

QUOTATION: What does history have in store for architecture today?

The Narrative of the Bungalow

Literary Depictions of the Colonial Bungalows of Colombo, Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Writers of the postcolonial world use colonial architecture in order to ground the fictional worlds created. In addition, through literature's projection of colonial architecture, the authors are able to provide their commentary on postcolonial society; the real world circumstances analysed, the spaces occupied dissected, and individual aspects of society chosen to construct the fictional narratives desired. Literature quotes real life. However, literature is capable of providing more nuanced understandings of society, space, and architecture. This paper discusses the role played by literature in the study of architecture by viewing colonial bungalows in and around Colombo (Sri Lanka) and their literary depictions. A home, the form taken by the bungalow within this paper, reflects both the social influences that are external to that space in addition to the lives of those who reside within. The study of how this domestic space is used and how the form influences the users, provide insight into not only architecture but also the society in which the bungalow exists. Such questions of society and architecture are amplified further as bungalows exist in the (post)colonial context; architecture acts as a constant reminder of the colonial past. This paper uses examples of colonial bungalows and a selection of literature (the novels by Martin Wickramasinghe, Punyakante Wijenaike, and Karen Roberts) that is set within the space of the bungalow for comparison. Through this comparison, this paper discusses the fundamental role played by literature in the study of domestic architecture; the writers are able to provide an insight that is holistic as they take into account all users present, the space, and the context in which the space exists.

Architecture within Literature

Among popular images that have acquired symbolic association in Asian cities, the most popular yet may be colonial imagery. Many large cities in Asia are the legacy of colonial rulers – built for their own purpose and use, but usually with great respect for local traditions. The colonial imagery may include buildings, streetscapes, parks or other landmarks. Though all of these have significant architectural value in themselves, owing to their age and historical associations, their value goes beyond mere brick and mortar.¹

Colonial imagery goes beyond the physical to a realm that is more experiential and personal, therefore is reflected in many cultural products. Literature is one such product that uses the imagery of colonial forms as a tool. Through literature, the authors are able to comment on postcolonial societies: colonial architecture, mannerisms, and aspects of life, which have penetrated into the sphere of the locals. The eye of the author provides an analytical view of society. Therefore, literature is capable of providing more nuanced understandings of society as well as space. However, fiction is not currently considered to be on par with more mainstream forms of architectural history.²

The discourses of Urban Literacy and Geobiography use literature and fiction as tools to analyse the human experience – methodologies that can also be used in viewing architecture.³ As stated by Thomson, the real life experience of architecture is finite and can be expanded by the use of literature.⁴ Architecture is analysed in function, usage, association, and experience in addition to form. Therefore fiction can be used to explore “an untapped spatial and architectural understanding”.⁵

“In literary descriptions the perceptions and emotions of the character give meaning to an otherwise objective description of a place, landscape, or building”.⁶ Building from this notion, the works of Shonfield, Havik and Thomson are combined with examples of literary text, architectural and literary theory by Ultav, Çağlar, and Durmaz Drinkwater. Their work demonstrates that; “literary fiction have played a similar role to architectural criticisms of the late 20th century [...] and can therefore be used as data in architectural research”.⁷

Across these works, three advantages of using literature (fiction) in the understanding of space and architecture become clear. Firstly, literature is able to provide a universal picture through the lens of one narrative. Secondly, literature permits for the understanding of the experiences of space. Thirdly, literature allows time to be factored into the experience of architecture and provides both a large time frame, along with real-time interactions.⁸ Building forward, this paper argues that the writers are able to provide an insight that is holistic as they take into account not only all the users present but also the context in which the space resides. Literature allows for the space to be understood both as an individual entity and in relation to the residents and the society at large.

Using the above-mentioned methodologies as a foundation, this paper views the private domain: domestic architecture. “The house or home, which is an essential artifact of any society, produces, expresses and facilitates class mobility in ways that are more revealing of social aspirations than any other form of cultural artifact”.⁹ A house or a home reflects influences both external and internal to the space. Furthermore, within the (post)colonial context, the domestic dwellings reflect the continuous evolution of society. Therefore, this paper views how the spaces within the colonial domestic dwelling, the bungalow, are reflected in literature.

