before it was torn down to make room for a reservoir was the Maha Mudaliyar Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike the leading member of the established low country elite of the Goyigama caste (Farmer caste). Sir Solomon, as he was known, was the father of SWRD Bandaranaike, the second prime minister of independent Ceylon. Sir Solomon mentions Elie house in his memoirs stating his reluctance in giving up this beautiful residence in 1903 which, "the materialistic demands of a utilitarian age doomed to a watery grave." 

"The structure itself, of which not a vestige remains, consisted of a solid building with twin towers that gave a unique view of the harbour and docks." I have included an illustration from Tenent which is perhaps the only record of this legendary place. Today the site is a park in Mutwal. Among other owners of Elie house Sir Solomon mentions John Rodney, Captain Baley and the Rajapakses (the Rajapakses being the same family who occupied Gatherum).

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68 Ibid p 127
69 Tenent, Ceylon p 166
70 Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, Remembered Yesterdays p 2
71 Ibid p 114
Towards the end of his life, C.A Lorenz occupied two houses. Teak Bungalow was his country home in Kalutara. His Colombo residence in Maradana was Karls Ruhe, meaning Charles' rest. It is here that a few months after entering it in 1871 he expired. I might mention that among his pall bearers were Mr R.F.Morgan and Mr.C.P.Layard whose houses are mentioned. The house was later gifted to his niece Eliza Labrooy who sold it to Louis H.S. Pieris (who married Celina the daughter of C.H. de Soysa). It finally came into the possesion of the Wesleyan mission and is presently occupied by the principal of Wesley College.

The Cultured gentleman - Richard Morgan

Louis Pieris was a member of a leading Karave elite family whose geneology is the subject of discussion. Another residence purchased by the same Louis Pieris is Whist Bungalow, the residence of the burgher gentleman Sir Richard F.Morgan.

What is most interesting about Richard Morgan is his alliance to two rival caste fractions the Goyigama and Karave elite. At the heart of this conflict was the Goyigama position at the head of the long-standing caste structure, a position that was being threatened by the 'upstart' Karave elite. Although Morgan was connected to the Goyigama elite through "the marriages of three of the Morgan girls to the de Saram men in the latter part of the nineteenth century", he still maintained connections with the de Soysa family and, as a lawyer, even argued against Goyigama attempts to perpetuate caste distinctions. When he journeyed past Moratuwa in 1858 in order to board a steamer bound for Europe, Susew de Soysa intercepted him and presented him with a purse containing one hundred sovereigns. When The church of the holy Emmanuel built on de Soysa donations was consecrated in Dec 1860, Morgan addressed the luncheon gathering held later at the de Soysa wallauwa (manor house). When the marriage between C.H. deSoysa and Catherine de Silva was objected to on the grounds of religious incompatibility (Protestant and Roman Catholic), Morgan was one of those who interceded.

Perhaps the most significant negotiation undertaken on behalf of the de Soysas was in 1870 when they were granted the priviledge of hosting the Duke of Edinbugh, Prince

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72 Since his family were of Prussian descent this has been obseved as being appropriate. E.H.V, *The Homes of Lorenz*

73 Ibid p 132

74 Michael Roberts, *The People Inbetween*, p 93

75 Ibid

76 Ibid
Alfred the future king of England at a banquet - the only non-official reception within the low country. Roberts describes this as a major triumph for the Karaves over the Goyigama clan and one met with a degree of consternation. In each of these incidents we see clearly the steps taken towards elite status. The circumvention of caste structure, the show of wealth, the building of a church, and the entertainment of Royalty - these steps were carried out under the guidance, perhaps the patronage, of a person like Morgan. Since the deSoysa and Pieris families are closely connected, the acquisition of the Whist bungalow may be seen as an extension of the same inspirations. A description of the Whist bungalow published in 1883 by Ernst Haeckel, a German visitor to the island, recreates the atmosphere of this period.

"Whist bungalow owes its extraordinary name to the circumstance that its first owner, an old English officer, at the beginning of the century, used to invite his friends out to this remote ville to play whist on Sunday evenings... It was enlarged to its present handsome dimensions by its next owner, a certain lawyer named Morgan.... The large garden was planted with the finest trees and ornamental shrubs. A handsome colonnade and airy verandah were erected round the house, which was much enlarged, and the spacious and lofty rooms were fitted with every luxury in a princely style. For many a year dinners and wine parties were given here..." 78

The bungalow was seized by creditors at Morgans death because of outstanding debts, and the house closed up. The story goes on to describe the rumour that the ghost of Morgan haunted the villa after his death - a rumour so firmly ensconsed in the minds of the villagers that the house remained deserted for years. It was later purchased by Louis Pieris and then by C.S Anthony. It has now been converted into a wedding hall by the government.

The names of these houses, an identity bestowed upon them as objects of prestige, established their continuity throughout generations of owners. Although the fame of a particular owner did in fact perpetuate that of the house, the era of buildings that were identified through their owners was to come in another generation. It was a generation where the elite who created them had accumulated adequate 'symbolic capital' to garuntee recognition.

77 Ibid
78 Ernst Haeckel, A Visit to Ceylon, chapter iv
Fig 10 Houses of Lorenz: above-A Musical Evening at "Lodge Harmony" in Matara, below - Elie house.
Fig 11 Houses of Lorenz: above - The verandah 'Gatherum'
below - Gatherum
Fig 12 Houses of Lorenz: Karlsruhe plan and front elevation
Fig 13 Houses of Lorenz: above- Whist Bungalow from the 1876 map of the site below- L.H.S. Pieris and family in the garden (from photograph with L.S.D. Pieris)
2.3 The Emergent Indigenous Elite

"The Sinhalese are partial to Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield and Birmingham manufacturers.... The higher ranks indulge in the best wines which are liberally dispensed at their parties to European guests; and no people in the world set a higher value upon British medicines, stationary and perfumary; or relish with keener zest English hams, cheese, butter, porter, pale ale, cider, sherry, herrings, salmon, anchovies, pickles and confectionary, all of which they prefer to similar imports from France and America."\(^{79}\)

Until the interruption through colonialism, the social structure of Sinhalese society had been fashioned according to a "caste regulated corvee system known as rajakariya"\(^{80}\) (service to the King). At the top of this structure, Goyigama (farming caste) were the majority and their subcaste, the radala, were what may be considered an aristocracy of families associated with the kings court in Kandy. The remainder of the caste structure was distributed among a number of service groups of lesser importance, and new migrants from India were often absorbed into their identity.\(^{81}\) The Karave (fisher), Durave (toddy tapper) and Salagame (cinnamon pealer), are examples of castes that absorbed Dravidian migrations and began as depressed communities. The caste structure was relatively flexible, however, and during colonial times these same groups, through alliance to colonial ventures, ascended to higher positions within the existing structure. (see appendix)

The Kandyan Elite

To better juxtapose the processes of elite formation, it is necessary to begin by presenting an image of the Radala community (Kandyan aristocracy). A very telling contrast is presented in comparing the photographs of the 'Orient club' with that of the Kandyan chieftans as represented in the Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon.\(^{82}\) The members of the Orient club are dressed as British gentleman whereas the Kandyan chieftans are decked in the regalia of the royal court. This interpretation is deceptive, however. Gradually, the Kandyans too were appropriating British lifestyles and education. Their access to these were limited by the British administration. Tikiri banda Panabokke (1846 -1902) was born to a Kandyan family and gives us some idea of the

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\(^{79}\) J.W. Bennet 1843 p 48 refered to in Roberts, People Inbetween p 70
\(^{80}\) Michael Roberts, Caste Conflict and Elite Formation, p1
\(^{81}\) Roberts observes that unlike in India the Ceylonese caste system was a measure to maintain kinship within social status, apparent in the lack of attention to maintaining manifestations of social distance.
\(^{82}\) published in 1907

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impact of British rule on the Kandyans. The atmosphere at the time is described as one of violence and oppression and the fragmentation of families fleeing the Kandyan capital. We must keep in mind that unlike in the maritime provinces, this was their first experience of colonialism.

"They ...got scattered in the various districts and provinces...the opportunity for taking counsel for their corporate existence was rare. And doubtless, the instinct for such action atrophied and died a natural death....there they were, each family struggling for bare existence; their political power wholly gone; their means vastly reduced; their capacity for action attenuated and themselves wholly lost in despair. Looking back on this unhappy period I can see ...we were just allowed to fade away." \(^{83}\)

No doubt the British contribution to the 'fading away' of the Kandyan aristocracy was intentional. The two rebellions in 1817-1818 and in 1848 had exacerbated these intentions. The result is that no clear examples of pre-British 'Kandyan' residences are available. They have been considerably infiltrated by the British bungalow, although the courtyard and verandah appear consistent. The descriptions of 'Wallauwa' architecture—the name given to the village headman's residence are often the subject of authors like Wickramasinghe, representing the lifestyle of the late colonial period.

"Behind the rock lies a small grove of trees and low fruiting shrubs of many varieties. Beyond this grove is a massive house with walls two feet thick; the jak-wood doors and windows, darkened by age to a blackish brown are proportionately huge. The jak-wood pillars supporting the roof of the verandah are so thick in girth that a small boy cannot lock arms around one of them. A rafter in this house would not be smaller than a beam in the mansion of today. Those who lived in this house, which is said to have been built before the end of the Dutch occupation of the maritime provinces are of ancient lineage and unbending. The great ancient house has withstood the ravages of sun, rain, wind and time with an enduring strength far better than a house built in the present days. The lintels and walls that have confronted these forces solong, solid, unshaken reveal ample evidence of their ravages." \(^{84}\)

The infiltration of Colonial forms into the Kandyan residential style prevent the examination of a typological precedent. The hybrid architecture that results however maintains architectural elements that reveal the social structure still in evidence. These social structures were maintained more rigidly among the Kandyans whereas among the low country elite they were readily discarded.

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\(^{83}\) Savithri Goonesekera, *Tikiri Banda Panabokke, Legal personalities of Sri Lanka*, Lecture v, p 5

\(^{84}\) Martin Wickramasinghe, *Gamperaliya*, chapter 1 from the translation by Lakshmi de Silva
Fig 14 The Kandyan Elite: The Keppetipola Walauwa first floor plan
Fig 15 The Kandyan Elite: The Keppetipola Walauwa second floor plan, section and verandah.
Fig 16 The Kandyan Elite: Ellapola House, plan of first floor and frontal view
Fig 17 The Kandyan Elite: plan of second floor and section
Elite Formation

The impact on British rule on the processes of elite formation was thus concentrated on the maritime provinces with Colombo as its focus. The 'Sinhalese' groups that availed themselves of these opportunities were the Goyigama elite, who had connections to the Radala and the marginalized caste groups that had emerged during colonialism. The Goyigamas, who saw themselves as holding 'legitimate' elite status were to frequently contest the positions of the other castes within the colonial administration. Among the Tamils, the 'Wellala' (a farming caste parallel to the Goyigama in terms of status) was offered similar opportunities by the colonial administration. These first attempts at elite formation by the British were structured through the caste hierarchies of the pre-colonial order. This, however, was to change considerably with the access in coastal regions to wealth and an English education.

The elite acquisition of what Roberts identifies as the 'symbolic capital' of the period was a social veneer applied to the foundations of newly-acquired wealth. It acted as an avenue by which to legitimize and maintain their new status within the colonial order. It was an attempt by the middle-classes to manufacture self respect in the face of British superiority. For the previously undermined caste groups among the Sinhalese (i.e. Karava, Durava, Salagama and certain Goyigama subcastes), it was an opportunity to exercise their new found status. An opportunity that provoked caste rivalries between the emergent castes and the established Goyigama hierarchy and intensified the need for social exhibition. The city of Colombo and the residential quarter, Cinnamon gardens, became the arena for social display.

"The construction of palatial mansions, with neat driveways and gardens was just as much a part of this status competition as elegant dress, handsome cab or profligate wedding reception. These practices represented the extension of a principle, that of conspicuous consumption for symbolic purposes, that was firmly rooted in traditional Sinhala village practice. But in Colombo (and the other towns in Sri Lanka) it was played out with material forms and material artefacts that were often of Western origin".

The Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon, published in 1907, was an opportunity for substantiating social position. Created as a documentation of colonial Ceylon, its

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85 the term is introduced by Pierre Bourdieu, in Distinction
86 Michael Roberts, People Inbetween, p 104
87 Fisher, Toddy tapper, Cinnamon Pealer and farmer subcastes
88 Michael Roberts, People Inbetween, p 104
industry and commerce this volume also included a section on the indigenous people. Whereas some of these representations were largely ethnographic, a large portion at the end of the volume was made available for self representations of the local elite population.\textsuperscript{89} Although dependent on the self description of the families who paid for the inclusion of their contributions, it became a sourcebook for elite status. A recent publication in the 1990's \textsuperscript{90} of an updated version indicates the social validity of the association. The pages of the \textit{Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon} contain several layers of information. Among these, the choice of Christian names, names of houses, dress and architecture displayed in the representation of the Ceylonese are exemplary of their position. We must keep in mind, however, that it was only representative of a small group of Ceylonese. If English literacy could be considered some measure of elite status, the literacy in 1901 was a mere 3.0\% of the population, and by 1921 it had increased to a mere 5.2\%.\textsuperscript{91}

**The Karave Elite**

The families I have selected as representative geneologies occupy many of these pages. Since they are members of a particular caste group, the Karaves, I have attempted to support my observations with comparable illustrations of the rival \textit{Goyigama} caste group, who were challenged by similar circumstances. Let me begin with a brief outline of the forces that contributed to their improved circumstance during the colonial period.

Michael Roberts in his work on caste conflict and elite formation credits the cultural flexibility of the \textit{Karaves}, i.e change of religion, movement within caste hierarchy, to their late infusion within the Sinhalese social structure. The \textit{Karaves} (Fisher), like many coastal caste communities, were the result of recent migrations (13-18th centuries) who had become indigenized and assimilated into the Sinhalese society. As such, they had remained on the margins of the caste structure. Their location on the coastal belt connected them with interasian trading patterns and exposed them from the outset to colonial influences. During Portuguese and Dutch rule over the maritime areas, they were able to function as middlemen in the supply of arecanut and cinnamon. They were also able to perform lascarin services, and involve themselves in the construction of Dutch buildings. The conversion of Karaves to Catholicism under the Portuguese was as early

\textsuperscript{89}Of all the ethnic communities
\textsuperscript{90}by the \textit{Podi Hamaduruwu} (priest) of the Hunupitiya temple Colombo.
\textsuperscript{91}Michael Roberts, Ceylon studies Seminar 68/69 series no 5 1969 p23.
as 1556 (and in large numbers). The nature of the skills they developed encouraged them to become entrepreneurs. Their artisan craftsman background gave them ideas of capital accumulation that they were able to invest in other enterprises. Their investments were largely in arrack farms, coffee holdings, import/export establishments, and coconut plantations. Their concentration as caste communities in particular towns such as Moratuwa created solidarities and support systems.

"There is scarcely an estate in the island that has not contributed to the wealth of Morotoo (sic), as the men of this village have been employed to build the dwellings, stores, and lines of the planters, and a great part of their furniture has been made by the same hands. I have not been able to learn at what time and by what means, they became so famous as carpenters. Great numbers are employed as coopers, in the making of barrels for the shipment of coffee. The profits of arrack farms have been greater, but more questionable, sources of revenue; and much wealth has been gained by farming tolls and ferries".93

During the British period, there were several factors that directly accelerated the process of elite formation. A major impediment to social mobility, the Rajakariya system was abolished in 1833. The system of compulsion and customary law was replaced by a legal system supported by the courts. Land became an easily transferrable commodity. In short, the simplified individualistic structure of a market society was introduced into Ceylon. It was a structure, however, that developed out of the traditional base of the agricultural sector. Until the 1930's there was no income tax.94

Elite status was achieved through economic enterprise and westernization via education, social habits, etc. These, in turn, helped to consolidate and further expand economic and social status. Judicious marriage and landed property strengthened the position within the caste structure. In the late 1830's, the karaves dominated the coffee culture, the trades and the arrack industry. In the 1840's, they dominated the coconut and rubber culture.95 The history of the deSoysa and Pieris families are illustrative of these processes. (see appendix) The letters of Jeronis Pieris96 give us some insight into the attitudes that were prevalent among the emergent elite of the period.

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92 Michael Roberts, *People Inbetween* p 3 among the Karave 70,000 converts.
93 Revd Spence Hardy, Jubilee memorials of the Weslyan mission 1864, p 192, referred to by Roberts in *Caste Conflict and Elite Formation* p 273
94 Michael Roberts, Ceylon studies seminar, 68/69, series no 5 1969.
95 In the years 1866, out of 42 coffee plantations in Sinhalese hands 21 were the property of the de Soysa brothers. Total coffee plantations number 68
96 Michael Roberts, *Facets of Modern Ceylon History through the letters of Jeronis Pieris* pp 62 - 87
Letter No.3 Kandy. Dec. 17th. 1853 to George Pride, a wealthy British planter on English literature:
"Boswell's Johnson is truly an entertaining work - if I am so fortunate as to receive any present from you, as a token of my obedience towards you, I wd. willingly prefer "Boswell's life of Johnson" to anything else.

Letter No.9 Kandy. June 10th. 1854 to his brother Louis on the value of being learned:
"Will you write to me as I am anxious to hear of what books you learn your daily lessons; you should commit to memory a few lines of English poetry every day, if your teacher would advise you to do so. Recollect Louis that you are no longer a little boy and it is high time for you to think to become a clever young man. In a year or two more you will have to work for your living, and therefore, keep in mind always that what I and every body else would wish you to do, is nothing else but to endeavor to become a diligent and learned youth.

Letter No.13 Kandy. Dec 12th. 1854 to Mr Simon Perera, School master on cultural representation:
"We have despatched to Colombo to be forwarded to the "Paris Universal Exhibition" an Elephant cut out of a piece of rock as well as several Budhist (sic) idols of Vishnu, Maha Brahma &c being also specimens (sic) of Kandyan Sculpture, a few implements of husbandry, carvings in wood and ivory, a few ropes and whips prepared by the Rodiya &c".

Letter No.19 Kandy. Dec 3rd. 1855 to Mr Simon Perera on religious values:
"Although the inhabitants of this province are improving in wealth, yet they are not changing their old nasty customs. A. may marry, at least marry in "dega" as many women as he chooses. This indeed is a brutal practice. If the missionaries of this province were a little more active in spreading the gospel in the interior and endeavor to teach them Christianity, the natives will, no doubt, turn though gradually, a race of good and intelligent men.

These excerpts echo the attributes presented as necessary in the formation of 'the Cultured gentleman'. It is important to place these attitudes as a reaction to the British projection of the 'native' and see it as an attempt by the anglisized Sinhalese to distance themselves from such definitions. The British "self image that was highlighted by the construction of a social psychology for the 'Oriental', or 'the oriental mind' - a homogenized artifact that was to be the object and thus the subject of the British Empire's moral order."97 The projection of indigenous peoples in the form of paintings and photographs attempted classification as 'native types' that contributed to orientalist ethnography of the period. The extent of and need for anglisization by the elite may have been accelerated in opposition to these very processes. Anglicization was in a sense the only path to gaining recognition as an individual.

97Michael Roberts, People Inbetween, p 121
The hero of our piece, however, is the only son and heir of Jeronis de Soysa, considered the richest man in Ceylon at the end of the nineteenth century. I will present his character, borrowing freely from the description in the *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* under the title, "A Native Philanthropist - The Late Charles Henry de Soysa". (1836 - 1890)\(^9\)\(^8\) The list of benefactions to his name are indeed impressive and varied. The Alfred Model Farm, the De Soysa lying in home and medical museum, the Bactereological institute in Colombo, Holy Emmanuel Church in Moratuwa, The Prince and Princess of Wales Colleges in Moratuwa are just a few. He founded the Moratuwa cooperative company and the Ceylon agricultural society and lived the life of a country squire. His will indicates possession of over 48 houses in Colombo city alone, several others in Kandy and on each of his numerous plantations. The will includes a number of horses, carriages—Pheatons and Landaus, and furniture which describe a Victorian lifestyle. e.g. Calamander Davenport, Satinwood Lounge, Dressing table marble top, Tamarind Almirahs, Calamander writing table, settees and teapoy, hanging lamps, pictures, cabinets etc. He bred some of the finest horses and stock and owned a number of elephants. Soon after his death, his widow was raised to the rank of widow of a Knight bachelor in recognition of his life work.

The excerpt in the *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon*, as well as a book written in Sinhalese on the history of the family\(^9\)\(^9\) are extremely flattering to the de Soysas. Although this is to be expected, there is little doubt that the benefits showered by them on caste community and the town of Moratuwa are significant (eg. schools, churches, hospitals etc.) It is, in fact, this tight-knit caste consciousness that is responsible for communicating western, christian and educational values among the Karaves. - a communication that was not as evident among the older caste hierarchies of the Goyigama. Thus dotting the length of the western coastline, as nowhere else, we find smaller replications of the colonial bungalow and the mansion. If, however, we are to apply a Barthesian analysis to this phenomenon we might argue that it was a means of diffusing the disparity between classes what Barthes terms bourgeoisie ex-nomination.

"By spreading its representations over a whole catalogue of collective images for petit-bourgeois use, the bourgeois countenances the illusory lack of differentiation of the social classes"\(^10\)\(^0\)

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\(^9\)\(^8\) Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* p 538
\(^9\)\(^9\) De Soysa Charitaya, a sinhala edition published by C. Don Bastian, editor of the Sinhalese daily News in 1904. The English translation of this book is The De Soysa Saga.
\(^10\)\(^0\) Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* p 141
The separation between the bourgeoise and the petit bourgeoise, however, was often maintained internally and determined the degree to which the less affluent group appropriated the symbols of status.

In the case of the de Soysas, the signified representation was Elite status. Since it is a status achieved within the relatively recent history of the family, it was all the more necessary to consolidate it through a system of signs and symbols. The signifiers I have selected are social exhibition through the dress and the residence. These manifestations of elite status in turn signify the imperial categories of legitimization. The fundamental character of the mythical concept is its appropriation by a particular group at whom it is directed. In this case emergent elites seeking legitimization.

**Social exhibition**

"In the colonies the truth stood naked, but the citizens of the mother country preferred it with clothes on:"

Nira Wickramasinghe, commenting on dress in Sri Lanka, uses similar analytical methods. Clothes, she observes, are never innocent or simply functional...they signify...they are a social artifact. She discusses the colonial invention of dress as a perpetuation of a particular perception of social order and makes an important differentiation between clothing and costume.

"A dress etiquette for native headmen had been in the early days of Ceylon institutionalized along caste lines....For each caste details were given as to how headmen of different ranks - Maha Mudliyars, Muhandirams, Arrachies, Canganies - should dress. Only Vellala (Goyigama) headmen, for instance who constituted in the Sinhalese hierarchy the highest caste were entitled to wear a costume made of velvet and adorned with gold buttons and loops. Mudliyars of other castes had to be content with silk and silver buttons".

Roberts presents a description of Jeronis de Soysas pageant when knighted a *Mudaliyar* of...

