

An Archaeological Comparison of Late Medieval Non-Religious Architecture between Kerala and Sri Lanka

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Abstract:

Literary sources do not contain much information about significant events that took place in the history of a country, but it is not difficult to find them through archaeological sources. Although, it is difficult to confirm something that happened in history, it is possible if the information obtained from the archaeology matches any picture of the past in line with the sources of historical literature. This study of non-religious architecture in Kerala and Sri Lanka can be called a research of that kind. This study focuses on predominant similarities in non-religious architecture between Kerala and Sri Lanka with an archaeological perspective. The main purpose of this study is to show how an architectural tradition developed in the late medieval period is different from the architectural style used in Sri Lanka until then. Here the late medieval period after the 13th century and here the colonial period is also studied. In this study, the data was collected by conducting field visits to some of the chosen regions of Kerala and Sri Lanka, and the snowball sampling method was used to achieve this. The research required the study of a number of architectural textbooks as well as historical sources in parallel with archaeological sources. After classifying the collected data, the anomalies of the architectural features of the two zones were studied. The study concludes by examining the theoretical factors that contributed to the building of architectural similarities between Kerala and Sri Lanka.

Keywords - *Architecture, late medieval period, Kerala, similarity, Sri Lanka*

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Introduction

Archaeology is a scientific discipline but it also applies to the study of tangible and intangible things. Archaeologists examine the material culture in different times and spaces to understand human behaviours, and during their investigations, some similarities in these different times and spaces are encountered by archaeologists. When archaeologists discover the similarities in different contexts, they try to apply the theories or create new theories to get an idea about the reasons for such similarities. This study also focuses on predominant similarities between Kerala and Sri Lanka which is shown via an archaeological perspective. This study reveals undefined wondrous cultural admixtures between Kerala and Sri Lanka which is not yet studied in the field of archaeology. Above mentioned cultural admixture includes landscape, geomorphology, topography, natural environment, built environment, language, beliefs, customs, social organization, foods, arts and crafts. This study mainly analyses built environmental similarities with special reference to the non-religious architecture in both regions.

Methodology

It is important to mention the methods used in this study before discussing the findings. The researcher entered the field of Kerala without prior knowledge of the Kerala architecture or a prior understanding of the similarity of architecture in Kerala and Sri Lanka. Therefore, it was possible to make objective judgments about the ancient architecture and culture without temporary assumptions that were made prior to the study. Entering the field without prior knowledge, the snowball sampling method was used to collect the data. Based on random finds in a particular field, the researcher went to another field and collected data on ancient architectural creations in several districts of Kerala. Following the collection of data, the researcher next referred to the relevant literary sources. Afterwards, the data was duly classified in order to be analysed. Comparisons were then made following subsequent field studies conducted in Sri Lanka. The final assumptions were made by matching the archaeological facts with the literary sources as well as the theoretical ones. Accordingly, the following study was carried out.

Results and discussion

Ecological and historical relations

The historical connection between Kerala and Sri Lanka should first be understood before focusing on the similarities between Kerala and Sri Lankan non-religious architecture. Sri Lanka is an island in the central part of the Indian Ocean, south of the Indian subcontinent, and Kerala is a state located on the south-western part of the Indian peninsular. Despite their remoteness, the two regions have significant ecological similarities. Geological consideration shows that the creation of this similarity is not accidental. Sri Lanka, Madagascar and the western and south-western parts of the Indian peninsular were once a single region during the pre-Gondwanaland period. Geologists have hypothesized and calculated that the Trivandrum area of the Indian state of Kerala

may have also been a part of this single region that existed during the pre-Gondwanaland period (Dissanayake & Chandrajith 1999: 223) (Map No.01). The distribution of graphite as a mineral in the two regions has primarily influenced this idea (Radhika and Santosh 1995: 143-157).

The Similarity between Kerala and Sri Lanka is well illustrated in its biodiversity. According to global studies, 25 biodiversity hotspots have been identified worldwide; the central highlands of Sri Lanka and the Western Ghats of India are identified as two regions with similar characteristics (Myers, Mittermeier & Kent et al 2000: 853) (Map No.02). Before studying the cultural similarities of the two regions, it is important to understand that there are also physical similarities as mentioned above.