Method

Architecture has been used as a literary tool throughout history. This paper studies the ways in which works of literature depict the colonial bungalow through the comparison to academic works in combination with interviews conducted with owners of two particular colonial bungalows: Borolugoda Maha Gedera and Maniumpathy.¹⁰ The novels analysed consist of works written during the (post)colonial era. These novels are of significance due to their depiction of evolving societies within

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colonial bungalows: the *Uprooted* series written by Martin Wickramasinghe, consisting of *Gamperaliya/Uprooted* (1944), *Kaliyugaya/The Age of Kali* (1957), and *Yuganthaya/Destiny* (1949), followed by *Amulet* (1994) by Punyakante Wijenaike, and *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman* (2010) by Karen Roberts.¹¹ The comparison of the novels to the real uses of the bungalow occurs on multiple planes. Such planes include the role played by the bungalow in evolving societies, individual spaces within the bungalow, the roles of different individuals present within the bungalow, and evolution of the bungalow.

Value of the Bungalow

In viewing the (post)colonial, architectural, and social histories of Sri Lanka, it becomes clear that the nation has undergone many changes to its social fabric. In convergence within many postcolonial nations, through the colonial era, decolonisation, nationalism, and socialism, the elites monopolised associations and continued to reside in colonial bungalows. The portrayal of elite status continues to be intrinsically connected to built form. Built domestic forms play a large role in both mapping family history and rising up the social hierarchy; Wickramasinghe, Wijenaike, and Roberts continuously reflect these notions in their novels.

The relationship between built form and power originated in the pre-colonial era as “land has been traditionally the symbol of both wealth and status [...]”¹² Similar to the pre-colonial era, land was a commodity associated with the elites, throughout the colonial period: “[t]o some Ceylonese such land offers, aside from profit, the same kind of psychic reward as the adoption of the European mode of dress and the consumption of European attitudes [...]”¹³

It was in the bungalow, the tensions between western and local values were evident. During the British colonial era, colonisers and the locals amalgamated western objects and western aspects of spatial design into their lives. Households (bungalows) of the locals became a point of compromise between the western influences and local culture.¹⁴ As depicted in the novels, paralleling the acquisition of wealth by Piyal in *Uprooted*, his bungalow situated in Colombo mimicked the lifestyle of the urban elites. For his wife, Nanda, “[t]he realisation that she as well as her husband and children had all become a part of the same elite society brought her mental satisfaction”.¹⁵

This notion carried forward to the postcolonial era as the decolonising process began in 1948. Through decolonisation, the physical landscape of Sri Lanka was not significantly impacted. The local elites took over the spaces, once occupied predominantly by the British, as they became the ideal sites through which to emulate their newfound status. Having ownership of lavish bungalows with features such as driveways and gardens was equally important to maintaining the other westernised characteristics of language, colonial dress, Anglicised names, and religion.¹⁶

Value of the Bungalow – The Elites

Ours was a single-storied bungalow with deep eaves, lofty ceilings and long, straight corridors. It was rumoured that we had thirteen bedrooms and nine bathrooms, but I didn't know for sure. [...] It was furnished in the formal, heavy style of my great-grandfather's time. My mother didn't much care for the ebony and rosewood furniture but they were priceless antiques, so she kept them.¹⁷

The bungalow, as described above, paralleled the accumulation of wealth. Hence the style, form, location and the ownership of the bungalow played important roles in its perceived value. Furthermore, in order to accumulate status, parallel to wealth, within the bungalow occurred marriages.

As colonial institutions were democratised and greater opportunities given to persons of talent in the bureaucracy, there emerged among the Sri Lankans, a set of ‘mandarins’

who married into families which, having laboriously worked their way up in business, wanted the stamp of ‘class’ which the possession of material wealth by itself could not confer.¹⁸

The theme of marriage as a form of gaining, maintaining, and portraying an image is evident throughout the novels. Wickramasinghe’s series of novels carry forward the tensions present when choosing an adequate spouse for children – a point of disagreement across generations. The younger generation, in each of the novels, wished to follow their hearts while the parents insist on marrying individuals who are from a family with a history of elite status; a tactic employed to hide the low caste and class origins their own families.¹⁹

Roberts describes the role played by marriage not through the family of the narrator, but through another member of society, Edmund Edirisinghe.

