PERFORMING PLACE:

Natural Landscape, Cultural Place, Performances of Sri Lankan Traditional Settlements

KANDY AND LANKATHILAKA.

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Abstract

Traditional settlement patterns in Sri Lanka reflect a sense of harmony between built forms, architecture and their natural landscape context. In contrast to this, many new developments neglect or overpower natural landscape features. In traditional societies a range of sites are celebrated through the performance of ritual activities which create significant distinctive places and dwelling patterns. This research focuses on traditional settlements of Sri Lanka to examine emerging architecture and built space, focussing on the relationships between natural landscape, cultural place and the role of ritual and performance. A number of pilot case studies followed by an in depth comparative case study of a city and a village - Kandy and Lankathilaka respectively - address the topic by examining how common narratives perform in contrasting landscape locations. The thesis develops the theoretical concept of the 'Performative phenomenon' as a means of understanding the dynamic nature of cultural place and landscape in the Sri Lankan context.

A theoretical framework and case study method is established by combining aspects of phenomenology, anthropology, psychology, ethnography, landscape theory, and architectural interpretation. A wide range of literature review draws on key concepts such as *chora* and *topos*, dwelling, ideal forms, Mitte and actor-network-theory to theorise how 'place' emerges through cultural practices in space and time. Fieldwork and archival research provide detailed evidence of site specific practices, most notably in the Asala perahera festivals which are repeated at both case study locations. A pattern matching technique is applied for analysing data, presented in tables, diagrams, maps and illustrations.

In both case studies, the experience of ideal forms and dwelling is evident throughout the performing process of Asala perahera. Place is produced by repeated events, such as, parading, marking geometrical patterns, sound performing, narrating, body performing and so on, producing and sustaining an inter-related network of performers and landscape. It is concluded that Kandy city is experienced

as an 'inside' enclosed within three mountains, while Lankathilaka village is experienced as a divine centre. Through locally specific performative processes, common ideal forms continue to flourish, shaped by the natural landscape and architecture, which reflect the *chora* of the place.

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PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

Chapter One **– Introduction**

1.1 Preamble

This thesis presents an analysis of the processes by which the natural landscape of Sri Lanka – physical features, physical geography and topography - has been transformed by human occupation specifically by repeated patterns of ritual performance. The physical landscape of Sri Lanka consists of distinctive and varied landforms. Many of them have been transformed into what I call 'cultural places' by serving as the focus of complex ritual performances. These performances not only 'take place' in particular locations but also actively create a sense of place as a result of the complex interplay between the physical setting and ritualised performances such as parades, processions and re-enactments (*plate1.1*). Archaeological and documentary evidences suggest that traditional patterns of settlements in Sri Lanka[1] involved a process of converting natural place into cultural place. For example, some rocks (of particular shape and character) have been converted into a kingdom of divine kings (*plate 1.2*), some rocks became meditation places (*plate 1.3*), some mountains became divine, some valleys became villages[2] while some valleys performed as cities and similar patterns. What visible dimensions (*topos* [3]) these natural landscapes provide for making cultural place and influencing the everyday dwelling patterns of the place. Traditional life is dramatized in landscape by performing pilgrim journeys such as climbing difficult mountains; performing ceremonial parades combining landscape, people and place; celebrating physical features and topography, by myths, imagination and narrating historical, mythical and religious stories. Still today, many of these traditional cultural/religious performances are continuing. A key question addressed by

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[1] Some of these settlements are only archaeological evidences, and how ritual performances celebrate in these places are less evident.

[2] This may not unusual elsewhere.

[3] Physical dimensions of the place and further describe in chapter two.

this thesis is: can these performances still provide a mechanism for understanding the visible dimensions of natural landscape and comprehending the *chora*[4] of the place.

*Plate 1.1: **Ritual parades** in Lankathilaka*
Source: author (2010)

*Plate 1.2: **Sigiriya ancient Kingdom**,*
King's palace on the rock.
Source: author(2009)

*Plate 1.3: **Vessagiriya meditation place***
Source: author (2013)

1.2 Issue : Critical situation of the Natural Landscape.

Traditional settlement patterns in Sri Lanka tended to celebrate the natural landscape achieving what appears today to be a better sense of harmony among built forms, architecture and natural Landscape[5]. In contrast to this understanding many new developments are neglecting or overpowering the natural landscape features. River banks in many towns are used as outlets for sewerage and industrial waste, while traditional life is quite often connected to rivers by performing many rituals of spiritual

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[4] Link between physical and non-physical - further describe in chapter two. The western word *chora* provides a theoretical framework to discuss the mythic side of the place. In Sri Lankan- Indian cultural context, idea of place is holistic and connected with mythic place.

[5] See *Plate 1.4 ; Plate 1.5*

experience. Rocks and hills that might obstruct new developments are often blasted and flattened while in traditional societies these sites are celebrated as significant places in people's lives creating distinctive places and dwelling patterns. Today, mountains are covered by new buildings of large scale which often destroy the landscape character and visual appearance. These are prevalent issues in many other countries as well. Mines and ores make greater damage to the Earth's crust and topography, destroying natural landscape elsewhere in the world. These observations reveal that there is a clear difference in attitudes[6] towards the natural landscape between traditional settlements and new developments particularly regarding the relationships between distinctive landscape forms and ritual activities. Although old rituals are replaced or reshaped by new rituals , complexities of contemporary life make confusion in new developments while some traditional rituals still continue among traditional settlements representing harmonized relationships among natural landscape, built forms and these performances. Therefore this research focuses towards traditional settlements of Sri Lanka to investigate the relationships between natural landscape, cultural place and the role of ritual and performance.

*Plate 1.4: **Gadaladeniya**- people , built forms, natural landscape in a harmonized relationship except electricity pylons of new developments Source: author,2009*

*Plate 1.5 : **Sigiriya** –harmonized relationship between natural elements and built elements. Source: author,2009*

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[6] See *Plate 1.6 ; Plate 1.7*

*Plate 1.6: **Contemporary developments** – mountains being damaged, advertising boards, built elements and people are not in harmony with natural landscape. Courtesy: Sampath Amarakoon.*

*Plate 1.7: **Contemporary developments** – built forms as separate elements from natural landscape (context).Source: Author,2011*

1.3 My contention

The thesis states that ritual performances establish connections between natural landscape and cultural landscape. Place emerges within these complexities of performances, and inter-relationships with people, narratives and landscape. Natural landscape provides guidance for this place making process and dwelling patterns, thereby shaping the cultural place and architectural expression. These traditional settlements of Sri Lanka provide good examples of built forms and architecture generated by inter-related nature of cultural performance and natural landscape, to

reveal the relationship between cultural place, natural landscape and performance. This kind of study is important because of two main reasons. Firstly, as mentioned before the natural landscape of Sri Lanka is in a critical situation because of the impact of new developments. Secondly there has not been any study carried out so far to investigate the relationships of performance, landscape and cultural place (including architecture) of these traditional settlements. It is very important to understand the role of rituals and performance in traditional settlements as these make intangible connections between people and the place. Therefore, investigating intangible relationships between people and the place (including natural landscape) would help to understand the issues in new developments related to understanding the natural landscape and the place. It is a necessity in new developments to understand the intangible relationships between people and the place and to build (or not build) in response to these relationships.

1.4 Genius Loci and Performative phenomenon

Research carried out to date which unites natural landscape, architecture and cultural performance is limited. The most significant study in this area about understanding natural landscape and architecture is by Norberg-Schulz (1980). His works focus towards a phenomenology of architecture (Schulz, 1980).

Genius Loci

The concept of Genius Loci proposed by Schulz (1980) related to an ancient Roman word, describes a 'spirit' of a place or living being. Each place has its own genius (genius of the locality). The understanding of spirit is a process through human life. Schulz works on Genius Loci of natural landscape provide important phenomenon of the place[7] about the invisible intangible aspect of the place for the development of architectural theory and practice. He describes a typology of spirit of landscape (Genius of the locality) based on topography, land extension, how earth meets sky, character, order, light and time.

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[7] Schulz, C. (1980) **Genius loci : Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture**. New York : Rizzoli

"Topography simply means 'place-description', but it is generally used to denote the physical configuration of a place. In our context 'topography' primarily means what geographers call the *surface relief*. On a flat plain extension is general and infinite, but usually variations in the surface relief create directions and defined spaces."

(Schulz, 1980, p 32)

He discusses how architecture and place responded to Genius Loci of the natural landscape and place and how Genius Loci reflect on architecture and place. His concept of Genius Loci suggests a more static and eternal spiritual sense intrinsic to the place or natural landscape. However, in traditional settlements of Sri Lanka understanding invisible intangible dimensions and *chora* of the place is a dynamic process, celebrated by processes of rituals, myths and festivals and these performances still continue cyclically.

Performative phenomenon

The established idea in cultural geography called non-representational theory describes performance aspect of making landscape and place (Lorimer, 2005). This thesis proposes 'Performative Phenomenon' based on the idea to understand the dynamic nature of the 'cultural place' as something which results in, not simply from the physical configuration of the landscape and built forms, instead it is a deeper understanding that emerges from the repeated ritualised activity of performance-in-place. Performative phenomenon explores dynamic understanding of the place by patterns of repeated performances (for example: rituals, myths and ceremonies) which narrate in time and space connecting and re-connecting mind-body, natural landscape, and performances. The performative phenomenon would be relevant to future developments in order to understand the place within the changing of new life patterns for reuniting with natural landscape and to understand invisible/intangible side of the place for new people-place oriented urban designs and architecture, including those utilizing unfamiliar new technologies and new materials. Also it would helpful to understand the emerging nature of the place, within the human sphere and mind-body

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senses: to understand the human intervention of place making and architecture for new developments. Asala perahera which is a traditional ritualistic ceremony performed during the months of July, August, and September in all traditional settlements of Sri Lanka is a good example to apply performative phenomenon in this investigation.

1.5 Key words – definitions and descriptions

To enable a proper investigation of the subject, key words should be defined and described based on related literature.[8]

Natural landscape

This study defines landscape which is more close to Nature as 'Natural landscape'. Untouched land forms or the landform before becoming the landscape of people can be described as natural landscape. Himalayan mountain, mount Peru, and Nile valley are originally given by Nature as natural landscape exhibiting dimensions of Nature. It is appropriate to separate natural landscape from humans for the study, as the issue of landscape is linked within the contemporary understanding. This study focuses on natural landscape in the form of mountains, mountain ranges, residual mountains, rocks, stones, rivers and water bodies, valleys of different shapes, caves, plateaus, flat terrains and all forms of physical geography and topography and patterns of cultural performances spread over these transforming natural places into specific cultural places and architecture in Sri Lanka.

Cultural landscape

If landscape more close to Nature is defined as natural Landscape, the landscape created by man is cultural landscape, for example, cities and towns, houses and buildings, roads and pathways, plantations and farm yards, tanks and irrigation systems etc. The origins of the term landscape highlight the cultural processes involved in its ideation and physical transformation: The early meaning of landscape, referring to the German word '*landschaft*' , is occupied milieu / active place (Gold and Revill, 2004).

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[8] These terms would be further discussed throughout literature review.

> "Landscape is then both a physical object and a way of seeing the world. The term refers to the appearance of an area. Landscape is made as much by ploughing fields and building houses as by painting and writing poetry. Landscape therefore is a form of *discourse"*.

(Gold and Revill. 2004. P.87)

Landscape is more than perceived and connected deeply within human realm within 'invisible dimensions'. In this way natural landscapes are apprehended by and dwelled within by people, forming cultural landscape.

Sense of place

People experience their attachment to the place and themselves as part of the place. This experience of place emerging between people and the place where they reside is **'sense of place',** a supportive and familiar feeling, unfolding invisible dimensions between people and the place.

Dwelling

The study uses the term 'dwelling' on the phenomenological grounds of Heidegger's philosophy (Heidegger; 1962,1971). People experience sense of place in the location[9], in dwelling. Man has to dwell on the earth to understand his existence (Heidegger,1962), and dwelling is a basic ontological concept of the man (Heidegger, 1962).

Dwelling pattern

The term 'dwelling pattern' has been used in case study chapters, to distinguish different levels of dwelling such as divine, non-being, kingly, meditation and mundane. These are from Sri Lankan cultural interpretations. It is observed that patterns of dwelling are spread over in Sri Lankan landscape.

Natural place

When people experience the Nature as a form of a place, for example scenery, a location, they feel the 'sense of place' in the location and it could be described as a

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[9] location provides a land area (within perceivable and reachable level of humans) to make/locate a place

natural place. Hence, people experience their existence by dwelling in the Nature, experiencing 'natural place'.

Cultural place

People experience sense of place in cultural landscape as 'cultural place'. City dweller may experience 'sense of place' in a town square, under a tree or at the edge of a road enjoying cultural dramas, customs and celebrations of cultural life unfolding the cultural place.

Topos and Chora of the place

The ancient Greek words *chora* and *topos* describe ideas for two kinds of sense of place (Holden, 2012)[10]. *Topos* is the physical dimensions and visible setting of the place while *chora* is the holistic understanding of both visible and invisible dimensions of the place.

Performing place

Performing place unfolds a realm in which people make interactions with Nature in creating landscape by means of narrating, celebrating, making, imagining, crafting, drawing, singing, dancing and playing music; by all kinds of performing actions of people.

1.6 Introduction of the case study : Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is a small island situated in a centralized location in Indian Ocean, just below the south end of the Indian peninsula in a strategic location of oceanic navigation. The topography of this small island is particularly interesting as mountainous landscape predominates at the centre of the island, while different levels of terrain of decreasing height slope down towards the sea level. The highest mountain peak[11] is 8405 ft (2524m) from sea level. The natural landscape of Sri Lanka makes a strong centralized image, partly by its location in the Indian Ocean[12], and partly by its

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[10] Conference proceedings, Designing Place, International Urban Design Conference, University of Nottingham, 2-3 April 2012.
[11] This peak is in the Piduruthalagala mountain in Nuwaraeliya
[12] Map 1.1, 1.2

centralized mountains[13] and by the radiating pattern of rivers[14] around the mountain formation which flow down to the sea around the island.
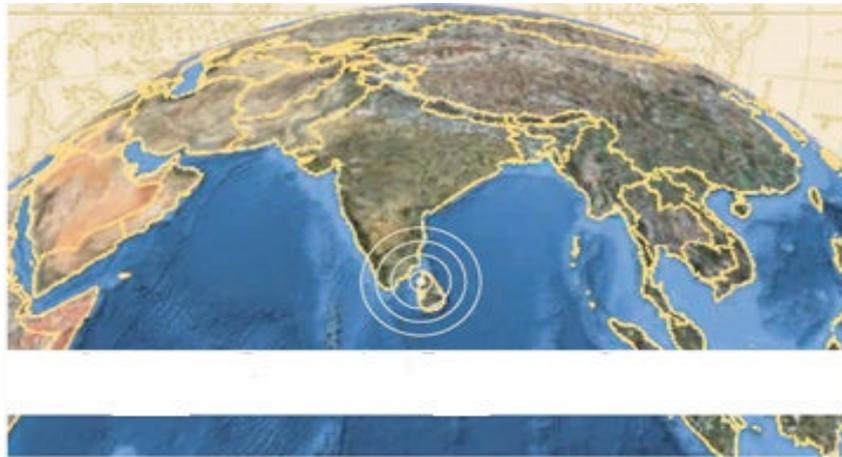
Map 1.1: **centralized location of Sri Lanka** in the Indian Ocean
Source: worldatlas.com

Map 1.2: **Location of Sri Lanka in the world**
Source: worldatlas.com

Map 1.3: **Different levels of terrain** decreasing towards sea level.
Source:worldatlas.com

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[13] Map 1.3, 1.4
[14] Map 1.5

Map 1.4: **Shaded relief map** showing centralized mountains,   Source: University of Texas libraries map collection   www.lib.utexas.edu

Map 1.5: **Radiating pattern of rivers** Source:mapsofworld.com

In Sri Lanka, mountains make different shapes and patterns of the landscape with deep valleys[15], shallow valleys[16], basins, deep edges etc. There are residual mountains[17] of different shapes and forms in the flat terrain. The island inherits variety of rivers, river valleys and lakes[18], and hot dry flat lands[19]. All these land formation patterns show more varieties than Schulz (1980) descriptions. However, Schulz' (1980) description is more related to European nature of landscape, although he has described a case study Khartoum in Nile valley, which is a desert landscape. Sri Lanka is a wet tropical country, which is evergreen with a blue sky and bright sunshine[20] and hot humid climate. Above all, Sri Lanka comprises a variety of natural landscape and micro climates as hot arid zones[21], rain forests[22], dry forests, cold mountains and plateaus[23] and flat terrains of mid temperature.

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[15] Plate 1.8
[16] Plate 1.9
[17] Plate 1.10
[18] Plate 1.11, 1.12
[19] Landscape - hot and dry without prominent physical features (Plate 1.13)
[20] Plate 1.14
[21] Plate 1.15

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Plate 1.8: **Deep Valley** – *Riverston, 2009*
Courtesy: Sampath Amarakoon

Plate 1.9 : **Shallow Valley** – *Kurunegala, 2013*
`Source: author

Plate 1.10: **Residual mountain***, Mihintale*
Source: author
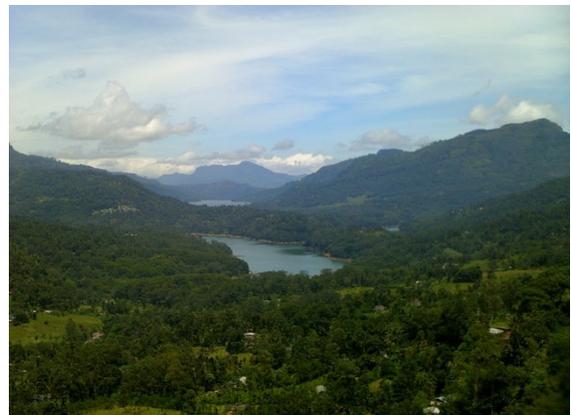
Plate 1.11: **River Valley**
Source: author

*Plate1.12:***Man made lake***, Anuradhapura*
Source: author

Plate 1.13: **Hot, dry & flat landscape***, Kilinochchi*
Source: author

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[22] Plate 1.16
[23] Plate 1.17

*Plate 1.14: **Blue sky, bright Sunshine, evergreen trees.** Source: author*

*Plate 1.15: **Hot arid climate** Courtesy: Sampath Amarakoon*
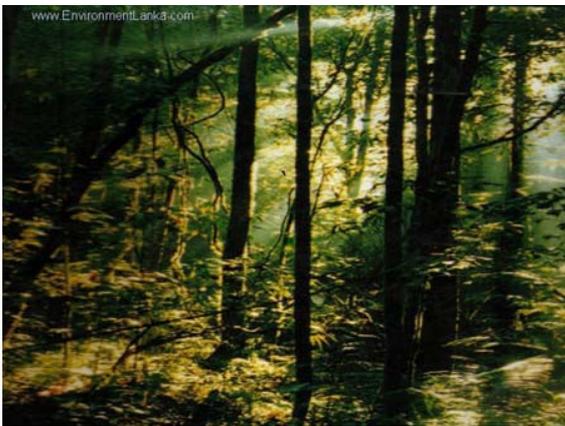
*Plate 1.16: **Rainfor**est Source: google.com*

*Plate 1.17: **Plateaus** Source: author*

Within this variety of natural landscape locations and micro climates, traditional/ historical settlements flourish emerging different types of dwelling patterns and places, and making cultural landscape. Tradional rituals and ceremonies are still continuing and co-existing with new rituals and new life. In traditional settlements the shape, size and character (*topos*) of the physical features related to the performance of the place and dwelling pattern reflect in the cultural place and landscape. It is of much interest to question how *chora* of the place is apprehended by the dweller by performing in landscape and how *topos* of natural landscape guides the *chora* of the place. For example: mountains with particular shape become sacred mountains while some other mountains become meditation places. In Sri Lanka these traditional performances still continue with greater participation and in some places these rituals and ceremonies are still the same as in the past, as in two major case studies Kandy and Lankathilaka.

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Rituals performed in Asala perahara still continue as in earlier times in these two case studies while geographical formation of these two case studies provides contrasting landscape locations. These places are performed by Buddhist, divine, kingly life performances which origins are from North India.

1.7 Research aim and objectives

The research focuses on Sri Lankan landscape, traditional/ historical settlements and performances. The research investigates the relationships between 'natural' and 'cultural places', by studying place making as a performative process. It examines the role of historical, mythical, and religious narratives in the creation ('or production') of places, focussing on the 'performance' of the place through the regular re-enactment of ritual activities and events that 'take place' in a particular location. These settings will be considered dynamically in terms of the changing relationship between natural and built elements and the ways in which places 'come into appearance' (in the phenomenological sense) through patterns of social and ritual performance acted out within the setting of a natural – cultural location.

The research questions, what continuing relevance does such traditional pattern of engagements has in the modern environment? And whether there are new ways of making meaningful places by applying the performative model and integrating new spatial practices with traditional forms of land occupation and settlement.

1.8 Research Questions

Research question

- How the natural landscape of Sri Lanka (its physical features, physical geography and topography) is understood by performing and how do these understandings shape/ reflect the cultural place?

Research question for case study[24]

- How do similar narratives perform in two contrasting landscape locations (in Sri Lanka) and shape the cultural place and dwelling patterns?

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[24] Reasoning of case studies will be discussed in chapter four

The implicit and explicit research questions derived from main research questions are as follows:

1. How do people understand their surroundings and recognize relationships between them, their activities and their environment? (Phenomenological sense)

2. How does dwelling take place by performing in the landscape?

3. What inter-actions happen between people and natural landscape and what are the meanings and experiences given by natural landscape?

4. How do people perform in landscape and how does place emerge (art and architecture, built forms, tangible and intangible components of the place) within the relationship of natural landscape and performance of people?

5. How do meanings and experiences of Buddhist, divine, kingly life performances and cultural place (including related built elements) relate to natural landscape of North India[25] and natural landscape of Sri Lanka? (in phenomenological sense)

6. How do these life performances spread over Sri Lankan landscape and what relationship do emerge between cultural place and natural landscape?

7. How do similar narratives of Asala perahera perform in two contrasting landscape locations?

8. How do the similarities and dissimilarities of performing Asala perahera in two cases relate to natural landscape and cultural place?

9. What are the experiences of these performances and how do these experiences relate to natural landscape and cultural place? (inclusive of built forms and architecture)

10. How does place (inclusive of architecture) emerge within the relationship of these performances and natural landscape?

1.9 Methodology

The research methodology will be discussed in detail in chapter three.

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[25] Sri Lankan cultural performances were originated in India

1.10 Scope and Limitations

The research focuses on performative aspects of place which gives the research a specific scope and interpretive framework. As such, this interpretation does exclude other valid – but in this context less relevant – interpretive methods and issues, for example, the same landscapes could be examined in order to geometries, mathematical models (created by physical dimensions and shapes of natural landscape), micro climates, physical properties such as temperature, humidity, sunshine, etc. in relation to human behaviour. However, as the issue mentioned and research question link within human understanding within deeper realm of mind and body, phenomenology provides more promised framework for the research investigation which is framed within traditional environment of place understanding.

1.11 Thesis structure

Thesis is organized into two main parts. The first part introduces background of the thesis, setting issues and focusing towards the research aim, and developing methodology and method of study. The first part contains Introduction (chapter one), Literature review (chapter two) and Research Methodology (chapter three).

Following this introduction, chapter two develops theoretical framework for research methodology based on research questions. Literature review in this chapter discusses studies on sense of place and Plato's original idea of sense of place as '*chora*' is re-examined and re-used as becoming place.   Spatial dimensions and spatial form of dwelling is described as '**Absolute form of good'** by analysing and synthesising ideas and concepts in phenomenology, philosophy, anthropology, and psychology. This form is explained as the 'ideal form' as discussed by Plato and develops the argument by combining Plato's ideas as, *people understand places, ideas, concepts, art and architecture, and landscape within these ideal forms.* Performance is discussed as a dwelling process experiencing non-physical nature of the place and ideal forms, and ritual performances are specific due to repetitive understanding of non-physical

dimensions of the place. The chapter describes phenomenon of basic natural landscape features as rocks and stones, hills and mountains, water and trees within the understanding of ideal forms and dwelling and explains how these natural features guide dwelling and performing. By analysing recent understanding of landscape research, the actor network theory, embodied nature of the lived body, and research in neuro-science, chapter describes that production of place and place making by acting and performances. The concepts of life theatre and life performance are introduced, based on performance theories of Richard Schechner (1988), in order to develop a theoretical performative model to examine case studies.

Chapter three describes the detailed methodology, developed through chapter one & chapter two and pilot case studies of two major cases, Kandy and Lankathilaka. Chapter discusses about case study rationale and it is appropriate when 'how' or 'why' questions focusing on research aim and exploratory and explanatory strategies are proposed for conducting case study research. The research design has been developed as multiple case study and comparative analysis. The chapter defines research questions for the case study, data to be collected, methods of data collection and organizing field work and ethical standards and methods of data analysis and synthesis.

The second part of the thesis contains research findings consisting of five chapters: Performing in Indo-Sri Lankan landscape (chapter four), case study one – Kandy (chapter five), case study two – Lankathilaka (chapter six), comparative analysis of two cases (chapter seven), and the conclusion (chapter eight).

Chapter four is organised to discuss broader research question; how natural landscape is understood by performing and how these understandings shape/ reflect the cultural place. This chapter discusses exploratory explanation of how, when and from where buddhist, divine, kingly life performances were introduced to Sri Lanka; how these performances understood the natural landscape of North India where the origins of these performances and natural landscape of Sri Lanka; how these life performances have been evolving over Sri Lankan landscape, and emerging cultural place throughout history up to date. The chapter examines relationship among life

performances, cultural place (including built elements) and dwelling patterns and natural landscape, and further clarifies reasoning of selection of two major case studies Kandy and Lankathilaka.

Chapters five and six focus on case study one Kandy and case study two Lankathilaka respectively. How Asala perahera performing in Kandy and in Lankathilaka, the experiences of these performances and how these experiences relate to natural landscape of both cases would be discussed in separate chapters by applying the theoretical performative model developed in chapter two and chapter three. The chapters further explain relationships of these performances with dwelling patterns of the place and natural landscape and reflection of these on built space and architecture.

Chapter seven presents a comparative analysis of two case studies and discusses how Asala perahera perform in these two contrasting landscape locations by analysing similarities and dissimilarities of patterns of relationships. For example: pattern matching between marking of geometrical patterns by narrating events and sound performing; pattern matching between perahara structure and experiences and meaning of the perahara and pattern matching between acting & making the place and spatial dimensions of dwelling & natural landscape. All these are compared with experiences of dwellers, performers and observers. This chapter further discusses how relationships between performance and natural landscape reflect on the cultural place and built space, how these relationships shape the cultural place by comparative analysing two case studies. Pattern matching technique is used to analyse data and data analysis present in diagrams, tables, and pictures.

Chapter eight concludes the thesis by summarising and reflecting on the case study findings and research questions.

CHAPTER TWO

Chapter Two **– Performing place**

Summary:

   This chapter surveys literature related to the concepts of sense of place, dwelling, performance, production of place and place making, discussed in several disciplinary areas in order to explain how natural landscape is understood by performing and how these understandings shape the cultural place. Place-making is explained within the framework of recent research works in sociology, ethnography, landscape, cultural geography, architectural humanities and neuro-science. Chapter concludes, emerging everyday place as a result of performative process of people interacting with landscape and place.

Introduction

   The chapter develops a theoretical framework for research methodology based on research questions outlined in chapter one. Literature review in this chapter discusses studies on sense of place and Plato's original idea of sense of place as *chora* is re-examined herein as becoming place (Plato: Timaeas and Critia)[26]. These terms are useful in order to investigate the relationships between physical and non-physical nature of the place. This chapter will survey recent literature on the 'sense of place' (Casey,1993; Relph,2009;Schulz,1980) considering the various ways people understand their surroundings and how they create 'cultural places' by making relationships with the natural landscape through repeated patterns of ritual activity. This chapter will also examine theories in phenomenology, philosophy, ethnography, performance theories, recent research on landscape and neuro-science to understand the research questions of how dwelling takes place by narrating in the landscape, what inter-actions are happening between people and natural landscape, what meanings and experiences are given by natural landscape, how people perform in landscape, and how place (art and architecture, built forms, tangible and intangible components of place) does emerge within the relationship of natural landscape and performance of people. Plato's idea of sense of place provides a conceptual basis for a better understanding of the place of everyday life of people and the world. Emergence and decay of becoming

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[26] Lee, D, translation (1965, 1967). **Plato: Timaeaus and Critia**. Harmondsworth:Penguin Books

place relates to repetitive patterns of ritual behaviour and dynamic understanding of the cultural place. This chapter discusses how *chora* is apprehended by narrating ritual behaviour in the natural landscape.

Relationship of *chora* and dwelling is discussed as experiencing two levels of the same process, revealing dynamic place. Spatial dimensions and spatial form of this space is described as '**Absolute form of good'** by synthesising ideas and concepts in phenomenology, philosophy, anthropology, and psychology. This form is explained as the 'ideal form' defined by Plato, as a process where *people understand places, ideas, concepts, art and architecture, and landscape within certain universal ideal forms.* Performance is discussed as a dwelling process experiencing the non-physical nature of the place and ideal forms, and ritual performances are specific due to repetitive understanding of the non-physical dimensions of the place. The chapter describes basic natural landscape features as rocks and stones, hills and mountains, water and trees as manifestations of ideal forms and dwelling, and explains how these natural features guide dwelling and performing. In order to understand how performances take place in landscape and how place flourishes in this process, by reviewing recent concepts of landscape research, such as actor network theory, embodied nature of the lived body and research in neuro-science this chapter describes that production of place and place making as a process. The concepts of 'life theatre' and 'life performance' are introduced based on performance theories of Richard Schechner (1988) in order to develop a theoretical performative model to examine case studies in later chapters.

2.1 Introduction of the Topic – Performing Place

The process of producing place (Lefebvre, 1991) by performing - in narrating, celebrating, making, imagining, crafting, drawing, singing, dancing, playing music etc. - is described as 'Performing Place'. Performance is evident everywhere in the history of human culture, in the form of rituals, religious ceremonies (Schechner, 1988;Eliade,1965) drama and theatre, including avant-garde modern theatre

(Schchner, 1988). The phenomena called either/ all 'drama', 'theater', 'performance' occur among all the world's people (Schechner, 1988) and dates back as far as historians, archaeologists and anthropologists can go, although physical evidence of theatre place is among Greeks of the 5th century BC and as Natya shastra in India before 2nd century BC. Schechner (1988) describes performance as something else, more consciously 'chosen' on a case-by-case basis and transmitted culturally not genetically, differentiating human performing from animal performing. It is hard to define and separate 'performance' from theatre and from everyday life performances (Schechner, 1988). Therefore daily routine of people, for example, sleeping, walking, washing, cooking, working, driving, looking after young ones and families etc. also could be categorized as some kinds of performing. Lefebvre's idea of 'social space' as a 'production of space' in terms of body-gesture, behavioural process, as a network of relations, describes the 'performance aspect' of human culture and place (Lefebvre, 1991). The appearance of cultural place in terms of bodily engagement, behaviour and cultural performing has been taken for discussions in cultural anthropology[27], in architecture[28] and in phenomenology[29]. 'Performance' provides new methodological approach in cultural landscape and geography to understand 'landscape as more than representational' (Lorimer, 2005; Massey date,). Performing place emerges by narrating in the landscape as in many Asian cultures (Schechner,1988) or by making stories about the landscape features as in Australian Aboriginal cultures (Rapoport, 1975) or by crafting and making art & architecture etc. among many cultures. Thus performing place is one fundamental aspect of 'sense of place' and 'place making'.

2.2 Sense of place – *Topos* and *Chora*

Sense of place, a developed and widely used concept in architecture and urban designs describes how people understand their surrounding and experience the place. The ancient Greek interpretation about the place provides two different words for the

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[27] Rykwert, J. (1976) ; Geertz, C. (1973)
[28] Rapoport, A. (1975)
[29] Tilly, C. (1994)

'sense of place':[30] *topos* and *chora*. *Topos* is the physical form visible location and setting of the place, the static form or shape of the landscape. *Chora* is the whole concept, inter-relationships between visible and non visible form and experiences of the place (Devereux,1997). It is legibe to utilize these two concepts here, as this research focuses on finding relationships between physical / non physical and tangible/intangible side of the place and how physical shapes and forms of natural landscape relate to mythic landscape. Plato's idea (Timaeas) of *chora* as 'receptacle of becoming' , the means by which ideas pass from the timeless realm of ideal forms or types (concepts) into the everyday world of becoming and also changing forms that follow the natural cycles of emergence and decay describe the dynamic place of becoming (Plato: Timaeas and Critia). This kind of place understanding is ordinary in the Indo-Sri Lankan cultural context and no questions about deviation between physical and non physical side of the place. However, Plato's idea of two wordings for sense of place – *topos* and *chora* - provides theoretical framework to discuss the issue of the place in today's context.

2.2.1 *Topos* of the place

The Greek word *topos* describes the sense of place aroused by physical dimensions, and visible part of the place. For example, art & architecture, public places, roads and pathways, people, and landscape – all kinds of physical attributes (Rapoport, 1994) of the place. An urban square edged by familiar buildings of nice proportions may provide sense of place for the urban dweller. Proportions of the square in relation to buildings, architectural style of buildings (related to cultural identities), scale and proportion of surrounding buildings, open space in contrast to solid urbanity, textural pattern of paving stones, the way people spend time here and there, water cascades, feeding pigeons and all visual and physical composition of the place provide sense of place - *Topos* for people. People relaxing under a tree by the side of a river or road, may experience sense of place, because of the shaded canopy under the tree in

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[30] Deverux, P. (1997); Holden, G. (2012)

relation to the sunny outside or vast outside. The shape of the tree, wide canopy, textured ground, flowing outside makes sense of place – *topos*, but, it covers only a very generic aspects of 'types' of place, mostly static and formal/geometric aspects of the place. Urban designers, architects and landscape designers often focus only on the visual appearance of the place in terms of proportion, scale, composition of shapes and forms, colours, textures-and pleasing beauty of the buildings and places. However, *topos* exhibits only the visible part of the place while the other part is invisible and intangible, inside the human realm of spatial understanding; **it is not only the eye sensing the place.[31]**

2.2.2 *Chora* of the place

The sense of place in terms of *chora* describes the inter-relationships between visible and invisible domains of the place. Plato's idea of *chora* (Plato: Timaeas and Critia) as receptacle of becoming provides an important insight about the place. Plato describes ideal forms and the everyday world of becoming in sensing *chora* by which ideas pass from the timeless realm of ideal forms or types (concepts) into the everyday world of becoming as changing forms that follow the natural cycles of emergence and decay (Plato: Timaeas and Critia). Place flourishes with people, with their life activities and also diminishes. The cosmic rhythm represented by 'dance of shiva', is a fine example of cultural/religious interpretation of the timeless realm of becoming and decaying of everyday forms described in Hindu mythology and cosmogony[32]. These important ideas and concepts describe the dynamic nature of the place attached with everyday life of people and performances. Plato's idea of *chora* describes invisible realm flourished in everyday life of people within deeper understanding of the place, and people attached with physical side (visible) of the place the *topos* through this process. How *chora* is comprehended by people is still a question. Deverux quotes,

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[31] Pallasma,1996; Plato,1965; Merleau-Ponty,2002

[32] Nataraja or Nataraj (the lord of dance) is the depiction of god shiva as the cosmic dancer who performs his divine dance to destroy a weary universe and make preperations for the god Brahma to start the process of creation. (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nataraja)

> *"Chora could not be apprehended by senses alone, but required in addition a kind of 'bastard reasoning"*

> *Timaeus, Plato* (cited by Deverux, 1997. P.528)

It is a technique Plato was referring to (Deverux, 1997) , in a kind of dream (Lee,1965), dreaming with our eyes open(Walter, 1988), and this dream is the perception of the world (Merleau-Ponty, 2002). Therefore, place is more than what is there to be seen. Devereux (1997) claimed *chora* as holistic reference to the place and present day place undestanding limited to *topos* eliminating mythic dimension of the place and c*hora*. "So in short, *chora* relates to an engaged, mythic or imagined sense of place rather than a physical, utilitarian, and mundane one" (Devereux. 199.p.529).

The concept of Maha-mera[33] a place concept in Indian Sri Lankan cultures, also describes mythic place super imposed on an earthy bounded place in which the whole concept of c*hora* of the place is depicted. Placing cities and buildings on the earth surface in Sri Lanka and India is according to geometrical, mathematical and mythical diagrams[34] related to stories of gods residing in these, which describe the visible/invisible relationships of the place the *chora*. In many ancient cultures place is more than what is visible. Therefore *chora* is not only in the *topos* (physical setting) and it does not emerge only by kinds of sensory actions such as looking and touching, it reveals inside of the people within timeless realm, but aroused by *topos*. Many ancient cultures perform this kind of dreaming of the world through ritualized behaviour. As, in Sri Lankan traditional settlements through regular ritualized enactments *chora* is emerged. For example, Asala perahera performed annually among traditional settlements celebrates the place in relation to historic, religious, mythic stories and events. These mythic or imagined 'sense of places' associated with ritualized performing and narrating in the landscape: performing place. The link to the Greek theatre through use of the same word *chora* for a dance-floor/stage-platform and the root word of 'chorus' (McEwen, 1993), also describes relationship of *chora* to performance. **Therefore, this research questions, whether ritualized**

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[33] Describe in detail in chapter four 4.1.2.
[34] See section 4.2.3

performances provide mechanism to understand *chora* of the place. Therefore, Plato's concept of *chora* provides an important background to the thesis to explain 'dynamic nature of the place' in terms of performing and how it takes place and understands natural landscape and shapes the cultural place. The extent to which people are currently aware of or recognise relationships between their activities and their environment in this way is not known and will be investigated in the case studies that follow.

2.2.3. Sense of place

Sense of place in terms of the present discussions in environmental psychology, social sciences, architecture and urban designs, describe how people experience the place and understand the relationship between them and the physical setting/location they are in. There are many ideas about sense of place and place attachment and all these ideas discuss about closer relationship between people and the place and inner sense of people attached to the place they live.[35] All human made places are products of engagement, both intellectual and through body- experience which brings 'sense' to the place (Holden, 2012). Experiencing sense of place means someone attached to the place (Casey, 1993) and experience sense of belongingness (Casey, 1993). Place attachment is a developing link between people and the place, expressed through interplay of affects and emotions, knowledge and beliefs and behaviours and actions (Altman & Low, 1992)[36]. Relph (2009) explains that spirit of place exists outside of us while sense of place lies inside of us, but is aroused by the landscape we encounter (cited by Holden, 2012). Relph's idea of sense of place describes spatial understanding inside of us (invisible) which activated by the landscape or surrounding (visible). Therefore, place, sense of place and place attachment are all the result of people, their activities and performing and engagement in landscape and place. These ideas describe invisible spatial understanding inside of people attached to the visible physical setting of the place as sense of place or place attachment.

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[35] Casey, E (1993); Relph, E. (1976), Schulz, C. (1980)
[36] Cited by Ujang,N. (2012)

2.3 Dwelling

People experience their existence on the earth as dwelling when experiencing sense of place in the location (Heidegger, 1962). The concept of dwelling is examined, in relation to how people recognize relationships between themselves, their activities and their environment and how they understand their surroundings. Heidegger's idea of dwelling related to building and architecture describes experience inside the realm of people (Heidegger, 1962). Dwelling describes a process through which humans come to understand their existence on the earth. The concept of dwelling has been considered in relation to architecture and architectural theories.[37] This section discusses a number of key themes including how dwelling relates to performing and **chora**, what spatial understanding takes place in dwelling; and how *chora* is apprehended by dwelling.

2.3.1 Dwelling, Performing and *Chora*

'Sense of place' signifies an effort to understand place in relation to the process of dwelling, which is an essential aspect of human nature (Heidegger, 1962; Schulz, 1980). Heidegger (1962) discusses the meaning of building as dwelling, using the old English and German words 'I dwell, you dwell'. The way in which 'you are' and 'I am', dwell on things the manner in which we humans are on the earth is *Buan*, dwelling (Heidegger, 1971). Therefore dwelling is a process through which people work on the earth in order to find meaning in their existence, but 'on the Earth' already means 'under the Sky' (Schulz, 1980). Both these also mean 'remaining before the divinities' and include a 'belonging to human's being with one another' (Heidegger, 1971). As with the idea of *chora* as the 'becoming place' in Plato's *Timaeus*, Heidegger's concept of dwelling describes two main realms of humans and divine combined with each other, which the physical and non-physical domains of life experiences. The way people are on the earth, produces inter relationships between people and with the earth and the sky (Schulz, 1980). This produces a holistic spatial concept of a dwelling place. Dwelling makes the abode of people (Heidegger, 1962) , "to dwell, to be set at peace, means to

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37 Schulz,1980,1988; Adam Sharr, 2007

remain at peace within the free, the preserve, the free sphere that safeguards each thing in its nature" (Heidegger, 1971). **Therefore the dwelling place unfolds dynamically a spatial enclosure, uniting each one, experiencing 'sense of place' and also a protective space. The unfolding protective space in dwelling could be described as *chora.*** Both Plato's c*hora* (Timaeus) and Heidegger's dwelling (Heidegger, 1962, 1971) describe an invisible intangible spatial domain revealed within people, which they understand as divinities and this domain is aroused by surrounding things and landscape connecting human world with divine world. *Chora* relates to performances and dynamic nature of everyday life while dwelling describes entering into peaceful spatial enclosure as 'dwell on surrounding things'. Therefore dwelling is a process to enter this peaceful domain through hard journey of life of people as described 'You dwell, I dwell' on the Earth. However, Heidegger (1962, 1971) discusses only about this peaceful domain and dwelling in surrounding things and has not mentioned its cyclic nature. Therefore Plato's idea is more realistic to understand everyday life experiences of people and this thesis explains by combining these two philosophical ideas as follows.

Therefore, 'becoming place' (chora) relates to performances and processes of 'dwelling', while being in the place (dwelling) relates to the end result of these processes. Hence, becoming place through processes flourish 'experience the being of it' and again decaying follows the same natural cycle of emergence and decay in repetitive nature. Through repetitive patterns of ritualised behaviour people may pass through a series of divine/mundane experiences. Chora is a re-enactment of unfolded protective spaces which is in cyclical nature while dwelling is an experience of unfolded protective space. Therefore *chora* is not the only biological understanding of the world by senses of the body, in addition mind reveals the space and dwells in physical things[38]. *Chora* is understood by dwelling in *topos*, linking physical to the non physical, experiencing inter- relationships between physical and non physical, visible and invisible, tangible and intangible domains of the place.

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[38] Heidegger, 1962; Merleau-Ponty, 2002

2.3.2 Spatial dimensions and spatial form of dwelling

As *chora* is closely related to dwelling, the spatial understanding of dwelling, discussed in many disciplines, could be examined to understand the relationship between physical forms to non physical experience in everyday world of becoming place. The experience of spatial dimensions and spatial form in dwelling has been discussed in phenomenology[39], philosophy[40], anthropology[41], psychology[42], and in modern physics. Drawing on the existing literature the notions of spatial experiences and spatial dimensions are explored in detail below. Geometrical representations are used in order to locate the experience of spatial dimensions of place on physical world and landscape. Geometry literally means earth measurements. Real spatial dimensions of *chora* and dwelling should be more complex and beyond three dimensional representation. However, geometrical diagrams provide some idea of physical form of spatial dimensions of dwelling and *chora* to relate with everyday forms and landscape.

Worldhood

The worldhood is an ontological concept, people understand in dwelling which describes the nature of,'being in the world' (Heidegger, 1962) .The existential nature of our being in the world relates to 'dwelling'. "When 'you dwell', 'I dwell' only we can describe that we are being in the world "(Heidegger, 1962). Dwelling needs a physical significance – **topos** - to locate to dwell, therefore, we can dwell witin our selves, being-in-one's self (Heidegger, 1962) , we can dwell in the room, we can dwell in the house, we can dwell in the village. When we dwell in the room the room is in the circumspective understanding (Heidegger, 1962; Merleau-Ponty, 2002) by myself, that is the room is understood around our body. This understanding creates everything in the dwelling place (room) ready to hand (Heidegger, 1962) , experiencing 'aroundness' in the place and within *'insideness' of myself*. The room, myself and created place become one concept, a worldhood (Heidegger, 1962) , a single system a circular system (Merleau-Ponty, 2002). (*fig.2.1*)

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[39] Heidegger,1962; Merleau-Ponty, 2002; Bollnow,1963
[40] Plato, Aristotle, Hegal
[41] Ingold,2010
[42] Canter, Casey,1993

Insideness

Dwelling makes concentration towards one's self and experience 'aroundness' in the place. This concentration happens towards 'inside' of one's self and within this 'inside concentration' revealing the dwelling place to make everything within the 'insideness' of the place and creates 'aroundness' of the place, the 'worldhood' (Heidegger, 1962). Therefore this space is enclosed and directional[43], **towards inside**, and **directs towards outside** to reveal the outside and to make 'insideness' of the 'worldhood' (Heidegger, 1962) '. **Therefore experience of dwelling place is round and around the body, directional towards inside and reveals the outside and whole dwelling place becomes 'insideness'.** In this worldhood experience, 'myself' travels from outside to inside and inside to outside, to reveal the outside is a revelation (Krishnamurti, 1991; Merleau-Ponty, 2002).

Center – MITTE

In this journey of revelation, there is a point or boundary which separates the inside from the outside. In dwelling process 'insideness' is created when concentration happens towards one's self, (*thesis proposes)* the end point of this concentration is '**centre'**. The experience of inside and centre opens out new dimensions as discussed by many scholars. [44] **The old German word 'mitte' for the centre, denotes half way on a linear extension (Bollnow, 1963). Therefore 'centre' provides 'sense of threshold' (Bollnow, 1963) . The end point we recognize as the 'centre' should be the threshold to 'beyond center', opens out new dimensions of invisible and non physical domains.** The entrance to a place creates direction towards centre by concentration, or by walking. The entrance is important in many cultures, and having spiritual feeling and sense of threshold which reflect in many architectural edifices of ancient cultures.

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[43] Heidegger (1962)
[44] Eliade,1961; Merleau-Ponty, 2002; Bachelard, 1964; Schulz,1988; Bollnow, 1963

Fourfolds

Dwelling experience *fourfolds:* earth and sky, divinities and mortals as one (Heidegger, 1962) and fourfolds describe experiences beyond centre. The study further explores the idea of Earth described by Heidegger. Earth means physical existence, materiality and the visibility of the world while sky means non-physical existence, immateriality and invisibility. The experience of mortals and divinities (Heidegger, 1971) means mundane life and divine nature. Many cultures describe experience of divine nature in cultural place. Beyond center experience is non-physical, immaterial, invisible and divine nature. According to Heidegger, dwelling experience fourfolds at once in the 'worldhood'; that is physical & non-physical, material & immaterial, visible & invisible and mundane & divine experiences open out within the place of people.

Therefore, dwelling place opens out the pathway towards the beyond center, a linear extension through which one's self travels along, to experience divine nature within mundane life, apprehending chora. Geometrical representation of fourfolds *(fig.2.2)* is an attempt to locate non-physical experience on physical forms and landscape. Physical extension on the earth becomes a zero point at centre and beyond centre. Mitte is a boundary at this point, opening new dimension and connecting physical to non-physical domains.

2.4 Absolute form of good[45] and place understanding.

Above discussed phenomenological, philosophical concepts of the place in relation to dwelling and sense of place could be applied to develop an abstract form about 'worldhood understanding' which is useful to relate to architecture, built forms and landscape in this discussion. Space receives its being from location and not from space (Heidegger, 1962, 1971; Schulz, 1980), thus creation of space is attached with the physical setting, the earth/ physical form (*topos*) linking to the sky/non physical form sensing *chora*. *(fig. 2.3)*

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[45] Plato: Timaeus cited by Deverux
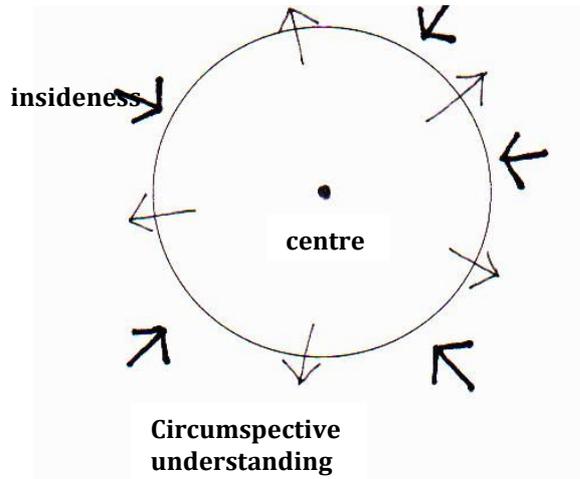
*Fig. 2.1: **Worldhood** as a circular system*

Labels in figure: insideness, centre, Circumspective understanding
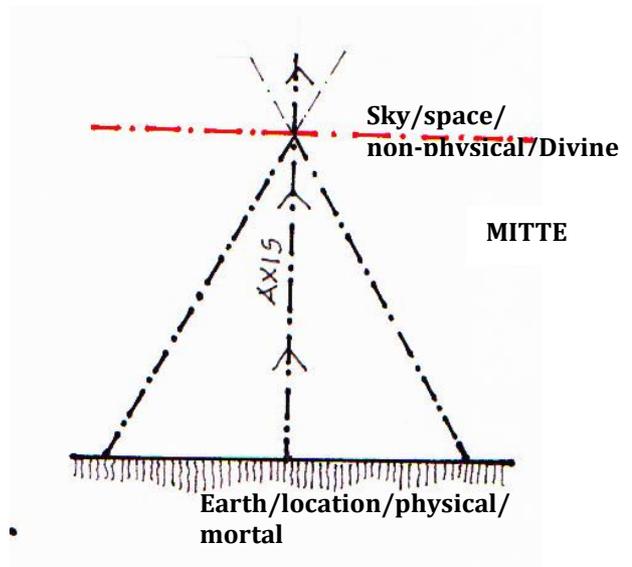
*fig.2.2: **Fourfolds** linking Earth & Sky; Divine & Mortal*

Labels in figure: Sky/space/non-physical/Divine, MITTE, AXIS, Earth/location/physical/mortal

*Fig2.3: **Absolute form of good**.*

Labels in figure: Sky/space, MITTE, AXIS, Earth/location
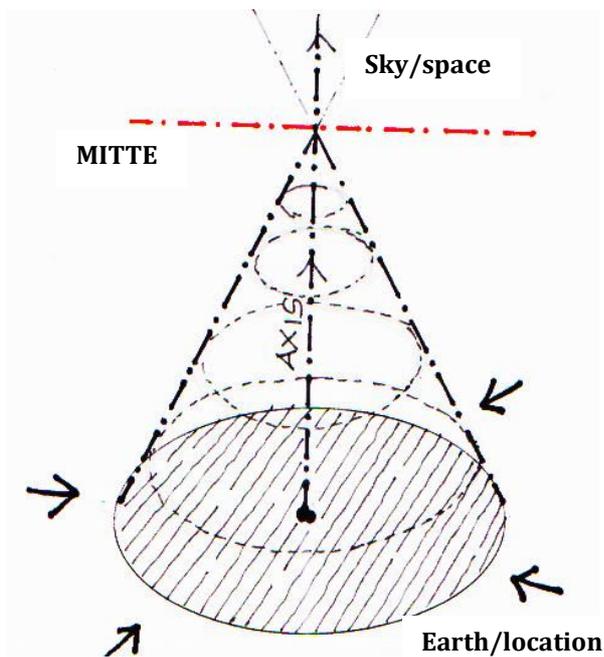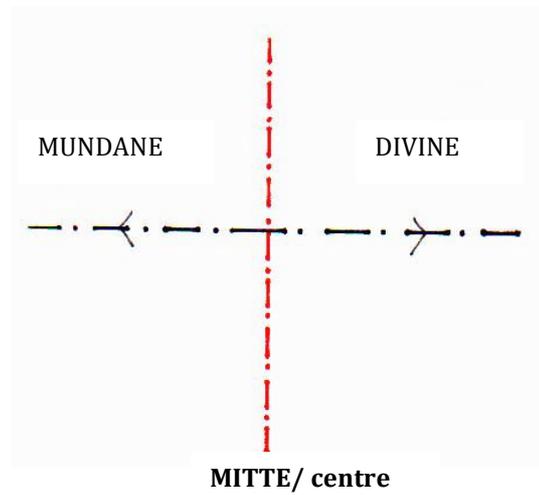
*Fig.2.4: **Mitte** as a threshold between two worlds*

Labels in figure: MUNDANE, DIVINE, MITTE/ centre

Also, space is not there from the beginning and evolved in 'human sense' (Bollnow,1963; Plato: Timaeas) in dwelling by concentration towards one's self and making 'insideness', experiencing their attachment to the physical setting and place. In this revelation mind passes the centre the MITTE (Bollnow, 1963) and experiences the divine nature/ experience of sky, beyond centre, along a linear extension between mundane and divine domains *(fig.2.4).* It could be described that the linear extension passing MITTE more towards divine/ sky domain will experience more divine nature than mundane. The linear extension closer towards mundane/ earth domain will experience more mundane nature than divine nature. Thus experience of dwelling place is a 'vibration of life between mundane and divine having polar experiences (Bollnow, 1963). The focusing towards centre makes tension between inside and outside around the mind and placing the mind-body at the centre of the revealed place which makes circumspective understanding of the world (Heidegger, 1963) . There are mythical linear (almost straight) paths that exist in many ancient cultures recognized as spiritual journeys (Devereux, 1997) , mythical bird flights (Devereux, 1997) , spirit journeys (Eliade, 1970) in resembling the linear extension passing MITTE and gaining divine experience. *This linear extension may be the timeless passage by which ideas pass into the everyday world through divine understanding. This spatial understanding unfolds the place as becoming place connecting mundane to divine (thesis proposes).* ***Thus the world is understood within one's self and around the body experiencing centre of the place, threshold to beyond centre.*** Plato's ideal forms should be the spatial understanding of dwelling place. Each time life passes the boundaries and reaches the divine domain this form unfolds the everyday world as becoming place. Plato discusses about absolute form of good,

"Art is an imitation of life and life merely a shadow of the ideal forms" Thus "the work of artist is a third remove from the essential nature of the thing"

Plato (1945 quoted by Schechner, 1988.p.37)[46].

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[46] Schechner use Francis Cornford (1945) translation – (Plato 1945:327)

Plato's idea about absolute form of good may be the absolute form experiencing in dwelling, in the 'being of one's self'. Plato's idea of imitation of life has been wrongly interpreted by many Scholars as mimetic, including Schechner (1988). ***Therefore absolute form of good, life and the world of people is shadow of the ideal forms experienced in dwelling as discussed above as spatial dimensions and spatial form of dwelling(thesis proposes.*** In recognizing Plato's idea we can name this form as '**absolute form of good'**. This form could be described as the primordial form of dwelling, the form initially exists before being shaped, enhanced and evolved by many factors, such as climate, technology, social, cultural, religious, economic, topography, human scale etc. This form may be recognized in paradise where there are no such constraints. 'A primitive hut (primordial hut) situated permanently perhaps beyond the reach of the historian or archaeologist, is in paradise (Rykwert, 1972). Paradise is a promise as well as a memory' (Rykwert, 1972). Absolute form of good or primordial form of dwelling appears in the place where people (mundane) & divinities meet and earth & sky meet. It is a place where both physical and non physical components are in complete harmony (sense of *chora*) and both humans & divinities experience their 'being' and 'existence' in the unfolded space. Absolute form of good emerges, flourishing and decaying within the life of people and everyday forms pass through this process. ***Art and architecture and landscape is a result of this dwelling process and understanding reflecting shadows of absolute form of good.*** *However, Plato's ideal forms and Heiddeger's worldhood understaning in dwelling are within a more philosophical framework. Therefore, how these ideal forms are influenced by landscape and surrounding to the life of people and how people reflect this understanding into everyday world are questions. It is about more practical side of the concept, related to architecture and built forms.*

Norberg Schulz (1980) explains 'structure of place' by considering Heidegger's phenomenology. He discusses inside/ outside tension, enclosure as focusing towards centre and centralization, direction and rhythm as important properties of the place (Schulz, 1980). Perhaps, rhythm has closer relations with the 'vibration of life' between

mundane and divine experiences in dwelling which also relates to **time** and **dynamic nature of the place**. However, he directly relates these to architecture and built space to explain the visible dimensions of the place. It is important to examine how people understand these ideal forms by dwelling and performing in the place and how they reflect these understandings on the place. Plato's idea of art and architecture as reflections of shadows of life provides better sense in this framework, but, still it is not clear, how this takes place.

The thesis describes that physical shape of the absolute form of good as shown in the above discussed diagrams (*Fig.2.1 – Fig.2.4*) influence on everyday forms, art and architecture. As this experiential spatial domain emerges within inside of people, within circumspective understanding, this shape is inscribed as a pre-image in human psychological realms. *Therefore, everyday forms should reflect human sense and human body and also divine experiences. The natural landscape may provide physical setting, visible dimensions –topos- for this imagination and revelation of the place. **Therefore, art and architecture should have close relationships with physical form of absolute form of good, human sense & body proportions, spatial understanding of absolute form of good , divine sense and natural landscape.*** There are evidences of 'reflection of absolute form of good' discussed in architecture but none of these have been directly discussed, relating to ideal forms experienced in dwelling. Vitruvius discusses the geometries of building form, and the model he uses is the idealized human body (Rykwert, 1972). The analogy to nature in Alberti takes a quite contradicting form. To him the building is really an analogy to a body (Rykwert, 1972). Perhaps it could be said, that they have wrongly interpreted Plato, or they actually understood emerging architecture from the human realm. Le Corbusier discusses about the similarity between primitive hut and primitive temple where both human and divine experience reflects in human dwelling, but in varying degrees. These discussions in architecture describe the origin of architecture and the place where it comes from. ***It is within human body, mind and human sense of divinity and from unfolded spatial domains by dwelling.*** People symbolize their experience of dwelling and

absolute form of good in architecture and cultural landscape. Schulz (1980) says, 'He has to symbolize his understanding of nature (including himself)'. Although 'absolute form of good' may appears in paradise (Rykwert, 1972) , many primitive cultures celebrate this kind of form as houses (*Plate 2.1*), sacred places and as sacred objects. Also mountains resemble the shape of the absolute form of good, recognized as sacred, for example: Mount Fuji, Mount Peru (*Plate 2.2*), etc.

plate 2.1: **Primitive hut**
source: Paul Oliver, Shelter, Sigh and Symbol

Plate 2.2:**Machu Picchu punku** or
gateway – Peru. Source: googleimages

The physical shape[47] of building forms of religious architecture resembles the shape of 'absolute form of good'. (*Fig. 2.5*)
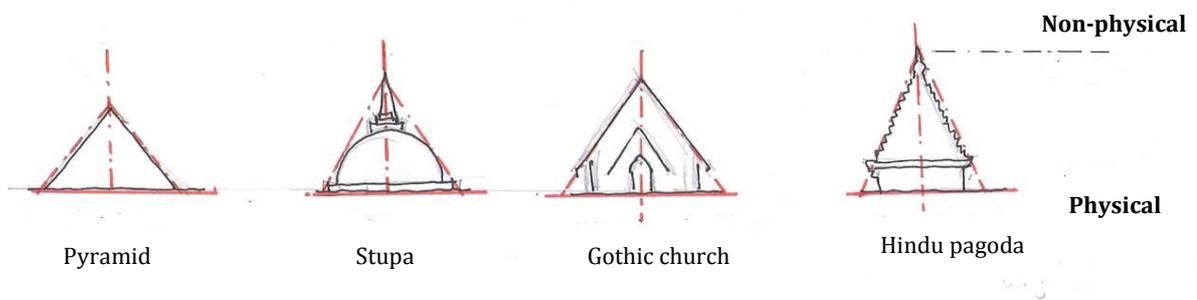
Fig. 2.5: **Physical shape of Religious built forms.**
Source : author

These shapes could be explained, based on place understanding in relation to physical form and verticality of the human body and landscape. However, centre opens beyond centre concentrating towards the inside of the absolute form of good connecting two polar domains which exists outside the body and inside the body. Therefore these two

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[47] These shapes may have been developed based on geometries, mathematical models related to understanding of absolute form of good cognized in human psychic. Perhaps this could be another research area to investigate relationships between mathematical models and *chora*.

domains are physicaly identified relating to either earth/ sky or inside/ outside. In this view chthomic spaces such as caves could be explained as connecting outside to deep inside. Square shaped houses in desert climates provide contrasting character between inside and outside as a manifestation of deep feeling of inside.

2.5 Performance as a dwelling process

This section discusses how dwelling takes place by narrating and performing in the landscape. As discussed in earlier sections, 'becoming place' (*chora*) relate to performances and processes of dwelling. Performances could be described as a dwelling process. Therefore, the understanding of Nature- natural Landscape and one's self is a dwelling process.   However, discussions on spatial understanding in sense of place and discussion on performance theories are within separate disciplinary areas. Richard Schechner continues his studies on performance theory (1988) by examining rituals of ancient cultures evaluating these with modern theatre. Goffman (1959) discusses everyday life as a performance, but their concerns are on theatre and expressions of performance. *The study will find the gap linking these two disciplinary areas to understand how performative process achieves dwelling and comprehending chora.*

2.5.1 Process of dwelling by Performing

Performative actions and processes make dwelling and the sense of place. These kind of cultural performances are common in traditional cultures. *Man has to work hard to dwell in the landscape by performing series of actions (by means of body and mind. (thesis proposes)* The same poem, previously quoted by Heidegger (1971) and Schulz (1980) in their phenomenological discussions to describe 'process of dwelling' and place could be utilized in this instance too.

A WINTER EVENING

Windows with falling snow is arrayed,
Long tolls the vesper bell,
The house is provided well,
The table is for many laid.

Wandering ones, more than a few,
Come to the door on darksome courses.
Golden blooms the tree of graces
Drawing up the earth's cool dew.

Wanderer quietly steps within;
Pain has turned the threshold to stone.
There lie, in limpid brightness show,
Upon the table bread and wine.

Georg Trakl (quoted by Schulz,1980. P.8)

A Winter Evening by Georg Trakl describes the strong feeling of threshold after a hard journey through landscape and performing aspect of life. The feeling of threshold is the feeling of MITTE passing boundaries to reach the ideal place and form. Dwelling is discovered by performing actions, hard working, and wandering, sensing the roughness of landscape and is poetically expressed in the poem. The bread and wine (the end result of the process) is achieved through working in landscape, understanding the topography, physical forms, and hardness of landscape and fighting with landscape and Nature. Therefore the achievement of end result is through a series of performing actions such as ploughing, seeding, watering, irrigating; walking across fields; climbing up and down; chasing animals and birds; spending sleepless nights; gathering harvest, sorting, storing and finally making into bread and wine. People work hard against Nature and with Nature sensing dynamism of place and c*hora*. *The house described in the poem is the unfolded absolute form of good, the inside volume revealed and expressed by the poet as 'the house is provided well'.*

2.5.2 Divine/ Mundane experience in life performances

All performing activities of people could be described as life performances (Goffman, 1959). There are many evidences of experiencing spatial dimensions of dwelling and absolute form of good in traditional cultural performances and even in present day performances, for example, drama, sports etc. Discussed here are some examples of 'techniques' of access, in making connections between the mundane and the divine in these performances and apprehending *chora*. Meditation[48] is a process

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[48] Conze,E(1956); Nayanaponika (1962)

practising in many Asian countries, to attain higher levels of mind apart from everyday life performances. Although meditation is recognized as experiencing non physical and invisible nature of the place, yet there are physical attributes –*topos* - linked within the meditation process. People need calm and serene environment to control their mind and body (Nayanaponika, 1962). There were many forest monasteries and meditation centres in Asian countries like Sri Lanka, India and Japan. Meditation could be performed by sitting under a tree or sitting in a calm place, maintaining calmness of the body posture and with a peaceful mind and a regulated breathing pattern (Conze, 1956). According to the state of mind achieved by the meditator the meditator's sphere enters different levels of understanding of the world and relationship between mind-body and the outside is getting wider and deeper [49](dwelling form and worldhood experience).

Shamanism[50] is a psychic technique (Lommel ,1967;Eliade,1970), very ancient technique rooted among central Asian cultures during the Alpine Paleolithic period , some 30,000 to 50,000 years ago (Schechner, 1988). By citing Rothenberg (1968) Schechner(1988) describes that the Shamanic perception of the world[51] as Shaman attains a state, where the demarcation between his body and outside vanishes; his understanding of the world is 'holistic' (Schechner, 1988) , soul foresaking the body (Lommel,1967) , and identical with ecstatic experience[52]. Repetition of journeys is identical in these performing. "The deep conviction of a fundamental and *indelible solidarity of life* that bridges over the multiplicity and variety of its single forms" (Schechner,1988. P.). Schechner interpreting Rothenberg describes "all things are part of wholeness",(Schechner,1988. P.). Both Schechner and Rothenberg's discussions are important for understanding spatial concepts of becoming place and dwelling and how these spatial experiences are linked with life performances. Although their discussions are not framed within phenomenological and philosophical understandings of the place,

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[49] Nayanaponika (1962); Krishnamurti (1991)

[50] Shamanism is a performing process, common in hunter-gatherer societies, as a mediator between two worlds (Pearson, 2002 cited by Schechner, 1988). Shaman is prized by his people (Schechner, 1988), as his journeys to meet spirits in other worlds to receive knowledge and benefits for his society.

[51] Schechner, 1988; Eliade, 1970;Lommel,1967; Rothenberg,1968

[52] Eliade,1965; Lommel,1967; Rothenberg, 1968;Schechner,1988

they indirectly talk about the becoming place within everyday life experiences within the passage of passing ideal forms. Drama, sports, games and play are group performances and achievements may be making a common experience among members. Schechner compares traditional ritual behaviour with present day art performances: "Artists treat experience as something indivisible but exchangeable; as endlessly varied but on the same plane; as here and now but other-worldly" (Schechner, 1988. P. 43). Schechner (1988) describes that holistic experience may be gained by sports, drama and even in everyday performances during some pleasurable moments of winning and achieving events which is hard to describe.

2.5.3 Ritual behaviour

Ritualized behaviour signifies repeating of activities, and ceremonies among traditional cultures and primitive cultures. Varied definitions could be given for rituals as concepts, praxis, process, ideology, yearning, experience, functions (Schechner, 1993)[53]. Common understanding of rituals is identical with 'sacred' experience (Schechner, 1993). According to Schechner rituals are considered as:

1) A part of evolutionary development of animals.
2) A structure with formal qualities and definable relationships.
3) Symbolic systems of meaning.
4) Performative actions or processes.
5) Experiences.

Human ritual is clearly different from that of animal ritual, as animal performing is transmitted genetically, while human performing is transmitted culturally (Schechner, 1988). He further describes, 'Rituals as ambivalent symbolic actions pointing at the real transactions: as rites of passage' (Schechner, 1993). Ritual performances are identical with trances, dances, ecstasies (Schechner,1988; Eliade, 1970) by rhythmic sounds , body performing, nonstop dancing , singing , firing, smoking with fire , body sacrificing, animal sacrificing and are common among primitive cultures. These performances exhibit a cyclic nature in hourly, daily, weekly,

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[53] Grimes;Goffman,1967; Geertz,1973; Turner (1969)

monthly and yearly intervals. Some rituals like Engwura[54] perform for several years (Schechner, 1988). The day followed rising and falling rhythm; performing event for few minutes, then preparation for the next event (*fig. 2.6*) (Schechner, 1988 p.111)
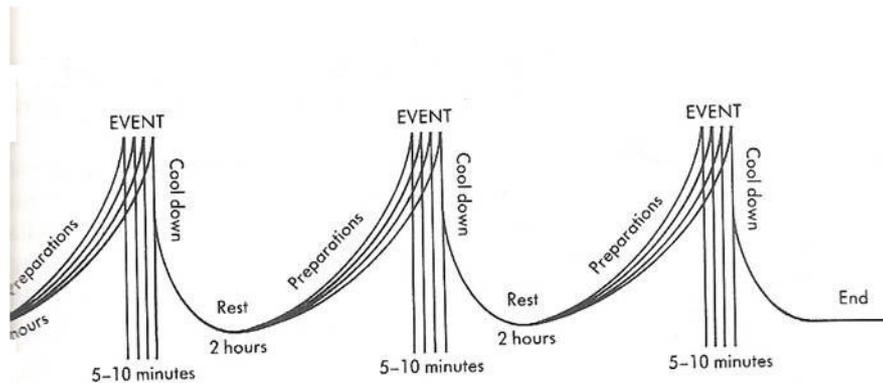
Fig. 2.6 ***rising and falling pattern*** *could be compared with becoming of place and divine experience.*(Source : Schechner, 1988 p.111)[55]

As many rituals perform body sacrificing by unbelievable dancing and acrobatics, performers may experience 'less feeling' about the body and trance condition. In these rising and falling rhythmic patterns they pass the MITTE and experience divine nature (at rising) in rhythmic time cycle. Thus rituals are recognized as 'sacred' and making 'sacred places' (*Fig. 2.7*) which could be described as ideal forms passing in these performances. ***The repetition of apprehending chora is significant in ritual behaviour.***
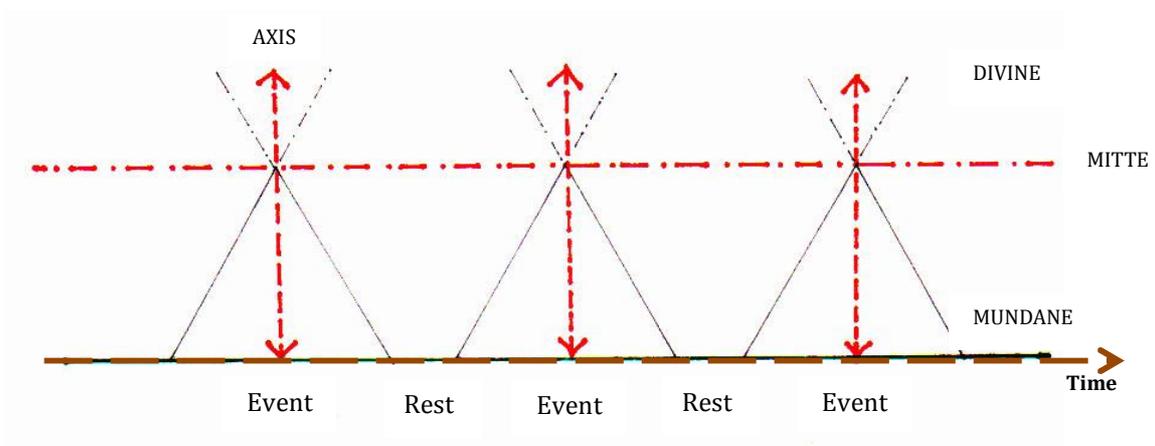
Fig. 2.7: ***time / experience of ideal forms***

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[54] Initiation cycle of Arunta (Spencer and Gillen 1899,1968)
[55] He describes how performance take place in certain time intervals, rhythmical repeating of rituals.