There is almost no source-based historical connection between Kerala and Sri Lanka but, there is evidence that there may be a pintsized relationship between the two regions. This means that there is no historical source mentioning that a ruler of Kerala has ever made political interference in Sri Lanka. It can be assumed that this may have happened for two reasons. Kerala may not have had as much political dominance as the other dynasties that spread its power in southern India, so they may have had to defend their territory rather than invade a region far from their kingdom. The other reason is that, from time to time the areas of Kerala were conquered by the powerful neighbouring states and there was often no sovereignty over Kerala. Surprisingly, however, Kerala's culture remained independent until the European colonial period, and those independent cultural features became apparent in Sri Lanka as well.

The earliest evidence is that King Gajabāhu of Sri Lanka visited Cera (Kerala) and built a *Pattini Devalaya* there. This is mentioned in the *Silappadikāram*, a South Indian source (Silappathikaram 1991:21). However, other sources report that this was not a direct visit of King Gajabāhu to Kerala and that it happened with his Chola invasion. Furthermore, sources also, mention a relationship with a definite political face in the medieval ages. Many contemporary sources state the invader Kālinga Māgha brought troops from Kerala for his invasion. Sources such as the *Mahāvamsa*, *Pujāvaliya* and *Rājāvaliya* refer to this as 'Malala soldiers' (Mahāvamsa 2010:395/ Pujāvaliya 2015:724/ Rājāvaliya 1976:212). Malala soldiers mean Malayali soldiers or Kerala soldiers. Scholars such as Senarath Paranavitan and Ananda Kulasuriya agree with this view (Kulasuriya 1976; Paranavitana 1960).

The use of Kerala soldiers for warfare took place again during the Dambadeniya period. Rājāvaliya confirms that during the reign of King Parākramabāhu II, Jāvaka Chandrabhānu invaded Sri Lanka twice with Kerala troops (Rājāvaliya 1976:212). Thus, it is clear that the Keralites were a militant people and were recruited as mercenaries during the medieval ages.

Sources say that thousands of Kerala soldiers were brought to Sri Lanka during the aforementioned invasions. It is not clear whether the Kerala people returned to their

homelands. Ananda Kulasuriya is of the opinion that the rest of the group remained in the ‘Vanni’ region of Sri Lanka and that the leaders of the groups rose up as ‘Vanniyār’ (Kulasuriya 1976: 139-140). But it is difficult to accept the idea without confirming it from those studies and from multiple sources. However, it is not difficult to imagine that people of Kerala origin may have settled in Sri Lanka after the twelfth century.

Sources do not mention anything about Kerala after the early Dambadeniya period. Back in the Gampola Period a remarkable connection is found in the literary sources. Two major aristocratic families of this era established their administrative dominance, namely the minister ‘Senāṅkādihikāra Senevirath’ and the Minister of ‘Alagakkonāra’. Sources state that the Minister Senāṅkādihikāra Senevirath belongs to the ‘Menavara’ clan. According to Paranavitana the word ‘Menavara’ comes from the Malayalam word ‘*Menavan*’ (Paranavitana 1960: 640-641; Caldwell 1956). This indirectly implies that the roots of this minister are connected to Kerala. With regard to Minister Alagakkonāra, it can be observed that there is also a close relationship with Kerala. According to the ‘*Kitsiri Mevan Kelani*’ and ‘*Niyamgampāya*’ inscriptions, it is stated that Minister Alagakkonāra was a descendant from ‘Vānchi’ (IC, Vol. VII 2014: 22-24). According to the Sangam literature, Vānchi is referred to as the capital of the Cera kingdom in South India and that this city is identifiable as modern Karāvār in Kerala (Somaratne 1975:50). It should be mentioned that the Vānchi clan is an aristocratic family of Kerala origin. Thus, direct relations with Kerala can be observed in the representation of the Gampola period.