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101 Jean Paul Satre, preface to Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p 7
102 Nira Wickramasinghe, *Some Comments on Dress in Sri Lanka* p 1
103 Mudaliyar = a chief headman used as a honorary title from the mid nineteenth century onward.
104 Ibid p 8
the Governors gate as being an elaborate show of status.

"In a few minutes the signal was given to start. The Guard, consisting of twenty five men, preceded by the tom tom beaters, took the lead; then came the Modlir attired in a coat of dark broad cloth, over which was thrown his chain of honor, formed of about 150 sovereigns linked together in couples, and terminating in an ornament formed of a cluster of forty five of the same coins; crossing this was a sword belt of broad gold lace, from which hung suspended the sword encased in an elaborately chased silver scabbard inlaid with gold, the sword hilt was a mass of gems, principally rubies and emeralds set in gold, the lustre of which was however completely eclipsed by the splendid jewels in the sword knot." 105

Such exhibitions on his part were provoked by caste rivalry and the discrimination of the goyigamas. His appointment on this occasion had been opposed by a low country goyigama headman. On the other hand, it was an open display in support of British-colonial rule. Thus, dress, as in costume, can be seen as a device by which the British could reinforce their position of domination. (see appendix)

In the realm of clothing too we find this condition perpetuated. In Portugese colonies, for example, religious conversions were accompanied by baptism and the adoption of a Portugese name. The Portugese names adopted by coastal peoples such as de Soysa, Pieris, Fernando, Perera, de Silva are evidence of such name changes. This change was often signified by the wearing of Portugese vestements. 106 Curiously, the social intercourse between the Portugese and upper class women affected womens dress more completely than it did their partners. Whereas the women adopted the long skirts and long sleeved blouses of the Portugese, the men were more hesitant. A possible reason could be the clear demarcation of dress in the case of men according to their ranking within the colonial order. The women who did not participate in administration merited no such distinction. The rise to elite status among marginalized caste groups demanded a display of their new position. The rigidity of caste structures prevented their adoption of dress codes of a higher caste so the women chose to do so through colonial vestements. 107 The first generation of elite among the de Soysa family display this appropriation. The men continue to wear the form of sarong and coat borrowed from the Malay inhabitants 108.

105 Michael Roberts, Caste Conflict and Elite Formation, p 332, appendix 2
106 Michael Roberts, People Inbetween, p3
107 The Kandyans never conceded to wearing Colonial style dress although a few of them did change to the Indian saree after its introduction.
108 Pata Sarama and Somana
In the 17th century, once lace making was introduced as a cottage industry, women began to display collars, cuffs and frills on the long sleeved blouses. Under the British, the blouse and skirt combination was displaced by, for example, a single piece crinolene dress with a sweeping train. "The cultured gentleman needed a perfect woman by his side." Kumari Jayawardene, in her observations on the cultural assimilations of the Sri Lankan bourgeoisie, comments that families began to compete in the field of fashion and weddings became an occasion for display. When Charles Henry de Soysa married Catherine de Silva in 1863 it was said that she was the first bride from Moratuwa to wear a English style dress for her wedding. Jayawardene further observes that, "when a prosperous capitalist Sellaperumage Calistoru Fernando, married the daughter of an arrack renter Lindamullage Andris Silva in 1864, they went one better than the Soysas; English fashions were evidently inadequate and it was said that 'only a Paris trousseau was good enough for the bride.'

At the beginning of the British period, the men had conceded somewhat to colonial dress and wore a strange garment that compromised between the western and the indigenous garment. The coat and trouser of the British with a tweed cloth worn over the latter, the hair Sinhalese style in a knot with a hair comb. The costume was called the 'Trouser under the cloth', the wearer 'the gentleman underth cloth'. In fact, the trouser became synonymus with the a dress of a person as a gentleman. These concessions and compromises were a reflection of a particular predicament- that of holding on to the vestiges of one world while gaining the veneer of another. The gentleman under the cloth was in a position to seek a degree of legitimacy with either of these worlds and while anticipating the fruits of colonialism was reluctant perhaps to gain the ridicule of his own people.

This position was soon resolved, however, and the bourgeoisie gentleman stepped confidently into the public space of Empire. The next generation of the de Soysas were quick to adopt the dress, lifestyle and manners demanded of elite status. The wedding of

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110Michael Roberts, People Inbetween p 74
111Kumari Jayawardene, Cultural Assimilation of the Sri Lankan Bourgeoisie 1993 unpublished
112Saramayata Kalisama
113Saramayata Mahattaya
CH de Soysa's son THA de Soysa to Regina\textsuperscript{114} daughter of Simon Perera Galle was reported as follows in the 'prestigious' London 'Daily Graphic' of March 2nd, 1899:

"Closenburg the picturesque residence of Francis Perera the bride's brother was the scene of the wedding. The marriage was solemnized at All Saints Fourt Galle in the presence of an unprecedented gathering....A magnificent Landau drawn by six white thoroughbreds was the vehicle in which the couple left after the ceremony in church. This spectacle attracted thousands of people....Bedecked with festoons and bunting was the entire route from Colombo to Galle, a distance of 72 miles.....the Magul Maduwa (wedding tent) at the spacious grounds of the de Soysa Walauwa in Moratuwa was the synasore of all eyes...all the residents of Moratuwa were entertained there for a week in anticipation of the marriage".\textsuperscript{115}

Nira Wickramasinghe observes that western dress had invaded the personal space of the individual.\textsuperscript{116} The lack of demarcation between public and private space in the realm of clothing indicates the extent of westernization. A generation later the wedding of the couple's eldest daughter Violet to Louis Edward Owen the son of Louis Pieris, was to witness a complete reversal of the dress code.

"The bridegroom accompanied by his bestman, Mr Reginald M.Fernando was an early arrival. awaiting the bride were bridesmaids eleven in number. The bride arrived punctually to time escorted by her father who was attired in consular uniform of broadcloth and gold. She was attired in a handsome oriental saree of white crepe de chine beautifully embroidered with silver. The saree was turned out by Messrs Dayaram brothers, the well known Bombay merchants of the fort. The jacket was of flowered satin with sleeves of white crinon trimmed with silver and pearls. A plain bulle veil over a wreath of orange blossoms and white heather completed her toilet".\textsuperscript{117}

The saree was reputed to have been introduced into Ceylon by Mrs W.A. de Silva as a fashion. Originally worn with stockings and court shoes it was later to transform itself to the garment representing sinhalese identity for nationalists.\textsuperscript{118} If we are to speculate on the circumstances behind the introduction of the saree we may surmise the influence of Ananda Coomaraswamy an ardent supporter of the indigenous traditions on Mr W A de Silva her husband. The Indian saree, in the form that it was popularized, was therefore for Ceylon an invented tradition. The Kandyan saree that was worn by the Kandyans was worn

\textsuperscript{114}Regina was a Buddhist
\textsuperscript{115}William Pieris, \textit{Wedding 75 years ago}, Observer feb 21, 1974.
\textsuperscript{116}Nira Wickramasinghe, \textit{Some Comments on Dress in Sri Lanka} p 6
\textsuperscript{117}Marriage of the Chillean Consuls Daughter
\textsuperscript{118}Mrs F.J. deMel was one of the few shown wearing saree in the \textit{Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon} in 1907.
very differently and was an identity apart for the coastal population.\textsuperscript{119} (It was probably introduced through the marriage of Kerala Queens to local Kings) Paradoxically the bridegroom in the above piece L.E.O. Pieris, was dressed in coat tails complete with hat and gloves. A complete reversal of western versus traditional roles in gender representation was effected.

**Elite Residences**
A similar observation western/eastern may be made in the case of residential architecture. The residences of the de Soysa/Pieris families are illustrative in tracing the path to elite status. Let us consider a hypothetical sequence. Step one: the small time trader in the provincial town begins to acquire wealth and status. Step two: he enlarges his existing residence perhaps builds a new one nearby. He has established himself among his peers. Step three: His interests focus on the pilgrimage to the centre- the colonial capital. He is hesitant to build there at first so he buys a colonial residence belonging to a English or Burgher gentleman. He begins by appropriating the lifestyle through the residence. He counts on the identity of the house to consolidate his position. Perhaps he is wary of being considered an upstart among his neighbours. Step four: Having improved his social status he gains enough confidence to build a mansion, perhaps a number of houses for each of his children. Step five: He builds a mansion in his town of origin and maintains it as a country residence.\textsuperscript{120}

The geneology of the deSoysa residences\textsuperscript{121} begins with a small house in Moratuwa, the home of Joseph Soysa. The architectural form was of a simple hamlet with a front verandah found commonly in villages. During the time of his son, Jeronis, a large Walauwa or manor house was constructed in Moratuwa. Although no clear illustrations of this are available, we may assume from photographs that it took the architectural form of a colonial bungalow. It was a house that was maintained as a country residence even after the move to Colombo.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{119}The tamils wore the indian saree in the traditional manner with seven yards of cloth wrapped tightly around and a with a belt at the waist.
\textsuperscript{120}Discussion with S.P.F.Senaratne
\textsuperscript{121}De Mel, The De Soysa Saga p 147
\textsuperscript{122}The de soysa saga has a description of a organizers meeting held there in order to petition the Village communites ordinance of 1871. Over two hundred people are said to have gathered from various parts of the western province. The resolutions demanded the election by vote of presidents of village tribunals rather than nomination by the state. It was a demand for the elective principle.
Among the houses purchased from British colonials were Brodie House, Caldecott House, Selby House, Duff House and the famed Bagatelle house. As to who Brodie was we are not certain. Selby refers to John Selby the Queen's advocate from whom Lorenz purchased the examiner. Sir Andrew Caldecott was the British governor from 1937-44. The house is now part of the de Soysa Lying In Home in Colombo. Duff house stood on the grounds of Alfred house and was said to have housed the English tutors. All these houses were built during an earlier period and took the form of the colonial bungalow. At first we may assume the de Soysas were cautious in establishing themselves in a new environment. Bagatelle house was the first of these to reach the proportions of a mansion.

Bagatelle Walauwa purchased from Charles Edward Layard was well depicted in the description of the banquet held for the duke of Edinburgh in 1870. This was perhaps a moment when the architecture truly served the function of public display. The descriptions of the decorations on the street, garden, entrance, ballroom and numerous enclosures set up for visitors give us a sense of the extent of this production. The prince is said to have 'supped off' a plate and wine goblets of pure gold and cutlery worked with pearls and rubies. Various 'cultural' dance troops performed for their pleasure.

(The Imperial Assemblage for Queen Victoria in 1876 is a political expansion of a similar form of spectacle where the invitees were presented to her Viceroy Lord Lytton as a kind of 'living museum').

The Karaves were intent on a display that would put the Goyigamas to shame. CH de Soysa renamed Bagatelle, Alfred house in honour of the occasion. The description of the house is as a large two storey mansion. The property covered an extent of 120 acres which included orchards, pastures and flower gardens. The house was supported by large stables for horses and carriages. A farm where cattle, milking sheds and poultry were reared supplied food on the premises. There were stalls for rearing deer and several types of birds as hobbies for the children. The entrance was framed by a huge pair of ivory tusks, the interior seems very Victorian in decoration. A large amount of

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123 see Extracts of a report from the Ceylon Observer of 23 April 1870, referred to by de Mel in The De Soysa Saga pp 95-99
124 Bernard S. Cohen, Representing Authority in Victorian India, The Invention of Tradition, p189
125 deMel, The De Soysa Saga, p90

83
ornamental furniture carved in Italian designs, marble seats, richly upholstered chairs, maps, mirrors, flower vases, photographs, gold embroidered cushions, glass hangings and lamps, chandeliers, valuable paintings, and richly woven carpets adorned the ground floor of the mansion. The drawing room, a library, reception halls, verandahs, study halls, rest rooms, dressing rooms and rooms for collections of art and gifts and trophies are among the rooms mentioned. It is a description of personal space that is organized with a view to public display.

The next generation of houses were those built for or by his children. C.H. de Soysa educated his sons at the leading boys schools in Colombo and then sent them on to England. His eldest son J.W.C for example took both his B.A and M.A at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, England. This was the first generation to be educated outside the island. On returning, they generally became planters and assisted in the running of the family estate. They were clearly in the style of the renaissance classical mansion. E.L.F de Soysa, the owner of stables and race horses, lived at Rhineland place. Of specific interest are the houses of A.J.R and T.H.A de Soysa, both of which express eastern sentiments. A.J.R lived originally at Glen Arber but later in the early 1900's built an Italian villa style mansion which he named after an Indian name *Lakshmigiri*. The mansion paradoxically had huge ornate gates said to be inspired by Buckingham palace. *Lakshmigiri* is now owned by the Lukmanjie family.

T.H.A.de Soysa went a step further and is reputed, on a visit to Allahabad in 1904, to have decided to copy an Indian style architecture. The architect employed, however, was English. T.H.A.de Soysa named the mansion Regina *Walauwa* after his wife who, alas, died young in 1911, a year before its completion. Regina *Walauwa* has turrets and towers capped with conical roofs, cast iron railings and numerous verandahs and passageways. It presents a very different picture than other colonial style mansions of the period. This residence is presently known as College house and was purchased by the University of Colombo in 1920.

Among the houses of the Pieris family, the first generation of Colombo houses were those of Louis H S Pieris (son of Louis), previously mentioned as the houses of Lorenz-Whist bungalow and Karlesruhe. Two other houses within this generation built by Henry A Pieris (son of Jeronis) are worth mentioning. Rose Bank and Fin Castle are

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127 This was not built by him however and was reputed to have been owned by the Coomaraswamy's.
examples of the British Colonial style that elaborated on the pattern of the bungalow and existed in the late nineteenth century before the introduction of Renaissance Classicism. Jeronis Pieris is said to have had a team of carpenters employed for the purpose building and maintaining his residences.

Comparable to the houses of the de Soysa are the houses of two of Shri Lankas leaders, Bandaranaike and Jayawardene. Both of these personages are from established Goyigama elite families who were exposed to a significant amount of westernization. Certain members of the clan were amenable to internmarry with the burghers. Bandaranaike's father was the Maha Mudaliyar the highest position held by a Sinhalese under colonial rule. His house in Colombo Elie house was also presented previously as a house of Lorenz. His house in Gampaha, a provincial town was built by him in the form of a mansion and named the Wekke maligawa (Castle at Wekke). He also owned a mansion of similar scale named Horagolla. His wife was from another elite goyigama family the Obeyesekeres. Their residence in Colombo was Hill castle. Jayawardene came from a family where the sons were all lawyers and which has a similar scale of residences. Jayawardene walauwa grandpass, Colombo and Kataluwa walauwa in a southern provincial town.128

Whereas they display certain similarities to the de Soysa (such as British education) for the sons, they are families that entered the arena of elite status from a far more advantageous and in their perception 'authentic elite' position. My interest in presenting the houses of the political elite is in an attempt to illustrate their advantageous reversal of status during nationalism. In the case of the Karaves this was not possible. Being of a previously depressed minority caste affected their popularity in terms of the rest of the caste structure.129 In 1931, with the granting of universal adult suffrage such popularities became necessary for the manipulation of the collective vote. The political marginalization of the Karaves is evident in the failure of two newspapers created by them in the 1910's. The Ceylon Standard and The Ceylon Morning Leader had given them an opportunity to affect public opinion. By the 1920's they were displaced by the Daily news a newspaper run by a goyigama family which grew to become the most

128 Wright, Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon p 520,522.
129 records of the caste structure imply that they had risen from the eleventh position in the 16th century to the 2nd position in the 18th century.
influential English newspaper of the times.\textsuperscript{130} (It was later bought over by the government.

Names
Another dimension within which nationalism operated was in the category of names both of people and houses. In the course of several generations within the colonial periods 'Christian'\textsuperscript{131} names within the elite had changed from Portugese to English. The son of Jeronis and Francisca was Charles Henry, for example,. T.H.A. de Soysa the son of Charles was Thomas Henry Arthur. His daughter was Violet. In the next generation, however, T.H.A de Soysa was instumental in naming his grandchildren with Eastern names such as Lankeswara, Erananda, Padmani etc. Thus, in the personal space of the Ceylonese family, both name and dress had effected a complete reversal. Amusingly, this reversal has manifested itself in yet another form- domestic staff serving the middle classes in that generation adopted English names such as Jane, Lucy, Emeline and so on.

Nationalism in a similar manner was to claim personal space to consolidate its position. By determining what people wore and by renaming streets and buildings, they were able to instill this reversal on the consciousness of the people. Street names which had once been named after enviromental features or British personages were renamed after the heros of nationalism. Green Path was renamed Ananda Coomaraswamy mawatha. Thurstan road was renamed Munidasa Cumaratunge Mawatha. Bullers road was renamed Bauddhaloka mawatha.\textsuperscript{132} (Mawatha=street)

The naming of houses as in the case of \textit{Lakshmigiri} had effected this change voluntarily in an earlier generation. Its impact is not to be underestimated. Reference to heraldry in the naming of the house\textsuperscript{133} was often an embellishment of elite status. In a superfluos imitation of the English gentry, houses would be named Elles Court, Highcliff Hall, Fin Castle, Hill Castle etc.\textsuperscript{134} The repetition of this same process through an eastern idiom attempted to recover identity through parallel processes. It is achieved by the use of a name that is equally highsounding in Sinhala. The Maligawa (Castle), Lakshmigiri,

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\textsuperscript{130}Michael Roberts, The Rise of the Karaves, Ceylon studies seminar 68/69 series no 5 1969, p 27.
\textsuperscript{131}first names often showed evidence of conversion
\textsuperscript{132}Coomaraswamy was instrumental in the revival of traditional arts and crafts, Coomaratunge in a language reformation. Bhauddaloka translates as the light of the buddha.
\textsuperscript{133}Kumari Jayawardene, \textit{Cultural Assimilations of the Sri Lankan Bourgeoisie} p 20, 1993 unpublished
\textsuperscript{134}Ellescourt - Jeronis Pieris, Hill Castle - S C Obeysekere, Fin Castle - H.A.Pieris
Swarna giri, Sandagiri, Mumtaz Mahal are examples\textsuperscript{135}. Sometimes houses with English names, such as Eugene villa built in 1925, would later change its name to Sri Mahal. Accompanying this trend was yet another manifestation of elite formation resulting from the claims to descent made by the marginalized castes for their selfvalidation. The karaves, for example, claimed \textit{Kshatriya} descent, and the \textit{Salagamas} claimed Brahmin descent (high castes within the Indian caste structure) which maintained the history of their recent migrations\textsuperscript{136}. These (mythical) claims were accompanied by various insignia e.g. flag, pearl umbrella that were flaunted at public occasions. (such as funerals) This can once again be read as an attempt to challenge the superior caste status presented by the \textit{Goyigamas}. Accordingly, J.S.W de Soysa the fifth, son of Charles de Soysa, named his mansion in the provincial town of Angulana, \textit{Kukshestra} in reference to the battle in the \textit{Mahabharata} \textsuperscript{137}.

Reference to heraldry through a range of signs was resorted to throughout the experience of decolonization. The process by which dismembered traditions were repatriated is central to the discourse on resistant culture and the creation of a national consciousness. The effort at presenting a united identity in opposition to colonial resistance was to breakthrough these previous filial representations.

\textsuperscript{135}Maligawa - Danton Obeyesekere, Lakshmigiri- A.J.R.deSoysa, Sri Mahal- don Miguel Karunaratne, Mumtaz Mahal - Mohamed ali Mohamed Hussein

\textsuperscript{136}Kotelawala, nineteenth century Elites and their antecedents, The Ceylon historical journal vol xxv Oct 1978, p 209

\textsuperscript{137}Indian epic
Fig 18 The Karave Elite: above - Birthplace of C. H. de Soysa
below - The de Soysa walauna, Moratuwa
Fig 19 The Karave Elite: above - The Mattegoda Walauwa, below - Selby House
Fig 20 The Karave Elite: above - Site plans showing Alfred house, Duff house, Regina Walauwa and Lakshmigiri
below The interior of Alfred house
Fig 21 The Karave Elite: above - A J R de Soysa and his family from the *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon*
below - Their residence Lakshmigiri
Fig 22 The Karave Elite: above - plan of Regina walauwa and grounds
below- Front view, Regina walauwa
Fig 23 The Karave Elite: first floor plan Regina Walauwa
Fig 24 The Karave Elite: second floor plan Regina Walauwa
Fig 25 Petite Bourgeoisie imitations of the Colonial style bungalow
Fig 26 Louis Pieris attired in the Trouser under the Cloth
Fig 27 above- Kandyan chieftans in traditional dress
below- The members of the orient club Colombo (notice the foremost figure in a trouser under the cloth) from the *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* 1907
Fig 28 above A Kandyan girl, Tamil girls
below - A Kandyan family as represented in the Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon. 1907
Fig 29 above-Susew De Soysa in Mudaliyar costume, Engeltina Pieris sister of Jeronis below- Catherine de Silva nee de Soysa on her wedding day and late in life.
Fig 30 above - Charles Henry de Soysa The De Soysa Charitaya, T.H.A de Soysa (in Chilean consuls costume) and his wife Regina Perera, Their daughter's wedding cake.
Fig 31 above - Wedding of Violet de Soysa to L.E.O. Pieris
below - The saree as first worn with stockings and brooch. T.H.A.de soysa, His daughters Lilly with
Arananda (son of Adrian and Pansy), Pansy, Adrian Wijeyesekere.
Fig 32 above- Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike in Maha Mudaliyars costume from the *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* 1907
below -in casual attire.
Fig 33 Homes of Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike: above - Wekke Maligawa
below - Horagolla
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Fig 34 Advertisement in Sri Lankan newspaper, The Island, 18 Feb 1993
SECTION III: Personal Space in Decolonization

"All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances spring narratives".¹

One of the significant changes that occurred during the process of decolonization was the appropriation of personal space by official nationalisms². This was achieved by the self-conscious selection of signs generated by the indigenous culture and marginalized by empire to represent the public space of the nation. The 'eastern' form of dress, the Sinhalese vernacular, the Buddhist religion that had been de-functionalized by the colonial order was used by the proponents of official nationalism to reconstruct the 'symbolic capital'³ of the nation.

This empowerment of personal space rendered it no longer personal. Just as the public space of empire had once invaded the personal space of the indigenous elite, the personal space of indigenous culture effected a reverse invasion. Public space was invented through a personalized sign system. Although this reversal began as a liberating and democratic act, it was open to political subversion. Political society sought further empowerment by layering these new signs with implicit dynastic legitimations. Personal space robbed of its 'personality' and co-opted⁴ by political mythology began to seek new definitions.

National identity from the late colonial to the post-colonial period was to pass through three different definitions. The pre-independent movement of the christian elite was a secular Ceylonese definition. The nationalist revival spearheaded by the temperence movements was a Sinhala Buddhist definition. The post-colonial, leftist politics exploited the position of urban elite versus worker to create a 'haves' versus 'have-nots' definition. In this last case, identity as the representation of the voting majority. Each of these definitions broke out of the caste based filial relationships and redefined themselves according to new political affiliations. These new affiliations were, however, to gradually empower themselves through the vestiges of the older filiative order.

