

Associations with Traditional Elite Architecture and Periodic Changes Adapted in Geoffrey Bawa's Domestic Projects for the Post-Colonial Elites in Ceylon: A Phenomenological Perspective

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Abstract

Geoffrey Bawa's (GB's) architecture has contemporary ramifications, even two decades after his passing. It is well established that GB catered largely to an elite clientele in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). He burrowed his architectural style from the vernacular everyday traditions, yet built for the elite. It is hypothesized that, his architecture was impregnated with traditional elite architectural/interior design (TEA/ID) associations, and has also adapted periodic changes (PC), which many have studied in the past. Despite several attempts however, valid scientific inquiry into this issue remains inadequate. This research explores if his architecture was truly derived from the associations with the traditional elite architectural/interior design, and also manifested periodic changes.

This research employs a qualitative case studies as a research methodology. It examines three selected case studies; one house designed for a distinct elite family from each of GB's three distinct work phases. In terms of (TEA/ID) associations, the study focuses on the criteria of site placement, plan form, 3-D form and imagery, architectural features, architectural details as well as furnishings and decorative arts. The periodic changes assessed are political (P), economic (E) and socio-cultural (SC), pertaining to the periods in question. The research carried out in January 2024 relies on extant literature (i.e. secondary sources) to draw information. The interpretation employs a phenomenological perspective..

The paper concludes that the three houses have manifested traditional elite architecture associations, and have also adapted periodic changes. It thus validates the hypotheses.

Keywords: Elite, Domestic Architecture, Geoffrey Bawa, Traditional Elite Associations, Periodic Changes

Introduction

As Perera (1994) points out, the name ‘Ceylon,’ used by European colonists including the Portuguese, Dutch and the British over the centuries, was changed to ‘Sri Lanka’ in 1972 when the island became a modern democratic nation-state. However, the notion of ‘postcolonial period’ with relation to the island is not well-defined in literature. It is usually considered as the window between independence in 1948, and the introduction of open economy in 1977. According to Wijetunge (2012), the period essentially associated with nationalism extended well into the early-1990s, which saw one of its lowest ebbs. Given this view, the period in consideration here is between 1948 and the early 1990s.

During immediate postcolonial period of Ceylon, harking back to once-suppressed indigenous cultural traditions was seen as breaking the colonial shackles (Perera, 1994; Wijetunge, 2007). During this time, a new ‘national identity’ was sought in the arts – in both visual and performing spheres (Wijetunge, 2021). In this context, it was only natural for architects also to follow this trend (Jayewardene, 1984). Consequently, there were a number of architectural styles that competed for dominance over a matter of three decades (from the 1950s into the 1990s). Among them, Pieris (2007), Robson (2004) and Wijetunge (2007, 2012, 2018, 2021) tell us that ‘Expressionist Modernism’ championed by Valentine Gunasekara was one of the forerunners that in fact received some following. His architecture is well-covered in literature (Pieris, 2007; Robson, 2004; 2007; Wijetunge, 2012; 2013; 2018 & 2021).

The feeble impact of the style on the process of nation-building is further assessed by Wijetunge (2023). On the other hand, there was also Pani Tennakoon’s own take on Tropical Modernism; nourished by the modern technology and repetition (Tennakoon, 2008; Wijetunge, 2012, 2014, 2021). This prolific practitioner representing the Sri Lankan state also found a very limited following. Further, Wijetunge (2021, 2022, 2023) also alludes to the existence of alternative styles that were rather lone efforts; such as ‘Retro-classical Modernism’ propagated by Roland Silva. In such a backdrop, ‘Neo-Regionalism’ and ‘Tropical Regionalism’ introduced by GB – having drawn inspiration from Minnette de Silva’s ‘Modern Regional Architecture for the Tropics’ as de Silva, de Vos and Sirivardana (1998) tell us – became the most eminent (Robson, 2004). Over the decades, this style has been labeled as the ‘most suitable’ to the contexts of its birth (Wijetunge, 2012). First having tried out at the domestic architectural arena as a springboard, GB then went on to apply the style into the civic realm (Pieris, 2007). This eventually made it the ‘flagship style’ of Sri Lanka; reaching a peak in the 1980s. GB’s practice extended from the early-1950s, until it was wound up in the late 1990s (Robson, 2004; 2007).

In this context, GB’s design portfolio can be categorized into two types of projects: domestic and civic. While Robson (2004) lists down all the projects that came under this two-fold classification, he and Wijetunge (2012, 2013, 2014) both establish that there were three distinct architectural phases (*i.e.* phases 1, 2 and 3); having analyzed examples that GB’s architectural career produced. Wijetunge (2018) even goes into the extent of positing compelling examples from both domestic and civic categories for each phase. In his analysis, phase-1 was stylistically concerned with TM that GB acquired through his studies at the Architectural Association (AA) School in London. To further strengthen his Tropical Modernism upbringing, he took a six-month course in the subject under Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew as course directors. This paralleled with the time when attempts were being made to propagate the style across former British colonies (Fry and Drew, 1982). GB’s tropical modernism phase started in the early-1950s, and went on until the late-1960s. Phase 2 began in the early-1960s when GB broke away from tropical modernism and shifted towards tropical regionalism, continuing this direction until the mid-1980s. By the late-1970s, Wijetunge (2012) establishes a phase-3, where ‘International Style’ (IS) inclinations were seen in GB’s work. He further illustrates with examples on how these three phases pertain to GB’s domestic architecture in particular (Wijetunge, 2018).

In this context, this paper aims to investigate the domestic architectural projects for the elite. Its objectives are:

1. To ascertain if GB's work adapted associations with traditional elite architecture /interior design.
2. To evaluate if the same set of associations also underpin periodic changes.
3. To identify how a phenomenological exploration of architecture for the elite can establish TEAR/ID associations of a given place, at a given time, and in the process, also trap periodic changes.

Theoretical Framework

Elites Above Masses

As Mosca (1939) points out, the elite in society are an 'organized minority' that tends to dominate the 'unorganized masses'. This tendency may be attributed to their superior intellectual and physical qualities; whether innate, or acquired through political and economic means. By leveraging these qualities, the elite occupy the highest positions in the social hierarchy, zealously protecting their privileged status. This dynamic has been consistent throughout human history (Bottomore, 1993). Mandel (1982) further notes that humanity has historically used political power to secure economic wealth, and conversely, economic power to influence political outcomes. The aforesaid views have all contributed to the formation of theories about the phenomenon of elitism.

While various theories of elitism exist, Bottomore (1993) finds the theory of the 'Governing Elite and the Political Class' to be the most compelling. The pertinence of the theory to modern society as well as its acknowledgement of democracy are at the heart of this validation. The GE according to Pareto (1960), is a very small faction that occupies the social apex; as the individuals who have direct access to political power. They are the ones holding the high political positions in a government, for instance. They always attempt to retain their best interests via close coalition with others from the same class. This minority is part of a broader Political Class, which has access to political power indirectly. They are more numerous than the Governing Elite, and have the capacity to replace them under circumstances such as regime changes (in dictatorial societies) or government changes (in democracies). This is especially relevant in the absence of absolute monarchies, where constitutional or symbolic monarchs still exist today. Beneath this elite group falls the 'Middle Class', which is more numerous than the aforementioned group. While the MC does not have access to direct or indirect political power, it is the class that makes liaison between elite, and the majority group falling below it. This group is referred to as the 'Working Class' (Bottomore, 1993). In this light, it is worth exploring how the notion of elitism applies to modern Ceylon (Sri Lanka), within its postcolonial context.

Ceylonese (Sri Lankan) Elitism

As Wijetunge (2012) tells us, the mainstream notions of elitism and means of social stratification have been derived based on western historical developments, and is indifferent to its Eastern counterpart. He further strengthens this argument in his examination of the Kandyan elite in Sri Lanka (Wijetunge, 2011, 2024). As he elaborates, the main means of production (in a Marxist viewpoint) differed between the two settings. Since the respective worldviews (induced by religion and resulting culture/s) of the two settings were very different, he argues that the political and economic expectations of the two settings were also somewhat dissimilar. He concurs with de Silva's (2006) view that the Western scenario, shaped by Greek-Judeo-Christian epistemology, has historically sought to exploit nature for the benefit of humankind, focusing solely on human advancement. This stems from the notion that the universe was created by the creator, centered upon the human being. In contrast, the knowledge propagated by eastern religions (*i.e.* Hinduism and Buddhism) for instance, strived for a co-existence with nature than dominating it to human advantage.

As for Wijetunge (2012), when the social stratification in the West was historically underlined by economics, its eastern counterpart (at least in the Indian sub-continent and Sri Lanka) had a religio-cultural underpinning, in the name of 'caste system'. This point is further strengthened by him in his analysis of elitism in the island over the ages (Wijetunge, 2014).