The connection between the sources of Kerala and Sri Lanka can be traced back to the Kotte and Kandy periods. The *Girā Sandesha* written during the Kotte period mentions the Kerala soldiers (Girā Sandeshaya 2009: poem.27). Sources about Bandāras are found in the Kotte and Kandy periods. An aristocratic group called *Pantāram* lived in Kerala and it is a common feature between Dravidian and Sinhala languages that the letter ‘Pa’ becomes the letter ‘Ba’ and the letter ‘Ta’ becomes the letter ‘Da’. Lona Devaraja confirms that the *Pantārams* and the *Baṅḍāras* are one and the same group. It is said that King Parakramabāhu VI brought an aristocratic group called *Pantāram* to this country around 1470-1478 AD (Devaraja 1997:69). *Sinduruvāna kadayimpota* has named Senāṅkādihikāra Seneviratha as ‘*Lankā Senevirat Bandāra Mahārāja*’ (Codrington 1933:266). Therefore, it proves that the name Bandāra was used before the Kotte era. Moreover, it confirms our argument by mutually confirming through sources that the Minister Senāṅkādihikāra has a Kerala origin. The idea makes more sense because Bandāra is a first-time source for someone with a Kerala origin.

Analysing the historical relations mentioned above, it is clear that there were constant connections between the aristocratic family units in the two regions. It is clear that the centuries-old relations between the two regions may have contributed to the creation of cultural similarities as well as ecological ones.

Architectural similarities

The built environment can be identified as one of the main factors that characterizes the appearance of a culture externally. Architecture is one of the basic disciplines of built environment studies. The main objective of this study is to examine the features of non-religious architecture between Kerala and Sri Lanka and what factors contributed to such similarities. The buildings in Kerala and Sri Lanka on which this study is based belong to the late medieval period and also consider periodic renovations. The features identified in the participatory observations are studied here by comparing them with South Indian architectural texts. The book *Māyāmata* is used as the basis for this study. The *Māyāmata* is a *Vāstuśāstra*, that is to say a ‘treatise on dwelling and as such it deals with all the facets of gods’ temple dwellings, from the choice of a site to the iconography of temple walls. It contains many precise descriptions of villages and towns as of temples, houses, mansions and palaces. It gives indications for the selection of a proper orientation, of right dimension and of appropriate building materials. It intends to be a manual for the architect and a guide book for the layman.

The use of wood or timber architecture can be considered as a prominent feature of late medieval architecture in Kerala and Sri Lanka. According to Senaka Bandaranayake’s studies, woodwork in Kerala, North and South Karnataka, Konkan and Goa is very similar to that in Sri Lanka (Bandaranayake 2012:30). The secular architecture of Kerala and Sri Lanka focuses mainly on the construction of aristocratic houses and the construction of rural houses.

In Kerala as well as in Sri Lanka, the traditional feudal aristocracy of the past represented the superstructure of society. Due to their land ownership, monetary status and official power, they were able to design their residential buildings in a spectacular manner. Elite housing in both regions can be identified in three main forms.

- Traditional Kerala/ Sri Lankan elite houses
- Kerala/ Sri Lankan elite houses with Portuguese and Dutch influences
- Kerala/ Sri Lankan elite houses with mixed features

Kerala and Sri Lankan elite houses built during the pre-colonial period have some common features. These distinctive similarities are evident in the structures, roof, veranda and decorative elements of buildings made of wood and masonry. In terms of model, they are basically single and two-story houses. Architecturally, Kerala’s elite residential buildings are made up of four major forms (Thampuran 2001:23).

- *Ekasālā* (north Kerala model)
- *Ekasālā* (south Kerala model)
- *Kuṭṭikeṭṭu*
- *Nalukeṭṭu*

Focusing on *Ekasālā*, the North Kerala model seems to be the popular model found in both Sri Lanka and Thrissur and Wayanad areas above the Trivandrum district (Figure No.01). *Kuṭṭikeṭṭu* and *Nalukeṭṭu* models bear many similarities with *Walau* (elite houses) in the Sri Lankan upcountry. The *Nalukeṭṭu* model has been used in Kerala by second tier officials to the chief. In Sri Lanka, too, the elite houses of the second *Nilames* to the king are closer to the *Nalukeṭṭu* model (Figure No.02-06). Roofing of high walls with lime mortar is a common feature of all forms but, the basic shapes, appearance and veranda are different (Widiastuti 2013:41-53). According to the field surveys, pre-colonial two-story houses are rare in both regions.