To summarise, ritual behaviour in traditional cultures and primitive cultures is characterized by:

- Divine experience within mundane life performing

- Journeys to the super natural world, e.g. spirit journeys, enlightenment

- Out of body experience - less feeling of the body /body and outside as one place

- Cyclic nature- repetition through time and place

- Holistic vision – gaining knowledge in holistic vision (sense of *chora*)

- Experience of centre and axis,e.g. symbolization by cosmic pillars

- Symbols of absolute form of good

- Celebration of life and the place

These ritualistic repetitive performances are techniques which Plato referred as, ***chora could not be apprehended by senses alone, but required in addition a kind of 'bastard reasoning'- Timaeus, Plato***

2.6 Visible[56] dimensions of Natural Landscape: Natural *Topos*.

How dwelling takes place by narrating in the landscape, what inter-actions are happening between people and natural landscape and what meanings and experiences are given by natural landscape will be discussed in this section. How natural landscape is understood through performative processes, and taken into performing place and dwelling takes place are questions. **The study argues, that in everyday life performances, people understand natural landscape as natural *topos*, which guide dwelling**. **Visible dimensions of these physical features provide invisible dimensions to be imagined mythic landscape and perform daily life, creating dwelling places.**

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[56] Visible – not only in terms of vision of eye, but by vision of all five senses.

Research works to date focusing on relationship of place, performance, and natural landscape are very few. Schechner's works on performance and rituals of ancient cultures are related to theatre, although he discusses on ethology related to animal-human performances. The most impressive work on natural landscape related to architecture is from Norberg Schulz (1980). He describes natural landscape as,

> "The landscape he lives is not a mere flux of phenomena; it has structure and embodies meanings. These structures and meanings have given rise to mythologies (cosmogonies and cosmologies) which have formed the basis of dwelling". He further noted that the "phenomenology of myths has still to be written" (Schulz, 1980. p.23)

Schulz (1980) describes the relationship between man and nature in creating landscape as, "The world is experienced as a 'thou' rather than an 'it'. Man was thus imbedded in nature and dependent upon the natural forces" (Schulz, 1980. P. 23). According to Schulz, 'understanding of landscape' is a dwelling process. Schulz' discussion of the world is experienced as a 'thou', expresses the embodied relationship between people and the surrounding landscape within the emerging place. The thesis discusses that this relationship developed through actions and processes of life performances of people.

2.6.1 Natural *Topos*

The study categorizes phenomenon of basic natural landscape features as rocks and stones, hills and mountains, water and trees.[57] These natural elements guide people directing MITTE to pass the boundaries in order to experience invisible dimensions (divine nature) and therefore dwelling places of man flourish. 'Being the primary natural 'things', rocks, vegetation and water make a place meaningful or 'sacred' (Schulz,1980) , to use the term of Mircea Eliade. He wrote: "The most primitive of the 'sacred places' we know of constituted a microcosm: a landscape of stones, water and trees" (Eliade, 1963.p.188). Both Schulz and Eliade's words 'sacred' describe invisible dimensions of divine nature experienced

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[57] Schulz,1980; Eliade,1963; Amita Sinha,2006

by understanding natural landscape and by comprehending visible dimensions of natural *topos.* Amita Sinha (2006) uses the word 'archetypal symbols' to describe landscape referring to Plato. He indicates the concept of archetype going back to Plato who uses it in the sense of an ideal form (Sinha, 2006). Amita Sinha usefully employs archetypes in discussing landscapes of profound cultural significance (Sinha, 2006). Commending both ideas of Amita Sinha and Plato, the thesis describe that **these primary natural forms provide visible dimensions to sense and imagine 'absolute form of good'- ideal forms of life experiences'**. Amita Sinha's works describe divine experience of natural landscape influencing religious/cultural interpretations focused on cultural landscape and mythology of landscape. His works provide evidences of relationships between natural place and cultural place. Given below are description of basic natural forms ***the thesis refers as natural topos, which provides visible dimensions to imagine invisible dimensions***.

Mountains

'The **mountain** thus belongs to the earth, but it rises towards the sky. It is 'high', it is close to heaven, and it is a meeting place where the two basic elements (earth and sky) meet together. "Mountains were therefore considered 'centres' through which the axis mundi goes, a spot where one can pass from one cosmic zone to another" (Schulz, 1980. P.25 discussed referring Eliade). The abstract image of mountain described by both Schulz and Eliade is similar to the 'absolute form of good', directing the axis to pass the MITTE to experience life between mundane and divine nature[58], by sensing the place in terms of *chora*. Mountains provide a gathering quality (Schulz, 1980) directing towards the inside and towards the centre of the absolute form of good; both by the natural *topos* and by mythic imagination people experience divine dimensions, sacred dimensions as Eliade (1963) discusses. Mountains are venerated as sacred places in many cultures. Mountains are venerated as residence of gods (Sinha, 2006). The shape of the mountain which is similar to the 'absolute form of good' is performed as sacred places around the world, for example, mount Fuji – Japan (*Plate 2.3*), mount Peru – Peru (*Plate 2.4*), and Sri Pada -Sri Lanka (*Plate 2.5*).

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[58] Amita Sinha, 2006; Eliade,1963; Schulz,1980

Plate 2.3: **Mount Fuji , *Chubu, Japan***
This beautiful peak is named for the Buddhist fire goddess Fuchi and is sacred to the Shinto goddess Sengen-Sama, whose shrine is discovered at the summit
Source: Google.com

*Plate 2.4: **Mount Peru***
Inca temple on the summit, sacred journeys still continues
Shamanic practises still take place.
Source: google.com

*Plate 2.5: **Sri Pada, Sri Lanka***
For Buddhists – sacred foot print of Gautama Buddha
For Muslims – Adam's peak
Hindu shrine, pilgrim journeys still continues by all devotees
Source: google.com

It is interesting to note that Muslim's understanding of Sri Pada in Sri Lanka as 'Adam's peak', which resembles the 'Adam's hut' of Rykwert is an evidence of understanding pre-cognized form of dwelling, the origin of the form, the absolute form of good.

Rocks and stones have been given primary importance by many cultures because of their imperishableness (Schuls, 1980). These natural *topos* provide gathering of varies properties (Schuls,1980), centralization effect and concrete materiality. The shape and size of rocks provide visible dimensions, in order to understand mythic dimensions.[59] Rocks and stones are important in creating sacred places in Japanese and Chinese temple gardens.

Trees and Vegetation

The physical structure of tree provides understanding of dwelling place, the absolute form of good. The trunk and shaded canopy make centralization and insideness, while the trunk shows the vertical link between the Earth and the Sky, between physical and non physical, and opens out divine dimensions within mundane dimensions. 'In the **tree,** heaven and earth are also united, not only in a spatial sense because the tree rises up from the ground, but because it grows and is 'alive'. "To a primitive religious mind, the tree is the universe and it is so because it reproduces it and sums it up" (Eliade, cited by Schulz, 1980). Adding little more to Eliade, recognizing tree as the universe, because of visible dimensions and the physical structure (including geometries) which provide shape and form to understand universal form, the absolute form of good. Amita Sinha (2006) discusses, that the tree represents the universe and the cosmic tree- *kalpa vruksha-* symbolizes the experience of life itself. The earliest temples were tree shrines (Sinha, 2006). There are many trees recognized as sacred and as abodes of deities in Sri Lanka. For example, Sri Maha Bodhiya[60], perhaps the most ancient tree in the world, is one of most sacred physical object (for Buddhists) in Sri Lanka. The Bo leaf also is recognized as sacred and the geometrical shape of the Bo leaf shows the similarity with absolute form of good. (*Fig.2.8*)

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[59] Further describe in chapter 4
[60] Branch of the same tree, used by the Buddha for enlightenment.
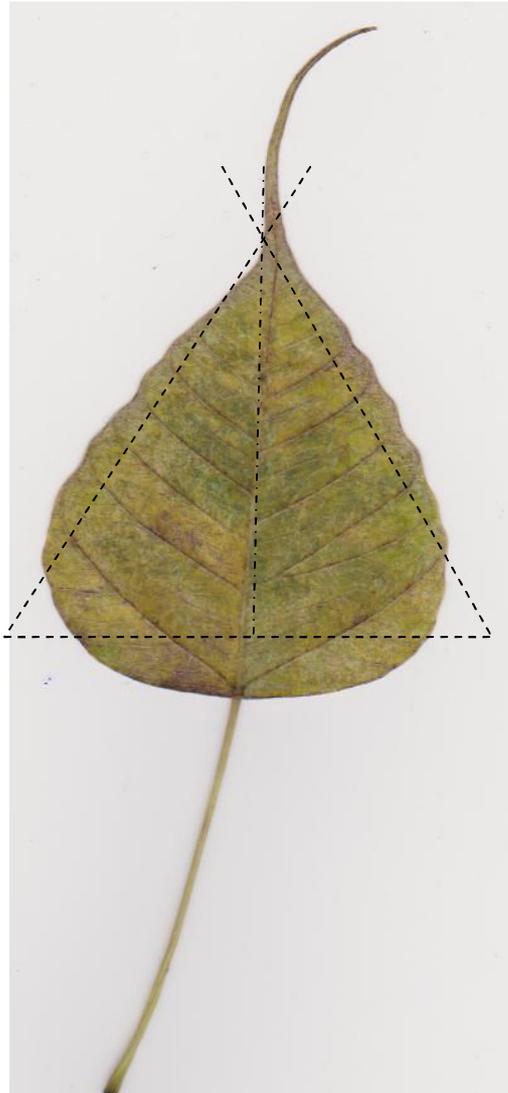
*Fig. 2.8: **Bo leaf** – Ficus Religiosa*

Asceticism is best practised in forests (or hilly caves), and sages over centuries have meditated at the foot of a tree, seeking the secrets of the universe and self-knowledge through introspection (Sinha, 2006).[61] As Shultz says, not all vegetation provide friendly understanding, it is because of the visible dimensions - shape and form of trees, scale, proportion of canopy to the trunk, colours and etc. – and geometries of the tree help to understand invisible dimensions and absolute form of good. Bo tree (*Ficus religiosa*) is a good example of this kind and some of other examples are Nuga (*Ficus benghalensis*) and Naa (*Messua ferrea*) growing in tropical forests. Many of these are tree shrines in Sri Lanka and in India. The hot-humid weather also in tropical countries

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[61] As analysed in section 2.3.2

enhance the contrast between shaded inside under a tree in relation to hot , shining, vast outside. In European countries this feeling may be different.

Water

Along with mountains, water is one of the most important natural element in Hindu mythology and most sacred sites contain one or both of these elements (Sinha, 2006). Amita Sinha describing forms and meanings of landscape in India, discusses reasons for eastern understanding of water as a sacred element in religious landscape.

> "The reasons for water's religious significance are many; water precedes creation and reabsorbs it and thus is associated with both evolution and dissolution. **Bathing in water is believed to bring about re-generation since immersion implies a temporary regression into the undifferentiated mode of existence while emersion is symbolic of the creation of form."** (Sinha, 2006. p.37)

Schulz (1980) discusses water as a basic element in the images of paradise relating to western understanding. He further describes in the Genesis, God separates the dry land from water after the creation of heaven and earth, light and darkness. Water is the primeval substance from which all forms come (Eliade, 1963). In natural landscape water exists in two ways, as still water in lakes and ponds and as flowing water in rivers and springs. Flowing water shows rhythm and direction. Sinha (2006) describes the mythological understanding of Ganga , the most sacred river in India is understood as a goddess by Hindus, "Ganga (goddess)...is a moving flowing axis Mundi – bathing in her waters washes away pollution of sins and being cremated at her banks brings *moksha* (divine)" (Sinha, 2006. p.38). Axis *Mundi* passes through the centre linking divine with mundane, in mythological landscape, which is similar to the axis passing through the absolute form of good linking the earth to the sky. Thus the moving quality shows the 'rhythm' of life experiences, vibrating between mundane and divine passing MITTE.

The moving flowing quality of river provides visible dimensions to imagine the rhythm of life vibrates between two worlds recognized as re-

generation, re-birth. By bathing in river in many ancient cultures it also symbolizes the understanding of creation and re creation: transmitting between two worlds and absolute form is re created and re-experienced (thesis). It could be described still water, also in terms of western idea of Genesis. Separation of dry land from water (Genesis) symbolizes separation of the earth from the heaven and separation of light from the darkness: two oppositional experiences, related to each other. The reflective quality of water provides visible dimensions to understand the opposite experiences; visible dimensions as the reflection of invisible dimensions, as Plato says: life is merely a shadow of the ideal forms. **Water provide visible dimensions to understand two oppositional experiences, reflecting on each other** *(Plate 2.6)* **- divine experience within mundane experience in dwelling, apprehending *chora* of the place.[62]** *It could be summarized that natural topos provides visible dimensions to imagine invisible dimensions in order to create (full image of) absolute form of good and sense the chora.*
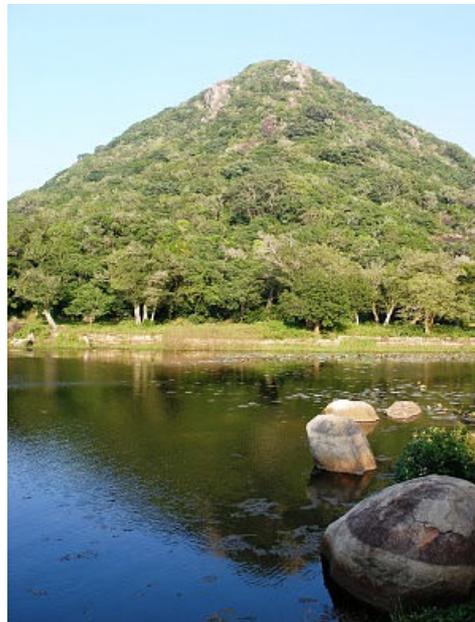
*Plate 2.6: **Reflective quality of water***.
Meditation landscape, Sri Lanka

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[62] Note: refreshment gained by bathing in river/spring after a hard/ long journey in landscape in tropical countries may not be experienced in western/European weather.

2.6.2 Passing MITTE – by performing in landscape

There are a variety of natural landscapes exist within the above discussed primary natural forms, that provide dwelling places for humans. Schulz (1980) describes understanding of natural landscape as a process through understanding, comprehending, symbolization (including him). How these three processes are put into 'action' in search of dwelling place in landscape has to be examined. **People understand natural *topos* and sense *chora* by performing in landscape. The thesis describes that these archetypal symbols guide people's performing by directing MITTE, for imagination of mythic landscape in terms of experiencing 'absolute form of good'.** Performing in landscape by means of pilgrim journeys, narrating stories, celebrating places and events, ritual parades and ceremonies are evident in many ancient cultures. All these perform direct inter-actions with natural landscape. For example, by walking, touching, sensing, experiencing, and making etc body and mind make direct contacts with natural landscape. **Natural landscape guides in passing MITTE directed by visible dimensions and there are visible boundaries within these which separate two domains of divine and mundane and someone passing these boundaries will feel the sense of MITTE – beyond centre- and achieve divine dimensions.** Some of these natural landscapes[63] and understanding MITTE by performing in everyday life (mundane) could be categorized as follows:

Mountains far and difficult to reach

Mountains which are similar to the shape and form of the absolute form of good and far away from mundane life performances and difficult to reach the whole mountain is experienced as divine. The line/region of passing boundaries and sensing divine dimensions lies below the mountain (*fig.2.9*). These landscapes are imagined by mythology relating to gods and experiencing divine presence of the place. There are pilgrim journeys to reach and pass difficult boundaries, experiencing sacred dimensions is an experience of dwelling and absolute form of good. (E.g. Sri Pada, Sri Lanka;

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[63] More detailed varieties in Sri Lankan landscape to be discussed in chapter 4

mount Fuji, Japan). Reaching these mountain peaks is characterised with performing good behaviour[64]; and walking through thick jungles, touching stones, sand and sensing hardness of topography; stepping up rocks and stones; climbing difficult heights; bathing in a river or spring, sensing freshness of water and rhythm in relation to hardness of land and life are common in many cultures (re-quoting the experience gained in Trakl's poem 'A Winter Evening').
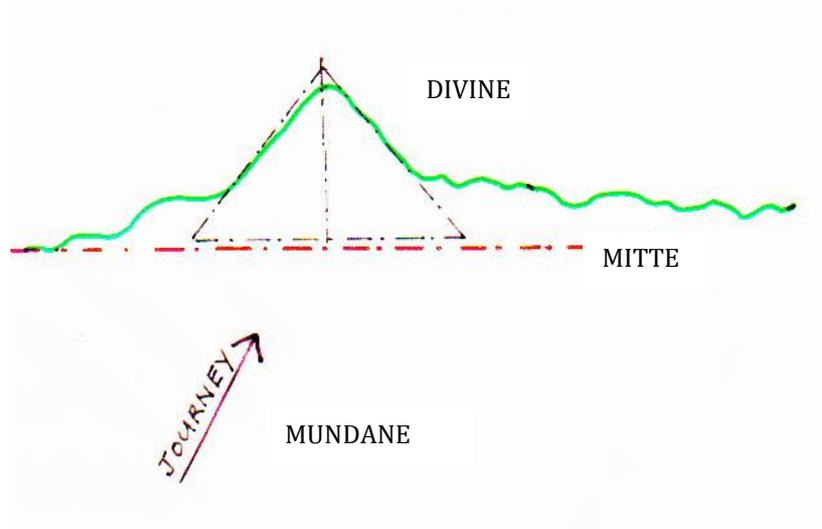
Fig. 2.9: ***Mountains far and difficult to reach***

Mountains within proximity

The shape and form of mountains similar to the absolute form of good, existing within close proximity to everyday life performances (close to village or town) are recognized as meditation places in many cultures. Boundaries separating divine experience from mundane experience lie midway of these mountains (*Fig.2.10*). By climbing mountain, people experience passing boundaries, experiencing MITTE and gain divine dimensions. By climbing and by visible dimensions of mountain including panoramic views people experience transition between mundane and divine, sensing c*hora* and unfolding dwelling place and form.

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[64] P*ewenawa*- vegetarian, non-alcoholic, etc.
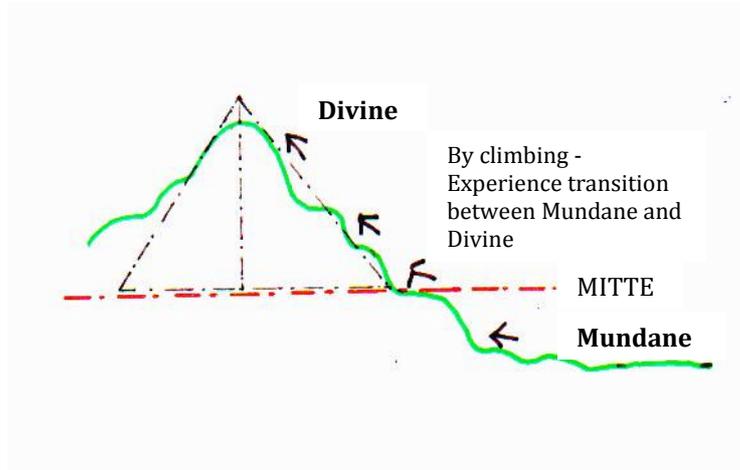
Fig. 2.10: ***Mountains within proximity***

Valleys

In mythology of sacred landscape valleys are not described, but valleys are surrounded by sacred mountains and mountain peaks. MITTE, the line of transitions lies above the valley (*Fig.2.11*). Thus life performances below this line are Mundane, which are village settlements, agricultural lands, fields and farms. People living in these areas see the divine dimensions above their life by visible dimensions of these mountain peaks. Thereby these imaginal invisible dimensions are experienced in making stories about these mountains relating to gods, spirits and supernatural forces.
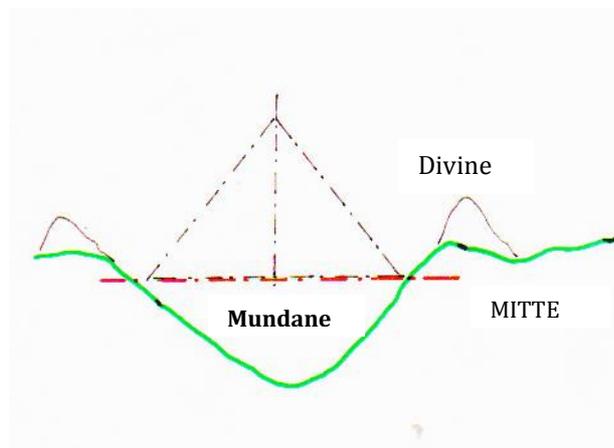
Fig. 2.11: ***Valleys***

Sloping lands

Visible dimensions of sloping lands provide flowing quality which is similar to flowing water. MITTE lies within the topography (*Fig. 2.12*). Thus people experience transition of life between mundane and divine experiences, the rhythmic movement between two domains. These kinds of lands are distinguished with spiritual presence in the atmosphere as regions or territories of power of a particular deity.
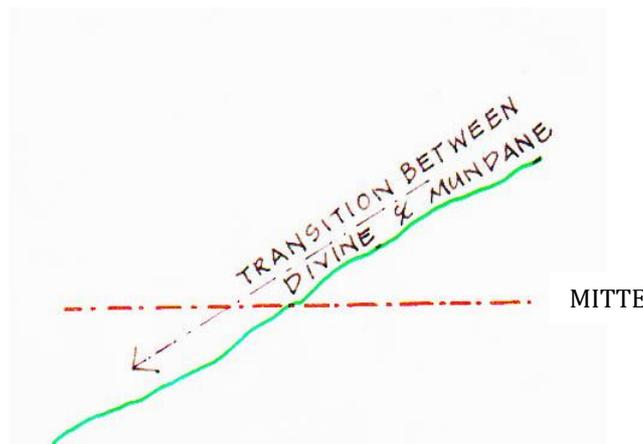
*Fig. 2.12: **Sloping lands***

2.6.3 Ideal forms and places

Ideal forms and places are directed by natural landscape (natural *topos*). People recognize these as pre-images of the absolute form of good flourished inside of the human realm. The invisible part of natural *topos* are visualized in order to understand the complete image of absolute form of good relating to visible part of it. This visualization leads to becoming of place, unfolding spatial dimensions of dwelling. For example, visible dimensions of tree direct centre, enclosure, insideness and vertical axis and therefore guiding people to visualize boundaries of physical and non physical passing through axis and centre (which is invisible in the physical form), in order to visualize complete image of absolute form of good and dwelling. Visible dimensions of sacred mountains direct centre, concentration, vertical axis and the shape of mountain points boundaries between physical and non-physical. Physical form gives complete image of the absolute form of good and these mountains become sacred in human

world. Flowing quality of river or sloping lands give visible dimensions of rhythm and movement, rhythm of transcending life between two worlds and invisible part of the form is imagined and experienced around this. Reflection of still water shows the image of both physical and non-physical side of the place and life experiences are reflecting on each other. **People understand world around them within the ideal forms of dwelling. Natural landscape directs dwelling by providing pre-images through visible dimensions to be visualized the invisible dimensions the mythic landscape.** People imagine the invisible part of natural forms, in many forms, as imaginal stories of gods, spiritual beings, narrating stories, comprehended by built forms, performing dwelling patterns etc. The whole visible/invisible experience unfolds spatial dimensions of absolute form of good, and thereby dwelling establishes. Therefore natural topos guide human dwelling and performances. Schulz (1980) describes understanding of natural landscape through three aspects of dwelling - visualization, complementation and symbolization (including him). Although he has not related these three aspects to spatial form of dwelling in detail, unconsciously he may have understood relationship between spatial dimensions of place (invisible) to everyday place. The three concepts Schulz mentioned could be further explained by relating to ideal forms as discussed. Visualization happen as discussed by visualizing invisible part of the visible natural form in relation to the ideal form (to make the complete image). Complementation is that people developed mythical landscape around the visualized invisible part (stories, narrating, built forms, imaginal spirits, performing dwelling patterns etc). Symbolization is related to visible man-made structures in the form of art and artifacts. For example, if the invisible part is on the top of a mountain, imagined landscape and dwelling patterns are divine. If it is at the bottom as in a valley, imagined landscape is mundane. There are varieties of cultural interpretations and mythic landscapes developed within a variety of natural landscape. *Plato's (Timaeaus) idea of 'Art is an imitation of life' (life merely a shadow of the ideal forms) and is not the general meaning of 'imitation'. It happens within the deeper understanding of life within the process of becoming place and within the experience of*

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unfolded absolute form of good. Therefore, people visualize the world in relation to pre-images of ideal forms cognized in deeper realm and this understanding reflects in to the world made by themselves around them. Therefore, this thesis describes that the **rhythm of creation and understanding of natural landscape lies within the understanding of ideal forms, experiencing divine dimensions within mundane life performances and life is a reflection of this understanding.**

Developing Performance theory, as Schechner uses Plato's idea of 'Art is an imitation of life, and life merely a shadow of the ideal forms' (Plato, cited by Schecher, 1988. p. 37) but as many others he wrongly interprete art as an 'imitation' and propose that 'Art does not imitate things or even experience, but 'action' (Schechner, 1988). He refused 'action' as a problematical idea. Then focus his theories on Plato's student Aristotle's idea of sublime (Aristotle, 1961). He proposes a new understanding (for creation) as 'Actualizing'-meaning understanding, both the creative condition and the artwork (Schechner, 1988). So he focuses on ritual performances of primitive people and ancient cultures to understand how actualization happens. Aristotle's idea of sublime also correct based upon people's life and experience of ideal forms that influence the art and creation. As Schchner proposes 'action' is the best phenomenon of examining performative process of actions, which understands the dwelling and ideal forms and everyday forms are becoming through this process. Creation and understanding of creative process is evident in performative process at the same time.

This thesis describes that the performances and natural topos help to pass MITTE, beyond the boundaries and reach non-physical domain, sensing ideal forms and places and understands this experience as re-birth or re-generation in ancient cultures. Creation of place happens by re-visit. Thus performance makes a process of creation and re-creation of the place.

2.7 Place making as a 'performative process'

How dwelling takes place by narrating in the landscape, how people perform in landscape, how place emerges within the relationship of natural landscape and performance of place are discussed in this section. Recent research works on landscape and neuro-science are taken to discuss in order to understand how place is produced within a related network of actions, people and landscape. The performance concept of place is described by applying performance theories of Schechner and explains how natural place is transformed into cultural place. The idea of theatre place and performance is utilized to explain life theatre and life performance. Place making is described around the performative concept and the relational concept of producing place and based upon how people change the natural landscape and how arts and architecture emerge within this context.

2.7.1 Relational concepts of place.

In order to understand how people perform in the landscape, what inter-actions take place among performers, observers, other people and natural landscape, the recent research works on landscape understanding and neuro-science provide better explanative framework for this study. Landscape is discussed as a discursive field, representing ideologies[65]. Duncan describes Kandy city (case study I) as a text based on the idea, that landscape is a representation of political discourse (Duncan, 1990). Although he considers rituals and narratives, it is described as a written text of inscribed political discourse. However, more recent research on landscape describes 'landscape as more than representative' and 'lived with people and their lives'. The Actor–network theory (ANT) originally emerged from ethnographic studies of science and technology (e.g. Latour, 1987), describes relations do not occur in space, they make spaces (Massey), thus the relational view of the world is always in the making of place. The recent interest on landscape understanding and writing in order to walking, movement and biography become key themes in the field (Lorimer, 2005). Lorimer

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[65] Dunan,1990. P. 16

(2005) discusses the landscape as more than representative: telling stories about people, embodied relationship between individual subject and an environment. Landscape is told as a distribution of stories and dramatic episodes, or as repertoires of lived practice (Lorimer, 2005) . These discussions on landscape reveal production of space by everyday performing and narrating in the landscape, in-terms of relational views, actions and processes. By making a network of inter- relationships (in place making), surrounding is understood as extension of body[66], worldhood understanding[67] and perception [68] of the world. The recent discussion of body as embodied paradigm[69], lived body[70], describe the embodied relationship between body and the surrounding. Therefore, people sense and understand the world within embodied spatial extension, circumspective understanding, surrounding as the extension of the body. The neuro-scientific[71] explanation of this kind of bodily understanding of action (also referred to as 'motor cognition') involves the recently identified activity of the so-called 'mirror-neuron' system, neural pathways in the brain that become active both when we see someone performing an action and when we engage in that same action ourselves (cited by Hale,2012).

2.7.2 Towards a Performative Concept of Place-making

Above discussed relational concepts of place making are helpful to understand performative concept of place making. It could be described that place is created by performing in landscape, by making inter-relationship with each other, with landscape and with place. Through this process natural landscape is transformed into cultural place. The identical nature of place making process of humans could be explained by using Schechner's findings on rituals and performances of ancient people.

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[66] Merleau Ponty, 2002;Heiddeger,1962; Hale, J. (2006),
[67] Heidegger, 1962; Merleau-Ponty,2002
[68] Merleau Ponty, 2002; Krishnamurti, 1991; Ingold,2000
[69] Jonathan Hale,2013; Varela, Thompson and Rosch (1991)Thompson (2007)
[70] Post modern structuralism
[71] Rizzolatti and Sinigaglia (2008)

'where two or more groups meet on a **seasonal schedule**, where there is abundant food either available or stored, and where there is a **geographical marker- cave, hill, waterhole, etc.** – there is likelihood of a **ceremonial centre**. Of the many difference between human and ape ceremonial centres none is more decisive than the fact that only **humans permanently transform the space by 'writing' on it or attaching a lore to it.** The art in the caves of south-west Europe and the stories of the Aborigines about the landmarks in their range are means of **transforming natural spaces into cultural places: ways of making theatres.** But every architectural construction or modification is the making of a cultural place – what is special about a theater?'

(Schechner,1988. p.155)

Three significant aspects are clear in the above performative process of transforming natural place into cultural place as follows,

1. *Understanding natural topos* - geographical marker: cave, hill, waterhole, etc.

2. *Performing* - ceremonial centre: these performing are culturally transmitted[72]

3. *Reflecting sense of ideal forms* - by writing, making, imagination (place making).

Schechner (1988) describes ways of making theatre as a significant aspect in human evaluation. Therefore performing aspect is closely related to the nature of humans. **People do not change natural place, instead make complete image of ideal forms and places, comprehending natural *topos*, by performing in natural landscape by means of narrating, imagination, making, crafting, writing, singing, sound performing, etc. Hence a place is created: a place where man and nature unite; a place where divine dimensions unfolds within mundane life.** *The cultural place and cultural landscape is the result of this place making process.*

2.7.3 Theatre place and performance

The above discussions reveal that place making is a performative process. How this performative process is taken in a place is a question. We can turn towards Schechner's performance theories to develop a performative framework for the explanation of everyday performance.

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[72] Schechner,1988

Theatre and performance

Performance is an extremely difficult concept to define (Goffman, 1959). Richard Schechner by describing performance in four domains namely drama, script, theatre and performance, defines each domain (*Fig. 2.13*) as four overlapping circles resting on one another (Schechner, 1988). Performance is the largest, and least strictly defined circle and 'larger the size the more time and space covered and broader the 'idea area' occupied' (Schechner, 1988). "The drama is the domain of the author/ the composer/ scenarist/ shaman. The script is the domain of the teacher/ guru/ master. The theatre is the domain of the performers. The performance is the domain of the audience" (Schechner, 1988. p.72). Performance is a 'quality' that can occur in any situation rather than a fenced-off genre (Goffman, 1959). "It is hard to define 'performance' because the boundaries separating it on the one side from the theatre and on the other side from everyday life are arbitrary" (Schechner, 1988.p.71).
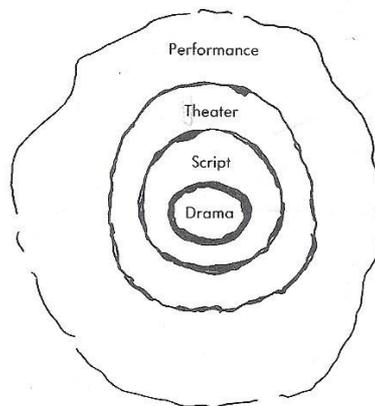
Fig. 2.13: **Drama, script, theatre, performance** [73]
Source: Schechner (1988)

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[73] **Drama**: the smallest most intense (heated up) circle. A written text , scrore, scenario, instruction, plan, or map. The drama can be taken from place to place or time to time independent of the person or people who carry it. These people may be just 'messengers', even unable to read the drama, no less comprehend or enact it.
Script: all that can be transmitted from time to time and place to place; the basic code of the events. The script is transmitted person to person, the transmitter is not a mere messenger. The transmitter of the script must know the script and be able to teach it to others. This teaching may be conscious or through empathetic, emphatic means.
Theater: the event enacted by a specific group of performers; what the performers actually do during production. The theater is concrete and immediate. Usually, the theater is the manifestation or representation of the drama and/ or script.
Performance: the broadest, most ill-defined disc. The whole constellation of events, most often them passing unnoticed, that take place in/among both performers and audience from the time the first spectator enters the field of the performance- the precinct where the theater takes place- to the time the last spectator leaves.

Life theatre and Life performance

Schechner's overlapping circle model could be applied to describe, 'life theatre' performing in landscape. Performance is the domain of the '*natural topos',* as observers or participant observers, while people are the actors in life theatre. Script is the cultural stories transmitting from generation to generation. The origin of these stories lies within most inner circle drama, which is as ancient as human evolution (*Fig.2.14*). In the performance circle, people are actors performing in day to day life narratives and making inter relationships between them and the natural landscape. Erving Goffman (1959) built his work on the basis that everyday life is framed and performed (Schechner, 1988). "We all act better than we know how" (Goffman, 1959.p.74). Everyday life is framed by cultural narratives from one side and natural *topos* from the other side (thesis). People experience ideal forms and places by ritual/ cultural performing and by narrating in landscape. **The universal understanding may recognize vividly by narrating life within variety of natural** *topos* **and within variety of cultural performances, creating multiplicity of cultural places and cultural landscapes** (thesis).
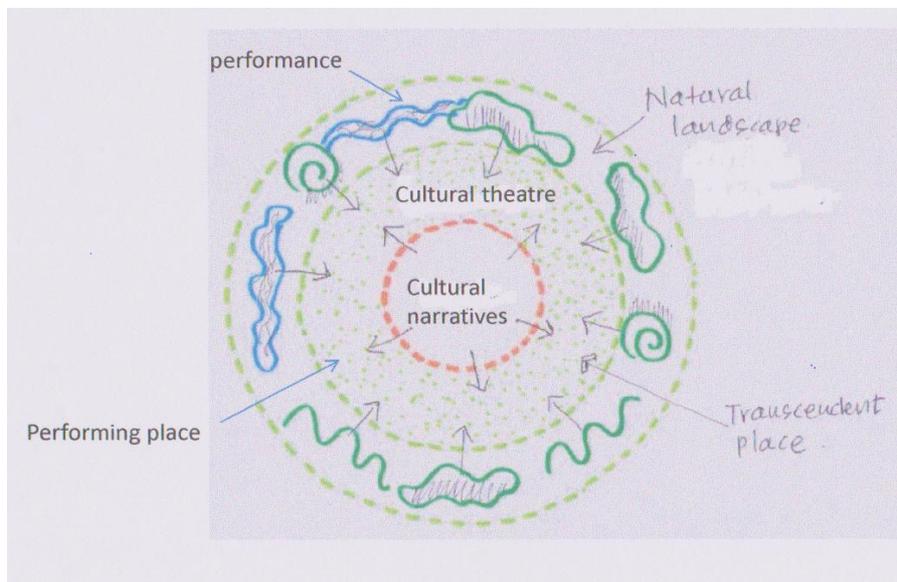
*Fig. 2.14: **Cultural narratives, Cultural theatre, Cultural performance***

2.7.4 Making Inter –related Network

How these performances are being narrated in the landscape and making the place will be discussed in following section.

'The first theatres were ceremonial centres- part of a system of hunting, following food sources according to seasonal schedule, meeting other human bands, celebrating and marking the celebration by some kind of writing on the space: an integration of geography, calendar, social interaction, and the proclivity of people to transform nature into culture' (*Fig. 2.15*).

(Schechner, 1988. p. 156)
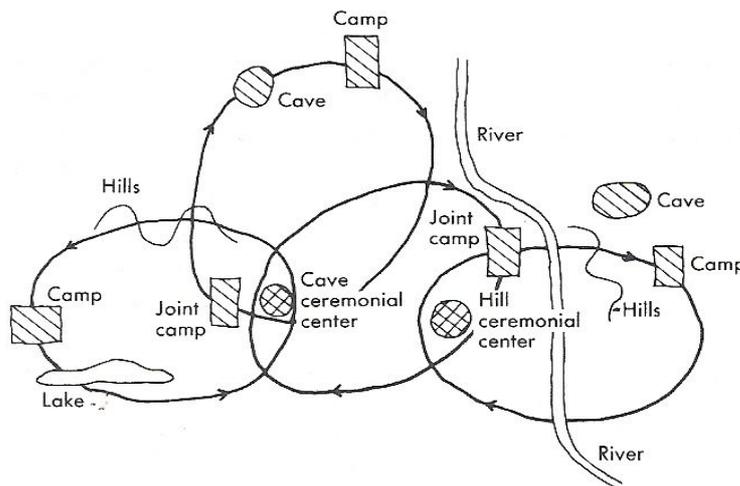
Fig.2.15: **Making a network of relationships**
At places where seasonal hunting places intersect
at a landmark, ceremonial centres arise
Source: Performance Theory, Schechner

Ritual behaviour in primitive cultures and traditional cultures are characterised by seasonal journeys, walking, ceremonial parades, celebrating places events & natural landscape features and making cultural theatre[74]. They make inter–related network with other people, with other important places and with natural landscape features such as hills, caves, rivers, lakes, trees in order to understand the place and the non-physical side of the place by sensing with the self

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[74] Rapoport,1975; Seamon,1985,1993; Pocock,1989

and with the body performing and dwelling in the place[75]. These performings are repetitive and make direct contacts with natural landscape by walking; touching hardness of landscape and material sensitivity, roughness of topography, stones and rocks; climbing up and down; sensing water (refreshing body and mind) all which make closer relationships with self, body and landscape. Therefore, in ritual behaviour all people engage in the same repetitive actions of walking, dancing, playing, drumming, singing, rhyming, etc. According to neuro-sciencific explanation a kind of sharing sensitivity and understanding happens among each other. A bodily extension among each member of the group becomes a one mind-body entity. As discussed in earlier sections repetitive actions in ritual behaviour experience divine dimensions (passing MITTE) and sense of place (*chora)* through re-visits.

2.7.5 Sensing and making place.

Cultural theatre and cultural place is re-enacted by acting and narrating in the landscape by people as performers, by participant observers among other people and by natural landscape. It is understood by previous discussions, that place making is happen by sensing the surrounding around the body (of these performers) and making inter-related network of known things (other performers, observing people, places, objects, landscape, events, and memories). All performers and observers (people and landscape) make one bodily entity of mind-body-landscape[76]. Therefore, the performing place establishes a united spatial enclosure where each one understands embodied relationship in the space and the self, in order to understand the world & dwelling[77] and place making around them by sensing and reflecting ideal forms and places. This kind of place making by people reflects vernacular understanding. Describing the origin of vernacular Paul Oliver says,

> Vernacular could be "the architecture of the people, and by the people, but not for the people"

(Oliver, 2003:14)

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[75] Nelson, 2002; Pallasmaa,1996: Lefebvre,1991; Egenter,1992
[76] Ingold,2000; Seamon and Mugerauer,1985
[77] Tilly,1994; Thompson, 2007

Still, the origin of vernacular is in searching. Performative phenomenon provides some clues in search of vernacular.

> "Therefore, we can discuss vernacular emerging in material culture, as a result of inter-action between people and the landscape: by acting, sensing and making converting natural place into cultural place. It is a result of their understanding about both the creative condition and the art work".

> (De Silva, W, 2013)

Therefore, place making and emerging architecture and built forms are a lived practice between people and the landscape. Also it could be suggested at this point about the long-term significance of these performative place-making processes as informal built forms and structures by people could be a continuation of this process in everyday place. Shanties, slums, and squatters are a hindrance in the designing of urban areas and architecture in many countries. However, it should be a natural process which reflects existence and dwelling of humans. **People make direct physical contacts with landscape with the body, in order to gain the material sensitivity, roughness of the physical things and natural landscape.** Roughness of the landscape and hardness of the life performances help to achieve divine dimensions (quoting Trakl's poem) and place making happen according to the revealed dimensions of ideal forms and places, by crafting, making, imagining, writing, narrating stories, etc. This process continues by **sensing and weaving[78] the place.** The emerging place is not always visual, it is mythical and it could be:

1. Making temporary structures / permanent structures

2. Making mythical stories about landscape features

3. Singing and playing sounds

4. Dancing

5. Decorating, drawing of pictures and images

6. Crafting (varies from farming lands to arts and crafts)

7. Narrating stories

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[78] Egender, 1987

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Cultural geographers have in recent years explored these concepts. For example, Lorimer (2005), focusing on 'how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences', refers as 'busyness of being' the performance aspect. As for an example, he considers garden activities and describes that hobby farmer, the plotter, the vegetable grower, the artist, the dog walker, the dog, the human rambler and the fruit harvester are encountered in passionate intimate and material relationships with the soil, and the grass, plants and trees that take root there. Crouch's (2001, 2003) horticultures describes how the repetitive doing of things is affirmative and can impel a powerful sense of being or 'practical ontology' (Lorimer, 2005). Wylie (2005) argues that human emotions, perceptions and sensations in landscape writings and domains of experience are more than subjective and yet at the same time formative of senses of self (and formative, for example, of senses of self and landscape). According to both Lorimer and Wylie, creation of landscape is a transformation between sense of self and landsbccape as discussed in previous sections about phenomenological understanding of natural *topos* and mind-body. It could be generalized experiences of performers in relation to methods of performing as in the following table (*Table 2.1*)

*Table 2.1: **Methods of performing** and related experiences*

Methods of performing	Experiences of performers
• walking	• sense of being
• repetition of action	• produce space
• acting and making, inter-relationships with the place and landscape	• mind-body embodiment
• Imagination – making stories about natural features and landscape.	• performing place as bodily extension
• body – gesture, rhythmic movement	• configuration of self and landscape
• emotions, perceptions and sensation of landscape	• Intimate and material relationship with landscape.
• doing same action by group	• Sharing bodily experiences

Two processes happen in performing place. Firstly, by means of mind – body interactions gaining direct sensation about the landscape, such as, walking, dancing, rhythmic movements, touching material sensitivity, perception & emotion, imagination, and repetition of same. Secondly process is a reaction to these sensations about the landscape (in order to achieve mythic dimensions) by means of making (such as imagined stories about the landscape and landscape features, arts and artifacts, narrating stories, making visible structures and architecture). The 'theatre' and 'performance' take place in the whole process, culturally bounded, manipulated and transmitted as cultural stories - script. It is argued that natural features/ landscape provide a vital guidance for performing of cultural stories and make dwelling patterns across the landscape. The 'theatre' emerging within this process is unique to the time and place where it happens.

2.7.6 Rhythm of Creation

All these discussions show that place making is a natural creation process, reflecting the existential nature (Schulz, 1971) of humans on the earth. Performing place establishes a dynamic place through which all creations (of man) emerge i.e. arts, craft, architecture, music, dancing, literature, and making places by sensing dimensions of the two domains of physical and non-physical, visible and invisible. As discussed the repetitive nature of ritual behaviour in primitive cultures and traditional cultures is significant in creating arts of people;

> ".....Rhythmical repetition of the same movement is so characteristic of very many rituals , both instinctive and cultural, that it is hardly necessary to describe examples.....This "mimic exaggeration" results in a ceremony which is, indeed, closely akin to a symbol and which produces that theatrical effect that first struck Sir Julian Huxley as he watched his Great Crested Grebes......There is hardly doubt that all human art primarily developed in the service of rituals and that the autonomy of "art for art's sake" was achieved only by another, secondary step of cultural progress".

(Lorenz 1967, cited by Schechner, 1988)

These experiences are exchangeable between participants and observers. The unity of experiences[79] gained by a group of people, by trance performing in traditional

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[79] Jeannerod, M. (2006)

cultures is exchanged between participants and observers of these ritual events, and therefore all in particular cultural groups share transcendental experience and creation process of place making, experiencing divine/ mundane spatial dimensions flourishing ideal forms and places. It can be assumed that the higher the number of participants in a particular cultural event, the higher the strength of experiences as higher the 'number of mirror neurons activate'. Also, the higher the number of observers higher the exchanging trance experience may strengthen the performative process of place making and the sense of *chora* and sense of being. *Throughout the place making process natural landscape transmits messages to activate performance and encourage revisits to mythical dimensions and places. Each time of revisit is a re-making of the place*. All things are part of wholeness (Schechner, 1988), so each repeating action is repeating a new form, re-birth[80], vibrating life between linear extension of mundane and divine, passing MITTE. Each time of revisit is distinguished with experience of ideal forms and places. This image is represented by Hindu iconographical replica held in British museum (*Plate 2.7*). Emerging art and architecture is a result of this understanding; creations emerging in performing place are reflections of ideal forms and places gained through life experiences.
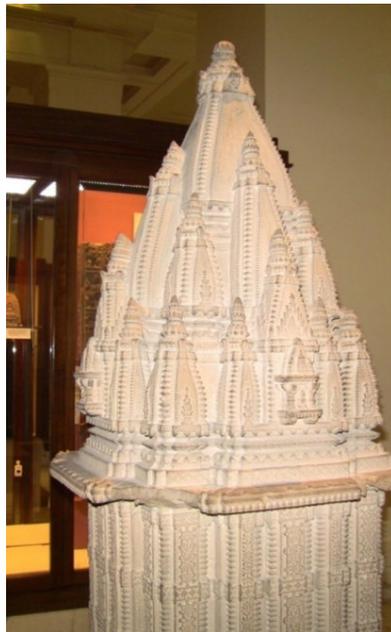
*Plate 2.7 : **Hindu iconographical Replica**
In British museum. Source : author*

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[80] Understand in ancient cultures.

2.8 Conclusion - Performative model

In summary:

Divine/Mundane experience in everyday life

This chapter reveals that, everyday life of people transcending between two worlds, divine & mundane, physical & non-physical, visible & invisible and tangible & intangible dimensions of the world. The same idea has been discussed in phenomenology, philosophy, psychology, performance theories and cultural geography within different frameworks and different levels. It is understood that, dwelling is a basic ontological concept of humans in order to understand their existence and the surrounding world as sense of place. Chora is discussed as the becoming to being and dwelling. Becoming everyday place is a dynamic experience of emerging and decaying. Spatial dimension of dwelling is discussed by combining ideas developed in philosophy, phenomenology and psychology. People make circumspective understanding around them and the world is revealed in dwelling, concentrating to the centre (the MITTE – which makes concentration towards one's self) which reveals the dimensions of non-physical experiences. The MITTE is described as the threshold to beyond centre: the boundary between two worlds of mundane and divine. The spatial dimensions and spatial form of dwelling is discussed as the absolute form of good (ideal forms) round and around the body, directional towards inside revealing divine dimensions connecting mundane to divine and physical to non-physical, *topos* to *chora* of the place.

The life and the world of people are described as shadows of the absolute form of good, experiencing in dwelling by depicting the idea of Plato, "Art is an imitation of life and life merely a shadow of the ideal forms". It was examined that Plato's idea of imitation is interpreted by many Scholars as 'imitation' but the thesis discussed it is as the imitation of 'spatial dimension of dwelling' the absolute form of good experienced in everyday life of people which reflects in many art and artefacts throughout the history of human cultures. *This chapter argued that architectural forms, places and cultural landscape might reflect the sense of human body as well as divine experiences (centre, inside, roundness) and natural landscape.*

Performing in Natural Landscape

It was discussed that, by performing a series of actions people have to work hard in order to dwell in the landscape. Performance aspect of everyday life was discussed in performance theories, landscape research, in cultural geography and in neuro-science. Plato's philosophical ideas discussed the performance aspect of everyday life and *chora* of the place which provided important base for the discussion in this chapter. Performative phenomenon is introduced to understand the process of dwelling becoming to being in the place. It was described that performing actions and processes make dwelling and understanding natural landscape, apprehending *chora*. Ritual behaviour is described as identical with sacred experiences and repetition. *It was argued in this chapter that in everyday life performances, people understand natural landscape as natural topos in relation to ideal forms which guides performance and dwelling. Visible dimensions of these physical features provide invisible dimensions to be imagined (complete image of the ideal form) mythic landscape and performed daily life creating dwelling places.* The study categorized the phenomenon of basic natural landscape features as rocks & stones, hills & mountains, water and trees as having divine dimensions in relation to ideal forms. *It was argued that divine and mundane domains are experienced in natural landscape in relation to ideal forms by climbing, walking, or seeing these places and the boundary of passing MITTE (line of transition) lies within the natural landscape influencing divine and mundane dwelling patterns in cultural landscape.*

Performing and Place Making

This chapter described the production of place and place making as a performative process established by acting, sensing and making in the landscape, a kind of natural evolutionary process. Similar ideas are discussed in several disciplinary areas, for example, ANT- actor network theory, lived body, landscape as more than representative, embodied nature of the human body, landscape as a dramatic episode and lived practice. Repetitions of actions of people have been discussed in many research areas as strengthening the sense of being, thus the sense of place. The same

universal understanding of creation and process of creation have been discussed in many disciplinary areas in different perspectives. Transforming natural places into cultural places is described as a process of lived practice. It is discussed in this chapter that people do not change natural place, instead make the complete image of ideal forms and places comprehending natural topos by performing in natural landscape by means of narrating, imagination, making, crafting, writing, singing, sound performing etc., by which the place is created. The cultural place and the cultural landscape is the result of this place making process. Everyday life is explained as framed by cultural narratives from one side and natural *topos* from the other side. It was discussed that the universal understanding might be recognized vividly by narrating life within a variety of natural *topos* and within a variety of cultural performances which create multiplicity of cultural places and cultural landscapes. Performance makes a process of creation and re-creation of the place by **sensing and weaving the place.** The emerging place in this process is described as not always visual and it can be mythical as well.

Performative Model

Flourishing ideal form by performing and by natural landscape is shown in the diagram (*Fig. 2.16*).
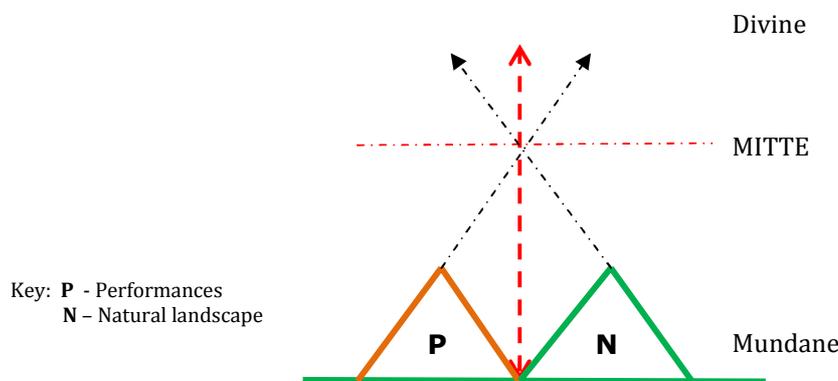
Fig 2.16: Flourishing Ideal forms

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Performing place can be examined in terms of cultural narratives, natural landscape and dwelling. This theoretical model provides an approach to examine any place, any cultural narrative and any natural landscape in terms of dwelling (*Fig.2.17*)
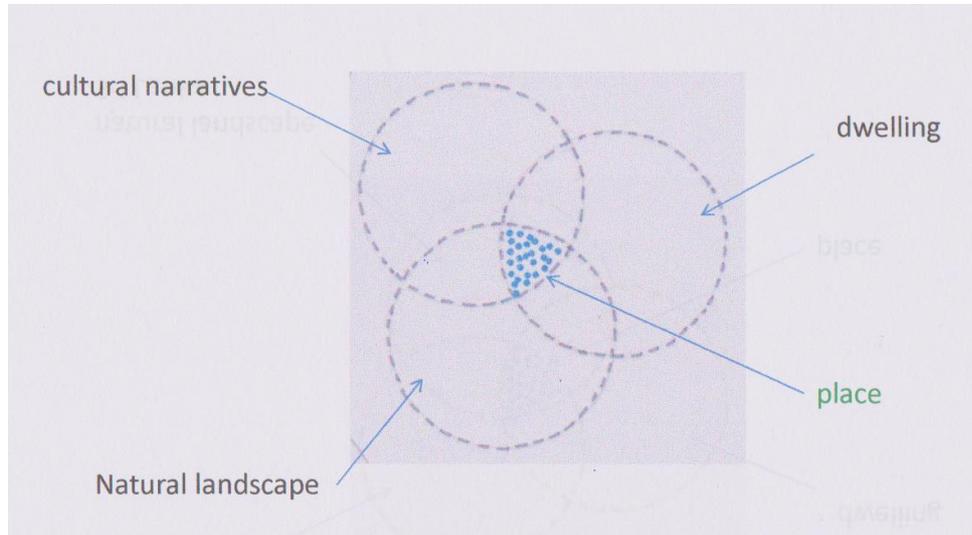
*Fig. 2.17: **Theoretical model***
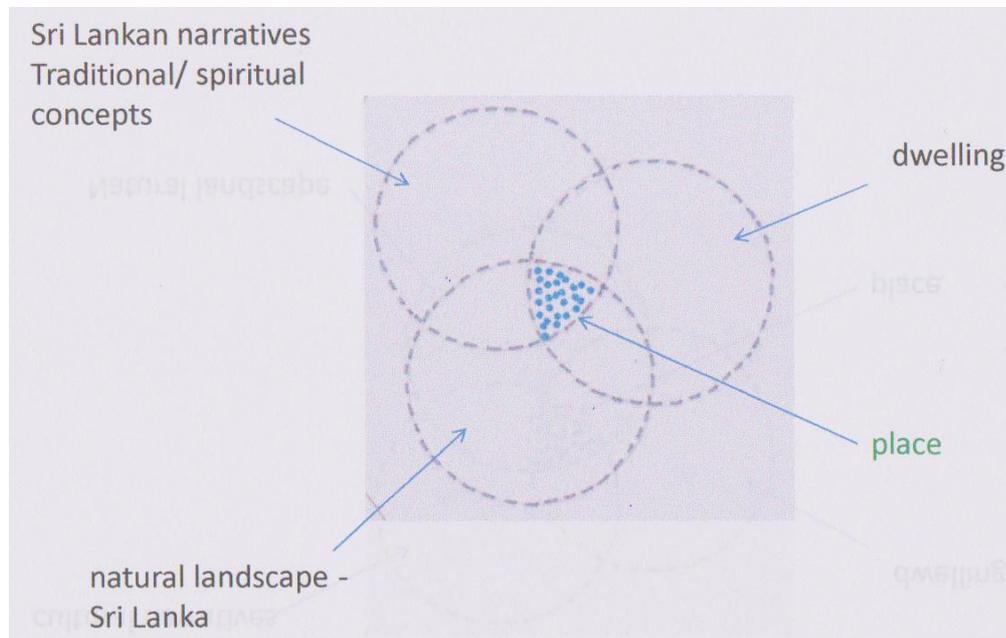
*Fig. 2.18: **Theoretical model for Sri Lankan cultural narratives** and natural landscape.*

As the research question is developed based on the issue in Sri Lankan developments, in contrast to traditional developments, Sri Lankan cultural narratives are placed at the circle of cultural narratives and Sri Lankan landscape is placed at the circle of natural landscape in the theoretical model (*Fig. 2.18*). Next chapter will discuss methodology and method of study for this.

CHAPTER THREE

Chapter Three **– Methodology**

Summary:

   Chapter three examines methodology and method of study for the research investigation. Performative phenomenon and theoretical framework for the study is discussed based on the literature review in chapter two. The form of data is identified as rituals and ceremonies; experiences and meanings of the place and performance; historical background of the place; geographical, topographical character of natural landscape. Methods of data collection and method of data analysing are discussed and developed in this chapter.

Introduction

   This chapter examines what type of method is to be designed for the research investigation, the theoretical framework of the research, what type of data need to be collected, methods of data collection, methods of data analysis and methods of presenting data in the following chapters. The main focus of the research objective is on human understanding and experiences of natural landscape and the place. Therefore methodology is developed within the framework of phenomenology. It also draws upon anthropological methods as these relate to human actions and interactions with their surroundings, along with other areas of knowledge including the psychology of place and place attachment, ethnography, landscape research, and architecture. This research methodology is developed with a multi-disciplinary approach analysing key literature related in these disciplines and by pilot case studies carried out during year 2010 and 2011 in Sri Lanka. By considering a variety of related literature a theoretical model is developed to examine place in relation to dwelling, performing and making interactions with natural landscape and the place. Out of many case studies, Kandy city and Lankathilaka temple village are selected for a detailed comparative study as these two case studies show contrasting natural landscape features and similar rituals and ceremonies performed at both locations. It is noted that these rituals and ceremonies have undergone minimal changes with time and still continue as they had happened during the past centuries of time. Twenty four case study examples were initially

reviewed and shortlisted in a scoping study, before two case study sites were selected for detailed analysis.
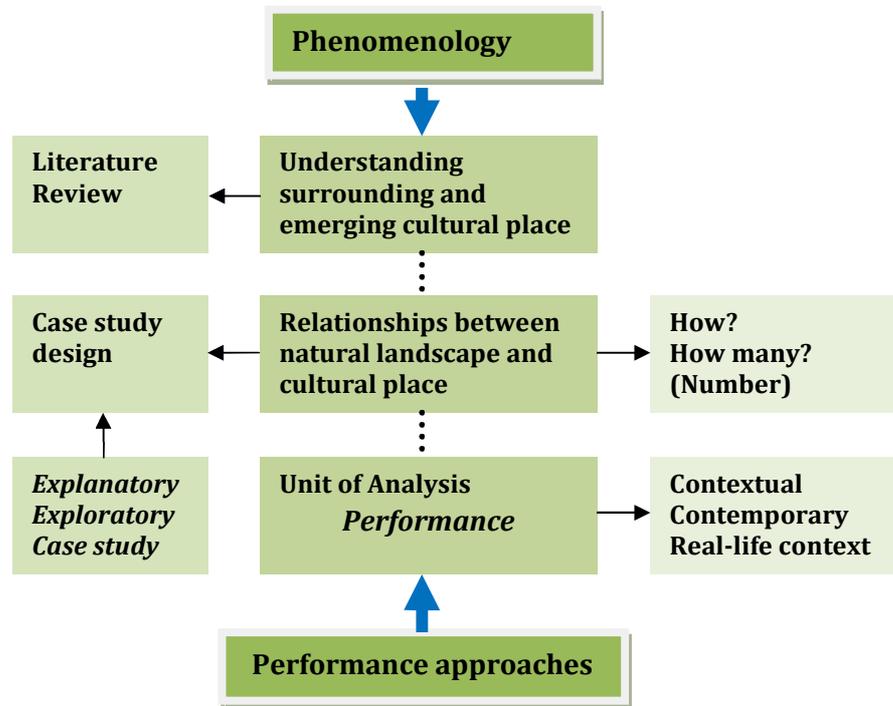
Fig. 3.1: Case study rationale

3.1 Case study Rationale:

Case study method is appropriate when "how" or "why" questions are being posed (Yin, 2003). Also as the research focuses on the, understanding the natural landscape and creating cultural place through performative processes of ritual behaviour, the investigator has little control over events, and the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon (although ritual performances are known as traditional, these performances still continue in Sri Lanka) within real life context. Therefore case study method is the preferred strategy (Yin, 2003). As research occupies contextual conditions – natural landscape, place and ritual performances - boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, according to Yin (2003), case study is an empirical enquiry for such studies. Explanatory and exploratory strategy is applied, in order to findout relationships between natural landscape and cultural place as it

laterally considers 'how many'. Sri Lankan divine/king narrative concepts are selected to examine in the context of Indian-Himalayan landscape and Sri Lankan landscape throughout the history. Two major case studies are selected due to contrasting character in natural landscape. Therefore, the research design is a multiple case study and comparative analysis of two major case studies. The case study rationale is explained in (*Fig. 3.1*).

3.2 Performative phenomenon – as a research method

As discussed in chapter two, performances provide new methodological approach for understanding the nature of the place and architecture. The static, physical and tangible configuration of the setting does not provide complete understanding of the place, instead 'performing place' as the study proposes, unfolds a dynamic place of holistic understanding of both physical and non physical domains, making new relationships between mind-body and the place at each time of establishment. These relationships reveal intangible dimensions through tangible dimensions sensing and making the place by dwelling and by repetitive performances, as in ritual behaviour in traditional settlements. As concluded in chapter two, performing place establishes within the inter-relationships of three domains dwelling, performing, and natural landscape. The theoretical framework for the case study is explained within these three relationships (*Fig. 3.2*). Based on this theoretical framework, visible and tangible data collected and analysed for the research study are categorized as follows:

Dwelling – As discussed in chapter two, spatial dimensions of dwelling and ideal forms reflected in the place could be examined through art and architecture, built space, historical/mythical events, stories, narratives and performances.

Performances are in terms of making inter-relationships with the landscape, and with other people; methods of performing such as making temporary structures, permanent structures, making mythical stories about landscape features, singing and playing sounds, dancing, decorating, drawing of pictures and images, crafting (varies

from farming lands to arts and crafts), narrating stories; repetition of events; experiences of the performance.

Natural landscape could be examined in terms of geographical, topographical, geometrical analysis and experience of the natural landscape.

Argument
 Physical dimensions of *topos* direct *chora*

Sense of Place –
chora and *topos*

Topos - the static form of the place
Chora - the dynamic place of becoming.

Dwelling –
Spatial dimensions and spatial form

Centre, axis, inside, divine/mundane, visible/invisible, physical/ non-physical

Argument
People understand places, ideas, concepts, arts and architecture, landscape within these ideal forms.

Absolute form of good/ Ideal forms

Theoretical framework
Becoming place and Apprehending *chora-sensing divine dimensions within mundane dimensions*

Argument
Natural landscape provides pre images to sense and imagine ideal forms, directing dwelling patterns

Natural Topos
Visible dimensions to imagine invisible dimensions in order to create full image of absolute form of good and apprehending *chora*

Natural Landscape

Performance

Cultural place

Argument
People do not change natural landscape, instead make complete image of ideal forms and places, comprehending natural *topos*, by performing and imagination- by means of narrating, making, crafting, writing, singing, sound performing and etc.

Performative Process - Theoretical Framework

*Fig. 3.2: **Theoretical framework** for the case study*

3.3 Role of geometry

As discussed in chapter two, geometry would be helpful to identify codification of spatial experiences in built forms, architecture and landscape. Geometrical, geographical analysis of landscape features, forms and shapes would be helpful to findout relationships between experiences of the place, and ideal forms. Geometrical patterns made by performing techniques (eg: walking, parading) could be analysed to understand the dynamics of the place and relationship between everyday forms and manifestation of ideal forms (thesis proposes).

3.4 Pilot Case Studies

Two pilot case studies were examined during August 2010 to October 2010 in Lankathilaka and June 2011 to August 2011 in Kandy. Methodology is further developed based on the outcome of pilot case studies as follows.

Research strategy for Performance approach

The complex nature of methods of performing in a single ritual ceremony makes it more difficult to identify the most appropriate performance for the investigation. By careful observation and pattern matching data of Asala perahera collected during pilot case studies, it was identified several appropriate methods of performing and method of data collection for the final method of study. Following is the summary of methods of performing selected and research strategies developed in pilot case studies

- Parading and marking geometrical patterns on the landscape.
- Number of times repeating the event.
- Making of temporary structures.
- Significant differences in performing Asala perahera in two case studies.
- Significant events of performing.
- Appropriate data to be collected and analyzed within manageable time frame.
- Methods of collecting data.
- Methods of collecting real experiences of performers, observers and others.

General
Observation

Issue: many new developments neglect
or overpower natural landscape, while
traditional settlements celebrate natural
landscape by ritual performances. Ch 1

Collect several
numbers of case
studies
(categories into
different sets)

There is a   relationship
among natural place,
cultural place and
performances

Hypothesis: Cultural place
emerges within the
relationship of performance,
people and natural landscape
Ch 1

Collect more case
study examples

Reasoning two major
cases   Ch 1 & Ch 4

Theory:
Literature Review
Dwelling, sense of place,
understanding natural
landscape by dwelling and
performing
Ch. 2

Pilot case study –
Lankathilaka
2010

Pilot case study -
Kandy
2011

Methodology
Performative model
Ch 3

Exploratory
case study

Indian-Himalayan
Landscape
Sri Lankan landscape.
Ch 4

Sri Lankan Buddhist,
divine, kingly
concepts

Case study 1
Kandy – 2012
Ch 5

Process of performing
Asala perahera
Explanatory case study

Comparative
analysis Ch 7

Case study 2
Lankathilaka -2012
Ch 6

Research findings

Conclusion
Generalization
Theory - Ch 8

Fig. 3.3 : Development of Research design and Thesis structure

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3.5 Mechanism – Method of study[81]

This research applies a range of approaches from phenomenology, anthropology and cultural and landscape studies. The primary method of research and analysis is the comparative case study of two settlements, Lankathilaka village and Kandy city, Sri Lanka: explanatory strategy. The meanings and experiences of buddhist, divine, kingly life performances and cultural place (including related built elements) related to the natural landscape of North India and the natural landscape of Sri Lanka, and how these life performances spread over Sri Lankan landscape are to be examined as minor case studies: exploratory strategy. The method of study for the research thesis is developed based on three strategies: literature review, exploratory case study and explanatory case study (*Fig. 3.3*).

3.6 Data collection and analysing method:

The following summary describes the process of data collection and analysis   of the case study. Aspects which involved human participants are highlighted; these typically involve interviewing people[82] associated with the performance of rituals within the case study areas, for example; dancing, parading, food preparation, feasting, erecting symbolic structures etc.

3.6.1 Form of Data collected

Rituals and Ceremonies

There are many rituals and ceremonies performed in Kandy and Lankathilaka. During pilot case study investigations, for the final research method, Asala perahera was selected as this ritual ceremony makes more connections with landscape and the place. This ceremony is celebrated during fifteen continuous days, by parading and repeating events. Some performances take place early in the morning. For example, kapa kapeema is held around 5.0' clock in the morning, followed by several other ritual

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[81] Method of study is reviewed and approved by Ethical review committee, University of Nottingham as research study involves human participants. (See Apendix.1)

[82] According to university ethics vulnerable people (e.g. young people) should be avoided in interviewing

events until late evening, the time Kapa distributed to four devale in Kandy. The ritual kapa situweema is held early in the morning on the following day. All rituals are continuously performed for long hours.

Experiences of performance

Semi structured interviews were held with performers and observers of the ceremony, before performance and after performance. The questions posed to them as informal discussions in cordial manner in order to obtain their firsthand experiences. Many of these interviews were not videoed as they would be uncomfortable and expecting information would not be gained. Rituals like diya kapeema begin at midnight at the river side of Mahaweli. People gather even by 11.00 p.m. - 12.00 p.m. midnight to participate in food preparation and listen to the chanting of pirith until dawn.

Meanings of performances and place–

Structured and semi structured interviews were held with selected persons, for example; administrative heads, temple priests, elderly traditional performers etc. Historical, religious and mythical meanings of the place and performance were divulged by them. Many of these interviews were held on the locations of the festival grounds, or temple grounds, as very friendly, informal discussions.

Experience of the place –

Many people were interviewed by informal discussions in friendly manner, while ritual performances going on, during intervals between performances and without interrupting or disturbing their performing.

Social/historical back ground of the place and performance – Information are collected from historical records, documents, scholarly works, archival records, inscriptions and some information is from oral tradition.

Natural landscape – Geometrical, topographical characters of physical forms, distinctive features are identified by means of photographing, video recording and sketching.