Then [Edmund Edirisinghe] married. He chose his wife with the same care with which he chose his business partners. Nadhika Goonathilleke was from an old but impoverished family. Her parents needed his money. He needed their connections.²⁰

Value of Bungalow – Location

As colonial bungalows played an important role in the formation and portrayal of the identity of the elites, the location of said bungalows were vital. Cinnamon Gardens became a space desired by locals, especially local elites, both during the colonial and postcolonial periods.²¹ Colombo 7 (Cinnamon Gardens) is the location of many colonial bungalows, including Maniumpathy. Within *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman*, Cat, the narrator, describes how:

Most of my parents’ friends lived in Colombo 7, down avenues lined with enormous trees and stately homes with trellis work and sweeping terraces originally built by the British. Even the road names reeked of a colonial hangover – Reid Avenue, Barnes Place, Bullers Road, McCallum Drive – named after men with sweeping moustaches and stern eyes. [...] The cars which swept down the stately, oleander-lined driveways were luxury vehicles brought home by people to whom our exorbitant import duties meant little. We had an imported car too, a very nice Mercedes-Benz, but we lived in Bambalapitiya near the beach because that was where my great-grandfather had decided to build his house.²²

Despite having many in their social circle reside in Colombo 7, the Fonseka family is situated in Bambalapitiya due to their attachment to their bungalow. The family history rich with power and status associated with this bungalow is not to be forgone, as it cannot be replicated. The lives led by the family were intertwined with the bungalow and its history.

Presence in the Bungalow - Household Staff

The presence of household staff is a common theme within the colonial bungalow. Conversations with the owners of the Borolugoda Maha Gedera portrayed the notion that the bungalow was maintained by many household staff that resided within the dwelling, for generations. They were not paid a salary, until recently, but rather provided accommodation, meals, and ‘pocket money’. In addition, some of the estate was broken down and given to the staff that spent their lives working for the family.²³

Similarly, the household of Maniumpathy employed staff from gardeners to cooks. Many of the staff lived on the property, so ‘servants’ quarters’ and accompanying toilets were located behind the house, hence, presenting clear boundaries between the spaces of the staff and the owners.²⁴

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The above-mentioned behavior is paralleled in the novels. As evidenced by Roberts, Wijenaike, and Wickramasinghe's works, the household staff resided in the bungalow, alongside the owners: the cook, maid, gardener, and nanny each played a specific role in the bungalow. Upon marriage, both Sarla (*The Lament of a Dhobi Woman*) and Shayamali (*Amulet*) realised that the staff of the urban bungalows has resided and worked for the family for generations, and that was unlikely to change.

Despite not being the owners of the space, the household staff occupies, resides in, and has monopolised usage of specific spaces within the bungalow. However, there is a clear distinction between the spaces that the household staff originates from and the space of the bungalow. Roberts make such differences clear in her novel through a conversation between Cat and her nanny, Seelawathi:

Our house is small, not a grand one like yours, baby, and we don't have even half the rooms you have here. Still, we have a whole jungle for our garden and a whole river for our bathtub so in some ways, we are luckier than you. [...] I would press her for more, and she would oblige, her eyes far away, her hand absently stroking my hair. Our house doesn't have bricks and paint and all like this one. But since we have no visitors, who's there to see our bare walls? We don't have any chairs, but since no one sits on them anyway, what's the use of having them?²⁵

Usage of Space – The Deviation

Across the novels, the readers are able to immerse themselves in specific scenarios that take place in the bungalow. These plotlines make the boundaries present within the bungalow and the roles of the residents clear. The Verandah is the setting for many such scenarios. Portrayed in a variety of lights, the verandah holds one consistent role: deviation. In *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman*, the verandah is used to frame the beginning and consummation of the 7-year affair between Seelawathi and Uncle Rick (a relative of the owners), which is referred to as their "late-night veranda trysts".²⁶ Through the portrayal of the verandah as the space of the affair, Roberts implies that the verandah is, in fact, a space where the lines between the staff and owners are blurred; the verandah occupies behavior condemned within the bungalow, hence disregarding social rules.

However, in the interviews with the owners of Borolugoda Maha Gedera and Maniumpathy, the usage of the verandah is not portrayed to be as deviant as described by Roberts. Yet, it continues to be a space used to interact with individuals who would not be entertained within the house, a space that is occupied for sleeping by the household staff, and a space in which transactions for goods occur.²⁷ The space of the verandah allows for activities that deviate from those taking space within the bungalow; a notion that is exaggerated in the novel by Roberts.