It is important to pay special attention to the roof when focusing on similar features in elite houses. One of its distinctive features is the decoration at the end of the roof, especially when it comes to wooden rafters. According to the *Māyāmata*, these features of the roof rafters are called ‘*Niwra*’ and ‘*Vishkambha*’ (*Māyāmata* 1985: 101/ Widiastuti 2015:6-7). Ananda Coomaraswamy names these features as ‘*Gonäs*’ and ‘*Hee leeya*’ in Sri Lankan architecture (Coomaraswamy 1959:129). The curved ends of the roof rafters are called *Vishkambha* or *Gonäs* and the straight wood that extends from one end of the roof to the other is called the *Niwra* or *Hee leeya*. This feature is prominent in the elite houses of Kerala and Sri Lanka but this is not unique to elite houses (Figure No.7, 8). However, this was a mandatory feature of the religious buildings of the Gampola and Kandy eras in Sri Lanka and Kerala. Perhaps this is an inspiration from religious architecture in the construction of elite houses.

‘*Soldara*’ was another common feature used in the construction of elite houses in Kerala and Sri Lanka and this feature was used as another (upper) story of these elite houses. Although many researchers consider this to be an inspirational feature of Dutch architecture, it is confirmed that *Soldara* were used in Kerala even before the Dutch spread their dominance. The Nair aristocracy, a popular aristocratic family based in Trivandrum, Kerala in particular, has been built with a *Soldara* which is small in size (Figure No.09). These are designs made of solitary wood (Balakrishna, Padmanaban and et al 1982: 42-51). In appearance, participatory observations revealed that the *Soldara* in the upcountry of Sri Lanka were more similar to the *Soldara* in the houses of the Nair aristocracy mentioned above than with the Dutch influence. Although the features of the houses of these Nair aristocrats in the *Ehelepola Walawwa* near the Kandy Royal Palace are clearly represented, there are differences in terms of height (*Ehelepola Nilame* held the *Maha Adhikāram* of King Sri Wickrama Rājasinghe).

The wooden pillars, carvings, veranda, kitchens and *soldara* found in the houses of the Nair aristocracy bear many similarities not only with the secular buildings of Sri Lanka but also with the features of the religious buildings. Here it is important to pay attention to the door locks, key plates and handles of Nair aristocratic houses. Metal key plates, in particular, are square or circular, and come in a variety of designs. Those key plates are no different from Sri Lankan key plates. Ananda Coomaraswamy in his work of

‘Medieval Sinhalese Art’ has mentioned that a number of key plates can be found in many Kerala buildings (Coomaraswamy 1959:196-201).

Not only in aristocratic houses but also in religious buildings, there are commonalities of wooden pillars. According to the Māyāmata text, a pillar consists of a trinity of ‘Potika’, ‘Sthambha’ and ‘Sthambhapeetha’ (Māyāmata 1985: 103). In Sri Lankan architecture, these are known as ‘Pekaḍa’, ‘Kanuwa’ and ‘Kanu pādama’. Ananda Coomaraswamy also identified these wooden pillars as a unique architectural feature (Coomaraswamy 1959:129-132). These same features can be seen in the pillars with front gaps in the veranda of the elite houses but, the same pattern is often seen with regard to pillars not only in Kerala but also in other states of India. The similarity of the wooden pillars of Kerala and Sri Lanka can be felt more strongly due to the material from which they are made.

The similarity of the triangular roof and window sill faces are important as the aristocratic buildings of Sri Lanka are directly inspired by Kerala architecture (Figure No.10). Although some consider this to be a Dutch influence, these features were present in Kerala architecture before the arrival of the Dutch. This feature is distinctive in Sri Lankan upcountry as well as low country aristocratic exteriors. It can be assumed that the low country received this influence from the Dutch. This feature is prominent in many upcountry elite houses such as *Girāgama Walawwa* and *Iriyagama Walawwa* in Kandy as well as low country aristocratic houses up until the last century.

Ṭampiṭa Vihara can be identified as one of the outstanding buildings of late mediaeval religious architecture in Sri Lanka. Not only temples but also *Ṭampiṭa Ambalam* and *Ṭampiṭa Atu* are popular architectural forms of this period. *Ṭampiṭa Gabaḍā* (stores), which is similar to the Sri Lankan *Ṭampiṭa tradition* can be found in local aristocratic houses such as Cochin and Aleppy in the state of Kerala. Since both the Cochin and Aleppy regions are located in a lagoon environment, it is reasonable to assume that these may have been built in terms of utility rather than inspiration.