¹Anderson Benedict, Imagined Communities p203
²Ibid chapter 6
³Michael Roberts People Inbetween p 70
⁴Roland Barthes, Mythologies, p 132
The reclaiming of personal space within the democratic agendas can be clearly seen in the positions adopted in residential architecture. Rejecting popular nationalistic imagery a generation of architects sought to redefine identity according to modernist principles. It was achieved through the collective effort of an intellectual community defined through new affiliations. Their efforts were initiated as reactions to the ethnocentricities displayed in 1956 (Sinhala only), and 1958 (ethnic violence), (see appendix) and the continuing aspiration for a secular nationalism. Their clients were largely from the elite families that had emerged during British colonialism. For the elite, this indicated that claims to identity demanded a reversal of ideological position.

The information on the architects is largely from descriptions published in journals and primary source material. As such it is a far from adequate documentation of their positions. Many of the architects are still in practice preventing conclusive representations. To maintain the continuity of the original narrative, I have refered to the previous geneology of de Soysa /Pieris residences whenever possible.
3.0 Resistance and Nationalist Revival

"The oppressed is nothing, he has only one language, that of his emancipation; the oppressor is everything, his language is rich, multiform, supple, with all the possible degrees of dignity at its disposal....the oppressed makes the world, he has only an active transitive (political) language; the oppressor conserves it, his language is plenary, intransitive, gestural, theatrical: it is Myth. The language of the former aims at transforming, of the latter at eternalizing."5

At the same time that the indigenous elite in Colombo and its satellite cities were busy appropriating western values and lifestyles, a deep-rooted opposition had grown among the indigenous peoples. Fired by the early nationalist attacks on the empire and the christianized elite these attitudes formed undercurrents of a 'negative consciousness'6. I would like here to challenge the observation made by Benedict Anderson that "it is remarkable how little that dubious entity known as reverse racism manifested itself in the anti colonial movements"7. I hold with Roberts8 that it did exist although latent and was expressed when its potential was calculated and nurtured for political empowerment by the patriarchs of linguistic nationalism.

Folk songs or limericks are among the examples of folk depictions that display Sinhalese attitudes both towards 'the white man'and aspects of his culture.

_Tara rara boombiye, Uru gas manghandiye_
_Suddo enava nangiye, Dora vahanna maliye_
Tara rara boombiye, At the junction of the uru trees
White men are coming little sister, Close the door little brother9

In _The People Inbetween_, Roberts sites one such limerick as a satirical representation that embodies the sinhala persons spirit of independence.10 These attitudes and objections to

5Ibid p 149
6Gramscian notion of negative consciousness
7Benedict Anderson, _Imagined Communities_ p153
8Michael Roberts, _The People Inbetween_. Roberts projection of the Sinhalese attitude towards the Burghers in this book is often criticized as being exxagerated. Roberts presents it as an extention of 'negative consciousness'.
9Folk song, Tararara = the sound of the trumpet, boombiye = the sound of the drum
10_anguru kaka vatura bibi_
_navara davana yakada yaka_
Eating (fiery coal) and drinking water
Iron demon that runs to kandy
Ibid p 5
colonial behaviour were open for exploitation by the nationalist resistance. They manifested themselves in literature in the work of Sinhalese novelists such as Piyadasa Sirisena. They informed the political agendas that led to a 'Sinhala Buddhist' nationalist revival.

Early national consciousness
The earliest examples of national consciousness in the activities of Young Ceylon were inspired as a resistance to the racist policy of the colonial administration. The negative consciousness that grew within the Burghers of Ceylon was in response to their identity as half castes for the colonial administration. This attitude provoked alliances of the burghers with the Sinhala elite population. Roberts points out an instance where Lorenz writing a book review decries the exclusion of 'native' Singhalese from the pettah library and takes care to bracket the word 'native' in his protestation (an attitude in keeping with the egalitarian and humanist principles of the enlightenment). The principles of the enlightenment were thus digested and projected by the Ceylonese for their own emancipation. The enlightenment rational became a model for cultural repatriation and led to a revival in indigenous culture.

The parallel exploration of knowledge in both western and eastern cultures co-habited a number of persons and processes. One such person, James de Alwis, a contributor to Young Ceylon, is exemplary of this representation. Roberts describes Alwis in the following manner.

"In so far as he is western educated, Christian and a member of 'first class' Goyigama families who were a pillar of the British establishment, de alwis reminds us that the imitation of western lifestyles and the adoption of western ideologies was accompanied by a dialectic of questioning, ambivalence and opposition within the very elements in the vanguard of westernization." De Alwis unlike the later generation of nationalists interested himself in both English and Sinhalese literature. His criticism of western ethnocentrism and efforts towards a revival and purification of the Sinhala language was achieved from within the enlightenment endeavor. A similar parallel development is seen in the growth of

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11Novlist whose writing had a clear bias against anglophile behaviour.
12Roberts Michael, The People Inbetween p 153
13Ibid
14Ibid p80
Ceylonese newspapers in both languages (For example, the support given by the 
*Examiner* ¹⁵ to the *Lakminipahana*).

The process of repatriation through Buddhist reform is another example of the application 
of the enlightenment principle. The first step was in 1862¹⁶ when the Buddhists 
acquired printing presses in competition with those of the Christians thus empowering 
themselves through print capitalism. Curiously, the actual reformation was executed in 
by Olcott the son of a Protestant minister from Orange, New Jersey in 1880 to a form of 
Protestant Buddhism. Gananath Obeyesekere discusses how his rewriting of the 
Buddhist doctrine in the form of a catechism restructured Buddhism according to 
rationalist principles. "The Buddhas own enlightenment was Europeanized so to 
speak"¹⁷ the effort to present Buddhism as a scientific philosophy necessitated the culling 
of popular religious cults and ritualistic practices.

The significance of the discourse on Buddhism initiated by Olcott lies in its empowerment 
of a formerly depressed group the Sinhala Buddhist majority of the people.

**Nationalist Revival**

The individual who was largely responsible for the activation of latent resistance, 
however, was the Anagarika Dharmapala. Obeyesekere¹⁸ links him as a disciple of 
Olcott with what he calls a Protestant Buddhism. Through the reconstruction of Buddhist 
places of worship the initiation of a temperance movement and the introduction of new 
symbolisms (carols, Wesak pandols), Dharmapala was able to gain access to the Sinhala 
buddhist imagination. I would like specifically to discuss his influence in transforming 
the dress code to signify resistance.

"We are blindly following the white man who has come here to demoralize us for his 
own gain. He asks us to buy his whisky, and we allow him to bamboozle us. He tells 
us that we should drink toddy and arrack separately, that we should teach our children 
Latin and Greek and keep them in ignorance of our own beautiful literature and that we 
should think like Yorkshire men and not like Dutugemunu and our own Parakramabahu 
and Sirisanghabo, and that we should discard our own national dress which was good for 
our noble and spirited ancestors, and dress according to the dictates of fashion of London 
and Paris"¹⁹

¹⁵ The Examiner was bought on the instigation of and edited by - Lorenz and members of the Young Ceylon circle 
¹⁶ The Society for the Propogation of Buddhism. 
¹⁷ Obeyesekere Gananath, *Colonel Olcott's reforms of the 19th century and their cultural significance*, p 10 
¹⁸ Ibid p 7 
¹⁹ Nira Wickramasinghe, *Some Comments on Dress in Sri Lanka*, p 10 

109
Interestingly the early nationalists concentrated on the ideal of the Sinhala woman. Nira Wickramasinghe suggests that the woman plays a crucial role in transferring cultural, social and political values due to her centrality within the family unit. She suggests that "at the core of this construction of an ideal woman was the notion of authenticity", a notion that was to reappear in many cultural manifestations. Dharmapala's formulation of the ideal woman was steeped in Victorian moralism, and recommended that, "A proper blouse should cover the breast, stomach and back completely. A cloth ten riyans long should be worn as the osariya or saree". The introduction of the saree as the garment for women was (as discussed before) a complete invention. Its similarity to the osariya or Kandyan form of dress seemed to validate its introduction.

The style of dress proposed as suitable for men was contrived through a process of ethnic purification. Dharmapala formulated the following rules to be abided.

"Should not show the entire body like the Veddahs who wear only a loin cloth'
'Should not wear trousers like the fair Portuguese'
'Should not wear combs on the head like the Batavian Malay'
'Should not wear a hat wrapped in cloth, comb, collar tie, banian, shirt, vest coat, cloth socks, shoes all at the same time. It is a ludicrous dress".

The concept of the national dress came about later in 1931 with Universal adult suffrage and the empowerment of the people. Wickramasinghe suggests that "wearing a national dress was the first and foremost form of political rebellion against the indignity of having been compulsorily reclothed by a conquering power". The stance taken by Mahatma Gandhi's adoption of the loin cloth was, no doubt, a profound influence on nationalist leaders. Wickramasinghe also observes that, "Once independence was won, dress was used no longer to distinguish colonizers from colonized but true nationalists from 'laquais of the West'.

This distinction was further consolidated by Bandaranaike in the 1950's when he presented a cabinet of thirteen members dressed in cloth and banian. It was he who

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20Ibid
21Ibid p11, from Ed.A.Guruge, Dharmapala Lipi, p37
22Ibid p 12, from Guruge p 42
23Ibid p 15
24Ibid p 17
25Ibid
introduced the Sinhala only bill in 1956 into parliament. Bandaranaike who was from an elite Goyigama family had been brought up wearing western dress and described his newly formed alliance with the nationalists through this medium. He was in fact one of the first leaders of newly independent countries to represent himself in this manner. The prime ministers and presidents of Sri Lanka that followed have continued to maintain this representation.

Due to the dynamics of national representation, the readings of public and personal space had to be readjusted. Wickramasinghe observes that it has, in fact, become clearly segregated. "Today it is common that a man who wears a suit and tie to office slips into a sarong on his return home, but this must be interpreted more as a compliance to comfort than as a sign of cultural pride. Amusingly the reverse happens for women who most often wear a saree to work which they discard for a dress or a pair of jeans once at home." 27

I would agree that this reversal of the gender/culture definition is largely pragmatism but might suggest the role that the western style of school uniform may play in accustoming the individual to western dress at an early age. In a situation where religious strictures on dress are not definable such flexibility exists outside cultural signification. As such, Sri Lanka differs from many religiously oriented cultural examples. 28 Buddhism does not define dress codes for the leity, and attempts to represent a Sinhala Buddhist identity in terms of dress are necessarily manufactured.

The events of the 1950's had given a ethnocentric twist to nationalism. By appealing to the anti-western tensions in the society, Bandaranaike was able to manipulate the opposition of 'haves' and have-nots' for his own political advantage. These tendencies created a sense of liberation among the newly empowered proletariat and a sense of trepidation among the English, educated, middle classes. This tension between classes was further exploited by other Leftist movements. The consequences of 1956, as described before, were the ethnic violence (Sinhala / Tamil) of 1958 and an exodus (to Australia) of the Ceylonese Burghers.

26 Son of Sir Solomon dias Bandaranaike of Elie house
27 Nira Wickramasinghe, p 6
28 Nira Wickramasinghe suggests that it is the socially determined idea of 'shame' that finds short skirts or tight jeans impermissible.
The feelings of the middle classes to the political environment of the period can be seen in yet another doggerel by sooty banda (EMW Joseph) whose satire was a constant source of social criticism in the English newspapers. Yasmine Guneratne describes one such example *Ceylonese Politics* which expressed his thoughts on the contrasts

between the old style:
They flung out tyrants, not by casting votes;
They found it simpler, just to cut their throats....

and the new:
Seeing a herd of goats one day
I bellowed fiercely: 'BUNGAWAY' (bung=hey you)
Whereat the leader of the goats
Rushed up and offered me their votes.

Nor is that all. The beastly herd
Keep hanging on my every word,
And in the most exclusive Parks,
They hail me now as Karlo Marx. 29

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Fig 35 The Lanka Vatti hat as depicted during the movement for dress reform
3.1 Cultural Regeneration - Art

"To a few it may appear strange that in a book devoted to the ends of Indian nationalism, so much space should be given to art and so little said of politics. It is because nations are made by artists and by poets, not by traders and politicians.....only by thus becoming artists and poets, can we again understand our own art and poetry and thereby attain the highest ideal of nationality, the will and the power to give". 30

Coomaraswamy and tradition

The concerns of the English speaking middle class who were being gradually marginalized was not only from the need to have their opinions heard but the need to maintain access to world culture. These were views that found inspiration in the work of Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877-1947), a cultural hero during the late British period. Coomaraswamy's efforts at preserving eastern tradition won him a reputation as a nationalist, an identity which is in many ways a misconception. Ranjith Fernando describes, "that he is admired in Lanka as in India, almost entirely for what he was not," 31 as an anti imperialist and supporter of independence. Fernando points out that Coomaraswamy was actually concerned about, "the destruction of traditional societies by peoples who had abandoned sacred forms" and adopted the Platonic view in criticizing Greek civilization for its individualistic principles. Curiously, he considered hierarchical society based on metaphysical principles as superior to democratic societies because of the collective mythology that was represented. 32

Fernando suggests that, "His enthusiasm for such institutions as caste and kingship was based not on sentiment, but on a profound understanding of the vital relationship between spiritual authority and temporal power in society and government". 33 His attitudes were formed by his approach to 'tradition' and was firmly tied to primordial and universal principles that opposed individualism. Although these readings of him have strong essentialist overtones, they are not expressions of any one particular culture but of a traditional versus anti-traditional distinction. In fact, his attitudes towards nationalism are more pluralistic than the previously discussed examples.

30 Ananda Coomaraswamy, Philosophy of National Idealism p 24
31 Ranjit Fernando, Ananda Coomaraswamy - greatest thinker of the first half of this century Lanka Guardian p12
32 Ibid
33 Ibid p 13
In his essay on *National Idealism* he outlines an approach to nationalism that is constructed through an understanding of culture. An approach from what in a Gramscian sense might be termed the consent society point of view. Coomaraswamy elaborates that a common and distinctive language is not essential and that the two essentials of nationality are a geographical unity and a common historic evolution of culture.\(^{34}\)

In the manifesto for the *Ceylon Social Reform Society*, founded in 1905, the intention stated is to, "encourage and initiate reform in social customs amongst the Ceylonese, and to discourage the thoughtless imitation of unsuitable European habits and customs".\(^{35}\)

In his most important work on Sinhala culture *Medieval Sinhalese Art* and in several pamphlets such as *An open letter to the Kandyan chiefs* we see his effort to make an alienated society conscious of the need to preserve the art, architecture and craft traditions of its culture. His influence was felt strongly in the Kandyan areas where tradition had not been so severely dismembered and the craft tradition continued to exist. The importance of these efforts was that unlike the conservative nationalist ideals, these were not politically motivated. His inclusion of Buddhist jataka stories in *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, for example, was in an attempt to accentuate the environmentalist ideals of the Buddhist culture. He was a member of a westernized elite, addressing his fellow citizens in the common interests of the nation.

It is important to realize that Coomaraswamy was a member of an elite Tamil family initiating a discourse on traditional Sinhalese culture. This was still acceptable in a period before independence when ethnicity was not a political obstacle. Coomaraswamy maintained close links with England as well as his friendships with the Tagores and members of the Indian *swadeshi* movement. He went, in 1915, to the Boston museum of Fine Arts as a research scholar and later as a curator of the Indian and asian art section. His publications are in the form of monographs, translations, critical evaluations and book reviews striving always to create an awareness of Asian traditions.

Yasmine Guneratne, in assessing the role of the English-educated Sri Lankans, presents Coomaraswamy as an exemplary figure. She describes the efforts of an English-educated minority in the cultural life of the nation. Individuals such as Lyn Ludowyk in

\(^{34}\)Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Philosophy of National Idealism* p 26
English drama and literature, Ediriweera Sarachchandra in Sinhalese drama, Tarzie Vittachi and E.M.W.Joseph in satire, had created a fusion of Sinhala and English that could inspire generations of creative work. She gives the following assessment of their position.

"Their attempts, made often in daunting and discouraging circumstances, to assess themselves, to evolve or accommodate themselves to cultural roles appropriate to the nation's needs, and to record in imaginative writing the changing face of that nation, indicate (as did Coomaraswamy's earlier attempt in 1908) the sense of social responsibility which shapes and enriches a national culture." 36

In the world of art, the influence of Coomaraswamy was to manifest itself in a more direct manner. His open letter to the Kandyan chiefs published in the Ceylon Observer in 1905, addressed the problems faced by neglect of Buddhist devales and temples. He commented on the introduction of an unlimited palette of colour to a formerly restrained tradition of temple painting. At the close of the letter he quotes Robert Brownings "indignant vindication of the early mediaeval painters".37

"Wherever a fresco peals and drops, Wherever an outline weakens and wanes Till the latest life in the painting stops, Stands one whom each fainter pulse -tick pains. One wishful each scrap should clutch its brick, Each tinge not wholly escape the plaster, A lion who died of an asses kick, The wronged great soul of an ancient master".

He further quotes William Morris in the manifesto of the English Society for the preservation of ancient buildings 1877, which expresses similar sentiments towards the preservation of ancient buildings in Europe.38 Coomaraswamy's concern encompasses 'tradition' which is under threat by individualism whether eastern or western.

"Things have gone the same way in Europe; sadly indeed as our (my italics) English mediaeval buildings have suffered from neglect, and even intentional spoilation, they have suffered even more in the last century at the hands of the decorater and the restorer".39

He sees eastern tradition in danger of following the path of the western and urges for preservation.

36Ibid p2
37Ananda Coomaraswamy, An Open Letter to the Kandyan Chiefs, p 6
38Coomaraswamy held meetings of the arts and crafts society at Sravasti the house of W.A deSilva during the 1920's
39Ibid p 7
"Of private houses, walawwas and smaller houses of the old sort, with their beautiful massive doors, and stout adze-cut timbers, fewer and fewer survive each year; even if their owners feel their old homes unsuited to their present needs, may not a few of these be preserved to tell their children's children how men lived and wrought in the old days before progress and commerce changed the very face of the earth?" 

My interest in Coomaraswamy is two fold. On the one hand, I have discussed him as apolitical and representative of his own interests in the preservation of traditional culture versus the trend of individualism. On the other hand, I would like to present his attitudes towards cultural continuity against later attempts at east/west cultural fusion by the 43 Group.

The 43 Group
Ellen Dissanayake discussing Fernandos views in What is the use of art? 41 outlines a position of 'continuity with tradition' that was encouraged by Winzer who came in 1920 as the Ceylon Government inspector of art. Winzer set up the Colombo art club which was to introduce western art to several members of a later breakaway group of artists who called themselves the 43 Group.

Fernando argues that, unlike Winzer, the 43 Group (formed in 1943) were not concerned with a cultural revival. Applying their knowledge of recent 'modern' and radical changes in the western art styles to Ceylonese subjects they attempted to empower a formerly restricted medium. The tradition of painting up to date under the Ceylon Society of arts had adhered closely to the conservative British idiom. The tradition of painting observed by the British had adopted forms of orientalist representation.

These young artists calling themselves the 43 Group presented a fresh and innovative resistance. Fernando observes that their revolt against the Ceylon Society of arts was more like the revolt of the impressionists against the French Salon and their representations were both individualistic and westernized. Fernando is here applying Coomaraswamy's traditional versus anti-traditional distinction. The 43 Group held their first international exhibition in 1952 at the Imperial Institute in London. With their next exhibition at the Petit Palais in Paris in 1953, they had begun a series of public exhibitions that sought western legitimization. 42 The refusal of the Ceylon society of

40 Ibid p 7
41 Ellen Dissanayake, What is the use of art? , The Island, tues 7 sep 1993 p III
42 Neville Weeraratne, 43 Group, p 31
Arts to encourage these venues reflected the opinion of the institution. Fernando suggests that their popularity at this particular time in history was possibly due to the Western tendency to support the recovery of tradition in post-colonial nations. A tendency which, he suggests, stems from guilt of cultural suppression/destruction in the colonies and a previous "clandestine flirtation with 'primitive' and 'exotic'" representations. Let us examine the validity of these arguments.

"George Keyt in a Foreword to the sixteenth exhibition of the Group in January 1967 said: Happily for us the 43 Group is no narrow fanatical body in its reception of modern art and the welcome it has always extended to Western trends in Europe and what it could gather from such vital trends in America. In fact, its main cause of origin was the rejection of the obsolete and the dead in the art of Ceylon and all that has resulted from the obsolete and the dead deriving from the art of Europe".

The group was evidently not interested in being button holed into cultural representation. An attitude that is significant considering the political temperament of the period. The spirit of the 43 group was the photographer Lionel Wendt who unfortunately died a year after its inception. Other artists of note were Harry Pieris, Justin Deraniyagala, George Keyt, Ivan Pieris, Collette, Claessen, Beling (architect), Manjusri and Richard Gabriel. Their work influenced by the transformations in modern art had impressionist, cubist or fauve undertones, often translated into an eastern context and idiom. Similarly, the influence of eastern art, the work of Tagore and the Ajanta tradition, was apparent. The cultural significance or influence of this art lies perhaps in the relative novelty of using familiar subjects in a modernist or western interpretation. This novelty even made them the subject of Ceylonese satire by Jay Quill in his description of Justin Deraniyagala.

"Bristling with genius in every stroke
Of his brush JUSTIN can make your aunt resemble
A cow munching cucumbers in a veil of smoke".

Among the key figures of the group was Lionel Wendt, a prominent photographer. (1900-1944) It was in his house at Guilford Crescent that the 43 group first assembled. Of Dutch burgher background, he inherited the prevailing western bourgeois culture. Pablo Neruda, posted in Ceylon as Chilean consul, describes how he "found out that the pianist, photographer, critic, and cinematographer Lionel Wendt was the central figure of a cultural life torn between the death rattles of the empire and a human appraisal of the

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43 Ellen Dissanayake, What is the use of Art?
44 Neville Weeraratne, 43 Group, p 16
45 Ceylon Observer 1959
untapped values of Ceylon". Wendt, who owned an extensive library, is said to have kept him well supplied with the latest books from England. Evidently Wendt, like Lorenz, was lionized by his acquaintances.

In 1934-35 Wendt collaborated with Basil Wright, assisting him in the now highly acclaimed documentary, *The Song of Ceylon*, which received first prize at the Brussels International Film festival 1935. His attitudes embodied in *The Song of Ceylon* were described in the introduction to *Lionel Wendt's Ceylon*, a compilation of his photographs published postumously in 1950. The introduction was written by a close friend L.C. Van Geyzel.

"The values of Western culture, dominant for centuries, seemed to need revitalising. Here to hand in Ceylon was a way of life that was very old, but which retained in spite of poverty, squalor and apathy, a vital sense that was lacking in more progressive countries. man, living in traditional ways, had not become alienated from his environment. It is this which Wendt's work so richly illustrates".

Wendt's experience of rural Ceylon was the rediscovery of a "foreign and exotic" culture. his distance from it is apparent in the 'objectification' of subjects in his photographic representations. The pervasiveness of his Ceylonese identity and its inherent sense of belonging or possession is the means by which he bridged this cultural difference.

The introduction to *Lionel Wendt's Ceylon* has the following description of his house and himself given by LC van Geyzel.