Table 3.1: **Methods of data collection**

Data collection method	Data expected to collect	No. and type of participants	when and where
Semi-structured interviews[83] (Type 1)	Narratives – rituals, ceremonies and myths about the place, participant's experience about the performance and place, meanings about the performing.	5-10 participants selected, in each performance.	Participants interviewed twice, once before performance and once after performance. (Not the same participant at both instances).
Structured interviews[84] arranged by appointment (Type 2)	Narrative stories, performative process of narrative stories and ceremonies, oral stories, meaning of the performance to the place, social/ functional structure, history of the place.	5-10 people interviewed such as traditional administrative heads, temple priests, and elderly performers belong to traditional castes.	Appointment time and place decided at the convenience of interviewee.
Observation/ participant observation	Ritual ceremonies performative process of narrative stories, use of clothes, accessories, objects; use of sounds and sound making instruments; process of production of temporary products; experience of the performance.	Researcher as the observer and participant observer.	Places where ceremonies take place.
Accessing archives	Historic records and accounts of performance, history of the place, social/ functional structure; archaeological maps.	N/A	
Sketching, mapping, video and photographing.	Physical features, geometry and character of the landscape; performance; arts and artefacts.	N/A	

3.6.2 Methods of Data collection.

Data collection is from archival records, scholarly works, on-site observations and interviews with a number of individuals associated with performances within the case study area. The (*Table 3.1*) is a summary of these methods. Many public and private media, local and foreign people video these ceremonies every year and telecast live or later. Therefore prior permission for film/ video is not required. Audio and Video,

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[83] See Appendix No. 2
[84] See Appendix No, 3

note taking, sketching and mapping were the primary methods of recording interviews. The researcher conducted many interviews with two research assistants, who helped in video and audio recording. Later, once they familiarize with the procedure, some interviews were conducted by them during later stages. If a certain question is of religious sensitivity, for example, interviewee wouldn't like to answer based on his/her religious conception, the researcher has ignored the related question and changed the topic. The researcher also apologizes to the interviewee for the uneasiness thus casused. Interviews type 1 was conducted at the place where performances take place, in a public corner, temple veranda, under a tree, sitting on a bench, a more informal relaxed setting. Interviews type 2 was conducted based on the selection by the interviewee; many places were informal relaxed settings.

3.6.3 Data analysing methods.

Making a matrix of categories.

The data collected from performing place of Asala perahera was analyzed under several categories. Perahera was examined under the catergory of what *they made*. There are varieties of things specially made for perahera performances. Temporary structures, decorations, clothed structures, decorative patterns etc. relate to built forms and place making. The place is created as discussed in chapter two by wearing of traditional clothes, accessories, carrying objects and bodily performing. *How they perform* is another analysing category. Asala perahera makes geometrical patterns on the natural landscape by 'mind-body movement (parading the place) and performing. These patterns are   presented in maps and diagrams. There are many significant events performed in Asala festivals, and performed in various other ways such as, sound performing; incense smoking; firing oil lamps; aroma of fruits, flowers, food; etc.   Under the category of *who involved*, data about the role of performers, their position in the perahera and society, the number of performers and observers participated in the perhera rituals were gathered. *Sounds and instruments* used for the performance are examined. Hewisi sounds make prominent and a major part in the performing place of Asala perahera. Types of sounds and instruments used at specific

events and moments of the performances were identified. Under the category of *natural/ cultural context* geometrical, geographical patterns of natural landscape and social, historical background of the place is analysed. The performance is analysed under *meanings and experience about the performing* and data collected by informal questionnaire are presented in tabulated form and diagrams.

Pattern matching

Pattern matching technique is applied to find relationships between categorized data, within one unit of analysis as well as among several other units and develop explanations about the outcome. The following summary describes the areas of pattern matching in order to find the relationships of:

- Landscape location and performing – analysed in diagrams, maps, tables.
- Temporary structures and performing – analysed in pictures, diagrams.
- Permanent structures and performing –analysed in maps, tables, plans and sectional drawings.
- Temporary structures and experience – analysed in diagrams and tables.
- Permanent structures and experience – maps, diagrams, tables.
- Performing and experience – diagrams and tables.
- Permanent structures and natural elements – diagrams, pictures.

Explanations and rival explanations.

Explanations were further strengthened by rival explanations and literature & theoretical explanations. The main method of presenting data and analysis is in graphical presentation in diagrams, tables, maps and pictures.

Conclusion

The chapter concludes that the research design as a multiple case study and a comparative analysis of two major case studies. Performing place is proposed as a new research method for investigating intangible dimensions of the place and architecture. The theoretical framework for the case study is developed within the three related domains: performing, dwelling and natural landscape. Methodology was further developed based on the outcome of the pilot case studies held during 2010 and 2011 in Lankathilaka and Kandy. The method of study for the research thesis is developed on the basis of three strategies: literature review, exploratory case study and explanatory case study. Form of data were rituals and ceremonies, experiences of performers and observers, meanings of performances and the place, experience of the place, social/ historical background of the performances and the place, and geographical, topographical character of natural landscape. Methods of data collection were by semi-structured interviews, structured interviews, observation, participant observation, accessing achieves, sketching, mapping, video-graphing and photographing. Methods of data analysis were making matrix of information and pattern matching. Data analysis and presenting are in the form of diagrams, maps, tables, and pictures.

The next three chapters present research findings, applying research methods discussed in this chapter.

PART TWO

CHAPTER FOUR

Chapter Four **– Performing in Indo-Sri Lankan Landscape**

Summary:

This chapter examines relationships of Sri Lankan Buddhist, divine, kingly cultural performances with natural landscape of North India (the place of origin of these performances) and with Sri Lanka, revealing the performance and dwelling within this relationship. The chapter discusses that both Buddhist and divine concepts have been influenced by natural landscape of India and Sri Lanka and Sri Lankan landscape is recognized as providing identical location for Buddhist understandings. The chapter reveals the relationship between cultural place and natural landscape of Sri Lankan traditional settlements, focusing on Buddhist, divine, kingly life performances.

Introduction

This chapter focuses on examination of how Buddhist divine kingly cultural narratives of Sri Lanka performed in North India[85], the place of origin of these cultural narratives, and performed in Sri Lanka. The chapter examines meanings and experiences of Buddhist, divine, kingly life performances and cultural place (inclusive built elements); how these life performances relate to (in phenomenological sense) natural landscape of North India and natural landscape of Sri Lanka. It discusses a brief survey of, how these life performances spread over Sri Lankan landscape and emerging cultural place, and the relationship between these cultural places and natural landscape of Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan cultural narratives were largely influenced by divine kingly concepts and Buddhism[86], which originated in India, along the river valleys of the branches of river *Ganga* and at the foot of Himalayan mountains. These narratives have developed and evolved within the Sri Lankan natural landscape during the past 2500 years[87]. This chapter discusses the origin of these cultural narratives, in the Himalayan landscape along river valleys, especially revealing the role of performance and dwelling as a means of understanding how notions of place and landscape emerge. Then the

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[85] Before introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka from North India, and after the introduction of Buddhism during Polonnaruwa period there were evidences of Dravidian cultural influences. However, Buddhist divine narratives were mainly influenced from North India.

[86] Seneviratne ,1994; Silva, R.,1988; Rahula, W.,1956 ; Mahawamsa ; Rajavaliya

[87] Seneviratne, 1994 ; Mahavamsa ; Rajavaliya

study discusses how these cultural narratives developed and evolved within the Sri Lankan natural landscape, shaping the cultural place, dwelling patterns and landscape in the process.

The chapter discusses about earlier place concept as 'Nuwara' and how Buddhist concepts are drawn over the place and how natural landscape replaced the divine concepts[88] and mythology of Sri Lanka, especially in Anuradhapura as the centre of Buddhism. Dwelling patterns in Sri Lankan cultural place are discussed within this context. A brief discussion on later capitals is examined within the understanding of place, in relation to natural landscape, dwelling patterns, conception of Buddhism and Hindu divinism. Typological analysis of natural landscape and cultural place related to dwelling patterns and performances is discussed in the chapter in order to reveal the relationship of natural landscape and cultural place.

4.1 Performing in Indian-Himalayan landscape

"Landscapes in India offer the possibility of transcendent experiences, their cultural meaning going beyond views or the visual composition of forms" (Sinha,2006.p.13). This notion of landscape of India has given locations to flourish a variety of cultural places and cultural landscapes of Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, Tibetans and many others. The place has been evolved, exposed and sometimes changed, making layers of evidences of historical landscape. This section discusses about the natural landscape of North India and how natural landscape influence myth and religious concepts focusing on dwelling and ideal forms discussed in chapter two. Place is discussed within the concepts of Hinduism, Buddhism and mythology. Mandala diagrams[89] are discussed as a means of building technique, utilized in making cities, villages, temples, houses etc. making an ordered world and an ideal place for performing. Nuwara (city) is discussed within these contexts as an ideal place unfolded to performing cultural dramas.

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[88] Munasinghe, H.(1998)
[89] Jayasuriya, Prematilleke and Silva (1995)

4.1.1 Natural landscape of North India

The natural landscape of North India influences on mythology, religious conceptions, and performing place (Sinha,2006), distinguished with Himalayan mountain range, comprising several different peaks, rising up to 5000 meters or more. Mount Everest, the highest mountain in the world is one such mountain peak and many of these mountain peaks are covered with snow throughout the year. The great river Ganga (*Plate 4.1*), flowing from west to east is comprised of many tributaries flowing from the Himalayan mountain range at the north and Vindhya range at the south of the *Ganga* dividing the Indian sub continent almost horizontally (*Map 4.1*). The wide plain of *Ganga* provides a fertile landscape where many significant cities and kingdoms have flourished during the history.

*Map 4.1: **Ganges river map**. Source: prokerala.com*

Plate 4.1: ***River Ganga***. *Source: google.com (loversindia)*

Ganga, the most sacred river in India, is recognized by Hindus[90] as a moving-flowing axis *mundi* and is worshiped as the goddess (consort of Vishnu and Shiva – Hindu gods)[91]. Many peaks of Himalaya are worshipped as pilgrim sites by Hindus, Tibetans, Nepalese and Himalayan communities. There are many pilgrim journeys along the valleys, climbing mountains, passing rivers to reach sacred places associated with myth and narration[92]. Notably most of these mountains shapes are similar to the absolute form of good (*Plate 4.2; Plate 4.3*) as discussed in chapter two. Although original Buddhism no longer exists in this region, people (who today belong to different religious world views) worship areas of the natural landscape as sacred places, experiencing divine dimensions, recognizing many mountains and mountain ranges as places of gods and goddesses. According to Hindus, Shiva lives at mount Kailash in the Himalayas with his consort Parvati, daughter of Himalaya, king of mountains,(Sinha, 2006) describe the extra ordinary geography[93] given by natural landscape to imagine the invisible side of the place. Buddhism widely spread among close by countries, Nepal, Tibet, Burma, China, and Sri Lanka, and developed within local experiences of natural landscape. Experience of wonderful geographic locations as mountain gods, and

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[90] Buddhist narratives in India are overlapped by Hindu mythology during the history of time.

[91] Sinha, A.(2006)

[92] Mcdonald (1997)

[93] Sinha, 2006

sacred places among communities in Himalayn mountainous landscape, accompanied the different 'waves' of Buddhification of the area.[94]

Plate 4.2: ***The south face of mount Kailash***
Source: Wikipedia.org

Plate 4.3: ***Mount ArakamTse, Nepal***
Source: 123rf.com

4.1.2 Myth and Dwelling – Ideal forms and places

There are many examples of ideal forms and places, in the mythic landscape of India, which influenced Sri Lanka. Cultural narratives in India and in Sri Lanka have been influenced by many mythical concepts. Some of these major world views are about a mythical place, where the king of gods, Sakra resides at the summit of Maha Mera surrounded by the ocean known as 'Kiri Muhuda' (Milk Sea). Axis Mundi, the axis which passes through the centre of the world, goes through the Maha-mera and Mandala which defines ordered world utilized by gods and super nature[95] at the centre. These dwelling concepts are described in many ancient chronicles, and also transmitted through oral tradition. Mandala developed as s*hilpa sastra*, the science of building.

Maha mera – ideal place

Maha Mera is a mythical place described in many chronicles as the ideal dwelling place;

> 'Among infinite and immense worlds there are 100,000 *koti*[96] of chief worlds; amongst these are 10,000 chiefer worlds; of these this blessed world is the chiefest. Round about this world is a rocky rampart 3,610,350 *yodun*[97]; and in the centre stands *Maha Mera* resting on *Tricuta*[98], which is 30,000 *yodun* in height. *Maha Mera* itself is 168,000 *yodun* in height 10,000 *yodun* in

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[94] Hildegard Diemberger, *On Himalayan communities and their sacred landscape.*
[95] The creator of the world - Brahma
[96] 10,000,000
[97] Plural form of Yoduna, a measure of distance generally reckoned as 16 miles; some make it equal to 12 miles.
(Gunasekara, 1995)
[98] Three columns

circumference. On the summit of Maha Mera is the residence of Sakra[99]; below it the world of the Asura[100]. Outside Trikuta and around (Maha) Mera lies the world of the Nagas. Surrounding (Maha) Mera are the seven Kula rocks, the height of the second being half of the first, and so on less by half, one after the other in order.'

<div align="right">Rajavaliya[101] (Gunasekara, 1995. p.1)</div>

This description evokes the spatial form of an ideal place in which everything is organized around a centre, represented by Maha-mera connected divine experiences with mundane earthly senses. People experience the world around them in circumspective understanding, within the centre of themselves. The experience of *chora* as becoming of this understanding[102], exhibits in this mythic place as different sizes of Kula rocks around the central rock Maha-mera acted as *topos* in order to understand c*hora.* This description reveals tangible and intangible; physical and non physical sides of the place c*hora* experienced by dwelling and performing everyday life narratives. These mythic concepts are vivid pictures of 'worldhood' experienced beyond visual dimensions, beyond the eye and mythical concepts described in ancient cultures provide rich literature to understand the *chora* of the place**.** In summary, rocky ramparts and Maha-mera provide physical dimensions of the place, natural *topos*. Spatial dimensions of dwelling are described as centre, absolute form of good and Maha-mera as a holistic place (*Plate 4.4*). Divine experiences on the summit of Maha-mera represent boundaries between non physical/ physical and tangible/ intangible sides of the place as the residence of Sakra the king of divine beings. Below of the Maha-mera is the world of Asura represented opposite experience of becoming the destruction.

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[99] King of the divine beings
[100] Super natural beings whose character opposite to divine beings.
[101] Descriptive narrative of the history of Sri Lankan Kings written on Ola leaves.
[102] Plato (Timeaus)

Plate 4.4: **Three dimensional realization of Maha Meru***.*
Sourc : Srilalithambika.org

Interpretation of Himalayan landscape

'Zooming out' from this site, which is already of cosmic proportions, the Rajavaliya author combines a description of the physical world landscape and experiences, with mythical landscape to make a complete picture of the world:

"(on the four sides of) Maha Mera are the four continents.[103].....amongst these four continents, Jambudvipa is the chief. It covers in land and water 10,000 yodun, out of which 4000 are occupied by the sea: 3000 yodun of the remaining 6000 are taken up by (the great Mount) Himalaya, around which are 84,000 rocks; each of these is 500 yodun in height. There is on Himalaya the lake Anotatta, into which flows the water of 500 rivers rising from Himalaya Mount. The lake is surrounded by five great rocks, in circumference 50 yodun and in height 200, beetling and overshadowing the lake. Anotatta lake is 50 yodun in length, in breadth, and in depth: six (other) lakes and four great rivers lie round it........'

Rajavaliya, p.2(Gunasekara,1995)

These mythical stories describe the vital aspects of Himalayan topography, physical features and land forms and their relationship with performing and dwelling of people. Also because of these natural features, the landscape is understood as superior

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[103] viz., on the east Purva Videha, which is 8000 yodun in extent, and is surrounded by 500 islands; on the south Jambudvipa, which is 10,000 yodun in extent, and has 500 islands around it; Aparagoyana on the west, 7000 yodun in extent, and surrounded by 500 islands; and Uturukuru divayina on the north, 8000 yodun in extent, with 500 islands round it." Rajavaliya, p.1(Gunasekara, 1995)

among other areas of the world and also among divine worlds, describes how important the natural landscape is for people as a conceptual and actual threshold to pass the boundaries - MITTE – to achieve higher level of mind and existence. This is the place they seek: rocks are recognized as gods of different characteristics and caves as Ran lena (gold caves), Anagi-mini-lena (priceless-gem-cave), and Ridi-lena (silver cave)." (Rajavaliya, p.2 (Gunasekara, 1995); "Five hundred palaces wherein Pase Budus[104] reside, and palaces of the Gandharva Gods, have sprung up on Himalaya..... preaching to the god-chief[105] on Kailasa, ...thus Dambadiva as a field of merit, and superior to the six divine worlds and the Brahma worlds." (Rajavaliya, p.2 (Gunasekara, 1995)

Axis Mundi and Kalpa Vruksha

Axis Mundi is another mythical concept recognized in Indo- Sri Lankan cultural narratives, as a linear extension which passes through the centre of the world. There are many symbolic representations of the axis Mundi in cultural landscape (e.g: mountains, trees, pagodas). K*alpa Vruksha* represent universe[106], a cosmic tree, symbol of prosperity, which can materialize any wish or hope of mankind.

All these ideal forms and places described as mythic landscape are comprised of physical features and experiences as discussed in chapter two (2.6.1). ***Mountains, rocks, land forms which are similar to the absolute form of good*** as divine residences of many gods having divine experiences. ***Water*** as lake Anotatta and 500 rivers flowing down from Himalaya mountain; overshadowing surrounding rocks on lake Anotatta exhibit the two opposite experiences that reflect on one another and the flowing quality of rivers reflect the oscillation of life between two opposite experiences, divine and mundane. ***Axis Mundi*** as the transcending experience passing centre of the unfolded spatial dimensions of the place is evident. ***Cosmic tree*** - *Kalpa Vruksha* (Kap ruka) is a universal experience. ***Centre*** is experienced as the most spiritual in ideal place. Although world is understood and experienced through these mythical concepts,

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[104] Who attained to different kind of Buddhahood
[105] God Shiva - according to Hindus
[106] Sinha (2006)

the whole experience of mythic landscape and physical landscape make the ideal form, the absolute form of good, the universal understanding of the world.

4.1.3 Cultural/ Religious performing.

Cultural narratives influenced on Sri Lanka and North India, have developed from the concepts of divine kings and Buddhist divine kings. With the migration of Aryan communities from North India to Sri Lanka during 6th century BC, divine king concepts and related rituals and ceremonies may have arrived to Sri Lankan cultural context and the place. The lines of kings of Sri Lanka were descendents from the same line of kings of North India. The origin of these kings was very ancient and distinguished with superhuman qualities. Asokan Buddhist concept was introduced to Sri Lanka during 3rd century BC opened a new concept of Buddhist, divine, kings in the cultural place.

Divine King

The divine king concept is illustrated in many texts and in oral tradition. The history of the first king is as old as the history of beginning of the birth. *Maha Sammata* was the king who first reigned the world from the *Bamba-upata*[107] to the *Antah-kalpa*.[108] (Rajavaliya) This king is more than a human a sage of super human powers. Rajavaliya describes the ideal personality of the first King Maha Sammata as:

> "This king (*Maha Sammata*) possessed radiance like unto a multitude of solar rays. He possessed the supernatural power of sitting cross-legged in the air and exercising rule over the people. The fragrance of sandal exuded from every part of his body: when he spoke the scent of lilies escaped from his mouth to the distance yodun. Four Siddhas and Vidyaharas kept guard over the king on four sides, each girt with a sword. That king, possessed of such supernatural powers, reigned an *asankhya*[109] of years free from the infirmities of old age. In his time every being lived an *asankhya* of years......"
>
> (Rajavaliya, p. 4)

The kingdom goes from father to son. Son of *Maha Sammata* Roja and many other descendants lived *asankhya* of years.[110] Some of them ascended to the divine world with the same body, and re-descended to the human world with the same body

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[107] Birth of the creator of the world
[108] End of the time (we belong to)
[109] Infinite numbers
[110] Rajavaliya

(Rajavaliya, Mahawamsa).[111] Rajavaliya provides detailed description of all the descendant kings from the first king, *Maha Sammata*. King Chetiya, was claimed as the one who uttered the first lie born in the history of the world; immediately the great earth swallowed him up and was taken to Avichi hell.[112] The sons and grand children of these kings developed to a large number of about 60,000 or more, each having a separate city, reigned as *chakravarti*.[113] The interpretation of chakravarti is related to Sakra, the divine king who resides at the summit of Mount Maha Mera. There are occasions of gods in divine world who descended to the human world mentioned in Rajavaliya as: 'By order of Sakra, king of the gods, he was born in the human world, and reigned an asankhya of years...' These lines of kings from the first king are known as Maha Sammata, lived *asankhya* years without getting to old.[114] From the King Maha Sammata to the king Suddhodana (father of prince Siddhartha who attained Buddhahood), 707,797 kings reigned and crowned princes were 334,593[115].

The concept of King could be summarized as: Kings are more divine than humans, having supernatural powers. They possess transcendental experiences between two worlds of divine and mundane. **Their mind-body is more spiritually maintained in order to gain higher levels of transcendence.** There were *Chakravarti* monarchs who possess great power and spirituality over the large number of lands and people and they resemble the *Sakra* on the summit of Maha Mera, becoming a divine king (*Fig. 4.1*)

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[111] The story of kings may not be described as mythology, as this kind of super human , holy beings were described in many cultures in ancient unknown world.

[112] Rajavaliya

[113] Great king

[114] The next line of kings are known as *Makhadeva* - whose body suffers ageing. The first king who noticed grey hair in his head handed over the kingdom to his son and practised asceticism in a mango-groove (Rajavaliya). All other descendants of this line of kings, seeing grey hair in their heads abdicated the throne, practised austere life and were born in the Brahma world after death. After *Makhadeva*, Okkaka were the next title of kings and the age of kings gradually decreased to 5000- 10,000yrs.

[115] These numbers are mentioned in Rajavaliya.
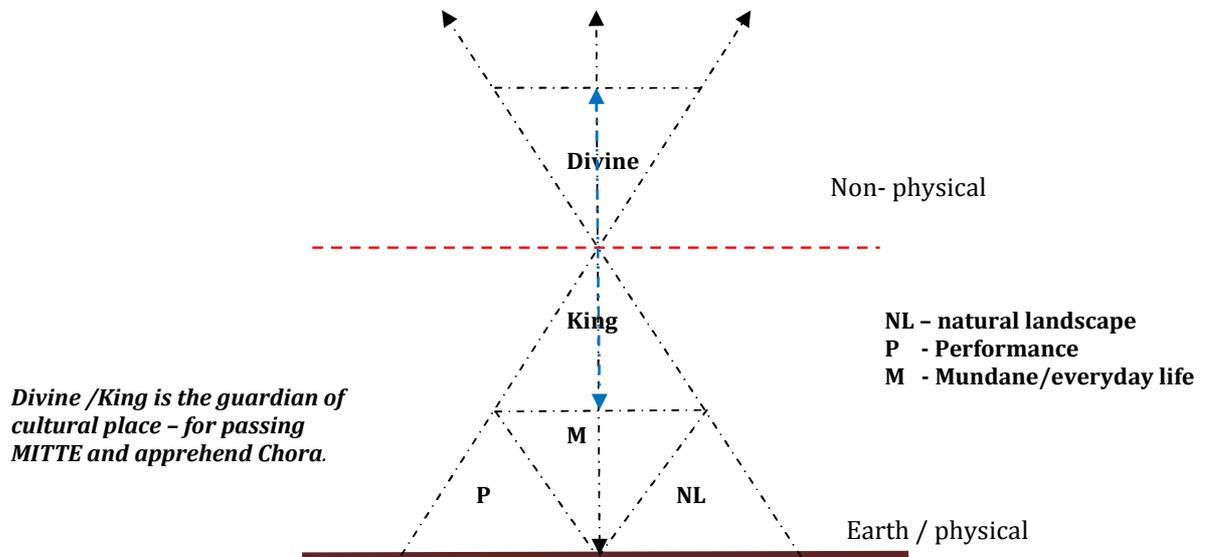
Fig. 4.1: **Concept of King** *- in relation to absolute form of good*

Buddhism and Asoka- Chakravarthi Monarch

Prince Siddartha[116] (6th century BC) was the heir to the throne after Suddhodana[117] who was from the same divine line of kings, attained the Buddhahood, making greater changes in the cultural place which later influenced on Sri Lankan cultural landscape. According to Buddhism and Hinduism, the time of the world is divided into *Kalpa*,[118] of which one Buddha would be within a one *Kalpa* and Goutama Budda is within this *Kalpa*. Attaining Buddha hood is attaining non-existence and becoming universe[119]. Goutama Buddha helped thousands of people to attain higher levels of mind by means of listening to Buddhist dhamma[120], meditating and performing the Buddhist doctrine[121]. Thousands of people attained to Arahathood[122]. Buddha walked from city to city and to some countries, including Sri Lanka by air, preaching the path to salvation, had thousands of followers, many of them were Arahaths. Mahavamsa[123] describes seven hundred thousand leading bhikkus who

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[116] Name of the Gauthama Buddha before the attainment of Buddhahood.

[117] king in Kapilawastupura, which was a well established democratic city state.

[118] Veda (are large body of texts, written during 1700 -1100 BC in India).

[119] Written documents of Buddhist doctrine, oral tradition

[120] Philosophy

[121] Mahavamsa, Theravada (written documents by Buddhis monks), Oral tradition

[122] The highest state of mind.

[123] Mahavamsa is the great chronicle of Sri Lanka written in different periods on Ola leave. Refer Geiger (2007)

attended the passing away moment of Goutama Buddha including gods (Mahawamsa, p.14). Compilation of holy *dhamma*[124] has been done by five hundred eminent bhikkhus [125]spending the rainy season in Rajagaha two weeks after the passing away of Buddha, during the reign of king Ajatasattu[126]. Since the canon was compiled by the theras it is called the thera tradition.[127] This is known as the first council.[128] It is understood that thera tradition should be of more original words of Buddha's guiding for the self realization in Buddha's way (techniques).

Buddhism in India was re-established during the Asokan reign (3rd century BC) after 218 years of Goutama Buddha's[129] attainment of Nibbana[130]. Asoka was a Chakravarti monarch who raised his power and ruled over the Indian sub-continent as described in Mahawamsa, " After (he) had won (by war) for himself the undivided sovereignty he consecrated himself as king in the city of Pataliputta " (p.28). During this period there were many Buddhist doctrines practised. King Asoka learned pure Buddhism (perhaps first council) from a Samanera[131] Nigrodha[132] and changed his entire life as a devotee of Buddhism, which resulted in greater changes in the cultural/religious place in India and in Sri Lanka which continues to date. Asoka provided all supportive requirements for re-establishment of pure Buddhism. He built eighty four thousand[133] viharas, in eighty-four thousand towns, in honouring eighty-four thousand sections of the dhamma.[134] Asoka monastery in the capital Pataliputta where the king resides is one such monastery. Princes, princesses, (including King's son Mahinda and daughter Samghamitta) noble men and women and a large number of people received Pabbajja-ordination[135]. The increasing number of people receiving

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[124] Gauthama Buddha's teachings
[125] Many of them were Arahant
[126] Mahawamsa
[127] Mahawamsa -- origin of Theravada (words of thera) Buddhism practised in countries like Sri Lanka, originated from *Thera* tradition
[128] Mahawamsa Geiger(1912)
[129] Mahawamsa
[130] Passing away
[131] Young monk
[132] He was seven year old
[133] Mythology describe 84,000 rocks in Himalaya, described earlier.
[134] Mahawamsa, p. 32, Buddhist teaching
[135] Mahawamsa

pabbajja-ordination[136] demanded a large number of monasteries and means of food supply (freshly prepared), influenced specialized built forms, dana sala. Some of them have attained arhathhood and received the ability to walk in the air. 'On those spots which the conqueror (Buddha) himself had visited, the monarch (Asoka) built beautiful cetiyas'[137], here and there[138]. Stupa, Arama and other representations were built at each place (*Plate 4.5*) linked with Buddha's life and preaching, to symbolize and memorize important events of Buddha. People (devotees) today still pay homage to these places re-memorizing and re-experiencing historical events. During the time of Asoka, Buddhist doctrine (more original) was introduced to other countries including Sri Lanka, where a large number of people converted to Buddhism making greater changes in the cultural and religious place. The later kings of Sri Lanka were influenced by these two performing concepts: divine Kingly concept and Buddhist divine kingly concept.[139]
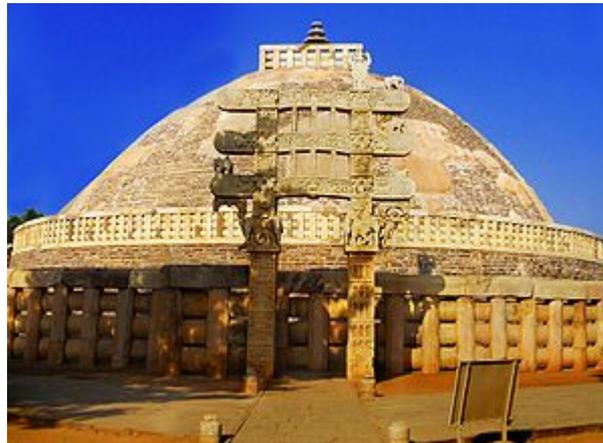
*Plate 4.5: **Sanchi** – stone structure originally commissioned by Asoka*
Source: Wikipedia.org

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[136] Converting to monkhood
[137] Stupa
[138] Mahawamsa

[139] Duncan (1990)

4.2 Hinduism, Buddhism and place: The influence on Sri Lanka

This section discusses guidance of natural landscape for divine concepts in Hinduism and Buddhist understandings in Buddhism. Mandala diagrams are discussed as a placing of ordered world the ideal place on the landscape, which open divine connections through mundane performing and dwelling. Built place and cultural place is discussed within this context. It is discussed that, Sri Lankan cultural landscape and architecture are influenced by Buddhism, Hinduism and mandala shilpa practised in India, introduced during the 6th century BC with the continuous larger migration of people from North India to Sri Lanka. During this period cities, palaces and monasteries in India reflected higher technology, mathematical accuracy and all these were developed base on the mathematical model of mandala diagram (Jayasuriya, Prematilleke and Silva, 1995). Although these diagrams are rigid plan forms, existing archaeological remains in Sri Lanka exhibit proper harmony between natural landscape and these plan forms. Based on this observation more early plan forms of the same architecture which were in India and later disappeared could be understood as related to natural landscape.

4.2.1 Hinduism and Gods

The divine concepts in Hinduism are related to the natural landscape of India. Unlike in Buddhism, Hindu mythology landscape is experienced and understood by relating to gods and their subsequent characters. Hinduism means 'the religion of the India', (De Weyer, 2008) is a very ancient religion based on sacred texts written by ancient sages who lived in the Himalayan mountains. Veda[140] (1200 BCE) are known as direct communication from the Divine to Hindu sage, Upanishads (600 BCE) are words of spiritual teachers, recorded by their disciples. Bhagvad Gita is words of Krishna incarnation of the God[141], appears in one of the great Indian epics the Mahabharata. During the time of Gautama Buddha (6th century BC), the world is understood through

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[140] Said to be based on direct communication from the Divine to Hindu sage.
[141] (De Weyer,2008)

Hindu mythology and stories about gods who fought against demons in order to create 'good place'. People understand events and deeds based on these stories. It is said that Indra[142] descended to the world among men and achieved divine knowledge by mundane world, and there were past kings who received the enlightenment and obtained both royal magnificence and the control over the mind[143] simultaneously. There are many gods in Hindu cosmogony and cosmology. In Puranas[144] Brahma is described as the creator and joined in a divine triad with Vishnu and Shiva. The universe was created by Brahma, preserved by Vishnu and destroyed for the next creation by Shiva. There are ten avatars (characters) of Vishnu and incarnate[145] in the world in need, in order to restore righteousness. Shiva's consort is Parvati and two sons are elephant headed-Ganesha and six faced-Murugan. Indra or Shakra is known as the king of gods, the ruler of the lower heaven Amaravati. Varna is the god of the water; Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, is the goddess of good luck and temporal blessings; Sarasvati, the wife of Brahma, is the patron of art, music and letters. The interpretation of the universal truth through Hindu cosmogony could be figured out by the absolute form of good discussed, in chapter two. (*Fig.4.2*)

The holy Himalayas and Vindhyas contain many pilgrim spots of honouring gods and goddesses (Sinha, 2006). Mountain peaks and mountain ranges related to particular gods, according to the character of these mountains. The transcendental experience of rivers (*Plate 4.6*) venerated as goddesses (Sinha, 2006). Kaveri, Ganga, Yamuna rivers are experienced as divine power of goddesses (Sinha, 2006). The universal truth is understood in Hinduism by referring to ancient texts, by relating to ancient incidents and stories of gods and divine kings and by mythology of sacred landscape. Experience of invisible dimensions of natural landscape has been transformed into stories of divine beings. Thus landscape is experienced by relating to mythology.

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[142] Another name to Sakra
[143] Cowell,(2010)
[144] Deal with stories that are old and do not appear (or fleetingly appear) in epics. It contains stories and legends about the origin of the world, and the lives and adventures of a wide variety of gods, goddesses, heros, heroines, and mythological creatures – (Vikipedia.org)
[145] Rama and Krishna are incarnation of Vishnu

Brahma   Brahma

D

Vishnu

Brahma – *creation is a*   — — — — — — — — — — — — — —   Non- physical
result of becoming
Chora
Vishnu *– guardian of*
the transcendental axis   K
in the cultural place.
Shiva – *decaying of the*
Chora in the dynamic   M
process of becoming
and decaying of the   P   NL
place   Earth / physical
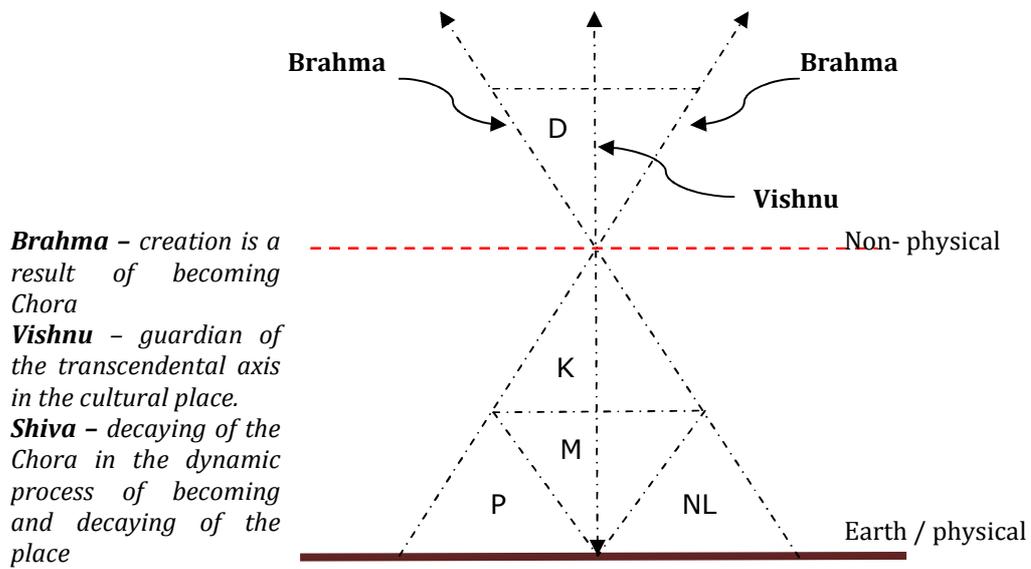
Fig. 4.2: **Hindu Divine triad** *– in relation to absolute form of good*

Plate 4.6 : **River Neranjana.**
Source: google.com

4.2.2 Buddhism (Buddha's way) and Natural landscape

Bodhisatva occupies the natural landscape comprising trees, water, lakes, rocks and mountains during the journey of six years to reach the ultimate reality through self realisation. These natural *topoi* may have guided the way of passing MITTE to gain transcendental experiences and understand *chora* and the four truths of the world. The basic concept of Buddhism is described by the four noble truths as '*chathurarya satya*'[146].

- **Pain –** Sense and feeling of mind-body experience (sensory feeling)
- **Origin of pain –** Reason of sense is the physical things, earthly bounded
- **Stopping of pain –** Understand *chora* of the place, by linking physical to non physical of two oppositional experiences.
  Divine and Mundane, the holistic concept
- **Leads to its stopping –** *path:* journey of transcendence passing MITTE along the Divine Axis. (out of body experience)

The four noble truths (*chathurarya satya*) describe universal truth, the pure understanding of absolute form of good by means of mind-body embodiment in the natural landscape. The pain and the origin of pain connect within physical things. Therefore sense of place in terms of *topos bound* with only pain and the origin of pain which is earthly bounded. Stopping of pain emerges because of pain and the origin of pain (hardness of landscape) open out the pathway towards centre passing MITTE along the divine axis to gain divine experiences, the non physical nature of the world. *Therefore sense of place in terms of chora opens out the pathway to salvation, to understand universal truth described in philosophies and religions.*[147] *Therefore sense of place by chora shows the vital aspect of place making in architecture for the whole of mankind.* **Buddha's way shows the pure understanding and experience of the world and chora of the place: without making physical significance of the place by means of *imagination, making, narrating, dancing* etc. This unfolds a spiritual way of connecting physical and non physical nature of the world by**

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[146] Cowell,2010. P.173
[147] Four noble truth – Buddhism; four folds – phenomenology, Jainism, Upanishad

means of understanding the sacred dimensions of natural landscape (thesis)**.** The universal understanding of the four noble truths in Buddhism could be represented by the physical form of absolute form of good developed in chapter two (*Fig. 4.3*).
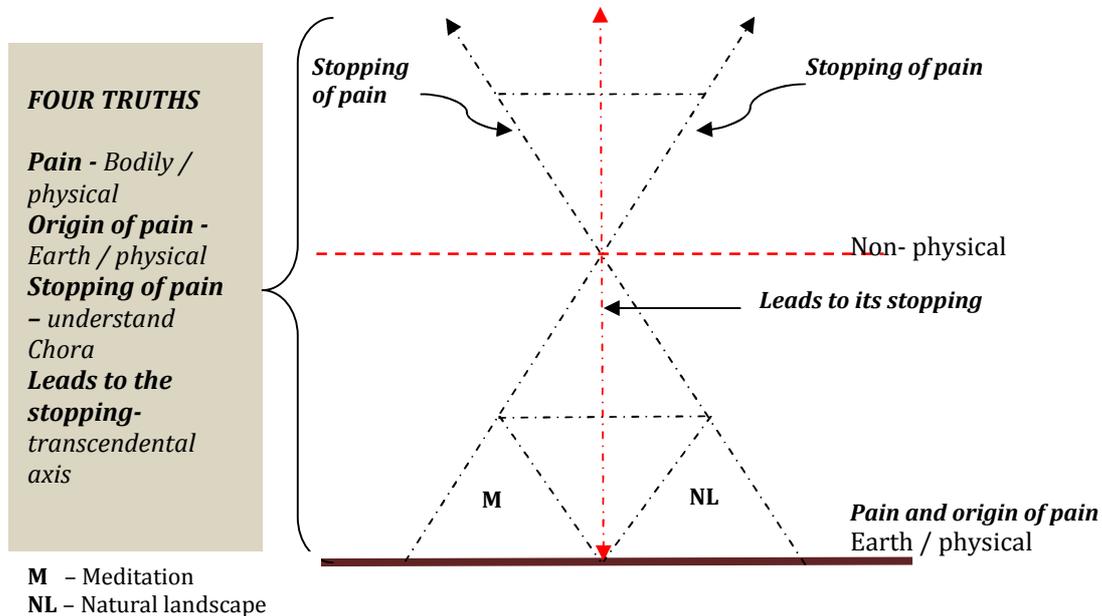
Fig. 4.3: ***Four Truths and absolute form of good***

Buddha's way of salvation is closely related to Nature and natural landscape. Prince Siddartha, spent six years in the forest by the side of *Neranjana* river, meditating through self realization. At the end of this long and hard journey, Bodhisatva[148] attained the ultimate reality under a Bo tree in *Uruwel* region. "At Uruvela, in the Magadha country, the great sage, sitting at the foot of the Bodhi-tree, reached the supreme enlightenment on the full–moon day of the month Vesakha."[149] Before attaining Buddhahood, prince Siddartha lived in his father's palace in Kapilawastupura which was within the regional boundaries of present Nepal[150]. The place where Bodisatva stayed by the side of the Neranjana river[151] (after leaving the palace and the city) was on the opposite side of the river, from where enlightenment

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[148] Before becoming Buddha

[149] Mahawamsa (trans. By Geiger, 2007. p.2)

[150] Towards the NW side of Gorakpur city in Nepal, widely spread out archaeological remains could be recognized as kapilawastupura,

[151] Present 'Elgu'

received under a Bo tree. This place is known today as "Buddha gaya". Gaya (Gayasisa), Uruwel region (Lungeshwari), Buddha Gaya, Rajagaha city and surrounding religious sites belong to old Maghada kingdom and at present this area belongs to Southern Bihar province. It is said that Maghada kingdom was a prosperous region, fertilized by Neranjana river and river tributaries, attracted by Gayasisa and Rajagiri mountain ranges (*Plate 4.7*).[152] Bodisatva arrived in Rajagriha, after meeting ascetics, crossing the Ganges (*Plate 4.8*) with its speeding waves.[153] (It is estimated that the distance from Kapilavastupura to Rajgriha is about 400 km).

> "..He reached the city distinguished by the five hills, well guarded and adorned with mountains, and, supported and hallowed by auspicious sacred places (*Plate 4.9*) ......like the Brahmin in holy calm going to the uppermost heaven.'"

> (Cowell, 2010.p. 124)

This description provides evidence of relationship emerged between Bodisatva's (prince Siddarta's) state of mind and experience of natural landscape. The natural landscape of Rajagriha has provided images of abstract form of good, by mountains and by enclosed places reflecting divine dimension. By entering the city and by climbing mountain, prince Siddarta may pass the MITTE experiencing divine dimensions as discussed in chapter two in the section 2.6.2. ***Also this description reveals three examples (topos) of physical forms which resemble the 'absolute form of good' and having similar experiences of chora:*** **mountains, enclosed city by mountains and Brahmin in meditative body posture.** The King[154] in Rajagriha ascended Pandava, which is described as the noblest of mountains[155] (from the other four mountains) to see prince Siddartha, found him on a rock; " as if the mountain were moving, and he himself were a peak thereof – like the moon rising from the top of a cloud" (Cowell, 2010. P. 126). This description shows the experience of natural landscape (Pandava mountain), performing (meditation) and the place and inter

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[152] Ranadewa: pilgrim guide for ancient Indian Buddhist sites
[153] Cowell, 2010
[154] King Srenya
[155] Cowell,2010

relationships of all: resembling inside experience of meditation with outside experience of mountain peak.

*Plate 4.7: **View of Rajgir hills –** source: Wikimedia.org*

*Plate 4.8: **River Ganga**. Source: www.google.com*
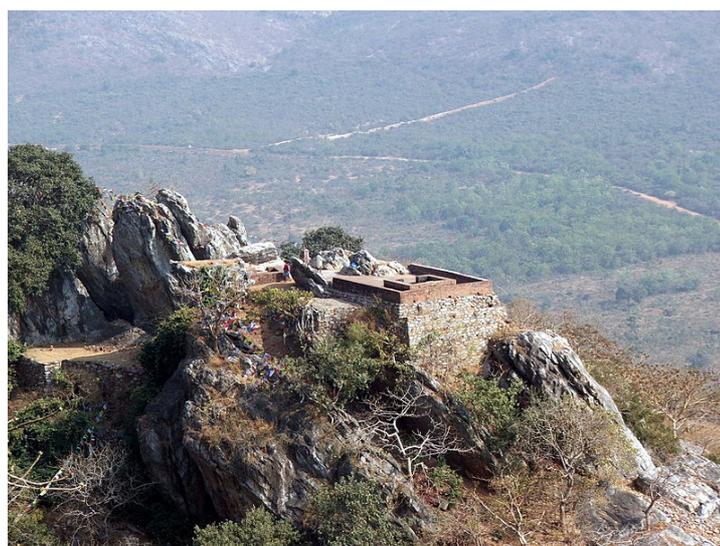
*Plate 4.9: **a place where Buddha resides.** - Vulture's Peak ,*
a historic place of Buddhists[156]. Source: wikimedia.org

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[156] The place where the Atanatiya sutta conference held.

Prince Siddartha dwelled under many trees (*Plate 4.10*), before attaining the enlightenment and thereafter. The counsellor and family priest who went to the forest to plead the prince to come back to the palace, found the Bodisatva, "sitting like a king on the road at the foot of a tree. Like the sun under the canopy of the cloud" (Cowell, 2010. P. 113). The Bo tree where enlightenment happened, the Ajapal tree , the Midella tree, the Rajayathana tree are other trees Buddha sat under and these trees became sacred among Buddhist devotees. Buddha honoured the Bo tree (*Plate 4.11; 4.12*) which helped the enlightenment, by looking at it with opened eyes for seven days.[157] Prince Siddartha may have gained divine experiences of water of rivers, Neranjana and Ganges, and springs and lakes by the side of Neranjana river. Before enlightenment at Gaya, he bathed in Neranjana and crossed the river to reach the Bo tree.[158] He may have walked bare footed along river valley of Ganges to Rajagriha, trampling sand, pebbles, stones, water and grass, sensing earth and natural landscape. By sensing and experiencing pre-images of ideal forms, directed by natural landscape, prince Siddartha may have experienced and understood divine nature the non-physical side of the world as firsthand experience, through mind-body realization, the self realization.

> "In that wood thickly filled with lodhra trees, having its thickets resonant with the notes of the peacocks, he (Bodisatva) the sun of mankind shone, wearing his red dress, like the morning sun above the eastern mountain".

> (Cowell, 2010. p. 126)

In pure Buddhism there is no mythology and natural landscape is experienced by mind-body without 'weaving the place' but by direct self realization of the four noble truths. Out of all the countries where Buddhist doctrine was introduced, the Theravada (pure Buddhism) continues only in Sri Lanka[159]. *The study argues the uniqueness in natural landscape of Sri Lanka could be one possible reason by providing a better physical setting to understand the pure Buddhism[160] through self realization.*

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[157] Animisalocana pujawa
[158] Cowell (2010)
[159] In India Buddhism was over laid by other world views , in later times.
[160] Here 'pure Buddhism' means self realization by understanding the natural landscape.
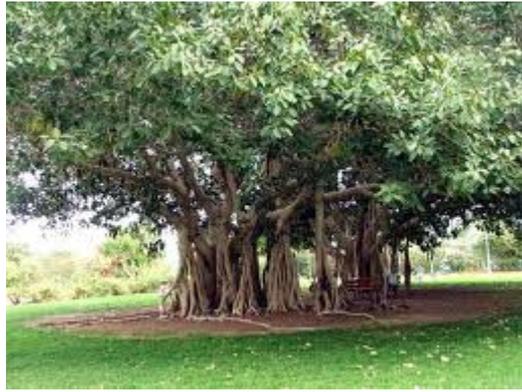
Plate 4.10: **Banyan tree**[161] **(Ficus aurea).**
Source: google.com
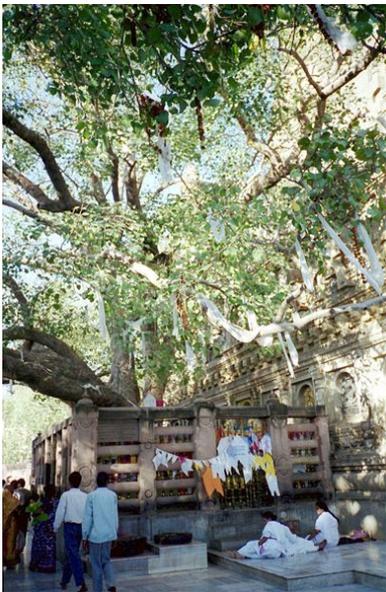
Plate 4.11: **Mahabodhi tree**[162] *(Ficus religiosa)*
Source: google.com

Plate 4.12: **Foliage** *– Ficus religiosa*
Source: google.com

4.2.3 *Mandala* as a dwelling place

There are mathematical-geometrical diagrams which developed in India and in Sri Lanka as mandala diagrams, utilized in making cities, palaces and religious places across the landscape. These diagrams depict ordered world and ideal place: a dwelling place. Mansara, Mayamata and Kasyapasilpa are texts on Hindu architecture and iconography, which are still practised in Sri Lanka in the construction of buildings, to

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[161] Banyan tree is a famous tree of many ascetics and sages in Asia, prominent figure in religions and myths.
[162] Gautama Buddha attained enlightenment under Esathu (B0) tree and this is known as 3rd or 4th generation which rises from the root of the original tree. The only remaining branch of the original tree is still stood in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

make an auspicious place, avoiding harmful spirits and forces[163]. Manjusri Vastuvidyasastra is developed to deal with Buddhist architecture and iconography. Although these diagrams are two dimensional plan forms, myth and legend about it unfolds a mini cosmos. Many different kinds of diagrams exist, in all these the centre is the most important, represented by Brahma the super nature[164] the highest god of Hindus with encircling lesser deities, forming a hierarchy as well as centrality and verticality of the place. This form is similar to the absolute form of good, experienced in dwelling (*Fig. 4.4*). The placing of mandala diagram on the ground as a layout plan for buildings and cities is a ritual process.[165] The simplest diagram is 'Sakala mandala' (*Fig. 4.5*) prescribed for an ascetic seat. It is a simple enclosure around the sacred fire, never used as a site for a building. The mandala with nine squares is known as 'Pitha' or 'Throne' (*Fig. 4.6*). All other diagrams used to layout buildings (*Fig. 4.7*) and cities are expanded versions of this diagram (*Fig. 4.8; 4.9*).

Divine/ non-physical world

Earth/ physical world
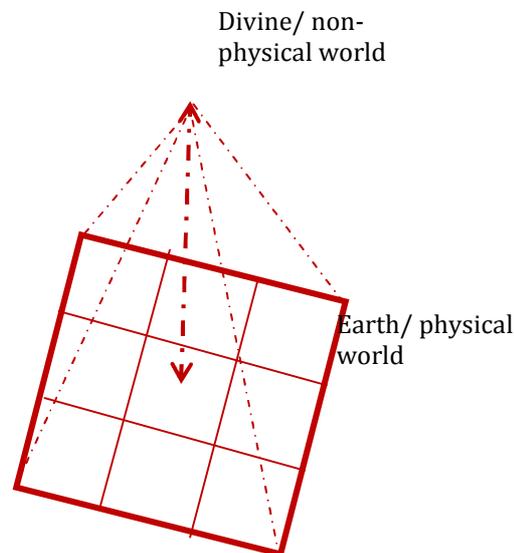
Fig. 4.4: **Hierarchical order of the Mandala -** *emphasise absolute form of good.*

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[163] According to Hindu mythology, in the beginning, Brahma, the creator of the Universe, experimented with the creation of a new creature. He created a large cosmic man, who grew rapidly as he began to devour everything in his path to satisfy his insatiable hunger. When he became so big that his shadow fell on the Earth creating a permanent eclipse, the gods Shiva and Vishnu begged Brahma to do something before everything was destroyed by the creature. Source : www.houseconstructionindia

[164] The creater

[165] *Mansara Silpa Shastra, Mayamatam* are very ancient Hindu texts about these constructions.
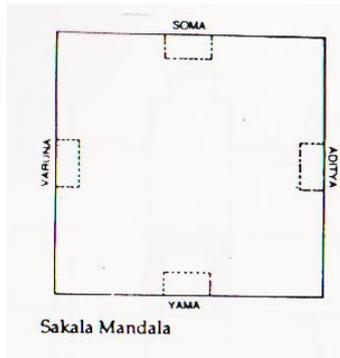
Fig. 4.5: **Sakala Mandala**

Fig. 4.6: **Pitha diagram – Brahma at the centre**
Sanskrit.org
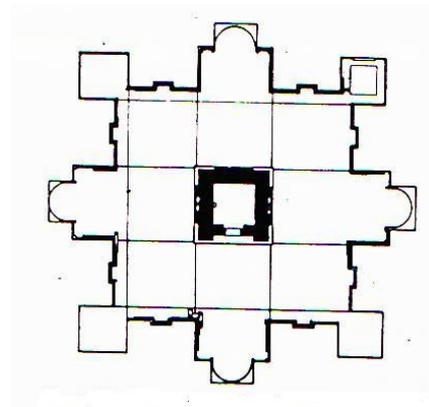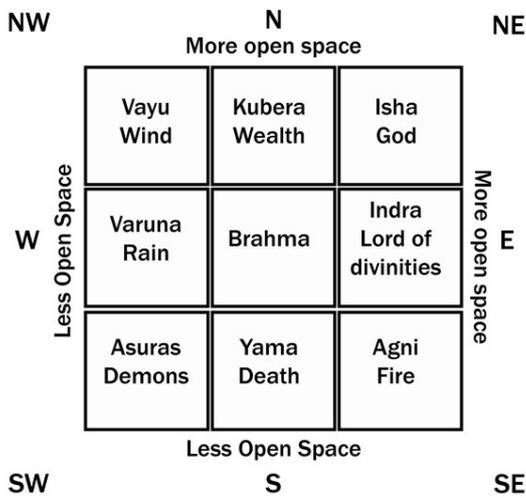
Fig. 4.7: **Vishnu temple - Deogarh**
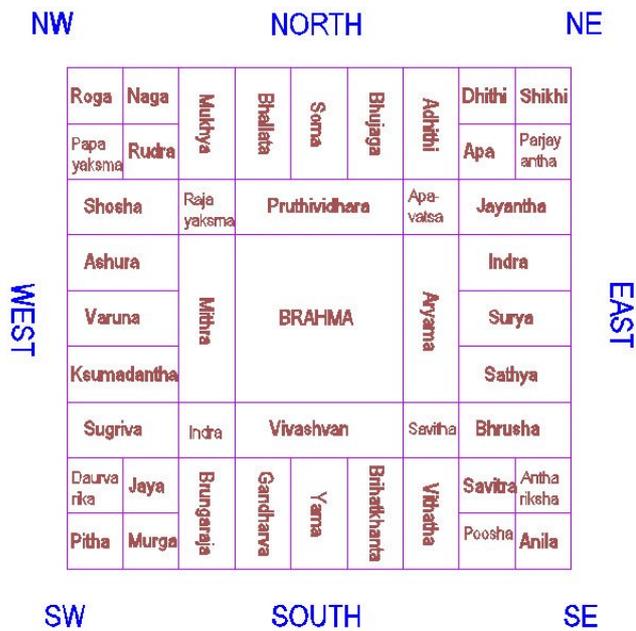
Fig. 4.8: **Brahma surrounded by Gods –**
to create auspicious place.
Source : google.com

Fig. 4.9: **Vastu purusha in Mandala**
Source : google.com

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Nuwara, a city concept developed along the tributaries of Ganges river during the time of Buddha (6th century BC) is a dwelling place, built based on these layout plans to achieve the mythic side of the place. In these cities mundane world is organized around divine concepts. Remaining foundations of the palace of king Suddodhana and Nalanda University (*Plate 4.13*) provide evidences of these earlier plan forms. Kapilawastupura was described as having 'high-soaring palaces, immersed in the sky'.[166] The origin of Kapilawastupura relates to an interesting story which depicts the invisible nature of the place and landscape formation.

> "....the princes...... found hermit Kapila, was practising severe austerities at the foot of a tree, in the vicinity of a lake in the midst of the forest. .....on hearing that princes are seeking a site to build a city....the sage examined the nature of the site 80 cubits upwards and 80 cubits downwards, and said, "princes if you would build a city , take the site of my *pansala*, when foxes chasing after hares come to this place, the hares turning back chase the foxes; when cobras darting after rats and frogs come to this place and those turn round and pursue the cobra, and so on.....A person who will hereafter live in this place will be kindly treated by the gods and Brahmas......princes build the city and named by the hermit's name as Kapila-wastu-pura."

Rajavaliya (Gunasekara, 1995. P. 10)

Rajavaliya describes about thirty five great cities in North India: Miyulu nuwara, Baranas nuwara, Dewudehe nuwara are famous for some historical happenings[167] related to Buddhism. The term 'nuwara' used to describe ancient Sri Lankan cities and Seneviratna describes the place where king stays became 'nuwara'. There were a number of nuwara, Buddha visited after enlightenment. Rajagaha nuwara, Vishala mahanuwara, Savat nuwara, Baranas nuwara, Kusinara nuwara are some of these. There was a king in each nuwara, although these were close to each other and the consecration of the King, a ritual process of transforming a king to a divine king was **celebrated** in the nuwara. The consecration of a royal queen was an essential part at the same time of this celebration[168]. Mandala describes placing of several   functions of the city on the ground (belong to characters of each deity) may have been influenced by the natural landscape. Therefore the concept of 'nuwara' describes a dwelling place of organized world linking mundane world with divine world. Monasteries and

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[166] Cowell, 2010
[167] Rajavaliya. Mahawamsa
[168] Mahavamsa, Rajavaliya

hermitages existed before Buddha but Buddhist arama may have been developed after Buddha, especially during the Asokan period, to fulfil the need of increasing number of bhikkus. First Gandhakuti[169] was built for Buddha at Isipathana Migadaya the place Buddha preached his doctrine to five Ascetics. The stupa, one of main symbolic buildings in Buddhism was in India before the Buddha. (Silva, 1988)

Plate 4.13: **Nalanda University.**[170]
Source: Ranadewa

4.3 Performing in Sri Lankan landscape

This section discusses the arrival of cultural concepts with the migration of Aryans from North India to Sri Lanka. How divine kingly concept and nuwara as a holistic place for performing and dwelling influence on earlier settlements developed along the northern plain of the country and shape the cultural place will be discussed in this section. It will also explain how Buddhist concepts drawn over the 'place' and the guidance of natural landscape of Sri Lanka for Buddhist performances based on the concepts of dwelling and ideal forms discussed in chapter two. Re-arrival of Hindu divine concepts to the cultural place and emerging place, within the composition of Buddhist concepts and divine concepts, is briefly discussed considering, how original cultural narratives spread over landscape of Sri Lanka throughout the history. Typological analysis of cultural place and natural landscape of Sri Lanka is discussed

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[169] Residences of Buddhist monks
[170] Established in the 5th century AD

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covering variety of physical forms, topography and geographical locations within a variety of understanding of places.

4.3.1 Natural Landscape of Sri Lanka

As discussed earlier, the unique character of the natural landscape of Sri Lanka could be one of the major reasons for the survival of pure Buddhism (Theravada) in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka itself as a 'place of special sanctity for the Buddhist religion' [171] and themselves as the chosen guardian of Buddhism (De Silva, 1981) are conceptualized ideas of Sri Lankan Buddhists. This section discusses, the fitting of Sri Lankan natural landscape with the Buddha's way of self realization, which could be understood based on three distinctive characteristics of physical forms. The first as discussed in chapter one is the location of the island in Indian ocean, the shape of the island, centralized mountains in the island and the arterial pattern of rivers emphasize the centre which is the primary factor of self realization. The second is Sri Lankan landscape is rich in physical forms which are similar to 'absolute form of good' or a part of this form, where the invisible part is imagined. Residual mountains in the northern plain and mountain ranges in the central part of the island provide different characteristics of physical forms to understand dwelling and *chora* of the place. The third perhaps is that Sri Lankan landscape may have been understood as a miniature version of Himalayan landscape. According to historical evidences, civilizations along river valleys of Ganga in North India during 6th century BC had an advanced knowledge of oceanic transportation. The transport routes along Ganga and along the Indian ocean towards the down south of India and towards Sri Lanka have provided easy access[172] from North India to Sri Lanka and vice versa during this period (*Fig. 4.10*) should be a strong reason for having a long lasting link between two regions. There were ancient sea ports along river Ganga[173] and along the northern coastal part of the Sri Lanka[174]. People travelling along these sea routes may have seen the mountains of Sri Lanka from far,

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[171] Duncan, 1990
[172] Takes seven days, Mahavamsa
[173] Sea port Thamlap- Mahavamsa
[174] Jambukola patuna - Mahavamsa

as sanctity, experiencing the centralized effect of the island. Peak Sri pada, at central hills which was a land mark for ships and boats wandering in the sea, may have also provided divine experiences with the Sun rising and Sun setting with the mountain view and the peak Sri pada having a similar shape to the absolute form of good, which is the most sacred mountain in Sri Lanka as discussed in earlier chapters.

*Fig. 4.10: **Sea routes between Sri Lanka and India** – during 3ʳᵈ - 6ᵗʰ century BC*

4.3.2 Divine king and Asokan Buddhist concept in Sri Lanka

The nuwara as a dwelling concept and related divine kingly concepts were introduced to Sri Lanka with the migrations which happened during early 3ʳᵈ -6ᵗʰ century BC. As discussed, Buddhism was introduced to Sri Lanka during the Asokan period in India. This section discusses how Buddhist concepts drawn over earlier concepts of the cultural place and shape the nuwara, focusing on Anuradhapura the ancient capital city, a settlement originally built by Anuradha (prince) and later developed as the main capital by Pandukabhaya (King). The city, Anuradhapura of Pandukabhaya has changed during the time of Devanampiyatissa with the introduction of Buddhism visibly and invisibly (social, cultural, religious and built space).

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Arrival of Aryans – Vijaya, (First Aryan king)

Arrival of Vijaya during 6th century BC links to the Buddha's last day.[175] As Buddha recognized Lanka as a place where his doctrine should shine in glory,[176] was lying on the death bed of his Nibbana, midst of the great assembly of gods he requested to Sakka[177], to protect Vijaya and his seven hundred followers and Lanka.[178] Sakka handed over the guardianship of Lanka to Vishnu.[179] Vijaya and his seven hundred followers with half-shaven heads were deported from North India by sea. Although history and physical evidences account that, the origin of the Sinhalese[180] and Sri Lankan Buddhist civilization is influenced by North Indian Aryan civilizations, there has been a pre-Vijayan settlement[181] which is recognized as super-natural and not humans.[182] Mahavamsa describes about the 'delightful Mahanaga garden' the meeting place of yakkhas[183], cities[184], kingdoms and kings and wedding festivals related to them. Vijaya met Kuvanna, a yakkahini (female of local community) spinning at a foot of a tree. Later, Vijaya became the lord of the kingdom[185] with the help of Kuvanna and lived with her. There were evidences of yakkaha appeared again after the reign of Vijaya during the period of King Panduvasudeva. Vijaya founded the city Thambapanni[186] while his ministers found villages. [187] When they completed the building of settlements ministers requested Vijaya to be consecrated as a king, as their city concept would not be completed without a king. The prince refused the consecration unless a maiden of a noble house was consecrated as a queen (at the same time)[188]; this explains the nature of these earlier city concepts as dwelling places. At the request of Vijaya, the King in the city of Madhura, in South India sent his

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[175] Rajavaliya, Mahavamsa
[176] Mahavamsa,(Geiger,2007, p.3)
[177] Another name for Indra - king of gods
[178] Vijaya is a prince. Mahavamsa, (Geiger, 2007.p.55)
[179] God is in blue, Vishnu is the god preserving the earth, and the universe
[180] The main ethnic group in Sri Lanka Sinha-le means lion-blood)
[181] Vijaya married a women from this local group
[182] Yakka, Naga, Deva – Mahavamsa provide examples of these kind of settlements, which also were in India.
[183] Although yakkha mean demons, history and tradition interpreted them as demons, descriptions of Mahavamsa show evidence of civilized culture , knowledge of science and technology and magical powers of them.
[184] Lankapura,(Mahavamsa, p. 60) ; Sirisavatthu,(Mahavamsa, p.57)
[185] Slay the yakkhas and their king who were invisible by the help of magic power of Kuvanna – Mahavamsa, p.58
[186] Mahavamsa
[187] Mahavamsa, p.58
[188] Mahavamsa, p.59

daughter and seven hundred maidens to Sri Lanka (by ship). Mahavamsa describes as, "craftsmen and thousand families of the eighteen guilds sent along with them".[189] This is an example of South Indian influence. Kuvanna with her two children went to Lankapura (another city of Yakkha, local inhabitants) was killed by local inhabitants, and the children ran away to the Sumanakuta.[190]

Panduvasudeva, the youngest son of Vijaya's twin brother, landed on Sri Lanka with thirty two sons of ministers to take over the kingship after Vijaya.[191] Consecration of Panduvasudeva took place with princess Bahaddakaccana, daughter of a Sakya king[192], who arrived in Lanka with thirty two maidens. Her six brothers arrived later to Sri Lanka and settled down in different places. Rama built his settlement at Ramagona, Uruvela built his settlement at Uruvela, Anuradha at Anuradha[193], Vijitha at Vijitagama, Dighayu at Dighayu and Rohana at Rohana. These settlements must be very much similar to   cities of that period, like Kapilavastupura, Baranas, Rajagaha, Kusinara Nuwara etc., as discussed earlier, where they came from. Anuradha built a tank and when he had built a palace to the south of this, he took up his abode there' (Mahavamsa, p.66). This description explains holistic nature of the city concept as nuwara. These princes making an abode for themselves is making a whole place. Later, the grandson of Panduvasudeva, Pandukabhaya made his capital city at Anuradha and later this settlement became Anuradhapura. "Pandukabhaya went thence to the dwelling-place of his great–uncle Anuradha. The great-uncle handed over his palace to him and built himself a dwelling elsewhere..." (Mahavamsa, p.73). Pandukabhaya's period of reign is questionable, which is notable with supernatural powers and mysterious happenings. There were yakkhas and Bhutas[194] as his friends. He reigned for seventy years in Anuradhapura. The most suitable site for a capital was selected **by the advice of a soothsayer** (Mahavamsa, p.73) within Anuradhapura. Mahavamsa provides a description of the capital built by Pandukahabaya (5th – 6th century BC).

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[189] Mahawamsa, p.59
[190] Adam's peak, Sri pada (Mahavamsa)
[191] As Vijaya has no sons
[192] Amitodana , from same Sakyas of Kapilavastupura,p. 63 (mahavamsa)
[193] Present Anuradhapura
[194] Super natural powers

Table (*Table 4.1*) describes the dwelling patterns, built space and experiences in this capital.

Table 4.1: *Anuradhapura during Pandukabhaya's period*

Mundane life	Description	Remarks
	Many tanks were built such as Abhaya tank, Gamani tank	*explain agriculture based settlement, vast paddy lands*
	Set five hundred Candalas to work in building, Dwelling for Ajivakas[195], Residences for Brahmans.	*Candala, Ajivakas, Brahmans are group of casts in North India.*
	Line of huts for huntsman (street of huntsman) -East ward of the street of the huntsman, lived five hundred families of heretical beliefs.	*perhaps indigenous people or descendants of Kuvanna's children.*
Divine/Super natural	**Description**	**Remarks**
	Chapel of the queens of the West.	*religions*
	Chapel for Nigantha Giri	
	Nigantha Kumbhanda	
Meditation/ Searching path	**Description**	**Remarks**
	Beside the Gamani tank, Pandukabahya built a monastery for wandering mendicant monks	*the belief and process of meditation of mendicant monks and ascetics may be different, but both practised in forests, close to Nature and with natural landscape.*
	Hermitage for many ascetics	
	house for ascetic Nigantha -Jotiya	
	many ascetics lived in this area in forest and in various heretical sects	
physical needs	**Description**	**Remarks**
	'Lying in shelter and hall'- those who recovering from sickness	*hospitals*
Rituals and ceremonies	**Description**	**Remarks**
	Thankful offerings and sacrificial offerings, to Yakkha and Buta (super-natural beings). Festivals - Gods and men dance before the King.	*performing experiences*
Trees and divine sense	**Description**	**Remarks**
	Banyan tree of Vessavana (Kubera- the god of wealth)[196] Palmyra-palm of the Demon of Maladies (the god of the huntsman) Gardens	*Experience of trees and Nature.*
water	**Description**	**Remarks**
	Water tanks	*Should be a prominent physical feature in the place.*

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[195] Docters having all knowledge and skills
[196] Mahavamsa, p.74

Devanampiyatissa – Arrival of Buddhism

This section discusses how life patterns of people change by the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka and how this effect on the place, focusing on Anuradhapura. Buddhism which was introduced during the period of Devanampiyatissa[197] is parallel to the Asokan period in India, 218 years after the arrival of Vijaya. At this time both countries were in good missionary relationship.[198] During the reign of Devanampiyatissa, there were gardens as Mahameghavana-garden[199], Nandana/ Jotivana and ceremonies like water festivals. Maha-mega-vana means groove of good qualities provided with fruit trees (Mahavamsa, p.76). The meaning of Devanampiyatissa is 'Tissa friends of the gods' (Mahavamsa, p.81). It was described as thera Mahinda (son of Asoka of India) and other disciples came by air to preach Buddhism to Devanampiyatissa.

The meeting of thera Mahinda with Devanampiyatissa has relationships with mount Missaka (*Plate 4.14*), which reflects a similar shape as discussed in 2.6.2 as 'mountains in proximity'. 'Thera preached dhamma at the summit of the mountain, king and great assembly of devas[200] including Brahma listen'.[201] These dhamma discussions were held on mountains, Nandana and Mahamegha garden are evidences of the understanding of Buddhism connected with natural landscape (guiding divine dimensions). Thera preached dhamma at the Nandana garden, several thousands of people came to listen (Mahavamsa, p.97) thousands of people receieved pabbaja (monkhood) and a large number of people attained arhathood, including princes, princesses and noble people.