Wijetunge (2012) also notes that the Western-derived structure of elitism was systematically imposed on the island's citizens through five centuries of colonial rule. Given this view, Wijetunge (2011) becomes the only source to scientifically examine a pre-modern social stratification structure in the island. His examination pertains to the 18th century Kandyan kingdom which was in fact the last surviving pre-modern Sinhalese political bastion; before it fell and led to a fully-fledged British colonization in the early-19th century. He goes on to define its 'elite' and 'sub-elite' social levels, and also their unique architectures (Wijetunge 2011). In Wijetunge's (2012) opinion, a so-called 'quasi' elite structure of hybridity sprung up by deliberate-intermingling of Eastern and Western counterparts (*i.e.* political, economic and socio-cultural) during Portuguese and Dutch rules. This structure was subsequently weakened by the late-19th century, due to the Ceylonese adaptation of a fully developed British elite structure as it existed in Victorian England. Roberts (1995) establishes this point through his discourse of the late-19th and early-20th century Ceylon. He calls the newly-acquired Western-type occupations by the Ceylonese of the time 'genteel occupations' (*i.e.* doctors, lawyers and civil servants etc.). As Wijetunge (2013) deducts, this British ideological legacy in fact, survived the postcolonial period into the present-day. The cultural hybridity acquired by Sri Lankans is arguably in line with that of other comparable postcolonial societies such as the Indian sub-continent (Bhabha, 1994). This notion of hybridity tells us that it encompassed both economic and cultural determinisms that apply to the process of historic elite-making. This was especially active during the peak of British colonialism in Ceylon (Wijetunge, 2012).

Grounded on the historic hybrid nature of the island's elitism, Wijetunge (2012) develops a historic structure that spans from the 'pre-modern' pre-colonial period (*i.e.* from 1796, just before the fall of the independent indigenously-ruled Kandyan kingdom that was unhindered by modernism prior to its fall) into the 'modern' colonial period (spanning between the 16th century when the coast was first colonized, into the end of the post-colonial era that ended in 1977 with the advent of open economy). His structure differentiates between different elite and sub-elite groups with their unique sub-cultures, and resulting architectures; based on their geographic location, caste group, faith and occupations etc.

As for Wijetunge (2012), elites could first be classified according to their geographic location. The elite that hail from the former Kandyan kingdom's territories are referred to as 'up-country' elite, whereas the ones that owe their formation to the once-colonized coastal areas are labelled as 'low-country' elite. Supported by Robert's (1995) narration (of especially the low-country elite), then he traces the caste background of the two groups; to establish that the up-country elite were solely from the *Govigama* caste group. His study also confirms that the low-country elite had both *Govigama* and non-*Govigama* caste backgrounds. Within a caste hierarchy where the *Govigama* caste group has historically occupied the apex as attested by Roberts (1995), Silva (2005), Obeyesekere (2007) as well as Wijetunge (2011, 2012, 2013), in the low-country, certain caste groups such as the *Karava*, *Durava* and *Salagama* (and handful of other castes to a lesser extent) were afforded with opportunities by the subsequent colonial masters to ascend as elite. During the Portuguese times, the opportunities came with conversion to Roman Catholic faith and aiding the colonial masters with administrative and military affairs as a bulk of the *Karave* who ascended up the social ladder did (Roberts, 1995). When the Dutch were indifferent to religious conversion, aiding them for securing lucrative cash crops afforded caste groups such as *Salagama* and *Durava* both economic and administrative power as a new elite (Perera, 1994). Not just the elite status, the sub-elite positions afforded to them too were numerous (Wijetunge, 2012).

During the British colonial period, largely the same caste groups were hand-picked again to present them with new economic opportunities. Jayawardena (2007) tells us that when the colonial government lacked initial capital, it was this group that came forward to invest on small contracts, to subsequently consolidate on more lucrative ventures such as arrack-renting and plantations. Later on, conversion to the Anglican Christian faith became a pre-requisite to receiving such concessions. A faction of the *Karave* and other non-*Govigama* elite who made it all the way up to the economic apex did indeed convert, and so did a faction of low-country *Govigama* elite – a new group that had been formed by aliasing closely with the British

government (Perera, 1994). During the postcolonial period, it was for the earlier stated Ceylonese elite groups of great cultural complexity for which, GB designed houses.

The Criteria

A set of criteria covering A/ID is necessary here to apply to CS. By studying the underlying factors behind the established criteria that is to reveal if the same also trapped PC. Harwood, May and Sherman (2015) uses a comprehensive set of criteria to assess A/ID projects the world over, derived from practices throughout the ages. Conversely, Wijetunge (2007, 2012, 2022, 2024a/b) employs a comparable set of criteria for similar evaluations; especially in the colonial and post-colonial periods in Sri Lanka. By combining the two approaches – one being more generic and the other more focused towards the postcolonial Sri Lankan situation – both a complex and comprehensive set of criteria is derived. This set of criteria consists of integrated A/ID elements (*i.e.* location, site placement, plan form, 3D form and imagery, architectural features, architectural details, furnishings and decorative arts). The architectural features delve into depths of roof, verandah, courtyard, reflective pool and vantage points; while architectural details considered encompass structure and interesting elements as well as special features/materials. The criterion of Furnishings and decorative arts on the other hand, covers furniture, historic artifacts, paintings/photographs and religious insignia.

Literature Review

There is a lot of research that have examined elitism as manifested in architecture. In terms of this happening in Sri Lanka, Perera (1994) offers a good introduction, defining the geographical entity of Ceylon (pre-colonial, colonial, and immediate postcolonial) and later Sri Lanka (contemporary). He thus enhances the critical perspectives on colonialism and the nation-state. Extending this, Wijetunge (2012) establishes a detailed timeline for the postcolonial period in Sri Lanka, drawing on historical insights from commentators such as Perera (1994) and Jayewardene (1984). However, Robson's attempts (2004, 2007) in this area remain less robust.

Perera (1995), Jayawardene (1984) and Wijetunge (2007, 2021) examine the postcolonial search for a new national identity. This is comparable with numerous other less-critical accounts such as that of Robson's (2004, 2007). Similarly, Pieris (2007), Robson (2004, 2007), Jayewardene (1984), Tennakoon (2008), de Silva, De Vos and Siriwardana (1998), where Wijetunge's (2012, 2018, 2021, 2023, 2024a, 2024b) explore the architects' role in the society. Although Fry and Drew (1982) explore the role played by the TM architectural style in shaping the architecture in the postcolonial period, the only critical accounts of the subject come from Pieris (2007) and Wijetunge (2012, 2021, 2023, 2024a, 2024b). They question the appropriateness of this style to political, economic and socio-cultural realms of its application.

Having established the context, Robson (2004, 2007), Jayewardene (1984; 2018), Pieris (2007) and Wijetunge (2010, 2013) confirm that Goffery Bawas domestic projects were commissioned by the elite. However, N. R. Wijetunge (2010, 2012, 2013, 2024b) provides the only scientific investigations related to this area. Robson (2004, 2007) addresses the evaluation of GB's architectural projects by identifying three distinct work phases. Wijetunge (2012, 2013, 2018) in agreement, further categorizes GB's portfolio based on project type; distinguishing between domestic and non-domestic projects.

The theoretical framework of this study is constructed upon this literature. Mosca (1939), Pareto (1960) and Mandel (1982) establish clearly that the elites exist above the masses,. They each present their own versions of social stratification, supported by historical justifications. Bottomore (1993) conclusively, condense such ideas and introduce the most compelling elite theory: comprised of 'governing elite' and 'political class,' while debunking more feeble versions such as intellectuals, managers and bureaucrats.

Wijetunge (2011, 2012, 2014, 2024) and N. R. Wijetunge (2010, 2013) remain to be the only sources that establish the fact that the present mainstream theories on elitism are Western-centric, and hence, indifferent to the Eastern context. Wijetunge (2011, 2014, 2024) in fact, adduces evidence from Indian and Sri Lankan scenarios to confirm this status. In light

of an epistemological division across the East and the West as indicated by de Silva (2006), Wijetunge (2011, 2012) verifies the fact that Western social stratification underlies economic determinism, while the Eastern counterpart carries a religio-cultural underpinning. He attributes the latter to the unique factor of caste system that only exists in the Indian sub-continent and Sri Lanka.

Moreover, Wijetunge (2011, 2013, 2014) historically narrates its existence in the island over the ages. The structure he develops for the purpose of social stratification and determining elitism in pre-modern Ceylon (Sri Lanka) remains the only one of its kind. In his view, a 'quasi' elite structure of hybridity that emerged from the outset of the colonial encounter, to later develop as a fully-formed one by the end of it (Wijetunge, 2012). He views this elitism as one with both cultural and economic determinisms. The theoretical backing for his idea comes from Roberts (1995), Bhabha (1994) and Perera (1994). Delving on the aforesaid structure, Wijetunge (2012) draws lines across pre-modern and modern contexts; to illustrate 'up' and 'low' country, as well as caste-based divisions among the elites of the island. The theoretical grounding for the caste factor pertaining to the island comes through the works of Roberts (1995), Silva (2005), Obeyesekere (2007), Perera (1994) and Jayewardena (2007).

For developing a set of criteria to assess the Caste Systems, that of Harwood, May and Sherman (2015) is employed, to be combined with the comparable one used by Wijetunge (2007, 2012, 2022, 2024a, 2024b) for similar evaluations of the colonial and post-colonial periods in Sri Lanka.

Research Methodology

This research employs a qualitative case studies as a research methodology. It examines three case studies; one house designed for a distinct elite family from each of GB's three distinct work phases. In terms of Traditional Elite Architecture/Interior Design associations, the study focuses on the criteria of site placement, plan form, 3-D form and imagery, architectural features, architectural details as well as furnishings and decorative arts. The architectural elements delve into depths of roofs, verandahs, courtyards reflective pools and vantage points, while architectural details encompass structures and interesting elements as well as special details/materials. The criterion of furnishings and decorative arts on the other hand, covers furniture, historic artifacts, paintings/photographs and religious insignia.