" He had gone into a large house which he decorated in unusual colours and fabrics. Sarees fluttered in the doorway; reproductions of modern paintings (hardly known in Colombo at the time) in frames designed and painted by himself brightened the walls. There was a large music room with a Steinway in it.... It would be no suprise one feels to see his fleshy bouyant figure turn up in some familiar place; to see him for instance, in faded blue jeans and braces and some impossible shirt swing into his long sitting room with the low book shelves, its grey walls covered with paintings by his friends and enormous enlargements of his own photographs and the piano at one end on which he would play if the mood took him, anything from Beethoven to Boogie woogie".

This house was later enlarged into the *Lionel Wendt* arts theatre central to the world of English drama in Ceylon. After the death of Wendt it was Harry Pieris (1904 -1989)

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46 Pablo Neruda, Memoirs, p 93
47 Ellen Dissanayake, Lionel Wendt: Prewar Ceylon's 'Renaissance Man', p 3
who carried the torch as the Groups organizer. Harry Pieris\textsuperscript{48} had first studied art under Mudaliyar ACGS Amaresekere who encouraged him to go on to London. There he studied under Rothenstein who recognized his talent in portraiture and sent him on to Paris under Robert Falk. Here he had the opportunity to meet with Matisse who gave him informal criticism. In 1935, he went on to Bengal to Shantiniketan the school of Tagore. He observed that at Shantiniketan "politics had invaded the world of art, as Western art, ....was cold shouldered, while it was quite in order to copy Chinese or Japanese or any other Asian art."\textsuperscript{49}

With this cumulative and eclectic experience he returned to Ceylon to teach and continue portraiture. As a young man, he was supportive of the leftist movements. Perhaps as an extension of these attitudes, in later years, he formed the Sapumal foundation to assist and educate young artists and exhibit his collection of the Group's work. At his death his house and property were left under public trustee to this organization.

His house at Barnes place where the group met after the death of Wendt is the gallery of the Sapumal foundation. Frozen in time the interior is still reminiscent of his presence. A small but rambling house created out of four tenements it has an aura of tranquil osterity aggrandized by art work. In here is housed in a variety of small comfortable rooms three hundred odd paintings of the group and its supporters. The ambience of the white upholstered lounges, the old clay floor tiles and the fragrances and birdsong drifting in from the sunlit garden captures a quality of life that is inherently tropical. Ellen Dissanayake observes that his house contrasts to the "usual ostentatious, large roomed, ornately furnished Colombo house".

"It is instead still cottage- like rather ramshackle and unpredictable, with high peaked ceilings, half walls (with open mesh above) and smallish rooms leading off from one another. Of course the paintings are the first things one notices - easily 15 to 20 to a room. But their is nothing of the museum, nor is there anything that could be described as interior decoration - rather it is a delightful and comfortable clutter of odd pieces of furniture, books and vases and carvings and ceramics and photographs and other momentoes collected over a lifetime".\textsuperscript{50}

It embodies a sense of random personal space that was later formalized by pioneering modern architecture. It expresses a value of art that strives to maintain its independence

\textsuperscript{48}Grandson of Jeronis Pieris and son of HA Pieris of RoseBank.
\textsuperscript{49}L.C.Van Geyzel, Life devoted to art, pamphlet for Harry Pieris exhibition.
\textsuperscript{50}Ellen Dissanayake, A Personal Appreciation, pamphlet for Harry Pieris exhibition.
from market forces. The significance of both these houses are in their deviation from the colonial norm and their encapsulation of the spirit of their owners. A spirit and a media for representation that I may suggest was to strongly influence the pioneers in modern architecture. Unlike the 43 group these architects despite individualistic motives could address continuity through (in the Coomaraswamy sense) a building tradition.

The work of the 43 group (despite its western popularity) was not included in the processes of 'official' cultural representation. These avenues were left open to what Fernando describes as a 'pseudo oriental, pseudo sinhalese, or pseudo Buddhist revivalist art which "is never traditional, because it is motivated by anti-traditional considerations, usually nationalism".51

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51 Ellen Dissanayake, What is the use of Art?
Fig 36 above - Advertisements for exhibitions of the 43 group in 1952, 53, 54, and 1959
below - Painting by George Keyt
Fig 37 above - The Lionel Wendt Arts Centre
below - The Sapumal Foundation Gallery formerly Harry Pieris' house.
3.2 The Architecture of a New Nation

The challenge to public architecture through the influence of nationalism came in the 1930's in the form of religious architecture. The parliament, built by the British in 1929, had been a neo classical building with no pretensions of a context or identity. The architect was A. Woodison of the Public Works Department. The recent orientalist excavation of the ancient cities provoked superficial cultural references in the form of plastered motifs copied from the ancient architecture. It remained for an alternative group to take the initiative. The pressure of criticism against the Christians in Ceylon had increased with the growing strength of the nationalist discourse and an effort needed to be made in support of their endeavor.

The Trinity College chapel

A building that chose to make this statement was the Trinity College chapel. Located in Kandy in the hub of the last traditional capital the pressure and accessibility to cultural forms were much more immediate. The specific form selected was that of the collonaded hall that existed in several examples of traditional architecture. The most recent of these examples was the audience hall of the king in Kandy.

"It was designed by the architect Devendra Mulachariya in 1783 during the reign of King Rajadhi rajasimhae, and finally completed by Sri Vikrama Rajasimha. Investigations reveal that many additions and changes were carried out during the british occupation....(my italics) The present building has 64 beautifully carved timber columns arranged in four rows, two on either side of the centre aisle. Columns ending in carved inverted lotus capitals (pekada) supported the dominating timber roof structure with artistically carved beams and rafters forming a hipped roof clad with plain clay tiles".52

Rev. L.J. Gaster an architect, who was vice principal of the college 1916 -1921, was to be the designer. He professed a deep admiration for the historic artifacts of the ancient cities of Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura and expressed his intention to inculcate this appreciation in the younger generation. The building was constructed in 1935 and had clear allusions to traditional architecture. In plan and in form a collonaded building built on a high podium it closely resembled the kings audience hall and as such presented a complex signification.53

53Gemunu N. Premawardana, An examination of the evolution of the architecture of Trinity College, Kandy, pp 52 - 55
An interesting deja vu maybe traced in the journal of Bishop Heber in 1825 when the kings audience hall was actually used as a church.

"September 18th Sunday - Early this morning the Bishop held a confirmation;...there is no church, but the hall of audience, where the kings of candy held their courts, is used as such; it is a long room, of which the wooden pillars, having the lotus carved on their capitals, are the only ornamental parts remaining. It was a most interesting and affecting sight to see Christian worship performed, and a Christian Bishop blessing his congregation, a part of which was native, in the very spot where the most horrid cruelties were exercised not more than ten years ago".54

Ten years ago would date back to 1815 when Kandy was finally captured. Although we have no idea what the cruelties might have been, the orientalist overtones in the Christianizing of natives is unmistakable. What we have in the Trinity College chapel on the one hand is a renewed interest in traditional culture. On the other hand, we have legitimation and perpetuation of ideology through cultural appropriation. Both these ideas are excellently expressed in a broadcast talk by Mr Mac Leod Campbell in 1931 from England. Referring to the chapel, he says,

"When the staff of Trinity found themselves confronted with the necessity of building a College chapel their thoughts naturally turned to the re discovery of their ancient heritage. They could not be content to fall back upon the traditions of Byzantine, Classical, or gothic architecture. They set their hearts upon re vivifying, re interpreting and adapting, for purposes of Christian worship, their own great Sinhalese traditions....It is not enough to translate the scripture into the vernacular tongue: their message must be interpreted in terms of vernacular thought and culture. That is what I mean by building in the vernacular".55

A point worth making is the use of the word vernacular to describe a building which for the Sinhalese existed within the monumental tradition of temple and palace architecture. Here the distinction is between empire and vernacular used in the original derivative of the word implying a subject group (verna=slave). In the years following independence, the same distinction was to be made within indigenous architecture that divided the vernacular from the monumental.

The details of the Trinity College chapel differ marginally from its traditional antecedents. The columns, unlike in the Kandyan timber tradition, are of stone. The top and bottom of each column is square, but the central portions deviate and are octagonal and taper upwards. They are carved with traditional motifs such as pine apple design, lotus

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54 Heber, 1825 from The History of the Public Works Department vol II 1796 - 1896, p 45
55 Centenary Magazine, Trinity College, Kandy, 1972
flower, cobra hood and an occasional introduction of a crucifix. The capitols of these columns are in timber, carved in the traditional style. Timber detailing is maintained in the doorframes and carvings. At the level of the roof there is a major deviation and steel trusses replace the traditional expectation of large timber beams. The roof itself is steeply pitched and tiled a testimony to a monsoonal climate. After Gaster left in 1934, the building was supervised by HW Mediwake. The master builder was KLB Tennekoon.

Within the building the only continuous closure is behind the altar. The entire wall is transformed by a lifesize mural of the crucifixion. The artist, David Painter, was renowned for religious murals. His subject, though biblical, was always represented in a Ceylonese context with Ceylonese people as its models. Although he was never a part of the 43 Group, we may see similar attitudes towards representation. In the chapel, his murals are well in tune with the buildings own aspirations.

The importance of the Trinity College chapel lies in its ability to reformulate our conceptions of church architecture. In a colonial typology that was most imitative of European styles it has achieved a complete reversal. In doing so, it has created a building that is far closer to the pre-colonial cultural experience of the people. These changes in church architecture were to rapidly influence Christian religious buildings throughout the island (Gaster combined with Booth to build the Ladies College chapel). A more recent example of the continuity of this tradition is seen in the Cathedral of Christ the Living Saviour 1973 which is clearly reminiscent of a buddhist temple. Its architects were Wynne Jones and P.H.W.Peiris, it was built by U.N.Gunesekere.

The Independence Hall
A later building built after the same precedents as the Trinity College chapel but containing overt nationalistic symbolisms is the Independence hall in Colombo. Constructed in 1953, this building was designed under the Public Works Department and is credited to its chief English architect Wynne Jones. A complete appropriation of the audience hall in Kandy, this building is saturated with cultural signification.

Although a close immitation of the form of the Kandyan building, the Independence hall is much larger with a high podium, parapet walls and massive reinforced concrete columns. Its context is at a square plaza at the end of an axial approach designed to

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56 Premawardene, An Examination of the evolution of the Architecture of Trinity College, Kandy, p 55-57
accommodate state functions. The lion, symbol of the Sinhala race is replicated in concrete statues along the base of the stadium. Beneath the podium is a large space with alcoves designed to receive objects for a historical museum. The most prominent feature by which it is read is a Kandyan two-pitched, hipped roof. This roof is of reinforced concrete designed for precasting in units and hoisting from the ground level. The highly decorative columns are designed as vertical cantilevers to counter windloads and carry the entire roof. The frame is completed with plaster mouldings that fulfil the role of carvings on the columns.57

An interesting anecdote lies behind the choice of design for the Independence Hall is related by Justin Samarasekere58. When the issue of a building commemorating Independence was raised, DS Senanayake, the first prime minister (who had once been a draughtsman there), volunteered the services of a friend in the survey department. The friend came up with a design for a colonial saluting platform, an object inappropriate for a newly independent nation. Geoff Bilimorea of the PWD, being a practical soul, suggested a hospital. Sir John Kotalwala, then a minister, is said to have called up Wynne Jones and said, "I say - Why don't you build something like....that audience hall in Kandy"59 The architects of the PWD were asked to sign a 'no protest' to this solution and the idea was adopted. It is interesting to note the manner in which the design for the most significant national monument was chosen. The choice it seems was entirely political, yet not completely premeditated.

The impact of the design, however, lies in its availability for signification. Architecturally, as Wijesuriya60 observes, it is more a symbolic monument than a functional building. Today, after a few decades of official nationalisms and symbolic architectures, the sign has gained complexity and is intrinsic to the mythology of the nation. If we were to apply a Barthesian analysis to the Independence hall at the time of its construction, however, the reading would be as follows. The signifyer would be the roof, for example, and the signified a Sinhalese (even Ceylonese) identity placed in opposition to colonialism. The signifyer at the next level of reading, would be a Sinhalese building with the signified as independence. The choice of an architecture that

58 Worked as an architect under Jones at the Public Works Department.
59 as the story goes
60 Gamini Wijesuriya, Architectural monuments related to the republic story. Architecture Students Association magazine, University of Moratuwa 1977.
carries a strong cultural bias to represent a democratic principle posits the dilemma common to most newly liberated nations.

Although the Kandyan roof was used thereafter to project Sinhalese Buddhist identity it is important to note that the last king of Kandy was Tamil and the most recent historic associations with the palace, temple and adjacent buildings conflicted with this Sinhala representation. Such voluntary 'amnesias' were a recurring feature in the creation of official nationalism.

Ranjith Fernando in his dismissal of the revivalist tradition sights both the Independence hall and the University of Peradeniya as pseudo Oriental/sinhalese/Buddhist architecture. He maintains that a revival of traditional art is impossible because "it was considered politically expedient". He questions the projections of what is claimed to be 'authentically traditional'.

The New University
I would like to discuss the Peradeniya university bearing in mind the comment made by Hobsbawm that "the progress of schools and universities measures that of nationalism, just as schools and especially universities become its most conscious champions".

The Peradeniya University was built (1952) near Kandy on a 3,500 acre site and was a landmark educational institution. The 'Battle of the sites' among those who favoured Colombo versus Kandy for the location was to take from the 1920's until 1938, thus delaying its construction. In 1940, Sir Patrick Abecrombie was invited by the Government of Ceylon to plan the University. He was assisted by Clifford Holliday and the Sinhalese architect Shirley de Alwis of the PWD. de Alwis had been trained in the University of Liverpool. Abecrombie described the site as "an inspiring one: ...typical of central Ceylon with its mighty rivers, its rushing boulder strewn torrents, its highly modelled hills, its varied foliage and its background of stony mountain peaks."
The architecture attempted a traditional revival. The MARG magazine presentation of 'Ceylon's First University is extremely critical. It begins by applauding the efforts made to landscape the site and conserve the natural foliage attempts that are foiled by the architecture.

"Hence it is more regrettable that the architects have lost this opportunity of creating a modern local tradition in architecture. In trying to give a feeling of Ceylon's traditional architecture to these buildings for a modern University for our modern times with modern technics of building, they have borrowed motifs from the past and applied them to the reinforced concrete or steel structural skeletons. Do these buildings in any way express the reinforced concrete or steel structural elements of the construction".66

It is interesting to note the repeated use of the word modern and the obvious cry for structural expressionism. A cry that is often denied in most attempts at architectural revival. The discussion in the Marg continues to question the role of the craftsman and Asian aesthetics in a modern technology of architecture. "The craftsman and the artist must be brought back into building again - but surely not to add their genuine contribution to a sham building?" These were the challenges facing the architects of early asian modernism.67

Paradoxically, the style of administration and the system of education within the university retained its British manifestation. Its first Vice Chancellor, Sir Ivor Jennings, formulated these according to the Oxbridge tradition. "For instance, a dining room in one of the halls of residence with its carved high table and its long low benches, could very well be a dining room in Corpus Christi, Cambridge. Even to the details of proctors and marshals and colours and crests for the various halls..." His intentions are made apparent in 'The aims of the University' compiled by him during his tenure. "The university ...is a community, membership of which is a priviledge....The tangible evidence of this loyalty may be gowns, ties, blazers, colours, and what not...it binds its members to it in perpetual association." What we find here is the dilemma of decollanization. The inevitable miscegenation of cultural signification.68

66Ceylon's first University, Marg, vol 3 no 1 ,p 12
67Ibid
68The University of Ceylon, Times of Ceylon annual 1961.
Fig 38 above: The old Parliament building built in 1929
below: The Kings Audience hall Kandy
Fig 39 The Trinity College Chapel exterior and interior
Fig 40 The Cathedral of Christ the Living Saviour, designed by Wynn Jones exterior and interior.
Fig 41 The Architecture of a new Nation: above- The Independence Hall, Colombo
below - detail of Lion sculpture
Fig 42 The University of Peradeniya, Hilda Obeyesekere hall and The Catholic chapel, *The University of Ceylon* (Times of Ceylon Annual 1961)
3.3 Alternatives to Identity

The period preceding independence brought little change in the perception of residential architecture. By the thirtees, the prevailing style had deviated from the classical mansion and had developed into a form of what we now call PWD (Public Works Department) style architecture. The predominance of this style could be attributed to a number of British architects within the PWD and the preponderence of Government bungalows during this period.

Modern Eastern bungalows - The P.W.D. style

The result was a masonry box with a steep hipped tile roof. A rounded porch and a verandah was often added. The singularity of the hipped roof was a clear departure from the multiple variations of its predecessor. It no longer extended eaves over windows and demanded the addition of concrete projections for weather protection. In order to maintain cross-ventilation a cement grill was provided above each window. This liberation of the roof from its functional plurality of shelter cum window guard proved fine fodder for individual innovation. The introduction of reinforced concrete hence the concrete slab for a second storey was an equal inspiration. They were to realize their full potential at a later stage as American style architecture.

An invaluable source for the P.W.D bungalow is a book by S.Douglas Meadows - *Modern Eastern Bungalows, and how to build them* which gives us a sense of what was expected in this style of architecture. We may note the stress on cross-ventilation, and large windows, and low ceilings considerations seen as better adapted to warm climates and lacking in the previous architecture. Meadows observes that the need for efficient building during the post-war period increased the importance of the architect and resulted in the relative displacement of the engineer and contractor/builder.69 This is indeed one of the more significant shifts in the identity of the residence. The residence would now be represented as the creation of an architect rather than through the identity of its owner.

Herbert Gonsal, an architect writing on this particular style of architecture, gives us some idea of the spatial distribution within this particular style. He discusses it under three distinct units that he considers necessary for accommodating - rest and privacy, entertainment and recreation, work and storage.

69 Douglas Meadows, *Modern Eastern Bungalows* p 7
"Under the first unit may be grouped, the study, office, bed rooms, bath and toilet accommodation, and the very necessary loggia or verandah. In the next group provision should be made for a drawing and dining room, or in the modest type of house a combination popularly known as a living room. Accommodation such as waiting rooms, halls, breakfast room, smoking room with cocktail niche, etc., maybe required in the more ambitious type of residence. Lastly under the head of work and storage; the kitchen...with its ancillary rooms such as pantry, utility room, work room, stores and garage would be necessary." 70

One of the interesting changes that occurred was the introduction of the pantry into the main body of the house. The pantry is a kitchen equipped for the 'lady of the house', and is a place where western styles of cooking such as cakes, desserts etc. are created. In Sri Lanka there is a clear division of western and eastern food among the English speaking middle classes. Western food is called 'front food' issaraha kema just as the drawing room is called the 'front room 'issara kamaraya .

The idea of front being associated with what is western is perhaps due to the inhabitation of the front of the house by the colonial family and the back by the domestic staff. This separation of the 'servant quarters' and the kitchen from the rest of the household is still maintained in the plans advocated by Meadows. A separation made necessary by the style of cooking and no doubt the preferences expressed by the colonial inhabitants. This separation is maintained further by the introduction of the back stairs for the access of domestic staff and a back verandah in association with their quarters. We may note the evolution of the porch for the accommodation of the motor car introduced in the twenties.

The Ceylon type says Meadows was developed as a European villa and the flat roof common to the Indian version was not adapted due to climatic reasons. It is a fairly inflexible house form with far less concessions to climate than its immediate predecessors. It has no identity that is remotely local though an unsuccessful attempt at a Kandyan bungalow does exist in his book. They are, in short, expansions on proto typical government bungalows built in the A, B, C, or D types that were replicated ad infinitum in the urban centres. In a sense, it reduced the house to a sign which is easily readable. I hesitate to say commodify because architecture was still a fairly labour intensive technology. It is only the plan type that was replicated.

70 Herbert Gonsal, Homes not Houses p 83
The 'Eastern Bungalow' was to dominate the architectural climate right through the period of independence. In Sri Lanka Independence was achieved gradually through repeated reformation of legislature. Glancing through the contents page of the Observer annual of 1948 we realize how little attention was paid on the part of 'cultured society' to the actual event marking the transfer of power. The Observer annual, and the Times of ceylon annual were periodicals published each year representing the cultural events of the period. The articles in the Ceylon Observer annual 1948 range from Dance forms in India and Sinhalese Musical Instruments to Haunted houses, The unpredictable snipe, and Shakespeare in the Tropics. Although there seems to be an eclectic mix of British and Ceylonese cultural trivia, there is not a single reference to recent Independence. These apolitical representations were to persist in the period architecture.

The first generation of private architects during the post war period were a mix of British and Ceylonese operating either privately or through Edward Reid and Booth/Begg, a prominent architectural firm. Well known architects such as Billimorea, Althom, Hale, Adam and Small, Gansal, Claessan, Jimmy Nilgiriya, Fritz deSilva, Lance deSoyza, and less well known architects such as Arambawela and Devapriya, all built in the style of this period. It was not until the late fifties that a new generation of local architects, working through the PWD, were to assert alternative identities on architecture.

**The American style**

Perhaps as a reaction to the PWD style conservatism, perhaps due to the new materials and technologies available, the next generation of residences in the 1950's was to adopt a radically contrasting image. The *American style* (also known as Hollywood or California style), largely adopted from magazines such as 'Home and Garden', fully exploited the previously mentioned liberation of individual structural elements. Meadows in fact, quotes America as a positive example. "America is a salient example of good modern houses, or homes as they are called, and of greatly improved housing conditions."71 The butterfly roof which symbolized this style was made possible by the introduction of asbestos and corrugated iron sheeting material. The result was a heterrogenity that bordered on madness. Bevis Bawa, a prominent landscape designer (and brother of Geoffrey), was to comment sarcastically on this new trend.

"The houses of today springing up faster than mushrooms in one's backyard (which is all one has for anything to spring up in). It makes one wonder whether architecture is overtaking modern art......but our people after independence want to be independent; so

71 Douglas Meadows, *Modern Eastern Bungalows* p xii
prefer to buy dozens of magazines, cut out dozens of pictures of buildings that take their fancy, take bits and pieces out of each, stick them together - and there's a house. Then a friend comes along when it is half built and says: 'but why not have the roof like this.' so a hurried alteration is made.....I do not think that there are many nationalistic builders in our vast city of 'oil bound colour' because the only architectural 'national' building in town is the audience hall in Torrington square. Just as well perhaps, for how dreadful colombo would be chock - a - block with daddy, Mummy and baby audience halls. Heaven forbid".72

The choice of an identity that was clearly neither Ceylonese nor British is perhaps a reflection on the attitudes of the emerging middle class and their aspirations. On the one hand British identity had negative connotations. On the other hand, their intention was to project their new found modernity as a claim to social status. It is here we notice the first signs activating the democratic access to westernization. Nationalism and traditional revival had found no partisans in the social mobility of petit bourgeois residences. We can gather from Bevis Bawa's commentary that the 'architect' was losing ground in, or had never entered into the social space of these particular manifestations.