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[197] Devanampiyatissa is from 3rd generation from Pandukabhaya
[198] Send precious gifts between two
[199] South of the city of Anuradhapura, now where the Mahavihara stands
[200] Divine spirits
[201] Mahavamsa

Plate 4.14: **Mount Missaka,** *Anuradhapura. Source: author*

The changing life of people changed the built space and cultural place. Vihara made for him (for arahath Mahinda) on the Cetiya-mountain[202]. The King commanded a pasada to be built for the thera. Clay bricks dried speedily with fire known as kalapasadas (dark colour), rock cells built on Missaka[203], Cettyapabbata-Vihara, Lohapasada- building for the great Bodhi tree: all these describe the changing face of the cultural place visibly and invisibly. Two main vihara complexes (Maha vihara and Abayagiri vihara) make a prominent change in the landscape of Anuradhapura city (*Plate 4.15*). Many parivenas were built in an excellent manner, with bathing tanks and buildings for repose. A branch of the sacred Bodhi tree (*Plate 4.16*) was taken to Sri Lanka by Samghamitta[204] who shipped on Ganges with eleven Bhikkhunis (Mahavamsa, p. 129)[205]

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[202] Later name of the Missaka mountain
[203] Speed up constructions show advanced technology
[204] Daughter of the Asoka
[205] Normaly it takes 7 days

Plate 4.15: **Stone food containers**- used to supply meals for the meditating monks within a single vihara – indicate the number of monks
Source: author

Plate 4.16: **Sacred Bodhi tree**[206] – Anuradhapura
Source: author

4.3.3 Dwelling patterns in Sri Lankan landscape

The historical examples discussed in this chapter suggest, that the traditional performance of cultural/religious narratives developed in parallel with the emergence of distinctive dwelling patterns in the Sri Lankan landscape. The most important of these dwelling patterns are defined in the description which follows and will be referred again in the case-studies of next two chapters.

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[206] A branch of the original tree helped Gautama Buddha for enlightenment.

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Divine Kingly

The concept of king is divine and spiritualized by the consecration rituals performed; ornaments worn at the ceremony are symbols of divine dimensions. There were evidences of kings, who possessed high status of mind in Sri Lanka. The concept of **nuwara as a holistic place, where king is divine mundane guardian of this place, a similar position as Vishnu in 'Hindu Triad' continues in Sri Lanka.** They lead the place connecting people towards divine dimensions: connecting *topos* to *chora* of the place. Asoka who introduced Buddhist concept to Sri Lanka was a divine king who understood divine dimensions understanding Buddhism, through self realization. Although many scholars describe the divine king concept as a later addition to Sri Lanka, however, all kings before Devanampiyatissa were divine kings, and Kings after Devanampiyatissa were Buddhist divine kings.

Divine

Many gods in Hinduism came to Sri Lanka, with the larger migrations between 6th - 3rd century BC and in later times. Vishnu, Skanda, Pattini, Ganesh are some of these and developed their identical characters within local understanding. The study argues that there is a relationship between characters of these gods and physical forms of natural landscape of their abodes in Sri Lanka. There were mythical understandings of gods, residing in mountains before Vijaya and until Devanampiyatissa. Buddha has visited mountain peak Sumanakuta, the abode of Saman (divine being), and left the traces of his footsteps[207]; devas (gods) of mountain Missaka guided Devanampiyatissa to meet the great sage Mahinda and other sages. Historical events described in chronicles and oral stories narrate about the assembling of gods in good deeds, and in good happenings. For example, preaching dhamma by thera Mahinda on Missaka mountain surrounded by a great number of gods *revealed the coincidence of divine experience of natural landscape with performance.*

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[207] Mahavamsa, oral tradition

Non-being

The non-being nature of Buddha is represented by means of images, stupa, temple of the Tooth relic, and Bo tree which reflect the ultimate reality, the holistic understanding of the place. There were colossal Buddha images, built during the Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa periods. The great stupa in Anuradhapura comes next only to the pyramid in Gizza in height. All these provide images similar to 'absolute form of good' within the flat lands of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. As discussed earlier, the sitting body posture of Buddha unfolds the spatial form of absolute form of good and the stupa and pyramid too reflect similar spatial qualities (*Plate 4.17*). The standing image of Buddha within flat lands may also resemble a mountain, which opens the mind of devotee. As discussed earlier there are many examples in Mahavamsa comparing mountain with Buddha or Arhat preaching dhamma, phenomenological understanding of physical forms. Therefore non-being representation in the place by Buddha may be the understanding of the four truths at once, the absolute form of good.

Plate 4.17: **Stupa similar to absolute form of good** – *Ruvanveliseya, Anuradhapura. Source: author*

Meditation

Meditation in Buddhist Sri Lankan place is not the asceticism or body sacrificing and performing hard life. It is a technique maintaining mind-body within specified physical and mental levels. These methods are documented in Buddhist texts, which describe developing sensitivity[208] of mind-body in order to understand[209] the surrounding and natural landscape. These include, eating at the right time and the right quantity of food, avoiding specified food, walking, daily bathing etc. Thesis states that, all these are techniques of balancing the metabolism of the body, perhaps to improve sensitivity of the mind-body (*Plate 4.18).*

Plate 4.18: **Meditative environment –** *Tholuvila, Anuradhapura.*
Source: author

Mundane/everyday

Everyday life performances of people are based on agriculture, working in vast paddy fields, by the side of large tanks within the vicinity of great stupa make an interesting image of everyday life performances vibrating between divine and mundane experiences.

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[208] Not the five senses
[209] Higher level of sensitivity

4.3.4 Buddhist Sri Lankan cultural place

This section contains a brief summary of emerging Buddhist Sri Lankan cultural place throughout the history at different places in Sri Lanka, focusing on main capitals. The place is discussed within the performative framework of Buddhist, divine, kingly cultural narratives, and explains how natural landscape is transformed for these performing and dwelling patterns.

Anuradhapura has remained as the main capital of Sri Lanka until the end of 10th century AD. The vastly spread out monasteries and meditation places became the main feature in built space of Anuradhapura. During the reign of Kirti Sri Meghavanna (301-328 AC) in Anuradhapura, the sacred tooth relic of Buddha was brought to Sri Lanka (310 AC) from Kalinga in India.[210] In 1017 AD Colas captured Anuradhapura. Fortunately, as Colas made their capital in Polonnaruwa, Anuradhapura remained as the centre of Buddhism in its original version to date. Therefore place could be examined, based on remaining archaeological evidences in Anuradhapura. The Anuradhapura city was built by the side of Malwathu Oya (Kadamba Nadi), 300 ft above sea level (*Plate 4.19*). Dwelling patterns are marked on the map of Bandaranayaka which defines two territories based on historical evidences and existing remains of Anuradhapura (*Fig. 4.11*). It is noted that a larger part of the place is performed by Buddhist meditation and there are very few evidences of divine concepts in the place. The major land marks are large water tanks and great stupas (*Plate 4.20*) in many numbers in flat terrains of Anuradhapura. Large stupas may act as mountains, resembling absolute form of good, within the vicinity of flat terrains. People who work in paddy fields and water bodies are guided by these built forms as ideal forms (*Plate 4.21; Plate 4.22*). Reflections of stupa falling on vast water bodies may have shown the two oppositional experiences of physical and non-physical, divine dimensions within mundane dimensions.

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[210] Senevirathna, (2002)
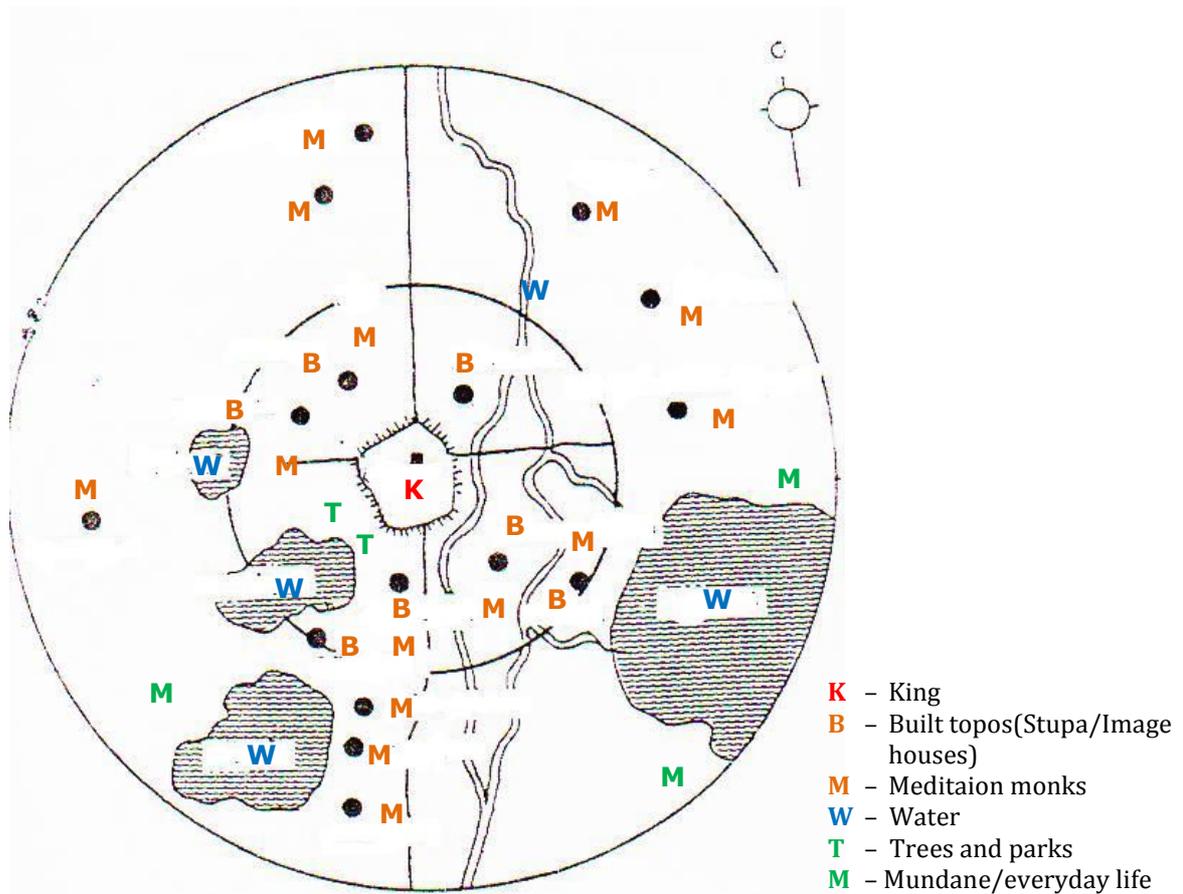
Fig. 4.11: **Dwelling patterns, built forms and natural landscape** – *Anuradhapura*
Source: *Bandaranayaka's map*[211]*is used to mark dwelling patterns*

Therefore these built *topoi* may have acted as natural *topos* providing visible dimensions to understand and experience invisible dimensions for Buddhist meditation and performing through self realization. All meditation places at the outermost circle (outside of the outer city) comprised of rocks, stones, stone terrains, water bodies and trees, experiencing divine dimensions. Therefore, rocks, hills and mountains as natural *topos* and stupa and large water bodies as built *topos* may have guided the place, to understand the four noble truths and self realization in Buddhism. On the other hand, a large number of bhikkus may have recognized these natural landscapes and built *topos* as reflection of their self realization. In pure Buddhism without transforming these divine experiences into imagination and mythical landscape, people experience unfolded place (absolute form of good) within their selves. Therefore there is no mythology in Buddhist cultural place in Anuradhapura. Sinhalese Buddhism, unlike Hinduism, has no creation myth as such (Obeyesekera

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[211] *cited by Amarasingha(2009)*

1963, 142; Tambiah 1976, p.36). Divine concepts that existed before the arrival of Buddhism, was replaced by natural *topos* or built *topos* in Anuradhapura. Still Anuradhapura[212] continues as the centre of Buddhism in Sri Lanka without changing its original nature. The temple of the sacred tooth relic was close by the King's palace, which is a live representation of Buddha, non-being. Therefore encircling rocks and water bodies have guided a Buddhist meditation place, strengthened by building of great stupas and image houses and kingly nature is surrounded by natural *topos* and built *topos* which gives divine experience, making a divine king the guardian of Buddhist place, who possesses the Buddhist sovereignty. It is noted that during the time of Pandukabhaya too, many areas of the Anuradhapura were utilized for meditation and non visible experiences, by wandering monks, ascetics and making offerings to invisible nature (spirits). These are evidences of distinctive character of natural landscape in Anuradhapura and related experiences.

*Plate 4.19: **Malwathu Oya – ancient stone bridge***
Source: author,2013

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[212] Old city is a world heritage site

Plate 4.20: **Stupa – as mountains**
Source: author, 2013

Plate 4.21: **Vicinity of Stupa –** *within flat terrains*
Source: author, 2013

Plate 4.22: **Vicinity of stupa -** *across water*
Source: author,2013

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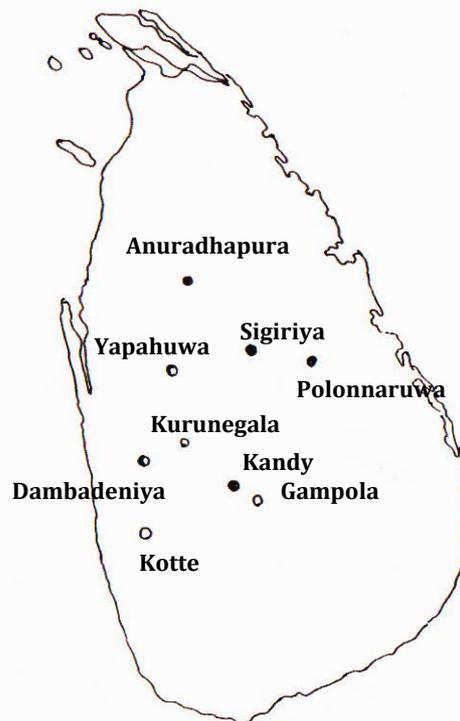
*Map 4.2: **Ancient capitals of Sri Lanka***
Source: Amarasingha

Polonnaruwa became the capital city after Anuradhapura (*Map 4.2*). The main physical feature in Polonnaruwa is the vast water body known as Parakrama Samudraya (ocean) made by combining two tanks[213]. Divine experience of water has acted as a backbone to the city, developed in a linear form along the Parakrama samudraya (*Fig. 4.12*). Two parks, Nandana uyana and Dippuyyana are at either side of the palace. Colossal Buddha statues, large image houses, and stupa (of monasteries) act as mountains and rocks (as built *topos*) in the flat land as was in Anuradhapura, spread towards the North side of the city further continuing the divine experiences given by vast water body. Gal Vihara within these monasteries is a temple with rock-cut colossal Buddha statues, which too contributed to the linear formation. The temples of Hindu gods Siva, Vishnu and Kali along the banks of Parakrama samudraya are evidences of divine experiences along the vast water body. Although Parakrama samudraya is a manmade physical form, the topography of land determines the collecting of water and tank, and therefore could be described as a natural form. The

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[213] during the period of Parakramabahu

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king experiencing divine dimensions from the backdrop of Parakrama samudraya, from huge image houses and stupa and from parks with trees on either side of the palace, live as a divine king possessing the sacred Tooth relic close by the palace, as a pious Buddhist king. Many scholars discuss that the possession of the sacred Tooth relic, determined the ownership of the kingdom (after Polonnaruwa period), and the possession of Buddhism and Buddhist place by the divine king, made the Buddhist Divine King.

K – Kingly
D – Divine
B –Built *topos* (Stupa/ Image houses)
M – Meditation monks
W – Water
T –Trees and parks
M –Mundane/everyday life
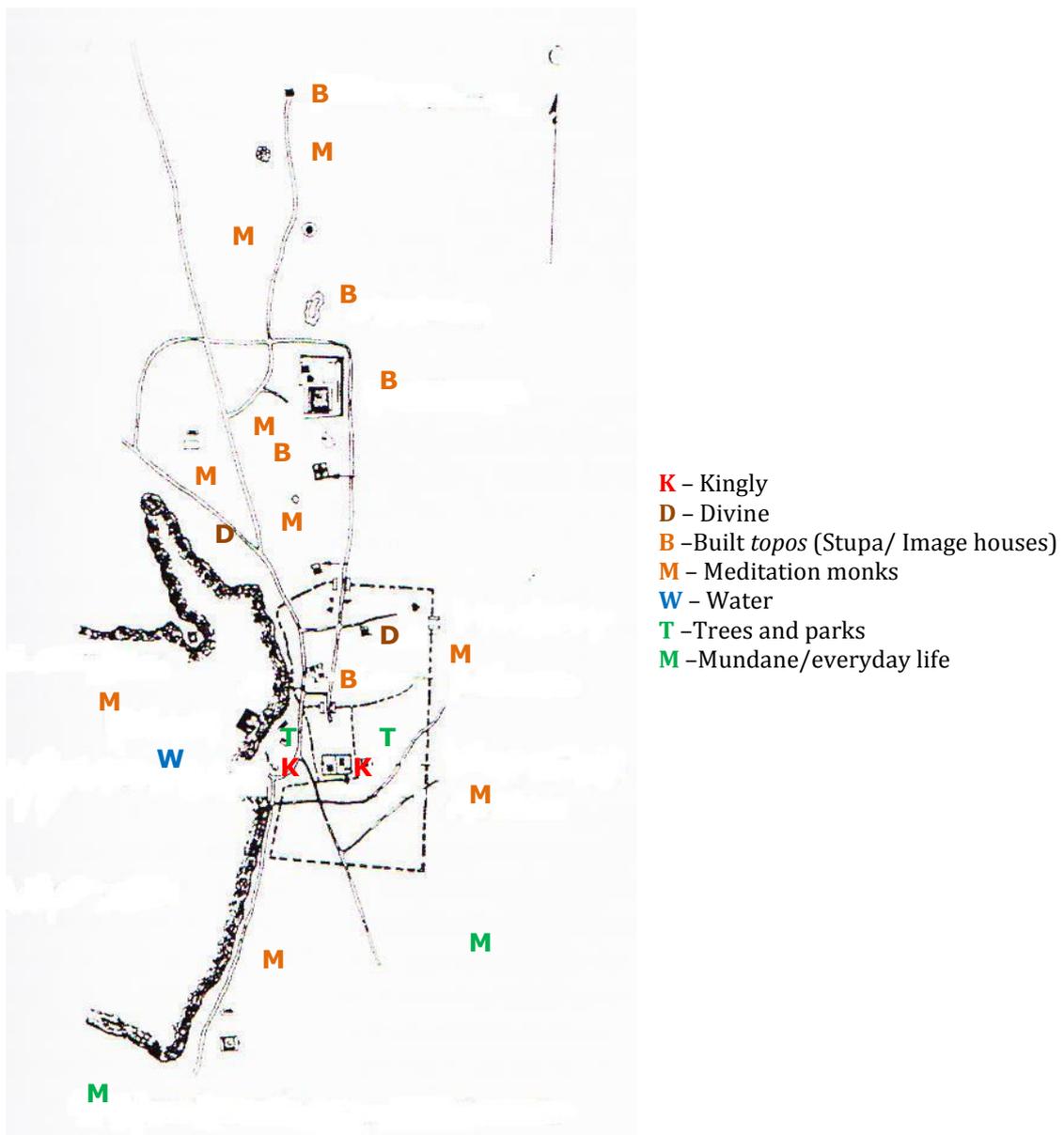
*Fig. 4.12: **Dwelling patterns, built forms , natural landscape** – Polonnaruwa.*
Source: archaeological department, Sri Lanka (dwelling patterns marked by author)

These cities flourished for more than thousand five hundred years across the northern flat terrains in Sri Lanka, later shifted to the hill country and thereafter gradually moved to Dambadeniya, Kurunegala and then to Gampola in the 14th century. Thereafter to Kotte and the last was Kandy. There are no significant evidences to show how these capitals were in Dambadeniya and Kurunegala and Gampola. The place of evidence in Dambadeniya is a rock, Kurnegala a shallow valley between low scale mountains, Gampola in a mountainous area. Kotte, surrounded by marshy lands and water bodies was known as a fortress city. There were two exceptional cases in Yapahuwa (*Fig. 4.13*) and Sigiriya (*Fig. 4.14*) rocks where the King's palace was on the top of a rock (experiencing divine king) surrounded by city, tanks and irrigation lands.
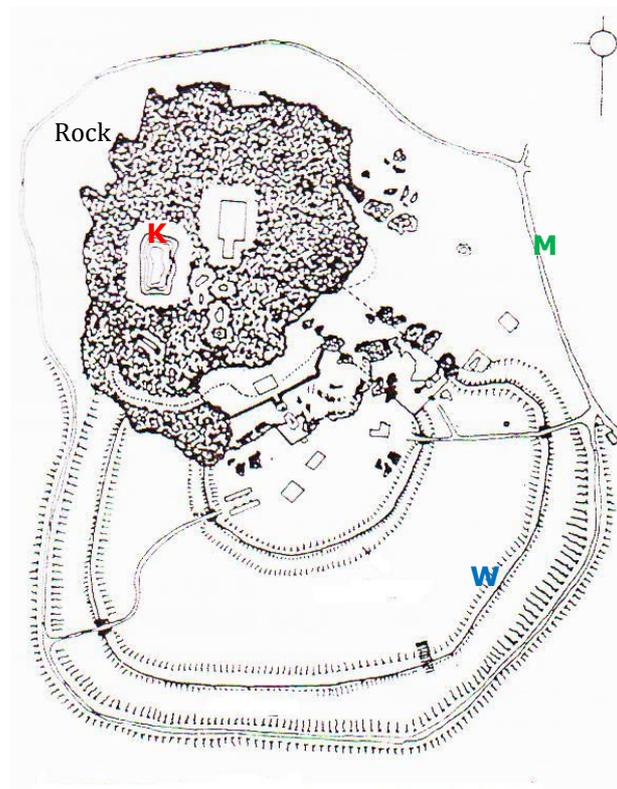
Fig. 4.13: **Dwelling patterns, built forms, natural landscape –** *Yapahuwa.*
Source: archaeological department, Sri Lanka (dwelling patterns marked by author
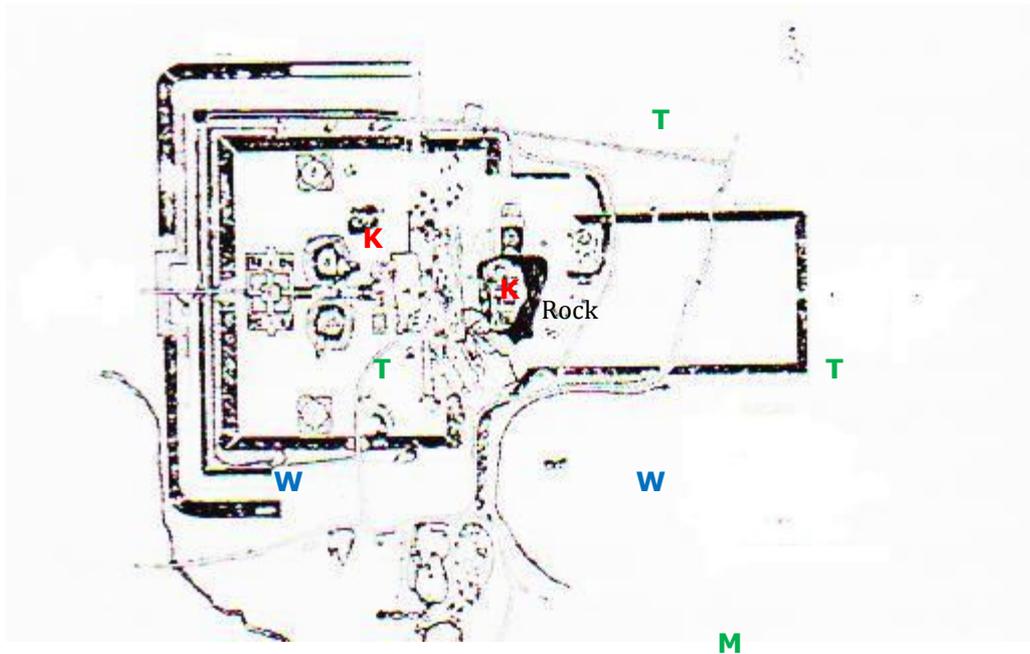
*Fig. 4.14: **Dwelling patterns, built forms, natural landscape** – Sigiriya.*
Source: archaeological department, Sri Lanka(dwelling patterns marked by author)
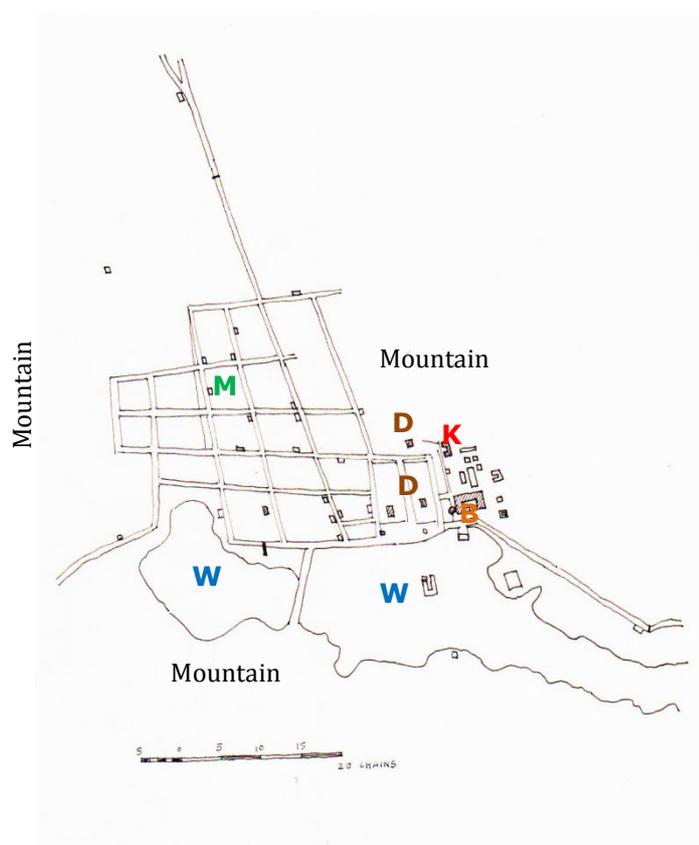
*Fig.4.15: **Dwelling patterns, built forms, natural landscape** – Kandy*
(map drawn in 1815 AD)

The last capital Kandy is a triangular shaped valley enclosed by three mountains; the width of valley is lesser than 01 Km   making an enclosed space inside (*Fig. 4.15*). This

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geographical formation has made the inside volume as similar to absolute form of good and in Kandy, it is not the physical form which makes the absolute form of good, but it is the inside space defined by the physical form. Thereby the inside has given divine dimensions in the Kandy city, within everyday performances and in between natural landscape. The divine experience is further contributed by the large water body at the south end of the city and spreading out trees around the lake and the city. Huge stupa and image house in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa are in a small scale in Kandy, emphasising inside volume and natural *topos*. King is in between lake and the foot of the mountain experiencing divine dimensions of inside, making a divine king and as the sacred tooth relic is within the royal premises making a Buddhist divine king.

4.4 Cultural places and Natural Landscape
Typological analysis

This section surveys typologies of minor case study examples, in order to reveal the relationship between natural landscape and cultural place. Place is analysed based on physical features, shape and form (*topos*) of natural landscape in relation to the cultural place developed around it. There are many evidences of the selection of site according to the purpose of building cities, monasteries, palaces, houses etc. described in Mahavamsa. In Anuradhapura, placing of (spots) stupa and sacred Bo tree was directed by Arhant Mahinda[214]. Mahavamsa describes the specialized knowledge of people in selection of perfect sites , "king of men who had knowledge about the right places spot where the eastern monastery".[215] 'In the evening he who had knowledge of fit and unfit places went to the place of great stupa' (Mahavamsa, p.193). These evidences suggest that there was a specialized group of people for site selection in traditional architecture.

Typological analysis reveals a relationship between natural landscape and cultural place of these traditional settlements[216]. Different types of natural landscapes are described based on geographical formation, physical shapes and forms.

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[214] Mahavamsa
[215] Mahavamsa, p.131
[216] See Apendix 1 for detailed typological analysis of traditional settlements.

Settelements are categorised based on performances narrated around these. Natural *topos* (basic natural features) and built *topos* representing divine dimensions and absolute form of good are identified. Dwelling pattern is interpreted within this context. It is revealed in these traditional settlements, that the place is understood within the spatial understanding of dwelling (ideal forms) ; natural *topos* and built *topos* guide this performative processes converting natural place into cultural place. In flat lands like in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa built forms are in significant scale acting as built *topos* similar to natural *topos*. Kingly nature is supported by divine understanding of both natural *topos* and built *topos* through non-being, meditation and mundane life patterns. Dominant rocks like Sigiriya encourages divine king on top of the rock, experiencing divine dimensions given by natural landscape, surrounded by mundane life. Prominent rocks encourage non-being nature on the rock surrounded by divine nature, while mundane life surrounding the place is below. Stones, boulders and rocks are utilized for Buddhist meditation and non-being understanding of the place, while caves encourage non-being experience of the place. Deep valleys are identified for villages, agriculture based mundane life experiences while shallow valleys enclosed by low scale mountains provide suitable locations for kingly, non-being, divine and mundane life as cities. Divine nature is more prominent in sloping lands than non-being and mundane dwelling patterns. Residual mountains with terrains at different levels are recognized for meditation and non-being. Shape of the mountain similar to absolute form of good and close by a settlement encourages meditaion. Shape of the mountain similar to absolute form of good and difficult to reach is celebrated by pilgrim journeys experiencing non-being and divine dimensions (*Table 4.2*).

Table 4.3 is an analysis of built forms and natural forms in relation to geometrical shape of the absolute form of good and related experiences and performances in the cultural place of above minor cases.

Table 4.2: ***Typological analysis***

Case study	Type	Settlement/performance
01 Anuradhapura	Flat lands	Capital city
02 Polonnaruwa		
03 Sigiriya	Dominant rock	Divine king on the rock
04 Yapahuwa		
05 Lankathilaka	Prominent rock	Temple village
06 Gadaladeniya		
07 Vessagiriya	Stones, boulders, rocks	Buddhist meditation
08 Isurumuniya		
09 Passinnatisa pabbata	Stone terrain	Buddhist meditation (special type)
10 Western monasteries		
11 Dambulla cave temple	Rock caves	Non-Being
12 Hindagala		
13 Meemure	Deep valley	Village settlement
14 village in Knuckes range		
15 Kandy	Shallow valley	Capital city
16 Kurunegala		Capital city
17 Embekke	Sloping land	Devale (Hindu shrine) village
18 Saman devale		
19 Kaludiya pokuna	Residual mountains with terrains at different levels.	Meditation Non-being
20 Maligatenna		
21 Varana		
22 Mihintale	Shape of the mountain similar to absolute form of good	Meditation Non-being
23 Ritigala		
24 Mount Sripada	Shape of the mountain similar to absolute form of good and difficult to reach.	Sacred mountains Pilgrim journeys.

*Table 4.3: **Built forms and ideal forms.***

Land form	Built forms (M – **Mundane**, D – **Divine**)	Performance/ experience divine dimensions and ideal forms
flat terrains **Case study Nos. 1 & 2**		Built *topos* resembles absolute form of good. Passing MITTE by reaching and Buddhist performing
Dominant rocks **Case study Nos. 3 & 4**		Passing MITTE is by climbing Missing part is imagined and performed as divine/king
Prominent rocks **Case study Nos. 5 & 6**		Passing MITTE is by gradual climbing. Missing part is imagined and performed as divine/non-being
Stones, and rocks **Case study Nos. 7 & 8**		Passing MITTE is by climbing and perception of stones Performed as meditation places.
Stone terrains **Case study Nos. 9 & 10**		Passing MITTE is by walking between two raised stone platforms. Performed as meditation places.
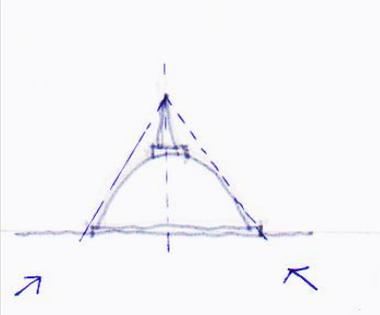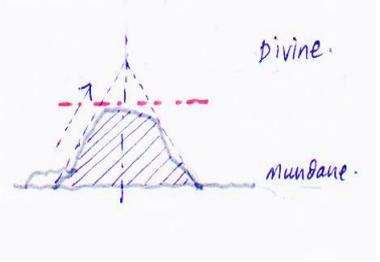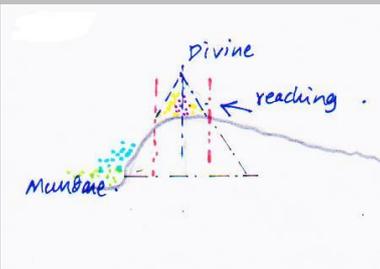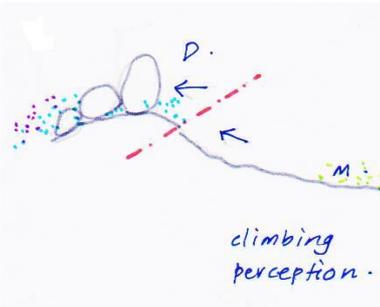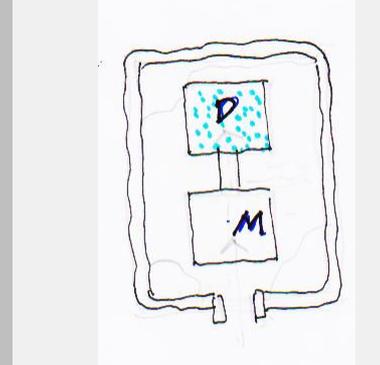
Caves		Passing MITTE is by entering inside.
case study Nos. 11 & 12		Performed as meditation places and Buddhist temples.
Deep valleys		Passing MITTE is above the settlements.
Case study Nos. 13 & 14		Everyday life at the valley, while myth and stories developed around mountains
Cherished valleys		Passing MITTE is within the valley
Case study Nos. 15 & 16		Divine/mundane life performances
Sloping lands		Transcending experiences
Case study Nos. 17 & 18		Divine presence of the place.
Residual mountains with terrains at different levels		Passing MITTE is by climbing and reaching at different levels
Case study Nos. 19,20,21		Meditation and Buddhist performing.
Shape of the mountain similar to absolute form of good.		Passing MITTE is by climbing.
Case study Nos.22 & 23		Meditation and Buddhist performing.
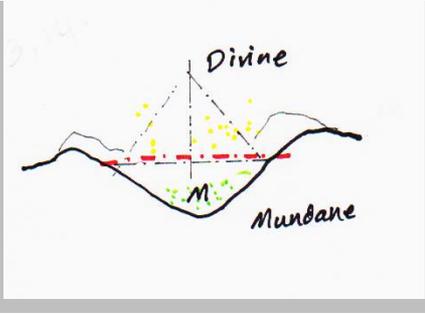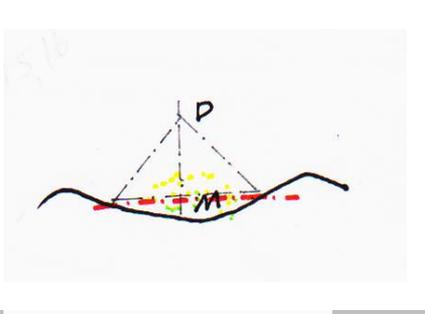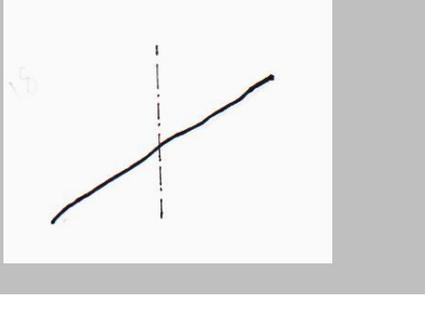
Shape of the mountain similar to the absolute form of good and difficult to reach.		Making a journey to reach the divine dimensions.
Case study No. 24		
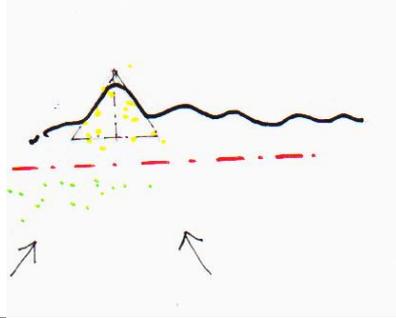
Explanation for the selection of Case Studies

These minor case studies discussed above show relationship between natural landscape and dwelling pattern of the cultural place. Case study example nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 19 and 23 are only physical structures remained without traditional performances. Although a large number of people participate in religious performances as in case study nos. 01 and 02, these performances are more contemporary. In case study nos. 08, 20, 21, and 22 meditation is no more practiced and non-being performances as religious activities around Buddha still continue. At Mihintale (22), religious/ historical activities are celebrated with a large participation of people but these are more contemporary life performances. People in case study no. 11 are visitors, to see rock paintings and images than paying homage to Buddha images and paintings. There are very few archaeological evidences remaining in case study no. 16 and case study nos. 13 and 14 are folk cultures. Case study no. 24 is a pilgrim site. Case study nos. 05, 06, 12, 15, 17, 18 belong to the same divine king cultural concepts and are still functioning with traditional religious, ritual, cultural performings. Out of these six examples case study no. 5, Lankathilaka and no. 15, Kandy are selected as major case studies as the natural landscape of these two places reflect contrasting characters. By examining these two cases, how similar narratives perform in two contrasting natural landscape locations and how natural landscape determine the place would be discussed in further chapters.

4.5 Conclusion

The conclusion of discussions in this chapter is summarised under following two sub-headings.

Buddhist divine kingly life performances, Ideal forms and Natural Landscape.

Indian/ Sri Lankan cultural narratives signify experience of ideal forms and dwelling. Mythical stories, religious concepts and cultural performances were influenced by divine experience of mountains, rocks, landforms and water of Himalayan landscape. Buddhist, divine, kingly life performances were categorized as the three main cultural performances influenced on dwelling patterns of everyday life and cultural place of Sri Lanka. These life performances were described within the image of absolute form of good (ideal place) experienced in dwelling. It is discussed that Hinduism and Buddhism and related performances are influenced by natural landscape. In Hinduism landscape is experienced and understood relating to gods and their subsequent characters. In Buddhism, understanding four noble truths is guided by natural landscape comprised of trees, water, river, lake, rocks and mountains. It was examined, after the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka, divine concepts were replaced by natural landscape in the cultural place and cultural landscape. There is no mythology in Buddhism.

The study argued that the uniqueness in natural landscape of Sri Lanka, provided an ideal physical setting to understand the true Buddhism (the four truths) , by distinctive natural forms of mountains & hills, rocks & caves, trees & forests and water of many kinds directing divine dimensions.

Cultural place and Natural Landscape of Sri Lanka

Sri Lankan cultural place and place concept, cities and architecture were influenced by Hinduism, Buddhism and mandala shilpa diagrams which originated in India. Arrival of Buddhism during 3rd century BC made a greater change in the cultural place and landscape. The concept of nuwara (city) in traditional settlements was

discussed as a holistic place and ideal place. Anuradhapura was the first nuwara of this kind that lasted until the end of 10th century. The major land marks in Anuradhapura are large *wewa* (water tanks) and great stupas in many numbers. Large stupas might act as mountains resemble absolute form of good within the vicinity of flat terrains, paddy fields and water bodies. Polonnaruwa became the nuwara (capital city) after Anuradhapura. The main physical feature in Polonnaruwa is the large water body known as Parakrama Samudraya (ocean). Divine experience of water influenced the shape of the city. Colossal Buddha statues, large image houses and stupa (of monasteries) spread towards the north side of the city further continuing the backdrop of divine experiences given by a large water body. These built *topoi* resemble mountains and rocks. Cities flourished in northern flat terrains in Sri Lanka were later shifted to the hill country. As discussed placing kingly nature in the cultural place is influenced by natural *topos* and built *topos* for making divine king. The possession of the sacred tooth relic made divine king into Buddhist divine king.

It is revealed that there is an important relationship between cultural place and natural landscape in traditional settlements of Sri Lanka. Flat lands were transformed to ideal places by building large stupa, image houses and vast water bodies. Dominant rocks were transformed to kingdoms of divine/kings by placing the king's palace on the top of the rock surrounded by city and everyday life of people, (same as placing the king on the summit of Maha Mera or ideal form). Prominent rocks were transformed into Buddhist divine centres. Stones, boulders and rocks were converted into Buddhist meditation places, whereas caves were transformed into Buddhist temples and meditation places. Deep valleys were transformed into village settlements and shallow valleys into capital cities. Sloping lands were transformed into abodes of local gods and divine spirits. Residual mountains with terrains at different levels were transformed into Buddhist monasteries and meditation places. Mountains with the shape similar to absolute form of good and within the proximity of settlements were transformed into meditation places, whereas, the shape of the mountain similar to absolute form of good and difficult to reach were transformed into sacred mountains.

All these cultural places are specific examples of the composition of Buddhist understanding with natural landscape and divine experience of natural landscape with mythical landscape in a variety of ways resulting in a variety of cultural places, transforming natural place into cultural place. The next chapters will examine, how this transforming takes place by performing cultural narratives in the landscape, analysing two main case studies Kandy and Lankathilaka by employing similar narratives in two different natural landscapes.

CHAPTER FIVE

Chapter Five - **Performing in Kandyan landscape Case study one – Kandy**

Summary:

This chapter examines the performing of Asala perahera in the Kandyan landscape by applying the performative model discussed in earlier chapters. The emergence of 'cultural place' is examined within the relationships of three concepts of performing, dwelling, natural landscape and discussed within Buddhist; divine and kingly performances. Photographs, diagrams, maps, tables are used to analyse, synthesise and present data. It is observed that place making emerges by performing and narrating in the landscape. Place is produced by repeated events such as parading, marking geometrical patterns, sound performing, narrating, body performing, etc. making an inter-related network with the performers and the landscape. Experience of ideal forms and dwelling is evident throughout performing process. It is concluded that city is experienced as an 'inside' within enclosed three mountains by performing Asala perahera.

Introduction

This chapter focuses on case study one: Kandy. It discusses how the Asala perahera ritual performs in Kandy, and it examines the experiences of these performances and how these experiences relate to the natural landscape and how natural landscape is understood. The chapter further explores the relationships of these performances with everyday dwelling patterns of the place, natural landscape and considers how these are reflected in built space and architecture. By applying the performative model discussed in chapter two, place is examined within the relationship of three factors performances, dwelling and natural landscape. Asala festivals performed annually have been selected in order to analyse patterns of performances in the natural landscape. In order to understand the place and performing of Asala perehera, contextual background of the place and Asala perahera is a necessity. First two sections of this chapter 5.1 and 5.2 are structured for this purpose. Section 5.3 and 5.4 are focused in examining the performing of Asala perahera in Kandy.

In section 5.1 the dwelling patterns developed at the time of the last capital Kandy is examined. Natural landscape of Kandy is explained in relation to physical

form, shape & geometrical analysis and types of traditional settlements developed across the landscape during this period. Dwelling patterns in Kandy are discussed within the Buddhist, divine, kingly framework. Experience of natural landscape in stories and oral tradition are examined to find out the experience of natural landscape of people who are dwelling in the place. Section 5.2.1 is focused in examining how Kandy city has been emerging throughout the history of time, in order to explore relationships between natural landscape and built space/ cultural place. Historical change of the city is examined by using archival materials (maps, texts, inscriptions, documents etc.), historical chronicles, written documents, folk legends and personal writings of people who visited the place. Section 5.2.2 examines the changing pattern of rituals and ceremonies with the emerging city throughout the history of time. At the same time, it discusses about the methods of performing Asala perahera during early times, using descriptive accounts (archival materials, books) on Asala perahera.

Section 5.3 examines the performing of Asala perahera. Theories developed in chapter two are examined in this section based on research questions raised in chapter one: how people perform in landscape, how people understand their surrounding, how dwelling takes place by narrating in the landscape and how place emerges within the relationship of natural landscape and the performance of people. Out of many performances marking geometrical patterns by parading in the landscape is selected to find these relationships with natural landscape. This section further examines built forms and experience of the place by analysing temporary structures and permanent structures associated with Asala perahera performance. Experience of the place by dwellers is examined by informal questionnaires forwarded to selected people who appear to be in a kind of deep attachment with the place, with the particular activity they are engaged in and sensing the place[217]. Section 5.4 examines relationships among performing Asala perahera, dwelling patterns, natural landscape, and architecture & built forms.

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[217] This method was selected based on the discussion in the Introduction – chapter one. There are complexities in understanding the place by contemporary life styles of people, which is different from traditional way of understanding the place.

5.1 Dwelling patterns, Traditional settlements and Natural Landscape.

This section discusses about the dwelling patterns developed during the period of the last capital, Kandy, and examines traditional settlements developed around these dwelling patterns at different places. Natural landscape of Kandy is described in relation to physical form, shape & geometrical analysis. To understand the present Kandy city it is necessary to trace its original spiritual ideas and governance which are interwoven. The Buddhist-divine dwelling patterns and settlements emerged in Anuradhapura continues throughout the Gampola period and the Kandyan period, relating to the natural landscape. Dwelling patterns evolved from Anuradhapura up to Kandy, with Buddhist religious concepts, Hindu religious concepts and influences of social changes during the time, with the understanding of landscape. Natural Landscape of Kandy is characterised with mountains, hills, rocks, valleys and with the identical shape of the Mahaweli river. Experience of natural landscape in stories and oral tradition are examined to find the experience of the natural landscape of people. Types of settlement patterns developed in natural landscape of Kandy are described as maha-nuwara, nuwara, temple villages and devale villages. Maha-nuwara and nuwara could be described as abode of King, temple village as the abode of non-being and devale village as the abode of divine beings. However, temple villages are composed of divine concepts and Buddhist concepts[218].

5.1.1 Establishment of Dwelling patterns in Kandy - Gampola Landscape.

It is observed that the continual of dwelling patterns (divine kingly, divine, non-being, meditation, mundane/everyday) developed during the Anuradhapura period, largely unchanged until the end of Kandyan period. Most are still continuing except the emphasis on divine kingly nature which is not apparent. Although divine concepts were

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[218] Kulathilaka,1991

replaced by Nature and natural landscape during the Anuradhapura period, Hindu god concepts arrived again during the Polonnaruwa period and later periods and at different time intervals. This continued through the Kandyan period to date. Some Hindu gods have been shaped and evolved within local understandings, for example, Vishnu, Dadimunda and Kataragama. God Natha is a Buddhist god emerged within Sri Lankan-Buddhist understanding as a Bodisatva who is the next to attain the buddhahood, God Vishnu is believed to be the next to attain the same. These understandings and interpretations developed within Sri Lankan landscape and Buddhism. Kings are also recognized as Bodisatvas, expecting Buddhahood by performing good deeds and righteous governance. Therefore concepts of gods and kings were developed as divine as well as Bodisatva, during the history and at the end of the Kandyan period. The sacred Tooth relic, introduced during the time of Kirti Sri Meghavanna (301 -328 AC) in Anuradhapura, has been recognized as the live Buddha the non-being dwelling pattern of the cultural place. In several time periods there were other rulers who reigned sub cities, but in Sri Lankan history always one main capital becomes the central organizing power over others[219] and the sacred tooth relic was in the possession of the central ruler of the main capital.[220]

Dwelling patterns in Kandy city could be described as:

Non-being – represented by sacred Tooth relic, housed in the temple of the Tooth relic.

Kingly – recognized as divine as well as Bodisatva, thus last kings who were Nayakkars converted to Buddhism and became pious-Buddhist kings[221].

Divine – gods in Kandy city are,

- **Natha** – god Natha was the original god in the Kandy city. According to Sri Lankan Buddhist understanding the next Buddha.

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[219] Seneviratna (1993)
[220] People consider the ruler who possesses the sacred Tooth relic as the King.
[221] Holt (1996)

- **Vishnu** – god Vishnu is a Hindu god,[222] in divine triad, the universe preserved by Vishnu and Sakra ordered Vishnu to preserve Sri Lanka (natural landscape) and Buddhism. Vishnu is the next in line after Natha to attain buddhahood according to Sri Lankan Buddhist interpretations.
  - **Dadimunda** – god Dadimunda is believed as the minister of god Vishnu in Sri Lanka, perhaps a concept developed within Sri Lankan cultural landscape, but holds a main role in Kandy Asala perahera and Aluth-nuwara.
- **Kataragama** – a Hindu god[223], but developed within Sri Lankan understandings as a hero in helping people to protect the place against invasions.
- **Pattini –** a goddess with motherly character.

  These four temples are known as *hatara devale*[224]

Meditation / Monks – during the Kandyan period some monks made their influence on society and education while another section of the monks practised meditation. In Kandy Asgiri monastery is believed to be more devoted to mediation while Malwathu monastery had more connections with society and on Buddhist education.

Mundane life – is the everyday life of people, their lives and work are bound to the temples, king, city and villages.

The *Fig 5.1* indicates the position of these dwelling patterns in the place.

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[222] *Puranas* – Hindu cosmology and cosmogony
[223] Second son of Shiva
[224] Hindu Shrine

1 - **Kingly** (King's palace)
2 - **Non-Being (**Temple of the Tooth relic**)**
3. -**Divine** – Natha devalaya
4. -**Divine** – Vishnu devalaya
5 - **Divine** – Kataragama devalaya
6. -**Divine** – Pattini devalaya
7. -**Divine** – Hindu kovil
8 - **Meditation/monks** – Malwathu viharaya
9 - **Meditation/monks** - Asgiri viharaya
10 - **Meditation/monks** – Asgiri Gedige viharaya
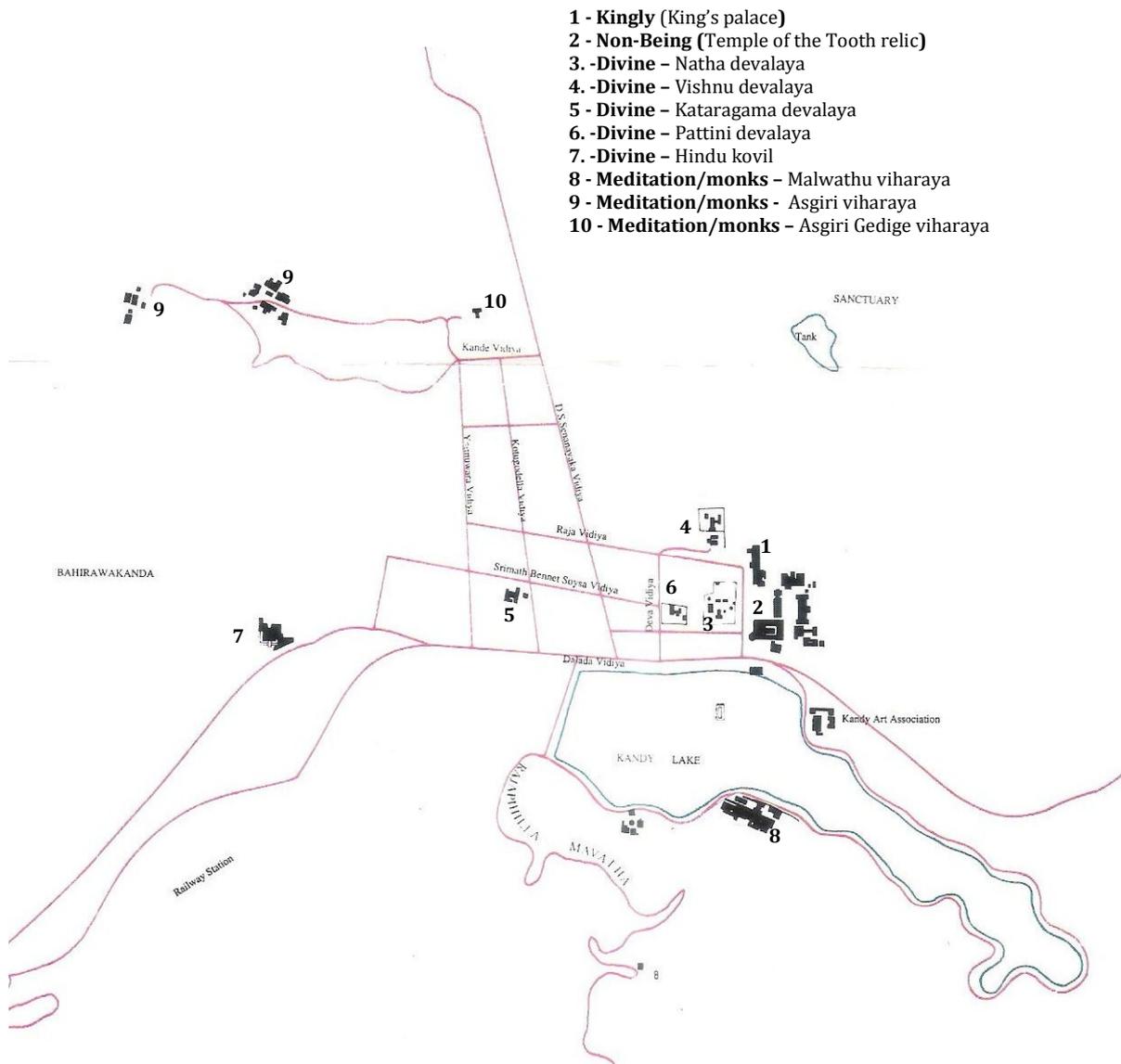
*Fig. 5.1 : **Built elements representing dwelling patterns** , Kandy
Source: Seneviratna(1993)*

5.1.2 Traditional Settlements

The dwelling patterns discussed above influenced the settlement patterns, developed in the Kandy-Gampola landscape. The central part of the island of Sri Lanka is characterized with mountainous landscape known as *Malaya rata* in historical descriptions,[225] thus defining the landscape perception of the mountainous from the northern plains. According to historical inscriptions and chronicles there aren't any architectural evidences in mountains until the 13th century. However, Seneviratna (1993) explains that Brahmin inscriptions show that the area of Kandy and its suburbs were inhabited at the beginning of Christian era (22 AC– 31 AC). Sinhalese inscriptions

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[225] Mahavamsa, Rajavaliya, Culavamsa (ancient chronicles written on Ola leaves throughout the history)

indicate that the Sinhalese colonization along the Mahaweli bank of the Malaya country (central hill country) during the early centuries gradually disappeared after the 2nd century. But the non availability of inscriptional evidence is no reason to believe that the *Malaya* country was an abandoned area.[226] As mentioned in chapter four, ancient capitals gradually moved to hill country. The primary case study two Lankathilaka belongs to the Gampola period (1372 AC – 1408 AC) and the last King of this period Buwanekabahu V (1372 – 1408 A.D.) spent the last days of his life in Kotte and his descendants reigned, continuing Kotte as the new kingdom. Kotte became the main capital after Gampola then it was Kandy, the last of this kind (Seneviratna, 1993) . Settlement patterns developed in the natural landscape of Kandy area, could be described as follows:

Maha-nuwara and Nuwara

Kandy remained as the main capital from 1592 AC to 1815 AC, and from time to time the king temporarily shifted to some other places with the sacred Tooth relic, to protect it from foreign invasions. People called Kandy as *Maha-nuwara* or the great city (Seneviratna, 1993) and the Sinhala name used today also *Maha-nuwara*. The places whenever king sought sanctuary came to be known as nuwara[227], such as Diyatilaka nuwara in Hanguranketa, Kundasale nuwara close to Kandy[228] and Nilambe nuwara.[229] Aluth-nuwara[230], 20 Km south to Kandy is an important place for conducting Asela perehera in Kandy. This concept of nuwara should have been derived from earlier nuwara concepts which were in North India. Nuwara is a complex phenomenon and *Maha-nuwara* (Kandy) comprised of king, queen, temple of the Tooth Relic, four temples of god Natha, Vishnu, Kataragama and goddess Pattini, walawwas of high ministers and houses of the royal work force (craftsmen of gold, silver, silk cloths, etc.). There are a number of villages outside the nuwara, which belong to the King[231], temple of the Tooth relic and four temples. People living in these villages perform

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[226] Seneviratna, 1993
[227] Seneviratna, 1993
[228] Seneviratna, 1993
[229] Knox,1681
[230] Kapa kapeema – cut down the tree for using Kapa ritual celebrate at Aluth nuwara in Kandy Asala perahera.
[231] Peries, 1956

specific functional services (potters, metal workers, washer men[232]/ washer women) for the temple, in place of the land they occupied and some of these villages functioned as food storage villages[233]

Temple villages

These temple villages are organized around a temple, where the Buddhist performing aspect is more prominent, such as in Lankathilaka temple village and Gadaladeniya temple village.

Devale villages

These temple villages are organized around a temple where god aspect is more prominent than Buddhist performing. As discussed in chapter two and four, many of these lands are sloping sites having transcendental experiences.

5.1.3 Natural Landscape

A description of Kandy and Gampola landscape provides a background picture about the locations of two case studies, Kandy city and Lankathilaka village. It is important to understand its natural context in order to examine place and performing Asala perahera. Hantana mountain range makes a greater significance to the surrounding landscape and the Mahaweli river flows from the south towards the north along the valley lined by great mountain range. The west side of the Hantana valley is at a higher elevation than Kandy city, known as *Udunuwara* (city at higher elevation) by people in the 18th century, while the area of Kandy is known as *Yatinuwara* (city at lower elevation). Primary case study two, Lankathilaka *village* is at *Udunuwara, is* at a higher level than that of Kandy city. The Hantana mountain makes different shapes and images at different angles to the surrounding area (*Fig. 5.2).*

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[232] Washing dirty linen
[233] Peries, 1956
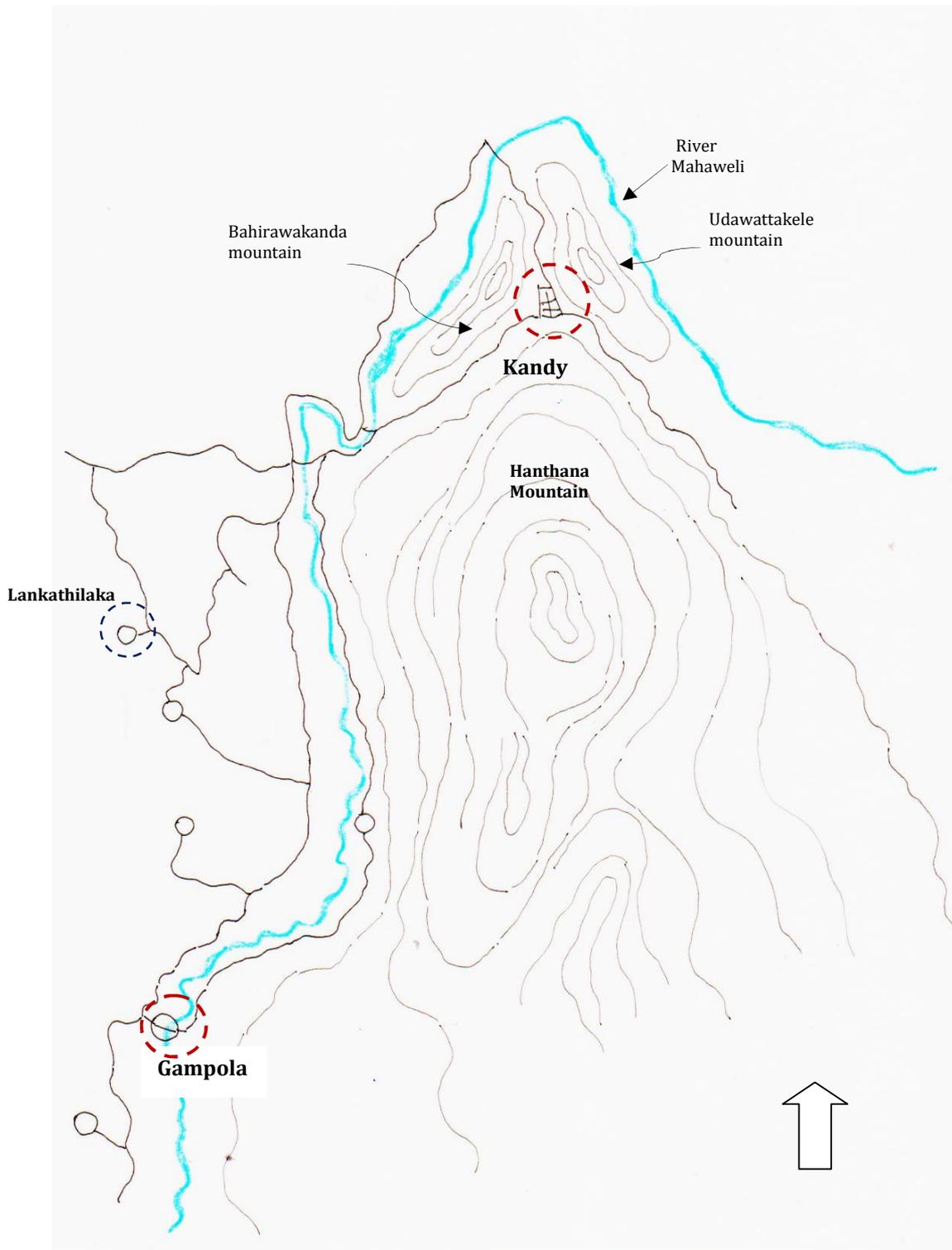
Fig. 5.2: **Kandy city, and the Natural context**
Source: author

The location of Kandy city is a triangular shaped valley. These three sides are enclosed by three mountains[234]. At the east is *Udawattakele* mountain stretching from north to south. At the west side is *Bahirawakanda* mountain stretching from north to

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[234] See *Plate. 5.1; Plate.5.2; Plate.5.3; Plate.5.4*

south. Both mountains are linear shaped and not very high, and the *Mahaweli ganga* (great river) flows around the mountains, further enhancing the natural location for a city. The south of the city is edged by the mountain Hantana. The northern side that slopes towards the city is not very high. The Mahaweli ganga flows from the south towards the north along the western side of the Bahirawakanda mountain, then turns back and flows down along the eastern side of the Udawattekele mountain towards south.   The city is on an altitude of 488.6m (1629 feet). The width of the triangular shaped valley where the city lies is a flat area of less than one kilometre.[235]

The site selection story of the Kandy city resembles the selection of Kapilawastupura[236], the home city of prince Siddartha. These stories are not documented. However, there are many legends about the origin of the place and the original name of Kandy, *Senkadagala*.[237] These stories describe opposite experiences of the natural place as follows:

> "A Brahmin named Senkada who lived in a cave in Udawatta saw a mongoose fighting a cobra. After some time the mongoose was seen running away from its enemy. The Brahmin forthwith brought this to the notice of the King Vikramabahu III [238]. Being pleased with this rare spectacle the King decided to build a royal palace on this auspicious site and named the new city Senkadagalapura"."[239]

Another story says that ,
> "A rabbit chased by some hunters surprisingly turned back and gave chase to the hunters. Observers of the incidents informed the King of this miracle. The King consulted the royal astrologers and, finding the place very auspicious decided to build his palace at the very same spot"[240].

Quoting another legend:
> "King Vikramabahu III of Gampola was anxious to build a palace in a more secure place. One day he went beyond his hunting fields and soon came upon a black rock or cavern which was inhabited by a Brahmin named Senkanda. The king who was introduced to the Brahmin explained the object of his visit to him. Senkanda retired to his cavern, filled a wallet with pebbles and respectfully requested the king to follow him. He then threw a pebble and hare sprang up from among the bushwood and began running at great speed. Senkanda threw another stone when a jackal sprang up and followed the hare, but soon disappeared from sight. The king asked the sage for an explanation and he saw that this was the victorious ground which the gods had ordained for the establishment of the kingdom. "You will be well protected

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[235] This area is almost flat. No evidences of whether natural terrain was changed by earth construction during the history of city developments.

[236] Described in chapter 4

[237] How the name Senkadagala originated and by whom the city was founded is not certain in written history, existing evidences are contradictory, therefore Seneviratna (1993) used folklore. He described this type of folklegends is very common with regarding to the foundation of ancient capitals.

[238] The King (1357- 1374 AD) was in the Gampola (see *table 5.1*), the area of primary case study 2 locates.

[239] Seneviratna (1993. P.24)

[240] Seneviratna (1993. p. 24)

in this place and instead of fleeing before thine enemies thou wilt turn and put them to flight". The King built his palace on the spot[241].

It is important that all these three legends give indication about the phenomenological understanding of the natural landscape location in Kandy, as a place unfolding opposite experiences. Also as fox is chased away by the hare, a cobra is chased away by the mongoose and hunters are chased away by the hare, the natural place opens out new dimensions transmitting life between mundane and divine experiences (opposite experiences), providing important phenomenon about the city and the place.

*Plate 5.1: **View of Udawattakele mountain** from Hantana mountain*
Courtesy: Sampath Amarakoon

*Plate 5.2 : **View of Hantana from** Pattini devale square*
Source: author, 2011

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[241] Seneviratna (1993. p.24)

*Plate 5.3 : **View of Bahirawakanda** across the Lake*
Source: author, 2010

*Plate 5.4 : **City and the Valley***
Source: author, 2011

5.2 City and Rituals

This section examines how Kandy city emerged throughout the history, exploring relationships between natural landscape and built space/ cultural place. Historical change of the city is examined by using archival materials (maps, texts, inscriptions, documents etc.), historical chronicles, written documents, folk legends and personal writings of people who visited the place. The section further examines the changing pattern of rituals and ceremonies within the emerging city throughout the history. It discusses about the ways of performing Asala perahera during early times, with the aid of descriptive accounts (archival materials, books) on Asala perahera. There are many rituals and ceremonies performing in Kandy today, with a larger participation of people, making inter relationships between nuwara and villages. The

city has been emerging with changing faces of social, cultural contexts, throughout the history and these rituals and ceremonies still continue, within this changing perspective.

5.2.1 Historical, social background and emerging city.

Kandy city has evolved over several centuries in response to Buddhist, divine, kingly understanding, with colonial influence at certain times. All these social, cultural and religious evolution sets the scene for ritual practice. There are evidences of King Vikramabahu III who reigned from Gampola (1357 – 1374 AD)[242] established the Senkadagalapura[243]. Folk legends describe that Vikramabahu III (1357 – 1374 AD) of Gampola found the place to build a palace in a more secure place (Senevirathna, 1993). After Gampola, Kotte became the capital city. There were other territories ruled by Sinhalese princes. Raigama, Sitawaka and Kandy were some of these. Senasammata Vikramabahu (1473 – 1511 AD) a descendant of the Gampola dynasty ascended the throne at *Senkadagalapura.[244]* Landing of a Portuguese ship in 1505 AD made a greater change in the social/cultural face of the country. Thereafter the kingdom of Kotte was completely destroyed by Portuguese.

Portuguese baptized young princess Kusumasana Devi, as Dona Catherina, the daughter of Karaliyadda Bandara the ruler of Senkadagalapura, and was brought up under them, learning their customs and religion. After her father's death they made her the queen of *Senkadagalapura* in1581 AD*,* but Rajasinga I , son of Mayadunne ruled *Senkadagalapura* from Sitawaka (1581 AD – 1591 AD) , wielding his power over the hill country. Table below (*Table 5.1*) shows social/cultural changes throughout the history in Kandy and how it reflects on the city and landscape. It is established, according to the evidences,

- While there was one main capital, there were other capitals ruled by Kings.

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[242] Palkumbura Sannasa (1804 AD, cited by Seneviratna,1993); Lankathilaka copper plate inscription (14th Century); Nikaya Sangrahaya.
[243] Present name is Kandy
[244] Seneviratna, 1993

- Sacred Tooth relic and temple of the Tooth relic was in the possession of king of the main capital.

- Wherever King stays, he establishes a '*nuwara'* (city) – a holistic place concept.

*Table 5.1: **Social cultural changes and emerging city***

period	King/Queen	Social/cultural changes	landscape
1357-1374 AD	Vikramabahu III[245] (Reign from Gampola)	Found the place. Brahmin who resides there describes miracles of the place.	**Springs, rivers, rocks, valley, trees, forest, surrounded by hills. Brahmin meditates in this natural landscape. King decided to build his new palace.[246]**
1372 – 1408 AD	Buvanekabahu V	Reign from Kotte	**God Natha temple**
1473 – 1511 AD	Senasammata Vikramabahu	Ascended the throne at Senkadagalapura[247] (Kandy)	**Constructed two storey mansion for temple of Tooth relic[248] Special place for ascending the throne**
1511 – 1551 AD	Jayaweera Astana		
1551 – 1581 AD	Karaliyadda Bandara	Portuguese invaded the city young princess Kusumasana Devi , the daughter of Karaliyadda Bandara baptized as Dona Catherina and brought up under Portuguese, learning their customs and religion.	**See *Map. 5.1***
1581 AD	Dona Catharina	Portuguese made their influence on Queen, a Portuguese model.	*Map. 5.1*
1581 – 1591 AD	Rajasinga I	Reign from Sitawaka wielding his power over the hill country. Yamasingha Bandara (Don Philip) defeated Rajasingha I with the help of Portuguese, married Dona Catherina.	*Map. 5.1*
1592 - 1604 AD	Vimaladharmasuriya I (Don Juan)	Defeated Portuguese and Yamasingha Bandara. Married Dona Catherina	**Brought back the sacred tooth relic to Senkadagalapura. Constructed a two storey**

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[245] Palkumbura Sannasa (1804 A.D.) , Nikaya Sangrahaya, Lankathilaka copper plate inscription (14th century)
[246] Folk legends (described by Senevirathna, 1993)
[247] Mahawamsa
[248] Mahawamsa

			mansion near his palace, surrounded the whole city with massive wall, and on top of it placed 18 towers at intervals.[249]
1604 – 1635 AD	Senerath (was a Buddhist monk before ascending the throne)	Two Portuguese invasions. King hides himself with the sacred Tooth relic in *Meda Mahanuwara, Diyathilaka nuwara* and *Bintenne* in protection from enemies.	**At the second battle capital was set fire by Portuguese[250].**
1635 -87 AD	Rajasingha II	Re-captured areas occupied by Portuguese. Battle between Dutch and Portuguese for supremacy of sea power. 1658 AD agreement between Dutch and Sinhalese.	**Soon Dutch became a menace to Sihalese kingdom. They invade the city.**
1687 – 1707 AD	Vimaladharmasuriya II	Monks from Rakkahanga country visited at his request and held the higher ordination ceremony[251] at the Gatambe ford	**Kandy re-appears in Buddhist Sinhala cultural face. Constructed three story mansion for the sacred Tooth relic at Kandy[252]**
1707 – 1739 AD	*Viraparakarama Narendrasinha*	His principal queen was a princess from city of Madhura, India. Many foreigners held higher positions in his council. The king appointed Madhura queen's brother[253] as successor to the throne.	**Relations of Madhura queen flocked to Kandy.** **Made a temple of the Tooth relic and a wall around the temple of Natha[254]**
1739 - 1747 AD	Sri Vijaya Rajasingha	Married a Madura queen and brother of this queen became the successor to the throne.	
1747 – 1781 AD	Keerthi Sri Rajasingha	Known as the glorious period of Kandy.	**Dutch invade the city in 1760, battles lasted for six years. Keerthi Sri with Tooth relic went into hiding. Dutch army destroyed the whole city.**
1781 – 1798 AD	Rajadi Rajasinha (brother of Keerthi Sri Rajasingha)		
1798- 1815 AD	Sri Vikrama Rajasinha	In 1798 British took control of the maritime	**Bringing of sacred Tooth relic back to the city. Many new**

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[249] Mahavamsa, Culavamsa
[250] Mahavamsa, Culavamsa
[251] During this time monks with higher ordination were not there
[252] Mahavamsa
[253] Nayakkar dynasty of South India - refer Seneviratna (1993)
[254] Mahavamsa

		provinces from the Dutch. In 1815 British captured the kingdom.	**developments added, including present Kandy lake.**
1815-1948 AD	British power	British administration and education system completely changed the previous dwelling patterns.	**Churches, schools, new buildings appear. Bogambara wewa filled and new development projects started. Introduced a railway line, opening the city to the rest of the world.**

The sacred Tooth relic was hidden in several places from time to time to protect from invaders. As discussed in chapter four, after the Polonnaruwa period, the possesser of the sacred Tooth relic became the central ruler and Buddhist divine king.