It is pertinent to mention here that each case study has a main set of criteria of 7 which was common to all the case studies, which in turn tested 9 aspects of architectural/interior design features. However, when it came to certain sub-categories that came under them (*i.e.* 'special features and materials' (6.b), 'furniture' (7.a), historic artifacts (7.b) as well as 'paintings and photographs (7.c), a variation of numbers was encountered. Unique situations pertaining to each case study was responsible for this anomaly. When case study 1 recorded 22 nos. of assessed factors altogether, the case study two and three recorded 23 nos. and 17 nos. respectively. Altogether, there were 62 nos. For instance, for 6.b, the case study 1 and 2 showed 5 unique categories, whereas the last one only showed 1. On the other hand, for 7.b, 3 unique categories were recorded for the case study one, 4 for the case study 2, and 2 for the case study 3. For the 6th case study, only one unique category was recorded for case study 1 and 2, while case study 3 recorded two.

The research relies on extant literature sources (*i.e.* secondary sources) to draw information/images/interviews needed to feed the three tables corresponding to the case studies. The analyses, using tables, not only test the established criteria, but also uncovers PC (*i.e.* political, economic, and socio-cultural) embedded in traditional elite architecture/interior design.

The research was carried out in January 2024. It refrains from securing sensitive firsthand information from any human subjects. Instead, it delves entirely on secondary information secured from literature.

Case Studies of Architects

Rationale for Selection

It was established earlier that Geoffrey Bawa's architectural career had three distinct phases. In this backdrop, Robson (2004) lists down 38 domestic projects he handled on behalf of his clients. All these projects were completed throughout his career that spanned from the mid-1950s into the late-1990s. Given this view, Wijetunge (2012) confirms that all of the aforementioned domestic architectural projects by Geoffrey Bawa were executed for elite patrons. His observation was that approximately 85% of his clients came from the governing elites and 15% from the political class, establishing that a 100% of them were elite in formation.

Case study 01

Out of his full list of houses designed for the elite, this study picks the *Deraniyagala* House in Colombo from phase-1, as case study number 1. It happens to be the first house Bawa started designing in 1951, and completed immediately after his return from his architectural studies in the UK in 1959 (Robson, 2004). Hence, this example arguably illustrates a quintessential TM tendency. This point is affirmed by Wijetunge (2012).

Case Study 02

The *Osmund and Ena de Silva* house in Colombo is selected to represent phase-2, as case study number 2. The fact that it is widely-considered to be the groundbreaking design through which GB broke away from the TM mainstream to ventured in the direction of TR/MR as Jayewardene (1984) confirms, justifies its selection.

Case Study 03

On the other hand, Chloe and *Cecil de Soysa* house again in Colombo is to be taken up for phase-3, as case study number 3. This selection is owing to its significance as one of the few IS houses GB completed (Robson, 2004). Further, it carries significance as a precursor at the domestic level, before experimentations associated with it were pushed into much larger projects (de Soysa in Wijetunge, 2012).

Chronologically too, the selections are justifiable. The *Deraniyagala* house was built during 1952-59, which lies within phase-1. The *de Silva* house on the other hand, was built between 1961-62; well within phase-2. Finally, the *de Soysa* house built between 1985-91 also falls within phase-3.

It is often believed that a nation's soul is its collection of different cultures, where a homogeneous culture is almost nonexistent anywhere in the world (Rapoport, 1969). Sri Lanka is no exception. In any modern-day nation state, there is always a 'dominant culture' that underplays the impact of its contenders (de Silva, 2006). This is especially true, in the making of a 'national identity' of a given nation (Eriksen, 1993). It is argued that the dominant culture that forms itself as the 'face', and therefore the 'soul', of a nation state. In Sri Lanka, the aforesaid position has historically been occupied by the Sinhalese. Moreover, Sinhalese, the majority population of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) is heterogeneous in nature, which has primordially been assembled into numerous caste-based sub-cultures; operating within the framework of one dominant culture (de Silva, 2006; Silva, 2005). However, it is well-established that the *Govigama* caste group has historically occupied the apex of the country's caste hierarchy. It in fact, boasts of being the most numerous (approximately 45% of the Sinhalese population) (Silva, 2005). It is sub-divided into *Radala* (i.e. aristocrats/nobles/higher up administrative positions such as *Adigars*, *Rate Mahattayas*, *Disaves*), *Govi* (i.e. lower level administrators such as *Korala*, *Vidane*, *Arachchi* and mostly traditional farmers) and *Patti* (traditional shepherds/herders) sub-groups (Wijetunge, 2011).

These historically-established social levels and occupations lasted until the feudal system (i.e. *Rajakariya*) was abolished by the British in 1833 (Perera, 1994). The *Karave* caste group (approximately 35% of the Sinhalese population) in fact boasts of being the second most formidable group (Roberts, 1995; Silva, 2005). Their social ascend could be traced back to the

Portuguese times in the 16th century. It was only in the 19th century that they were reinvigorated, where they experienced a fleeting social ascent thanks to the British colonizers.

Moreover, the different religions such as *Theravada* Buddhism and various sects of Christianity mainly they adhere to makes the earlier mentioned cultural divisions among the Sinhalese even more complex. In this light, the aforesaid client and house selections are further justifiable based on the fact that all three families belonged to the Sinhalese ethnicity – the most numerous in Sri Lanka (Department of Census and Statistics, 1976). The fact that the three families were very different in terms of caste, religious, socio-cultural backgrounds as well as in terms of their respective occupations (despite being Sinhalese in ethnicity) makes a strong phenomenological analysis plausible.

Moreover, the fact that all three houses are located within the nation's capital – within the central Colombo area (*i.e.* Colombo 07 and 03), in close proximity to one another – gives the comparison an even basis. Historically, these areas have always been the domain of both up and low-country elite who wanted to have a presence in the capital city since the 19th century (Perera, 1994). Wright (2005) confirms this point with plenty of examples he adduces from these affluent neighborhoods, from the early-20th century. It is also noteworthy that palatial mansions (*i.e.* bungalows) of immediate/extended family members of each of the three families in question are featured in it.

Analysis of the Case Studies:

Case Study 01: The Deraniyagala House

Table 1: Analysis of Architecture and Interior Design Criteria

Source: Author

Phase: 01 Style: Tropical Modern		Built Between: 1951-59	
Criteria		Clients: Paul and Preeni <i>Deraniyagala</i>	
		Underlying Elite Associations (as substantiated by literature)	Periodic Change
1. Location	26, Guildford Crescent, Colombo 07 (Robson, 2004).	An area which was previously uninhabited was occupied by the elite during British occupation to eventually bolster demand for it (Perera, 1994; Wright, 2005). Consequently, its land value skyrocketed to a point only the elite could afford to live in the area (Robson, 2004; Lewcock, Sansoni and Senanayake, 2002). Since the mid-late 19 th century, it was fashionable for the elite (belonging to both up and low-country) to have a base in the colonial capital city (Perera, 1994). In the aftermath of independence, in the 1950s, previously palatial lots were sub-divided to meet the increasing demand. On one hand, the choice by the <i>Deraniyagalas</i> to remain in the area underlined convenience (for the ease of their P, E and SC functions). On the other, family prestige was at the core of this choice, which was reinforced by affordability (Wijetunge, 2012).	Economic/ Socio-cultural
2. Site placement	Larger plot; House was placed as a rectangular block on a rectangular plot to have a smaller rear space and a large front garden. This gave the illusion of the house being palatial although it was far from it; No evidence to ascertain if regulations	Palatial houses that were modelled after European manor houses and stately homes have always been the domain of low-country elite, from the colonial times (Lewcock, Sansoni & Senanayake, 2002; Wijetunge, 2014). It was only during the British era that the up-country elite also emulated the same for social prestige (Wijetunge, 2011). Having previously lived in palatial houses in their hometowns – Paul's being <i>Ratnapura</i> and Preeni's in Kandy) – the	Socio-cultural