Usage of Space – The Creator and the Consumer

The novels make a distinction between the usage of the Kitchen and Dining Room. Both, *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman* and *Amulet*, show the dining room and the kitchen as being occupied by two different ends of the social spectrum. The owners occupy the dining room, consuming food and entertaining. Kitchen, rarely visited by the employers, becomes the domain of the staff: the cooks, the maids, and the nanny. Within *Amulet*, upon arriving at the residence of her husband, Shayamali discovers that her husband has made a separate kitchenette for her to operate, cook small meals, make tea; the existing kitchen was for the cook and was not considered of the quality needed for a wife.²⁸

The dining room is the domain of the owners *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman* describes the dining room as a space where the usage is fixed, almost rehearsed. Through the eyes of the narrator, Cat, the youngest child of the family, the expectations of the dining room are clear:

I didn't particularly like to eat in the dining room. The furniture was heavy and grim and the upholstered chairs made my thighs itch. When we had company, it was different. Then the dining room became a sort of ceremonial eating room, where people chatted casually and laughed and forks and knives clinked commonly on the uncommonly beautiful china. When we had informal buffet dinners, it was even better. People wandered to the table, helped themselves and wandered off to sit or stand anywhere they liked. They lounged on the long antique kavichchiya which was a sort of divan, or against door jambs.²⁹

The current kitchen of the Borolugoda Maha Gedera has seen very little changes since erection. The kitchen, operated by the staff, continues to use firewood to prepare food while the modern kitchen appliances are located within the dining room; a choice made minimise the owners need to venture into the kitchen. This created a clear divide between the space of the owners and that of the staff, similar to the spaces constructed by Roberts and Wijenaike.

Evolution of the Bungalow

The understanding of the usage of space also allows insight into the aspirations and desires of the residents. This is vital due to the role played by colonial bungalows in the rising of elites throughout the (post)colonial era. All three books of the *Uprooted* series, depict the bungalows as being unchanged as each generation occupies a different dwelling; beginning with the original village house of high status, moving forward to the newer house built by Piyal (located in the village), followed by the British-style bungalow located in Colombo. The generations following him acquired further residences in Colombo.³⁰ Each house presented in the novels, held by a generation holds power to that generation. This power stems either from the connections forged, the status achieved, or the lifestyle led in the bungalow. The bungalow, therefore, becomes a testament to the past, disregarded by the next generation.

In *Amulet*, the bungalow sees very little change, except the addition of a bedroom. Due to the prominence of the family and the duty to the future generations, Senani, the husband, does not implement his plan to destroy the bungalow until he is able to build his children houses of value. However, once the bungalow has served its purpose of masking his past along with maintaining his social status and outward appearance, it is torn down to make way for modern high-rise housing.³¹

In viewing the journeys of Borolugoda Maha Gedera and Maniumpathy through generations, it is clear that they, similar to the literary depictions of the bungalow, are preserved. The family, to which the Borolugoda Maha Gedera belongs, has ensured that the space has remained identical through history except for a few small changes. Changes were only made to the bungalow to accommodate running water, bathrooms, electricity, and a few items of modern furniture and appliances. In comparing images of the past bungalow to the present it is clear that these changes were made without significant alterations to the essence or the structure of the bungalow. This factor brings the owners pride as they wish to maintain the bungalow in its original state.³²

The family of Maniumpathy has recreated the bungalow following its restructuring. Despite changing the use of Maniumpathy from a residence to a boutique hotel, the features, feeling, and experience of the bungalow has been maintained. The original bungalow, required to be raised from the ground level. Throughout this process, the owners adamantly maintained the 'look and feel' of the original bungalow; portraits and family photographs were hung up for decoration. The outlook of the original bungalow, derived from photographs and stories, was recreated so to connect the present generations of the family with their history.³³

This dedication to the continuation of the bungalow is paralleled in *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman*:

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I climbed the steps into the veranda and looked around. Nothing had changed. I almost wished it had. That might have indicated that some time had passed, that some new water had flowed under the bridge. Looking like this, it brought back everything, strongly, acutely and with a shaft of unexpected pain. [...] The walls had been freshly painted and the furniture was polished to a dull shine. My great-grandmother's tall hat stand stood in the same place. Underneath its four sturdy legs, there would be four pale squares; nobody moved it when the floor was polished.³⁴

Conclusion

"[L]iterature in fact provides essential information about the way in which space is experienced, about the role of time, about the role of memory and imagination".³⁵ The understanding of the experience of space, which cannot be gained by the simple study of the physical, can be accomplished through the lens of fiction. The depictions of the colonial bungalow in fiction are important in the postcolonial context as colonial architecture is continuously placed under scrutiny. By choosing to set their novels in the space of the bungalow, the authors are tackling this important tension. Furthermore, through the usage of novels, the authors speak of the nuances engrained into the bungalow that governs the lives lead within.