Similarities can be observed not only in the traditional features but also in the inspiring features of the architectural designs of Kerala and Sri Lanka. In this study, significant similarities were found primarily between the aristocratic houses in the Kottayam and Calicut district and the aristocratic houses in Sri Lanka. These are two-story buildings and it is made of bricks and plastered with lime mortar. These houses have a central courtyard that is not found in traditional Kerala houses and other remnants were found located around these central courtyards. It is clear that these buildings are inspired by Dutch as well as Tamil Nadu architects. This can be identified as a model that later became popular among the aristocracy in Kerala as well as in Sri Lanka.

The aristocratic houses found in the districts of Kottayam and Cochin (Ernakulum) are of totally Dutch influence (Figure No.11-13). The buildings in Galle Fort are completely identical to those found in Cochin Fort. This is not seen as strange, since the Galle Fort

and the Cochin Fort are of similar Dutch design. *Beeralu* carvings, large circular columns, lattice, windows and doors are the hallmarks of these buildings.

Similar features were found in aristocratic housing as well as rural housing in Kerala and Sri Lanka. Rural architecture has very different characteristics from those found in religious and secular architecture. It has common features not only in Sri Lanka and Kerala but in the whole of South Asia and beyond. These include simplicity, small size, use of organic materials, and spare exterior decoration. Based on the common features stated above, some similarities can be found in any village house. But some notable similar features can also be observed in rural housing associations in Kerala and Sri Lanka. The village house is discussed here in two main ways.

- Indigenous (Ādivāsi) village houses
- Non-indigenous village houses

Although there are many indigenous people spread all over Kerala, only the *Vād̄da* people stand out in Sri Lanka. This study also focuses on the indigenous people living in the Attappadi forest in Kerala and the *Vāddas* in Sri Lanka. The characteristics of the Attappadi forest are similar to those of the indigenous people of the hilly regions of cold climates such as Wayanad and Munnar in Kerala. Their livelihoods still depend on hunting and traditional industries but somewhat modernized features of the *Vāddas* can be observed as well.

Focusing on the form, the two-story roof of the indigenous village houses is often roofed with thatched roofs. These houses are made of clay and the house is divided into a veranda (*Piḷa*), house and kitchen. Inside the house there is no reservation of walls. Often the kitchen is designed to be separated from the main house but is made in close proximity. Except for the accessible part of the veranda, the rest is covered by a short wall. A special feature of the Attappadi forest is that the tribes form a cluster with their chief's house situated in the middle. The leader's house is designed to be slightly larger than the other houses. Even in the case of *Vādda* villages like Dambana in Sri Lanka, its basic features are no different from the above-mentioned forms. There are a great deal of similarities in material, structures, and positioning. But these are similarities that are commonly observed among indigenous people, and cannot be thought to have been created on inspirational conditions (Figure No.14). However, in his book "The Prehistory of Sri Lanka", Siran Deraniyagala points out that the *Vādda* culture in Sri Lanka is similar to that of the Kadar tribe in Kerala (Deraniyagala 1992: chap.6).

Considering the non-indigenous village houses, the traditional rural houses of the countryside can still be found in Kerala as well as in Sri Lanka. The word '*Chala*' is especially used to describe the ancient rural housing model of Kerala. Field explorations have shown that this model exists in one form in the southern part of the state of Kerala, in Trivandrum, and in another form in areas such as Wayanad in the north. Roofs with a high slope can be observed in the rural houses associated with Wayanad which are also

found in Sri Lanka (Panikkar & T.K. Gopal 1995: 32). The walls are commonly made of clay and lime mortar. Characteristics of Wayanad village houses could be seen in villages such as Meemure and Galataraya in Sri Lanka. It is a common feature in Kerala as well as Sri Lanka that later houses with thatched roofs were replaced by tiled roofs.