	were considered. At the time, regulations were still rudimentary (Pieris, 2007); Whether planning permission was obtained is unclear (Wijetunge, 2012).	choice would have been obvious in the lot inherited by Paul. They did not give up on the prestige element associated with palatial houses (Wijetunge, 2012).	
3. Plan form	'S' shaped; 2 floor levels; Modern 'open plan' concept (Fig. 01)	The practical reasons of linear wings (allowing cross-ventilation) and their arrangement forming courtyards, inside-outside relationship, open plan etc., all give away an unmistakable TM formation to the house. This adoption of the most recent global architectural know-how to make the house very much suited to its tropical environment aligns well with the outward-orientation as well as knowledgeability of clients (Robson, 2004). On the other hand, the Elite disregard – as a modern western- educated faction – towards traditional building knowledge and practices such as <i>Mayamathaya</i> that condemned 'L' shapes as inauspicious (<i>i.e.</i> the 'S' shape here is a derivation of two interconnected 'L's) is also revealed here (Perera, 1984).	Socio-cultural
4. 3D form & Imagery	Geometric-Rectangular; Modern Aesthetic (Fig. 02)	The newly-acquired taste by the elite for modern architecture is notable from the period (Jayawardene, 1984). The aesthetic discontent towards the 'British Colonial Bungalow' in the age of nationalism too is framed by this selection (Pieris, 2007). After all, as a trend-setting elite family, it was not fashionable to stick with a colonial style anymore at a time of strong anti-colonial fervor and rhetoric (Wijetunge, 2021). Afterall, Selvaratnam (in Jayawardene, 1984) tells us that only the elite clients of the time could afford to be modern.	Political/ Socio-cultural
5. Architectural Features	a. Roof: Low-pitched simple gable roof covered in asbestos; (Fig. 03) Topped with half-round clay tiles (Fig. 03)	Asbestos was a new, easy to use and inexpensive building material introduced in the late 1950s (Pieris, 2007). The elite of the time were receptive, and ready to embrace new materials/technology as well as the new aesthetic that came with them. Simple gable roofs with their small inclination was necessary for the TM aesthetic, which was realized by GB (Wijetunge, 2023). Hence, the selection on one hand, frames an economic benefit, and on the other, traps the necessity on part of the elite to fulfil their commitment as new trend-setters. However, the concealing of the inexpensive asbestos with traditional half-round clay tiles reveals their wish not to deviate from familiarity of traditional elite houses. After all, half-round clay tiles are traditionally elite domain; both in 'up' and 'low' country settings. In the Kandyan kingdom, only the elite were given special permission by the king to use tiles for roofs (Nimal de Silva in Wijetunge, 2011).	Economic/ Socio-cultural

	b. Verandah: Placed around the house for thoroughfare and protection of walls from the elements (Fig. 04)	Originally the domain of up-country elite in their <i>Wallauve</i> (manor house) dwellings in the former Kandyan kingdom. Its use was largely climatic. The original Kandyan verandahs in houses with blank outside facades were placed facing internal courtyards (Perera, 1984). The verandah was later emulated by the 'low country' elite as an external feature, after their formation and consolidation under European colonization; perhaps with outside influence. Subsequently, the element was appropriated as an outward-facing element into the <i>Wallauwes</i> of up-country elite too, who were now seeking for eye-pleasing facades (Wijetunge, 2011). Owing to the Deraniyagala family's affinity to both up and low country versions of the verandah, its excessive use in the house was condoned. It would have been a means to evoke nostalgia out of familiarity; for both Paul and Preeny (Wijetunge, 2024).	Socio-cultural
	c. Courtyard: Placed centrally (Fig. 05)	Originally the domain of up-country elite in their <i>Wallauve</i> (manor house) dwellings as well as the <i>Hathara-andi-ge</i> house type belonging to the sub-elites (Perera, 1984). The courtyard was later emulated by the low-country elite for social prestige, after their formation and consolidation under European colonization (Wijetunge, 2011). Owing to the family's affinity to both up and low-country versions of the courtyard by living in traditional houses from both geographic areas, its excessive use in the house was condoned. It would have been a means to evoke nostalgia for both Paul and Preeni, out of familiarity (Wijetunge, 2024).	Socio-cultural
	d. Reflective pool: Placed centrally, in the rear-facing courtyard (Fig. 6)	Water has not been an essential part of traditional Sri Lankan architecture, apart from its use in moats around ramparts and in the form of pools/ponds/reservoirs in close proximity to buildings (Lowcock, Sansoni and Senanayake, 2002). Hence, an incorporation of a reflective pool would have been GB's own initiative; suggestive of his attempt to create tranquility and thermal comfort in the city; as reflective pools do in modern architecture. On the other hand, it may have been an attempt to evoke romantic memories of traditional village life out of familiarity, of its now city-dwelling clients, who still maintained their traditional houses in the village.	Socio-cultural
	e. Vantage Points:	None: The introvert nature of the house did not allow such.	N/A
			

Sources: Fig. 1-2: Robson (2004); Fig. 3-6: Wijetunge (2012)			
6.Architectural Details	a. Structure & interesting elements:		
	Reinforced Cement Concrete (R.C.C.) structure and turned spiral staircase (Fig. 7)	Only the elite could afford such complex construction at a time R.C.C. was new and expensive technology (Robson, 2004). It was the R.C.C. construction that predominantly afforded the modern slender aesthetic of TM houses as against the heavy masonry colonial bungalow. Only the elite could afford to pay to be modern according to prolific architectural practitioner of the time (Selvaratnam in Jayewardene, 1984). Accommodating a sculptural element such as the spiral staircase is testament to the outward international orientation and knowledgeability of the cultured elite, who were ready to take on risks to be at the forefront of changes in architecture/construction as trend-setters (Wijetunge, 2023).	Economic/ Socio-cultural
	b. Special features/materials:		
	Terracotta floor tiles (Fig. 8)	Only a material used in Dutch and British period elite houses in the low-country, which was subsequently emulated in up-country counterparts too (Wijetunge, 2011). Owing to the family's affinity to both up and low-country versions of the courtyard by living in traditional houses from both geographic areas, its excessive use in the house was condoned. It would have been a means to evoke nostalgia for both Paul and Preeni, out of familiarity (Wijetunge, 2024).	Socio-cultural
	Half-round clay tiles on the roof (Fig. 9)	In the Kandyan kingdom, only the elite were given special permission by king to use tiles for roofs; in return for a special service rendered to the king/kingdom (Nimal de Silva in Wijetunge, 2011). With colonial advent, such rules ceased to exist in the low-country, and the building material started to appear freely in the houses of newly-formed low-country elite. It was a form of emulation that underlined social prestige (Wijetunge, 2011, 2012). Owing to the family's affinity to both up and low-country versions of the courtyard by living in traditional houses from both geographic areas, its excessive use in the house was condoned. It would have been a means to evoke nostalgia for both Paul and Preeni, out of familiarity (Wijetunge, 2024).	Socio-cultural
	River stone paving: None	Would not have been fashionable in a TM house	N/A
	Arches: None	Would not have been fashionable in a TM house	N/A
	Trelliswork/Louvers: Used for window shutters and fixed fenestration (Fig.10)	Louvers for windows and cement grills on exterior-facing walls are quintessential TM characteristics (Fry and Drew, 1982). The modern aesthetic it brought about was palatable to the outward-oriented and knowledgeable elite trend-setters of the island such as the <i>Deraniyagalas</i> (Wijetunge, 2012).	Socio-cultural

7. Furnishings & Decorative Arts	a. Furniture:		Economic/ Socio-cultural
	Scandinavian Modern Pieces (Fig. 11)	Only the elite in Ceylon were knowledgeable about global fashions of the time; and only they could afford them (Wijetunge, 2022, 2024). The modern aesthetic furniture was palatable to the outward-oriented and knowledgeable elite who considered themselves to be trend-setters (Wijetunge, 2012).	
	Colonial period Pieces (Fig. 12)	In a historical viewpoint, the pre-modern Ceylonese houses belonging to non-elite were sparsely furnished. This was the case even just before the fall of Kandyan kingdom. Only the royals/aristocrats who were elites and Buddhist religious establishment (and sub-elite to a certain extent) used a few pieces (Wijetunge, 2011). It was the low-country Ceylonese elite and sub-elite who started to excessively use furniture with the colonial influences, where cities such as <i>Moratuwa</i> became colonial-sponsored workshops (Roberts, 1995). A majority of commoners lived in sparsely-furnished thatched and adobe constructed vernacular houses until the early 1980s (Robson, Gormley and Sonawane, 1984). Therefore, acquiring priced furniture had become a form of social prestige and also manifestation of economic stability for colonial Ceylonese families (Wijetunge, 2011). Given this view, for the elite such as the <i>Deraniyagalas</i> , displaying such pieces that were inherited was on one hand, a means of celebrating past glories associated with the family, and on the other, a form of nostalgia.	
	b. Historic artifacts:		
	Bust of ancient statues on wall (Fig. 13)	The family's influential connection with the areas of archaeology and arts/crafts goes way back. Paul Deraniyagala once served as the Director of Colombo Museum in Ceylon (Arjun Deraniyagala in Wijetunge, 2012). In fact, Siran Deraniyagala (one of the sons) subsequently became the Director General of the Department of Archaeology of Sri Lanka (archaeology.gov.lk, 2023). Thus, the private acquisition of such valuable artifacts which should be in public domain such as museums is suggestive of the family's political influence. On the other hand, displaying them in the house suggests of the cultured nature of such families (Wijetunge, 2024). Further, displaying of such artifacts symbolized the contiguity of the family as traditional elites of the island, to the kings who once commissioned them (Wijetunge, 2012).	Political/ Socio-cultural
	Stumps of ancient columns in the verandahs (Fig. 14)		
	Ancient clay pots on verandah floors (Fig. 15)		
	c. Paintings /photographs: Modern Paintings by artist <i>Justin</i> Deraniyagala on living room walls (Fig. 16)	Justin Deraniyagala was a Ceylonese pioneer in modern painting (Bandaranayake and Dharmasiri, 2009). He was Paul's brother. Justin's ensemble of paintings was inherited by Paul after his passing (Arjun Deraniyagala in Wijetunge, 2012). Displaying of modern paintings on the house interior was suggestive of the high education level, international exposure and good	Socio-cultural

		taste of the ever-receptive elite clients. By maintaining such a collection, they were in fact, setting a new trend (Wijetunge, 2012).	
	d. Religious insignia: Buddha statues (Fig. 17)	The Deraniyagala family's ardent Buddhist heritage as confirmed by Chris de Saram (in Wijetunge, 2012) is manifested via displaying of Buddha statues throughout the house. Robson (2004) strengthens this point by revealing the family's historic position as the custodian of the <i>Sri Sumana Saman Devala</i> (a temple dedicated to a deity) at <i>Ratnapura</i> – former Kandyan territory. This is suggestive of them maintaining their traditional role as custodians of Buddhism; a fact they wanted to openly declare in the age of nationalism (Wijetunge, 2024).	Political/ Socio-cultural
 Fig. 7 Fig. 8 Fig. 9 Fig. 10 Fig. 11 Fig. 12 Fig. 13 Fig. 14 Fig. 15 Fig. 16 Fig. 17 Source: Fig. 10 - Robson (2004); Fig. 7-8, 11-17 - Wijetunge (2012)			