To parallel the fictional depictions of the colonial bungalow, non-fictional sources are employed. This paper predominantly focuses on first-person accounts of the space through interviews conducted with the owners of Borolugoda Maha Gedera and Maniumpathy. These interviews are used to show how literature compares to real life uses and non-fictional descriptions of the colonial bungalow.

This paper has described the parallels present between the real uses, inhabitants, and representation of the bungalow in comparison to their depictions within the novels. Through these parallels, where the fictional quotes the real, it is evident that the ability to analyse the bungalow through its literary doppelgangers is two-fold: the first realm of understanding is the space of the bungalow and all that is within, while the second deals with the relationship between the bungalow and society at large.

When approaching the space of the bungalow, the clear understanding can be gained from the actions taking place. These actions mimic, to a certain degree, the usages of the bungalow that are evident within the interviews and secondary literature. However, the novels encompass the notion of time. Therefore, instead of gaining retrospective evaluations of the uses of the bungalow, it is possible to gain information through scenarios as they occur. The retention of memories in association to lived space occurs through the perception of time.³⁶ Therefore, the analysis of space through literature allows the reader to be present in the bungalow across time, as the characters experience it, allowing for a real-time understanding of space.

Across the five novels, there arrive many spaces that are both described in detail, through multiple lenses, and continuously used as settings: the Verandah, Kitchen, and Dining Room. Furthermore, the novels portray how within the colonial bungalow each individual space is given specific uses and each individual within the dwelling is provided specific domains in which to function. Therefore, though narrated through a single lens, it is possible to gain a holistic view encompassing the many residents present within the bungalow.

In interviews, conversely, the owners govern the portrayal of the bungalow. Household staff has limited input as their participation and views are hindered by their role within the bungalow. Fiction not only breaks down these barriers encountered but also addresses these power relationships present in the bungalow.

The bungalow is not merely the sum of the physical components but also includes social, political, economical, and historical values. "Writers, after all, are uniquely qualified to *read* the spaces in which

they move –places, buildings, landscapes – on several levels. They can formulate a spatial experience that is both highly individual and universal [...]”³⁷ The novels take, what would otherwise be highly individualistic experiences and makes them applicable on a broader scale; a world is created past the bungalow to provide perspective and context. In addition, the characterisation of residents provides a more holistic understanding of the bungalow in postcolonial Colombo.

Due to the fictional worlds created, the literary depictions of the bungalow allow for the inclusion of the social context in which they exist. The bungalow does not exist in isolation but as a part of the postcolonial landscape. Authors are able to use their understanding of the context and the presence of other dwellings within the narrative to create a holistic view of the bungalow and its inhabitants, in relation to society.

Information is passed down from one generation to another. Therefore, through interviews, the bungalow can be viewed across time. Therefore, unlike in literary depictions, each bungalow is only understood in its individual capacity and not in relation to society at large. For example, the preservation of both Borolugoda Maha Gedera and Maniumpathy are viewed as personally motivated actions as opposed to reactions to larger social changes.

Novels associate meaning to each form of architecture used.³⁸ This meaning is based on the authors understanding of the bungalow. Hence, through the narrative despite the creative liberties taken, the authors are able to provide a unique insight, as Roberts achieved with the verandah, despite exaggeration. Such insight is evident in how the colonial bungalow takes the shape of not only the stage on which the narration acts out but also an active character that takes many roles. In treating the bungalow as a character the complicated relationships had with the bungalow, are depicted. “The story of how a space is used, as an adjunct to character and action, reveals an unspoken history of the role of space within the city. Space can be a character acting independently within the narrative itself”.³⁹ It is evident that the study of literary depictions of the colonial bungalow, within Colombo, provides a holistic and in-depth view of the space. These depictions are encompassing of many views and narratives present within the bungalow along with the influences of the larger scale society upon the bungalow.

This research is supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program (RTP) Scholarship.