The kitchen model in Sri Lankan rural houses is very similar to that of the rural houses in Kerala than in other states of south India. The main feature is that the kitchen is designed close to the main house but separately. The ground level design of the fireplace is a feature of rural kitchens in Kerala as well as in Sri Lanka. A chimney (*Dumnessa*) is created above the stove to dry meat and fish and to house pots. Creating a small platform and placing a grindstone on it is also a key feature. Spoon holder (*Handi āna*), pot holder (*Waḷan messa*) and mat holder (*Pāduru āna*) can be found inside these kitchens. Although these similarities can be observed in the two regions, it is difficult to say that there are as many similar features in rural architecture as in the aristocratic houses discussed earlier.

Reasons for the emergence of similar features in the elite houses of Kerala and Sri Lanka

There are different definitions of culture. The background to this study, too, is one form of culture. Here we look at the similar cultural characteristics found in two regions. It is important to theoretically examine the factors that contributed to this situation.

Power is a major factor in the origin, spread and breakdown of cultures. Power here is meant more than just political power. According to Machiavelli, power is theoretically defined as one centered (Sullivan 1973:258-270). It is no different from the traditional view of power that we see in history. Machiavelli's philosophical background on power is that, power starts from one place or is considered by a ruler to be an expandable. Given Machiavelli's philosophical background, there is no chance for such strong cultural similarities between Kerala and Sri Lanka. This is because the Keralites have not directed any direct intervention to Sri Lanka as previously discussed. But giving a clearer definition of power, the philosopher Michel Foucault argues that power, which is the opposite of Machiavelli's idea of concentrated power, exists eccentrically everywhere and with every person (Foucault 1978:94). Foucault's view can be cited as the closest theory on how cultural equivalence emerged between Kerala and Sri Lanka.

According to sources, there have been occasional migrations from Kerala to Sri Lanka for various purposes since around 13th century AD. During those migrations, thousands of people representing the culture of Kerala arrived in Sri Lanka. This is not only a cultural diffusion but also a large-scale genetic diffusion. What happened here is that, according to Foucault's theory, the decentralized power of each individual is transferred to another area. This suggests that the culture of Kerala may have slowly mixed with the culture of Sri Lanka.

The question arises as to whether the aforementioned cultural fusion is strong enough to later create (late mediaeval period) architectural similarities. The decisive factor with

regard to the architecture behind the study is Machiavelli's idea rather than Foucault's theory of power. Architectural similarities, especially in the study, can be traced back to the Gampola period. It is from this era that the Kerala-based aristocracy contributed to the main political structure of Sri Lanka. From the Gampola period onwards, aristocrats such as Senālakadhikāra Senevirath and Alagakkonāra, who became central political forces not only in the *Rāja Sabhā* but also in their areas, may have been able to spread their culture more easily and with long lasting effects.

The above can be further understood by comprehending the power of these elite leaders through contemporary sources. Iban Battuta, a pilgrim who arrived in the country in 1344 AD, reports that Alkonār lived like a king with a white elephant (Hussain 1953: 247-251). Minister Alagakkonāra is identified as Battuta Alkonār. It shows that he was a semi-local independent leader in that period. Lankatilaka copper plate named Senālakadhikāra as '*Lanka Senevirath Rāja*' (Paranavitana 1960:24-38). Senālakadhikāra Senevirath was a chief minister, but sources named him as a king. Such sources of information reveal the power of the elite ministers. The power of the ministers of Kerala origin suggests that they acted in accordance with the cultures they were accustomed to rather than adapting to the existing cultures. It is not difficult to imagine that the tendency towards the architectural tradition followed by these ministers, who were attracted to other aristocrats and the masses, may have been popular at the time.

The above led to a reasonable assumption regarding the construction of features parallel to the Kerala features in the construction of elite residential buildings. Although that is the main reason, the question arises as to whether that alone is sufficient to sustain such similarities. This situation which started by the aristocracy of the Gampola period can be further developed due to Minister Senālakadhikāra Senevirath's Kerala relatives who were summoned by King Parakramabāhu VI during the Kotte period. The so-called nobles and their descendants were the leading nobles (*Bandāras*) of the Kandyan period and they too may have preserved the cultural features of their origins.

The human interventions mentioned above may have been more successful due to the ecological similarities between Kerala and Sri Lanka. This is because there is a possibility of the creation of similar cultural characteristics under similar environmental conditions. It is also possible that the wooden architecture of Kerala in particular was well adapted to the upcountry areas of Sri Lanka. In addition, the presence of people who are prepared to accept the changing cultural conditions is an essential factor. There may be people who did not ignore the culture of Kerala through the long-term migrations that had taken place over the centuries. Thus, it is clear that the long-standing conditions in Sri Lanka led to the formation of Kerala culture from an architectural point of view. It could be concluded that, this is a combination of a number of major and residual causes.