Case Study 02 - The de Silva House

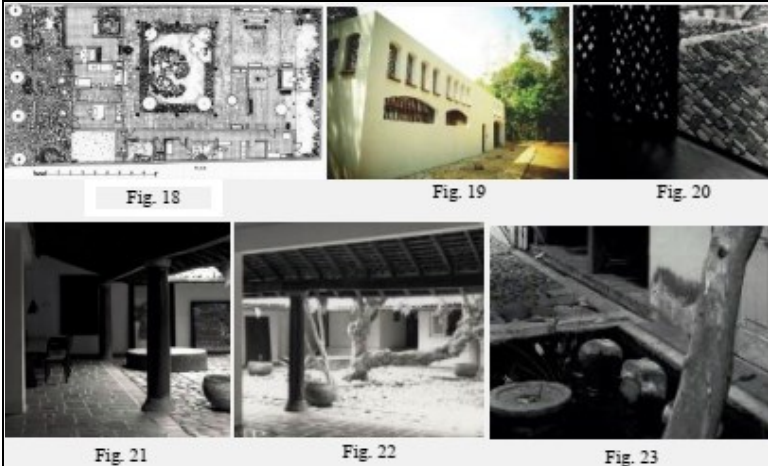
Table 2: Analysis of Architecture and Interior Design Criteria

Source: Author

Phase: 2 Style: Tropical/Neo Regionalism		Built Between: 1960-62	
		Clients: Osmund and Ena de Silva	
Criteria		Underlying Elite Associations (as substantiated by literature)	Periodic Change
1. Location	Alfred Place, Colombo 03. (Robson, 2004)	An area which was previously uninhabited was occupied by the elite during British occupation to eventually bolster demand for it (Perera, 1994; Wright, 2005). Consequently, its land value skyrocketed to a point only the elite could afford to live in the area (Robson, 2004; Lewcock, Sansoni and Senanayake, 2002). Since the mid-late 19 th century, it was fashionable for the elite (belonging to both up and low-country) to have a base in the colonial capital city (Perera, 1994). In the aftermath of independence, in the 1950s, previously palatial lots were sub-divided to meet the increasing demand. By the 1960s, Colombo lot sizes had shrunk even further; as lots were again sub-divided. Even such sub-divided smaller lots were now very expensive (Pieris, 2007; Chris de	Economic/ Socio-cultural

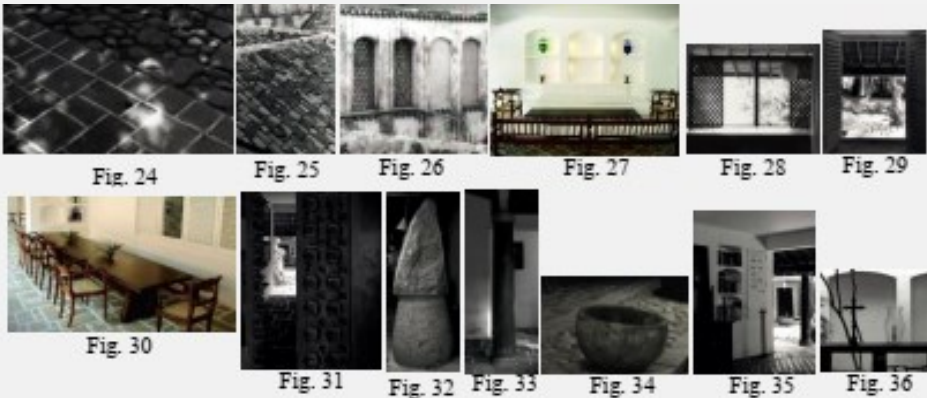
		Saram in Wijetunge, 2012). On one hand, the choice by the de Silvas to remain in the area underlined convenience (for the ease of their P, E and SC functions). On the other, family prestige was at the core of this choice, which was reinforced by affordability (Wijetunge, 2012).	
2. Site placement	Smaller plot in comparison to palatial settings which used to be the norm before; House placed as a rectangular block on a rectangular plot with a small frontage buffer zone (between the access road and house) and narrow rear space (garden). The building was made to occupy the entire site on its two sides; Planning/building regulations were still rudimentary (Pieris, 2007); There are no records that planning permission was sought (Wijetunge 2012)	Although no evidence of planning permission exists, it appears that the basic measures taken by the architect became part and parcel of planning laws to come later. Hence, it appears that the site placement on GB's part was a rational response to the problem of relative shortage of buildable space in Colombo at the time. For economic reasons, he used as much of the site for the building footprint to maximize its functional use; only leaving vacant spaces when absolutely essential. Such vacant spaces met extant statutory requirements (Wijetunge, 2012). A palatial-type house was not plausible at all on this small lot.	Economic
3. Plan form	Rectangular shaped; 2 floor levels; Modern Open plan concept (Fig. 18)	Ena's strong preference for a modern house with modern amenities, yet with a Kandyan feel, was accommodated in the design by GB (Robson, 2004). The asymmetrical, multi-courtyard <i>Wallauva</i> was fundamentally emulated as a plan form, and modern space requirements were accommodated within it. The openness of spaces inside a traditional <i>Wallauva</i> was very much complimentary with the modern open-plan concept (Wijetunge, 2012). The pushed Kandyan agenda on Ena's part was arguably an attempt to recuperate (socially as well as personally) the dent suffered by her glorious ancestry, when she controversially married Osmund outside of her caste group. This scandalous affair was considered a great transgression at the time. Hence, GB's plan by no means had an economic underpinning (Wijetunge, 2024).	Socio-cultural
4. 3D form & Imagery	Geometric: Rectangular; Austere Modern Aesthetic (Fig. 19)	Blank facades with only a few fenestrations was the norm in traditional Kandyan <i>Wallauwes</i> and <i>Hathara-andi-ge</i> houses during medieval times (Wijetunge, 2011). Ena wanted a similar aesthetic (Robson, 2004). This introverted form worked very well in its busy city environment (Wijetunge, 2012). Ena disliked the modern bungalow her father had built for her in her home town (Robson, 2004). Reverting back to Kandyan era architecture on her part arguably marked a shift away from the British bungalow, in the time of nationalism. Apart from making this political gesture as a trend-setting elite family, at a more personal level, the recuperation of once-dented	Political/ Socio-cultural

		self-image of Ena was also an agenda behind this selection (Wijetunge, 2012).	
5.Architectural Features	a. Roof: Low-pitched gable roof covered in asbestos topped with half-round clay tiles (Fig. 20)	Asbestos was a new, easy to use and inexpensive building material introduced in the late 1950s (Pieris, 2007). The elite of the time were receptive, and ready to embrace new materials/technology as well as the new aesthetic that came with them (Wijetunge, 2023). Hence, the selection on one hand, frames an economic benefit, and on the other, traps the necessity on part of the elite to fulfil their commitment as new trend-setters. However, the concealing of the inexpensive asbestos with traditional half-round clay tiles reveals their wish not to deviate from familiarity of traditional elite houses. After all, half-round clay tiles are traditionally elite domain; both in 'up' and 'low' country settings. In the Kandyan kingdom, only the elite were given special permission by the king to use tiles for roofs (Nimal de Silva in Wijetunge, 2011).	Socio-cultural
	b. Verandah: Placed all around the house for thoroughfare and protection of walls (Fig. 21)	Originally the domain of up-country elite in their <i>Wallauve</i> (manor house) dwellings in the former Kandyan kingdom. Its use was largely climatic. The original Kandyan verandahs in houses with blank outside facades were placed facing internal courtyards (Perera, 1984). The verandah was later emulated by the 'low country' elite as an external feature, after their formation and consolidation under European colonization; perhaps with outside influence. Subsequently, the element was appropriated as an outward-facing element into the <i>Wallauwes</i> of up-country elite too, who were now seeking for eye-pleasing facades (Wijetunge, 2011). Ena would have been familiar with traditional houses with verandahs, growing up in <i>Matale</i> . Cecil too would have been familiar with the element, having grown up in traditional low-country houses. Hence, via this selection for the design, an element of familiar was imparted on its clients (Wijetunge, 2012).	Socio-cultural
	c. Courtyard: Multiple courtyards; a larger central courtyard at the Centre of plan, and smaller versions in the perimeter of plan (Fig. 22)	Originally the domain of up-country elite in their <i>Wallauve</i> (manor house) dwellings as well as the <i>Hathara-andi-ge</i> house type belonging to the sub-elites (Perera, 1984). The courtyard was later emulated by the low-country elite for social prestige, after their formation and consolidation under European colonization (Wijetunge, 2011). Owing to the family's affinity to both up and low-country versions of the courtyard by living in traditional houses from both geographic areas, its excessive use in the house was condoned. It would have been a means to evoke nostalgia for both Ena and Osmund, out of familiarity (Wijetunge, 2024). Moreover, especially Ena wanted to recreate day-to-day domestic life as it happened in the courtyards. She alluded to this requirement in discussions with GB (Robson, 2004). This would	Socio-cultural