The International style - the Baur building

The architect was preoccupied with the dawn of different kind of modernism. The modern apartment building had been introduced to Colombo in its Le Corbusierian guise by Egender and Muller in 1939. The Baur Building is sited in the MARG magazine as the first in the East to incorporate the principle of a single corridor entrance to two floors of flats.73 The prototype of the Maisonette. The Baur Building situated in the Fort was a combination of offices and apartments in what is described as an "outstanding pioneering effort in modern tropical building". The 'Tube' courtyards within the building are described as 'wicked' in comparison to the usual 'chowks' in India and Ceylon. The building is said to "bring to our cities the best traditions of modern swiss building - a humane, clean, wholesome and honest tradition."74

It is interesting to note, however, that the 'honesty ' of this tradition was dependent on three visits to the site by the Swiss architect and the importation of many of the building materials. "Iron and cement, cast iron pipes and fittings, glass and insulated materials

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72Bevis Bawa, Briefly by Bevis, The Colombo of Those Days and These, p 62 - 63
73Baur Building, MARG magazine vol v, no 3.
74Ibid
were ordered from England, wood from Indo-china, wall and floor overlays from Hong Kong, sanitary appurtenances from India, pumps and lifts from Switzerland. 75

There is no doubt, however, that it was in construction terms a phenomenal endeavor. Interrupted by the outbreak of the war and the absence of mechanical aids, the complexities of modern technology had to be countered by manual labour. About 3000 cubic metres of granite were bored by hand and blasted. They were then transported out of the pit by women labourers. Cement was carried in little iron containers on their heads etc. The structure was a brickwork skeleton with steel foundations and massive girders on each floor. The flat roof was insulated with Treetex sound proof sheets and asphalt was used in the basement for damp proofing. The building, once completed in 1941, provided office space and three and four-roomed apartments for Europeans.

My study of residential architecture does not extend to the study of apartment typologies since they are not necessarily the expression of individual choices. Most apartment complexes are determined by the attitudes of the architect or the state apparatus. The Baur building, therefore, is not being presented as a residential prototype but as the first exposure to the language of 'the International style' (i.e. modernist architecture). There is no doubt as to its impact as an inventive breakthrough in a primarily context specific environment. Let us examine the architects who whole heartedly co opted this form of modernism.

Among the architects who did enter the fray, are a pair who carved a position for themselves in the upper echelons of this architecture. Viswa Selveratnam and Leon Monk working as partners built a number of residences for embassies, commercial companies etc. in a clean cut, white, modern architecture. Theirs are some of the better examples of a pattern that seemed wholly unpredictable.

In the opposite camp was the draughtsman, Alfred Kalubowila. Although Kalubowila reached his prime in the early seventies, he was an extension of the same attitude in architecture. His contribution was the L-shaped house that responded to the recent space limitations. Building on less than fifteen perches of land for clients whose conceptions of houses were inherited from the bungalow days, Kalubowila sought to maximize the view of the garden. The L-shape allowed him a view from both dining and living the two most

75 Ibid
important spaces. His style, though consistent in the application of certain details, unfortunately depended on novelty for its impact/appearance. The popularity of the Kalubowila style corresponded with the rejection of the architect at the middle levels of the residential sector.

The discussion on the architecture of the period before and immediately after independence brings to light two important factors. First, that consent society did not empathise immediately with the identities projected by the new nation. The emergent middle classes were defining themselves through the newly found access to westernization - a reaction I may suggest to previous social exclusion. What made this new identity more accessible was the increasing commercialization of the building trade and the introduction to new technologies and materials. Advertisements in the late fifties market a large number of building materials and finishes to an emergent middle class buyer. Second, the architecture of this period created a crisis of identity within the previous elite framework. A group that had been previously defined through degrees of westernization were robbed of their language of representation. A new agenda for identity that both recognized recent independence and maintained distance from upstart westernizations had to be invented.
Fig 43 Modern Eastern Bungalows: Mrs V de Soysa's house 1932 built by R.L Perera, first floor plan
Fig 44 Modern Eastern Bungalows: Mrs V de Soysa's house second floor plan and front elevation

142
Fig 45 Modern Eastern Bungalows: An upcountry single storey bungalow, Douglas Meadows
*Modern Eastern Bungalows*
Fig 46 Modern Eastern Bungalows: A house in Colombo
Fig 47 Modern Eastern Bungalows: plan of Ceylon Government bungalow front elevations of Ceylon Government bungalows twin plan.
Fig 48 American style house first floor plan and elevation
Fig 49 American style house second floor plan and section
Fig. 50 Single story examples of above -the PWD bungalow and below- the American style house.
Fig 51 The Bairs Building Colombo designed by Engender and Muller of Zurich
Fig 53 Buildings by Selveratnam and Monk, above - The Park road houses below- Selveratnam's own house
Fig 54 The Mohunideen house by Alfred Kalubowila
Fig 55 The Gunesekere house by Alfred Kalubovila
The Colombo of those Days .....& these

Fig 56 above - Example of L shaped house
below illustration of the American style house by Bevis Bawa
3.4 The reinvention of the vernacular

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven" 76

Andrew Boyd

The elevation of the vernacular to the status of a representative architecture was both
proposed and propounded by an Englishman, Andrew Boyd, as early as 1939. Boyd,
who first came to Ceylon before the war as a specialis't on tea, returned to England in the
1920's to pursue an architectural education. It is said that he was inspired by "his
delight" 77 in the existing tradition. Having qualified from the AA in 1937 and after a
short apprenticeship with Frank Scarlett he returned to Ceylon to set up his own practice.
Among his acquaintances in Ceylon were Lionel Wendt, Pablo Neruda and Gerge Keyt an
artist of the 43 Group for whom he designed a studio by converting a disused Buddhist
temple. 78 I will attempt to discuss his attitude published in three articles in the MARG
magazine and the Ceylon Observer annual that project an architecture that could embody
the spirit of the nation.

In An Approach to Modern Indian Architecture 79 Boyd denounces 'those
Internationalists' and calls for a continuity of an Indian identity within a modern idiom.
The stance adopted by Boyd is liberating in that it recognizes the attempts by modernism
to avoid period architecture and its failure in India due to its reduction to a western
architectural style. He criticises modern methods that are used to produce old forms
saying that the "immitation of one's own architecture in changed conditions is only one
degree less disgusting than immition of foreign forms - less comically odd but more
depressingly dead".

In his criticism of modern architecture, Boyd describes the process by which it has been
commodified within a stylistic agenda and traces it to the abstraction of architecture to a
interplay of geometric forms. " Inspired rather by cubism and the novel forms of
machines than by any deeply felt emotions about life or human beings it merely sort to
exploit the relations between simple geometrical solid forms". He declares that "An

76 Wordsworth, The Prelude
77 Ted Hollamby, Andrew Boyd memorial issue, keystone association of building technician's journal, autumn
1962, vol 36, no 3
78 Ibid
79 Marg vol III no 3

155
aesthetic of architecture must correspond to its real tools, not desired ones" and traces the failure of modern architecture to its concentration within a small group of individuals working for rich private clients and distanced from the aspirations of the people. His solution lies in an attempt to build a basis for modern architecture rather than the finished article. An architecture that will address an understanding and critical public that is constituted "in a democratic age" not by an "educated ruling class" but by "the whole mass of the people".

The selection of the vernacular as a means of addressing the democratic majority is a novel idea and falls squarely within the Gramscian hegemony of working class culture. In opposition to nationalist attempts to project dynastic principles in public architecture it empowers secular and consent society with an alternative means for self expression. In attempting to represent the spirit rather than the physical identity of the nation Boyd is infact directly addressing that amorphous imagined community called the nation. These then are his inspirations, let us examine the processes constructed for their realization.

In two published articles on what he calls A People's Tradition, Boyd extensively documents and describes the Ceylonese peasant architecture. Quoting from examples of the Yoeman's hut in Coomaraswamy's Medieval Sinhalese Art he applauds the unpretentious pragmatism. The two typologies discussed are the landlocked dwellings of the agricultural tradition and the Houses by the road that are oriented for commerce. His observations of their construction, materials and minor innovations within a minimalist typology are presented as appropriate values for a new architecture.

"What are the climate and the way of life that helped to mould the forms of these houses? Tropical sun combined with tropical rainfall dictated the open verandahs, the balconies, the sloping roofs, the generous eaves. and climate, civilizied custom and poverty at once contributed to dictate a great simplicity in ordinary life, especially ofcourse among the peasants, and made it possible without much discomfort. the ground was used more than chairs, the mats more than a bed. a leaf was your plate and a few yards of cotton were your everyday clothes".

The description of the simplicity of the lifestyle was a pervasive theme in Boyd's representations. The people's tradition allowed a reading of responses to climate and

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80 arch.review jan 1947
81 Andrew Boyd, Houses by the Road, Ceylon Observer Pictorial 1939
82 Andrew Boyd, A People's Tradition, p 30
social habits that had escaped the 'styles' of formalized colonialism. This attitude was one closely emulated and repeated by the pioneering architects. Geoffrey Bawa's deSaram terrace houses built in 1973 were inspired directly by the 'Houses by the road' examples. However, a possible omission on the part of this construction needs to be noted. In not examining how 'poverty' had contributed to the social understanding of this architecture, Boyd had ignored the main objection (on the part of the 'people') to its continued dissemination.

Boyd himself built two houses in Colombo that are noteworthy examples of contextual modernism. They are calculated responses to climate and light in brick and concrete construction. Built 1940, they are an early example of change in residential architecture. Boyd returned to London in 1939 where he continued practising architecture. His last design for a house in Ceylon - Kandy in 1946 although never built was to show "the strongest influence of the native tradition." Contrary to the tendency of representing Boyd as one of the Pioneers I have singled him out as a inspirational precedent to their architecture. The reason for this approach is his advocacy outside the climate of 1956 and consequent cultural regeneration. The events of the fifties were to accentuate the need for a non-political representation, a challenge embraced by the few individual architects that are labeled the 'pioneers'.

The Pioneers
The common denominator among these pioneering efforts is the attempt at contextual modernism and the aversion to symbolic reduction. Each of these architects, in turn, addressed the physical and technological climate of the period yet made concerted effort to incorporate local building traditions. The degrees to which and the manner by which these efforts are defined can loosely divide them into two categories. The tendency towards modernism and the tendency towards the vernacular. For my first representations of their work I have selected two examples of residences by each of these pioneers. For the sake of the original premise, I will include a residence that continues the proposed genealogy of residences. It helps locate the clientel towards whom these new expressions were directed.

83 Ibid p 37
84 Ted Hollamby, Andrew Boyd memorial issue
85 C. Anjalendran, Pioneers of Modern Design in Sri Lanka, lecture 1, Jan 1988, unpublished.
The early examples of work presented are strong expressions of modern movement architecture. Not only are they clear breakaways from the room by room notion of plan liberated by new technology, but experiments in current western concepts of space. The late Fifties residences built by these architects are a challenge to the American style within a western idiom. The local details are as yet informal. An important event during this period was the 1964/65 Industrial exhibition. The political projections of Ceylon as Industrial therefore on the path to modernism. An identity that was represented through the international style structures constructed for the exhibits.- an identity that persisted within the East/West, Modern/Traditional, dichotomies of the political representation of the Nation.

The architects of the 1960's were only becoming conscious of the criticism of European modernism. The events of 1956 and the years that followed demanded a clear departure into the eastern idiom. Supporting this endeavor are the emergent leftist policies that encourage self sufficiency and an inward orientation. The policies of Bandaranaike and the cry for 'Sinhala only' gives overt westernization a stigma of anti nationalism. Operating within this construct are several conscious attempts at rewriting Ceylonese modernism. Likewise, socialist policies of the Seventees and the period of no imports under mrs Bandaranaike's government extended cultural introspection.

In 1972 Ceylon became a republic and, changing its name to Sri Lanka, emphasised its break from colonial identities. Public architecture during this period was largely conducted through the engineers of the State Engineering Corporation. A noteworthy residential complex was designed for the delegates of the non aligned nations conference 1976. Private architects were not invited to engage in state production. It was a period of economic depression that demanded the exploration of regional construction methods and materials.

The examples I have selected explore the shift in position from the late fifties to the sixties and thereafter. The venture from inspired to implicit modernism within the acquired framework of regional expression. To describe the attitude adopted by the pioneers to the existing architectural climate I have used the introduction given by Minette de Silva to her exhibition at the AA school, Bedford Square in 1977. The exhibition was titled Twenty Five Years: Experiments in Modern Regional Architecture in Ceylon.

"Ceylon, as generally in the East, emerged suddenly in the post second world war years from a feudal-cum-Victorian past to modern technological influences from the West - a
superficial veneer of 'modernism' acquired second hand through films and magazines or short trips abroad, ill digested and bearing no relationship to our traditions and to the region in which we live. There was no attempt to create a real synthesis of modern and transitional. We most learn what to absorb and what not to from the Western world, and what to keep and what not to from our traditions. Until we learn to do this we may have a copy book culture sometimes approaching the absurd. To develop a contemporary architecture of our own we have to think understandingly. In trying to create this contemporary cultural life we must not lose the best in our own traditions which still have meaning and value for us.86

**Minnette de Silva**

Influenced by the work of Andrew Boyd and maintaining close family connections with artists George Keyt87 and David Painter88 came Ceylon's most colourful architect Minnette de Silva. She was born to a political family in Kandy which exposed her to the dynamics of the Independence period. Her father George E de Silva was the President of the CNC89, MP90 for Kandy, and Minister for health in the War Cabinet. Her mother Agnes was active in women's suffrage.91 De Silva was to distinguish herself as the first Ceylonese woman architect and the first Asian woman associate of the Royal Institute of British architects. She was to continue to be the only Ceylonese woman to maintain her own practice within the male dominated profession during her (and the consequent) generation.

"Not only was I breaking new architectural ground but also social mores; I was an oddity, a woman architect. It is perhaps difficult for people to realize these days what that meant in the early 'fifties"92

De Silva entered the J J school of architecture in Bombay in 1940 where she remained for the first three and a half years. In 1944, she worked for Otto Koenisberger the later UN advisor for housing in the tropics. While a student, she founded the Modern Architectural Research Group, and in 1945 along with Minoo P J Mistry and Jehangir Billimoria started the MARG magazine that devoted itself to documenting Asian (predominently Indian) art and architecture. Among the contributing editors to this magazine have been Andrew Boyd, Harry Pieris and George Keyt. In the same year, she

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86 Karel Roberts, Copybook culture to be deplored, The Sunday Observer, July 15 1979
87 Group
88 Murals in Trinity College chapel
89 Ceylon National Congress
90 Minister of Parliament
91 and was the niece of Andreas nell from the family previously mentioned as part of the Young ceylon circle
92 Nalin Perera, Minnette de Silva: Her Life and her Work, BSc dissertation 1990, p 1,
was expelled from the academy because of a 'quit India' strike and her final two years 45 - 47 were spent at the AA school in London. While in London, she received her first commission to decorate 'Ceylon house' (exhibit) and in 1946 she attended the CIAM Paris conference as a delegate representing India and Ceylon with a message from MARG to Le Corbusier.

The meeting with Le Corbusier was to steer de Silva in a clear architectural direction. In 1947, she took him around the Indian art exhibit at the Royal Academy. She was a guest of his at Chandigargh. Nalin Perera writing on her life observes that a large framed photograph of de Silva and Le Corbusier hanging in her studio bears the following inscription. Translated from Apollinaire it reads:

"We wish to acquire vast and strange domains where mystery in flowers offers itself to him who wishes to pluck it. Over there are new schemes of colour never before seen A thousand improbable fantasies Which must be given reality." 93

When de Silva returned after qualifying in 1948 to a newly independent Ceylon, she was alive with enthusiasm. Writing in the same spirit as Andrew Boyd de Silva attempted to create a critical discourse in a new architecture. Her response to climate and materials are similar to Boyd's and her focus was in discovering valid forms in past architectures. These she observed could be translated into a modern idiom and used to build the continuity of familiar life styles and traditions.

"So we go on finding more and more structures and forms of the past which are still valid to present day building. They exist in profusion only if we have the 'seeing eye' - such as the traditional variations of Sinhala tiled roofs, pillared maduwasa(pavillons), pillared halls, brick kiln structures, conical or rectangular atuwas (grain silos) courtyards, 'pilas' (wide plinth ..) and the innumerable household appointments within a building". 94

Like Boyd, de Silva was referring to features in the vernacular peasant tradition. Coming from Kandy where the inspirations of Coomaraswamy were most deeply rooted and with her exposure (through her mother) to the work of the Arts and Crafts society founded by him, de Silva was moved to revive and engage the local craft traditions. In her own

93 Ibid p 14
work, she made a concerted effort to involve the work of local painters thus bringing the artist, the architect and the craftsman together.

Her first and pioneering effort in 1951 was a split level house in Kandy later published in the MARG magazine in June 1953. The construction was of reinforced concrete beams and floors, masonry walls and stone retaining walls. The roof was of corrugated asbestos (strong winds made tiles impractical). Her use of sliding glass doors, pergolas, glass brick walls and pivoted asbestos shutters contributed in creating a space that was easily expandable. Conscious of the needs of the joint family system, the house was designed to accommodate large or small numbers of people.

"I visualized a house being used for a 'pirith' ceremony as well as for a birthday party or coping with large crowds of relations at sudden unexpected moments; and at the same time catering for the needs of a small family without the multitude of servants possible in former days. An efficient modern kitchen must also provide for cooking for a 'dana' involving boiling rice for say forty people." 96

The rooms were designed as enclosed verandahs and the bedrooms had a wall of glass, consisting of glass louvres, sliding doors and windows that 'embrace the magnificent view', de Silva describes difficulties encountered in convincing the Municipality that windows could reach the floor. The use of a variety of local timber finishes, traditional lacquer work balusters, woven mat panels and a mural of the hansa jataka by Keyt, are attempts by her to incorporate local art and craft traditions. At this stage, however, the incorporation of tradition was not integrated into the design principle.

A later house Pieris House 1 built in 1953 is a further exploration in modern movement architecture. Built in Alfred house gardens Colombo it was the first local building with floating slab construction. (The contractors needed the sanction of structural engineers abroad to okay construction) Here the introduction of pilotis liberating the ground floor space is a Corbuserian interpretation. Although the verandah column did exist in traditional building it had always defined pavillion or access and seldom been used for defining or liberating interior living spaces. To emphasise the influence of le Corbusier on de Silva's early thinking let me quote an excerpt from 'The Modular' used by her in reply to the question "How did one make a beginning? A breakthrough?"

95 Minnette de Silva, a house in kandy Ceylon, MARG no 3 vol VI june 1953 p 4
96 Nalin Perera, Minnette de Silva: Her Life and Her Work, BSc Dissertation 1990, p 19
97 Karel Roberts, Copybook culture to be deplored, The Sunday Observer July 15 1979
98 Nalin Perera, Minnette de Silva: Her Life and Her Work, BSc Dissertation 1990 p 23

161
"I refused to refer to architectural books and magazines, using the knowledge that came spontaneously from my mind. - Intuition, that miraculous catalyst of knowledge acquired, assimilated, consciously or unconsciously". 99

The building most clearly derived from Corbusierian principles was the Senanayeke flats in Gregory's Road 1954.

In the Pieris house of 1953, the concept of the 'midula' or garden enclosed within high walls is an intermediate between the courtyard and the garden. The portion of ground enclosed by wall space is minimalized like the Villa Savoye example. The shift from 'midula' to the 'traditional' 'meda midula' a courtyard surrounded by built structure was achieved in 1965 with the Pieris House II 100 and marks a clear formal departure. In these and later examples, the 'tradition' that had formerly been a veneer became internalized in the spatial form of the residence. By 1970 and the example of the Coomaraswamy twin houses, de Silva was experimenting further with the roof form found in traditional kilns. 101

Aware of the conflicting interpretations that co-habit the expression, regional, I would like to give a further insight into de Silva's particular interpretation. Coming from Kandy where the Colonial experience was a relatively recent introduction, an understanding of regional identity could be interpreted as cultural. Colombo, on the other hand, with its appropriation of Portuguese Dutch and British constructs over a period of four-hundred-odd years, laid claims to an indigenized eclecticism that evades the boundaries of regional definition. Thus when de Silva uses regional as a description for her architecture, "The word is used in the sense of a geographical and cultural region." 102 We may assume that it resides within a predominantly South Asian climatic environment that has fashioned for generations the social habits of its people. As such her efforts at maintaining a distance from religio cultural interpretations are certainly commendable.

In 1958 de Silva was responsible for another significant introduction into the small world of Ceylonese architecture. She extended an invitation to Ulrik Plesner a Danish architect

100Nalin Perera, Minnette deSilva: Her Life and Her Work, BSc Dissertation 1990 p 35
101Ibid p 40
whose design had won second place in the International competition for the commemoration of the Buddha Jayanthi in India. (awarded by Nehru)

•Ulrik Plesner

(1930-) Plesner graduated from the Royal Academy in Copenhagen in 1955. His interest in Buddhism and his ideas of 'humanization' of architecture (Buildings are for people) drew him to this new area of experimentation. Plesner arrived in Ceylon on the 5th Jan 1958 and was exposed to the architecture of Minette de Silva.

"Coming from an ice cold country and suddenly came to these houses that she was doing which were very open. Just with old columns and the air fizzing through and with lots of plants". 104

For a year he worked in Kandy and then moved to Colombo and a partnership with Geoffrey Bawa at Edward Reid and Begg. His first work in Colombo the N.U. Jayawardene house. 105 Although climatically sensitive, it was representative of the international style of architecture. Among this first group of residences designed from preconceptions is the Wimal Fernando house (unbuilt), which I will use as an example of his early architecture. 106 The influence of Mies van der Rohe in the spread of continuous screen walls is noticeable. The courtyard spaces are largely enclosed gardens.

In contrast the architects own house built as an annexe to an existing house is more tightly compacted. "One enters directly into a large double height space which flows out horizontally and vertically. This one space is the total spirit of this extremely simple urban house. It is a large living room which flows into gardens and pools on two sides. (There are no doors only wide openings) A brick seat plastered and painted white is built up against the only blank wall. The tiled asbestos roof is twenty feet above and envelopes both this living room and the work cum bedroom on the upper floor". 107

The striking quality of the Plesner residence is in its ability to engage the experience of life in a tropical country without replicating any overtly traditional architectural features.

103 Suchith Mohotti, Roots, The Domestic Architecture of Ulrik Plesner, BSc Dissertation 1982 p 11
104 Ibid p 42
105 Ibid p 15
106 Ibid p 44
107 Ibid p 19
The roof is never seen because of its height and the restriction of the interior space. The columns are like narrow pieces of wall that are negated at a higher point into a window of light. Plesner's genius is in guiding the eye through these several visual experiences which are novel in their manifestation but tantalize the memory of parallel traditional expressions.

"In a home one should be able to sit and talk where one feels like it, in the bedroom window, on the stairs, under a tree in the garden, not necessarily in a so-called sitting area. To sleep downstairs on the window sill or in a bed. To have something beautiful to look at when raising one's eyes from the table, or to see something exciting from the living room - water that moves, or a seat under a tree - both contain a promise and in one's thoughts, the temptation to get up and go towards them". 108

Imagine the impact of such a philosophy on a society schooled for over a century on Victorian mores of social behaviour. The pioneering effort of these few architects was to break out of the formal constricted social space of the modern bungalow and to reclaim and redefine Ceylonese lifestyles as rooted in the verandah experience.