Maps and descriptive accounts of people, who visited Kandy during past centuries, provide information to visualize how Kandy city emerges throughout the history. The map (*Map.5.1*) drawn by Portuguese shows Kandy, although the period is not clear, could be between 1551 and 1591 AD, before Portuguese were defeated by Konappu Bandara. There are two quadrangles within the large quadrangle. The larger one may be the king's palace and the smaller one may be the temple of god Natha. This was drawn from the north looking towards the south. City buildings are lined up within a cross street pattern. Mountain, forest and a flowing river is behind the palace, however, presently the river flows down along the other side of the mountain, far from the city. Perhaps, there must have been small springs, instead of the large lake seen today. Portuguese may have built convents and churches, and many people including elites of Kandy may have embraced Portuguese religion, customs, and education.
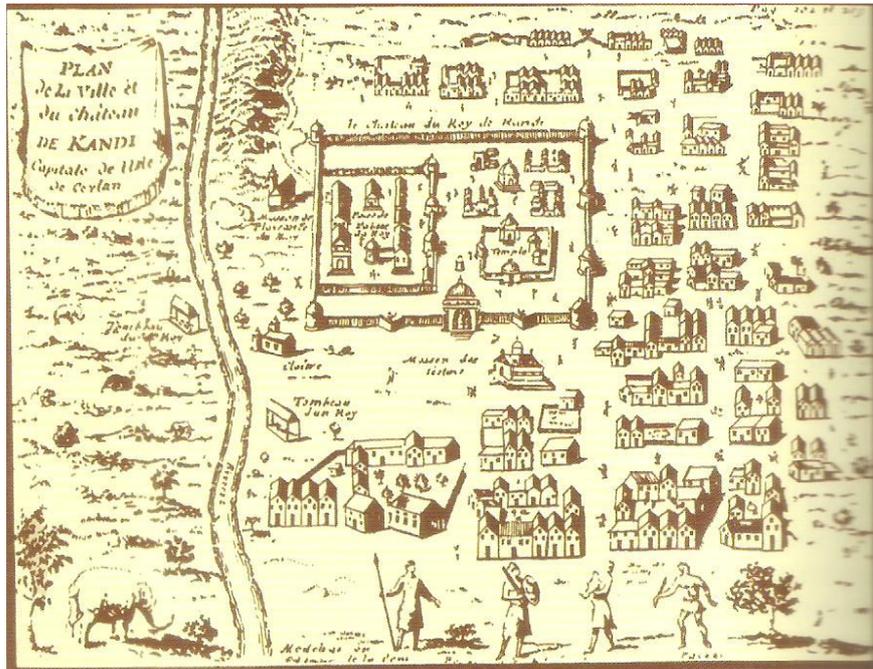
*Map 5.1: **plan drawn by Portuguese (1551-1591 AD)***

This city was completely destroyed by Portuguese in 1638, during the period of Senerath (1604 – 1635 A.D). Descriptions written by foreign visitors and Mahawamsa provide a picturesque image of the city. Robert Knox[255] a prisoner for nineteen years (1660 – 1679 A.D.) accounts about Kandy as follows:

> "The first is the city of Kandy[256], so generally called by the Christians, which in the Sinhalese language signifies hills, for among them it is situated, but by the inhabitants called Senkadagala Nuwara as such as to say, the city of the Sinhalese people, and Maha Nuwara, signifying the chief or royal city. This is the chief of metropolitan city of the whole island. It is placed in the midst of the island in Yatinuwara, bravely situated for all convenience excellently well watered. The King's palace stands on the east corner of the city, as it is customary in this land for the King's palace to stand. This city is three square like a triangle, but no artificial strength about its rulers on the south side, which is the easiest and openness way to it, they have long since cast up bank of earth across the valley from one hill to the other, which nevertheless is not so steep but that a man may easily go over it anywhere. It may be some twenty feet in height. In every way to come to this city about two or three miles off from it are thorn gates and watches, to examine all that go and come , it is environed with hills".
>
> <div align="right">Knox, 1681(cited Seneviratna, 1993)</div>

His accounts describe,

- City is triangular in shape, comprised of three quadrangles.

- King's palace was at the east side same as in Portuguese map.

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[255] Robert Knox –a British prisoner of the King
[256] Kandy – Sinhala language is 'kanda uda rata', that is country on hill, 'kanda-uda-rata' became Kandy for the foreign tongue (Senevirathna,1993)

- Mountains provide a natural protection to the city, reinforced by strategically located gates.
- How rigid mandala plan forms have been merged within organic shapes (triangular shape of the valley) of the natural landscape.

The plan drawn in 1765 AD (*Map 5.2*), indicates two temples built by Vimaladharmasuriya II (1687 – 1707 AD) and *Viraparakarama Narendrasinha (*1707 – 1739 AD).

Temple of the
Tooth relic
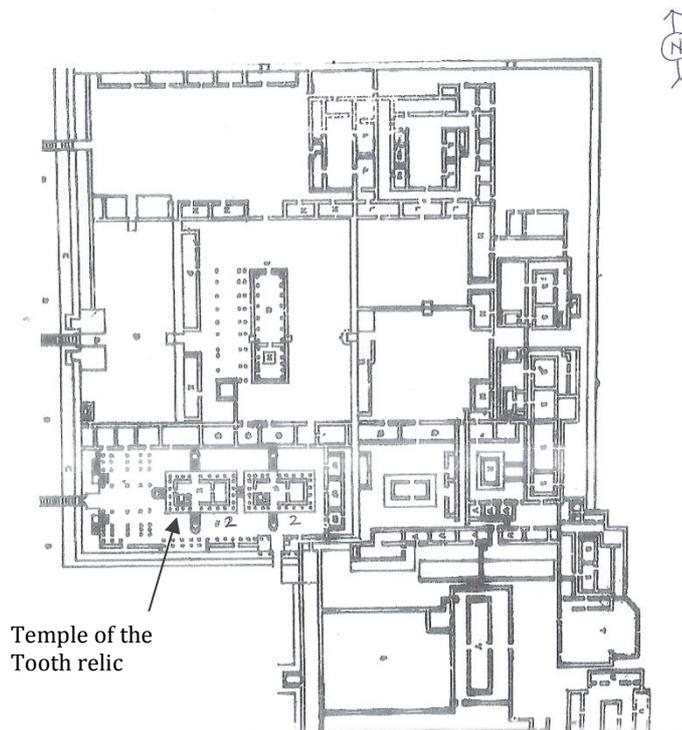
*Map 5.2: **Plan of the palace complex 1765 AD***

John Pybus who visited the court of Kandy in 1762 AD accounts the following in his Embassy to Kandy 1762 AD[257].

> " The town of Candia is built in a kind of valley formed by hills in a manner which surround it. The two principal streets run north and south, in (one) of which I was lodged and of this only I can, with much certainty speak. It is near a mile long, but the houses are not so well or uniformly built at the extreme ends as those towards the centre, which are most of them tyled. There are some cross streets running east and west, but of no great length, while the distance between the hills will not admit of........"

> "The palace stands in a manner detached from the rest of the houses and the south end of this valley, and is a large, lofty, spacious building, containing a large number of apartment and

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[257] Cited by Seneviratna (1993)

seemingly well constructed.......... There is a large garden enclosed with a high wall in the North. Front of it and close on to the other side of it, to the South, are hills and thick woods..."

"Most of the houses are built near the foot of the declivity of the hills which surrounded the town, and in six or seven feet from the streets, which are spacious and clean, from whence you go up to them by a long flight of brick or stone steps. They are constructed after the manner of building this country, but no so well finished."

He has given a more detailed description of the city, further strengthening the position of the palace described by Knox. The map drawn in 1765 indicates the temple of the Tooth relic close by the palace. According to John Pybus description, two long principal streets and short cross streets running between mountains exhibit a clear image of the city. The city was completely destroyed by the Dutch around 1766.

Although Kandy and provincial regions were independently governed by local Kings following a traditional administrative system, coastal areas were continually governed by Portuguese, thereafter by Dutch (1658 AD onwards). During the reign of Rajadi Rajasinha for 17 years (1781 – 1798 AD), after the Dutch invasion (1766 AD) the city and the palace would have been redeveloped and people lived peacefully as battles were limited to Dutch, British and French for the supremacy of oceanic navigation. Ascending the throne by the 18 year old prince, Sri Vikramarajasinha (1798 AD), opened up a conflicting passage between the 'King' and the rest of the place. He faced critical situation between invading tricks of British and conflicts among Kandyan aristocrats.[258] He implemented a new development project, converted paddy fields into the present Kandy lake, then known as 'kiri muhuda'. Duncan (1990) discusses as 'Sakran model', the divine king. As legendary evidence shows the King wanted to show himself as a divine king, in fulfilling same his architect made the lake and surrounding *Walakulu bamma* (wall of clouds)[259]. This is an example of Hindu mythology, still present in the Sri Lankan cultural place, according to the myth described in chapter four, '*Maha-mera* surrounded by *Kiri Muhuda'*. As discussed, Maha-mera resembles the absolute form of good the ideal place.

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[258] Seneviratna describes Sri Vikrama Rajasinha as a crafty ruler, who makes counter-settings for all these.
[259] *Plate 5.5*

Plate 5.5 : ***Walakulu bamma***

The map (*Map 5.3*) depicts the Kandy city in 1815 AD, prior to the British period. The position of the palace, temple of the Tooth relic, temples of god Natha and other temples are same as in the early periods described before. The King's palace has been rebuilt after the Dutch destruction of the palace shown in the drawing of 1765 AD, but towards the north end, exists today. The foundation of palace in map 1765 AD is still visible between temple of the Tooth relic and the new palace. Same as in earlier periods, long principal streets run north to south while short cross streets run between mountains. Two large water bodies are at the south edge of the city. *Walawwas* of administrative heads[260] are along the streets. From 1815 AD to 1948 AD the city was under the rule of British power, the king was assassinated, a new administrative system was introduced which was alienated with the place, people and the social system (Coomaraswamy, A. 1956). The place was changed according to new economic values.

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[260] High castes

Key

K – King's palace
T – Temple of the Tooth Relic
N - Natha devalaya
V - Vishnu devalaya
Ka – Kataragama devalaya
P - Pattini devalaya
W – Walawwa of Administrative heads

Bogambara Wawa

Kiri Muhuda
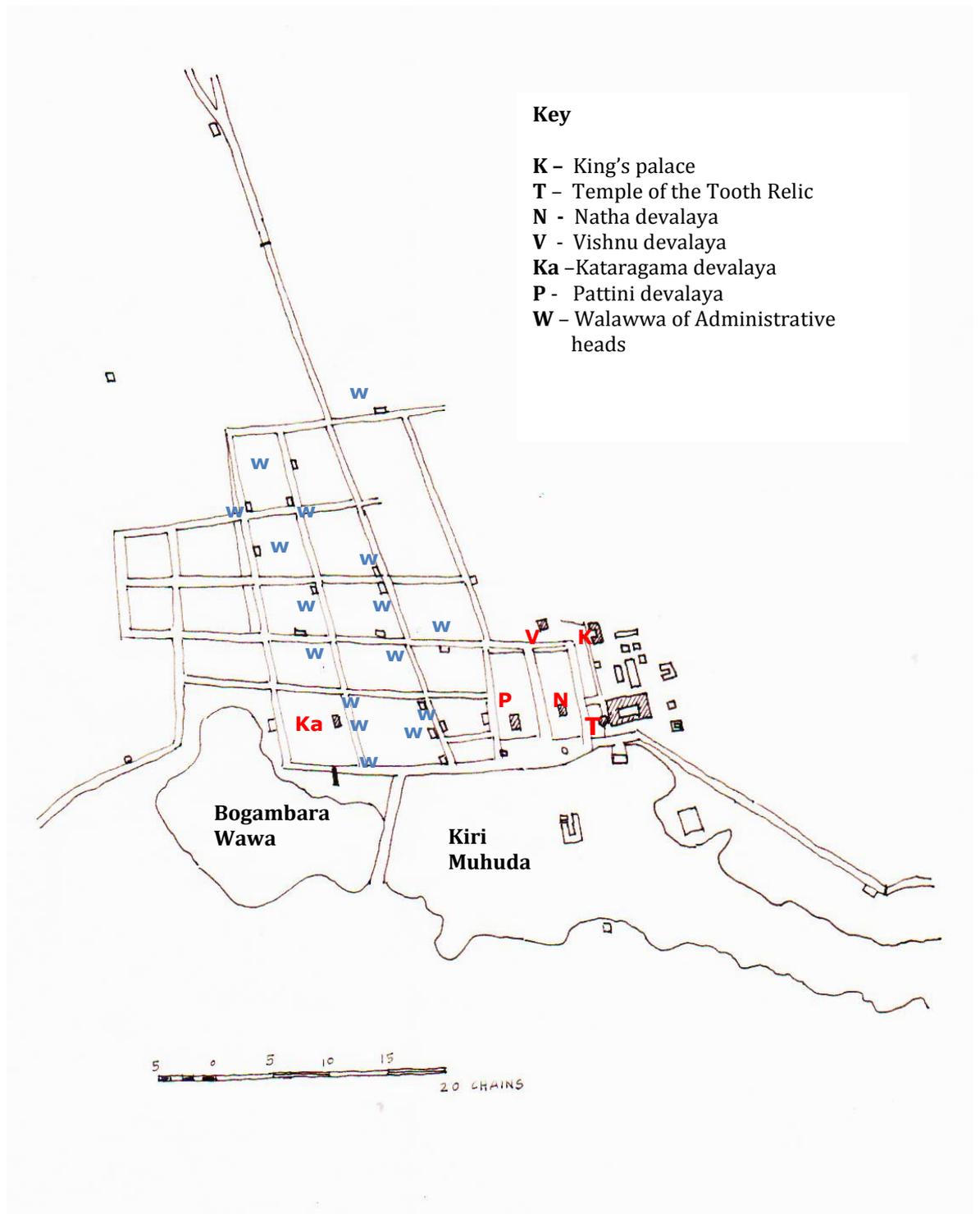
*Map 5.3 : **Map of Kandy : 1815 AD (***original map- T.B.Kappatipola)*

Today, the street pattern of old city still remains the same (*Map 5.4*), while some walawwas are conserved as archaeological sites; sacred square is same as in 1815 AD plan. Bogambara wewa has been filled and new city developments are largely taken place. However, ancient rituals and ceremonies still continue with active participation

of large number of people, parading along the old city streets and temple squares in Kandy.

*Map 5.4 : **Kandy today***
Source: Seneviratna.

5.2.2 Asala perahera and other rituals today.

The section examines the changing pattern of rituals and ceremonies within the emerging city and discusses the ways of performing Asala perahera during early times, using descriptive accounts (archival materials, books) on Asala perahera. Rituals practised before 1815 A.D. are still performed in Kandy. Rituals practised during three periods of different social, cultural and political contexts are shown in (*Table 5.2*). It is recognized by temple priests, traditional performers and people that rituals in Kandy including Asala perahera still continue without any major changes due to social/cultural

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or political changes in the history. For this study annual ceremonial parades of Asala perahera have been selected, in order to examine key questions. Asala perahera makes relationships with landscape, by walking parades, making geometrical patterns, making temporary structures, connecting suburban villages with the city. This is the largest ritual ceremony performed for fifteen days with active participation of a large number of people and similar performing happen all over the island in traditional settlements during the same period. Therefore it is appropriate to examine how Asala perahera narrates in the Kandyan landscape and understands the natural landscape location.

Table 5.2: **Rituals practiced during three periods in Kandy**

Ritual	Before 1815 (King's period)	1815- 1948 (British period)	1948 – up to today (after independence)
Adukku puja (ritual at Hindu temple)	✓	✓	✓
Daily rituals at temple of the tooth relic	✓	✓	✓
Daily rituals at Hindu temples	✓	✓	✓
Karti Festival	✓	✓	✓
Rite of purification	✓	✓	✓
New year festival	✓	✓	✓
New rice festival	✓	✓	✓
ASALA PERAHERA *Kapa situweema* (planting a pole)	✓	✓	Yes (the cult is not popular among new generation/ town life)
Inner parade	✓	✓	Yes (not popular among new generation /town life)
Outer parade – *Kumbal perahera*	✓	✓	Yes very popular
Outer parade – *Randoli perahera*	✓	✓	Yes (contemporary people recognize as main ceremony these two outer parades)
Diya kapeema (water cutting)	✓	✓	Yes (still popular among villagers)
Day parade	✓	✓	✓
Devil dance (*Wali Yakun nateema*)	✓	✓	✓

Asala perahera is performed annually, during the months of July/ August ending on a full moon day. The perahera festival commences by planting kapa, known as *kapa situweema ,* at four temples – temple of god Natha, temple of god Vishnu, temple of god Kataragama and temple of goddess Pattini. The locations of these temples are same as it was in the 1815 period. Inner parade is performed around these temples for five days. Thereafter outer parade known as Kumbal perahera parades along the streets in Kandy and temple of the Tooth relic too participates in this parade. However, according to Knox' description[261], during the period of Rajasingha II (1639-87 AD), the participation of the temple of the Tooth relic in the perahera, has not been mentioned. A descriptive account on Asala perahera by Wellasse Disawe [262](1817), says that until Keerthi Sri Rajasingha period (1747 – 1781 A.D) temple of the Tooth relic did not participate in the perahera*.* Therefore it is evident that the origins of these rituals are not related with Buddhism and are more ancient than Buddhism. According to both descriptions, many temple women followed the temple elephants holding sacred objects of gods by giving services such as sprinkling water, flowers, scented smoke and singing special rhymes. Knox says 'thousands of ladies and gentlewomen-best sort of- in a brave manner' walk in the parade. Wellasse Disawe says that many young women and men display their body skills, performing for a few hours in front of the palace before starting the perahera. He describes, 'two women walking on ropes, displaying magical performances, balancing their body without the use of sticks. One woman jump up above the rope seven/ eight feet high repeatedly and speedily'. He admires the speed of body movement, circling of their hands in different directions and the brave performances of these people. Considering these, there are two important points to be highlighted on Asala perahera during Kandyan period,

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[261] Robert Knox, An historical relation of the island Ceylon, in the East-Indies *819Kb*
   AN Historical Relation OF ZEILON, (Aliàs Ceylon,) AN Island in the EAST-INDIES. *740Kb*
   PART III. *218Kb*
   CHAP. IV. Concerning their Worship, and Festivals. *24Kb*
[262] Descriptive account of Perahera on 19th August 1817, published in Government Gazette - Sri Lanka of 13th September 1817. (Peries, 1956. p.129)

- Many females whose services are required for temples (as potters, cooking women, washer women) and ladies and gentle women[263] participated in the Asala perahera. Today, only a few females participate, only in Pattini devle perahera, which is a small part of the whole procession. This shows that during the Kandyan period **Asala perahera performance has not been a cultural display; it is an 'ordinary cultural life performance'.** These rituals are not documented in ancient texts.

- Body movements, acrobatics, speed up movements and dancing are common, and therefore 'body performances', and the 'mind- body' are prominent in the procession as an 'entity of sensing and making the place'.

Therefore the performing of Asala perahera in Kandy could be examined, in order to find relationships between performance and natural landscape. Today it is the same as it has been performed during Kandyan period before 1815. During July, August, September, celebrations of Asala[264] festivals (Asala perahera) in temples and devales in traditional settlements all around the island are common making a celebrative atmosphere. In all these events, it makes relationships with natural landscape and the cultural place. Performing Asala perahera could be a very ancient technique used in place making and place understanding of traditional settlements. Therefore it is reasonable to analyse the subject 'performing Asala perahera' to examine the 'place', within the relational combination of performances, natural landscape and dwelling.

5.3 Place making by Performing.

This section examines the performing of Asala perahera. Theories developed in chapter two are examined in this section, based on research questions raised in chapter one: how people perform in landscape, how people understand their surrounding, how dwelling takes place by narrating in the landscape and how place

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[263] Knox, 1681
[264] Asela is the Sinhala name for month July

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emerges within the relationship of natural landscape and performance of people. Out of many performances, marking geometrical patterns by parading in the landscape is identified to find these relationships between performance and natural landscape. However, other kinds of performances which relate to production of place also are noteworthy in analysing into a matrix. Data collection method is by videos, photographs, notes & sketches, observation, and participant observation. This section further examines built forms and experiences of the place by analysing temporary structures and permanent structures associated with Asala perahera performance. These built forms are compared with spatial understanding of dwelling & performing discussed in chapter two. Experience of the place by dwellers is examined by informal questionnaires forwarded to people who were in a deep attachment with the place, with the particular activity engaged in and sensing the place.

5.3.1 Performing Asala perahera –

In this section the historical background and significant aspects of Asala perahera in Kandy are discussed. There are common rituals and ceremonies take place in all Asala festivals, performing in traditional settlements, but many of them have been subjected to changes adding contemporary life styles except Asala festival in Kandy and in some villages including Lankathilaka. However, there are common rituals in all these Asala festivals, for example, kapa situweema (planting of kapa), inner parade and outer parades and diya kapeema (water cutting). In Kandy Asala perahera, selection of a tree for planting kapa is important. It is selected from a place outside the city at Aluth nuwara. Several days before the auspicious ceremony, a young straight grown jak tree is selected from temple village Aluth nuwara, situated 20 Km towards south of the Kandy city. According to legends, temple of god Vishnu was earlier at Aluth nuwara, and because of Dutch invasions the temple was shifted to Kandy city. Thereafter Dedimunda deviyan[265], the assistant of Vishnu deviyan became the main deity at Aluth nuwara, known today as Aluth nuwara deviyan. According to the Knox'

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[265] Divine being

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description about the Asala perahera during Rajasingha II (1639 -1687 AD) "Alut-Nuwara Dio" (Knox, 1681) was the prominent god in the Asala perahera in Kandy. This could be the time the temple of god Vishnu was shifted to Kandy after the 1658 AD agreement between Sinhalese and Dutch. Dutch took over the place of the Portuguese. Therefore the god Vishnu may have been called as the Aluth nuwara deviyo during this period in Kandy[266].

Asala festival is a dramatic performance begins with kapa kapeema (cutting a tree) and kapa situweema (planting kapa), where four temples in Kandy, Natha, Vishnu, Kataragama, and Pattini perform the main part with the help of devale villages outside the city. Today in Kandy, the temple of the Tooth relic is the key feature in Asala perahera and this is known as the 'Dalada perehera' by contemporary people. However, important rituals are carried out only at four devale premises, with the participation of devale priests. Temple villages that belong to the temple of the Tooth relic also participate in many activities. As mentioned earlier, people in these temple villages and devale villages have to perform specific functions of the Asala festival for living in and utilizing temple lands, for example, making arches in front of temples, and around the kapa house using young palm leaves, cleaning up the temple & premises, decorating the temple, hanging clean white linen under the roof as a ceiling. Asala perahera according to time, cyclic nature, relationships with natural features/landscape, methods of performing and the significant aspect of the performing, is explained in (*Table 5.3*). Through a series of performing they make inter relationships with the natural landscape location: with valley, mountains, river and with other suburban temples and villages. They narrate in the landscape by walking, repeating of walking, dancing, singing, drumming, displaying acrobatic games, making temporary structures and marking geometrical patterns. Marking centres, domains and divine experience is significant in these performances.

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[266] It should not be confused with 'Alut-Nuwara-deviyan ' today in Aluth Nuwara with Alut-Nuwara Dio in Knox description.

*Table 5.3 : **Asala perahera – Time, Space, Method of performing***

Ritual		Number of happenings Time Intervals – minutes, hours, days, months, years	Relationship with natural features/ natural landscape location / time / universe.	Method of performing	Significant aspect in the performing
Asala festival	***Kapa situweema*** (planting a pole)	Once a year (July/ August) Two days	Selecting and cutting a tree and planting mark direct inter relationships with landscape.	Parades, rituals, music, offerings.	**Marking a centre by planting the *kapa***
	Inner parade	Three times in the evening for five consecutive days	Parade around the temple makes inter relationships with landscape location.	Small procession walks around the temple, three times in the evening for five days. Music, offerings and rituals.	**Marking a place in the landscape location.**
	Outer parade – ***Kumbal perahera***	Five days in the night	Parade walks (clockwise) along the old streets.	Long procession, walking, dancing, acrobatics, singing, playing musical instruments,	**Parade represents the whole social structure, making inter-relationships with landscape location.**
	Outer parade – ***Randoli perahera***	Five days in the night	Parade walks (clockwise) along the old streets.	Include god's palanquins to the above long procession.	**Parade represent the whole social structure , making inter-relationships with landscape location.**
	Diya kapeema (water cutting)	from midnight till dawn	Relates to the changing patterns of midnight to the dawn, parade walks towards the river to perform rituals.	Perception and sensation of the landscape, walking, dancing, playing music, offering food.	**Water cutting, offering foods (special cooked rice) for gods.**
	Day parade	From mid day until evening	Walking along old streets in day time.	Walking, dancing, playing music, acrobatics, body sacrificing.	**Parade ends, walking three times around the central square.**
	Devil dance (*Wali Yakun nateema*)	Seven days	Narrative performance of imagined stories	Dancing, singing, music, mime, stories, drawing symbols	**Performing series of mythical stories.**

5.3.2 Marking geometrical patterns

This section examines how Asala perahera performs in the landscape and makes relationships with the surrounding and how place emerges within these complexities of acting, performing and making phenomenon. Through a series of narrative events they mark geometrical patterns in the landscape. The production of place in this performative process is described as follows:

1) *Kapa situweema* (planting *Kapa*)

According to Wellasse Disawa (1817), Asala perehera is known as Asala Keliya (play) performed to celebrate god Vishnu's birth. He describes Asala Keliya as a very ancient ceremony originated on the day of the god's birth. This should be a very important phenomenon about Asala perahera, describing Asala Keliya as a performing of a play celebrating the birth of divinity. On an auspicious day before the dawn at Aluth-nuwara, the selected tree is cut down after performing several rituals, by offering flowers, incense smoking, lighting camphor, and several other rituals while beating drums, known as hewisi puja (sound performing service). The cut down piece of the tree is wrapped with a white cloth and taken to the Kandy city (earlier days on an elephant's back in a parade). This long kapa is taken to the Dadimunda devale within the Vishnu devale premises in Kandy. There it is cut into four pieces by performing several rituals and hewisi puja. In these events the temple of Vishnu takes the leading role, thus revealing the origin of Asala Keliya relates to god Vishnu. The four kapa are distributed among four temples carried on elephant's back while performing hewisi puja. The following day, early in the morning at an auspicious time set by the royal astrologer, kapa is planted in the kapa house at a side of each temple. In these rituals, sounds of hewisi puja produce dynamic space, requesting divinities to enter the human place. The four kapa are planted at the same auspicious time at four temples in Kandy (*Fig.5.3*). Planting kapa signifies the centre[267].

2) *Inner* parade

After the kapa situweema, temple priest brings the god's insignia on to the moonstone of the doorstep of devale, while sounds of hewisi puja keep resounding the space. On the second day god's insignia is carried around the temple in a small parade comprised of two flag bearers, a piper, dhawula, thammattama, magul bera (kind of drums), a lamp holder by the side of god's insignia carried on the shoulder of temple

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[267] Senevirathne, 1978

priest walking under a cloth canopy[268] held by two temple assistants. The parade stops in front of the temple, while magul bera makes a special form of beat. The same performance happens at the two sides of the temple (*Fig. 5.4*). The inner parade marks a domain and three entrances. The third day parade goes around the temple twice and on the fourth day parade goes three times around the temple (*Fig. 5.5*). This is how it had happened in early days, and a temple priest accounts that presently it differs from temple to temple. At the temple of god Vishnu, they parade three times around the temple each day. The inner parade marks four domains in the natural landscape location (*Fig. 5.6*). During these days people from temple villages gather at the temple premises, cleaning, decorating and helping in various works.

1	King's palace
2	Temple of Tooth Relic
3	Temple of God Natha
4	Temple of God Vishnu
5	Temple of God Kataragama
6	Temple of Goddess Pattini
7	Malwathu Viharaya
8	Asgiri Viharaya
9	Hindu kovil
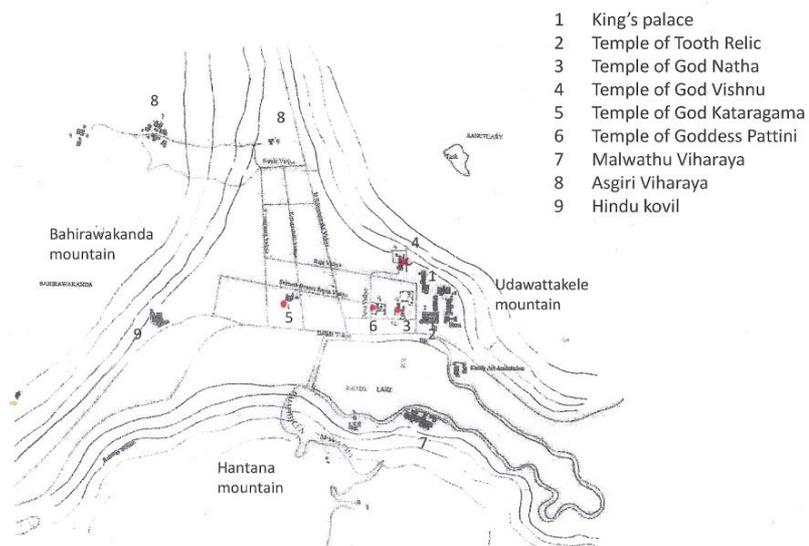
*Fig.5.3: **Planting four Kapa mark four centres in Kandy.***

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[268] Uduviyana in Sinhala

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G – God's insignia
HT – Hand torch
M – Magulbera
K - Kapa

| God's insignia | Hand torch | Magulbera | Tham-mattama | Dhawula | Piper | Flag bearers |
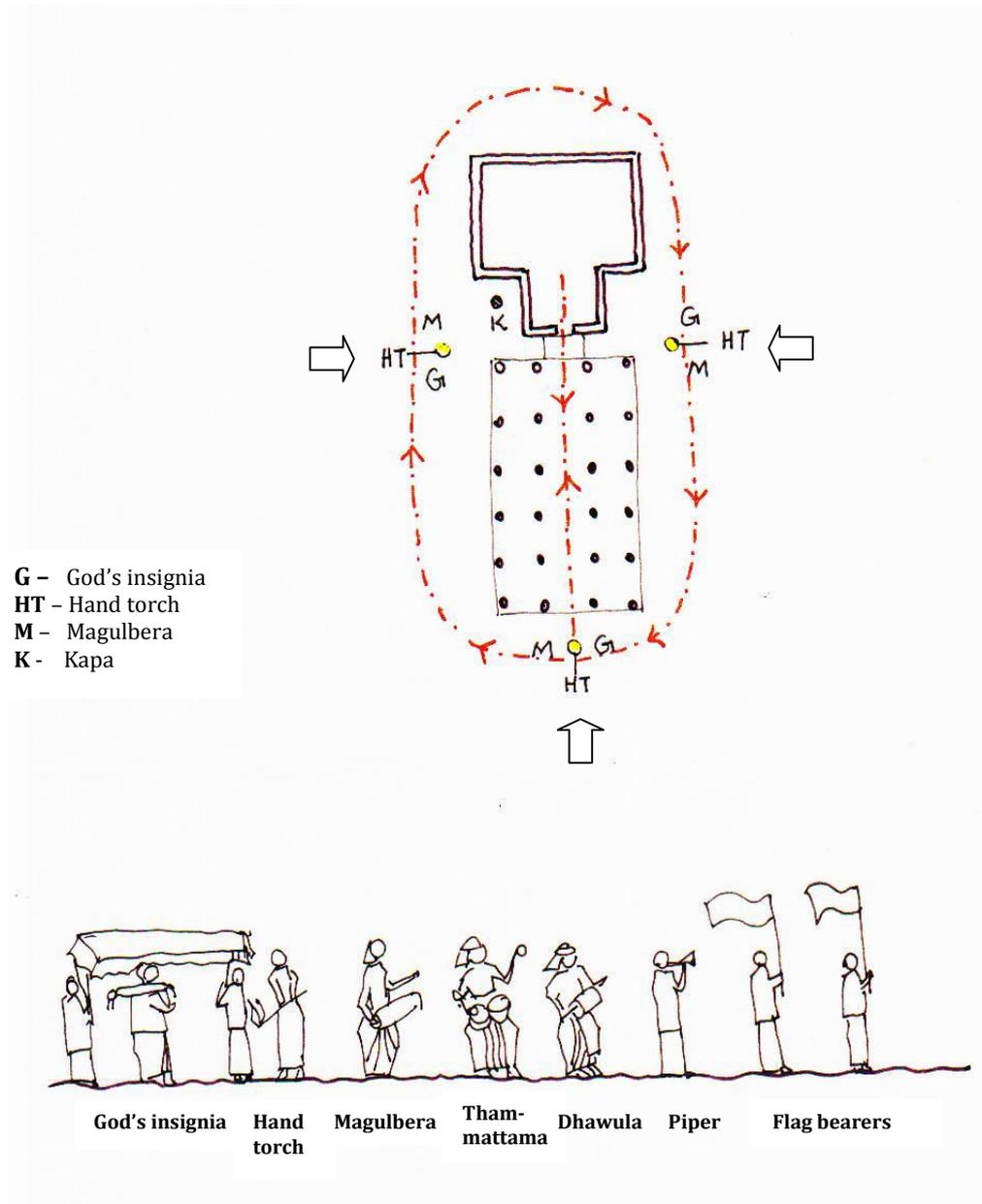
Fig. 5.4: *Inner parade marks entrances and domain.*

1st day 2nd day 3rd day 4th day

Centre Axis Domain/ inside Repeating the event
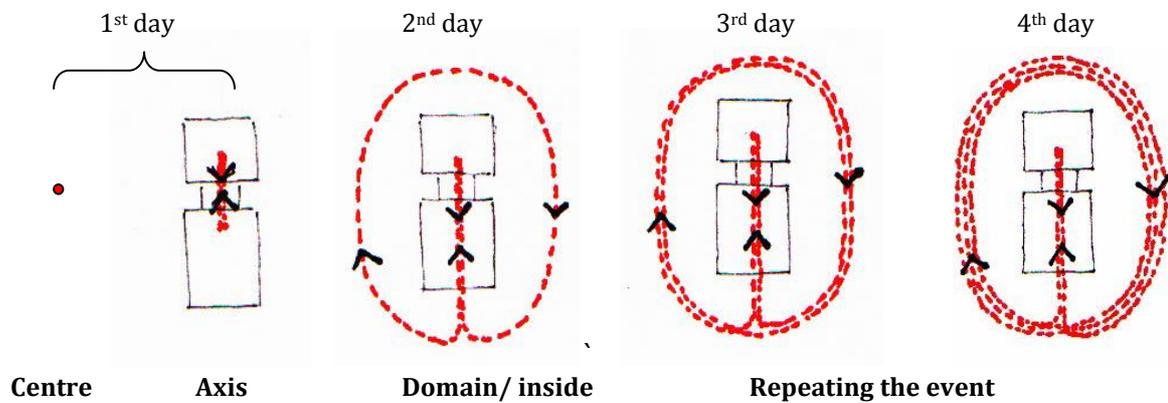
Fig. 5.5 : *Marking of centre, path, domain* and repeating the performing pattern

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1	King's palace
2	Temple of Tooth Relic
3	Temple of God Natha
4	Temple of God Vishnu
5	Temple of God Kataragama
6	Temple of Goddess Pattini
7	Malwathu Viharaya
8	Asgiri Viharaya
9	Hindu kovil
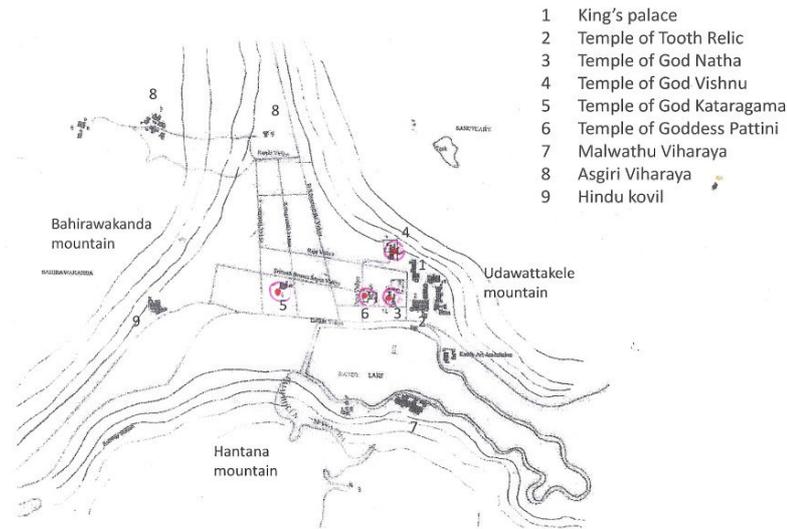
*Fig.5.6: **Marking four domains – Inner parade.***

3) Kumbal perahera

During next five days, god's insignia is taken for parading along streets, known as kumbal perahera. This procession is very long and takes about three hours to pass one point. Each day, there is an auspicious time to take out the god's insignia after performing several rituals. Temple priest of each temple carry god's insignia on their shoulder very honourably and piously towards a special structure specially built for this purpose (*Plate 5.6).* It is an elevated house used to keep the sacred objects inside the karanduwa (a cascat) which is on the elephant's back. Sounds of hewisi puja, drum beats, together with chanting of rhymes by priests echo the place, producing special space. Perahera performers of all four temples gather at the *Deva sanhinda*[269] , a place in front of the king's palace and in between Natha devale square and Maha devale (temple of god Vishnu). Meanwhile perahera performers of the temple of the Tooth relic gather in front of the temple of the the Tooth relic. Perahera parades only along the old streets of Kandy. Each day, they mark an enclosed domain, getting larger and larger (*Fig.5.7*). Perahera parades in clockwise direction, the circumbulation of the city[270].

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[269] Sinhala meaning – within the divine sight and power.
[270] Seneviratne H.L. (1978)

4) *Randoli perahera*

The end of kumbal perahera is followed by five randoli perahera. Four randoli of goddess' are the new addition to perahera, which is longer than kumbal perahera. As in kumbal perahera god's insignias are taken to the street at an auspicious time, then all performers of four temples gather at the *Deva sanhinda* (*Plate 5.7*) and performers of the temple of the Tooth relic gather in front of the temple. This perahera makes larger enclosed domains than kumbal perahera, by circumbulation of the city (*Fig.5.8*). The final night parade is more elegant and performed until midnight on a full Moon night day.

*Plate 5.6: **placing god's insignia** inside karanduwa 2012.*

*Plate 5.7 : **Performers gather at** Deva Sanhinda. 2012*
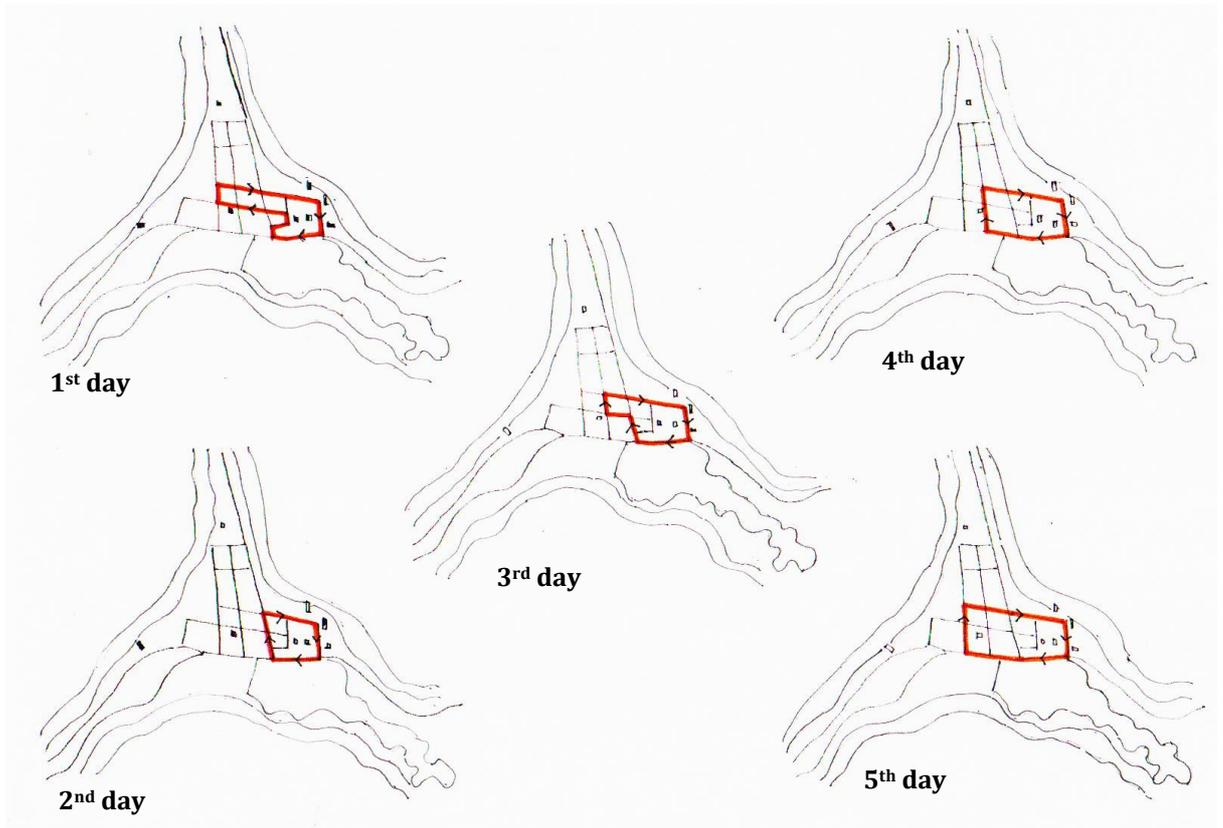
Fig. 5.7: **Marking enclosed domains –** *Kumbal perahera*
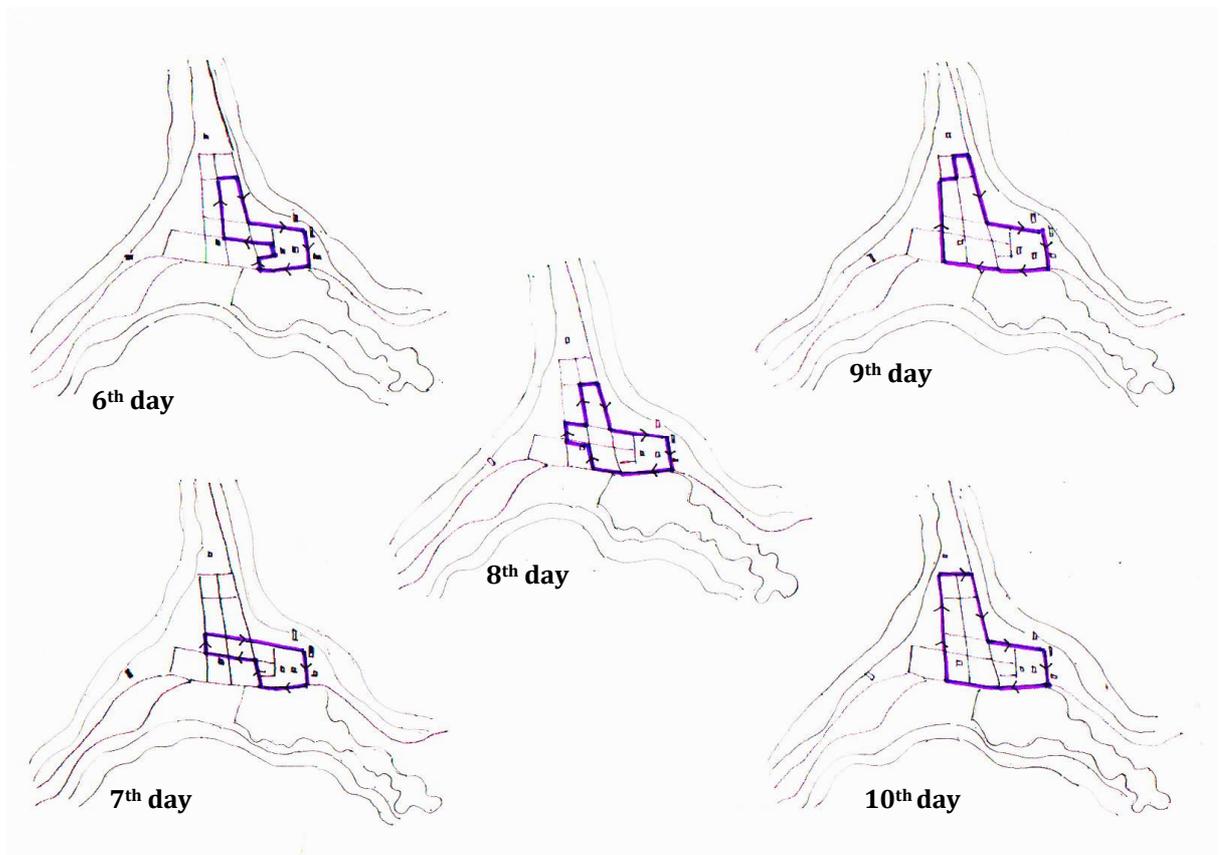
Fig. 5.8: **Parade walkways/ routes of** *Randoli perahera*

5) *Diya kapeeme perahera*

A few hours after the final night parade, diya kapeeme perahera starts from four temples at an auspicious time set by the astrologer. Before that there will be special rituals and food offering [271] for all those present at each temple. Four randoli of four temples lead the parade. Inside these randoli gods' sacred objects are placed: a sword, bows and arrows, and a special item is pan kendiya (water pitcher), which contains water collected from last year's ceremony. Four priests holding god's insignia on their shoulders seated on the back of four elephants follow the randoli. Hewisi puja and flag bearers walk in front of the randoli. This is a very special ceremony, because elephants carrying insignia and perahera are worshipped and honoured by various types of offerings, by the large crowd gathered on either side of the road way towards the river. Perehera takes a long time to reach the final destination the river at Gatambe (*Fig.5.9*). Meanwhile people gathered near the river prepare special milk rice to be offered to the gods. People believe that gods' presence is in the place at that moment. Meanwhile, karanduwa, the special sacred object of temple of the Tooth relic is kept at the Asgiriya Gedige temple during the night.
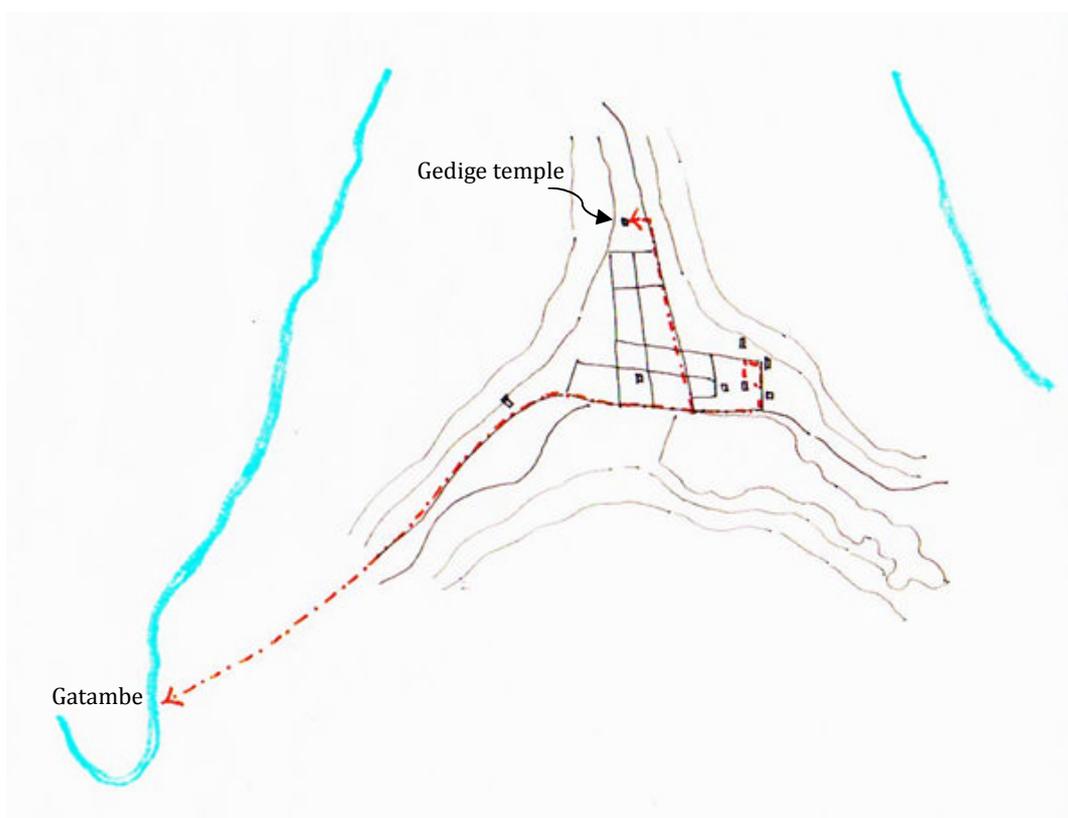
Fig. 5.9: **Diyakapeeme perahera** *.*

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[271] Specially prepared food meant for gods

6) Day parade

When diya kapeema ceremony is over, randoli and gods' insignia are brought to the Pulleyar kovil to be kept until the day parade starts in the evening. Here also, a large crowd gathers to offer offerings to gods and receive blessings. All temple priests bless the large crowd by applying earth[272] on their foreheads and sprinkling water on devotees's bodies. Here too, a special food offering service is held for gods and people. Meanwhile, at the Gedige temple, special dancing and hewisi performances are displayed by Kandyan dancers. At the auspicious time the day parading of perahera starts from Pulleyar kovil, towards the Gedige temple and perahera of the temple of the Tooth relic also joins it. At the end the perahera parades around the sacred square three times, and the karanduwa of temple of the Tooth relic is taken back inside, while gods' insignias are taken back into respective temples (*Fig. 5.10*).

T – Temple of the Tooth relic
K – King's palace
N – Natha devalaya
V – Vishnu devalaya
Ka – Kataragama devalaya
P – Pattini devalaya
G – Gedige templa
H – Hindu kovil
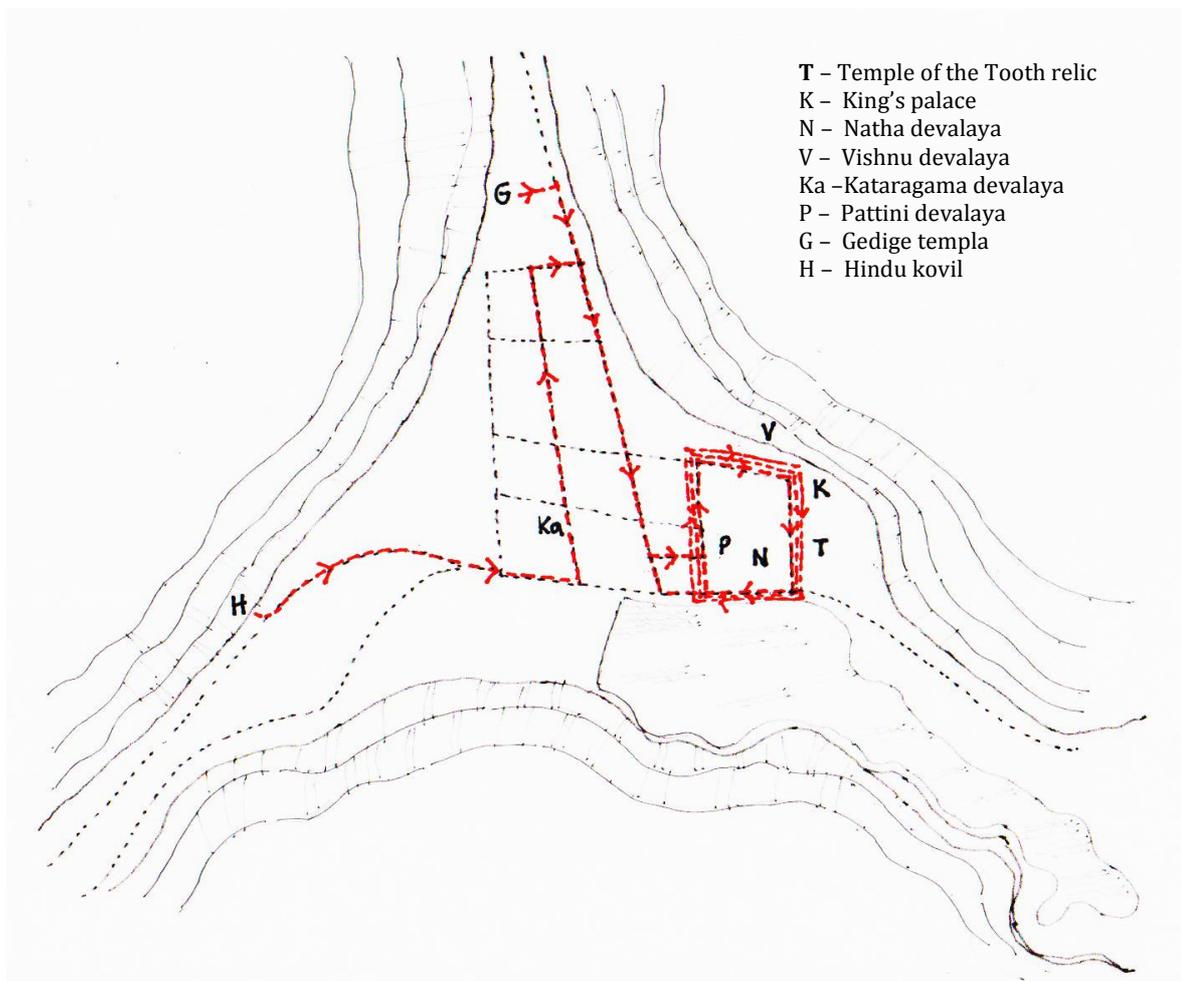
*Fig. 5.10: **Day parade.***

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[272] Special powder made of earth -Vibhudhi

5.3.3 Built forms and experiences

This section examines built forms associated with Asala perahera and how these relate to spatial understanding of dwelling. Three kinds of built forms are recognized.

1. Making of temporary structures, including clothes and accessories throughout these performances.

2. Marking of geometrical patterns by performing parades as discussed in earlier section.

3. Arts and artifacts in the place describe experiences of the performance. These physical elements are explained within the spatial understanding of dwelling and performing.

These three kinds of built forms display entrances, insides and centres which are examined below:

Entrances

Making of four arched entrances with young palm leaves, around the kapa house (*Plate 5.8*) and placing of another similar arched decoration at the entrance of each temple (*Plate 5.9*)[273] are evidences of entrance feeling in these performances. Head crown of the Kandyan dancer is recognized as spiritual, is similar to the doorways carved in temples (*Plate 5.10 & Plate 5.11*). Temple doorways are very special, believed to be having spiritual experiences. Two deities guard either side of the door, while a monster is carved on top (*Plate 5.12*). There is a moonstone, in front of the first step depicting the feeling of an entrance (*Plate 5.13*). All these reflect the experience of passing MITTE to reach the inside. The entrance is prominent at sacred square, temple squares and at temple of the Tooth the relic, marking special structure, defining the special feeling of the entrance (*Plate 5.14 & Plate 5.15*). 1815 A.D. plan indicates three entrances to the city, and Knox describes the entrance gates during Rajasingha II period (1639 -87 A.D).

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[273] Note : Knox describe a temporary built entrance in front of each door of royal palace during New year festival, similar to the temporary entrance built in front of the Lankathilaka, during perahera festival today which will be discussed in a later chapter

*Plate 5.8: **Arches around** kapa house*

*Plate 5.9: **Arches made** at the Natha devale*

*Plate 5.10: **Entrance door to** Temple of Tooth Relic*

*Plate 5.11 : **Head crown** similar to doorway*

*Plate 5.12 : **Entrance doorway to** Vishnu devalaya*

*Plate 5.13 : **Moonstone. , kept at Museum** in King's palace.*
Source: author, 2011

*Plate 5.14: **Entrance** from street to Bo tree square*

*Plate 5.15: **Entrance from Deva sanhinda** to Natha devale square*

Therefore these entrances mark a sense of threshold, to enter 'inside', passing MITTE.

Insides

As discussed the whole procession is a marking of insides/ domains, by marking geometrical patterns in the landscape. Each temple marks an inside, and performers, for example, kandyan dancer reflect the making of inside by performing and by clothing. Kandyan dance is known as *wesnatum* in Sinhala, which means attaining into a different status by performing required dancing skills. The head crown marks the entrance. Through the performance, the dancer may enter into inside passing MIITE. According to the dancers, they feel special once they wear this headgear, a kind of increased confidence, proudness, a responsible feeling. The whole attire with the wesnatum performer is recognized as spiritual and they perform by the side of spiritual objects in the perahera. Kulasena , a kandyan dancer, a performer of *wesnatum* in the perehera for the last 22years, explains the special experience of the attire he wears

consisting of 32 pieces, given to his ancestors by the divine king, which possesses a power to cure , many illnesses of humans. After they perform all necessary skills to the guru (teacher), the guru reads their horoscopes regarding their suitability to wear the whole attire, and if found suitable on an auspicious day and time they wear the head crown for the first time. He says it rouses them to a special feeling, confidence and pride about themselves and the performance. **The head crown reflects the 'entrance' to inside, similar to the entrance of a temple.**

Centre

The whole performance begins by planting kapa, marking the centre and axis, passing the MITTE to beyond centre. As discussed by Bollnow, centre is the halfway of a linear extension between two domains. Thus in the cultural place by planting kapa, they mark the centre, emerging links between earth and sky[274]: between mundane and divine[275]. As described in ancient legends , origin of Asala keliya is as ancient as the birth of God: the Divinity. Planting of kapa opens out divine dimensions. The Sinhala word 'kapa' has a similarity with 'Kalpa vruksha' in Hindu mythology. Kalpa vruksha[276] and tree both have vertical axis which passes through centre, opening divine dimensions.

Thereafter, this centre is enlarged into a domain, by parading around the temples and marking entrances. Each day of parading, the centre is getting wider and wider until the final night parade marking the city. Therefore it is understood that the city is an enlarged version of a centre, an inside (*Fig.5.11*).

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[274] Schulz, 1980
[275] Heidegger,1971; Bollnow,1963
[276] a tree which can fulfil any wish – discussed in chapte 4
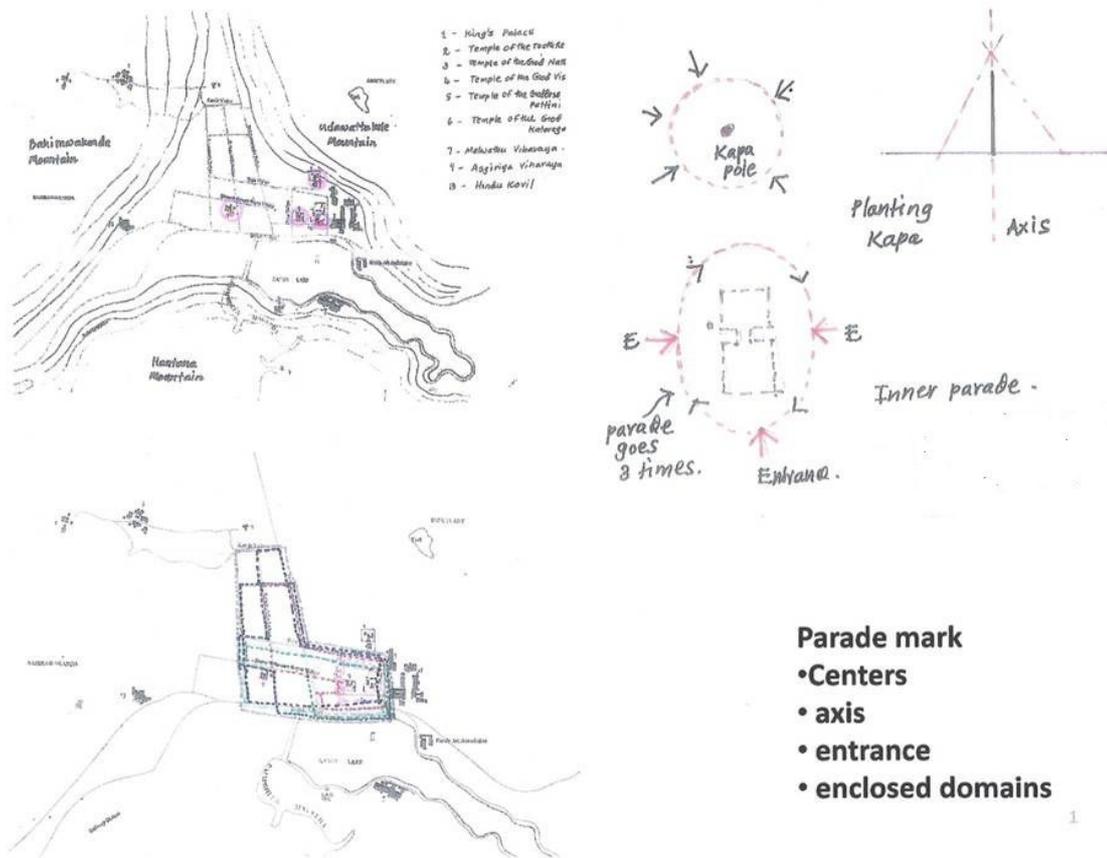
*Fig. 5.11: **City as enlarged version** of a centre, an inside*

Within this inside they may experience fourfolds, earth & sky, divinities & mortals as one. The whole city is experienced by enlarging centres. Combination **of centre, axis, entrance and enclosed domains unfold spatial dimensions of absolute form of good, divine dimensions within mundane dimensions.**

Absolute form of good

There are many examples of absolute form of good, recognized as most sacred in these performances. Seven days after the final day parade, a special dance performance known as 'Valiyakun nateema' is performed at Vishnu devale. According to Wellasse disave, during earlier times these dances were performed at all four temples. There is a temporary structure hung on the ceiling (*Plate 5.16*) of temple of god Vishnu, recognized as the most sacred object in Valiyakun nateema dancing performance. This shape is similar to absolute form of good and rice pods are hung inside this form. There

is a display of wesnatum dancing and magulbera beating[277] underneath this structure for seven days, starting in the evening and continues until the dawn of the following day (*Plate 5.17*).

Plate 5.16 : **sacred object**
2012

Plate 5.17 : **Dancing and drumming** *under the most sacred object, hung on the ceiling.* *2012*

Randoli of four devale are considered as sacred palanquins, carried in randoli perahera, diya kapeema perahera and day parade. These are adorned with sacred pinnacles on top, which are similar to absolute form of good (*Plate 5.18*). Randoli contains sacred objects: pan kendiya (water pitcher), sword, etc. People make offerings and make wishes[278] on these randoli.

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[277] Both wesnatum dancing and magulbera drum beating are recognized as auspicious, would be discussed further in chapter 7. According to Sinhala interpretation, *Waliyak nateema*, means dancing of devils or demons.
[278] Tying up coins,

Plate 5.18 : ***Randoli.***

Wesnatum dancing is recognized as a spiritual kind of performing. The *kotha*, adorned on the head of the dancer for the first time in his life, is a spiritual moment, celebrated through rituals and this *kotha* is similar to the absolute form of good (*Plate 5.19*). They perform in front of and behind the temple elephants carrying sacred objects in the perahera, in front of the Diyawadana nilame of temple of the Tooth relic and in front of the Basnayaka nilame of four devale; and also in Valiyakun nateema dance.

Plate 5.19 : ***kotha.***

Plate 5.20 : ***Kotha covered by head crown***

Plate 5.21 : ***Wesnatum dancers (Kandyan dancers).*** *2012*

Plate 5.20 and *Plate 5.21* display important moments of wesnatum dancers. The deities at either side of the doorways of temples and devale are wearing similar kind of head gear, and the entrance is a spiritual place in these temples (*Plate 5.22*).

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*Plate 5.22 : **Deities either side of doorways***

The relic house and relic casket (*Plate 5.23*) of the temple of the Tooth relic, show a similar form of the absolute form of good the most sacred object carried in the randoli perahera.

*Plate 5.23 : **Sacred objects of Temple of the Tooth Relic.**2012*

In parades of the four devale of Natha, Vishnu, Kataragama and Pattini, sacred insignia of four devale is taken inside a relic house, similar to the absolute form of good (*Plate 5.24*).

*Plate 5.24 : **Sacred insignia of Vishnu devale inside the relic house** carried on elephant's back. 2012*

Therefore it is evident that people in the cultural place, experience absolute form of good, the spatial experience of dwelling. People by performing in the landscape make dwelling places: as centres, as insides, as domains of insides, and the whole city as an inside.

5.3.4 Experience of the place

This section compares experience of the place discussed in previous sections with actual experiences of people. Informal interviews held with people engaged in everyday life appeared to be in a kind of deep attachment with the place, with the particular activity engaged in and sensing the place. As discussed in earlier sections the enclosed valley by three mountains is given an inside reflecting oppositional experiences of mundane and divine, a dwelling place. Continuous performing of parades also make an inside responding to this experience given by natural landscape. People of today describe the experience of the old city of Kandy, at Natha devale square, close by lake, close by temple of the Tooth relic and at old streets. Badra is a retired teacher, and her friend is a retired banker. They are neighbours, who come regularly to the sacred city to experience the place.

Badra says,

> "We came here today for a relaxed walking around the area, not with a pre-determined programme. We can peacefully see everywhere. This may be either at the temple of god Natha or at the Dalada maligawa, or at Buddhist image house, sitting under a shady tree, or at the edge of the lake......we can peacefully see everywhere". Both of them are house wives and mothers practising meditation at Asgiriya viharaya.

Jayasundera, 80 years came to Kandy from Badulla a mountainous area about 150 km away from Kandy. He totally devoted his life for meditation, peacefully smiling, sitting at the open veranda of Natha devale (*Plate 5.25*). He regularly comes to Kandy to observe *sil*.[279] On this day, early in the morning he has come to participate in the kapa situweema ritual ceremony and stays until evening, spending time around the sacred square.

> He describes, "Everywhere I feel peace of mind, as this is a place where live Buddha presents".

> What are you doing here? He replies,

> "Being in peace at the place, can observe *sil* at any place I wish, may be under a Bo tree, at Dalada maligawa (temple of the Tooth relic), at temple veranda, at image house or can observe *sil* in anyplace I wish, in this sacred city".
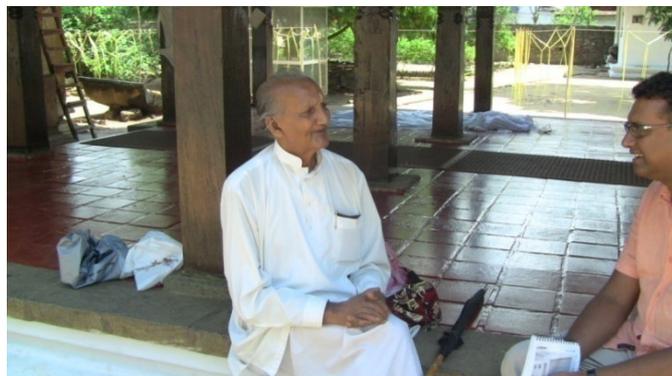
*Plate 5.25 : **Jayasundara sitting at the open veranda** of the Natha devale.*

Karunarathna, 54 years, traditional hand torch bearer of the Natha devale says,

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[279] *Sil*- performing special spiritual behaviour.

"This is the place where Buddha and Gods reside". And temple priests say, "living Buddha and living Gods are here". According to the interview and observation Karunarathna the torch bearer and temple priest are part of the place, same as natural landscape. They are more bound by the 'nature' revealed in the natural landscape, and therefore their feeling and experience of the place should be more authentic. The thesis of the study explains the 'nature of this place' is given by the natural landscape location: by enclosed mountains, the way mountains define the valley, the shape and the geometries of the natural setting. These topoi provide physical dimensions in order to understand *chora* the invisible dimensions of the place.