		have invoked romantic nostalgia associated with the Kandyan regions from where Ena hailed from	
	d. Reflective pool: Placed in smaller courtyards in the perimeter of the houses (Fig. 23)	Water has not been an essential part of traditional Sri Lankan architecture, apart from its use in moats around ramparts and in the form of pools/ponds/reservoirs in close proximity to buildings (Lowcock, Sansoni and Senanayake, 2002). When Ena insisted on recreating her village life as Robson (2004) confirms, GB's response was to incorporate small reflecting pools; a symbolic and microcosmic representation of rivers and reservoirs of former Kandyan kingdom. This would have afforded familiarity and also invoked romantic nostalgia associated with the Kandyan regions from where Ena hailed from (Wijetunge, 2012).	Socio-cultural
	e. Vantage Points: None	The introvert nature of the house did not allow such.	N/A
 Fig. 18 Fig. 19 Fig. 20 Fig. 21 Fig. 22 Fig. 23 Source: Fig. 18 - Robson (2004); Fig.19 - Wijetunge (2018); Fig. 20-23 - https://www.archnet.org/sites/2996			
6.Architectural Details	a. Structure & interesting elements:		
	Reinforced Cement concrete structure (Fig. 19)	Only the elite could afford such complex construction at a time R.C.C. was new and expensive technology (Robson, 2004). It was the R.C.C. construction that predominantly afforded the modern slender aesthetic of TM houses as against the heavy masonry colonial bungalow. Only the elite could afford to pay to be modern according to prolific architectural practitioner of the time (Selvaratnam in Jayewardene, 1984). However, steps were taken here to conceal the modern aesthetic that came with concrete, hiding it behind a veil of indigenous vernacular/high-cultural features/details. Although embracing new materials and technology in the name of progress as elite trend setters, the idea here was to maintain the Kandyan feel Ena was adamant on, for social prestige (Wijetunge, 2012).	Economic/ Socio-cultural
	b. Special features/materials:		

	Terracotta floor tiles (Fig. 24)	Only a building material used in Dutch and British period elite houses, especially in the low-country (Lewcock, Sansoni and Senanayake, 2002). This subsequently was adapted by the up-country elite and sub-elite in their houses too (Wijetunge, 2011). It made perfect sense to use the material for this house in order to give at least some representation to Osmund's low-country family heritage.	Socio-cultural
	Half-round clay tiles on the roof (Fig. 25)	In the Kandyan kingdom, only the elite were given special permission by king to use tiles for roofs; in return for a special service rendered to the king/kingdom (Nimal de Silva in Wijetunge, 2011). With colonial advent, such rules ceased to exist in the low-country, and the building material started to appear freely in the houses of newly-formed low-country elite. It was a form of emulation that underlined social prestige (Wijetunge, 2011, 2012). It made perfect sense to use the material for this house on one hand, in order to evoke Ena's own nostalgia living in Kandyan houses, and on the other, to give at least some representation to Osmund's low-country family heritage.	Socio-cultural
	River stone paving (Fig.24)	Ena's attempt to recreate old Kandyan village life as Robson (2002) confirms, was facilitated by using this natural material. Such notions of romanticism of villages and idyllic village life had by this time become popular among the Colombo elite who hailed from traditional villages (Dayaratne, 2010; Wijetunge, 2012).	Socio-cultural
	Arches: used in high perimeter wall Openings (Fig. 26), and interior masonry display shelves) (Fig. 27)	The perimeter high wall openings and interior display shelf cavities are topped with arches. The arch is quintessential to colonial architecture of the island; and it had a strong presence during the Dutch and British colonial times as attested to by Lewcock, Sansoni and Senanayake (2002) and Wijetunge (2012, 2014, 2021). Subsequently, such features were appropriated into up-country <i>Wallauwes</i> (Wijetunge, 2011). Hence, this choice of feature would have been owing familiarity and nostalgia on part of both clients who had lived in traditional houses (<i>i.e.</i> husband and wife) (Wijetunge, 2012).	Socio-cultural
	Trelliswork/Louvers: Used for window shutters (Fig. 28 and fixed fenestration (Fig. 29) respectively.	Both features are commonly associated with low-country colonial elite houses (Lowcock, Sansoni and Senanayake, 2002). Subsequently, such features were appropriated into up-country <i>Wallauwes</i> (Wijetunge, 2011). Hence, this choice of feature would have been owing familiarity and nostalgia on part of both clients who had lived in traditional houses (<i>i.e.</i> husband and wife) (Wijetunge, 2012).	Socio-cultural

7. Furnishings & Decorative Arts	a. Furniture:		
	Built-in furniture (Fig. 27)	Built-in furniture has always been a part of Sri Lankan vernacular houses, where movable versions were sparsely used (Lowcock, Sansoni and Senanayake, 2002). However, the use of built-in furniture in this case has a modern architectural connection too. Ena's quest on one hand, for recreating vernacular, and on the other, receptivity to architectural modernism marked her intentions as a member of the elite class. On one hand, harking back to history, and the other, opening up to new developments in the world marked the elite world view at the time. Resorting to such novelty as elite trend-setters was to manifest to society, their epistemological superiority and culture (Wijetunge, 2012).	Socio-cultural
	Colonial period Pieces (Fig. 27, 30)	In a historical viewpoint, the pre-modern Ceylonese houses belonging to non-elite were sparsely furnished. This was the case even just before the fall of Kandyan kingdom. Only the royals/aristocrats who were elites and Buddhist religious establishment (and sub-elite to a certain extent) used a few pieces (Wijetunge, 2011). It was the low-country Ceylonese elite and sub-elite who started to excessively use furniture with the colonial influences, where cities such as <i>Moratuwa</i> became colonial-sponsored workshops (Roberts, 1995). A majority of commoners lived in sparsely-furnished thatched and adobe constructed vernacular houses until the early 1980s (Robson, Gormley and Sonawane, 1984). Therefore, acquiring priced furniture had become a form of social prestige and also manifestation of economic stability for colonial Ceylonese families (Wijetunge, 2011). The selection of colonial pieces of furniture appears to be one of the few concessions made to Osmund's low-country heritage (Wijetunge, 2012).	
	b. Historic artifacts: - Salvaged doors from a demolished Hindu Temple as main door (Fig. 31) - Rescued oil grinding stones (<i>Sekku gal</i>) placed on the courtyards (Fig. 32) - Rescued timber columns from Hindu temple on verandahs (Fig. 33) - Clay Portuguese pots in the courtyards (Fig. 34)	Ena's deep personal fascination with antiquity having grown up in <i>Matale</i> in the former Kandyan region – a place filled with historic buildings and artifacts – is testament to this collection. Wijetunge (2012) speculates that having grown up in <i>Wallaupes</i> in her formative years, she would have used and seen such objects and artifacts; hence her fascination. According to Robson (2004), she simply wished to keep the legacy and memories going. Such notions of romanticism of villages and idyllic village life had by this time become popular (Dayaratne, 2010). Perhaps, she wished to flaunt Kandyan heritage as a means to recuperated her dented image or as a form of nostalgia (Wijetunge, 2024).	Socio-cultural
	c. Paintings/ Photographs: A few modern Paintings/prints and photographs on walls	Although not clearly presented as a cohesive collection, modern paintings and photography are utilized decoratively throughout the house. Displaying of modern paintings in the house interior was suggestive of the high education	Socio-cultural

	(Fig. 35)	level, international exposure and good taste of the ever-receptive elite clients. By maintaining such a collection, they were in fact, setting a new trend (Wijetunge, 2012).	
	d. Religious insignia: Buddha statues & Christian crosses (Fig. 36)	The prominence given to the shrine room is very much evident in the plan, attesting to Ena's strong Buddhist heritage (Madugalle, 2005). On the other hand, crosses in their smaller versions appear sporadically throughout, as a rather subtle manifestation of Osmund's Christian faith. In the age of Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism, displaying traditional Buddhist religious insignia became more appropriate than its Christian counterpart considered as the faith of the colonizers (Wijetunge, 2024).	Political/ Socio-cultural
 Source: Fig. 24-26; 28, 29; 31-36 - https://www.archnet.org/sites/2996 Fig. 27, 30 - Wijetunge (2018)			