Ulrik Plesner was central to the three methods by which architecture achieved this liberation. 109 The first was designing and building expressions of this philosophy among which were several variations of his own house. I have included Ian Pieris's house as an example. The second was measuring and documenting old buildings that described and reinforced the knowledge of the timber and masonry tradition - a tradition neglected by the orientalist documentors due to its lack of monumental historicity. In these ventures in search of traditional buildings, he was accompanied by Barbara Sansoni, Laki Senanayeke and Ismeth Raheem. The third was the teaching of these values in the school of architecture, a method by which the same interests could be infused within and maintained by the next generation.

Among those who were inspired by this 'reawakening' of a dormant architecture were Geoffrey Bawa, Laki Senanayeke, Barbara Sansoni, Ena de Silva, and Donald Friend. Geoffrey took the clear architectural path in his partnership with Plesner. Laki was an artist and landscape designer who assisted in the documenting of the tradition. Barbara Sansoni's book illustrating Vihare's and Verandahs was a comprehensive documentation of their explorations. Donald Friend who befriended Bevis Geoffrey's brother was an

108 Ulrik Plesner, Living Architecture no 5 p 94
109 Ibid p 84
Australian artist among whose preoccupations was painting scenes of Ceylonese building construction methods.

Barbara Sansoni and Ena deSilva were experimenting in the field of textile production. Inspired by the efforts of Edith Ludowyk in handloom industry, Barbara sought to revive these traditional methods and liberate them through her own sense of vibrant tropical colour. Ena, on the other hand, introduced Batik print methods to Ceylon and created a new and inspiring industry. Through the combined efforts of this small group of people a new interpretation was given to the lifestyle that could be expressed through modern 'Sri Lankan' architecture.

With the centrality of Ulrik, the inevitable shift of interest from Kandy to Colombo, and the projection of an architecture that played shy of overt cultural references, we see the formation of an affiliated architectural group through which de Silvas's ideas were excluded. A number of years spent outside (1975-80) Sri Lanka aggravated this exclusion. In later years, with Geofrey's efforts at eclecticism and the inclusion of colonial references, this marginalization was complete. De Silva herself was to observe that remaining in Kandy was inhibitive to her own architectural practice.

The partnership of Plesner and Geoffrey Bawa was to have a far reaching impact on the course of Sri lankan architecture. Working together and sharing a common attitude they were to seek out a vocabulary to support their endeavors.

"I remember the actual moment when the essence of the matter dawned on us. We were driving down the Galle road on our way to Bentota, passing through the villages with all their little tiled roofs and big overhangings and little wooden railings and I said to Geoffrey " You know what? it's the roof that is the secret to the architecture of Ceylon", or something like that may be less pompously. And then there was a long silence for several miles and Geoffrey said "Yes you are right""

The first building on which the roof form was used as a dominant feature was the Shell company district Manager's bungalow at Anuradhapura. The reinvention of the dominance of roof form for Ceylonese architecture was to have a two-fold impact on its projected potential. On the one hand it was clearly indicative of the two climatic extremes for which it was fashioned. The extreme heat of the sun and the torrential monsoon rains

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110 Teaching in the University of Hong Kong and writing for the Eastern section of Bannister Fletcher's History of (World) Architecture
111 Suchith Mohotty, Roots, The Domestic Architecture of Ulrik Plesner, BSc Dissertation 1982.p 43
112 Ibid p 48
begged this particular piece of equipment. On the other hand it was located on the margin of recently formed identities and open for exploitation. Though Bawa and Plesner were particular in their choice of a simple roof - not the Kandyan two pitched hipped version, and consciously used the Portugese style half round tile (later adapted by Bawa to fit on corrugated asbestos) these were no protections against cultural appropriation. In addition the projection of the tiled Sri Lankan roof was to block access to any other experimentations in roof construction.

One of the most exciting buildings that emerged from the collaboration of these two architects was the house at Polontalawa.\textsuperscript{113} Built on a rocky natural landscape from stones blasted at site, and using workmen from nearby villages this was a homage to the regional vernacular tradition. There were no plans used since the building was laid out with string and adhoc instructions given during construction. The house is experienced as a series of gabled roofs supported by palm tree trunks and existing boulders. The intention is to diffuse the inside outside definitions. Plesner left in 1967 leaving Bawa to continue within this same vocabulary of architecture.

\textbf{Geoffrey Bawa}

(1919- ) Initially trained as a barrister at law, Bawa changed careers mid stream and studied architecture at the \textit{AA school} in London. Graduating in 1956, he returned to Ceylon to join the firm Edward Reid and Begg as a partner. Catalytic in this career change were his experiments with 25 acres of abandoned rubber estate which he turned into his private garden.

The most recent publication of Bawa's work is on his garden \textit{Lunuganga}.\textsuperscript{114} Created over a period of 40 years, it is an expression of his philosaphy of architecture. No doubt influenced by his brother Bevis's work in tropical gardens and the work of an earlier and more formal European style landscape designer Count de Mornay, Lunuganga still retains the unique character of his own creation. Charged with allusions to the European garden tradition it explores the spatial rather than the landscaping potential of the environment. It is an eclectic mix of European influences carved into a tropical vegetation. Bawa's garden has been described as a series of rooms in which incidents occur and views are revealed. This vocabulary is explored further in the additive form of his architecture.

\textsuperscript{113}Ibid p 30
\textsuperscript{114}Geoffrey Bawa, \textit{Lunuganga}, 1990 Times edition pte Ltd. with Christopher Bon and Dominic Sansoni
In the early years of his practice Bawa's work was strongly influenced by the design methodology of the modern movement. The A.S.H de Silva house built in 1960 adopts the pin wheel layout of the Miesian plan with a courtyard introduced at its centre. Another example from this same period is the Galle face courts apartments which has a strong Le Corbusien formalism. Although built entirely of concrete frame construction the spaces within this maisonette with its terraces extending on the north and south elevations are designed to enjoy the tropical climate. A concrete vault at the top floor level gives it a theatrical atmosphere. It is an example of contextual modernism that does not rely on familiar features.

The shift of interest towards local building typology was to come from the partnership with Ulrik Plesner. The first opportunity to introduce the formal courtyard into a house in Colombo came in 1962 in the house for Ena de Silva a textile designer from a wealthy elite family. Ena de Silva, whose experimentation in textile design and dress had won her a considerable reputation, was herself interested in the reinvention of traditional forms and contributed a great deal of ideas to this design. The house subverted the British style box in an exploration of continuos space through as much as seven courtyards. The building materials except for a small proportion of steel and glass was local and a large mango tree already on site was retained as a central feature. The use of textured surfaces such as rough granite block floors and pebbled paving was a radical step in an age of linolium. Although strongly influenced by what was considered the traditional Kandyan 'walauwa', Bawa broke free of its room by room definition. The free flow of space interrupted by collonade or trellis under continuous pitched roofs accentuated the totality of the experience. The period following this building was the peak of Bawas career.

Bawa's own attitudes towards the past is by no means singular. Rather, it is an acceptance of the eclectic heritage of colonial experience. "I prefer to consider all past good architecture in Ceylon just as that - as good Ceylon architecture, for that is what it is, not Dutch or Portugese or Indian, or early Sinhalese or British Colonial, for all the examples of these periods have taken Ceylon first into account". In the acceptance of

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115 Brian Brace Taylor, Geoffrey Bawa, Concept Media 1986, p 46
116 Geoffrey Bawa, A Way of Building, Times of Ceylon Annual 1966
a plural identity at this particular time in history (the 1960's), he contributes the ideals imagined by secular nationalisms.

He presents himself as being influenced by "Italian hill towns...English country houses....Greek Roman, Mexican, and Buddhist ruins, the Alhambra in Granada, the chapel in Ronchamps, the Mogul forts in Rajasthan and the marvelous palaces in Padmanadapura". Just like the English speaking middle class Bawa too maintains his accessibility to international influences.

His method of architectural design recognizes the topography of the site, the response to climate and the application of local materials and technologies as primary considerations. As such, what we have outlined is a contextual modernism.

Having made it fairly difficult to label Bawa as a regionalist let us examine his appropriation of local architectural features.

"At random I take an isolated point: the, what is now called, Sinhala tile. The Portugese brought it to Ceylon in the 1500's, the half round clay roofing tile of the mediterranean countries, but the roofs built in Ceylon with them were steeper pitched than the Portugese roofs, to shed the huge rainfall of the country. The Dutch used the same tile and roof pitch, but raised the roofs higher for coolness with wide eaves and verandahs to shade the walls. The Kandyans used their clay tile like a shingle, but still had the same wide eaves....a great roof to give shade and shelter and open the drift of air and the encompassing view. More than functional building, it is rational building first, for it is rational to give presence to both function and form, to admit beauty as well as purpose" (my italics)

It is interesting to note the modernist undertones of a rational architecture. Although there is evidently a preoccupation with local materials there is a conscious attempt to avoid the Kandyan roof in his own architecture. Bawa's evasion of directly nationalistic or overtly British style architecture allows him distance from the oppositions deployed by the current political environment.

Modernist (International style) experiments both in residences and multi-storey buildings were to reappear throughout Bawa's career. Curiously, they were not represented in the Mimar monograph dedicated to his work. An attempt perhaps to select the more 'regional' examples of his architecture. To maintain my placement of Bawa within

117"Geoffrey Bawa " quoted by Ronald Lewcock in Arredamento Dekorasyon June 1992
118Geoffrey Bawa, A Way of Building, Times of Ceylon Annual 1966
contextual modernism, I would like to illustrate a recent residence for Mrs A.C.H. de Soysa that departs from the tiled roof principle.

**Valentine Gunasekera**
During the same period and yet outside the influence of Bawa and Plesner was a fiercely modernist architect Valentine Gunasekera. Beginning alongside Bawa at Edward Reid and Begg in 1959 he was to soon deviate and define his own particular style of architecture. Gunasekera's architecture is always innovative, a continuous engagement with new materials. Adapting the architectural features of the international style to local climate and social needs Gunasekera consciously avoided references to traditional forms of local architecture. Geometry and structural expression was to play the greater role in a more sculptural understanding of interior spaces. Where Bawas architecture was additive and personal in scale Gunasekera would experiment with sweeping double height spaces. He attempted repeatedly to breakthrough the limits of the load-bearing wall by exploiting the potential of concrete structure.

His attitude towards architecture is an extension of his philosophy of life expressed through modernist principles, "I work with contemporary material and technology. I want to help the society to be within the contemporary idiom. My message is to the next generation and the one after....we should not live our next minute within the limitations of our last."\(^{119}\)

These expressions were to a great extent a challenge to revivalist architecture. The great difference between Gunasekera's work and the modernism of the fifties was in his sensitivity to the context of the architecture. His designs were calculated responses to climate, light, topography and were dominated by the experiential qualities of physical spaces. Such extremes of structural invention were hitherto unknown in residential architecture. "It all depends on what you call domestic and what you have been experiencing all the time. My buildings are geared to the machine. Here I wanted to elevate the mind to see the structure and rythem."\(^{120}\) Gunasekera's experimentation with

\(^{119}\) Mallawarachchi, *Analysis of some Residential and Hotel Buildings by Valentine Gunasekera*, BSc Dissertation p 50

\(^{120}\) Ibid p 35
flat roofs was in an attempt to reclaim the territory of the roof and give his clients the benifit of viewing the sunrise, the sunset and the starlit sky.

One of his early houses built for Sybil Gunewardene on Turret road in 1960 was an early experimentation with the flat roof. It was designed during the years at Edward Reid and Begg. We see the inclusion of verandah and terraces which were a feature in the architecture. A later building for Sepa Illangakoon in 1971 is a confident exploration of volumes and spaces. the external envelope contains the volume of the house within which spaces are screened independently of the main structure. This allows a continued reading of the internal space interrupted only by vertical spatial definitions.

The intention of the architect in his residential buildings was to provide the initial space that would grow and become personalized through occupation. The innovative details were best appreciated when incorporated into the habits of the user. Partition walls that stop short of the structure, openings at curious places, custom designed doors and a preoccupation with the design of stairways are among repeated features.

The displacement of modernist architecture by the force of traditional identity was to marginalize the work of Valantine Gunesekera. By no means a regionalist by the conventional definition of the term, he made no attempts to engage such identification. His existence was as an individualist outside the limits of the discourse and as such gained little legitimation.

**Justin Samarasekera**

(1916-). My inclusion of Samarasekera within this grouping of Pioneers is in an attempt to gain access to a particular group of architects that carry similar credentials. Justin Samarasekera, Panini Tennakoon, Shirley de Alwis, Oliver Weerasinghe were among the first generation of local architects who began within the Public Works Department and participated in the design of public monuments. Samarasekera, who studied at the JJ school of art Bombay and worked under Sathiyen Bootha, returned in 1943 to practice architecture. Having joined the P.W.D in 1945 he left for London to pass his final examinations. Here in 1946 he worked for Sir Thomas Bennet and sons. From 1945-1963 he worked in the P.W.D and was made chief architect in 1957. He was a

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121 Ubid p 24
122 see Peradeniya University

170
founder member of the Sri Lankan Institute of Architects and was active in establishing architectural studies at the University of Moratuwa (1959 - 1972).

Having begun his private practise in 1963 he designed a large number of residences. Strongly influenced by the idea of bringing the 'garden inside the house' a recent architectural feature introduced through the work of Minette de Silva and Geoffrey Bawa, he experimented within the conventional residential plan to accommodate these features. His work was popular among a middle class clientele averse to the "American style" yet not completely comfortable with the 'vernacular' appearance. The residence of Mr S.A.Dissanayake (late 60's) shows the incorporation of the courtyard as a central feature. The house itself seen in models utilizes the two pitched tiled roof. The house of Mr and Mrs R.M.Fernando (1970) is interesting in its Miesian flowing space plan which engages a number of courtyard spaces. Using minimal wall definition this house allows for continuous light and cross ventilation. The texturing of continuous walls to imply inside(plaster) and outside(granite) are used to define the separation of interior/exterior. The vocabulary of construction however maintains the clear lines of modernism.

The position of Samarasekera outside the regional discourse describes many other architects of his generation. Refusing to take a consistent position within the east/west dichotomy they prefer to lay claims to a range of open choices. His experience within the P.W.D however makes him one of the few architects whose range extends to engaging the earliest attempts at national self invention.

The architecture of the Pioneers during the early Seventies remained at a moderate scale due to the general economic climate. The public architecture attempted was small scale buildings, schools, hotels and offices. Programs that could be said to represent the consent society viewpoint in the spectrum. The limitation on imports necessitated the innovative use of local technology and materials. The greater challenge was yet to come in 1977 with an open economy and the dawn of capitalism. A period that demanded the consolidation of a regional representation.

\[^{123}\text{personal communication from Samarasekera}\]
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Fig 57 above -advertisement Journal of The Ceylon Institute of Architects 1965/66
below- Pavilion industrial exhibition, 1964-65

172
Fig 58 Summit Flats plan of twin unit and elevation showing walkways

Karunaratne (State Engineering Corporation)
Fig 59 above - Houses by the road example photographed by Andrew Boyd
below - de Saram houses by Geoffrey Bawa and the Yoeman's house as drawn by Coomaraswamy in
Medieval Sinhalese Art
below - plan examples of vernacular style architecture,

174
Fig. 60 Andrew Boyd, Two semi-detached houses at Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1940, first floor plan and front view
Fig 61 Andrew Boyd, above - Two semi-detached houses at Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1940 section and second floor plan below - House at Kandy 1942, Anjalendran and Wanasundara, Sri Lanka, *Trends and Transitions* (SARC publication 1992)
Fig 62 Minette de Silva, *a house at kandy Ceylon* first and second floor plans
Fig 63 Minette de Silva, a house at Kandy Ceylon above - front view, below - section
Fig 64 Minette de Silva, Pieris House 1 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1953, first floor plan
Fig 65 Minette de Silva, Pieris House 1 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1953, second floor plan
Fig 66 Minette de Silva, Pieris House 1 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1953, elevation and section
Fig 67 Minette de Silva, Pieris House 2 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1965, first floor plan
Fig 68 Minette de Silva, Pieris House 2 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1965, second floor plan
Fig 69 Minette de Silva, above - Pieris House 2, Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1965, elevation. Below - Coomaraswami Twin Houses, Albert Crescent 1970, showing the kiln shape of the roof.
Fig 72 Ulrik Plesner, Own House, plan and interior view
Fig 73 Ulrik Plesner, Own House, sections and elevations,
Fig 74 Ulrik Plesner, Ian Pieris House, plans, elevation and section (grandson of H.A. Pieris)
Fig 75 Ulrik Plesner, The Polontalawa House, plan and sketch
Fig 76 Geoffrey Bawa, The Garden at Lunuganga
Fig 77 Geoffrey Bawa, House for Mr Fernando at Galle Face Courts (married to ms de Soysa) 
fourth floor elevation, and front view
Fig 78 Geoffrey Bawa, House for Mr Fernando at Galle Face Courts, fifth floor elevation.
Fig 79 Geoffrey Bawa, Ena de Silva house, plans and sections

193
Fig 80 Geoffrey Bawa, House for Mr and Mrs A.C.H.deSoysa, 1990's first and second floor plans
Fig 81 Geoffrey Bawa, House for Mr and Mrs A.C.H. da Soysa, third floor and elevation
Fig 82 Valantine Goonesekere, House for Mrs Sybil Goonewardene 1960, plans, (daughter of H.A.Peres) now owned by (her daughter) Ryle and Karmini deSoysa
Fig 83 Valantine Goonesekeere, House for Mrs Sybil Goonewardene 1960, elevation and section
Fig 84 Valantine Gooneskere, Illangakoon House, Rosmead place 1971, first floor plan and section
Fig 85 Valantine Goonesekere, Illangakoon House, Rosmead place 1971, second floor plan and section
Fig 86  Valantine Goonesekere, Illangakoon House, Rosmead place 1971, exterior and interior
Fig 87 Justin Samarasekere, House for Mr and Mrs R.M. Fernando (grandson of C.H. de Soysa) plan and view of courtyard.
Fig 88 Justin Samarasekere, House for Mr and Mrs S.A. Dissanayeke, late 60's plan and model
3.5 Regional Representation

'Regionalism', a term used by Frampton as "A critical Regionalism", is used to identify an architecture that is peculiar to locality and that explores certain physical characteristics of the context. The common factors that isolate certain examples as being regional is their expression of topography, climate and techtonic while remaining relatively free of the ideological baggage of culture. Although these very aspects to some extent may classify it within the parameters of a contextual modernism the point of departure in non-western (implying non modern movement) regionalism is its rejection of the stylistic agendas of the west in an effort to present an identity that is both post-colonial and derived from the peculiarities of a particular locality.

Herein lies its contradiction. The term region used loosely does not define the limits of any palpable territory. Although region is not a problematic term for an architecture responding to only the physical features of a locality, it does present huge contradictions in regard to identities projected by localities. The representation of identity forces regionalism to place itself in binary opposition to formal autonomous principles and lean towards an interpretation that though not ideological may be read as essentialist. Hence the term "authentic regionalism" as used by Curtis in representing the work of Bawa for example is questionable.

The election of the U.N.P government under Jayawardene was to posit a number of avenues for architectural expansion. First the relaxation on import restriction flooded the market with new technologies and materials. The country which had been closed to the world for seven years had to absorb a barrage of technological advances. Secondly, the capitalist policy of the new government encouraged foreign investors. These investments were often expressed through representative architecture.

The late Seventies were to throw a new challenge in the direction of the pioneers - a challenge to enter the public arena of architectural representation. They were invited to straddle the grey area between consent and political society and to chose their next alliance. This invitation and the scale of projects undertaken incorporated them in the

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124 Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance" p 20 in H. Foster ed. The Anti Aesthetic in reference to Alex Tzonis and Liliane Lefaivre in "The Grid and The Pathway"
125 William Curtis, Towards an Authentic Regionalism, Mimar, n. 19, 1986, pp24 - 31
126 United National Party
larger western discourse that was prevalent. The discourse was centred on legitimizing 'Regionalism'.

The momentary displacement of the architects original position presented three dilemmas. First, there is the actual nature of the program and its political expression. In an interesting reversal of the Ariel /Caliban transformation they had to attempt a retrieval of a secular identity from an ethnocentric political definition. A retrieval at a very different scale in the form of the modern program.

Second is the inability to engage the scale of a modern program, a dilemma faced by any architecture that is rooted in the vernacular. The unavoidable pressures that result necessitate compromises that often contradict the generative principles. In the case of an architecture that has both a regional and vernacular understanding of built form these principles are that of maintaining site topography, responding to climate, and deploying local construction methods and materials.

A third dilemma is in maintaining the original behaviour of a selected architectural feature - in short, avoiding the inevitable reduction to symbolism. An example of this is the use of the colonade in British colonial buildings. In commercial buildings the arcade is functional, built access along the perimetre of a building abutting the busy street. In colonial civic buildings, however, the collonade is set back away from the street and inaccessible to the pedestrian. The collonade is reduced to a visual association. Here we see the possible creation of a mythology of cultural symbols.

The Pioneering architects in addressing the modern politicized program had to adopt a clear stance towards the phantom of regionalism. Let us examine a few attitudes that were adopted.

The KAACC

In the case of Minette desilva the opportunity came in the design of the Kandyen Art Association Centenary Cultural Centre. Returning from Hong Kong where she was lecturing on Asian architecture 1975-1980, she was commissioned for a theatre and cultural centre in the heart of Kandy on the site of a hundred and fifty year old structure. Refusing to demolish the structure and understanding the need to maintain the Kandyen

127 Nalin Perera, *Minnet De Silva, Her Life and Her work*, Bsc dissertation 1990 p 53
roof form in the historical landscape, de Silva designed an open theatre space roofed
above by a traditional roof structure. The older building was carefully incorporated into
the design and access was maintained at different levels. The building engaged the work
of several local craftsmen and attempted a new interpretation of space within a familiar
vocabulary. The challenge here was to create a building that accorded with the historic
precinct definition given to the area by the UNESCO cultural triangle. In resisting
attempts at period revival in a historically charged context we see a possible compromise
for cultural representation.

The Mahaweli New Towns
Ulrik Plesner, returning to Sri Lanka in 1981, involved himself in the design of new
towns for the Mahaweli Development Scheme. This scheme of re settlement
associated with the damming of the Mahaweli, the largest river, was a part of the
irrigation and agricultural program of the new government. Working with the Mahaweli
architectural unit and the architect Dan Wodek Wajnman, Ulrik designed an entire
community of shops, public buildings and low cost housing. The buildings were created
out of the existing building tradition and were in keeping with his original design
philosaphy. The adherence to local building patterns was intended to make the buildings
more acceptable. The buildings were designed for the government within the government
organisms and was located within a larger scheme for low cost housing settlements. This
attempt to enter the arena of public housing is a step avoided by most private architects
and is exemplary in its ability to maintain an autonomous style of architecture. The
buildings could clearly fall within a regional definition.