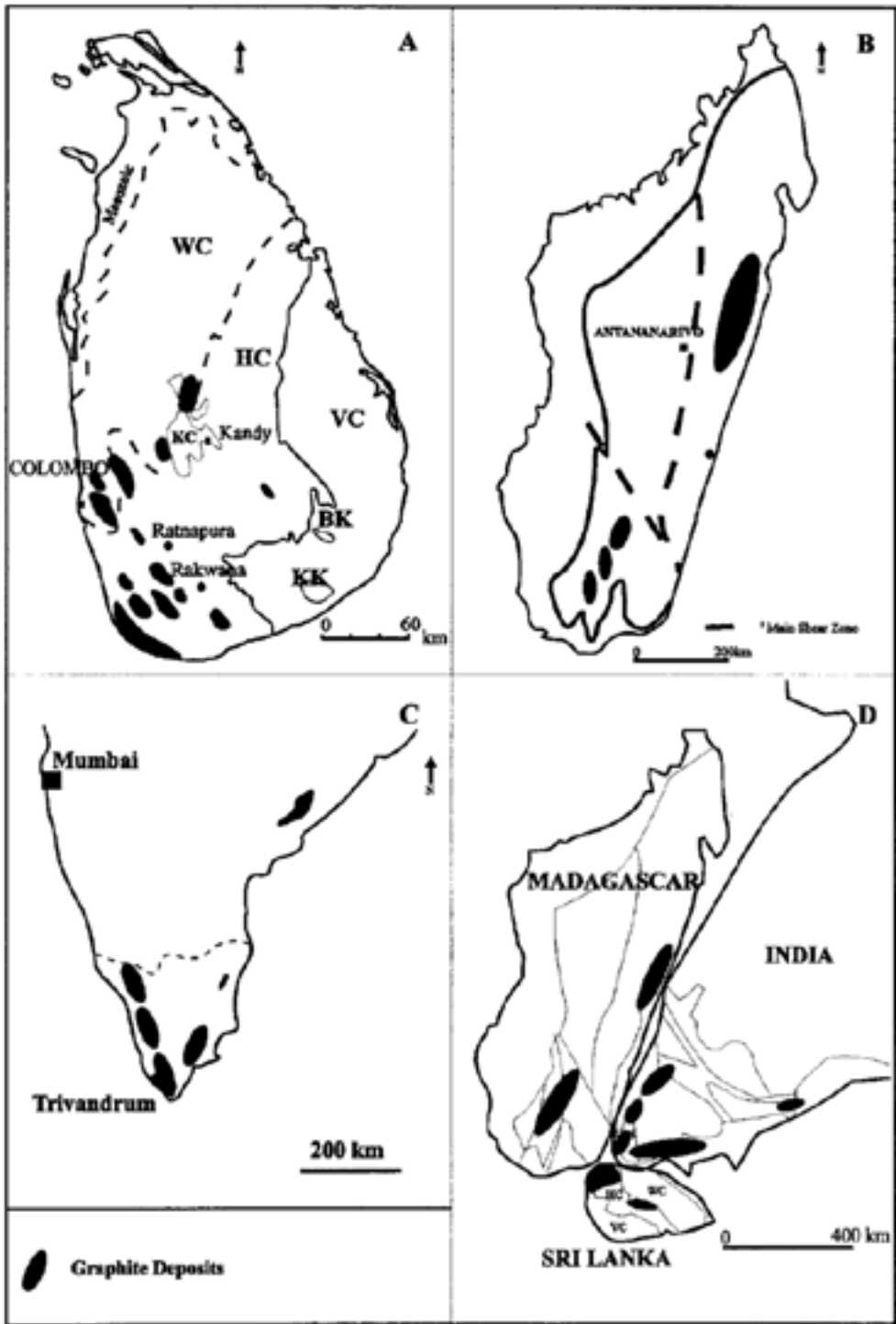
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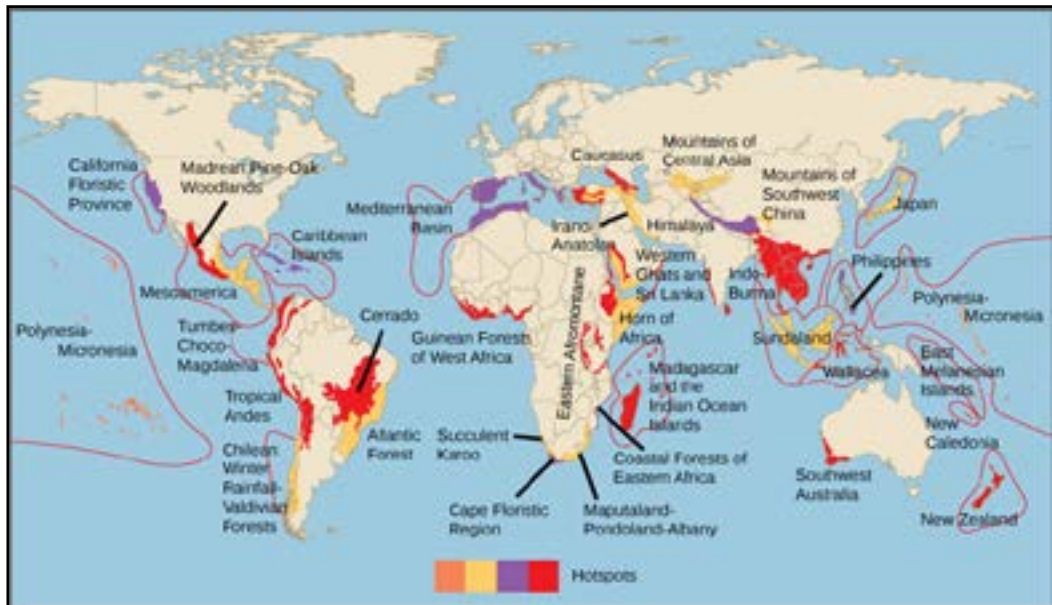
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Map No.01: Kerala- Sri Lanka linkage in Gondwanaland (Dissanayake & Chandrajith 1999)