5.4 Perahera, dwelling patterns and architecture

This section examines the place within the relationship of perahera, dwelling patterns, natural landscape, and architecture & built forms. By employing theories and arguments discussed in chapter two this section examines: what inter-actions take place between people and the natural landscape, what meanings and experiences are given by natural landscape, how people perform in the landscape and how place emerges (including built elements) within the relationship of natural landscape and performance. Marking domains by repetition of walking across the landscape is compared with dwelling patterns of the place and with ideal forms and places discussed in chapter two. These comparisons are discussed, relating to natural landscape with a view to examine how natural landscape is understood by dwelling and performing in the place. Architecture and built elements are discussed, relating to natural landscape and ideal forms & places. Built forms and architecture are explained within this context.

5.4.1 Dwelling patterns

This section examines relationship among repetitions of walking, marking geometrical patterns, dwelling patterns and natural landscape, by applying pattern matching technique. The geometrical patterns marked by performing Asala perahera define sacred places and mundane places of the natural landscape location, thus exhibiting dwelling patterns. Walking and repetition of activities and events make a technique of understanding and making the place.

Walking and Repeating of activities and events.

The parade is repeated and repeated along the streets. Presently there is only one night parade. During early periods, perahera paraded twice a day, one parade in the evening and one parade in the night. Therefore repetition of walking strengthens the sense of being, thus strengthening the sense of place. *Fig. 5.12* shows the number of times perahera parades along the streets. The repetition of walking around the central square is high, strengthening the attachment to this place, devale square, or the sacred square. Temple of god Natha, the most ancient dwelling pattern of the place is prominent within this square. The ritual ceremony of ascending the throne of a new king[280] was held here. In the 1815 plan, the streets around this square were known as *Deva veediya*, meaning streets of gods. *Deva Sanhinda* in between Natha devale square and the temple of god Vishnu was used as a public sacred place and the King has given his rulings to people, ensuring that unfair rulings not to be passed on. (*Plate 5.26*)

Repetition of walking along the street
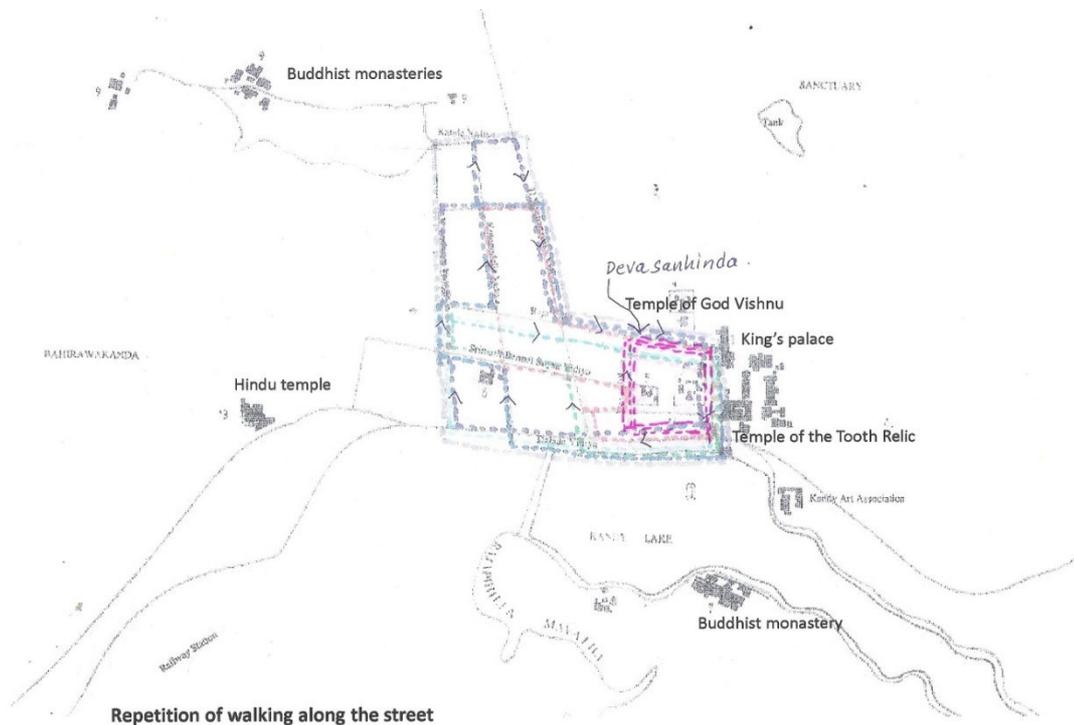
*Fig. 5.12 : **Repetition of walking***

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[280] Ascending the throne is a ritual ceremony

*Plate 5.26 : **View from King's palace towards Deva Sanhinda** (Divine street) –
Vishnu devale at right side, Natha devale square at left side and view of
Bahirawakanda mountain from the front.*

Through these performances and everyday performances, streets around the sacred square are recognized as more divine ; other streets perahera parades are also recognized as divine. The perahera parades only along the old streets, which continue from 1815 Kandyan period. The city lies within the marked inside domain made by repetition of walking and 'inside' given by the enclosed valley. Kingly nature – king, administrative buildings, queens palace, and temple of the Tooth relic (most sacred object of the Buddhists) - is at the outside of the marked domains, located eastward, at the foot of the Udawattakele mountain. Temple of the god Vishnu also is at the outside the marked domain at the foot of the Udawattakele mountain. These two dwelling patterns become the mountain, enclosing and giving divine protection to the city and mundane life[281], acting like a mountain the natural landscape location. Kingly nature with god Vishnu and with the mountain becomes a divine king. Temple of the god Natha is at the square creates more divine nature within performances of mundane world. Temple of the god Kataragama is also within the mundane life of people enhancing mundane nature within divine nature. Four main gods are dispersed: the god Vishnu to become the mountain with kingly nature who posseses the sacred Tooth relic of Buddha, god Natha and goddess Pattini with other Buddhist image houses and stupa within the central sacred domain, and god Kataragama among the mundane life of people (*Fig. 5.13*). Monasteries of monks are at the edge of the circumbulation.

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[281] *See Plates 5.27 ; 5.28 ; 5.29*

Organizing of dwelling patterns and marked domains by repeating Asala perahera continuously for fifteen days define a protected domain, 'intimate inside'. Within this inside domain non-being and divine areas share the place with mundane dwelling patterns, while the divine nature of Vishnu and divine kingly nature are outside the marked domain.

1   King's palace
2   Temple of Tooth Relic
3   Temple of God Natha
4   Temple of God Vishnu
5   Temple of God Kataragama
6   Temple of Goddess Pattini
7   Malwathu Viharaya
8   Asgiri Viharaya
9   Hindu kovil

Non-being
Divine
Kingly
Mundane
Monks
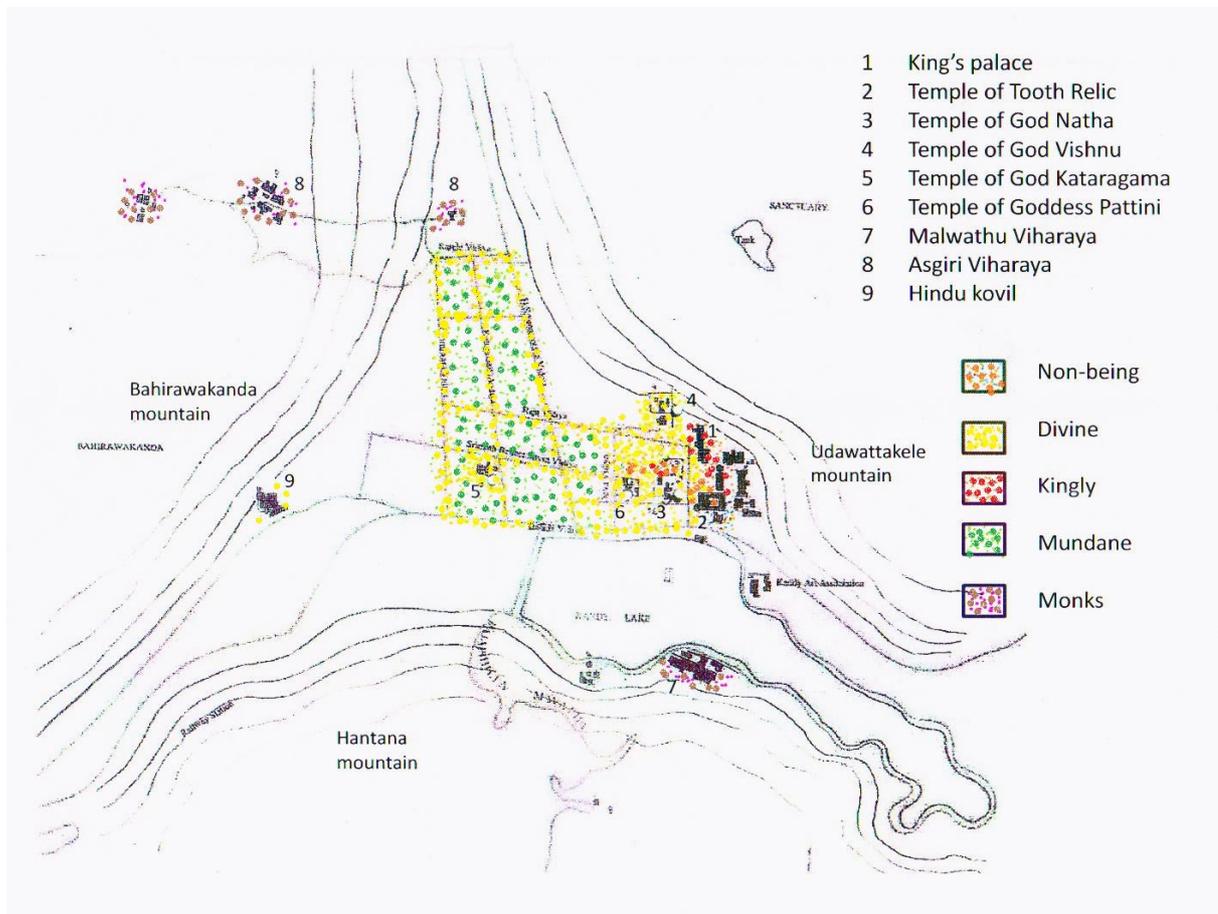
Fig.5.13 : **Dwelling patterns**

Plate 5.27 : **From Vishnu devale premises** *- looking towards Temple of the Tooth relic , king's plalace and view of Hantana mountain.2012*

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*Plate 5.28 : **From King's palace** - looking towards Temple of the Tooth relic and Natha devale square.*

*Plate 5.29 : **The place inside the palace** - the King used to observe Deva Sanhinda and the Asala perahera*

5.4.2 Architecture and Built *Topos*

This section examines relationship among repetitions of walking, marking geometrical patterns, existing built forms and natural landscape. These relationships are analysed by applying pattern matching technique. As discussed about the phenomenological understanding of natural landscape in chapter four[282], the inside volume enclosed by three mountains in Kandy is imagined and experienced as the whole form (invisible) of absolute form of good thus the city is experienced within the absolute form of good, transmiting life between mundane levels and divine levels. *Table 5.4* shows the relationship between this understanding and built *topos* and architecture of the place. As discussed in this chapter the inside volume is experienced

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[282] See Table 4.3

as an enlarged centre, and intimate inside which is the inside experience of absolute form of good. Hence, the most important aspect in the place is the enclosed valley and three mountains. Traditional architecture and built forms respond to this understanding by comprehending to natural landscape, making intimate scale architecture and built forms (*Fig. 5.14*)

Table 5. 4 : ***Natural Topos and Built Topos***

Natural *Topos*	Built *Topos*
triangular shaped valley	temple of the Tooth relic
Three mountains	four devale
flat surface	stupa
sand terrace	Buddhist image houses
Bo tree	Bo tree shrines
Lake	king's palace

All built *topoi* represent divine mundane experiences in an intimate scale. The temple of the Tooth relic and four devale of Natha, Vishnu, Kataragama and Pattini represent intimate insides. In marking geometrical patterns, **experience of temples and experience of city provide the same phenomenological understanding.** Therefore all these built *topoi* represent human sense as well as divine sense, comprehending to natural landscape, emphasizing inside volume and three mountains[283]. The use of materials, finishes, scale and proportions, technology, building character, displays more human sense and character.

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283 Plates 5.30 ; 5.31 ; 5.32 ; 5.33 ; 5.34 ; 5.35

Section A - A

Labels in section diagram: Hantana mountain, lake, Temple of god Natha, Udawattakele mountain, Temple of god Vishnu
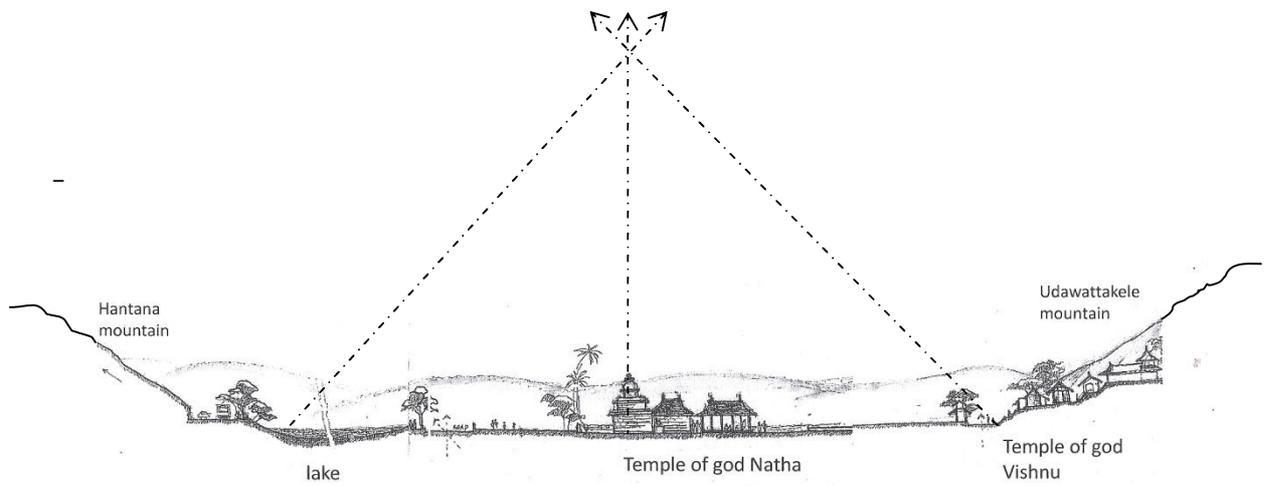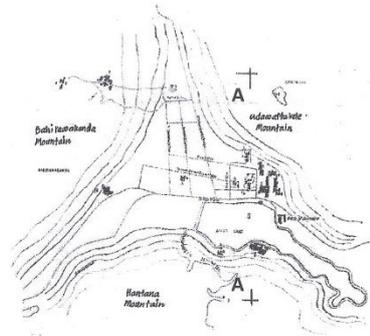
*Fig. 5.14 : **The relationship between intimate scale built forms and inside of the Absolute form of good***

*Plate 5.30 : **Buddhist image house within Natha devale square. 2011***

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*Plate 5.31 : **Stupa, Pattirippuwa[284] and mountains**
all in low scale.*

*Plate 5.32 : **Human sense in the place, Vishnu devale premises** –
friendly spaces for people*

*Plate 5.33 : **Human scale in buildings** – image house within Natha devale square.*

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[284] The place, king used to address his people

*Plate 5.34 : **Vishnu devalaya** – became the mountain*

*Plate 5.35 : **Vishnu devalaya** (right) **and Dadimunda devalaya** (left)–*
representing divine and mundane dimensions.

5.5 Conclusion

The chapter examined the continuance of dwelling patterns developed during the Anuradhapura period (divine, divine-Kingly, non-being, meditation, mundane/everyday), which were largely unchanged until the end of the Kandyan period. These dwelling patterns influence the pattern of settlements across the Kandy-Gampola landscape. The location of Kandy is recognized as a triangular shaped valley, three sides are enclosed by three mountains. Oral tradition describes the understanding of the natural landscape location in Kandy, as a place unfolding opposite experiences.

Kandy city emerges throughout past few centuries, facing social, cultural, religious and political changes. However, basic pattern of the city (streets, sacred square, palace) and the relationship with mountains, water and forest remains unchanged until the end of 1815 period the kingdom lost the independence. Within this changing face of the city traditional rituals and ceremonies still continue with fewer changes. It is evident that Asala perahera performance is not a cultural display and it is an ordinary 'cultural life performance'. Therefore these rituals were not documented in ancient texts.

Asala perahera performs annually, identified with series of performing and significant events and celebrations. Kapa situweema (planting a pole), inner parade, outer parade, diya kapeema (water cutting) and day parade are important events in Asala perahera. It is observed that marking centres, axis, entrances, insides and enclosed domains are significant aspects in these events. Asala perahera makes more relationships with landscape by means of walking (barefooted), dancing, parading, repetition of activities & parades, drumming & playing musical instruments - connecting place with water, land form & topography connecting villages with the city. These ways of performing, establish an inter-related network among people, performance and landscape producing place and space. It is discussed these performances as a dwelling process and a place making process. Throughout the performative process experiencing ideal forms are evident and ideal forms are reflected on temporary structures and permanent structures (built forms). City is discussed as an enlarged version of a centre. The whole city is experienced by performing and marking enlarging centres, by circumbulation. Combination of centre, axis, entrance and enclosed domains make spatial dimensions of absolute form of good, divine dimensions within mundane dimensions.

It is evident that people (performers) who are in the cultural place, experience ideal forms and dwelling. People by narrating in the landscape, make dwelling places, as centres, as insides, as domains of insides, and the whole city as an inside. People living (everyday life) in the city, feel this experience. Organizing of dwelling patterns

and marked domains by repeating Asala perahera for fifteen continuous days, define a protected domain – an 'intimate inside'. Within this inside domain, non-being and divine areas share the place with mundane dwelling patterns, while divine nature of Vishnu and divine-kingly nature are at the outside of the marked domain. The most important aspect in the place is the enclosed valley and three mountains, and traditional architecture and built forms have responded to this understanding making intimate scale architecture and built forms, emphasizing mountains and enclosed valley.

The next chapter will examine how the same Asala perahera is performed in Lankathilaka, where the natural landscape reflects a very different character from the natural landscape of Kandy.

CHAPTER SIX

Chapter Six - **Performing in Lankathilaka village Case study Two: Lankathilaka**

Summary

   The chapter six examines case study two: Lankathilaka. It examines the performing of Asala perahera in Lankathilaka landscape, by applying the performative model discussed in chapters two & three. The emergence of cultural place is examined within the relationships among three concepts of performing, dwelling, natural landscape and discussed within Buddhist, divine, kingly performance. Photographs, diagrams, maps, tables are used to analyse, synthesise and present data. It is observed that place making emerges by performing and narrating in the landscape. Place is produced by repeated events, such as, parading, marking geometrical patterns, sound performing, narrating, body performing, etc. making an inter-related network with the performers and the landscape. Experience of ideal forms and dwelling is evident throughout performing process. Lankathilaka is described as a divine centre, and the cultural place and dwelling patterns emerge around this understanding.

Introduction

   This chapter focuses on case study two: Lankathilaka. This discusses how Asala perahera performs in Lankathilaka, what experiences are of these performances and how these experiences relate to natural landscape. It further explains about the relationships of these performances with dwelling patterns of the place and the natural landscape, and reflection of these on built space and architecture. By applying performative model discussed in chapter two, this chapter considers how the natural landscape of Lankathilaka is understood through a process of performing and place making. Place is examined within the relationship of three factors, dwelling, natural landscape and performance as in chapter five and Asala festivals performed annually in Lankathilaka, have been identified for the study. In order to understand the place and performing of Asala perahera, contextual background of the place and Asala perahera is a necessity to be understood.

   First two sections of this chapter, 6.1 and 6.2 are structured to examine this purpose. Section 6.3 and 6.4 focuses on examining the performing of Asala perehera in Lankathilaka. Section 6.1 examines the dwelling patterns developed in Lankathilaka,

that belongs to Gampola period (1357 AC -1374 AC) and types of traditional settlements developed around the landscape of Lankathilaka. Further, it examines relationships among these settlements, natural landscape and dwelling patterns. Natural landscape of Lankthilaka is explained in relation to physical form, shape & geometrical analysis. The experience of natural landscape in stories and oral tradition is examined to find the experience of natural landscape of people who dwell in the place. Section 6.2.1 is focused on examining how Lankathilaka emerges in history and the original purpose of building Lankathilaka, in order to explore relationships between natural landscape and built space/ cultural place. The historical background of the village is examined using archival materials (inscriptions, documents etc.), historical chronicles, written documents, and books. Section 6.2.2 examines rituals and ceremonies practised today and changes occurred from earlier performing methods. Data is collected from informal discussions with temple priests, Buddhist monks and people residing in. Section 6.3 examines the performing of Asala perahera. Theories developed in chapter two are examined in this section based on research questions raised in chapter one: how people perform in landscape; how people understand their surrounding; how dwelling takes place by narrating in the landscape and how place emerge within the relationship of natural landscape and the performance of people. Out of many performances marking geometrical patterns by parading in the landscape is selected to find these relationships with natural landscape. This section further examines built forms and experience of the place by analysing temporary structures and permanent structures associated with Asala perahera performance. Experience of the place by dwellers is examined by posing informal questionnaires to selected people present in the place. Section 6.4 examines relationships among performing Asala perahera, dwelling patterns, natural landscape, and architecture & built forms.

6.1 Dwelling patterns, Traditional Settlements and Natural Landscape.

This section discusses dwelling patterns in Lankathilaka and traditional settlements developed in the landscape nearby Lankathilaka. Natural landscape of Lankathilaka is described in relation to physical form, shape & geometrical analysis. To understand the present state of Lankathilaka, it is necessary to trace its original spiritual ideas and governance which are interwoven. The Buddhist-divine Sri Lankan dwelling patterns and settlements emerged in Anuradhapura, developed during the Gampola period and the Kandyan period, relating to the natural landscape. Dwelling patterns evolved from Anuradhapura up to Gampola with Buddhist religious concepts, with Hindu religious concepts and social changes during the time, with the understanding of landscape. Natural landscape of Lankathilaka is characterised with steep rock, viewing Hanthana mountain and far away mountains, surrounding paddy fields in the valley below and with an accessible slope from west to the summit of the rock. Experience of natural landscape in stories and oral tradition are examined to find the experience of natural landscape of people. There are Buddhist divine Sri Lankan dwelling patterns and settlements developed during the Gampola period. It is recognized that more Hindu divine concepts arrived to the cultural place during the Gampola period.

6.1.1 Dwelling patterns of Lankathilaka

This section examines dwelling patterns of Lankathilaka in order to understand the cultural place and establishment of Lankathilaka. Lankathilaka belongs to Gampola period (1357AC -1374AD), established around 1344- 1345 AD[285] is earlier than the Kandyan period. It is understood that Hindu god concepts were well composed with Buddhist Sri Lankan concepts during this period, making an united cultural place[286]. Dwelling patterns in Lankathilaka could be categorized as follows:

Non-Being - represented by an image of the Buddha , in the Buddhist temple.

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[285] Lankathilaka Sinhala Inscription ,1345 AD. Stone inscription (Abayarathna, 2009)
[286] Abayarathna,2009

Kingly – Kingly nature represented by *Sinhasana*[287] is the place, where the King used to observe Asala perahera.

Divine – Divine beings in Lankathilaka are:

- **Vishnu** – Vishnu[288] is the main god of Lankathilaka, and Lankathilaka is known as *Lankathilaka Sri Vishnu devale*.
  - o **Dadimunda[289]** – there is a small temple for Dadimunda (minister of Vishnu) beside the Vishnu devale.

- **Kataragama** – is a Hindu god[290] but developed within Sri Lankan understandings[291].

- **Saman** – is a famous Sri Lankan god, understood within Sri Lankan natural landscape, who resides on *Samanala kanda* (mountain) the famous Sri pada peak (discussed in chapter four) is within this mountain range. During a Buddha's visit[292] to Sri Lanka god Saman requested Buddha to visit Samanala kanda.

- **Vebeeshana** – Sri Lankan god who also exists in Kelaniya.

- **Ganesh** – a Hindu god, known as the elder son of Shiva, but developed within Sri Lankan understanding, as the divine being who gives intelligence to children.

- **Kumara Bandara** – seven year old prince became a divine being (after his death).

Meditation / Monks – monks in Lankathilaka devoted to perform rituals of the Buddhist temple.

Mundane life – is the everyday life of people. Their lives and work are bound by the temples, king, city and villages.

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[287] The English interpretation of this word is 'throne'
[288] Description is same as in chapter five
[289] Description is same as in chapter five.
[290] Second son of Shiva (Hindu concepts)
[291] Same description as in chapter five
[292] Pre-Vijaya period

River Mahaweli

Kandy

A1

Peradeniya

Gadaladeniya

Hanthana
Mountain

Lankathilaka

Embekke

Vegiriya

Ganegoda

Gampola

Wallahagoda

A1 – Colombo Kandy main road
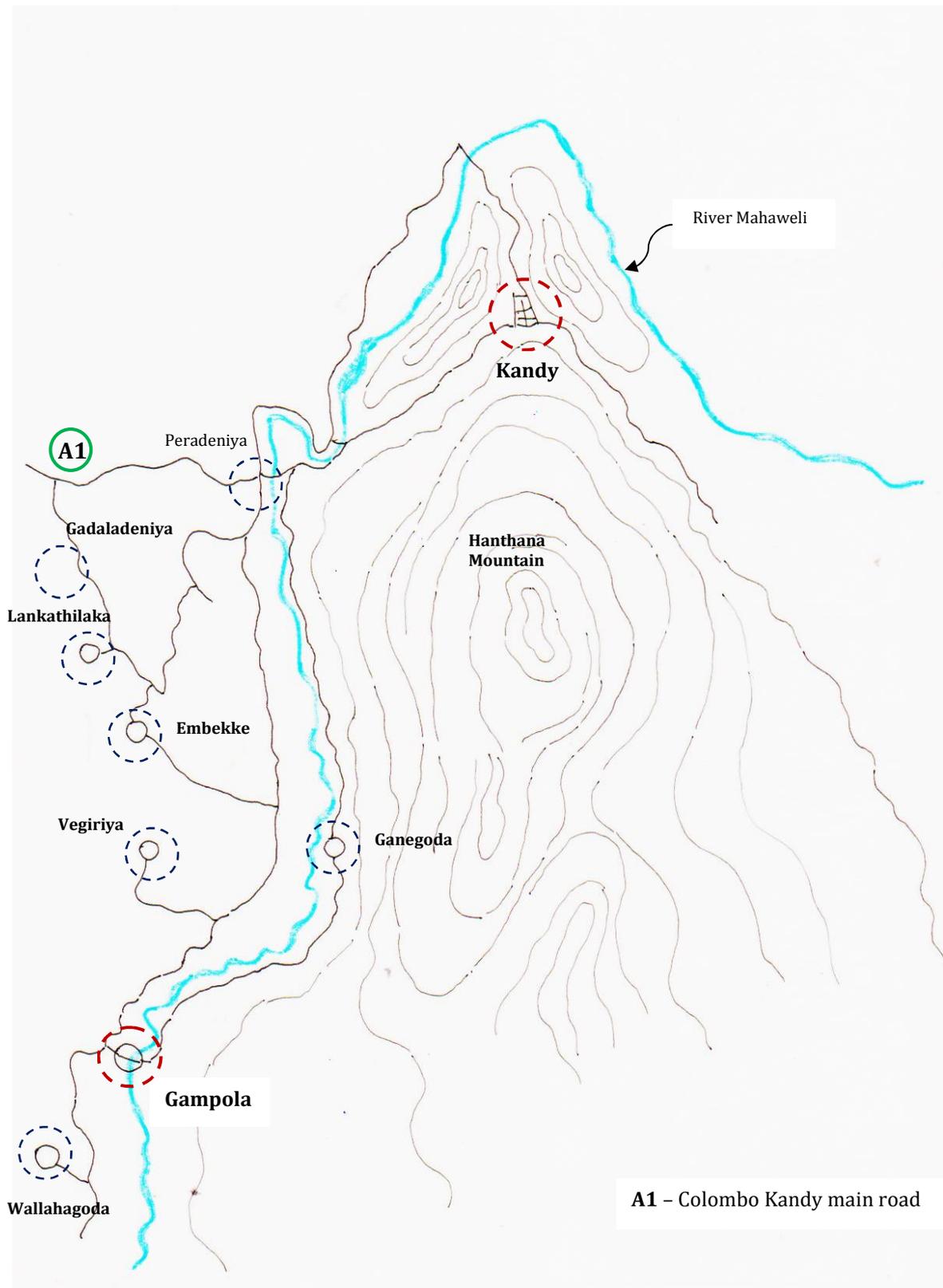
*Fig 6.1 : **Lankathilaka** and nearby settlements*
Source: author

6.1.2 Traditional Settlements

This section compares a brief survey of traditional settlements around Lankathilaka based on Buddhist divine concept and natural landscape. There are many traditional settlements around the area of Lankathilaka, and within the area of Udunuwara. Many of these settlements originated during Gampola period (see *Fig.6.1*). All these settlements are villages centred on a Buddhist temple or Hindu temple, as discussed in chapter five (5.1.2). Vallahagoda is a devale village, developed around Kataragama devalaya, built by Buwanekabahu IV (1341 -1356 AD) and god Vishnu and goddess Pattini are other sub deities residing in the same temple. Ganegoda is another village developed around Kataragama devale. According to historical accounts King Rajasingha II (1635–1687 A.D.) was assisted by god Kataragama to win the Gannoruwa battle, and he built this devale and offered some royal jewellery.[293] Gadaladeniya is a temple village,[294] situated close by Lankathilaka with a similar rock formation as Lankathilaka, surrounded by low lying paddy cultivation. The stone inscription at Gadaladeniya indicates that the temple had been built during Buvanekabahu IV in the year 1344 AD. Same as Lankathilaka, Gadaladeniya is mainly a Buddhist temple, combined with Vishnu devale. Embekke is a devale village that developed around god Kataragama is a sloping land. This temple too was constructed by Buwanekabahu IV, during 1357 – 1374 AD. Vegiriya is another close by traditional settlement, developed around Vegiriya Natha devalaya, situated inside a large rock cave with a monastery (of Buddhist monks). Brahmee letterings inscribed on the rock are dates back to the period before the Christian era.[295] There is an image of god Natha and goddess Tharadevi[296] inside this devale. Hindu gods became localized, with Buddhist-Sri Lankan understanding and sometimes local gods emerge within the understanding of natural landscape among these traditional settlements, emerging a Buddhist-divine-Sri Lankan cultural landscape during this period. *Table 6.1* describes relationship of these settlements to natural landscape.

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[293] Kandy, Lankathilaka Sri Vishnu devalaya
[294] Discussed in ch 4 - typological analysis
[295] Seneviratna, 1993
[296] Consort of Natha

Table 6.1 : Natural landscape, Settlements, Performance

village settlement	natural landscape	centred around divine/non-being	main divine beings	other divine /non-being
Lankathilaka	prominent rock	non-being is at the centre of the place	*Vishnu*	Kataragama, Saman,Vebeeshana, Ganesh, Kumara Bandara
Vegiriya	rock cave	Bodisatva/divine (divine being in line to attain Buddha hood)	*Natha* and *Tharadevi* (consort of the *Natha*)	
Vallahagoda	sloping land	divine	*Kataragama*	Vishnu, goddess Pattini
Ganegoda	sloping land	divine	Kataragama	
Gadaladeniya	prominent rock	non-being	Vishnu	
Embekke	sloping land	divine	Kataragama	non-being

Traditional rituals and ceremonies are still performed in all these villages. Among these, Asala festival is a major performance celebrated in the same periods of the year, linking people, beliefs, rituals, villages and natural landscape. This process will be described and analysed herein.

6.1.3 Natural Landscape

This section describes physical form, shape and phenomenological analysis of natural landscape of Lankathilaka. The geographical and topographical character of Lankathilaka is a prominent rock of where three sides are surrounded by paddy fields and access to the place is easier from the west through the village (*Plate 6.1*). There is another entrance from east which is a steep slope, and access is possible by climbing a flight of rock cut steps which is a tiresome task (*Plate 6.2*). The rock (granite) is a hard surface which shines with reflected sunshine (*Plate 6.3*). The summit of the rock consists of stone terrain and a sand terrace (*Plate 6.4*), small bushes, trees and grassy areas. There is a small pond, and by the side of the pond there is a stone inscription (by Buwanekabahu IV) conserved by the Archaeological department of Sri Lanka. The rock and the temple are prominent and can be seen easily through the surrounding paddy fields (see *Plate 6.5*). People approaching along the main road (Lankathilaka Veediya) from the west, gradually climb up passing the stone terrain (*Plate 6.6*), before reaching

the summit where the panoramic view of Hanthana and far away mountains are revealed (*Plate 6.7*). This experience on the top of the rock is narrated in oral tradition, relating to the origin of the place.

> "A person, who faced a miraculous experience at the top of the mountain, seeing a golden pumpkin floating on water, and he had tried to pick the pumpkin several times ,but it has jumped away from him and he had not been able to pick it up."

This story describes the phenomenological understanding of the natural landscape. The miracle experienced by the person may be a sudden revelation of the place, the diverging effect of the natural landscape. From Lankathilaka direction, Hanthana mountain is visible as a linear elongated mountain range. As discussed in chapter five the Hantana mountain range makes a greater significance in this context (*Plate 6.8*) and paddy fields make a textured pattern around the rock (*Plate 6.9*).

Plate 6.1 : **Entering along Deva Veediya from West**   *Plate 6.2 :* **Entering from East**

*Plate 6.3 : **View from rock towards paddy fields***

*Plate 6.4 : **Top of the rock from West entrance***

*Plate 6.5 : **Looking at temple from paddy fields***

*Plate 6.6 : **Stone terrain** along Deva Veediya*

*Plate 6.7 : **Summit of the rock***

*Plate 6.8 : **View of Hanthana mountain range** from the top of the rock*

*Plate 6.9 : **Paddy fields seen from the top of the rock***

6.2 Village and Rituals

This section examines how Lankathilaka emerged from the intended purpose of the place, with cultural, religious backgrounds and the relationship with natural landscape. The functional religious spatial organization of the place is described in relation to natural landscape. Information is obtained from archival materials (texts, inscriptions, documents etc.), historical chronicles, written documents, and scholarly work. The section further examines the changing patterns of rituals and ceremonies throughout the history. Information is collected by informal interviews with Buddhist monks, temple priests, and residents in and around the place. Presently, there are many rituals and ceremonies performed in Lankathilaka which are the same as these in

Kandy, with the participation of many people, making inter relationships between villages and Maha-nuwara (Kandy). It is discussed that Lankathilaka village remains in its original form with less changes in performing of rituals and ceremonies and in built space throughout the history.

6.2.1 Historical and Social background of Lankathilaka village.

The historical and social background of Lankathilaka established a place for ritual practises continued to date. Lankathilaka is a village organized around a Buddhist temple and a Hindu temple/devale. Gampola period (1341 AC-1410 AC) lasted only for seventy years, because of the invasions by rulers of other regions[297]of the island. There are no physical evidences of Gampola kingdom present today except about some temple villages and devale villages belong to this period, such as Lankathilaka, Gadaladeniya and Embekke. Many of these temples and devale were built by Buwanekabahu IV (1341-1356 AD), with the assistance of Senadhilankara.[298] King, queen, Senadilankara and many other high caste people donated large extents of lands for the maintenance of temples.[299] Lankathilaka Sinhala inscription (1344/45 AC) and Alawala Amuna inscription provide information regarding the origin of Lankathilaka. Based on both of these inscriptions, Buwanekabahu IV (1341-1356) built Lankathilaka with the assistance of Senadhilankara (Abeyrathna, 2009). The original temple was four storied in height and King, queen, Senadhilankara and other people of high society made donations for completing each storey. Buwanekabahu IV[300] (1341-1356 AD) built the main image in the third floor and other images in Lankathilaka temple.[301] According to the Alawala Amuna inscription and Lankathilaka inscription, Senadhilankara built many parts of the Lankathilaka temple,[302] including images of Maithree and Lokeshvara Natha[303], Brahma, Vishnu, Maheshvara, Sataravaram,[304] kihirali upulwan, Saman,

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[297] Arya Chakravarthi from Jaffna
[298] Chief minister of Buwanekabahu IV
[299] Abeyrathna, 2009. P.148
[300] Lankathilaka stone inscription
[301] Alawala Amuna inscription (during the period of Buwanekabahu IV)
[302] Abeyarathna, 2009.p. 147
[303] Both of them are known by Buddhists as Bodisatva – awaiting to the Buddha-hood.
[304] Four gods

Vebeeshana, Ganapathi, Kandakumara gods with their consorts in the first floor.[305] The Lankathilaka Sinhala inscription states (Abeyrathna, 2009) that the second floor was donated by mudliyars, royal army and the rest. The third and fourth floors were donated by chief monks of Ubayawasa[306], and to maintain rituals of the temple one *panama[307]* was collected from each house known as *'pedeni panam'.* According to the request of Senadilankara, Buwanekabahu IV converted low lying lands into new paddy fields for the temple. There were many lands and precious things donated for the maintenance of the temple. The establishment of this whole system is inscribed[308] as a *pinkama* (meritorial act), and it further states, that whoever who wants to stop this system will end up with an evil curse in return, and therefore it should continue for the well-being of everyone[309]

Sthapathi Rayar who was the main architect[310] of Lankathilaka was a South Indian. Monks and the people of high society of Sri Lanka built vihara and arama in South India during the Gampola period and South Indian architects came to Sri Lanka for the building of vihara.[311] Before Gampola period Hindu devale were built a little away in a separate area from the Buddhist temple, whereas in Lankathilaka there is devale situated adjoining the same building, as in many other temple/devale[312] of Gampola period. This is because of the relationship between minister Senadhilankara and monk Dharmakeerthi with South India, and the participation of many religious works with them.[313] There is a Tamil translation of the Lankathilaka inscription of this period which provides a record of many Hindu people who lived here (Abeyrathna, 2009). Therefore understanding of natural landscape by relating to more divine beings may have been entered into the Buddhist Sri Lankan place as discussed in chapter four. In brief, the evolutions of ideas in a specific geographical setting, resulted in building of

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[305] Lankathilaka stone inscription
[306] Asgiri and Malwathu Nikaya (Sets)
[307] Coin – kind of currency used in this period
[308] Lankathilaka Sinhala inscription (1344/45 AC)
[309] Lankathilaka Sinhala inscription
[310] Lankathilaka Sinhala inscription (cited by Abeyrathna, 2009)
[311] Abeyrathna, 2009
[312] Gadaladeniya, Embekke etc.
[313] Abeyrathna, 2009. p.194

temples and devale, guided by the natural landscape conditions. Same as other temple villages and devale villages during this period, Lankathilaka also consists of a Buddhist temple & devale in the same premises. Deva veediya (street of gods) links temple/ devale to Sinhasana. Historically this was the place, where the King used to observe annual parades. People residing on either side of Deva veediya perform duties to the temple. At Lankathilaka the main temple is comprised of two parts, the Buddhist image house where the entering is from the east (*Plate 6.10*) and Hindu devale where the entering is from the west (*Plate 6.11*). There is an open pavilion (*hewisi mandapa*) in front of Buddhist image house and in front of Hindu devale to perform daily ritual services and other rituals, specially in performing sounds (hewisi puja). There is another small devale beside the Hindu devale for god Dadimunda. The main Buddha image is placed inside the central chamber and images of gods are placed in niches of the outer surface of the wall of this central chamber (*Fig.6.2*). This is a unique composition of non-being and divine dwelling patterns in the cultural place. The residences of monks are at the foot of the rock on east.

*Plate 6.10 : **Entrance to Buddhist temple from East**
(Hewisi mandapa is in front of the temple)*

*Plate 6.11 : **Entrance to Hindu temple from West**
(Hewisi mandapa is in front of the temple)*

Buddhist Monks

H

P

Stone terrace

Stone terrace

D D

D D

Buddhist
image house

D

S

H

B

B

Sand terrace

Dadimunda
devalaya

Stone terrace

Vahalkada

Deva Veediya

Sinhasanaya

D - Divine

H - Hewisi Mandapa

S – Stupa

B – Bo tree

P - Pond
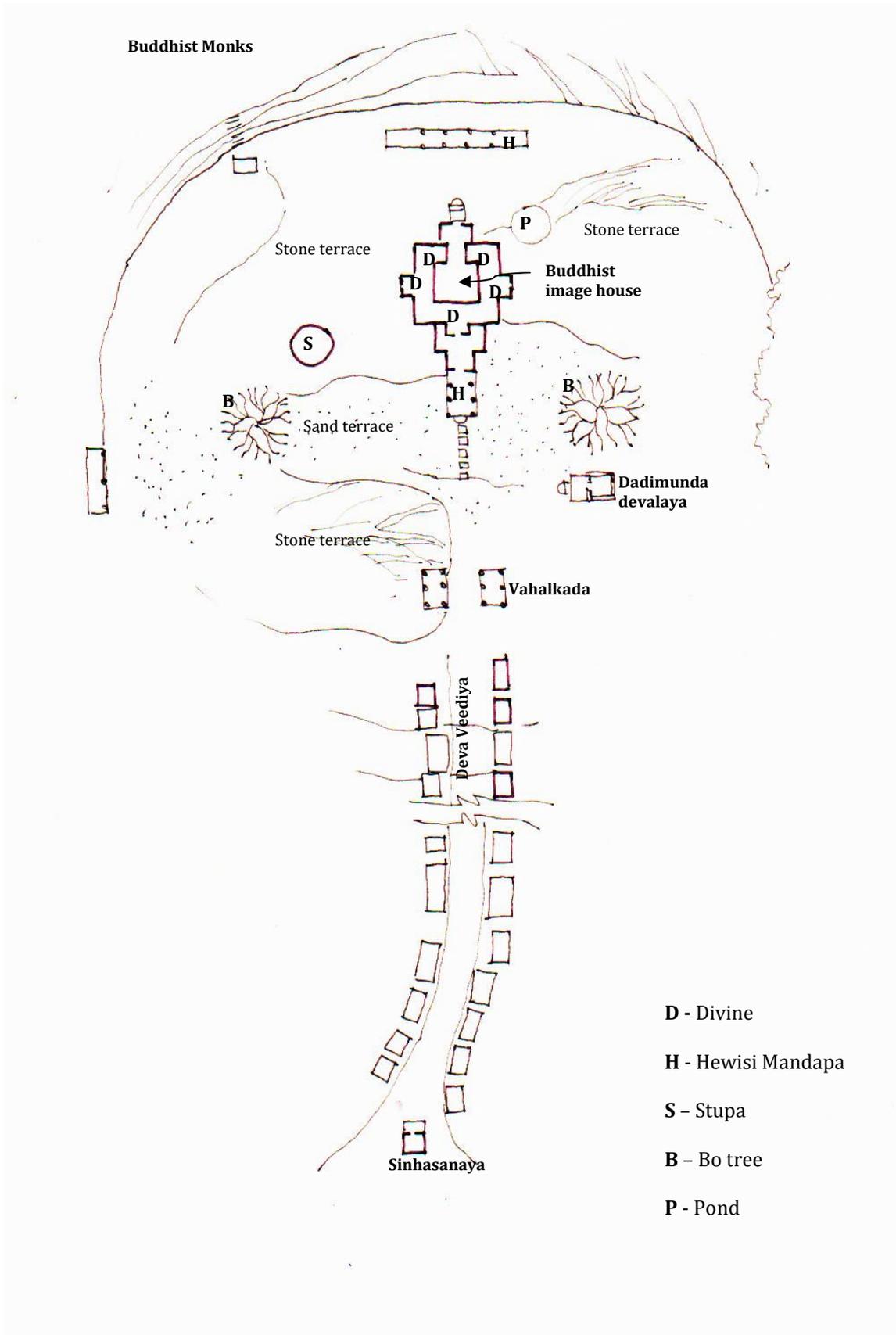
Fig. 6.2 : **Dwelling patterns -** *representing built forms*

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6.2.2 Asala perahera and other rituals

These traditional villages continue performing of rituals and ceremonies for Buddha and divine beings from the origin of these villages. The changes in these rituals from the beginning of the place to date are examined. Lankathilaka stone inscription states, "The purpose of establishing these Buddhist divine temples is for the continuous performing of providing daily meals and daily rituals of temples" (cited by Abeyrathna, 2009). The whole system is organized to perform these duties. Rituals and ceremonies practised in Lankathilaka may have not changed from the beginning of these in the 14th century, same as the village settlement. Therefore performing Asala perahera and other rituals in Lankathilaka may have displayed much earlier versions than those in Kandy. Due to lack of written evidences, about the origin of performing Asala festivals during the Gampola period and during later periods, it is examined through people in Lankathilaka. Buddhist monks, temple priests, hewisi players/drum beaters and people residing in and around Lankahilaka were interviewed (informal interviews) and it is described that all rituals and performings in Lankathilaka are the same as those in earlier days. Rituals and ceremonies practised presently in Lankathilaka are as indicated:

- Daily rituals at Buddhist image house.
- Daily rituals at Hindu devale
- Nanumura cermony– right of purification
- Adukku puja – rituals at Hindu temple (offering fruits and incensing the place)
- Karti festival
- New Year festival
- New rice festival
- Asala festival

The last four festivals are known as '*satara mangalya'.*[314] These are the same rituals performed in Kandy today. At Lankathilaka, Asala perahera is performed annually during the month of September, fifteen days after the last day of Kandy Asala

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[314] The closest English meaning 'four festivals/celebrations' does not give the exact interpretation of Sinhala word '*Mangalya*'.

perahera. The perahera festival commences by planting kapa (*kapa situweema).* On the same day kapa situweema is celebrated at the four temples in Kandy. As in the Kandy Asala festivals, these performances make inter-relationships with the natural landscape and with people, by narrating cultural/religious stories. Therefore Asala perahera can be examined to find relationships between performance and natural landscape.

6.3 Place making by Performing.

How Asala festival performances interact with the natural landscape location, how these performances make relationships among people, dwelling, landscape, and how these understandings are reflected in the village, to shape the cultural landscape are examined in this section. Theories developed in chapter two are examined in this section based on research questions raised in chapter one, viz. how people perform in landscape, how people understand their surrounding, how dwelling takes place by narrating in the landscape and how place emerges within the relationship of natural landscape and performance of people. Out of many performances, marking geometrical patterns by parading in the landscape is identified, to find these relationships between performance and natural landscape. However, other kinds of performances are also important (which relate to production of place) in analysing into a matrix. Data collection method is by videos, photographs, notes & sketches, observation and participant observation. This section further examines built forms and experiences of the place by analysing temporary structures and permanent structures associated with Asala perahera performance. These built forms are compared with spatial understanding of dwelling and performing discussed in chapter two. Experience of the place by dwellers is examined by informal questionnaires forwarded to selected people.

6.3.1 Performing Asala perahara

In this section the historical background and significant aspects of the Asala perahera in Lankathilaka are examined. Vishnu devale leads the organizing throughout

Asala festivals, at Lankathilaka. God Vishnu is the significant character of these performances and experience of the place. Kapa situweema and other rituals are performed only within the Vishnu devale premises. The devale priest (Kapurala), his assistants, Basnayaka nilame and his assistants, people in devale villages, perform specific functional duties for these festivals are actively engaged in various activities during festival times. These duties are very much similar to the duties performed in Kandy at the temple of the Tooth relic and other Hindu temples. Basnayaka nilame and his assistants of other related villages take part in the perahera. As an example people of Alut nuwara[315] help to organize Asala perahera in Lankathilaka. It is observed that during the perahera festivals all participants perform a specific behaviour (known as 'p*ewenawa*') such as avoiding participation in funerals and confining in vegetarian dietaries.

Asala perahera according to time intervals, cyclic nature, relationships with natural features/landscape, and methods of performing and the significant aspect of the performing, is summarised in (*Table 6.2*). As in Kandy, through a series of performings, they make inter relationships with natural landscape location (sloping up and down, climbing difficult heights, hard journeys, material sensitivity etc.), with land formation, with mountains, with the river and with other temples and villages. They narrate in the landscape by repeating performative actions, such as, walking, dancing, singing, drumming, displaying acrobatic games, making temporary structures and marking geometrical patterns. Marking centres, domains and divine experience are significant in these performances.

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[315] As Alut nuwara is a place, vacated by shifting Vishnu to Kandy and now famous for divine presence of Dadimunda. This place and people have connections with Vishnu devale- Lankathilaka same as with Vishnu devale in Kandy.

Table 6.2 : Asala perahera – time, space, method of performing

Ritual		Number of happenings Time – minutes, hours, days, months, years	Relationship with natural features/ natural landscape location / time / universe.	Method of performing	Significant aspect in the performing
	Kapa situweema (planting a pole)	Once a year (July/ August) Two days[316]	Selecting and cutting a tree and the planting mark direct inter relationships with landscape.	Parades, rituals, music, offerings. (check)	Marking a centre by planting the *kapa*
	Inner parade[317]	once in the evening for Five continuous days	Parading around the temple . including stupa and stone terrain, make inter relationships with landscape location.	Small procession walks around the temple, once in the evening for five days. Music, offerings and rituals. **Silpa dance is a special performance.**	**Marking important place of the natural landscape location. (on the rock)**
	Outer parade – *Kumbal perahera*	Twice a day, in late evening and night, for five consecutive days.	**Parade walks (clockwise) along the stone terrain, including Bo tree, pond and stone inscription. Then walk outside through entrance (Vahalkada) along the Veediya, sloping down upto Sinhasana and turn back climbing and entering on to rock through Vahalkada.**	Long procession, walking, dancing, acrobatics, singing, playing musical instruments, singing prayers to Vishnu, admiring divine character.	**Parade mark two important domains, the larger one on top of the rock and smaller one around the Sinhasana , linking by a line along Deva veediya.**
Asala festival	Outer parade – *Randoli perahera*	Twice a day in the late evening and night for five continuous days.	Parade walks (clockwise) same as in Kumbal perahera. From the second day perahera from Buddhist temple join parading from Eastern door, walking clockwise same as in Kumbal perahera, making inter relationships with landscape.	Include god's palanquins to the long procession.	Parade represents the whole social structure, making inter-relationships with landscape location.
	Diya kapeema (water cutting)	from midnight to dawn	Relates to the changing patterns of midnight to the dawn . Parade walks experiencing land formation towards the river, experience of water after a hard journey.	Perception and sensation of the landscape, walking, dancing, playing music, offering food, bathing.	Refreshment of the performance and the place. Water cutting, offering food (special rice) for gods.
	Day parade	From mid day to evening	Walking along old streets in day time.	Walking, dancing, playing music, acrobatics.	Re-visit the place. Parade ends, walking three times around the central square.

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[316] First day- cut down the selected tree, second day - plant kapa.

6.3.2 Marking Geometrical patterns

It is examined in this section how Asala perahera performs in the landscape and makes relationships with the surrounding and emerging place within these complexities of acting, performing and making phenomenon. Through a series of narrative events participants mark geometrical patterns within the landscape. The production of place through this performative process is evident and described as follows:

1) Kapa situweema (planting Kapa)

Planting kapa is an auspicious ceremony. The kapa is planted in the kapa house by the side of Vishnu devale in Lankathilaka. The sound of hewisi puja takes an important role in these ceremonies. Offering flowers, insense smoke, burning camphor, sprinkling water etc. are other common performances. The auspicious time for planting kapa is set by an astrologer and it is at the same time and date as it is in Kandy. Planting kapa mark a spot on the landscape, signifies a centre[318].

2) Inner parade

The inner parade in Lankathilaka begins after fifteen days of the last night parade in Kandy, although planting kapa is held on the same day as in Kandy. These ritual performances look similar both in Kandy and Lankathilaka, but much closer observations show differences in performing. As in Kandy, the parade begins with sounds of hewisi puja vibrating the space. The parade is comprised of two flag bearers, two dhawul players, one piper, one thammattam beater, torch bearer, a priest holding god's (Vishnu) insignia under a cloth canopy held by two temple assistants on either side, and two other assistants holding *muthukuda* and golden umbrella on either side. This small procession parades marking an enclosed domain, in which the stupa, the main temple, part of the stone terrain and pond are also included inside this marked domain. The parade stops at four places, i.e. in front of the Vishnu devale, at the side of stupa, in front of the Buddhist image house, and at the south of Vishnu devale. Silpa dance and natumberaya is played by the side of stupa, to memorize a historical event. According to oral tradition, on the commencing day of devale, a Yakdessa (devil

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318 Seneviratne, 1978

dancer) had drummed at the place. However, the present day dancer does not wear as a demon. He is a traditional dancer and the beat of the drum is of a special rhythm. Meanwhile, playing of all other instruments and performances stop and only the drum beater and dancer perform. After this performance, while the blowing of hakgediya (conch shell) echoing the space, the perehera starts proceeding. At all these stops, a*th-pandama* (hand torch) is kept on the floor directing the flame towards the outside of the temple and the rock. Then the parade makes a circle around the fire and a special sound performing is made at these places. These four stops define four cardinal directions, north, south, east and west. Inner parade performs once a day during late evening. Therefore marked domain by the inner parade is not the representation of temple as in Kandy temples. Here, the domain marks the vital aspect of the 'top of the rock ' the natural landscape (*Fig. 6.3*). The parade is repeated during five consecutive days (*Fig. 6.4*).
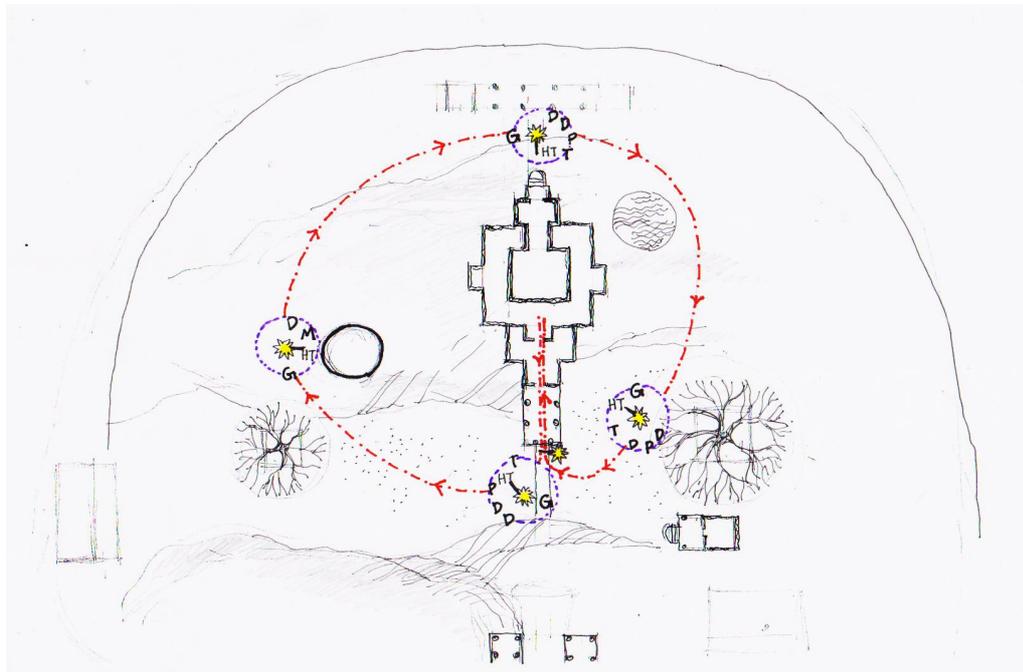
*Fig. 6.3: **Inner parade – marking top of the rock***
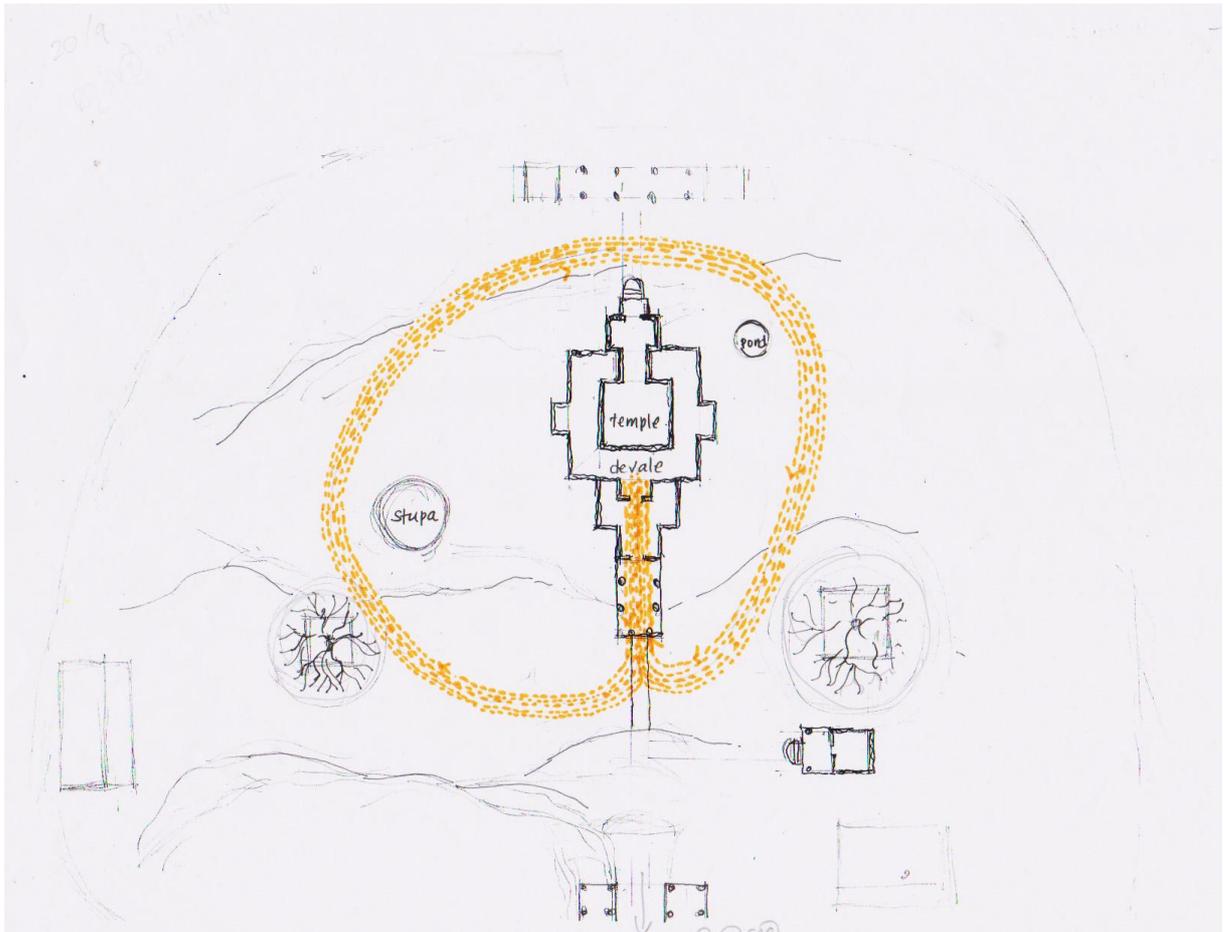
*Fig. 6.4 : **Inner parade – repetition of parade***

3) Kumbal perahera

Kumbal perahera is performed during five days same as that in Kandy, where god's insignia is taken on an elephant's back. This procession is long and takes about one and half hours to pass a certain point. There are two parades on each day in Lankathilaka. The first parade is a long display of musicians, dancers, acrobats, fired copra (dried coconut kernel) lamp carriers and few elephants and the second parade is similar to the procession of the inner parade. The first parade starts around seven o'clock in the evening, at an auspicious time, taking out the god's insignia in the perahera after performing several rituals, at Vishnu devale. The sacred insignia is taken on an elephant's back by a kapurala (devale priest) and another person sits behind him holding a golden (colour) umbrella over the sacred insignia. This parade walks in clockwise direction, along stone terrain making a much larger domain than the domain

made by inner parade, enclosing Bo tree, stupa, main temple, pond, sand terrace and stone terrace. Then parade directing out through vahalkada to the Lankathilaka veediya and walks down the street, known as *Deva veediya (*street of gods). The parade walks up to sinhasana and walks around it enclosing a much smaller domain than the domain made on the rock, and the parade stops there. Sacred insignia is taken inside to the sinhasana and *ath-pandama* is kept at the entrance to sinhasana. Now all sounds stop, and a person traditionally entitled to perform this ritual, prays to the god Vishnu in a poetic rhyme known as *deva yaduma* for about 10 minutes. Then the parade turns back towards the temple, climbing up along the Deva veediya and re-enters the place on the rock through vahalkada. Sound performing of hewisi marks, the taking of sacred insignia back into the inner chamber of temple. Then the daily ritual (offering of *muluthanpujawa*) is performed inside devale. After this another sound performing is displayed. Then the sacred insignia is taken out for the second time, to participate in the second parade (night parade), and the same ritual services are held again. This parade comprises of one elephant, two devale assistants, one holding sacred insignia, while the other holding golden umbrella as in the first inner parade. All rituals performed and marking of geometrical patterns over the natural landscape are same as those in the first parade. Through these performances, kumbal perahera marks two domains. The first domain is marked on the rock and the second domain is marked around the sinhasana. These two domains are inter-connected by linear extension along the Deva veediya (*Fig. 6.5*). The repetition of parade is shown in (*Fig. 6.6*).
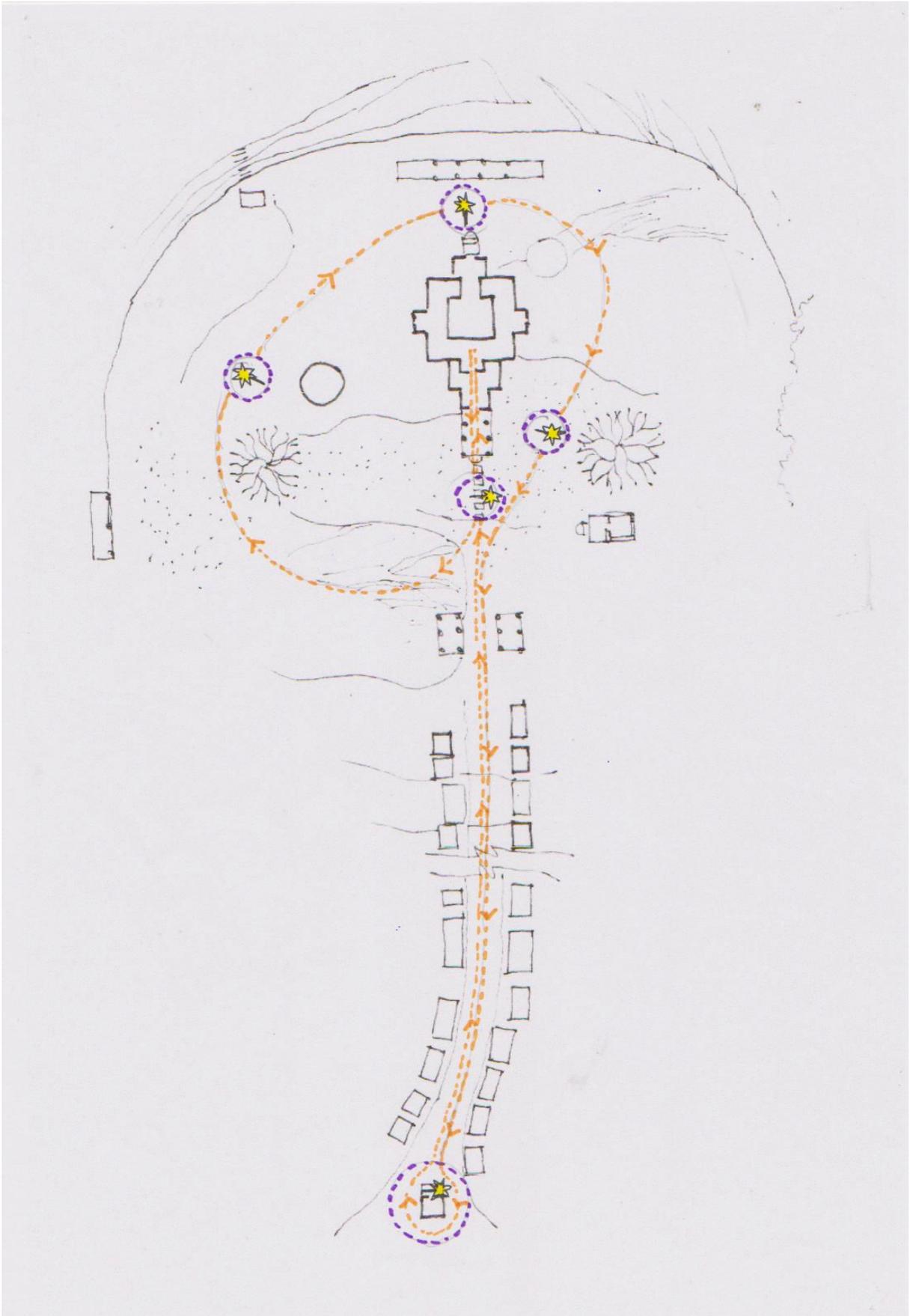
Fig. 6.5 : **Marking of two domains**
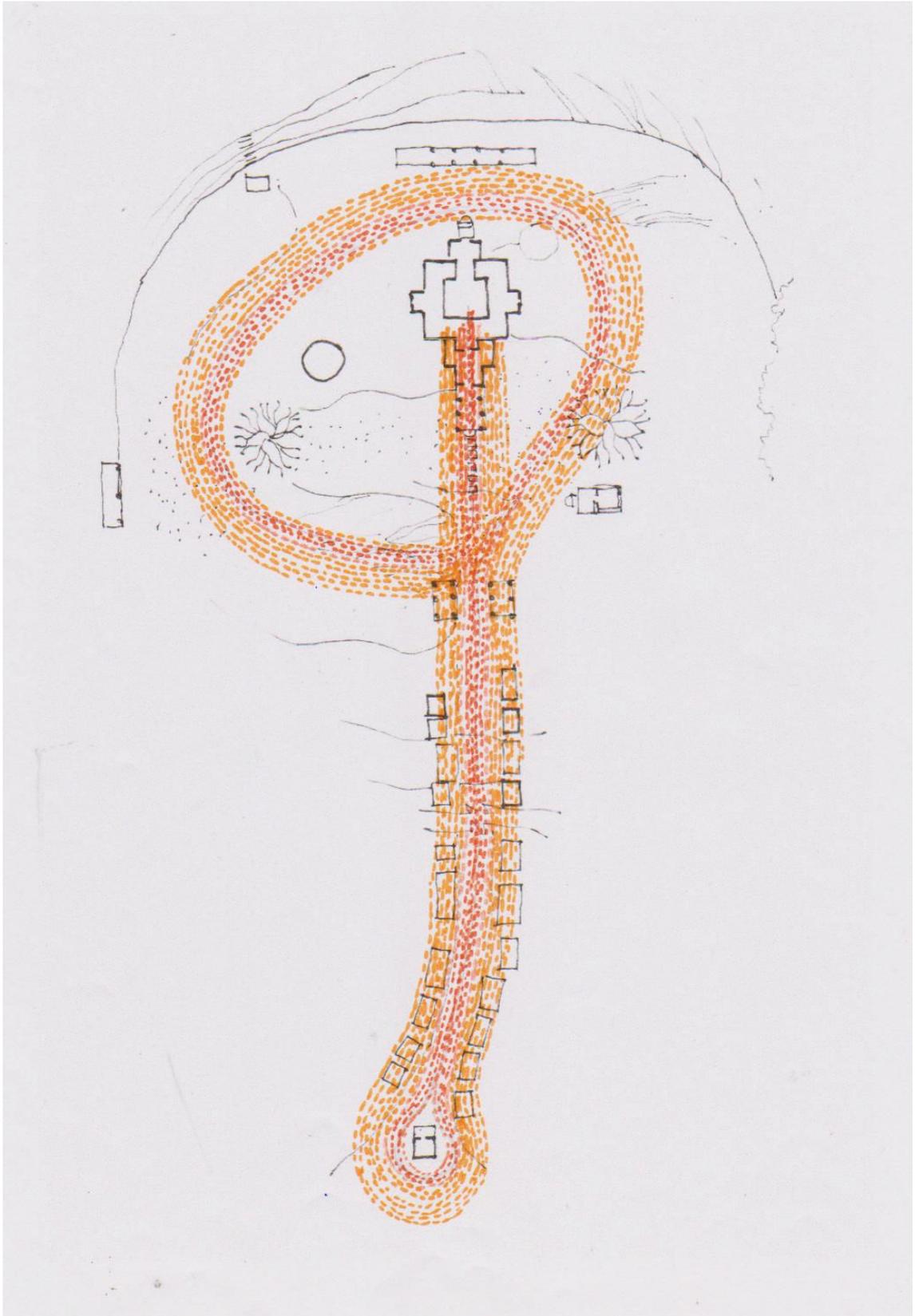
*Fig 6.6 : **Repetition of parades***

4) Randoli perahera

Same as at Kandy, kumbal perahera of Lankathilaka is followed by randoli perahera for five days, but there are two parades everyday similar to the kumbal perahera. Randoli of god Vishnu is added to this perahera, and it is longer than kumbal perahera. God's insignia is taken out at an auspicious time, performing similar rituals as in kumbal perahara. At this instance sacred insignia is placed inside a special relic house, known as karaduwa tied on to an elephant's back. There are more dancers, drummers, and other performers participating. From the second day onwards another perahera from the Buddhist image house joins in randoli perahea, leading the perahera and follows the same geometrical pattern made by the kumbal perahera (*Fig. 6.7*). However, at the sinhasana all performances stop including the playing of instruments, but only the rhythmic prayer for Vishnu by a priest is heard. Kumbal perahera and randoli perahera mark one larger domain on top of the rock and a smaller domain around the sinhasana, linking these two domains along the 'street of divine', Deva veediya. These geometrical patterns show the understanding of the invisible and intangible dimensions of the natural landscape, and the place *chora*. Same as in Kandy, the last night parade is more elegant, and performed until midnight, under the shine of the full moon.
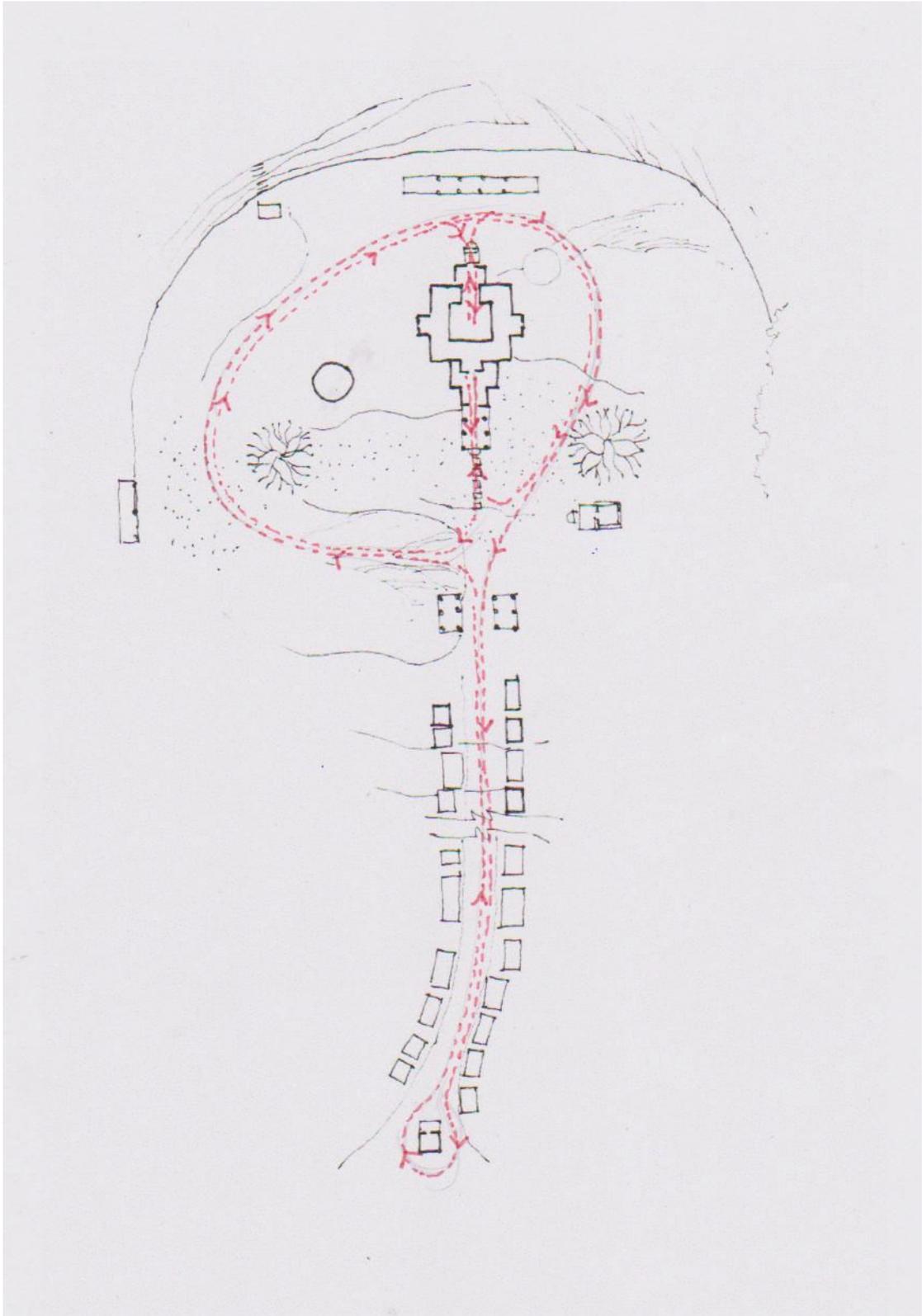
*Fig. 6.7 : **Parading of Randoli perahera-** from Vishnu devale and Buddhist temple.*

5) Diya kapeeme perahera

After the final day parade of randoli perahera, sacred insignia is taken back to inside chamber of the Vishnu devale, while performing hewisi puja and other rituals at the hewisi mandapa. After the performances of daily evening rituals inside devale, Buddhist monks from Buddhist temple enter the Vishnu devale, to chant *pirith* (praying of holy words) and echo creates a blessing atmosphere. After this ritual Buddhist monks go to Dadimunda devale for *Pirith* chanting. Thereafter at an auspicious time diyakapeeme perahera leave the Vishnu devale. On this occasion, sacred insignia is carried on the shoulder of the temple priest sitting on an elephant's back. Randoli containing golden weapons, pan kendiya, and kapa carried by temple priests and assistants (a*tul kattale-* priest and assistants performing rituals inside the inner shrine*)*; hewisi beaters and people as helpers participate in this parade. Before dawn, this parade should reach the destination Mahaweli river ferry at Bothalapitiya, Gampola by walking a distance of about 9 Km. Other temples /devale too participate in diyakapeeme perehera and the ritual event is held at Mahaweli river ferry. The devale/temple villages mentioned earlier jointly participate in diyakapeema perahera. Embekke Kataragama devale, Vegiriya Natha devale, Ganegoda Kataragama devale, and Wallahagoda Kataragama devale are these village settlements.[319] Embekke devale parade joins Lankathilaka parade half way, walking through Buwelikada, Thalwathura, Ganhatha heading Bothalapitiya. Vegiriya diyakapeeme perahera also join Lankathilaka perahera on the way. Ganegoda perahera walks along the river valley from opposite the river towards Gampola. Crossing the river and it joins Wallahagoda diyakapeeme perahera and proceeds towards Bothalapitiya (*Fig. 6.8*). All these parades from respective temples/devale do this journey experiencing natural land form and topography. Devale people, drummers and dancers walk barefooted. Geometrical pattern created by these journeys could be described as, making a link among these places with water through land forms and topography. Diyakapeema ritual ceremony is performed at Bothalpitiya river ferry (*Plate 6.12*).