Endnotes

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- ² Katherine Shonfield, 'The Use of Fiction to Interpret Architecture and Urban Space', *The Journal of Architecture* 5, 4 (2000), 369-389.
- ³ Klaske Havik, 'Lived Experience, Places Read: Toward an Urban Literacy', in C. Grafe, K. Havik, M. Maaskant, OASE (eds.), *Architecture and Literature. Reflections/Imaginations*, (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2006), 37-50.
- ⁴ Sheona Thomson, 'Places Within and Without: Memory and Literary Imagination, and the Project in the Design Studio', in E. Bastéa (eds.), *Memory and Architecture*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 321.
- ⁵ Shonfield, 'The Use of Fiction to Interpret Architecture and Urban Space', 387.
- ⁶ Havik, 'Lived Experience, Places Read: Toward an Urban Literacy', 40.
- ⁷ Zeynep Tuna Ultav, T. Nur Çağlar and S. Bahar Durmaz Drinkwater, 'Architectural Literary Analysis: Reading "The Death of the Street" Through Ballard's Literature and Trancik's "Lost Space"', *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 32.2 (2016), 143.
- ⁸ Havik, 'Lived Experience, Places Read: Toward an Urban Literacy'.
- ⁹ Anoma Pieris, *Architecture and Nationalism in Sri Lanka: The Trouser Under the Cloth*, (Independence: Taylor and Francis, 2012), 4.
- ¹⁰ These case studies provide perspective into colonial bungalows' diverse journeys in the postcolonial era. Maniumpathy is a boutique hotel, redesigned to maintain the integrity and the feel of the original space. Borolugdoa Maha Gedera, however, remains similar to its original status.
- ¹¹ The novels used within the paper are only a few written within the setting of the colonial bungalow. Written in English or English translations; these works are influential in the High School curriculum.
- ¹² Marshall R. Singer, *The Emerging Elite; A Study of Political Leadership in Ceylon*, (MIT Press, 1964), 83.
- ¹³ Singer, *The Emerging Elite; A Study of Political Leadership in Ceylon*, 85.
- ¹⁴ Robin D. Jones, 'Furnished in English Style' : Anglicisation of Local Elite Domestic Interiors in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) c. 1850 to 1910'. *South Asian Studies*, 20:1 (2004), 45-56.
- ¹⁵ Martin Wickramasinghe, *Kaliyugaya/ The Age of Kali*, Trans. Ranga Wickramasinghe and Aditha Dissanayake, 1st ed (Rajagiriya: Sarasa (Pvt) Limited, 2013), 2.
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- ¹⁸ Kumari Jayawardena, *Nobodies to Somebodies: The Rise of the Colonial Bourgeoisie in Sri Lanka* (London, New York: Zed Books, 2002). 155.
- ¹⁹ Martin Wickramasinghe, *Yuganthaya/ Destiny*, Trans. Ranga Wickramasinghe and Deenesha Wickramasinghe, 1st ed (Rajagiriya: Sarasa (Pvt) Limited, 2014).
- ²⁰ Roberts, *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman*, 180.
- ²¹ Nihal Perera, *Society and Space: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Postcolonial Identity in Sri Lanka* (Westview Press, 1998), 115.
- ²² Roberts, *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman*, 85.
- ²³ House owner: Borolugoda Maha Gedera in discussion with the author, December 2016.
- ²⁴ House owner: Maniumpathy in discussion with the author, October 2016.
- ²⁵ Roberts, *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman*, 67-68.
- ²⁶ Roberts, *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman*, 164.
- ²⁷ House owner: Borolugoda Maha Gedera in discussion with the author, December 2016.
- ²⁸ Punyakante Wijenaike, *Amulet* (Colombo 10: S. Godage Brothers (Pvt), 2014). 41-42.
- ²⁹ Roberts, *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman*, 220.
- ³⁰ Martin Wickramasinghe, *Gamereliya/Uprooted*, Trans. Ranga Wickramasinghe and Lakshmi De Silva. 3rd ed (Rajagiriya: Sarasa (Pvt) Limited, 2011).
- ³¹ Wijenaike, *Amulet*, 149.
- ³² House owner: Borolugoda Maha Gedera in discussion with the author, December 2016.
- ³³ House owner: Maniumpathy in discussion with the author, October 2016.
- ³⁴ Roberts, *The Lament of a Dhobi Woman*, 264-265.
- ³⁵ Havik, 'Lived Experience, Places Read: Toward an Urban Literacy', 37.
- ³⁶ Havik, 'Lived Experience, Places Read: Toward an Urban Literacy', 41.
- ³⁷ Havik, 'Lived Experience, Places Read: Toward an Urban Literacy', 40.
- ³⁸ Shonfield, 'The Use of Fiction to Interpret Architecture and Urban Space', 379.
- ³⁹ Shonfield, 'The Use of Fiction to Interpret Architecture and Urban Space', 373-374.