Map No.02: Worldwide Biodiversity hotspot map (Myers, Mittermeier & Kent et al 2000)



Figure No.01: Eka Sālā, Tivandrum



Figure No.02: Nālukettu, Calicut



Figure No.03: Nālukettu, Trissur



Figure No.04: Nālukettu, Calicut



Figure No.05: Nālukettu, Kottayam



Figure No.06: Nālukettu, Kottayam



Figure No.07: Kappetipola Walawwa,
Hulangamuwa



Figure No.08: Ehelepola Walawwa,
Kandy



Figure No.09: Giragama Walawwa, Kandy



Figure No.10: Meedum Walawwa, Rambukkana



Figure No.11: *Niwra'* and *Vishkambha*,
Eka Sālā, Calicut



Figure No.12: *Niwra'* and *Vishkambha*,
Eka Sālā, Tivandrum



Figure No.13: Soldara entrance,
Eka Sālā, Tivandrum

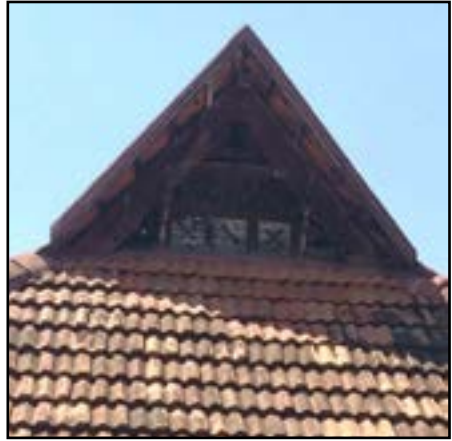


Figure No.14: triangular roof sill face,
Eka Sālā, Tivandrum



Figure No.15: Dutch influenced elite house,
Kottayam



Figure No.16: Dutch influenced elite house,
Kochin fort



Figure No.17: Dutch influenced elite house,
Kochin fort



Figure No.18: Dutch buildings,
Galle fort



Figure No.19: Dutch buildings,
Galle fort



Figure No.20: Tribal house,
Attappadi forest