The Tangalle Bay Hotel
Valantine Gunesekera's design for the Tangalle Bay Hotels, an early example within a
hotel industry since over run by mushroom establishments, is designed in the late
seventies (?) with the partenership of Christopher de Saram. It is a good example of
experiential architecture. Situated in a small bay and designed to feel like the interior of a
ship, the building makes a clear statement for the potential of modern architecture. In
keeping with Gunesekera's yen for structural innovation, one enters on a concrete bridge
that maintains the nautical illusion. The rooms in four wings step down to the bay at
four different levels. Recognizing the tendency within the tourist industry to commodify

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128 Ulrik Plesner, Living Architecture n. 5 p85
129 Mallawarachchi, Analysis of some Residential and Hotel Buildings by Valentine Gunesekera, p 38

205
cultural experiences this building forces an objective appreciation of the natural environment. The attempt is clearly of a modernist expression.

The New Parliamentry Complex
The architecture of Geoffrey Bawa is crucial to the discussion of identity and regionalist representation. He is often represented in terms of this identity to a western audience. The need to classify is often a result of his architectural prominence. Where the other pioneering architects have remained at the margins of political architecture Geoffrey has to some extent sacrificed his non-partisan position. Stepping from consent into political society, he has designed several controversial buildings in a charged political environment.

The most important of these, designed in 1982, is the new parliamentary complex in Shri Jayawardenepura. At an ideological level, an attempt is made by Bawa to avoid a direct symbolism. The building alludes to the temple at Padmanadapuram, Italian gardens, Udaipur, Moghul or monastic complexes. Taylor, compiling Bawa's monograph, describes it as an "echo" of the monastic and royal buildings of the distant past. This eclectic mix of identity attempts to assume a more ambivalent position. Certainly there is an avoidance of overt dynastic references. The previous proposal by French architects were in the shape of the Kandyan kings crown! The rigorous monumental symmetry is unlike Bawa and unlike the Buddhist philosophic denial of hierarchic formalism. The political message of the building has been interpreted as regional. Kapferer suggests that it "symbolize(s) a final break with the colonial past...(and expresses) a possibly universal dimension of modern state nationalism which is the sanctification of the political".

Let us examine the choice of a regional identity against projected identities of other parliamentary complexes in the sub continent. In India, Lutyens prescribed an orientalist image for the nation, whereas Bangladesh invited the western architect Louis Kahn to prescribe an identity for the new nation. Sri Lanka, in contrast, sought an image that would reclaim her own dismembered tradition. Perhaps this is provoked by the extremity of the dismemberment. Vale suggests that it is "more the result of internal party

\[130_{my italics}
\[131_{Taylor, Geoffrey Bawa1986} p164
\[132_{Kapferer Bruce, Nationalist ideology and a comparative anthropology}
\[133_{1505 - 1948}
politics since independence than of national liberation from the British." The parliament was commissioned for the government of Sri Lanka through its president J R Jayawardene. Jayawardene belonged to a family who had been westernized for generations and was a member of an elite within which Bawa himself operated.

The parliament was built in a newly reclaimed (redundent since the time of the Portugese) ancient capital Sri Jayawardene pura. (The similarity of the name of the capital to that of the president is coincidental.) The site was created by dredging a large marsh at great expense over a period of three years and filling in an island in the centre. The parliament was a gift from the Japanese government to the president. A Japanese company was selected for the construction and materials, plant and other equipment were imported. The environment within the parliament is air conditioned. The parliament cannot maintain the three defining principles of regionalism. Bawa is compelled to break his own architectural rules in this monument to regional identity. Ironically, it is this scale of project that legitimizes his architectural status for both the nation and the international audience.

Let us examine the extent to which this building adopts familiar architectural signifyers. Designed as a group of pavillons alluding to the Buddhist prayerhall, the wayside pilgrims rest and other such public gathering places, this building embodies a simple democratic expression. However, it is built on a tiny island standing in the midst of an artificial lake removed from the public realm and is thus inaccessible to the public in general. The form of the pavillion has been removed to a cultural signal. The selection of the two-pitched roof, however, confuses the message of the vernacular. It is clearly reminiscent of the Kandyan roof styles and provokes dynastic/religious associations. The arrangement of the pavillions with the central dominant structure is typical to monumental relationships in temple or palace complexes.

Lawrence Vale commenting on the building examines the political framework within which it has been generated. The image of the island in the lake reinstated in the ancient historic capital of the Sinhala kings has strong cultural allusions. However, much the architect might seek to suggest eclectic or plural identities they succumb to the politics of the gesture. Built during a period of ethnic conflict and a reduction of parliamentary powers the parliament is a statement of internal politics rather than of democratic

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134 Vale Lawrence, Architecture Power and national Identity p190
135 see The Indigenous elite - Residences
expression. Vale suggests that, "The government's choice of this site so redolent with manipulable historical memories of Sinhalese hegemony as the place for a national parliament is a reminder that the architectural context has temporal as well as spatial dimensions."136

The responsibility of representing a national identity through a parliament building called for several compromises. The negative manifestation of monumental (regional) representations comes from their availability for replication. Often reduced to a traditional identity, they are iconized in local architecture. The building is represented on objects as mundane as the telephone directory and as critical to identity as the cover of the architecture + design issue on Sri Lankan architecture. The Serendib magazine (in-flight issues of Airlanka, the national carrier) has a feature on the building, and it is well documented in the Mimar monograph, a pictorial survey of Bawa's work. The rigid Urban planning in the vicinity of the parliament and the regulation that all buildings within sight of the parliament must have tiled roofs aggravate the processes of replication.

The ascendency of the tiled roof

However, there are a number of architects who having worked under Bawa and have consciously explored and adopted variations on his precedent. I do not intend to elaborate on each architect, but have picked a few random examples. They are Ashley DeVos, Ismeth Raheem, Anura Ratnavibushana and C Anjalendran. I have included examples of both residential and public work in support of my observation. It is interesting to note the role of a pitched tiled roof in the creation of an architectural elite. The vernacular tradition was continued by these architects on the margins of the contemporary architectural experience. Historically, they had been displaced by political and economic projections of Sri Lankan identity, ranging from cultural iconography to the International style architecture. The ascendency of the tiled roof in the modern program had presented an easy avenue for replicating identity through a particular architectural feature. The internal courtyard was to follow as a close second. The choice of the new building for the Sri Lanka Institute of Architects on the virtue of its roof form was to confirm the hegemony of the tiled roof tradition.

136Vale Lawrence, Architecture power and national identity p208
Fig 89 Ulrik Plesner, The Mahaweli Building Program, site plan, low cost dwelling and stores
Fig 90 Valentine Gunasekere, The Tangalle Bay Hotel, plan and section
Fig 91 Valentine Gunsekere, The Tangalle Bay Hotel, The entrance and the view from the sea front.
Section through the Parliament Chamber.

Floor plan at Chamber level.

Fig 92 Geoffrey Bawa, The Parliament of Sri Lanka plan and view from across the lake
Fig 93 Ashley deVos, House for Ediriweera Sarathchandra
Fig 94 Ismeth Raheem's own house, sectional elevation and entrance view
Fig 95 Ismeth Raheem's own house, plans, and a project for a resort on the Maldives Islands
Fig 96 C. Anjalendran, House, SOS village Nuwara Eliya
Fig 97 C. Anjaldran, SOS village Piliyandala showing the internal courtyards in plan
Fig 98 Anura Ratnavibushana's own house plans, elevations and interior views.
Fig. 99 Amra Ratnavibhava, The Mahaweli Museum 1985.

219
Conclusion

Summary:
The Sri Lankan experience of decolonization reveals the heterogeneity of identities that seek representation. Though recognized primarily through their filiative claims to ethnic identities, the progression of the democratic process demands their integration into the larger affiliative order. If this is to be achieved with equal opportunity for self representation, it requires a redefinition of national identity based on secular principles that do not seek political fortification from previous filiative definitions.

In the late colonial period, the construct of the cultured gentleman was to project the first possibilities of an affiliative cultural identity on an ethnically defferentiated indigenous elite. The cultured gentleman was construed as an extension of the cultural hegemony of Empire. This construct was adopted by the indenogenous elite through close immitations of colonial lifestyles that extended in architecture to the appropriation and immitation of colonial mansions. It created an emergent bourgeoisie whose social mobility facilitated their affiliation. Ironically, it was this construct and the enlightenment principles it introduced that would sew the first seeds of a secular 'Ceylonese' nationalism that grew into a demand for self government.

The period after independence saw the gradual shift from secular to ethnocentric nationalism. Politically motivated through a desire to capture the voting majority, national identity was reduced to a singular expression of the Sinhala Buddhist that marginalized other ethnic groups on the island. Political definitions of nation fortified themselves through filiative identities and implicit dynastic references. The intellectual bourgeoisie who had featured prominently both in the creations of the cultured gentleman and the development of a secular 'Ceylonese' identity sought this opportunity to structure alternatives for self representation. 'Consent society' attempted to maintain a clear separation. They manifested themselves culturally as organizations devoted to the arts, and strove to maintain access to the greater international dimension. For architecture, it created an contextual modernism seen in the experiments of the pioneers. Striving to maintain their 'invented' affiliations, they promoted a projection of east-west fusion and chose in architecture to reinvent the 'vernacular'. Clearly evident was an evasion of 'traditionalist' representations that might limit the processes of horizontal affiliations.

Sri Lanka today faces the consequences of two conflicting definitions: the definition of national identity projected through 'Sinhala Buddhist' political identities, and the
projections of an emergent petit-bourgeoisie seeking the symbols of westernization. These two identities are projected in architecture as political iconography and the designed vernacular. Symbolically, both these identities refer to pre-colonial architectural features. In conclusion, I would like to discuss the recent architecture of state institutions and the position adopted by the residential 'vernacular'.

The Iconography of the Kandyan roof
"For the very end of myths is to immobilize the world: they must suggest and mimic a universal order which has fixated once and for all the hierarchy of possessions."137

The reduction of the Kandyan roof to iconography comes from a political understanding of architectural tradition. Borrowing from the early independence fervor and inspired by the tiled roof revival, the Kandyan roof has been appropriated by the government as their own personal symbol. At a monumental scale, it has been adapted for the new Law courts complex, a building liberally bestowed with various cultural artifacts and the Taj Samudra hotel (an anomaly among its international style counterparts).138 At a more temporary level of public exhibition, such as Gam udawa 'Village Reawakening' celebrations, small scale replicas of the entire temple of the tooth are co-opted as a political symbol.139 Here they are placed alongside replicas of the British style townhall and other political structures. Barthes describes the condition where the meaning is too full for the myth to invade it, and so it is carried away bodily. Similarly, landmark clocktowers with townhall domes, Kandyan roofs and/or plaster motifs appear and reappear to establish themselves as political symbols. The parallel appropriation of features from both traditional and colonial style public architecture imply a political rather than a cultural interpretation.

A cultural identity is best revealed through an understanding of what is placed in opposition to it. A good example is the elevated stupa built within sight of the Colombo harbour. This ridiculous feature was built in competition with the spire of the All Saints Church, which was for many years a landmark over the harbour. It was seen as necessary to pose a Buddhist cultural identity at the entrance to the capital. A city that suffers from a similar insularity is Kandy, the last non-colonial capital. The unfortunate dictum that all buildings must have a Kandyan roof has led to its ridiculous applications

137Roland Barthes, Mythologies. p155
138One of an International hotel chain.
139Anjalendran and Wanasundara, Sri Lanka, Trends and Transitions p 171

221
in the most inappropriate places (e.g. Over the dome of the Assembly of God church). If we are to apply a Barthesian analysis to the appropriation of this roof form, at the first stage the two-pitched, hipped, tiled roof is the signifyer (meaning). The signified is the Kandyan - therefore, true, Sinhalese identity (form). At the next level, the Kandyan roof is the signifyer, and the signified is the dynastic claim that legitimizes the power structure. In the case of the church dome, the Kandyan roof has been reduced to a mere reference of its original function. The knowledge lost in the passing from meaning to form is now redundant.

An understanding of the significance of architectural devices and their selective application are the only tools architects have to avoid further marginalization. It is an understanding crucial to the projection of cultural agendas by state organizations. In a recent proposal for a cultural complex in the city of Colombo, both the Unesco publication 1993 and the Mimar issue depicted a pagoda-like building as an appropriate form for cultural representation. While this may be derived from a hazarded conjecture of ancient monumental forms, it may not be appropriate in describing the present populations understanding of culture. If the realm of culture is the empowerment of personal space, its institutions must be subject to personal representation.

**The designed 'vernacular'**
"Missilin stood silent and looked about her. The House was crammed with furniture. in the hall was a heavy iron wood drawing room suite covered in maroon rexine. a teapoy with a bunch of plastic English flowers - snowdrops, hyacinths and roses - in a brass vase stood in the centre of the room. The dining room had a table with six chairs, a whatnot, and two cabinets with glass doors, full of crockery and knick-knacks of various sorts. a large picture of the buddha in his saffron robes, seated on a bright pink lotus, hung on one wall. A rainbow like halo adorned his head. Missilin who had never seen so much furniture in one house before, was greatly impressed. She felt the Ranasinghes were very respectable and very religious people".141

The 'vernacular' by the regional definition is seen to represent a so called 'timeless' period in history and a continuity of authentic values uncontaminated by western colonial experience. As such, it displays an ideological neutrality that is interpreted as a democratic principle. In its response to site, climate and topography, it is parallel to a contextual modernism. Its freedom from cultural agendas makes it available for appropriation. But to what extent is the 'vernacular' a voluntary cultural expression?

140 The cultural triangle of Sri Lanka, UNESCO 1993
141 Chitra Fernando, Missilin, Three Women, First Published 1983, p 3
Robert Knox, describing the Kandyan kingdom in 1681, sees it as an extension of the feudal order.

"Their houses are small, low, thatched cottages, built with sticks, daubed with clay, the walls made very smooth. For they are not permitted to build their houses above one story high, neither may they cover with tiles nor whiten their walls with lime....Neither doth the king allow them to build better". 142

In fact, the contrast between the whitewashed walls of Colombo houses and the mud walls in Kandy are commented on in many descriptions. Thus we may well assume that the wattle and daub 'vernacular' may not be the aesthetic choice of the population. Michael Brawne's suggestion that "By making the 'vernacular' respectable, there is thus hope that an indigenous but interrupted tradition will continue and even flourish" needs to be given careful consideration. 143 The paradox lies in the removal of the 'vernacular' from its sources to re-invent it in the form of an elite architecture. Thus, an architecture legitimized by an elite and further legitimized by an architectural discourse should, by his interpretation, be far more acceptable in the eyes of the general populace. It is, in a sense, a removal and a re-invention of identity only to enforce that identity once again upon its very sources.

Curtis, on the other hand, questions the issue of regionalism as an elite project and exposes the paradox of the post-colonial intellectual.

"Regionalist yearnings are especially appealing to sensitive intellectuals who are troubled by the fragmentation that seems to come with industrialization but who also wish to maintain mobility, complexity of viewpoint and even wealth that industrialism affords. It is for this reason that some of the most beautiful regionalist experiments are undertaken for the rich, cultivated collector of handicrafts." 144

The issue that is faced in the removal of the 'vernacular' from its sources has greater social implications. The re-invented tradition, (re-invented for a previously westernized group) is economically inaccessible to the population it claims to represent. An architect designed 'vernacular' is in itself an oxymoron. Once an architecture is perceived as belonging to a westernized elite it claims associations no longer accessible to its original sources. The elite, in turn, objectify elements of the 'vernacular' in the process of

142 Robert Knox, Historical Relations of the Island Ceylon, first published London 1681, Facsimile reprint 1983 p 86
143 Michael Brawne The Work of Geoffrey Bawa AR april 78 p 211
144 Curtis Towards an Authentic Regionalism p 25
appropriation. There is a sense of an anthropologizing of their own culture which often appears as objects of art, removed from their original functions. "Pieces of farm equipment and tribal rugs appear on the walls of the well to do at about the same moment that shabby plastic sandals and cheap nylon shirts hit the lower end of the souk ".

Through this process, the elite begin to ally themselves with the western position when viewing their own culture indulging in what we may call a form of nativism.

This reversal of status, where the elite become the guardians of traditional representations and the masses rush headlong into the processes of westernization, are manipulated by two historic factors. First, the elite need to maintain cultural distance from popular identities, and second, the masses persue long-denied access to westernization that has been relaxed with decolonization.

With decolonization and democracy, the individual is no longer prohibited from self representation. His/Her cultural expression manifests itself in the changing styles adopted in residential architecture. This new 'vernacular' is designed not by an architect, but by perhaps an individual home-owner. The focus has shifted to style as the basis of residential representation.

In a study undertaken by Amerasekera and Ananda Sivam, we note an interesting condition. Styles adapted in the petit Bourgeois 'vernacular' immitate their architect-designed urban counterparts in roughly the same historical periods. What we have are small scale (single storey) hybrid versions of the colonial bungalow, the renaissance classical, PWD, American style and gable-fronted architecture. The combination of two or three styles often produce effects that are quite outrageous. Does the tiled roof architecture prompted by the pioneers have similar manifestations? Very few examples of 'wallauwa style' as it is known are in evidence. ( A personal encounter with a middle class client gave me some insight into this matter). The identification of Geoffrey's architecture as the wallauwwa style comes from its obvious colonial connotations. The newly emergent middle class rejects these identities along with any pre-colonial, hierarchic representations. Instead, we have the curious condition of a Spanish and Greek revival. Borrowing from architectures rampant in the middle east and supplied by the mass producers of pre-cast Greek pediments, fluted columns and ornate balustrades,

_145Ibid
146Amarasekera and Ananda Sivam, Emerging Patterns in Vernacular Architecture, study for the NHDA August 15,1989_
Sri Lanka is under deluge by the irrational processes of architectural commodification. Cultural hegemony escapes personal space and becomes a monopoly of the processes of mass production.

The imagined identities created by the pioneers are displaced and forced to adopt two extreme positions. One is the monumental form of political expression. The other is the reinvented tradition that is exploited and commodified by tourist culture. Here, the implications of 'timeless' or 'authentic' reduce the architecture to a caricature. Barthes describes this as the reduction of the sign by the process of naturalization.

"This is where the myth is experienced as innocent speech: not because its intentions are hidden - if they were hidden, they could not be efficacious - but because they are naturalized. You naturalize through them the myth....In passing from history to nature myth acts economically, it abolishes the complexity of human acts it gives them the simplicity of essences, it does away with all dialectics, with any going back beyond what is immediately visible, it organizes a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth".147

The 'vernacular' is adapted as an essence of a particular identity without considering its placement within a historic feudal order. Thus the myth is a form of depoliticized speech that either appropriates selectively or coopts a sign in its entirety. Recent articles in the SLIA journal focus particularly on the validation of the traditional 'vernacular' (e.g Aspects of Traditional rural housing and domestic technology, The Sri Lankan tradition for shelter, systems and Measurement in traditional architectural usage, Traditional concepts of site urbanization in architecture, The tradition of urban settlement patterns in Sri Lanka, etc.)

Barthes describes the difference between the experience of a Basque chalet in Basque country and the experience of the same style of chalet in a Paris street. The first experience is embedded in its own particular historical complexity and does not provoke being identified as separate from it. The second experience, however, where the object is seen in isolation, demands identification.

"It comes and seeks me out in order to oblige me to acknowledge the body of intentions which have motivated it and arranged it there as the signal of an individual history, as a confidence and complicity:.....And this call, in order to be more imperious, has agreed to all manner of empovernishments: All that justified the Basque house in the plane of

147 Roland Barthes, Mythologies p 131
technology....The appropriation of the concept is suddenly driven away by the literalness of the meaning." 148

The recent history of the Sri Lankan nation has demanded a reassessment in the choice of identity that has been selected. Today's generation of young adults have been nurtured in the realities of ethnic violence, insurrection and terrorism. The writing of architecture, however, has refused to acknowledge these forces and maintains a privacy of cultural expression that argues the authenticity of invented traditions. Against the backdrop of the 'vernacular' inspired architecture, the forces of identity have developed other manifestations. The intellectual bourgeoisie of the post-independent era find no place within these new definitions. Their displacement to the margins of national representation is shared by secular identities in general.

The architectural vocabulary reinvented by the pioneers maintained their continuity as long as they were seen as generated by traditional processes (i.e. construction method, local materials), and as long as their definitions remained behavioural or experiential. By Coomaraswamy's argument they had not completely entered the camp of the individual. (We may interpret this as one method of maintaining the accessibility of the identity for a wider population.) The moment these processes were discarded in favour of the larger political program the identity of the architecture was reduced to stylistic representations that desired recognition within the political framework and was thus made available for mythification.

"There is therefore one language which is not mythical, it is the language of man the producer: wherever man speaks in order to transform reality and no longer to preserve it in an image, wherever he links his language to the making of things, meta - language is referred to a language object, and myth is impossible." 149

The appropriation of any past architectural form, whether monumental or 'vernacular', if it is to resist the forces of myth-making and consequent commodification, needs to maintain the space required for self expression. This expression located within the time and space of the present historic moment must be empowered by an exploration of available technological and material means that meet the changing needs of the individual.

148Ibid p 125
149Roland Barthes, Mythologies p 146
Barthes explains the meta language as being a second order language which is to the primary language what the gesture is to the act.
Fig 100 The iconography of the Kandyan roof, above - The law Courts Complex below - The Taj Samudra hotel
Fig 101 The proposed Cultural Complex Colombo
Fig 102 above - The elevated Stupa overlooking Colombo harbour
below - A model of the temple of the tooth at a Gam Udawa celebration
Fig 103 The clocktowers with Kandyan roof/dome of the Town hall
Fig 104 Emerging Patterns in Vernacular architecture plan types Urbano Colonial 1830-1900,
Gable Fronted 1860-1930
Fig 105 Emerging Patterns in Vernacular architecture plan types Hipped roof 1920 -1960,American style 1960 -1980, Contemporary 1970 -date
Fig 106 above - The Walauwa style makes a rare comeback below - Examples of the use of the pre caste balustrade
Appendix 1

Here is a description of relevant historical events that mark Sri Lanka’s process of decolonization.

For the purpose of greater clarity, I have chosen to present history in relation to the event of independence (1948). Although this defies the linear form of narrative, it allows us to see history not as an accumulation of events but as an interplay of forces.