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[319] Due to certain difficulties Gadaladeniya does not continually (yearly) participate in the perahera.

Gampola – 1300 A.D.
Kandy – 1500 (mid)

N

Kandy

water
cutting
ceremony

HANTHANA MOUNTAIN RANGE

Lanka
thilaka

Embekke

Vegiriya

Ganegoda

Water cutting ceremony.

Gampola
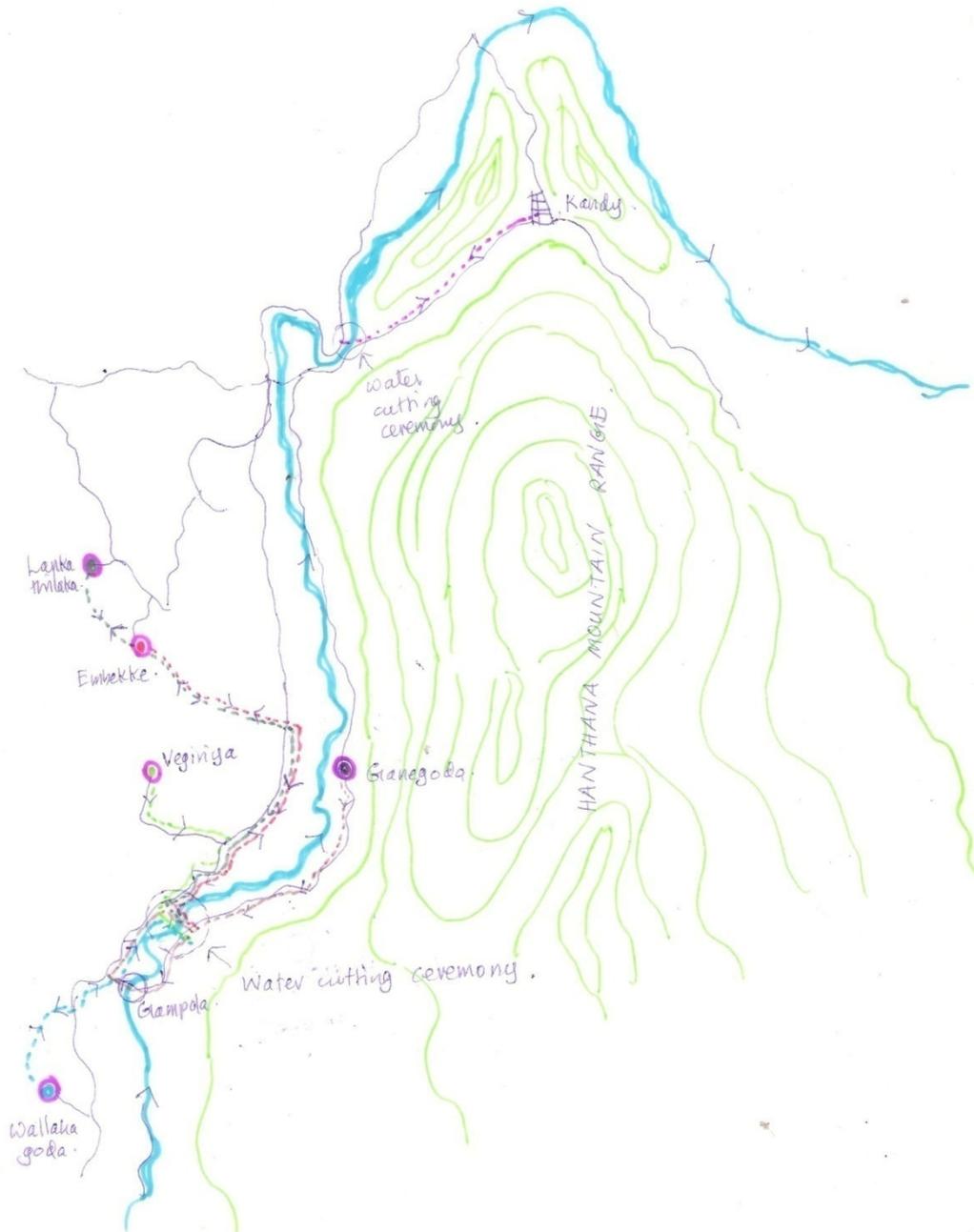
Wallaha
goda

*Fig. 6.8 : **Diyakapeeme perahera (water cutting ceremony)** – Lankathilaka, Embekke,*
Vegiriya, Ganegoda and Wallahagoda walking to the river ferry at Bothalpitiya.

*Plate 6.12 : **Diya kapeema** – water cutting*

6) Day parade

Randoli and sacred insignia of temple/devale are placed at the Bothalapitiya temple and kapa is taken on the shoulder of a priest, under a cloth canopy to the river. All performers are clad in white. People from surrounding villages gather at the temple to receive divine sense of the atmosphere. After the rituals of diyakapeema in the Mahaweli river, priests of temple/devale stay near their respective randoli, offering their blessings to the large crowd by applying powdered earth[320] on their foreheads and sprinkling water on their heads and bodies (*Plate 6.13*). Late in the afternoon, at an auspicious time, day parade starts from Bothalapitiya temple. Three parades from Lankathilaka, Embekke, and Vegiriya walk towards north (*Plate 6.14; Plat 6.15*), while two parades from Wallahagoda and Ganegoda walk towards sourh. These parades take the same route as diya kapeema perahera and reach their respective temples/devale late in the afternoon.

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[320] Special mixture of earth substances

*Plate 6.13 : **At Bothalapitiya temple –***
Receiving blessings from priests and offering coins

*Plate 6.14: **Day parade - three elephants from***
three temples, Lankathilaka, Embekke, Vegiriya

*Plate 6.15: **Day parade – taking sacred insignia on an elephant's back***

6.3.3 Built forms and experiences

This section examines built forms associated with Asala perahera and how these relate to spatial understanding of dwelling. Three kinds of built forms are recognized.

1. Making of temporary structures –including clothes and accessories throughout these performances.
2. Marking of geometrical patterns by performing parades.
3. Arts and artifacts in the place describe their experiences about the performance.

These physical elements are explained within the spatial understanding of dwelling and performing. The three kinds of built forms display entrances, insides and centres as follows:

Entrances

There is a special temporary entrance structure built-up in front of Vishnu devale (*Plate 6.16*), Dadimunda devale (*Plate 6.17*) and Sinhasana (*Plate 6.18*) during randoli parades. These entrance structures are made out of arecunut trunks, according to specific proportions and shape, and combs of banana are hung on these. These entrances make divine feeling according to oral tradition and making of these entrances is the duty of particular traditional group of people. The entrance vahalkada is a special structure, which provides feeling of entering Lankathilaka from the west (*Plate 6.19*). This entrance serves two purposes, as an entrance (vahalkada) as in Kandy Natha devale square and as a raised pavilion to tie up the karanduwa and other accessories on elephants during festivals. These two purposes describe phenomenological understanding of entrance as well as utilization of functional purposes within the built form. The entrance doorway (*Plate 6.20*) at the Buddhist image house is special, same as at the temple of the Tooth relic and headgear of wesnatum dancer. In this two deities mark the guarding of either side of the entrance door to the temple. This is another evidence of phenomenological understanding of 'entering', passing Mitte to reach the inside, experiencing divine dimensions. There are four entrances, in the special structure built for diyakapeema at the river (*Plate 6.21*). These entrance arches are similar to entrance arches in Kandy, made of young palm leaves.

*Plate 6.16 : **Thorana -** Vishnu devale*

*Plate 6.17 : **Thorana -** Dadimunda devale*

*Plate 6.18 : **Thorana –** at Sinhasana*

*Plate 6.19: **Vahalkada** from Deva veediya*

*Plate 6.20: **Entrance doorway** to Buddhist image house*

*Plate 6.21 : **Entrance arches –** Diyakapeema at Bothalapitiya*

Insides

There are two inside domains marked by Asala parade in Lankathilaka. Each entrance discussed above, signifies entering a special inside place. As in Kandy there are wesnatum dancers performing in parades, reflecting the making of inside by performing and clothing as discussed in chapter five. Two Bo trees are fenced by walls, making inside: Bo tree shrines. *Buddhist image house shows special inside 'inside within inside of god's abodes'.*

Centre

Planting kapa establishes a centre, as the birth of divinity. Above discussed entrances and insides make converging effect towards centre. Therefore two marked domains by outer parades establish two centres or two worlds. As discussed, the inside of Buddha image house is in the inside of devale. This establishes a centre within a centre **which is a deep centre or divine centre**. Therefore **Lankathilaka is a centre, the meaning of Lankathilaka is 'centre of Lanka'** and there are several other interpretations given by scholars for the name Lankathilaka. One such interpretation, the name of 'Senadhilankara' may influence the name Lankathilaka.[321] The thesis explains, that the divine centre revealed by understanding of natural landscape provides more inspirational understanding of the place, as a deep centre, as a centre of Lanka, and as a centre of the whole world. Same as in Kandy, Asala perahera marks centres, axis, entrances and enclosed domains, all directing into the centre.

Absolute form of good

There are many evidences of built forms similar to 'absolute form of good' venerated as sacred among these performances and in the cultural place. The structure where kapa is placed (*Plate 6.22*), the head gear of deities of images (*Plate 6.23*) and in paintings, head gear of people who received Buddha's perception of the world as depicted on wall paintings (*Plate 6.24*), head gear of wesnatum dancer, all resemble the absolute form of good. The shape of entrance structure (thorana) made in front of

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[321] History of Sri Lankathilaka Temple (compiled stories)

Vishnu devale, Dadimunda devale and Sinhasana too has a similar shape to absolute form of good (*Plate 6.25*).

*Plate 6.22 : **Kapa house***

*Plate 6.23: **Deities at** either side of doors*

Plate 6.24 : **Wall paintings inside the Buddhist temple**

Plate 6.25 : **Shape and proportions of Thorana (entrance structures)**
Similar shape to Absolute form of good as discussed in ch. 2

The Karanduwa (a special house for keeping sacred insignia/ sacred objects)
placed on elephants (*Plate 6.26*), ornamental objects in randoli, and the stupa (*Plate 6.27*)
have the similar shape.

*Plate 6.26 : **karanduwa and paintings in a Buddhist image house***

*Plate 6.27: **Stupa***

6.3.4 Experience of the place

This section examines experience of people about the place in order to compare experience of the place discussed in earlier sections with actual experiences of people. Informal interviews were held with people engaged in everyday life, in the place and people celebrating Asala festivals. People interviewed are who present themselves as visitors[322], monks and priests, temple assistants, traditional servicemen and villagers. The meanings of traditional words used by temple priests and villagers are examined for the purpose of understanding their experience of the place. The following summary of table (*Table 6.3*) describes their experiences.

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[322] All visitors come to see the place as a historical site and architectural edifice.

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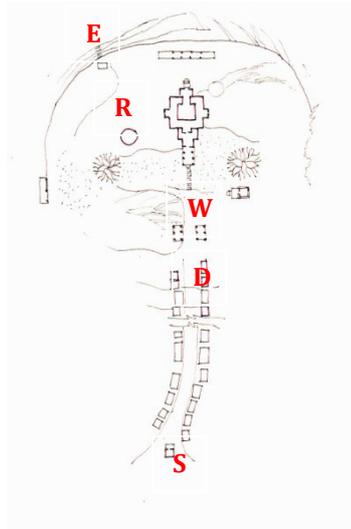
*Fig. 6.9 : **Key to location***

*Table 6.3 : **Experience of the place.***

Location (see - *Fig. 6.9*)	Experience	Traditional words (describe the place)	closest meaning
on the rock **R**	A relaxed place, free, lightl weight atmosphere. Divine experience and divine sense Place of gods and Buddha. Divine influence.	*Deviyan dakeema* *Deva anubhavaya* *Deva adaviya*	Perception of the divinity. Divine power & divine influence. The area of divine influence & power
West Entrance **W**	Sudden changes. - Exciting - Feeling of entering - Spiritual feeling	*Vahalkada*	Gate way
East Entrance **E**	Difficult to reach After climbing sudden experience Divine, relax, free atmosphere. Tiresome achievement		
Deva Veediya **D**	Spiritual atmosphere Divine sense Transcendental experience Respected by people living on either side	*Deviyan wadamakaranawa* (in outer parade) Deva veediya	(Gods) taking in outer parade Street of gods.
Sinhasanaya **S**	Divine / mundane place. Divine influence.	*Deva guna*	Divine qualities

The experiences of people (dwelling in) and meanings of traditional words describe divine feeling and divine power (deva anubhavaya) on the rock and transcendental experience along Deva veediya. It is observed that in the outer parade, people bring children to the inside of Vishnu devale and around devale on the rock to receive divine blessings. People believe that their children receive divine protection at these ritual events. Udagedara Samion Perera (60 years) plays hewisi for twenty years. He plays hewisi puja three times a day at the temple. He feels divine sense at the place when performing his rajakariya[323]. Basnayaka nilame[324] of Vishnu devale describes the prominence of Vishnu devale in the Asala perahera. All these real experiences are evidences of divine sense on the rock and transcendental experience along Deva veediya.

6.4 Perahera , dwelling patterns and architecture.

In this section, by analysing research findings discussed in earlier sections the place is examined within the relationship of perahera, dwelling patterns, natural landscape and architecture & built forms. Theories and arguments discussed in chapter two are examined in this section based on questions, what inter-actions take place between people and natural landscape, what meanings and experiences are given by natural landscape, how people perform in landscape and how place emerges (including built elements) within the relationship of natural landscape and performance. Marking domains by repetition of walking in the landscape is compared with existing dwelling patterns of the place and with ideal forms and places (discussed in chapter two). These results are related to natural landscape, in order to examine how natural landscape is understood by dwelling and performing in the place. Architecture and built elements are related to natural landscape and ideal forms & places. Built forms and architecture are explained within this context.

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[323] Rajakari system – refer Peries (1956)
[324] Administrative head (traditional system)

6.4.1 Dwelling patterns.

This section examines relationship among repetitions of walking, marking geometrical patterns, existing dwelling patterns and natural landscape. Pattern matching technique is applied to analyse these relationships.

The enclosed domain marked on the rock defines divine area and non-being representation (Buddhist image house) at the centre of this place. In the cultural place this is represented by the Buddhist image house surrounded by divine beings (see *Fig.6.10*), images of divine gods: Vishnu, Kataragama, Saman, Vebeeshana (all four gods with their consorts) including Ganesh, and Kumara Bandara. However, among all these gods, Vishnu is recognized as the main god in Lankathilaka as mentioned earlier. All these gods are described as the *Lokapalana deviyan* (divine controllers of the world) in Alawala Amuna inscription.[325] Other built *topoi* included in marked domain on the rock are stupa, Bo tree shrine and pond. All these are recognized as representing divine dimensions discussed in chapter two, section 2.6.1 and in chapter four. Dadimunda devale, another Bo tree shrine and hewisi mandapa (drumming hall) associated with divine sense on the rock and all these are enclosed by a parapet wall. This area is exclusively used for non-being/divine dwelling patterns. As discussed earlier there are two entrances to this area, west and east entrances recognized as sacred. On either side of Deva veediya, are dwellings of priests, his assistants and others who perform ritual duties and maintenance duties (sweeping, washing, painting and etc.) of Vishnu devale. The forms of these houses are changed with time and are of contemporary styles. However, dwelling patterns and traditional duties of these people still continue. Sinhasana at the end of Deva veediya, recognized as spiritual, represent divine kingly dwelling patterns. Avasageya[326] of Buddhist monks is at the foot of the rock in the east, at terrace levels. Most of their duties are attached with performing daily, weekly and annual rituals in the Buddhist image house. Rock is surrounded by low lying paddy fields, thus mundane life patterns of people enclose divine life on the rock. All these

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[325] Abeyrathna, 2009
[326] Avasageya : Hermitage, Abode

dwelling patterns in Lankathilaka can be defined as shown in (*Fig.6.11*). Therefore in Lankathilaka, divine dwelling patterns are clearly defined and marked, separating from mundane dwelling patterns.

A – God Vishnu
B – God Kumara Bandara
C – God Saman,
D – God Kataragama
E – God Ganesh,
F – God Vebeeshana
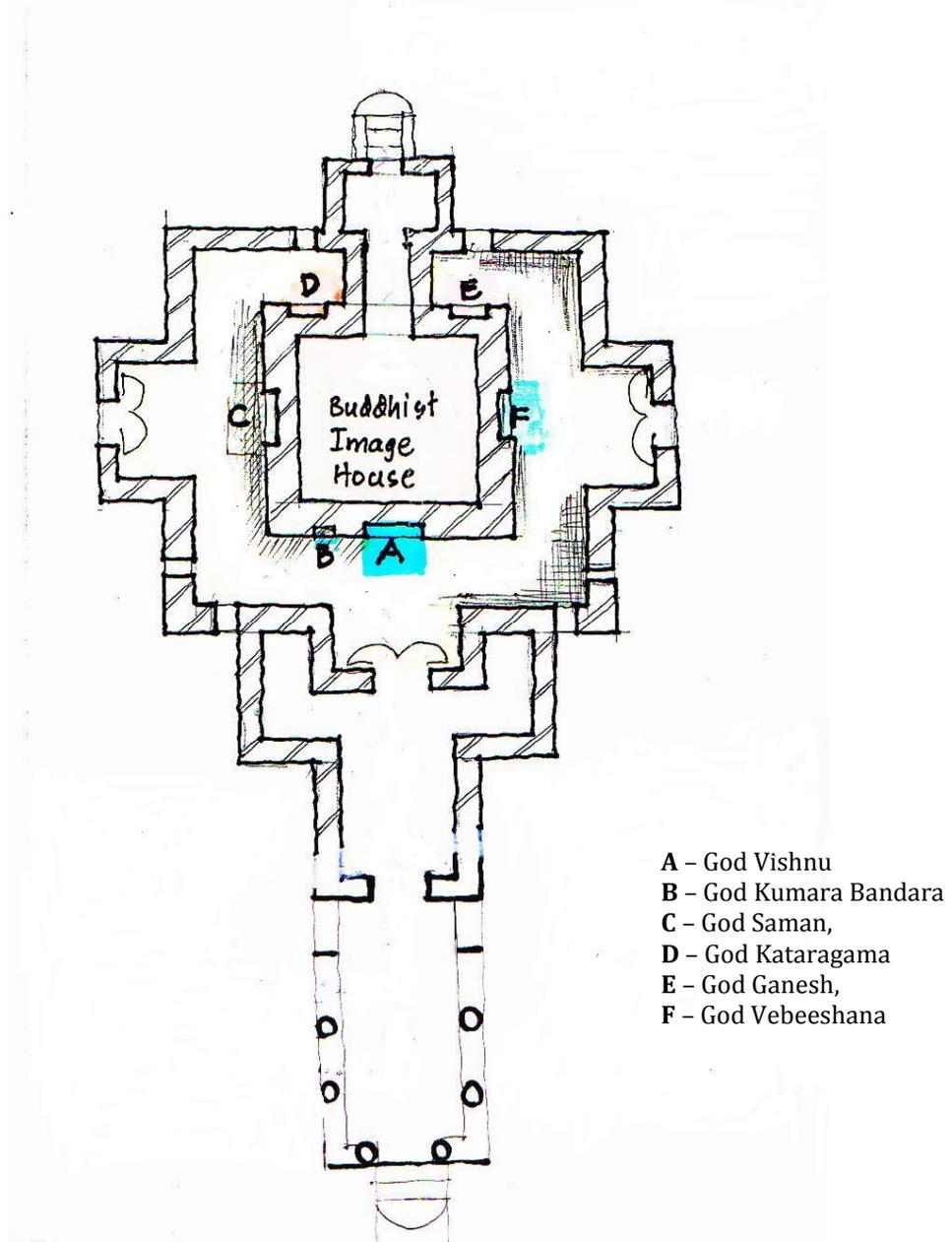
*Fig. 6.10 : **Non-being nature surrounded by divine beings***
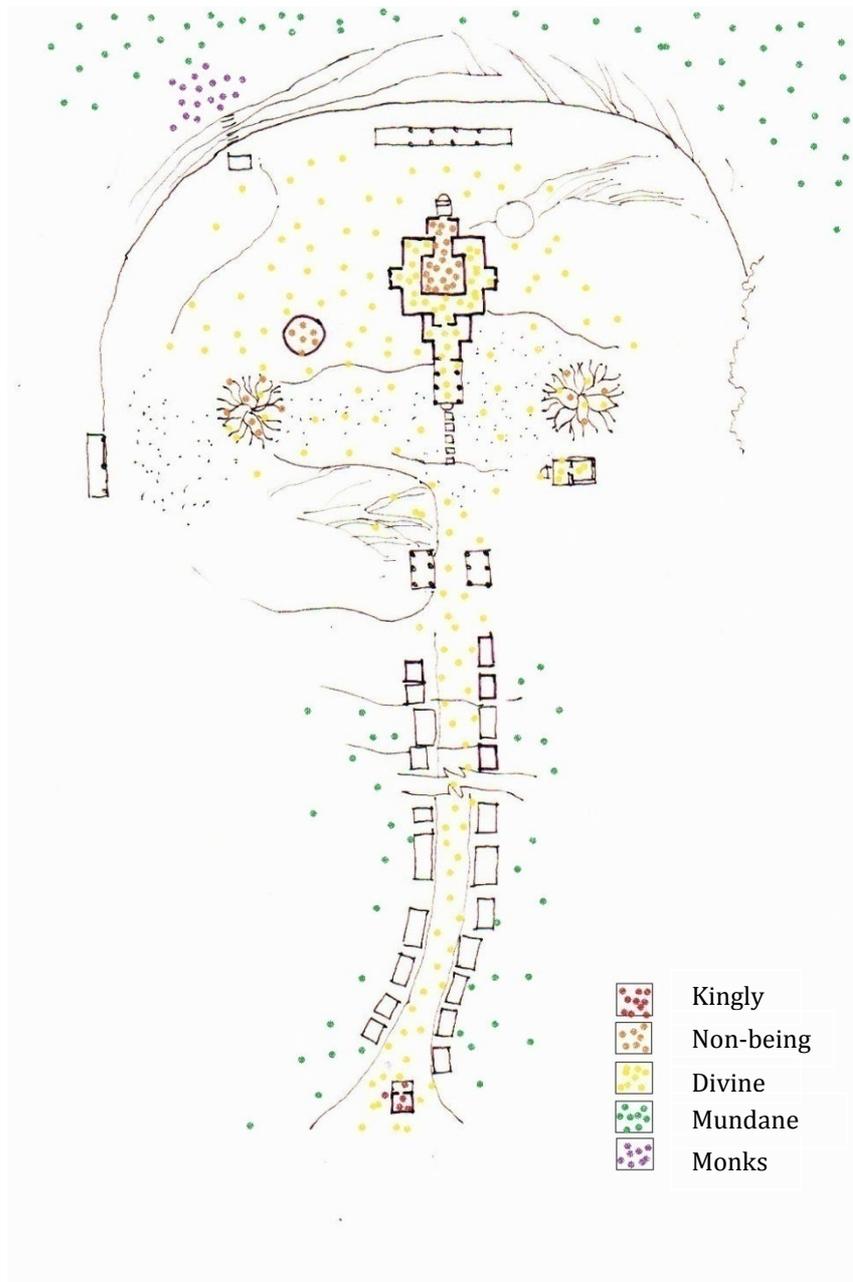
*Fig. 6.11 : **Dwelling patterns***

6.4.2 Architecture and Built *Topos*

This section examines relationships among: repetition of walking, marking geometrical patterns, existing built forms and natural landscape. Pattern matching technique is utilized in analysing these relationships.

As discussed in chapter four 4.4, about the phenomenological understanding of natural landscape, the missing part of the physical form (rock) in Lankathilaka is imagined, experienced and related to absolute form of good discussed in chapter two

2.6.3. The relationship between absolute form of good and built *topos* (architecture) of the place can be explained as in (*Fig. 6.12*). Invisible part of the absolute form of good on top of the rock is visualized by building a large temple completing the missing part (of the absolute form of good) and comprehending natural landscape (*Fig. 6.13*).   In the architectural place, the deep centre is protected by encircling gods. The description of these gods as 'Lokapalana deviyan' (divine controllers of the world)[327] may have provided the invisible sense of the place, *chora*. As discussed in earlier sections, according to Lankathilaka inscription and Alawala Amuna inscription, there were more different gods present, around the Buddhist temple during the Gampola period.

Therefore, this thesis explains that, what matters is the experience of divine dimensions of natural landscape transformed into cultural place and not the number and origns of gods in the place.

Hence, Lankathilaka temple is a unique composition of non-being and divine experience of natural landscape transformed into built space. The composition of Hindu devale with Buddhist temple as explained by many scholars is a result of the relationship developed with South India, because of many religious works of Senadhilankara and monk Dharmakeerthi carried out in South India.[328] Another explanation by scholars of having a Hindu temple is the marriage of South Indian queens by kings during this period. While the King worships at the Buddhist temple at the same time the queen worship at the Hindu devale.[329] But, this is not the only instance in the history; Sri Lankan kings married South Indian queens. As in Kandy there are Hindu devale within the capital city. Due to lack of architectural evidences, it does not provide any clues to confirm this , but comparing with Kandy and Polonnaruwa the existence of Hindu devale in Gampola capital city can be established.

A similar type of example is in Gadaladeniya. According to the typological analysis done in chapter four, section 4.4, Gadaladeniya inscription states that there is a Hindu devale to protect the Buddhist viharaya (Abeyarathna, 2009). The thesis describes that this is an evidence of understanding the place as a deep centre (which

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[327] Alawala Amuna inscription
[328] Abeyrathna, 2009
[329] Abeyrathna, 2009

opens out new dimensions to understand four noble truths[330]), and is guarded and protected by divine dimensions of the surrounding gods. Lankathilaka temple is an ideal place (created) comprehending natural *topos* and completing the ideal form, visibly and invisibly, sensing *chora* of the place. *Table 6.4* shows built *topos* developed by comprehending natural *topos* and related performances in the place.

Table 6.4 : Built Topos, Natural Topos, Performances

Natural *Topos* representing divine dimensions	Built *Topos* representing divine dimensions	related Performances
Rock	main temple	People pay homage to Buddhist image & divine beings by many kind of offerings.
Stone terrain, textured surface in relation to greenery and sand terrace.	stupa	Circumbulation around the Stupa, bare footed – feeling hardness/ roughness and material sensitivity of the rock surface.
Sand terrace Bo tree Sal tree	Bo tree shrine Dadimunda devale	Circumbulation around the Bo tree , bare footed – feeling the material sensitivity of sand. experience tree (as a ideal place) Sal tree is associated with Buddha's life -memorizing historical events.
Water View of Hantana and surrounding mountains.	encircling wall around sacred area on the rock	Buddhist performances & Hindu performances, walking bare footed.
Stone terrain sloping towards the west side, along Deva Veediya.	Sinhasana	Climbing up and down along Deva Veediya (bare footed) passing stone terrains and sand terraces.

Out of all the buildings in the place, the main temple is the most prominent, comprehending the shape and form of the rock. According to Lankathilaka Sinhala inscription originally this temple was four storyed. Stupa, another built form of Buddhist architecture as an image of absolute form of good is in a small scale, giving

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[330] Discussed in Chapter 4.2.2

prominence to the image of absolute form of good, created by the combination of the rock and the main temple (*Fig.6.12 and Fig.6.13*). Dadimunda devale and hewisi mandapa of Buddhist image house is also in a low scale, while the entrance vahalkada from the west is a prominent structure, emphasizing entrance feeling to the place. Sinhasana at the end of Deva veediya is aso physically less significant small structure. The heights of Sinhasana and vahalkada are determined by the heights of elephants brought in for ceremonies, rituals and other functions. Finally, the understanding of the natural landscape made the area on the rock as a divine place by combination of natural *topos,* built *topos* and performances.
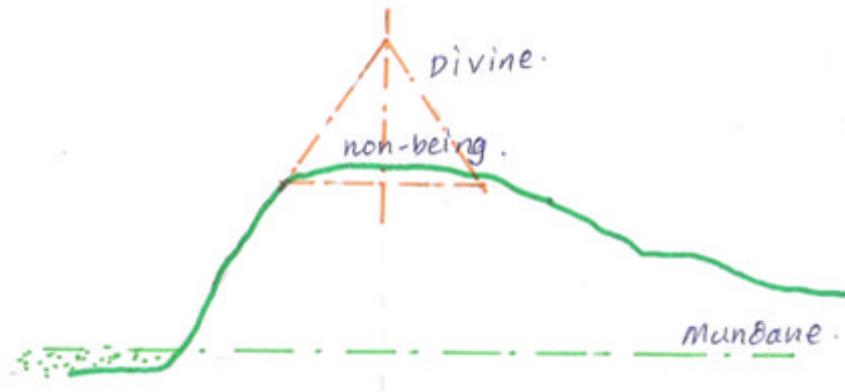
Fig. 6.12 : **Absolute form of good and natural topos.**

Fig. 6.13 : **Missing part of the absolute form of good is imagined as the main temple** comprehending natural landscape.

6.5 Conclusion

Dwelling patterns developed during the Anuradhapura period (divine kingly, divine, non-being, meditation, mundane/everyday) continued in Gampola period. It is observed that Hindu god concepts were well composed with Buddhist Sri Lankan concepts during this period, making a united cultural place. There are village settlements which developed around a Buddhist temple or Hindu temple around the landscape of Lankathilaka, related to the natural landscape. The geographical and topographical character of Lankathilaka is a prominent rock and by climbing on to the summit panoramic views are revealed. Oral tradition describes this experience as a miracle. Lankathilaka is a village organized around a Buddhist temple and a Hindu temple/devale established for continuous ritual performing. It is observed that the placing of main temple, Sinhasana and Deva veediya are related to the natural landscape. It is described that all rituals and performings in Lankathilaka today are the same as those in earlier days. Therefore performing Asala perahera and other rituals in Lankathilaka may highlight much earlier versions than those in Kandy. Asala perahera is performed annually, identified with a series of significant performing events and celebrations. Kapa situweema (planting pole), inner parade, outer parade, diya kapeema (water cutting) and day parade are important events in Asala perahera. It is observed that marking centres, axis, entrances, insides and enclosed domains are significant aspects in these events. Asala perahera makes more relationships with the landscape by means of walking (barefooted), dancing, parading, repetition of activities & parades, drumming & playing musical instruments; connected with water; land form & topography connected with other villages. These ways of performing establish inter-related network among people, performance, landscape producing place and space. These performances are discussed as a dwelling process and a place making process. Throughout the performative process, experiencing ideal forms are evident and ideal forms are reflected on temporary structures and permanent structures (built forms). Marking geometrical patterns show the understanding of invisible and intangible dimensions of the natural landscape. Parade marks an important place on the rock and

a smaller domain around the Sinhasana and links these two domains along the 'street of divine', Deva veediya. The place emerges within this understanding. It is evident that people (performers), in the cultural place, experience ideal forms and dwelling. Lankathilaka temple establishes a centre within a centre which is a deep centre or divine centre.

Organization of dwelling patterns and marked domains by repeating Asala perahera for fifteen continuous days, define a deep centre and divine area on the rock. The experiences of people (dwelling in) and meanings of traditional words describe divine feeling and divine power (deva anubhavaya) on the rock and transcendental experience along Deva veediya. In the cultural place, the divine area is represented by non-being at the centre surrounded by divine gods. The area on the rock is exclusively utilised for non-being and divine dwelling patterns, surrounded by mundane life patterns of people. Hence, at Lankathilaka divine areas are clearly defined and separated from mundane dwelling patterns. The invisible part of the absolute form of good on top of the rock is visualized by building a large temple completing the missing part, thus comprehending natural landscape. Finally, Lankathilaka temple is a unique composition of non-being, divine experience of natural landscape transformed into built space.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Chapter Seven - **Cultural Theatre and Performing Place**

Summary:

Chapter seven is a comparative analysis of two case studies : Kandy and Lankathilaka, discussed in chapter five and six. This chapter analyses more information, including experience of performers and observers. The mechanism of Asala perahera is explained as a performing technique of place making, by establishing relationships between mind-body and surrounding. It is discussed that ideal forms flourished, through these performative processes, shaped by the natural landscape and emerging cultural place and architecture reflect this understanding: the chora.

Introduction

This chapter discusses a comparative analysis of relationships between performances and the natural landscape of Kandy and Lankathilaka. Within a wide range of complexities of performances, the study primarily focuses on performing and repeating events and marking geometrical patterns on the natural landscape for the core-comparative analysis. The following three main research questions are further examined in this chapter:

8   *How do the similarities and dissimilarities of performing Asala perahera in two cases relate to natural landscape and cultural place?*

9   *What are the experiences of these performances and how do these experiences relate to natural landscape and cultural place? (inclusive of built forms and architecture)*

10 *How does place (inclusive of architecture) emerge within the relationship of these performances and natural landscape?*

The chapter examines these questions under four main sections. In the first section the structure of Asala perahera, mind-body performance and related experiences are analyzed, in order to understand relationships between mind-body performance and the place to understand the mechanism of Asala perahera. These performances are explained within the understanding of dwelling and ideal forms discussed in chapter two. The performing place is explained as a cultural theatre

established for acting and narrating cultural dramas, as a complex performative process. Body performances and patterns of actions (as observed) are analysed within the framework of recent research discussed in chapter two[331], with a view to find relationships between capacities of mind-body and related experiences. These are compared with historical accounts in archival records. Furthermore, theoretical findings and observed analysed data are matched with experiences of performers, obtained through informal questionnaire.

The discussion in the second section is framed within perehera, performing and natural landscape. By focusing on the analysis of geometrical patterns marked by performing and repeating of events and rituals in Asala festivals, the study examines the relationships between natural landscape and performance. Thereafter, the study compares these geometrical patterns, geometries of built forms, experiences and meanings with spatial dimensions of dwelling discussed in chapter two[332]; and the study examines becoming everyday place within the relationships of ideal forms and experiences of natural landscape. Both case studies are compared within the relationship of performance and natural landscape. All these discussions focus on intangible and tangible dimensions of the place to understand, how *chora* reflect on *Topos*, and how natural landscape has guided the *chora* of the place. The third section discusses about the diya kapeema ceremony, and relationships between performances of the ceremony and the place. The experiences, meanings and events are matched with performances and natural landscape at both locations. Experiences and meanings of behavioural actions of both performers and observers[333] collected at two case studies are compared with the performance and with the place in order to understand the intangible sense of the place and performing. The relationship with case study locations and diya kapeema performance and river is discussed within this complex background, and within the theoretical framework discussed in chapter two. The last section explain Buddhist, divine, kingly understanding of the natural landscape (by performing Asala

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[331] See 2.7
[332] See 2.3.2 and 2.4
[333] Here observers are mere (also part of participants.)

perahera), through a diagrammatic analysis and how this understanding shape the built elements and architecture.

7.1 *Perahera*: Sensing and Making the place

Rituals and ceremonies in Kandy and in Lankathilaka establish a cultural theatre in which people are acting, sensing and making the place. What experience gained in these performances, what relationships established between mind-body and performing place are discussed in this section.

Asala perahera in Kandy and Lankathilaka are analyzed into a matrix of performances. Thereafter, relationship between marking geometrical patterns by narrating events and sound performing is examined, in order to understand the difference between Asala perahera and other rituals. These performances are explained within the understanding of dwelling and ideal forms discussed in chapter two. Performing place is explained as a cultural theatre established for acting and narrating cultural dramas, as a complex performative process, which unfolds the space and time. This makes inter-related network among performers, observers, meanings, experiences and the surrounding context including cultural and natural landscape. The structure of the perehera is further analyzed into objects, events and persons to examine related experiences and meanings. The pattern of relationships between perehera structure and experiences and meanings of these are analysed in order to understand the perehera performance and mind-body experiences. Body performances and patterns of actions (as observed) are analysed (within the framework of recent research discussed in chapter two)[334], to find relationships between capacities of mind-body and related experiences. These are compared with further information obtained from archival records about how these performances were practised and what type of performances there were during earlier times. The related experiences of mind-body performances (real experiences) are obtained through informal questionnaire forwarded to

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[334] See chapter 2.7

performers during fifteen days of perahera processions on randomly selected days, before and after performance at both locations. These questions focus on the behaviour and attitude of them upon perehera: relationship among them, perahera and the place; their feelings about perahera; and feelings about body performance and related experiences. By analysing these relationships between mind-body and related experience with place, the performative process would be discussed relating to literature in sections 2.7 and 2.7.5 in chapter two.

7.1.1 Rituals, performing place and divine axis

All rituals related to Asala festivals performed in Kandy and in Lankathilaka exhibit several common patterns of performing as listed below:

- Sound performing – hewisi puja

- Narrating and repeating of events and rituals

- Use of scented smoke and fire

- Sprinkling purified water- *pirith pan*

- Tumeric[335] water, lime(juice) water

- Floral smells

- Repeating of rhyming words

- Repeating events

Other offerings

- Aroma of cut-fruits

- Smells of milk rice

- Smells of cooked food

- *Pirith noola* (spiritual thread)

According to the discussion in chapter two (2.7.5) above performings are ways of making places. Emerging place is more than visual and physical dimensions. For example, vibrating sounds of Hewisi make a dynamic place a strong sense of place and attachment. Smells of food, scented smoke, fire and all are used to make mythical place by sensing and weaving in the performing place. As it is not easy to analyse all

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[335] Mixing tumeric powder with water

these means of performing place, sound performing of hewisi is examined in order to understand the meaning of performing and deeper attachment with the mythical place. Hewisi is a group of traditional instrumental sounds used to vibrate the atmosphere. This is prominent in producing place in these performances. Acoustic effects of hewisi sounds play a central role in the performance and place, which display a kind of communication between visible and invisible domains of the place. It also establishes a domain a region around it. *Magulbera* is a special drum beat (of hewisi sounds) performed at each time when the sacred insignia is taken outside from inner chamber of the temple/devale and taken back into inside the inner chamber of the temple/devale. The most auspicious sound making instrument in hewisi puja is *magulberaya (Plate 7.1)*. The sound is deep, hard and vibrating. There are many rhythms playing by *magulbera*, which are mostly used as auspicious rhythms. The figures (*Fig. 7.1* and *Fig. 7.2*) explain the use of hewisi performances and related musical instruments in daily rituals and Asala perahera in Kandy and in Lankathilaka. The purple dotted line indicates the production of place by sound performing and rituals, while observers are at the margin of this circle. In daily rituals, example 'A' and 'F' of Kandy and Buddhist image house at Lankathilaka, performers cross the purple dotted line, go out and come back in bringing several requirements for the ritual maintenance of sacred objects and images, while sacred objects/insignia are still inside the sacred chamber. At the temple of the Tooth relic during daily rituals and in right of purification, *magulbera* is played only at the entrance door of 'A' signifying divine experience.

In examples B, C, D, E in Kandy and at Vishnu devale Lankathilaka magulbera is played at the entrance door of sacred chamber, when sacred objects are taken inside and outside during the series of parades of Asala festivals. Purple dotted line moves with the performers along the red dotted line. This hewisi is performed at the open pavilion in front of the entrance door of the sacred chamber. The open pavilion used to perform hewisi is known as *hewisi mandapa.* Therefore tension created between inside

and outside, because of taking out and taking in of the sacred insignia/objects during the series of parades in Asala perahera, signifies divine experiences.

This tension between inside and outside signifies tension between mundane and divine. Therefore these performances signify experience of passing MITTE. (Thesis proposes)

Seneviratne (1978) explains two kinds of rituals, rituals of maintenance and rituals of victory[336] in temples and devale of Kandy and he explains Asala perahera as a ritual of victory. The Thesis further explains, the 'victory' discussed by Seneviratne (1978) as the victory gained through continuous repetition of experiencing tension between inside and outside , by taking out and taking in of the sacred insignia by passing MITTE and achieving divine experiences. The tension between inside and outside open out divine axis linking physical to non- physical, mundane to divine dimensions of the place, revealing spatial understanding of dwelling as discussed in chapter 2.3.2. All other performing associated with taking out and taking in of sacred insignia are having with spiritual experiences and as this event is one of the most significant moment of the whole performance it provides evidences of experiencing divine dimensions of the place. Therefore, these performances establish strong sense of place with the landscape location, establishing divine axis which is rooted in the place linking physical to non-physical, the *chora* of the place.

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[336] Seneviratne (1978) categorizes new rice festivals and Asala festivals as rituals of victory and prosperity. He describes these on their purpose the achievement of certain objectives of common benefit.

*Plate 7.1: **Magulberaya***

*Plate 7.2 : **Dhawula***

*Plate 7.3 : **Thammattama***

*Plate 7.4 : **Horn/ pipe***
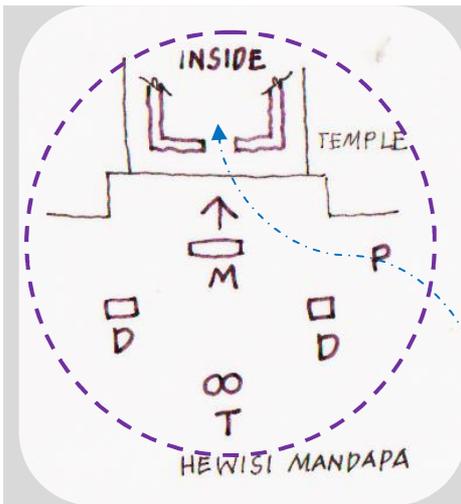
A – Hewisi puja at Temple of the Tooth Relic
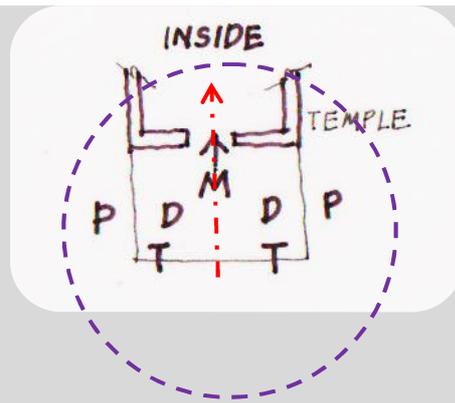
Taking Kapa inside the temple

B – Hewisi puja – bringing Kapa to Kandy and to Dadimunda devale.
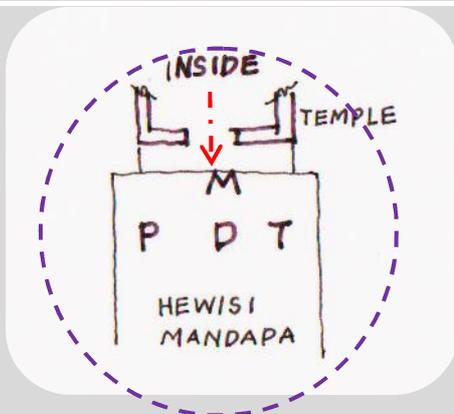
Taking sacred insignia outside

C – Hewisi puja – Inner parade, Natha devale
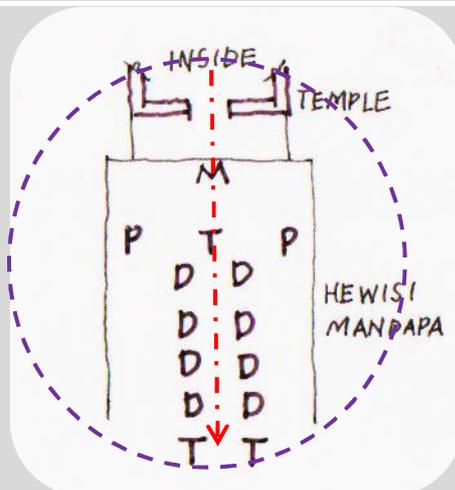
Taking sacred insignia to participate in the outer parade.

D – Hewisi puja – Natha devale
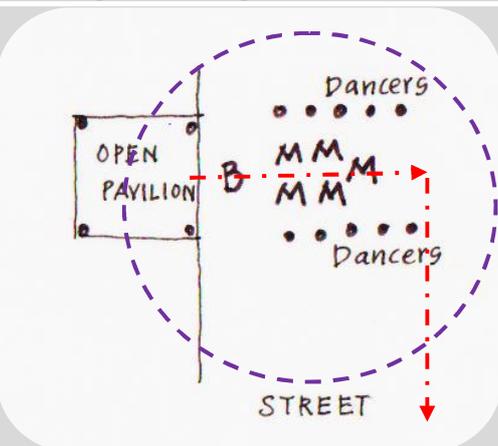
placing sacred insignia on elephant's back at the street

E – Hewisi puja – Pattini devale
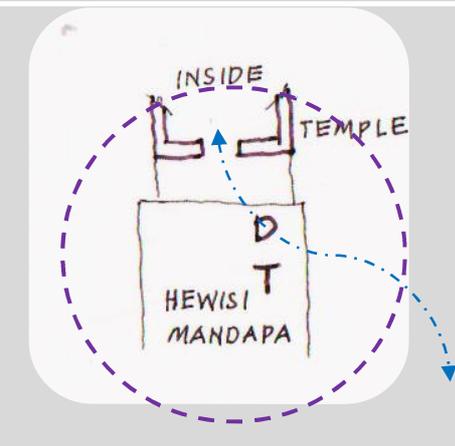
F – Hewisi puja – daily rituals at Natha devale and Vishnu devale

Red dotted line – pathway of taking sacred objects, **blue dotted line** – ritual services by servicemen

Key : **M** – Magulbera **D** _ Dhawula **T** – Thammattama **P** – Piper **B** – Basnayaka nilame

Fig. 7.1: Hewisi puja – Temples and Devale of Kandy

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Taking out sacred insignia to participate in perahera

Hewisi puja at, Vishnu devale ,Lankathilaka.

Hewisi puja at, daily rituals – Buddhist temple, Lankathilaka.

Taking sacred insignia inside after participating perahera.

Hewisi puja at, Vishnu devale, Lankathilaka.

Key: M _ Magulbera D – Dhawula
T – Thammattama , P – Piper
red dotted line – pathway of taking sacred objects
blue dotted line – ritual services by servicemen

*Fig. 7.2: **Hewisi puja** – Temple and Vishnu devale in Lankathilaka.*

Throughout fifteen days of continuing inner parades and outer parades at both places, taking out sacred objects from the inside of the sacred chamber of temple/devale   is a spiritual act taken place at an auspicious time determined by a traditional astrologer. Following is a descriptive account of the author visualizing the

taking out of the sacred insignia, to participate in the inner parade at Natha devale Kandy on 21st July 2012 around 6.30 pm.

There were several rituals not visible to outsiders, held inside the inner chamber of *devale*, by the priest and his assistants. At the outside temple, priest's assistants light oil lamps at four corners of *hewisi mandapa* and at *kapa* house and there were lit *handunkuru*[337] placed in sand pots. Then this incensed smoke is taken around the temple. After this ritual, turmeric water and lime juice is sprinkled inside the *hewisi mandapa* and in and around the temple. According to them, all these rituals will make the place free from evil effects. Then the blowing sound of *hakgediya*[338] is heard from inside the temple. Its soft linear vibrating sound gradually increases and is followed by *magulbera* beating for a few minutes. Then *dhawula (Plate. 7.2), thammattama* (*Plate. 7.3*) and horn (*Plate. 7.4*) play for another few minutes. Again the sound of *magulbera* beating vibrates the place. This pattern of sound puja is followed three times and at the end the *magulbera* player jumps up and stops the auspicious drum beating. Meanwhile a*thpandamkaru* (torch bearer) prays to the god and lights the torch while the sacred insignia is taken out on the shoulder of a priest or assistant priest, wrapped with a silk cloth, under a cloth canopy held by two servicemen. Two assistants sprinkle flowers and holy water on either side of the sacred insignia while parade proceeds with musical sounds of dhawula, thammattama and horn without the beating of magulbera.[339] At the sight of the sacred insignia taken out from the inner shrine of the temple, a coconut is cracked on the floor (a traditional event). People believe this moment as '*deviyan wadamakaranawa'*, means the presence of the 'divine being' in the place.

7.1.2 Transcendental experience in Asala perahera

In both locations of Kandy and Lankathilaka, inner parades and outer parades of Asala perahera comprise divine representation of objects, events and personalities. The meaning and experiences of these are tabulated (*Table 7.1*) as follows.

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[337] Light up incensed sticks
[338] Conch shell
[339] The magulbera player silently proceeds with the parade to play again at the entrance, and two sides of the temple, ref. discussion in chapter five and six

*Table 7.1: **Objects/events/persons represent divine dimensions in inner and outer parades.***

Objects/ events/ persons represented meaning/experience	divine experience
Ath-pandama	Torch held close by sacred objects, by traditional performer (a*th-pandamkaru*), representing the divine presence/ beings in the place.
Magulbera and auspicious beats	plays at auspicious moments, events and places.
Wesnatum (Kandyan dancer)	The origin of *wesnatum* is given by superhuman king *Khohomba.* They were given half (32 pieces) of the complete attire of Khohomba, which they wear now. When the first time of wearing this attire, the event is celebrated by rituals and the performer is considered spiritual.
King, Diyawadana nilame, Basnayaka nilame.	The position they walk in the perehera, placing ath-pandama close by them, wearing sacred objects, display of magulbera and wesnatum close by them indicate divine dimensions of them.
Pinnacles	sacred objects, similar to absolute form of good, fixed on temple roof tops and *karanduwa*.
Planting *kapa*	signifies centre
Hakgediya (conch shell)	a sacred object and its'sound signifies beginning of an auspicious event/ moment.
Taking out & taking in (sacred insignia)	E*liyata wedamakaranawa*[340] *and geta gewadinawa*[341] , marked by auspicious drum beating
Sacred insignia	represent gods
Inner parade	spiritual performance
Sprinkling *pirith pan* (holy water)	water is made holy by chanting of rhyming words by Buddhist monks for thousands of time.
Sprinkling turmeric water and lime juice	to make the place free of evil effects
Sprinkling flowers	fragrance of flowers is for divine beings
incense smoke	incensed smells are offered for divine beings.
Golden palanquin[342]	for carrying sacred objects of temple with two pinnacles fixed on top.
Relic house	house for placing sacred relic casket and sacred insignia.
Relic casket	for placing relics

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[340] coming out the divine personality (sacred insignia) from the inner chamber
[341] Returning back the divine personality (sacred insignia) inside the inner chamber
[342] Randoli

In inner parades and outer parades of both locations ath-pandama[343] is held in front of sacred objects/ sacred insignia, golden palanquins and the King/ Diyawadana nilame/ Basnayaka nilame, exhibit divine presence over these objects and persons. The analysis of the above objects, events and persons, represent centre, inside, axis, and the absolute form of good, representing spatial dimensions of dwelling form [344] are evidences of experiencing divine dimensions in becoming chora of the place. Wesnatum dancers as discussed in chapter four are adorned with sacred objects similar to the absolute form of good. For example, head gear, head crown reflect entrance feeling (entering inside and centre); by repetition of dance according to sounds of magulbera these performers may experience divine dimensions. As discussed in chapter two, water is a significant element in mythical landscape and by repeating words of pirith, the spiritual quality of water is enhanced.

There is another part in the Asala perahera of both case studies, which represent more mundane everyday life performances. The meanings and experiences of these are tabulated (*table 7.2*). The meaning and use of these objects, events and the people represent everyday life performances which highlight more mundane experience than sacred or religious performances and objects. For example, raban playing, sword and shield dancing, paddy harvesting dances are more related to everyday life performances. However, there is no defined boundary to differentiate mundane experiences from divine experiences, within these performances.

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[343] Hand held torch about three feet long
[344] Fire, auspicious sounds of magulbera and conch shell may be having connections with divine experiences, which are outside the research scope.

Table 7.2: Objects/events/personalities representing more mundane / everyday experiences.

Objects/Events/ Personalities represent mundane experiences	Meaning / experience
Pandam	long fire sticks used to light up the perehera
Flags	represent several districts and Buddhist flags
Stilt walking	Dance or walk on two poles 6-7 feet high.
Rotating fire balls	playing with fire balls on the head in several acrobatic ways.
Hewisi	playing dhawula, thammattama, horn
Cane dancing	playing with a long bundle of cane, weaving and un-weaving while dancing
*Raban(*tambourine*) playing*	Rotating, throwing up and playing on the end of several sticks
Sword and shield dancing	represent fighting in war
Paddy harvesting dances	represent everyday work
Bundle of Documents, of the society	social systme
People representing regions	carrying respective regional flags.

The most emphasized act in divine part is carrying sacred objects on an elephant's back. There are two other elephants on either side of the elephant carrying sacred objects in Kandy. Three/ four servicemen sitting on each of this elephant of either side sprinkle *piritpan* (holy water), flowers and hold auspicious objects. In Lankathilaka, these servicemen walk along either side of sacred objects, sprinkling flowers and pirith pan. In the temple of Tooth relic a group of young boys walk behind sacred objects, carrying piritpan, auspicious oil, incensed smoke, etc. (representing auspicious objects). In perahera of temple of the Tooth relic, Natha devale, Vishnu devale, Kataragama devale and Pattini devale in Kandy and in two perahera of Buddhist temple and Vishnu devale in Lankathilaka , front and rear sides of sacred objects are cherished by events and objects which represent divine experience as listed below:

- Auspicious drum beats of magulbera (group of 10 -15 drum beaters)

- *Wesnatum* dancing according to beats of *magulbera* and singing rhyming prays.(group of 25 -50 performers)

- *Wesnatum* dancers wearing complete kit (32 pieces spiritual items) : 25 -50 dancers

- *Ath-pandam* : carrying by traditional torch bearer (A*th-pandamkaru*), one persons on each side

- *Pirithpan* (hloy water), insenced smoke, sprinkling flowers, golden umbrella[345]

- Kingly divine – represented by *Basnayaka nilame* of hindu temples of Kandy and Lankathilaka

- Kingly divine– represented by *Diyawadena nilame* of temple of the Tooth relic (during King's days this position has been represented by the King).

Fig: 7.3 and *Fig: 7.4* illustrate the divine part of the perehera in Kandy and Lankathilaka.
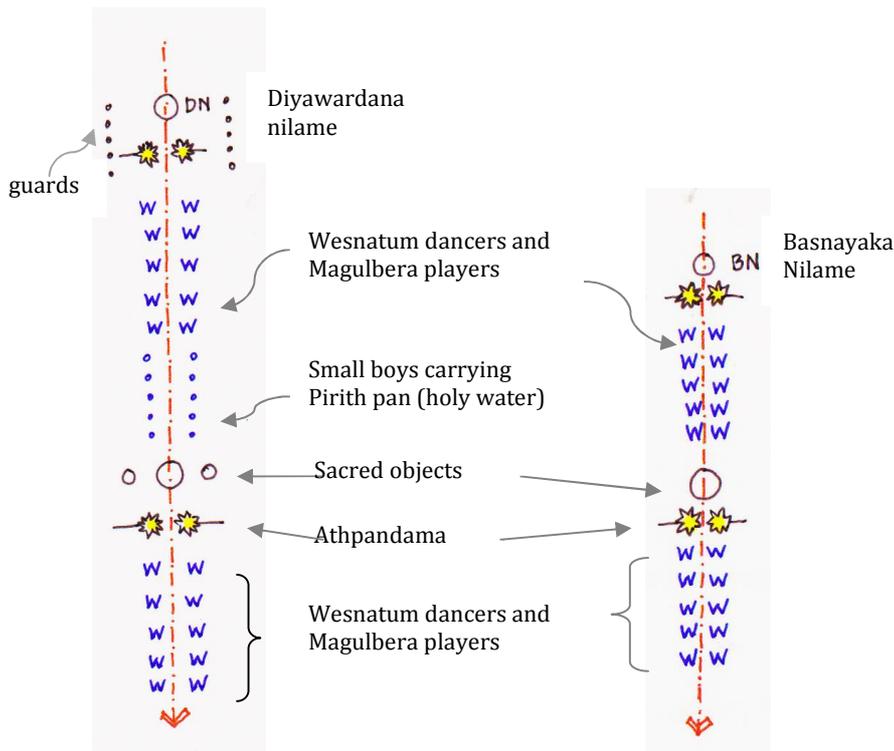

Fig 7.3: **Divine representation –**
 Asala perahera, **Kandy**

Fig. 7.4: **Divine representation–**
 Asala perahera, **Lankathilaka**

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[345] A sacred Bronze umbrella

Therefore, whole Asala parade is a representation of mundane and divine dimensions of life experiences. Movements from inside/ outside of devale/temple reflect the tension between these two domains and the parade moves along the axis created by this tension which is the divine axis. Therefore Asala perahera is not only a representation of transcending experiences of life, but opened out of transcendental passage of performing and making the place a creative process of sharing experiences passing between divine and mundane domains. The gathering of a large number of people contributes to sharing experiences in which mind-body act as the mediator of unfolded place. Also the higher the number of participants performing the same event may share higher number of experiences, according to recent neuro science investigations[346], as discussed in 2.7.1 about mirror-neuron system. Therefore at both locations perahera represents experinece of ideal forms flourished in performing place which are similar.

Table 7.3: number of actions performed by performers in Asala perahera (Kandy and Lankathilaka)

Performer	Action	number of actions at a time	age group[347]
Stilt walking	balancing, walking, dancing	3	5 – 60 yrs
stilt walking & fire balls playing	balancing, circling fire balls around the body, walking.	3	5 – 60 yrs
playing with fire balls	balancing, circling fire balls around the body, dancing, walking, rolling along the path.	4	5 – 60 yrs
playing Tambourine	balancing, circling raban on a stick, throwing Tambourine to air, holding back by the end of the stick, walking,	3	18 -40 yrs
acrobatic dance	circling around the axis of the body, jumping and rolling around the body (cross ward) dancing, balancing, walking	3	18 -50 yrs
cane dance	Holding the bundle of cane, concentrating on body position and the next movement, rhythmic movement around the pack, forward movement with the parade while performing.	4	17-30 yrs

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[346]Mirror -neurons in the Brain – neural pathways in the brain become active both when we see someone performing an action and when we engage in the same action ourselves (Rizzolatti et al, 2008 cited by Hale, 2012)

[347] Age assumed by their appearance.

7.1.3 Mind – Body significance

Body performances take central role in the Asala perahera, as a medium of transcending experiences between inside and outside or physical and non-physical domains of the place. By analysing experiences and body performances the significance of mind-body in the place can be understood. There are a number of actions take place simultaneously, while concentrating on the action and listening and performing according to the rhythm of *hewisi* are common in all these body performances *(table 7.3)*. According to the descriptive accounts on Asala perahera by *Wellasse Disawe* (1817), young women and men display magical body performances before the starting of the perhera, in front of the King's palace at *Deva sanhinda,* for example, walking on ropes without the use of a balancing stick, jumping up on ropes seven to eight feet high repeatedly and speedily. Therefore, perahera displays the importance of the mind-body-spatial relationship. These performances and related actions produce space and place as discussed in chapter two, Section 2.7. The inter-related network developed between the body and the other performers, with the action, with the space, and with the landscape, produce new space according to theoretical discussions[348] done in chapter two. Experience of the perahera describes embodied relationship between the body and the surrounding, and the worldhood understanding. Very small children of the age of 5-6 take part in fire ball circling/ rotating and dancing, displaying the importance of the body in making and sensing place and space. Informal questionnaire is forwarded to performers during fifteen days of perahera processions on randomly selected days, before performance and after performance at both locations.[349] These experiences can be categorized as follows.

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[348] ANT, Social space, etc.

[349] Their response was positive, however, they were in a hurry to go back homes as soon as they finish these performing parades.

***Perahera* performers (Kandy and Lankathilaka) behaviour and attitude:**

- All of them are non-alcoholic and vegetarian during the entire ceremonial period. This special behaviour is known as *pewenawa* in Sinhala traditional terms.

- Most of them observe *pewenawa* for three months or one month before the start of the festivals and some of them are non-alcoholic and vegetarian for life.

- Non-participating in funerals during the entire period.

Relationships between them and the perahera –

Inner parade/ kumbal perahera/ randoli perahera (Kandy and Lankathilaka)

- Perahera is considered as a part of their life.

- Perahera performance becomes the first priority among all other commitments during the festival period.

- People who are employed in government/private sector obtain leave for this entire period.

- People who are self employed, temporarily suspend same.

How they feel about *perahera*

- During *perahera* season, wherever they stay and whatever they do they are in the great feeling of present themselves in the ceremony and they ensure it.

- At the end of the performance they feel they must participate again in the next year celebrations.

How they feel about their body and performing during *perahera*

- All describe a tire-less feeling about their walk and performance.

- They feel free and less weight in their body.

- They never fall ill during the participation period.

In Kandy during 10 days of outer perahea they walk a total distance approximately 30Km and in Lankathilaka the distance is approximately about 25Km. The temperature in Kandy and Lankathilaka during these parades are shown in *Table 7.4*

Table 7.4: Temperature levels in Kandy and Lankathilaka during performing parades.

Event	Kandy (Temperature in degrees Celsius)	Lankathilaka (Temperature in degrees Celsius)
Night parade	20 – 24	18 - 22
Diya kapeema (close by river)	18 – 22	18 – 20
Day parade	25 – 29	24 - 27

Presently, many performers are from schools and dancing schools and still there are traditional family performers participating in some events. Although many performers are exposed to 'new world' due to 'globalization', they get direct firsthand experiences of body, performance and landscape by participating in the perahera. By walking, repeating, circling, rotating, jumping, dancing and singing they experience the space, spatial quality of the surrounding ***making an inter – related – network***. The repetitive nature of these body performances strengthen the sense of being, resulting in the strengthening of their attachment to the place and sense of place. Tireless feeling throughout the performance, feeling of free and less weight of the body and mind, the deep attachment between them and the perahera & the place, considering perahera as a part of their lives are evidences of embodied relationship, worldhood understanding and sensing the place. Although engagement of these performances reflects traditional nature, many performers are young children from dancing schools and schools thus belonging to contemporary life. Therefore, most important is not the traditional or contemporary, it is the bodily experience of space and place making and the strong feeling of sense of place and sense of attachment to the place and location through bodily performances. it is the authentic understanding of the place by exposing body to the space, having direct experience of landscape, making inter-relationships with other locations and other things. Mind-body acting as a mediator, open a transcending path along the divine axis rooted in the place through performances, linking mundane and divine domains experiencing strong sense of attachment to the place. Understanding of surrounding as an extension of the body is evident in the experiences of performers. Therefore becoming place and dwelling open deeper side of

the place which essentially uplifts the nature of humans and sensitivity of the world, a kind of self realization.

7.2 Perahera, Performing, Natural Landscape

This section is framed within the perahera, performing and natural landscape. Manifestations of ideal forms into real forms are examined in this section in the view of how natural landscape has directed ideal forms and shaped by performing and dwelling. Focusing on the analysing of geometrical patterns marked by narrating and repeating of events and rituals in Asala festivals, the study examines the relationships between natural landscape and performance. Thereafter the study compares these geometrical patterns, geometries of built forms, experiences and meanings with spatial dimensions of dwelling, and examines becoming everyday place within the relationships of ideal forms and experiences of natural landscape. **By comparative analysis of the movement of perahera, the research examines interplay between natural landscape and ideal forms and emerging place in this relationship**. The planting Kapa, inner parade and outer parade are examined, through a diagrammatic analysis. How these movements connect natural landscape and related sensory experiences are compared and analyzed with experience of ideal forms of dwelling. Then, these relationships are matched with meanings, experiences, events and celebrations of performing perahera at both locations and with emerging dwelling patterns of the cultural place. Both case studies are compared analysing relationship of performance and natural landscape. The dwelling patterns of the cultural place are matched with the natural landscape in order to find relationships between intangible and tangible dimensions of the place, how *chora* reflect on the t*opos* and how natural landscape guides the *chora* of the place.