Case Study 03

The de Soysa House

Table 3: Analysis of Architecture and Interior Design Criteria

Source: Author

Phase: 3 Style: Tropical/Neo Regionalism		Built Between: 1985-91	
Criteria		Clients: Cecil and Chloe de Soysa	
		Underlying Elite Associations (as substantiated by literature)	Periodic Change
1. Location	Wijerama Mw., Colombo 07. (Robson, 2004).	An area which was previously uninhabited was occupied by the elite during British occupation to eventually bolster demand for it (Perera, 1994; Wright, 2005). Consequently, its land value skyrocketed to a point only the elite could afford to live in the area (Robson, 2004; Lewcock, Sansoni and Senanayake, 2002). Since the mid-late 19 th century, it was fashionable for the elite (belonging to both up and low-country) to have a base in the colonial capital city (Perera, 1994). In the aftermath of independence, in the 1950s, previously palatial lots were sub-divided to meet the increasing demand. By the 1960s, Colombo lot sizes had shrunk even further; as lots were	Economic/ Socio-cultural

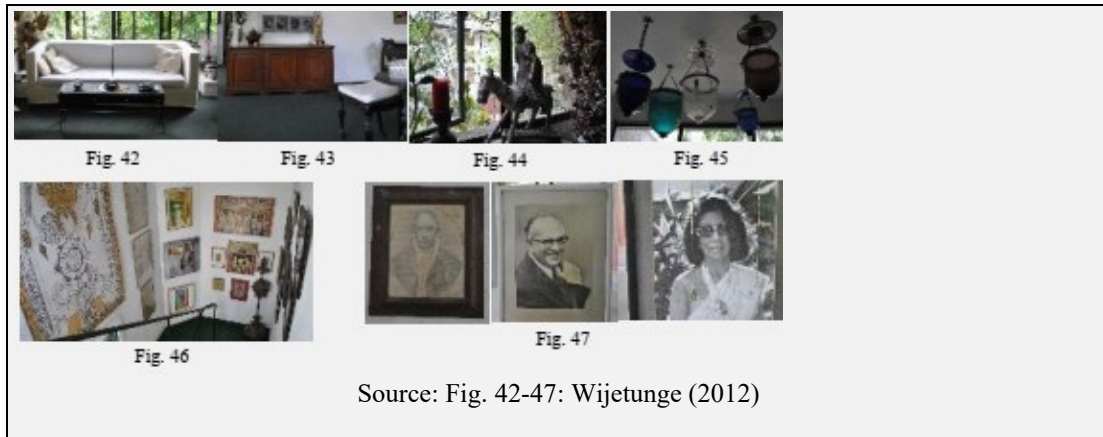
		again sub-divided. Even such sub-divided smaller lots were now very expensive (Pieris, 2007; Chris de Saram in Wijetunge, 2012). By the 1980s, Colombo plot sizes shrunk even more owing to a hitherto-unforeseen level of demand prompted by urbanization (Pieris, 2007; de Chris de Saram in Wijetunge, 2012). Neo-liberal economic reforms introduced in 1977 was behind the city's explosion of economic activity and thus, population. The new economic activities required land that was swiftly purchased by new multi-national companies. It was them and the <i>nouveau riche</i> class that also sought to live in areas of prestige were drastically driving up land prices. The choice by the de Soysas to remain in the area underlined convenience (for the ease of their P, E and SC functions). On the other, family prestige was at the core of this choice, which was underlined by affordability (Wijetunge, 2012).	
2. Site placement	Placed as a rectangular block in the middle of the rectangular plot to have a frontage (entrance court) and rear space (garden) in line with new UDA regulations (Wijetunge, 2012).	The Urban Development Authority was formed in 1978 to regulate planning/building regulations, in a country that had started to experience a building boom after open economy was introduced in 1977 (uda.lk, 2023). No planning permission was sought for this house which was executed based on a hand-drawn sketch by GB (Chole de Soysa in Wijetunge, 2012). Still, basic planning principles that were prescribed by the UDA were adhered to. GB's design was addressing demands imparted by the tight site as well as economic affordability. The family not bothering about obtaining statutory approval for the house underscores their political influence as elite (Wijetunge, 2012). A palatial-type house was not plausible at all on this small lot.	Political/ Economic
3. Plan form	Rectangular block; 4 floor levels; Modern Open plan concept (Fig,37)	When the plot size had shrunk (to a fraction of the prior size), the only option was to go vertical, as it was the norm during the period of economic neo-liberalism (Wijetunge, 2023). Hence, GB was compelled to stack the floors one upon another, to accommodate the complex client brief. The ground floor on the house being dedicated to an office to function the property broker business Choe ran, was a new concept hitherto unconsidered by the elite. Such multi-purpose open-plan spaces accommodating the concept of 'living above' had only happened during the British period; in the road-side shop houses (Kudasinghe, Nawaratne and Wijetunge, 2020).	Economic
4. 3D form & Imagery	Geometric-Rectangular; Modern Aesthetic (softened by the overgrown foliage that subsume the weathered façade) (Fig. 38)	The newly-acquired taste by the elite for IS modern architecture is notable from this period of neo-liberal economic reforms (Jayawardene, 1984). In this context, Selvaratnam (in Jayawardene, 1984) tells us that only the elite clients of the time could afford to be modern. On the other hand, the growing aesthetic discontent towards the British Colonial Bungalow at a time of nationalism and anti-colonial rhetoric is framed	Political/ Socio-cultural

		by this selection too. As a trend-setting elite family, this choice arguably marked a political gesture. Further, the overgrown façade was an experiment that led to a similar approach in hotel <i>Kandalama</i> in <i>Dambulla</i> a few years later. Wijetunge (2012) claims that the architect tried to recreate views Chole and Cecil would have experienced in their cherished travels; looking out from lanky vantage point inside a cave for instance. The Sri Lankan dry-zone has so many such examples. Hence, GB was recreating a romantic niche for his clients to hark back in time. Moreover, the green measures incorporated for the design made very much sense at a time it was marching towards environmental degradation (Dayaratne, 2011). Hence, the de Soysas were following the latest global trend in domestic architecture partly owing to their outward-orientation, partly due to their knowledge of its impact/capabilities, and finally owing to personal reasons.	
5. Architectural Features	a. Roof: Flat R.C.C. roofs; converted into roof gardens/terraces (Fig.39)	In the absence of a traditional roof, the roof terrace of the house on one hand, afforded the modern aesthetic, and on the other, gave the illusion of more space in the small plot, via accessible roof terraces (Wijetunge, 2012). For Chloe and Cecil who had grown up in palatial houses, the roof terraces compensated for not having a fully-fledged garden. The illusion of being surrounded by gardens would have nostalgically taken them back in time (Wijetunge, 2024).	Socio-cultural
	b. Verandah: Covered verandahs on certain roof terraces (Fig.40)	Originally the domain of up-country elite in their <i>Wallauve</i> (manor house) dwellings in the former Kandyan kingdom. Its use was largely climatic. The original Kandyan verandahs in houses with blank outside facades were placed facing internal courtyards (Perera, 1984). The verandah was later emulated by the 'low country' elite as an external feature, after their formation and consolidation under European colonization; perhaps with outside influence. Subsequently, the element was appropriated as an outward-facing element into the <i>Wallauwes</i> of up-country elite too, who were now seeking for eye-pleasing facades (Wijetunge, 2011). Here, the veranda was used as an outdoor dining space, as extension to cramped internal spaces. For the de Soysas who had grown up in traditional low-country houses with both internal and external facing verandahs, the inclusion of the familiar element would have been nostalgic (Wijetunge, 2024).	Socio-cultural
	c. Courtyard: None	The smaller plot did not allow courtyards	N/A
	d. Reflective pool: None	The smaller plot did not allow reflective pools	N/A

	e. Vantage Points: A number of vantage/viewpoints are evident on the top-most floor roof terrace (Fig.41)	Following the introduction of open economy, the capital Colombo underwent a hitherto-unforeseen building boom of mid to high-risers (uda.lk, 2023). The idea was to provide glimpses of this new development seen at the time as promised future economic prosperity, as views, from vantage points of the house. In the absence of ample garden space to look out to, borrowing views from the outside became only logical. Such borrowings reminded to its patrons of their foreign tours to more prosperous cities in the world. The views of the rapidly growing city were a reminder to them of Colombo's upward mobility to become a great city (Wijetunge, 2012).	Economic/ Socio-cultural
     Fig. 37 Fig. 38 Fig. 39 Fig. 40 Fig. 41 Source: Fig. 37-41 - Wijetunge (2012)			
6.Architectural Details	a. Structure & interesting elements: R.C.C. structure & elements (<i>i.e.</i> turned Main staircase) (Fig. 38; Fig. 46)	Only the elite could afford such complex construction at a time R.C.C. was new and expensive technology (Robson, 2004). It was the R.C.C. construction that predominantly afforded the modern slender aesthetic of TM houses as against the heavy masonry colonial bungalow. Only the elite could afford to pay to be modern according to prolific architectural practitioner of the time (Selvaratnam in Jayewardene, 1984). The use of R.C.C. for the structure and certain elements is testament to the outward international orientation and knowledgeability of the cultured elite, who were ready to take on risks to be at the forefront of changes in architecture/construction as trend-setters (Wijetunge, 2023). As the de Soysas were very much conversant with the IS, there was no necessity to hide its aesthetic, but to celebrate it. (Wijetunge).	Socio-cultural
	b. Special features/materials: Glazed Aluminum Windows (Fig. 40)	A new building material made available only after trade routes were opened during neo-liberal economic reforms, under a free market system (Widyalankara, 2009). Consequently, by the 1980s, the Sri Lankan market had so many new materials pouring in (Wijetunge, 2012). This remains the first documented effort when Aluminum was utilized to make glazed windows in a house by GB. As the de Soysas were very much conversant with the new materials associated with the IS, they encouraged such	Socio-cultural