For the period before independence I have selected events from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a period under British colonial domination. The British were preceded by the Portuguese (1505-1656) and the Dutch (1656-1796), whose main interests were trade (and religious conversion) and who concentrated therefore on the maritime regions. The British were the first to penetrate the interior in 1815 and to capture the capital of the indigenous peoples located in Kandy. They were thus in possession of the entire island. They established a plantation industry for the export of coffee, coconut, cinchona and later rubber and tea in the central highlands adjacent to Kandy. At this time Kandy was ruled by a Tamil monarch and operated under a feudal system known as rajakariya. This system stratified the population into castes according to services rendered to the King and placed the Goyigama (agricultural) as most superior. The royal court comprised of the elevated radala component of this caste. The British perpetuated this system until 1832 by reserving all administrative roles for the Goyigama. However a few coastal communities (recent immigrants) upstaged by services to the colonial structure were able to break out of the rigid caste definitions and emerge as an elite based on wealth and education. By methods of administration and the assistance of the burgher population (Europeans who had remained behind) acting as mediators the British were able to impose hegemonic principles of English culture. This manifested itself in Victorian mores and the ideal of the Cultured gentleman. It was accessible to a small anglicised elite who distinguished themselves within the Colonial order. Elite status during the British period was consolidated through improved economic and social status. Economic status was achieved through investment in the plantation sector, social status through symbolic display in Colombo the colonial capital. Nationalism in Ceylon grew out of an opposition to this position with a late nineteenth century revival of Buddhist, and Hindu cultures. The projection of nationalism was an open challenge to the ideology of the colonial order. The Ceylonese English educated middle class extended their claims for self-government through The Ceylon National Congress their representative political body. In 1924 Ceylon was granted a system of representative government and in 1932 was granted a semi responsible form of government (Mendis 22) through a legislature of territoriality elected by the entire community of adults irrespective of wealth or education. Due to the democratization of politics by abolishing communal representation nationalism began to slide towards an ethnocentric identity of the majority Sinhalese (rather than Ceylonese nationalism). This position was to systematically marginalize Burgher, Emergent elite, Tamil, Moorish and other minority positions as claimants to nationalism.

I have attempted here to outline significant political events that followed independence. To assist the reader who is unfamiliar with this material I have highlighted the events that mark the path of official nationalism.

In 1946 the (UNP) United National Party was formed and in 1948 (Independence) under the parliamentary system gave a fairly secular face to the new nation. It was with the
formation of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in 1951 (SLFP) and the alliances it sought among the proletariat through the appeal of ethnocentric identity that the tables began to turn. In 1956 the SLFP came into government under Bandaranaike and passed the 'Sinhala Only' bill making Sinhalese the national language and marginalizing tamil and English speaking peoples.

This was the dawn of a linguistic nationalism. In 1958 an ethnic conflict between Tamil and Sinhala peoples provoked a Tamil separatist movement. In 1959 Bandaranaike was assassinated. His wife assumed power from 1960 - 1965 and once again from 1970 -1977. The interim was under a fairly ineffective coalition of the UNP and Federal party Government. (Ineffective because the Federal party support of ethnocentric nationalism prevented the UNP from reclaiming secular nationalism)

The period from 1970 -1977 was under a coalition of the SLFP and LSSP both of which had socialist leanings, a period of closed doors, and marginal development. The first insurrection was in 1971 by the JVP a ultra left organization of educated youth. It was a movement largely fed by depressed castes and the rural poor. The result was an acceleration towards socialism marked by the land reform law of 1972 and the nationalizing of plantations in 1975. Two measures towards denuding the elite (created under the colonial order) of accumulated wealth. Since the politicians were themselves members of the Goyigama elite this was a statement of an ideological position.

The result was that at the general elections of 1977 the capitalist policy of the UNP party was given a 4/5 th majority victory in parliament. The SLFP did not even make it as the opposition. Instead the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) took their place. The result was the ethnic conflict of 77. The Tamil separatists were fueled into action.

The UNP government under JR Jayawardene (Also Goyigama elite) exercised capitalist free market policies under the continuos threat of separatism. Amendments to the constitution initiated a shift to the Presidential form of government. Acceleration of separatist activities and the ethnic riots of 1983 saw a steady decline in the democratic position. Invited and encouraged by certain separatist groups India invaded Shri Lankan space in 1987 under the guise of a peace keeping mission. All this only served to heighten national insecurities and consolidate biogenetic nationalisms. The result was a second insurrection by the JVP in 88-89.

At this point we see a significant change in Shri lankan political culture. The stepping down of Jayawardene and the transfer of authority to R Premadasa his Prime minister. The first President of a depressed caste group to come into government. His projection of Sinhala buddhist alliances that challenged the Indian presence had won him the Presidential election.Premadasas first act of government was to forcibly halt the insurrection. He found however no cure for Tamil separatism. He continued to promote and manifest the Sinhala Buddhist image until his assassination in 1993.
Appendix 2

History of the de Soysa family

Joseph Soysa (the grandfather of Charles Henry) was a cart contractor and cultivator in the town of Moratuwa. He married Francisca Pieris. His second son Jeronis (1797 - 1862) was an ayurvedic physician brought up in the buddhist tradition. Jeronis ventured into the central highlands and established business interests as a general merchant and firewood, timber and transport contractor in Kandy district 1820 - 1830. He made large investments in arrack rents (a form of alcohol made from coconut), and in 1837 bought a large coffee plantation (482 acres at Hanguranketa). His brother Sesew (1801 - 1881) joined him as manager, so did Jeronis Pieris (the nephew of Francisca whose sister Engeltina married Susew). They later branched off to create their own businesses. Jeronis Pieris (1820 - 1894) invested in coffee and coconut plantations, the purchase of urban property, trade and even joined with his brother Louis (who was trained in banking in England) to form the first Ceylonese bank.
Appendix 3

A description of the dress of native headmen, according to their different castes, copied from an old Ceylon Almanac dated 1811 (selected items)
(from *The Description of the dress of the Native Headmen*
Description of castes in the island of Ceylon, Their Trade and Services to the Government
by A. De Saram, Maha Modeliar)

**Wellala -**
*Maha Modeliars*
coat - Velvet, Silk or cloth
trimmings - Gold or Silver Lace Loops or Buttons
sword - Hilt and scabbard of pure massive or wrought Gold, or Silver inlaid with Gold.
belt - Of Gold or Silver Lace or silk, Embroidered or spangled with Gold or Silver.

**Modeliars of the Gate or guard**
coat - Silk or Cloth
trimmings - Gold or Silver Lace Loops or Buttons
sword - Hilt and Scabbard of Silver inlaid with Gold.
belt - Of Gold or Silver Lace or silk, Embroidered or Spangled with Gold or Silver.

**Fisherman & Chandoos caste**
*Modeliars and Mahavidan Modeliars*
coat - Silk or Cloth
trimmings - Silver Buttons and Loops
sword - Hilt and Scabbard of Silver and the eyes and tongue of the Lion's head of Gold.
belt - Of Gold or Silver Lace but not spangled.

**Blacksmiths and Washermen caste**
*Mahavidahns, Mahavidahn Mohandirams*
coat - Cloth or Linen
trimming- Silver Buttons and Loops
sword - Hilt and Scabbard of Silver, must be 1 plate of Tortoise shell on the Scabbard and 2 plates of Tortoise shell to be worn by the Washermen.
belt - Of ribbon embroidered with flowers of Gold and Silver Thread

**Barber's caste**
*Vidahn Mohandiram*
coat - Cloth or Linen
trimming - silver buttons and Loops
sword - Hilt and Scabbard of Silver but on the Scabbard there must be 2 plates of Tortoise shell
belt - Of Coloured Ribbon embroidered with Flowers of silver thread.
Appendix 4

Caste Listings as indicated by Michael Robert in *The Rise of the Karaves*
Ceylon Studies Seminar 68/69 Series, no 5, 1969 (selected items)

I have selected information on the following castes and their positions.
Goyigama = Agriculturist
Karava = Fisher
Salagama = Cinnamon Peeler
Durava = Toddy Tapper

*Janavamsa: Probably 15th Century*
1. goviyo: vellalas (cultivators)
2. pesakarayo (salagamayo, chalia, weavers)
9. duravo(toddy drawers)
11. karavo (fishers)

*Cordiner 1807*
1. handarooas or vallalas (agriculturalists)
3. carawas(fishers)
4. doorawas or chandoos (toddy drawers)
9. chalias (cinnamon peelers)

*Davy 1821*
1. goewansa (cultivators)
3. carawe (fishers)
4. chandos (toddy drawers)

*Census of Ceylon 1824*
1. vellala
2. fisher
3. chandos
8. chalias

*de Saram 1832*
1. goi wanse
2. karawe
3. durawe
10. halangamuwa or chalias (cinnamon peelers)
LIST AND SOURCE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

**Fig 1** Personal space in decolonization
Andre Brink, *Cape of Storms* (Simon and Schuster, Rockefeller Centre 1993)

**Fig 2** Alice, the Lion and the Unicorn. *Lewis Carrol, The Complete Illustrated Works* of edited by Edward Guiliano p 147 (Avenel Books, New York)

**Fig 3** Map showing some significant locations on the island Ceylon/Sri Lanka

**Fig 4** Figure ground map of Colombo today indicating arcade colonial buildings, the Presidents house, and the Public Works department.

**Fig 5** The architecture of Empire: above - arcade colonial buildings in Renaissance Classical architecture
below - The Public Works Department.

**Fig 6** above - Religious Buildings, St Thomas' Mutwal and All Saints Hultsdorp
below The Orient club, Colombo, Arnold Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* (Lloy'd's Greater Britain Publishing company Ltd 1907)

**Fig 7** The Planters Bungalow: above- Broomfield belonging to Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, *Remembered Yesterdays*, Solomon Dias Bandaranaike (London, John Murray, Albemarle street, first ed. 1929)

**Fig 8** British Colonial Residences: above-The old Queens house, Colombo, drawn by Andrew Nichols, James Emerson Tennent,*Ceylon*, vol 2 p 147 (Longman, Greene, Longman and Roberts, London 1859)

**Fig 9** A typical plan of a Dutch house, measured drawing by Varuna de Silva

**Fig 10** Houses of Lorenz: above- A Musical Evening at "Lodge Harmony" in Matara
below - Elie house, Tennent,*Ceylon*, vol 2 p 166 (Longman, Greene, Longman and Roberts, London 1859)

**Fig 11** Houses of Lorenz: above - The verandah 'Gatherum'Wickramatunge
below - Gatherum ,Arnold Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* p 535
(Lloy'd's Greater Britain Publishing company Ltd 1907)

**Fig 12** Houses of Lorenz: Karlsruhe plan and front elevation(Ismeth Raheem)

**Fig 13** Houses of Lorenz: above- Whist Bungalow from the 1876 map of the site,(Sri Lanka Archives with Ismeth Raheem)
below - L.H.S. Pieris and family in the garden (from photograph with L.S.D. Pieris)

**Fig 14** The Kandyen Elite: The Keppetipola Walauwa first floor plan, p100 Arosh Perera, *The Courtyard concept in Sri Lanka with special reference to traditional dwellings in the Central province, Matale* (BSc Dissertation, University of Moratuwa 1991)

**Fig 15** The Kandyen Elite: The Keppetipola Walauwa second floor plan , section and verandah, Ibid pp102-103

**Fig 16** The Kandyen Elite:Ellapola House , plan of first floor and frontal view, Ibid p128

**Fig 17** The Kandyen Elite: plan of second floor and section, Ibid p128

**Fig 18** The Karave Elite: above - Birthplace of C. H. de Soysa
below - The de Soysa walauwa, Moratuwa, *The De Soysa Charitaya* (published by C. Don Bastian 1904)

**Fig 19** The Karave Elite: above - The Mattegoda Walauwa,
below -Selby House, Ibid

239
Fig 20 The Karave Elite: above - Site plans showing Alfred house, Duff house, Regina Walauwa and Lakshmi Airways(Ismeth Raheem)
below - The interior of Alfred house (L.S.D.Pieris)
Fig 21 The Karave Elite: above - A J R de Soysa and his family Arnold Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* (Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing company Ltd 1907)
below - Their residence Lakshmi Airways
Fig 22 The Karave Elite: above - plan of Regina walauwa and grounds, below - Front view, Regina walauwa
Fig 23 The Karave Elite: first floor plan Regina Walauwa
Fig 24 The Karave Elite: second floor plan Regina walauwa
Fig 25 Petite Bourgeoisie imitations of the Colonial style bungalow
Fig 26 Louis Pieris attired in the Trouser under the Cloth (L.S.D Pieris)
Fig 27 above - Kandyian chieftains in traditional dress p913
below - The members of the orient club Colombo (notice the foremost figure in a trouser under the cloth) Arnold Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* (Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing company Ltd 1907)
Fig 28 above - A Kandyan girl, Tamil girls
below - A Kandyan family as represented in the Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon. Arnold Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* (Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing company Ltd 1907)
Fig 29 above - Susew De Soysa in Mudaliyar costume, Engeltina Pieris
below - Catherine de Silva nee de Soysa on her wedding day and late in life (L.S.D.Pieris)
Fig 30 above - Charles Henry de Soysa *The De Soysa Charitaya*, T.H.A de Soysa (in Chilean consuls costume) and his wife Regina Perera (Chansi Wijeyesekere), Their daughter's wedding cake.
Fig 31 above - Wedding of Violet de Soysa to L.E.O. Pieris
below - The saree as first worn with stockings and brooch. T.H.A.de soysa, His daughters Lilly with Arananda (son of Adrian and Pansy), Pansy, Adrian Wijeyesekere.
Fig 32 above - Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike in Maha Mudaliyars costume p522, Arnold Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* (Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing company Ltd 1907)
Fig 33 Homes of Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike: above - Welke Maligawa
below - Horagolla, Ibid
Fig 34 Advertisement in Sri Lankan newspaper, *The Island*, 18 Feb 1993
Fig 35 The Lanka Vatti hat p63 Ananda Guruge, Anagarika Dharmapala *Mahabodhi society centenary Edition*, published by the department of Cultural affairs 1967
Fig 36 above - Advertisements for exhibitions of the 43 group in 1952, 53, 54, and 1959
below - Painting by George Keyt from 43 Group, Neville Weeraratne (Lantana, Melbourne 1993)
Fig 37 above - The Lionel Wendt Arts Centre
below - The Sapumal Foundation Gallery formerly Harry Pieris' house.
Fig 38 above - The old Parliament building built in 1929
below - The Kings Audience hall Kandy, The cultural Triangle of Sri Lanka, UNESCO publication 1993
Fig 39 The Trinity College Chapel exterior and interior
Fig 40 The Cathedral of Christ the Living Saviour, designed by Wynn Jones exterior and interior.
Fig 41 The Architecture of a new Nation: above - The Independence Hall, Colombo
below - detail of Lion sculpture
Fig 42 The University of Peradeniya, Hilda Obeyesekere hall and The Catholic chapel (The University of Ceylon (Times of Ceylon Annual 1961))
Fig 43 Modern Eastern Bungalows: Mrs V de Soysa's house 1932 built by R.L Perera, first floor plan
Fig 44 Modern Eastern Bungalows: Mrs V de Soysa's house second floor plan and front elevation
Fig 45 Modern Eastern Bungalows: An upcountry single storey bungalow, Douglas Meadows Modern Eastern Bungalows p21 (Calcutta, Thacker's Press and Directories Ltd)
Fig 46 Modern Eastern Bungalows: A house in Colombo, Ibid p11,12,13.
Fig 48 American style house first floor plan and elevation (from L.S.D.Pieris)
Fig 49 American style house second floor plan and section
Fig 50 Single story examples of above -the PWD bungalow and below- the American style house.
Fig 51 The Baur Building Colombo designed by Engender and Muller of Zurich, The Baur Building (MARG magazine vol v.no.3)
Fig 52 The Baur Building, plan and section, Ibid
Fig 53 Buildings by Selveratnam and Monk, above - The Park road houses below- Selveratnam's own house
Fig 54 The Mohunideen house by Alfred Kalubovila, Rehan Tillekeratne, Alfred Kalubovila BSc Dissertation, University of Moratuwa 1983
Fig 55 The Gunasekere house by Alfred Kalubovila, Ibid
Fig 56 above -Example of L shaped house, below illustration of the American style house by Bevis Bawa, Briefly by Bevis
Fig 57 above -advertisement p 10 Journal of The Ceylon Institute of Architects 1965/66 below- Pavilion industrial exhibition, 1964-65
Fig 58 Summit Flats plan of twin unit and elevation showing walkways by Nihal Karunaratne and Turner Wickramasinghe (State Engineering Corporation)
Fig 59 above - Houses by the road example photographed by Andrew Boyd, Boyd, Houses by the road (Ceylon Observer Pictorial 1939)
below- de Saram houses by Geoffrey Bawa and the Yoeman's house as drawn by Coomaraswamy in Medieval sinhalese Art
below- plan examples of vernacular style architecture, (used by Boyd alongside the Coomaraswamy example) Boyd, A People’s Tradition, p25 (MARG vol 1)
Coomaraswamy, Medieval Sinhalese Art
Fig 60 Andrew Boyd, Two semi detached houses at Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1940, first floor plan and front view, Boyd, A People’s Tradition, p37 (MARG vol 1)
Fig 61 Andrew Boyd, above- Two semi detached houses at Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1940 section and second floor plan, Boyd, A People’s Tradition, p37 (MARG vol 1)
below- House at Kandy 1942, Anjalendran and Wanasundara, Sri Lanka, Trends and Transitions (SARC publication 1992)
Fig 62 Minette de Silva, A house at kandy Ceylon first and second floor plans, MARG vol vi. no.3, jun 1953
Fig 63 Minette de Silva, a house at kandy Ceylon above - front view, Nalin Perera, Minette de Silva Her life and her work (BSc Dissertation, University of Moratuwa 1990) below - section (MARG vol vi. no.3 jun 1953)
Fig 64 Minette de Silva, Pieris House 1 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1953, first floor plan, Nalin Perera, Minette de Silva Her life and her work, p26, (BSc Dissertation, University of Moratuwa 1990)
Fig 65 Minette de Silva, Pieris House 1 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1953, second floor plan, Ibid p27

241
Fig 66 Minette de Silva, Pieris House 1 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1953, elevation and section, Ibid
Fig 67 Minette de Silva, Pieris House 2 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1965, first floor plan, Ibid p36
Fig 68 Minette de Silva, Pieris House 2 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1965, second floor plan, Ibid p37
Fig 69 Minette de Silva, above - Pieris House 2 Alfred House Gardens, Colombo 1965, elevation, Ibid p39,
Fig 70 Coomaraswamy, Twin Houses, Albert Crescent 1970, showing the kiln shape of the roof, Ibid p45
Fig 71 Ulrik Plesner, Wimal Fernando's house, plan and section , Suchith Mohotty, Roots, The Domestic Architecture of Ulrik Plesner p44 (BSc Dissertation, University of Moratuwa 1982)
Fig 72 Ulrik Plesner, Own House, plan, Roots, The Domestic Architecture of Ulrik Plesner p22 (BSc Dissertation, University of Moratuwa 1982) interior view, Living Architecture n5 p96
Fig 73 Ulrik Plesner, Own House, sections and elevations, Roots, The Domestic Architecture of Ulrik Plesner p22 (BSc Dissertation, University of Moratuwa 1982)
Fig 74 Ulrik Plesner, Ian Pieris House, plans, elevation and section (grandson of H.A. Pieris), (Ian Pieris)
Fig 75 Ulrik Plesner, The Polontalawa House, plan, Roots, The Domestic Architecture of Ulrik Plesner p30 (BSc Dissertation, University of Moratuwa 1982) sketch, Anjalandran and Wanasundara, Trends and Transitions (SARC publication 1992)
Fig 76 Geoffrey Bawa, The Garden at Lunuganga, Brian Brace Taylor, Geoffrey Bawa, Mimar Monograph (Concept Media, Singapore 1986)
Fig 77 Geoffrey Bawa, House for Mr Fernando at Galle Face Courts (married to Ms de Soysa) fourth floor elevation, and front view. (Mr Jayantha Fernando)
Fig 78 Geoffrey Bawa, House for Mr Fernando at Galle Face Courts, fifth floor elevation. (Mr Jayantha Fernando)
Fig 79 Geoffrey Bawa, Ena de Silva house, plans and sections, Brian Brace Taylor, Geoffrey Bawa, Mimar Monograph p47 (Concept Media, Singapore 1986)
Fig 80 Geoffrey Bawa, House for Mr and Mrs A.C.H. de Soysa, 1990's first and second floor plans (Cloe de Soysa)
Fig 81 Geoffrey Bawa, House for Mr and Mrs A.C.H. de Soysa, third floor and elevation. Ibid
Fig 82 Valantine Goonesekere, House for Mrs Sybil Goonewardene 1960, plans, (daughter of H.A. Pieris) now owned by (her daughter) Ryle and Karmini de Soysa (Karmini de Soysa)
Fig 83 Valantine Goonesekere, House for Mrs Sybil Goonewardene 1960, elevation and section, Ibid
Fig 84 Valantine Goonesekere, Illangakoon House, Rosmead place 1971, first floor plan and section, Analysis of some residential architecture and hotel buildings by Valentine Gunesekekere, p25,27 Mallawarachchi (BSc Dissertation, University of Moratuwa)
Fig 85 Valantine Goonesekere, Illangakoon House, Rosmead place 1971, second floor plan and section, Ibid pp26-27
Fig 86 Valantine Goonesekere, Illangakoon House, Rosmead place 1971, exterior and interior, Ibid p28
Fig 87 Justin Samarasekere, House for Mr and Mrs R.M. Fernando (grandson of C.H. de Soysa) plan and view of courtyard.
Fig 88 Justin Samarasekere, House for Mr and Mrs S.A. Dissanayake, late 60's plan and model
Fig 89 Ulrik Plesner, The Mahaweli Building Program, site plan, low cost dwelling and stores, Living Architecture n5
Fig 90 Valentine Gunesekere, The Tangalle Bay Hotel, plan and section, Mallawarachchi *Analysis of some residential architecture and hotel buildings by Valentine Gunesekere*, p41,42 (BScDissertation, University of Moratuwa)

Fig 91 Valentine Gunesekere, The Tangalle Bay Hotel, The entrance and the view from the sea front. Ibid 43,48


Fig 93 Ashley deVos, House for Ediriweera Sarathchandra, SLA House by 'Sthapatia' An Open House for A Dramatist p 37 (The Sri Lanka ARCHITECT The journal of the SLIA vol 100 no 12 april - June 1992)

Fig 94 Ismeth Raheem's own house, sectional elevation and entrance view, *Architects Office and Residence* p90 (Architecture + Design vol vii n2 mar - apr 1990)

Fig 95 Ismeth Raheem's own house, plans, Ibid and a project for a resort on the Maldives Islands

Fig 96 C. Anjalendran, House, SOS village Nuwara Eliya SLIA journal vol 100 no 5 sep - nov 1989 *The Architecture of SOS Childrens Villages* p 25

Fig 97 C. Anjalendran, SOS village Piliyandala showing the internal courtyards in plan (C Anjalendran)

Fig 98 Anura Ratnavibushana's own house, Ibid p93, plans, elevations and interior views.


Fig 100 The iconography of the Kandyan roof, above - The law Courts Complex below - The Taj Samudra hotel

Fig 101 The proposed Cultural Complex Colombo, (The Cultural Triangle of Sri Lanka, UNESCO 1993)

Fig 102 above - The elevated Stupa overlooking Colombo harbour below - A model of the temple of the tooth at a Gam Udawa celebration

Fig 103 The clocktowers with Kandyan roof/dome of the Town hall

Fig 104 Emerging Patterns in Vernacular architecture plan types Urbano Colonial 1830-1900, Gable Fronted 1860-1930, Ameresekere and Anandasivam (NHDA project)


Fig 106 above - The Walauwa style makes a rare comeback below - Examples of the use of the pre caste balustrade
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246
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