		selections. Further, there was a green agenda behind its use as suggested by Chloe de Soysa (in Wijetunge, 2012). The traditional role of the de Soysas as trend-setting elite would have further aided this choice (Wijetunge, 2024).	
7. Furnishings & Decorative Arts	a. Furniture:		
	Minimalist furniture (Fig. 42)	Only the elite were knowledgeable about global fashions such as modern minimalist furniture, and only they could afford them (Wijetunge, 2023). The de Soysas loved international travel, as confirmed by Chole de Soysa (in Wijetunge, 2012). Through international travels that they could very much afford, the family acquired international taste in furniture consequently. This explains the excessive use of modern minimalist furniture throughout the house (Wijetunge, 2012).	Economic/ Socio-cultural
	Colonial period Pieces (Fig. 43)	In a historical viewpoint, the pre-modern Ceylonese houses belonging to non-elite were sparsely furnished. This was the case even just before the fall of Kandyan kingdom. Only the royals/aristocrats who were elites and Buddhist religious establishment (and sub-elite to a certain extent) used a few pieces (Wijetunge, 2011). It was the low-country Ceylonese elite and sub-elite who started to excessively use furniture with the colonial influences, where cities such as <i>Moratuwa</i> became colonial-sponsored workshops (Roberts, 1995). A majority of commoners lived in sparsely-furnished thatched and adobe constructed vernacular houses until the early 1980s (Robson, Gormley and Sonawane, 1984). Therefore, acquiring priced furniture had become a form of social prestige and also manifestation of economic stability for colonial Ceylonese families (Wijetunge, 2011). Given this view, the familiarity to such pieces by both Chloe and Cecil having grown up in traditional low-country houses could be confirmed. Hence, displaying such inherited pieces that were priced by them was natural to nostalgically hark back in time (Wijetunge, 2012).	Socio-cultural
	b. Historic artifacts:		
	Portuguese period statues of saints (Fig. 44)	The family's fascination with historic artifacts is attested to by Chloe de Soysa (in Wijetunge, 2012). When certain pieces were inherited by both sides of the family, pieces such as wooden statues were secured through their island-wide tours of sightseeing/leisure. Cecil's engagement with tourism since 1965 would have created the necessity for him to travel around the island to tourist destinations, along with his wife. In 1965, the newly-elected United National Party government realized the potential of making the island a tourist destination; in the age of new 'jet age', hence created the Ceylon Tourist Board. Cecil was its founding chairman (Robson, 2004). Being a hotelier, the retrospective displays in	Socio-cultural

		buildings meant for cultural tourism would have rubbed off on him (Wijetunge, 2024). As elite trend-setters, the couple proudly displayed in the house their collections. The collections were manifestations of the cultured existence and epistemological superiority of the family.	
	Dutch/British period lamp shades (Fig. 45)	The family's fascination with historic artifacts is attested to by Chloe de Soysa (in Wijetunge, 2012). A number of Dutch period lamp shades were inherited by both sides of the family. Being a hotelier, the retrospective displays in buildings meant for cultural tourism would have rubbed off on him (Wijetunge, 2024). As elite trend-setters, the couple proudly displayed in the house their collections. The collections were manifestations of the cultured existence and epistemological superiority of the family.	Socio-cultural
	c. Paintings/Photographs:		
	A whole ensemble of modern paintings from postcolonial period artists such as Justin Deraniyagala to more contemporary ones such as H. S. Sarath on main stairwell walls (Fig. 46)	Starting from the 1950s, the couple collected modern art, and by the time the house was constructed had an impressive collection from almost all key modernist artists that Ceylon (and later Sri Lanka) had produced – from Justin Deraniyagala, George Keyt to H.S. Sarath (Chloe de Soysa in Wijetunge, 2012). Displaying of modern paintings in the house interior was suggestive of the high education level, international exposure and good taste of the ever-receptive elite clients. By maintaining such a collection, they were in fact, setting a new trend (Wijetunge, 2012).	Socio-cultural
	Picture Portraits scattered throughout the house are proudly displayed picture portraits of notable family members (<i>i.e.</i> from Jeronis de Soysa to Cesil de Soysa) (Fig. 47)	The family's illustrious history harks back to the mid-19 th century British colonial period, when the <i>Karava</i> caste had been hand-picked by the British rulers who afforded them with opportunities and concessions to soon become wealthy industrialist elite. Consequently, by the early 20 th century, de Soysa family was the wealthiest family in colonial Ceylon (Roberts, 1995). The family would have wanted to celebrate illustrious figures in their families as a manifestation of the political influence they still muster, and also as a form of nostalgia (Wijetunge, 2012).	Political/ Socio-cultural
	d. Religious insignia: None	The international-orientation and secular temperament of the family would have rendered the need for religious insignia obsolete (Wijetunge, 2012).	N/A



Summary:

Key: Y=Yes; N=No; N/A=Not Applicable; P=Political; E= Economic; SC= Socio-cultural

Table 4: Summary of TEA/ID Associations and Periodic Changes

Source: Author

Case Studies		1-Deraniyagala House		2. de Silva House		3. de Soysa House	
Criteria		TEA/ID Associations	Periodic Changes	TEA/ID Associations	Periodic Changes	TEA/ID Associations	Periodic Changes
1. Location		Y	E/SC	Y	E/SC	Y	E/SC
2. Site placement		Y	SC	Y	E	Y	P/SC
3. Plan form		Y	SC	Y	SC	Y	E
4. 3D form & Imagery		Y	P/SC	Y	E/SC	Y	P/SC
5.Architectural Features	a. roof	Y	E/SC	Y	SC	Y	SC
	b. verandah	Y	SC	Y	SC	Y	SC
	c. courtyard	Y	SC	Y	SC	N	N/A
	d. reflective pool	Y	SC	Y	SC	N	N/A
	e. vantage point	N	N/A	N	N/A	Y	E/SC
6.Architectural Details	a. Structure & interesting elements	Y	E/SC	Y	E/SC	Y	SC
	Special features/materials	Y	SC	Y	SC	Y	SC
7. Furnishings & Decorative Arts	a. furniture	Y	E/SC	Y	SC	Y	E/SC
	b. historic artifacts	Y	P/SC	Y	SC	Y	SC
	c. Paintings/photographs	Y	SC	Y	SC	Y	SC
	d. religious insignia	Y	P/SC	Y	P/SC	N	N/A

Table 5: Summary of the number of each Period Change/their combination recorded

Source: Author

House Name	Number of Each Periodic Change/ Periodic Change Combinations Recorded					
	P	P/Sc	E	E/SC	SC	N/A
Deraniyagala	-	-	3	4	7	1
De Silva	-	1	1	3	9	1
De Soysa	-	2	1	3	6	3
Total	-	3	5	10	22	5

Table 6: Summary of the number of TEA/ID associations recorded

Source: Author

House Name	Number of TEA/ID Associations Recorded
Deraniyagala	14
De Silva	14
De Soysa	11
Total	39

Discussion

This paper reveals the following. Geoffery Bawa's domestic architectural projects always had elite patrons. Given this view, the three case studies driven from three distinctive work phases evident in his domestic portfolio wielded that all of them manifested TEA/ID associations to varying degrees; fulfilling the first objective. With relation to each case study, almost all criteria tested positive, except for 5 instances in all. All of these applied to categories of 'architectural features' (4 nos.) and 'furniture and decorative art' (1 no.). The manifested TEA/ID associations were essentially driven from the island's medieval and colonial past. Their manifestations however, were based on unique family circumstances that were underlined by each family's respective cultural backgrounds.

In the process of testing the established criteria in a phenomenological perspective concerning each case study, the fact that most of them trapped PC emerged; fulfilling the second objective. During the observation of PC pertaining to the 15-fold criteria theoretically established, in some instances, two factors manifested together (*i.e.* P/SC- 3nos.; E/SC-10 nos.), whereas a single factor was recorded at times (*i.e.* E- 5 nos. and SC- 22 nos.). While SC remained the most reflected factor at 22 nos., P failed to appear on its own at all. On the other hand, there were 5 instances where certain criteria were not found at all in the CS (Table 5). On the other hand, the number of TEA/ID Associations recorded in the Deraniyagala house was 14 nos., in the de Silva house 14 nos., and in the de Soysa house 11 numbers; accounting for 39 recordings altogether (Table 6).

Conclusions

This paper concludes that Geoffery Bawa's domestic architectural projects always had elite patrons. The three case studies driven from three distinctive work phases evident in his domestic portfolio show that all of them have adapted TEA/ID associations to varying degrees.

This study contributes to the broader aim of establishing how a phenomenological exploration of domestic architecture of the elite can establish TEA/ID associations of a given place, of a given time; and in the process, also trap PC.

The strength of this pioneering study lies in its commitment to providing a balanced basis for case study comparison, grounded in robust criteria supported by historical context. Additionally, the selection of case studies is well-justified. A limitation here is that the study examines only one case study from each of Geoffery Bawa's work phases. Including additional Case Studies could further enhance the research. Potentially, this study is a precursor to future analogous research, seeking to study contemporary and future domestic architectural realms pertaining to the elite in Sri Lanka, and elsewhere.

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