7.2.1 Place making and experiencing ideal form

As discussed in chapter five and chapter six, place is strengthened by performative processes through repetitive events of rituals and performances in traditional cultural settings. Marking centres, axis, insides, entrances, enclosed domains are significant aspects of these performances and therefore, it is evident that

these performances experience spatial dimensions of dwelling and dwelling forms: ideal forms experienced in becoming place, the *chora*. Dwelling forms/ ideal forms (centres, axis, inside, entrances, absolute form of good) represented in *perehera*, in art and artefacts, built forms, and temporary structures are reflections of this understanding process of becoming the everyday place through invisible dimensions of divine experiences and through ritualized performances in both Kandy and Lankathilka. The opened out creative process is a universal process of understanding ideal forms and reflecting the understanding in built space. Entrance structures built up in front of Vishnu devale and other places in Lankathilaka display earlier versions of entrances (*Plate 7.5*), and the shape is similar to the absolute form of good, is an example of reflection of ideal forms. This is an evidence of becoming of physical world of any form (art, architecture, sounds, stories, and etc.) as the reflection of divine experiences and ideal forms (*Fig.7.5*). Knox describes a temporarily built entrance in front of each door of the royal palace during the New Year festival, which is similar to the temporary entrance built in front of the Lankathilaka during perahera festival today. He further describes that, 'people say when these places are adorned with these structures (*thoran*) it becomes a divine place'. Shape of the thorana in front of Vishnu devale is similar to the absolute form of good and it is a reflection of ideal forms into everyday life forms (intangible to tangible/ invisible to visible)


*Plate 7.5: **Geometrical shape of the Thorana***   *Fig.7.5: **Shape of the Absolute form of good***
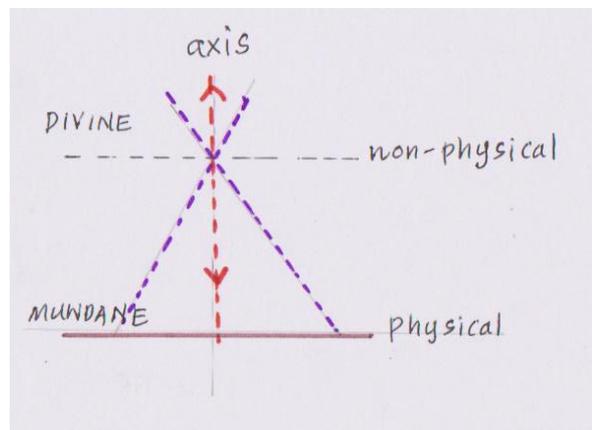
Planting *kapa* at both locations signifies centre and axis, perhaps the basic physical form, *topos* of the dwelling place[350] (*Fig.7.6*) pass through invisible and intangible domains of ideal forms by understanding natural landscape through performances, *chora*.
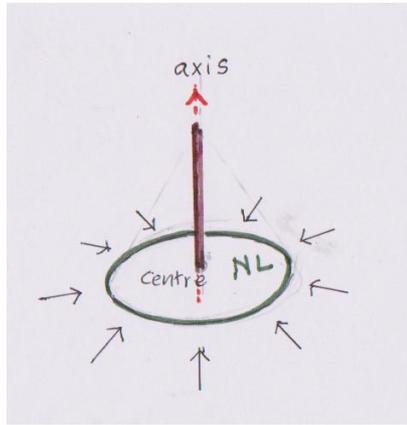

*Fig. 7.6: **Kapa - basic physical form of dwelling -***
Establish Centre and Axis

The thesis proposes that in this phenomenological understanding, the axis passes through centre, connecting mundane life (earth, natural landscape) with divine life (sky, non-physical) and forms of everyday life pass through this transcendental path, by sensing the natural landscape. The tension established by taking in and taking out of sacred insignia from devale/temple signifies axis which performers move through natural landscape, having divine experiences (*Fig.7.7*). Two way movements also describe transcendental experiences between two worlds. *Therefore physical movement of the perahera along the natural landscape coincides with the movement along the divine axis which is non-physical. Hence, natural topos may be understood within this transcendental axis within the experience of ideal forms (Fig. 7.8).* The thesis proposes **'becoming everyday place' could be, interplay between understanding natural topos and divine experiences of ideal forms.** The place emerged by performing rituals of *kapa situweema* and taking out and taking in of sacred insignia both in Kandy and *Lankathilaka* are similar and recognized as the most spiritual event of the whole process of Asala perahera by traditional people[351] and devale priests and assistants are very much concerned over continuing these rituals in traditional way, without making

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[350] And architecture
[351] Many contemporary people, are not aware of the existence of these key rituals , in Asala perahera.

changes. Therefore planting kapa signifies the unfolding ideal forms on the earth linking mundane domains with divine domains.
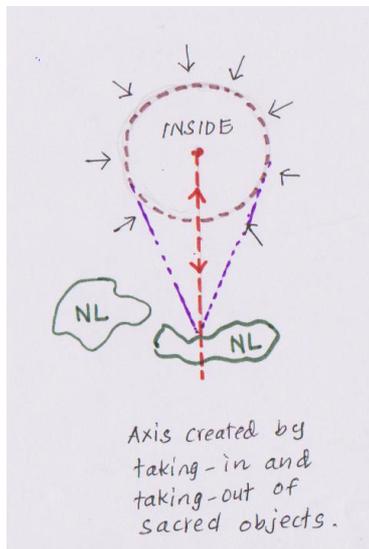

Fig.7.7: *Axis created by tension of taking in/out*
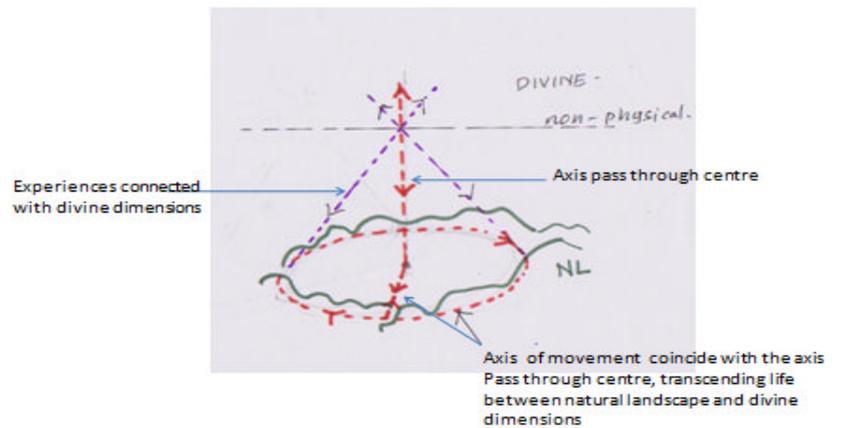
Fig. 7.8: *Movement along the natural landscape coincide with the axis passing through centre.*

7.2.2 Inner parade

By analysing movement of perahera, the research examines interplay between natural landscape and ideal forms and emerging place within this relationship. The four devale Natha, Vishnu, Kataragama, and Pattini of Kandy celebrate five events by inner parades in each devale, from the day following the planting *kapa.* Performing processes of these parades can be explained as in *fig. 7.9.* At the third event perahera moves around the temple, marking three entrances at the front and at two sides and *ath-pandama* held towards the inside of the temple signifying divine presence inside the marked domain. Phenomenological understanding of this place is an inside connecting with divine dimensions. Similar to the axis passing through centre (physical), connecting divine dimensions the axis moves across natural landscape connecting divine dimensions, an interplay of two experiences (mundane and divine, physical and non-physical) revealed in this performance, emerged as devale/temple.

| Event	Flourishing ideal forms (Thesis proposes) *Marking geometrical patterns*	Interplay between Natural landscape and Ideal forms
1st event – Planting Kapa ● *Kapa*	● *centre* D NL *Centre & Axis*	***Centre and Axis*** connect natural landscape with divine dimensions – *flourishing ideal forms*
2nd event Parade moves up to Moonstone *Inner Shrine* A C *Hewisi Mandapa* E	A — *Inner shrine* D C B A C NL *Inner shrine*	**Centre, Axis, movement to moonstone** connect natural landscape with divine dimensions –*flourishing ideal forms* AB = Divine Axis AC = Taking sacred insignia to the moonstone AB = AC = Divine Axis
3rd event Parade moves around the temple A C E	A C E	**Centre, Axis, movement of perehera around the temple** connect natural landscape with divine dimensions –*flourishing ideal forms* AB = Divine Axis ACE = Taking sacred insignia to the entrance of temple – ***two way direction*** EFGE = inner parade around the temple – ***clockwise direction*** **AB = ACE = Divine Axis** **E, F, G** are points of perehera movement and each point is connected with the divine dimensions, by circumbulation.
4th event Parade moves around the temple – Two times A C E	**D** B F C A G E **NL**	
5th event Parade moves around the temple – Three times A C E		at the 4th and 5th event the same process repeat – *flourishing ideal forms* *Becoming place* *sensing the chora* ***Entrances and inside*** - emerging place through this process.
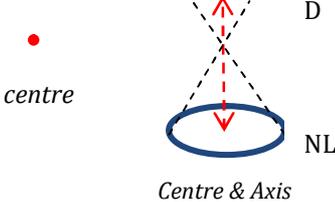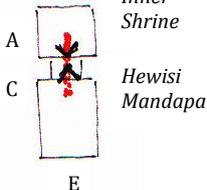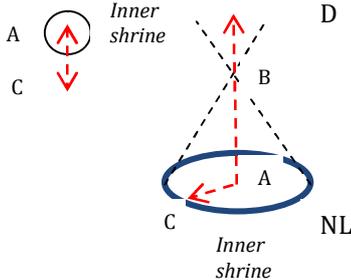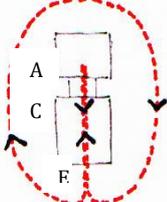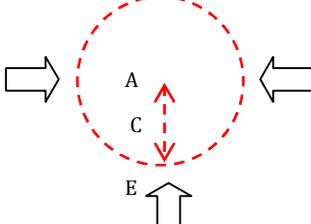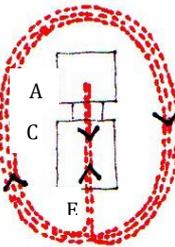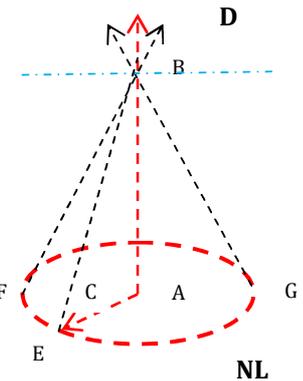
*Fig. 7.9: **Experiencing Ideal forms and marking geometrical patterns through inner parades in Kandy.***

At the repetition of the ritual event , each time (thrice daily) everyday forms emerge/ flourish within the relationship of natural landscape/physical forms and ideal forms/ non-physical forms through performance and dwelling strengthening the sense of being and sense of place. As in geometrical analysis in the table in 3rd, 4th and 5th events , ACE is the same divine axis of AB and therefore, clockwise movement of inner parade marks each point of the landscape connecting with divine dimensions.

The inner parade of Lankathilaka moves across the roughness and hardness of stone terrain, around stupa, along the sloping down and up the stone terrain, around the pond , trampling the sand terrace, experiencing diverging effect of the place, sensing far away views, and mountains. Therefore, movement across the axis interplays with natural *topos*, linking experience of natural landscape with experience of ideal forms in this dynamic place. Natural landscape (physical forms, topography & etc.) and sensory experiences connected through movement of axis of inner parade of Lankathilaka can be listed as follows;

- Stone terrain – roughness, hardness, climbing, sloping
- Sand terrace – roughness of earth
- Water(natural pond in the stone terrain)- reflection of water
- Diverging effect at the top of the rock – feeling of free, light weight
- Views of far away mountains – relieves stress of eye and mind
- Cardinal directions– North, South, East, West, sun rising and sun setting

The experience of natural landscape through inner parade of Lankathilaka is shown in (*fig. 7.10).* At the place where movement of inner parade turns towards the East reveals the diverging effect of the natural landscape and divine experience of the place. The historical event 'silpa' dance is performed at this place according to a special drum beat (*natum beraya*). Devale priest and traditional people describe this event as '*deviyan dakeema',* the closest English interpretation is 'perception of the divinity'. Chapter six discusses the natural landscape of Lankathilaka as a divine centre. According to the analysis of natural landscape in chapter four, natural landscape in Lankathilaka is a prominent hillock where the divine part of the 'absolute form of good'

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is missing on top. Therefore the missing part is imagined and experienced in the cultural place as divine (*Fig.7.11*). People experience the world around them in relation to these ideal forms. Thereby, natural landscape is experienced by relating to divine dimensions of ideal forms (interplaying physical forms and ideal forms). Cultural stories and cultural place emerge in Lankathilaka within this understanding representing temples, stupa, Bo tree shrines and sacred area on top of the rock.


Key: **B** - Bo tree
S - Stupa
T – Temple
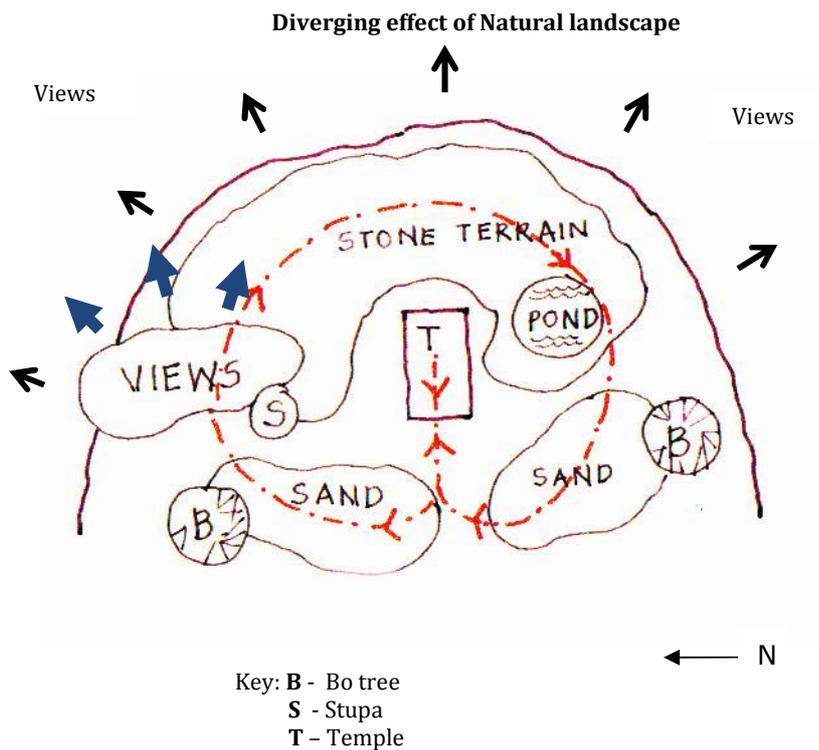
*Fig. 7.10:* ***Axis of movement of inner parade connecting natural topos***
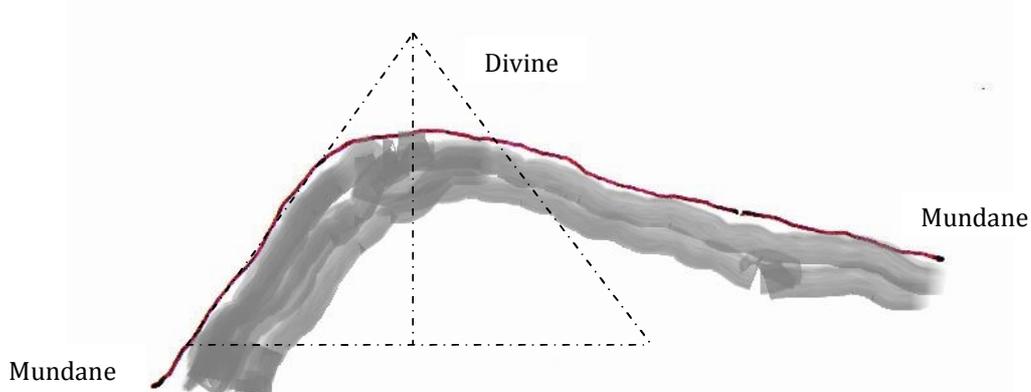
Fig. 7.11: ***Missing part of the rock is imagined as divine - making complete image of the ideal form***

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There is only one perahera performance in Lankathilaka each day. This performing method can be explained as, 'divine dimensions given by the natural landscape has strengthened the divine experience of the dwelling place'. Whereas in Kandy more divine experience is achieved by re-enactment of the event three times each day, circumbulation. The performing of inner parade after fifteen days of planting kapa at Lankathilaka also can be reasoned out within this understanding, due to the divine presence in the natural landscape. People are not aware of the exact reasons behind some traditional performing, but they believe that the changing of these performances will result in evil effects to the place and people. The natural landscape (physical forms and topography and etc.) connected through the movement of the axis of the inner parade and related sensory experiences of Kandy can be listed as follows:

- Sand terrace – roughness
- Views of enclosed mountains and lake – sense of protection, reflection of mountains on water, relieving of stress.
- Converging effect of the enclosed space – sense of protection

Repetition of inner parades around four *devale* in Kandy, experience converging effect of the place by enclosed mountains (*Fig.7.12*). These mountains provide intimate inside as discussed in chapter five and in chapter four. Absolute form of good can be imagined within the enclosed valley by three mountains. Therefore the whole absolute form of good is invisible and intangible within the spatial volume enclosed by physical forms of natural landscape (*Fig.7.13*). This intangible ideal form provides divine dimensions within mundane dimensions, unfolding the inside which is similar to the inside of a temple/devale/home. The inner parades of the four devale mark four insides as discussed earlier. This performance can be explained as above, because any place located in this phenomenological understanding of natural landscape is an inside.

Converging effect of
Natural landscape

MOUNTAIN

MOUNTAIN

VIEWS   VIEWS

Temple

VIEWS

LAKE

MOUNTAIN

N
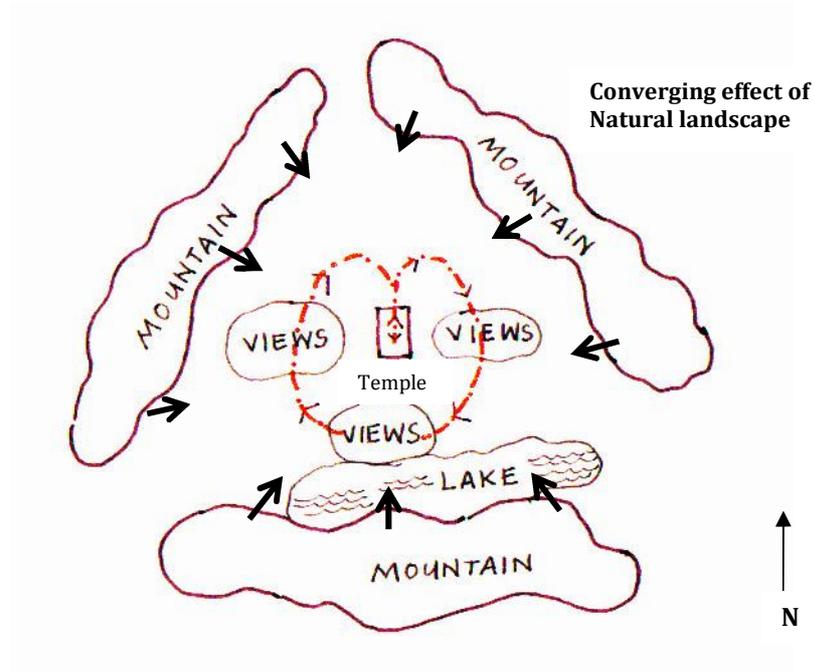
Fig. 7.12: ***Axis of movement of inner parade connecting natural Topos***
(not to a scale)

Divine

Mundane
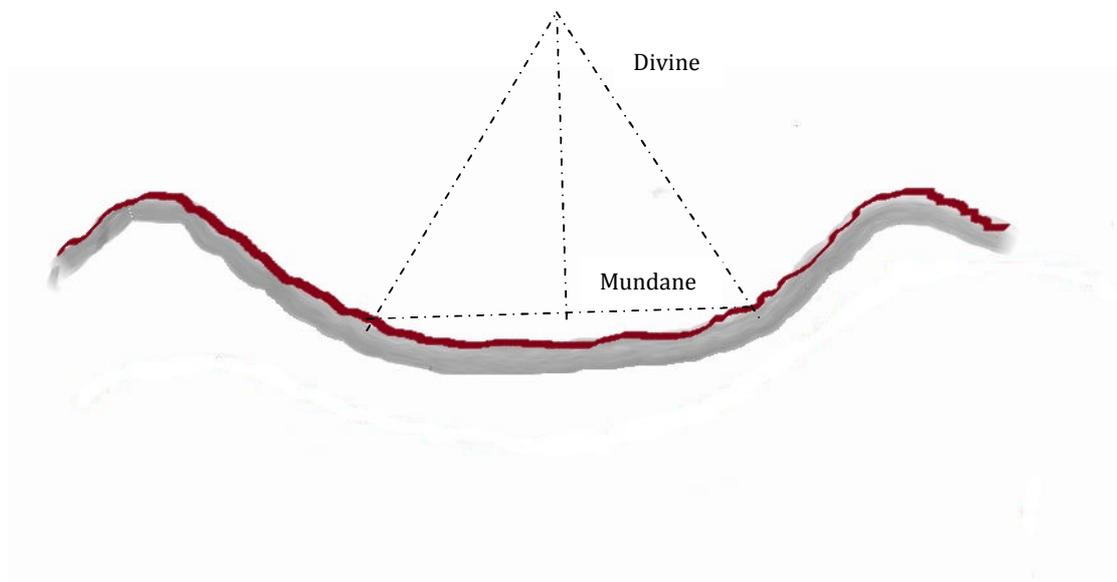
Fig. 7.13: ***Absolute form of good within the valley, Kandy*** *(not to a scale)*

The (*Table 7.5*) provides more information about inner parades of Kandy and Lankathilaka. The whole experience of the inner parade in Lankathilaka as perception of the divinity on the rock describes the nature of the place given by natural landscape as a divine centre. In Kandy the whole experience of the inner parades in four devale describe the natural landscape as an inside experiencing divine dimensions within

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mundane dimensions. The sense of place as a divine centre and intimate inside directed by two natural landscape locations induce people to understand the nature of the place through bodily sensing by means of performing in the landscape. Walking bare footed, touching material sensitivity, hardness of the earth surface, making inter-related network of relationships are significant in these performances. Establishment of cultural theatre is evident in the place. All people make direct contacts with landscape with the body and performance making a one unit of body-performance-landscape and sensing and weaving the place. Experience of landscape is related to imaginary stories, cultural performances and dwelling patterns of the place.

Table 7.5: ***Time, place, No. of participants, No of observers, repetition of event, experience of inner parade at Kandy and Lankathilaka***

event/ performance	no. of participants and their experience	no. of observers and their experience	important events	no. of times, and time taken for the event	who involved	whole experience
Inner parade at Lankathilaka (Vishnu devale)	10-15 *Deviyan dakeema* (perception of divinity)	60-70 as a spiritual moment	Silpa dance all other sounds stop only Silpa dance and drum beat performed.	Once a day for five days 20 minutes	priest, assistants, drummers, dancer, Basnayaka nilame, headman and priests of other villages, gathered people as observers	***Perception of the divinity on the rock.*** ***Divine dimensions on the rock***
Inner parade at Kandy (Natha, Vishnu, Kataragama, and Pattini devale)	14-16 Feel happy, feeling of divine sense.	20-25 spiritual blessings	Repeating of event, marking of three entrances.	15 times 40 minutes	priest, assistants, drummers, Basnayaka nilame, headman and priests of other villages, gathered people as observers	***Feeling of divine sense***

7.2.3 Outer parade

Comparison of geometrical patterns marked by outer parades of Kandy and Lankathilaka provide more explanations of relationships between natural landscape and performances of Asala perahera. Natural landscape (physical forms, topography & etc.) and sensory experiences connected through movement of axis of outer parade of **Kandy** and **Lankathilaka** are tabulated in (*Table 7.6*).

Table 7.6: Natural landscape connected through movement of outer parade

| Kandy		Lankathilaka	
Natural landscape	**Sensory experiences**	**Natural landscape**	**Sensory experiences**
Flat land, sand, rubble –	roughness of the earth, and topography	Stone terrace	roughness of the earth, topography
Views of enclosed mountains	sense of protection	Sand terrace	roughness of the earth
Water (Lake)	reflection of mountains, pleasing effect on the eye and the mind	**Water** (natural pond in the stone terrain)	freshness, reflection of the temple
Trees	Shelter, image of ideal form.	**Bo tree**	sense of shelter, inside, centre, image of ideal form
Converging effect of the place	sense of protection, concentration towards centre	Diverging effect of the summit of the rock	relaxation, free feeling
		Views of far away mountains pleasing	Pleasing eye and mind, relaxed & free feeling
		Cardinal directions (created by sun rise and sun set)	North, South, East, West spatial direction. sense of time
		Sloping up and down of the rock and stone surface along Deva Veediya	material sensitivity, topography
		Entering and coming out of the place on top of the rock	Experience the natural landscape, sudden changes of spatial qualities.

The outer parade of Lankathilaka experiences more variations, in comparison with those of Kandy, in topography, surface texture, material sensitivity, and roughness of the physical forms, as Kandy is a developed city. However, there are basic natural *topos*, natural elements (of divine dimensions as discussed in chapter two) connected with perahera movement of both locations. In these two case study examples stones, rocks & mountains; trees, sacred trees; water are connected and experienced by movement of outer parades. These are in different forms, shapes, textures, and scale in these two locations. In Lankathilaka the roughness of stone terrain and sand terrace, and difficulty in reaching the place increase the divine non-physical experience on top of the rock.

Comparative analysis of the outer parade in Kandy and Lankathilaka is shown in (*Fig. 7.14*). The axis of movement of perahera makes an encircling in Kandy, in clockwise direction and in one way movement and marking enlarged inside, the whole city is enclosed by the final night parade. The circumbulation movement strengthens the centre and the inside at each time of circumbulation, interplaying with forms of natural landscape and ideal forms. The intimate inside given by natural landscape is performed and strengthened by the repetition of ten continous parades. In Lankathilaka, the linear extension which connects two marked domains by performing ten outer parades (kumbal perahera and randoli perahera) exhibits two way direction, while marked domains (encircles) in Lankathilaka and in Kandy represent one way clockwise direction. The two way direction movements mean, transcending experiences, same as divine axis, where life oscillates between mundane and divine dimensions. Therefore Lankathilaka Deva veediya represents transcending experiences, as discussed in chapter four about sloping lands and as the Sinhala meaning 'Deva veediya' , the street of gods. The divine centre given by natural landscape is performed and strengthened by ten continuous parades as in Kandy. The same divine axis of movement of perehera (AC) has extended to Sinhasana (ACE) and marks a smaller domain around it linking to divine dimensions (BE), is an evidence of developing deeper sensitivity with the natural landscape and surrounding by body performances and how ideal forms are shaped by the natural landscape.

*Fig. 7.14: **Comparative analysis of geometrical patterns and flourishing Ideal forms.***
Interplay between Natual *topos* and Ideal forms

Kandy	Lankathilaka

AB = Divine Axis
AC= Taking sacred insignia outside and back inside – *Two way direction*
C = Place - sacred insignia taken to the street

AB = AC = Divine Axis

ACEFC = Movement of outer parade – **C***lockwise direction*

City is inside of the Flourished Ideal Form

AB = Divine Axis
ACE= Taking sacred insignia outside and back inside – *two way direction*

AB = ACE = Divine Axis

ACFGC = Movement of outer parade – **C***lockwise direction*

ACE-ECA = movement of parade **–** *Two way direction*

EHE = Movement of outer parade encircling Sinhasana – **C***lockwise direction*

Divine area flourished on the rock, transcending to mundane area.

The transcending life between divine and mundane dimensions is revealed inside the enclosed space by three mountains and perahera movement, thus the boundary of passing MITTE is within inside of the enclosed valley in Kandy as discussed in section 2.6.2 (*Fig. 7.15*). On the other hand, invisible absolute form of good recognized in the natural landscape may provides pre-images to pass the life into divine dimensions and gains transcendental experiences between natural landscape and ideal forms. The city emerges within these two-way understanding, as an inside, representing divine places and mundane places in the marked domain by outer parade. The ideal form is developed as a city. At Lankathilaka, transcending experience from divine to the everyday world and vice versa is evident through Deva veediya. This transcendence happens between the marked domain on top of the rock of the divine non-being place and marked domain around the Sinhasana of the divine kingly place which has connections to the mundane world. In both kumbal perahera and randoli perahera of Lankathilaka, *deva yaduma* (praying for god Vishnu) at Sinhasana is an important event. The phenomenological experience of this moment could be described as transcending divine experience (on top of the rock) to the mundane world (Sinhasana) along the sloping down of Deva veediya. Therefore, interplay between natural landscape of Lankathilaka and ideal forms of experiences made divine inside (on top of the rock) and kingly mundane inside (at the end of Deva Veediya) and life experience transcends between these two worlds. Thus, passing MITTE along Deva veediya (*Fig. 7.16*) and divine area is separated from mundane area and the village emerge within this understanding shaping the ideal form into everyday forms.
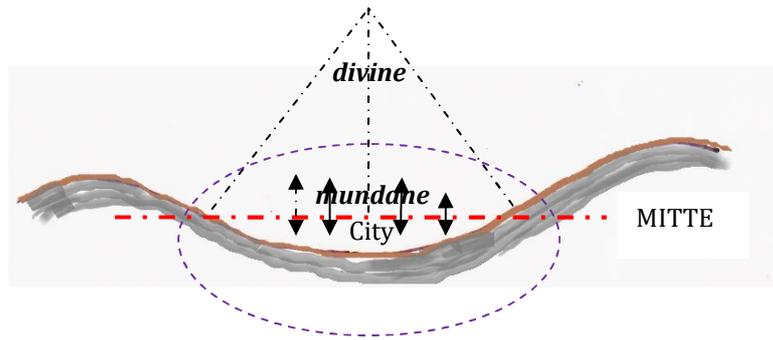
*Fig.7.15 : **Transition between Mundane /divine within the city***
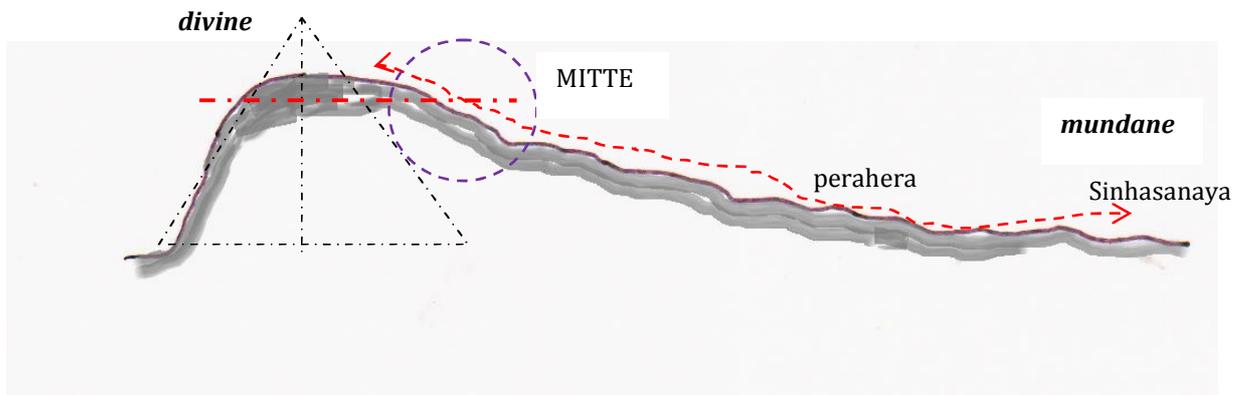

*Fig. 7.16: **Transition between Mundane/divine** along Deva Veediya*

The *Table 7.7* and *Table 7.8* below indicate comparative analysis of Kumbal perahera and Randoli perahera at both locations, tabulated under categories of number of participants, observers and their experiences on the performance; important events celebrating and whole experience of the performance.

Table 7.7: Kumbal perahera : No. of people, experience, time and important events.

Event/ performance	No. of participants and their experience	No. of observers and their experience	important events	No. of times, and time taken for the event	involved persons	whole experience
Lankathilaka Vishnu devale **(evening perahera)**	150-200 Deviyan dakeema (perception of divinity) at certain places	3000-4000 spiritual atmosphere, bring children to receive spiritual energy sense of attachment	Deva yaduma (requesting divine beings, and praise their characters at Sinhasana)	once a day 5 days (5 days annualy) **1 ½ hour**	priest, servicemen, drummers, assistants, headmen of other temples, dancers, musicians, elephants, gathered people as observers	All events make connections with natural landscape and experiencing spiritual atmosphere
Lankathilaka Vishnu devale **(night parade)**	10-15	25-50	Deva yaduma (requesting divine beings, and praise their characters at Sinhasana)	once a day 5 days (5 days annually) **45 minutes**	priest, servicemen, drummers, Basnayaka nilame, assistants, headmen of other temples, gathered people as observers.	divine, perception of divinity
Kandy Natha devale Vishnu devale Kataragama devale Pattini devale	1000 -2000 Pleasure, feel like their place, light weight feeling of the body.	100,000 – 150,000 pleasure	Keeping sacred insignia inside of karanduwa on elephants' back.	once a day, 5 days **3 ½ hours**	Four devale priests, assistants, Basnayaka nilame, headman and people of related villages, dancers, musicians, acrobats, elephants, and other performers, observers.	Pleasure, make connections with natural landscape. divine sense.

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Table. 7.8: Randoli perahera : No. of people, experience, time and important events.

Event/ performance	No. of participants and their experiences	No. of observers and their experiences	Important events	No. of times, and time taken for the event	who involved	whole experience
Lankathilaka Vishnu devale (evening parade)	450-500 *Deviyan dakeema* (perception of divinity) at some places , experience themselves as part of the performance and the place	30,000-50,000 pleasure, feeling of attachment to the place spiritual atmosphere, bring children to receive spiritual blessings.	Deva yaduma (requesting divine beings, and praise their characters at Sinhasana) entrance structures – *thoran,* decorated ceilings (*uduviyan, pawada*[352]) Randoli takes in front of sacred insignia	Once a day 5 days 1x5 times per year **2 ½ hours**	Buddhist temple and people, Vishnu devale and people, drummers, assistants, headmen of other temples, dancers, musicians, elephants, gathered people as observers.	**all events make connections with natural landscape, and the cultural place, experiencing spiritual atmosphere**
Kandy	2000-3000 Pleasure, feel like their place, light feeling of the body.	200,000 – 300,000 pleasure, feel like their place.	four randoli taken at the end of perahera, behind god's insignias	Once a day for five days per year 3 ½ hour	four devale, priests, assistants, Basnayaka nilame, heads and people of related villages, dancers, musicians, acrobats, elephants, and other performers, observers.	**Pleasure, make connections with natural landscape divine sense.**

The increasing number of participants and observers and making cultural theatres are significant through continuous performing of ten perahera in these performances. Through walking bare footed they experience the topography, hardness of earth, spatial relationships, natural *topos* and built *topos* around the body. All these performing actions and processes make a hard journey in order to achieve dwelling, while natural landscape provide guidance. Each time of repeating, inter-relationship between ideal forms and natural forms (given by the physical forms and shapes) flourishes as a city in Kandy and a village in Lankathilaka making everyday forms.

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[352] Clothe carpet

Embodied relationship of the body with the landscape is evident in performing these cultural stories and sensing and weaving the place. As discussed earlier, the movement of the perahera opens a transcendental passage which everyone experiences passing ideal forms into everyday forms in this unfolded performing place. The increased number of performers increases this bodily understanding and sharing the experience with each other and with observers, sharing re-enactment of the place thus strengthening the place attachment and sense of place.

7.3 Diya Kapeema (Water cutting) : *re-birth of the place*.

This section discusses about the diya Kapeema ceremony and relationships developed with performances, place and dwelling. The experiences, meanings and events are matched with performances and natural landscape both in Kandy and Lankathilaka. The experiences, and meanings of behavioural actions of performers and observers[353] are observed and gathered through participant observation and through informal questionnaire forwarded to them throughout the ceremony at different times at riverside and at temples where they rest, before the start of the day/ night parade. The meanings[354] and experiences in two locations are compared with the performance and with the place in order to understand the intangible sense of place and performing. The relationship developed with case study locations, with diya Kapeema performance and with the river is discussed within this complex background, and within the theoretical framework discussed in chapter two. The last event of the whole process of Asala perahera, the day parade is analysed within the relationships of experiences (of participants, participant observers including research assistants and principal researcher) and the event and the place in order to understand the intangible relationships among diya kapeema, day parade and the place, Kandy and Lankathilaka. These relationships are further compared with geometrical patterns made by performing the parades to understand relationship between intangible and tangible dimensions: *topos* and *chora* of the place.

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[353] Here observers are mere participants.
[354] Historical, cultural, religious

7.3.1 Diya Kapeema and Experience.

There are two main events in the diya kapeema performance. The first is at the river where diya kapeema ceremony is held and the second is at the temple where people gather to honour gods and make wishes relating to their mundane lives. In both locations the place where diyakapeema ceremony is held, is known as 'diya Kapanathota'. The Sinhala interpretation of word 'thota' is a place of a river which has connections with human activities and bridging two banks of a river. In Kandy diyakapanathota is at Gatambe which is a famous historical location. In Lankathilaka diyakapanathota is at Bothalapitiya associated with several mythical stories developed around the place, describing the spiritual and mythical aspects of the place. Therefore, it is evident that in both cases, diyakapanathota by the side of Mahaweli river reflects divine/spiritual experiences. The following tables (*Table 7.9 and Table 7.10*) describe experiences of participants and performers, number of people involved, and in what activities they are engaged in these performances at diyakapanathota in both case studies.

Table 7.9: Kandy Diyakapanathota at Gatambe at Mahaweli river

No. of villages/temples participated in the ceremony	only four devale (Natha, Vishnu, Kataragama and Pattini) participated in the ceremony
No. of performers, their experiences and what they do	200-250 from all four devale - Experience divine sense and presence - Bring Kapa to the river - Bring randoli , containing pan kendiya(water pitcher), sword, etc. - Bring god's insignia - While rhyming prayers continues, throwing kapa to the river. - Water cutting is done by a sword and collect water from the same place to pan kendiya.
No. of observers, their experiences and what they do	10,000-20,000 - Experience divine sense and help - Lighting lamps for divine beings - Make wishes of their life, and experience materialisation of these wishes - Make special rice to offer divine beings, and give a part to people gathered at the place. - Feed elephants milk rice and fruits – banana, pineapple, orange, golden melon, sugar cane, apples etc. - Crack coconuts. - Bathe at the same place where rituals held (ice cold water), believing the washing away of all sins and illnesses.
involvement of Buddhist temple	Pirith chanting throughout the night.
Distance from Kandy to the place of Diyakapeema.	3 Km

Table 7.10: Lankathilaka Diyakapanathota at Bothalapitiya at Mahaweli river

No. of villages/ temples participated in the ceremony	Five villages – Lankathilaka, Embekke, Vegiriya, Ganegoda, Wallahagoda.
No. of performers, their experiences and what they do	200-250 performers from all four devale - Experience divine sense and presence - Carrying kapa to the river - Carrying randoli , containing pan kendi(water pitcher), sword, and other weapons of gods. (keep at the *Bothalapitiya* temple situated close by river) - Bring God's insignia to keep at the *Bothalapitiya* temple, close by river - Throw kapa to the river, while chanting prayers (all five devale at the same time) - Water cutting is done with a sword and collect water from the same place to pan kendiya.
No. of observers, their experiences and what they are doing	800- 1000 observers - Experience divine sense and help - Lighting lamps for divine beings - Make wishes of their life, for their children and experience success of these wishes - Make special rice to offer divine beings, and give part to people gathered at the place. - Crack coconuts. - Bathe at the same place where rituals took place. (ice cold water)
Participation of Buddhist temple	Pirith chanting throughout the night.
Distance from Lankathilaka to river at Diyakapeema	9 Km

At both places, experience of performers and observers, are evidence of divine sense and presence in the place and around the performance. It is clear this experience developed with the place and with the increased number of gathered people and with the performance. *Plate nos. 7.6* to *7.14* illustrates the atmosphere of diyakapanathota at Gatambe and Bothalapitiya. For example: people gathered, time, events, performing, temporary structures and etc.

*Plate 7.6: **Diyakapanathota at Gatambe, Kandy:** people gather from midnight*

*Plate 7.7: **Entrances to river at diyakapanathota,** Gatambe Kandy*

*Plate 7.8: **No. of people increased at dawn, Gatambe** Kandy.*

*Plate 7.9: **Final destination, Gatambe at dawn***
Perehera departe devale in midnight to reach
diyakapanathota Gatambe around 5.30am

*Plate 7.10: **Feeding elephants***

*Plate 7.11: **Lankathilaka diyakapanathota***

*Plate 7.12: **Lankathilaka - gathered people
from neighbourhood**[355].*

*Plate 7.13: **Temporary structure for
water cutting ceremony***

*Plate 7.14: **Diyakapanathota at Bothalapitiya -**
gathered people.*

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[355] They arrive here, as they are just out of home, but people gathered in Kandy at diya kapeema at Gatambe had purposely prepared. Some of them are on their way to work place or offices, schools, institutions to proceed after participating in the ritual ceremony.

7.3.2 People and Gods

After diyakapeema ritual ceremony, randoli and sacred insignia of temples of Kandy are kept at Ganesh kovil, while sacred objects of temples of Lankathilaka are kept at Bothalapitiya temple. At both places large numbers of villages gather to receive divine blessings, and to offer coins to randoli and milk rice to gods and people. In Kandy , randoli of the four devale are kept at four different places inside the Ganesh kovil , while in Lankathilaka five randoli of five devale are kept at five different places on sand terrace of Bothalapitiya temple. The thoughts and experiences of people who gathered and performances are similar in both cases Kandy and Lankathilaka and information gathered, is tabulated as below (*Table 7.11*).

Table 7.11 : Thoughts & experiences of people gatehered at Ganesh Kovil and Bothalapitiya temple.

Description of people interviewed	Their thoughts and experiences
- Many of them are from urbanized suburban villages in and around Kandy. - Many at Lankathilaka are more village typed than in Kandy. - Mothers (30 – 65 plus ages) - Fathers (30 – 65 plus ages) - Children - Mothers with daughters or son - Mother, father and children - Elderly females of the same family with cousins or neighbours. - Elderly males. - Teenage boys. - House wives, teachers, office workers, business men and students.	- Experience as the most spiritual moment of the whole perehera performance. - Experience strong feeling of divine sense and divine power. - All wishes, made on previous years became successful. - many of them continuously come for more than ten/twenty years to honour gods. - Experience of divine presence and rejuvenating the place.
Description of performers[356]	**their thoughts and experience**
- Priest, assistant priest and temple assistants. Sitting close by randoli, many of them look tired and sleepy.[357] - main priest and assistants apply earth on foreheads of people and bless them.	- Feel happy and successful over their performance. - Experience strong feeling of divine sense and presence. - Main priest experience many divine feelings throughout the performances (which they are not ready to reveal)

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[356] All other performers have left for homes after displaying in previous night parades, and a few number of hewisi players belong to respective temples stay back.

[357] They are continuously performing from previous night parade started around 4.00 pm on previous day.

The ritual blessings at Ganesh kovil in Kandy and Bothalapitiya temple in Gampola continue until the start of dayparade on an auspicious time set by an astrologer, generally after 1.00 pm in the afternoon. This event displays ending of a continuous process, which involved tiresome and committed work for fifteen days. In both cases, performers and gathered people[358] experience strong divine feeling and presence, over the performance and the place. The strength of divine experience gathered, through continuous repeating of performance may have increased the divine sense, experienced at diyakapanathota Gatambe and Bothalapitiya.

Plate 7.15: **People at the forecourt-** *Ganesh kovil*

Plate 7.16: **people inside Ganesh kovil** *notice: food for offering divine beings and people*

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[358] See plate 7.15 to plate 7. 18

Plate 7.17: **People, waiting to receive ritual blessings**, *from priests at Ganesh Kovil*

Plate 7.18: **People gathered at Bothalapitiya temple**, *to receive ritual blessings from priests of five devale.*

7.3.3 Day parade and Re-birth

Day parade of both locations could be described as a re-visit to the place, after experiencing the climax of experiences at diya Kapeema, and thereafter giving ritual blessings to people at Ganesh kovil and Bothalapitiya temple as a 'pause' of a hard journey. Geometrical patterns made by day parades of both locations, describe re-entering to Kandy and Lankathilaka and thereafter to devale and temples as the ending

of the whole performance of Asala perahera. The experiences of performers and observers over the day parade in both locations are similar. In Kandy there is a large number of people gathered on either side of the streets[359], to receive blessings and honour divine beings and to offer refreshments to performers and elephants, by offering food and drinks. In Lankathilaka the parade joins, Embekke and Vegiriya parades and the parade of Ganegoda joins, Wallahagoda. These parades are honoured by villagers sparsely gathered on either side of roads. The following table describes the experience of performers and observers of day parades in Kandy and in Lankathilaka. Each type of performer and observer (*Table 7.12*) is interviewed, informally after performing. Experience of research assistants and the principal researcher are also included as participant observers.

Table 7.12: **Experience of Day parade** *Kandy and Lankathilaka*

Performers	experience
- Priests of devale - Assistant priests - Admin. heads - Devale assistants - Ath-pandamkaru - Hewisi players of devale - dancers - Magulbera players - Dhawula player - Thammatam player	- New blessings - New place - Happiness, prosperity gained by the place - Self confidence - Divine sense and presence.
observers	**experience**
- People living in Kandy and Lankathilaka - People of nearby villages - Many of them are families, father, mother, children, cousins and neighbours come as a group. - Group of people gathered on either side of roads, feed elephants and offer food and drinks to performers. - Many people do this continuously, for several years in return of the success of their wishes. - Principal researcher and research assistants.	- Freshness of the place - Prosperity, happiness and success of the place and their lives. - Divine sense and presence. - Refreshment of everything inclusive of their bodies and mind.

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[359]See Plate 7.19

Therefore, experience of performers, performing observers, researchers as participant observers explain refreshment, and new feeling of the place, both in Kandy and in Lankathilaka after the end of day parade. *Plates 7.20* to *Plate 7.28* illustrate the attitude of performers, observers and the performance of day parade.

*Plate 7.19: **performers and performing observers**[360]*

*Plate 7.20: **perahera revisit the city, Kandy***

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[360] Observers make inter-actions with performers, by feeding and offering foods and cracking coconut etc.

Plate 7.21: Perahera parades around the sacred square

Plate 7.22: People offer coins to Randoli of devale

Plate 7.23: perahera proceeds between Vishnu devale and Natha devale square towards   King's palace along deva Sanhinda.

Plate 7.24: Vishnu devale perahera in day parade.

Plate 7.25: Administrative heads (Basnayaka nilame, Diyawadena nilame) and assistants after the end of day parade

Plate 7.26: After the end of day parade, participant observers walk back to their homes - along the old streets (where perahera parades in Kandy)

Plate 7.27: **View after the day parade in Kandy**

Plate 7.28: **Streets in Kandy after day parade.**

7.3.4 Rejuvenating the place

The geometrical patterns marked by diya kapeema perahera and day parade across the landscape have made connections between the place and water (river). In both cases, along these journeys people experience time and spatial dimension of topography and physical features as: changing patterns of night and day; variation in temperature between 18–32 degrees centigrade; sun setting, sun rising, moon rising, moon setting; cold breeze and dry winds; roughness of the earth, sand, stone in relation to the feeling of wate; land formation and surface relief; rocks, mountains, trees, water; far away views of

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mountains and sky. In both case studies re-birth and refreshment connect with river, in bathing and experiencing refresh quality of water, after a long and hard journey of experiencing the roughness of the landscape. It can be assumed that during early times/days all performers may have dipped in and bathed water, refreshing their body and minds at diya kapeema. Changing patterns of the night and day, cold and hot weather, sun setting and sun rising, and darkness and light also may have provided experience of recreation and rebirth. Both in Kandy and in Lankathilaka, diya kapeeme and day parade mark two way direction: a transcendental axis. As discussed in chapter two, water symbolizes divine experiences and these geometrical patterns connected with water indicate divine experience in re-enactment of the place by performing Asala perahera. These performances are evidences of transcending everyday forms through divine experiences, through the domain of the origin of creation and re-creation. It is noted that in both places, diya kapeema is linked to the 'thota'. As discussed 'thota' means the linking of two banks of the same river. Phenomenological explanation of this event is a representation of linking two worlds of the same life, transcending between two worlds of mundane and divine. The thesis states that people relate everyday experiences with natural landscape, and the natural landscape guides everyday experiences. People, by experiencing the natural landscape: physical forms, physical features, topography and physical geography and by repetition of performing make inter-relationships with natural landscape, performing place and dwelling. The natural landscape is identified based on experience of ideal forms of dwelling and performing.

The whole series of perahera from the beginning of planting kapa to the end of diya kapeema and day parade is an evidence of a creative process of a place and re-enactment of the place. These performances reflect the essential nature of the dwelling, as repeating of rituals repeat passing mitte and gain divine experiences again and again, strengthening the sense of place and sense of being in the world. Therefore, repetitive nature of ritual behaviour is a timeless creative process of becoming and decaying everyday forms, thus uplifting the nature of humans. *It is not the traditional or contemporary, but what is important is the methods of performing.* As discussed in

chapter two: it is by means of walking (barefoot) in the landscape; repetition of action; acting and making inter-relationships with the place and the landscape; imagination; bodily movements, gesture in order to understand spatiality of the surrounding; emotions, perceptions and sensation of the landscape; and doing the same action by a group of people. As discussed earlier many performers belong to the youth generation. After participating in performing and observing these ritual performances, all people return to their day-to-day engagements[361]. But experiences of performers and observers describe strengthening of the sense of place and sense of attachment with the place and with the landscape location at each time of participation. It is a question whether contemporary life styles encourage the above highlighted methods of performing and bodily understandings.

7.4 Buddhist Divine Sri Lankan place

This section examines the final question of how place (inclusive of architecture) emerges within the relationship of these performances and the natural landscape. The discussion is framed within two sub questions of how relationships between natural landscape and experiences of ideal forms/ dwelling reflect on the Buddhist divine performances; how these relationships shape the cultural place, and architecture. This section examines the relationships of natural elements and experiences; natural elements and performances; permanent structures and experiences; permanent structures and natural elements; and performances and permanent structures, by applying pattern matching techniques.

7.4.1 Natural elements, ideal forms and Buddhist/Divine performance

This section examines how experiences of natural landscape have been transformed into cultural/religious performances focusing on Buddhist divine performances in Kandy and in Lankathilaka. Topographical and geometrical analysis of

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[361] Many of them engage in contemporary way of life: working in private, government sector, running their own enterprise, studying at schools (aiming to GCE syllabus), universities, other institutions.

the natural landscape is compared with ideal forms and related cultural experiences of Buddhist divine performances, focusing on three performings of non-being, divine (Natha, Vishnu, Kataragama , Pattini and etc) and Kingly nature (including the temple of the Tooth relic). As discussed in earlier chapters mundane/ everyday life is framed within these three performances. The following tables (*table 7.13 & 7.14)* and diagrams (*fig. 7.17, 7.18, 7.19, 7.20)* describe relationships between experience of ideal forms and natural elements/location, and related Buddhist divine understanding in Kandy and in Lankathilaka.

Table 7.13: **Buddhist/Divine understanding of the natural landscape location, Kandy**

Natural elements/ location (refer fig. 7.17)	Experience of ideal forms (Thesis proposes)	Performance – interpretation in the cultural place.	
		Divine (Hindu) Understanding	**Buddhist understanding**
central location of the valley	inside of the absolute form of good.(close experience of mountains, centralized location and water)	*Natha*	The god is recognized as Bodhisatva- the next Buddha.
central location of valley :in front of Natha	inside of the absolute form of good. (close experience of absolute form of good)		**Buddhist** image houses. Bo tree shrines
central location of valley: side of Natha	inside of the absolute form of good	**Pattini** –motherly goddess	
Valley: towards West from Natha	inside of the absolute form of good	**Kataragama** – help to protect the city against invaders.	
side of the Udawattakele mountain	sloping land, transcendental experience define the inside volume of absolute form of good.	**Vishnu** – guardian of the Buddhist Sri Lankan place.	
side of the Udawattakele mountain	sloping land, transcendental experience. define the inside volume of absolute form of good.	**kingly**- there were more ritual performances for the king[362], thus divine experiences	
side of the Udawattake mountain	Sloping land, transcendental experience. define the inside volume of absolute form of good.	also experience as kingly and divine[363]	**The living Buddha** represented by the Temple of the Tooth Relic.

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[362] Rituals performed for the king are similar to rituals performed at temples and devale in Kandy (Kulatillake,1991)

[363] Rituals performing at Temple of the Tooth Relic is similar to the ritual performances at four devale in Kandy. Therefore, these performances reflect divine experiences.
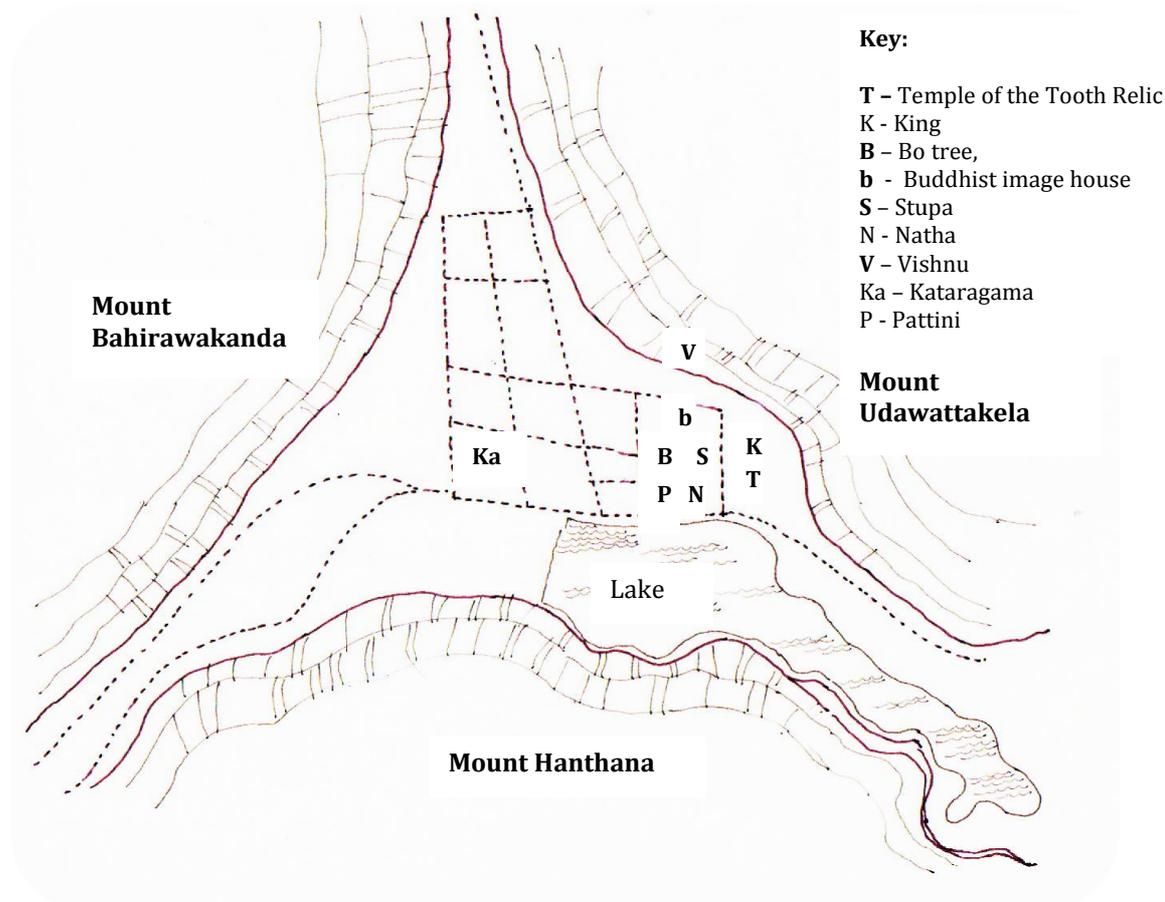
Fig. 7.17 :Locations of Buddhist, Divine, Kingly performances in Kandy

*Table7. 14: **Buddhist/Divine understanding of the natural landscape location** – Lankathilaka*

natural elements/ location/ topography refer Fig. 7.18	experience of ideal forms (Thesis proposes)	Performance – interpretation in the cultural place.	
		Divine (Hindu) understanding	**Buddhist understanding**
central location on the rock	Define centre, axis, of the complete image of absolute form of good		non-being divine centre,
on top of the rock	Missing part of the absolute form of good, of divine area (see fig. 7.16)	divine gods- Vishnu, Kataragama, Saman, Vebeeshana, Ganesh, Kumara Bandara, Dadimunda	stupa, Bo tree shrine
sloping down of the rock towards West	axis, transcendental experience	transcendental experience of Vishnu	

D   b

S

V

B   B

D

D/K

Key:

B – Bo tree,
b - Buddhist image house
S - Stupa
V – Vishnu
D – Divine beings
K - King
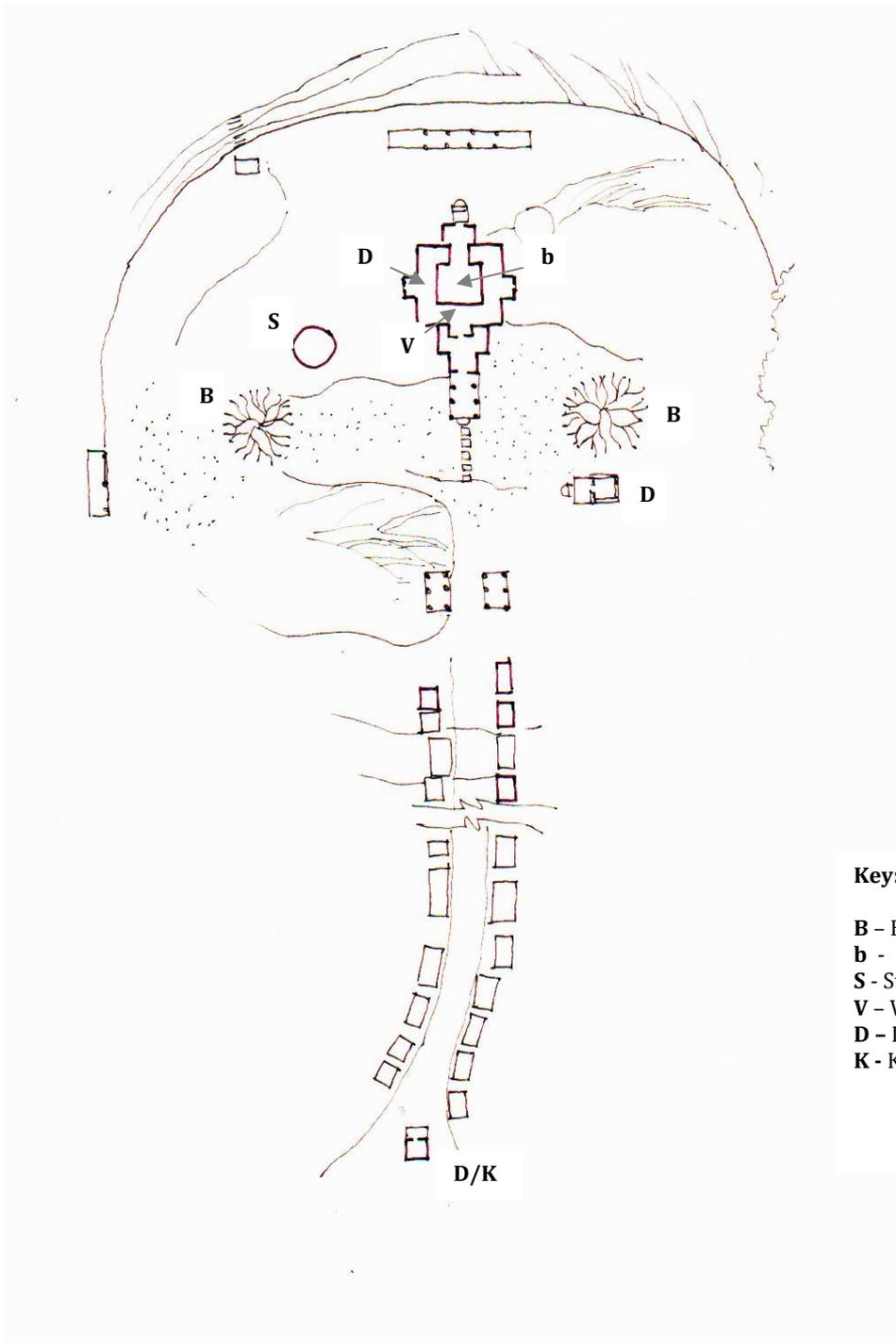
*Fig. 7.18: **Lankathilaka – Locations of Buddhist, Divine, Kingly performances***

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Fig. 7.19: **Kandy- Buddhist, Divine,Kingly understanding**
  Of the natural landscape

Fig. 7.20: **Lankathilaka -Buddhist, Divine,**
Kingly understanding of the natural
landscape

Buddhist , Divine, Kingly
understanding of the Natural
landscape

Kandy & Lankathilaka

Key :

Orange – Buddhist
understanding

Yellow – Divine
understanding

Red – Kingly

Blue - Water

Key:

B – Bo tree,
b - Buddhist image house
N - Natha
V – Vishnu
K – Kataragama
P - Pattini

	Kandy	**Lankathilaka**

Kandy   **Lankathilaka**

Key : **Green – Natural landscape –
Mountains, Rock**

B – Buddhist understanding
D – Hindu Divine understanding
K - Kingly
M - Mundane

Mountains **-** represent
Vishnu, Kingly & Live Buddha
(Sacred Relic).

Buddhist, Divine, Mundane
performances **in the valley.**

Rock represents **-** Vishnu, &
Buddha .

 Mundane performances
around the rock.

Fig. 7.21: Natural landscape, Performance, Spatial composition

In Kandy Vishnu became the mountain edge by protecting the absolute form of
good: the Buddhist divine Sri Lankan place. In Lankathilaka, Vishnu became the rock,
thus representing absolute form of good directing towards the divine centre (*fig. 7.21*):
the Buddhist way of understanding the world. In both cases Vishnu become the natural
landscape guiding and protecting the absolute form of good: the four noble truths in
Buddhist understandings. **The Sri Lankan Buddhist interpretation of Vishnu as
the guardian of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, is evident in these two case study
analysis. Therefore, the thesis states that the conception of Vishnu is related
to natural landscape of Sri Lanka, as it provides unique place for Buddhist
understanding (Theravada)[364].** The experience of natural landscape is strengthened
and shaped by performances defining related dwelling patterns and making a temple
village in Lankathilaka and a kingdom in Kandy. *The discussions of the thesis prove
that cultural place and place is a product of everyday life and everyday experiences of
people transcending between mundane and divine spatial domains.*

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[364] As discussed in chapter four

7.4.2 Natural elements, experiences, performances and permanent structures.

This section examines comparative analysis of section 5.4.2 discussed in chapter five and section 6.4.2 discussed in chapter six. It also examines how experiences of natural landscape and Buddhist divine performances in Kandy and in Lankathilaka (discussed in Section 7.4.1- *Table 7.13* & *7.14*.) transformed into built elements and architecture.   The architecture and built forms in both locations reflect understanding of the intangible dimensions – *chora* of the place, as discussed in chapter five and six. Following tables, diagrams and pictures (*fig. 7.22, fig. 7.23, fig. 7.24, fig. 7.25*) describe relationship of architecture/ built forms with natural landscape and performances.

Fig. 7.22: Buddhist understandings of the place
(Refer table 7.13 and 7.14 for locations in relation to experience of ideal forms)

Buddhist understandings	
Kandy	**Lankathilaka**
Temple of the Tooth Relic **Two storey building – low scale** 	**Main Temple** **Entrance to the Buddhist image house** **prominent building –high scale** **prominent scale, complex building form**
Image house Image house at Natha devale square: small scale	**Image house** **inside of the image house**
Bo tree shrines Bo tree shrine at Natha devale square Bo tree shrine at Pattini devale square	**Bo tree shrine** Bo tree next to Dadimunda devalaya, Lankathilaka.
Stupa Stupa - inside the Natha devale square in low scale	**Stupa** Stupa - beside the side of the main temple in low scale
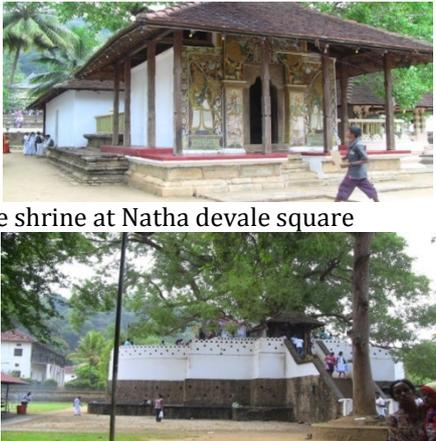
*Fig. 7.23: **Divine understanding of the place***

Divine understandings

Kandy *(refer table 7.13 for locations)*	Lankathilaka *(refer table 7.14 for locations)*
Natha devalaya people at hewisi mandapa – Natha devale	**around the Buddhist image house** A – God Vishnu B – God Kumara Bandara C – God Saman D – God Kataragama E – God Ganesh F – God Vebeeshana
Vishnu devalaya looking from deva sanhinda	
Kataragama devalaya **entrance from the street**	
Pattini devalaya entrance from Bo tree square	
Others Temple of the village God , next to Natha devalaya human scale (intimate scale)	**Dadimunda devalaya** human scale (intimate scale)
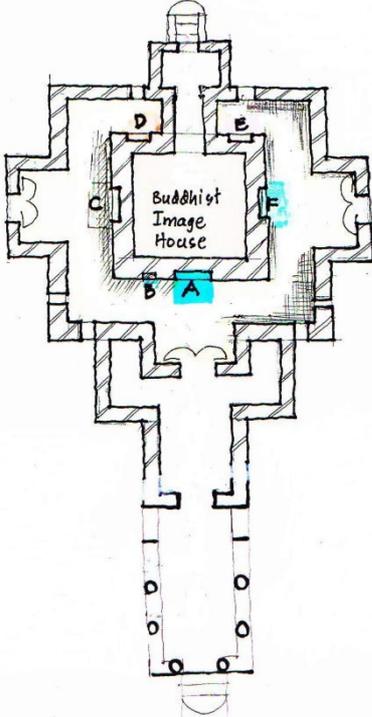
*Fig.7. 24: **Kingly understanding of the place***

Kingly understandings

Kandy *(refer table 7.13 for locations)*	**Lankathilaka** *(refer tabe 7.14 for locations)*
King's palace and other related buildings low scale king's palace place used for the ritual ceremony of ascending the throne, in front of Natha devale Open octagon pavilion –the place King used to address people. (Temple of the Tooth Relic is inside the court yard of this complex)	Sinhasanaya Oral tradition describe King used this place to observe the perehera.

All built forms in Kandy reflect human scale and human sense, understanding natural landscape as an intimate inside as discussed in chapters five and six. In Lankathilaka main temple is in prominent scale among rest of other built forms, reflecting divine centre and axis. The main temple of Lankathilaka is a composed built form of Buddhist divine performances, while in Kandy each divine being has a separate devalaya in separate locations is an interesting phenomenon of how experience of natural landscape have been transformed into cultural interpretations and builtforms. It is evident that cultural place, built forms and architecture are influenced by the experience of natural landscape. Buddhist, divine, kingly performances and dwelling

patterns are related to the experience of the natural landscape. The place emerges within the relationships of ideal forms and natural landscape, which flourish inside the people in mythical domain of everyday life performances. People understand surrounding by performing, sensing and making the place and built elements and architecture is a product of this dynamic process: the physical side of the place.
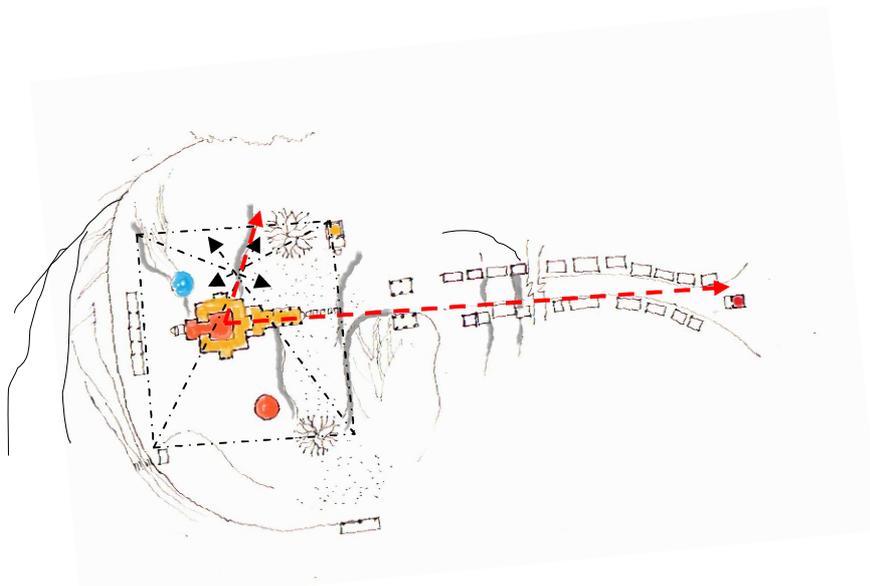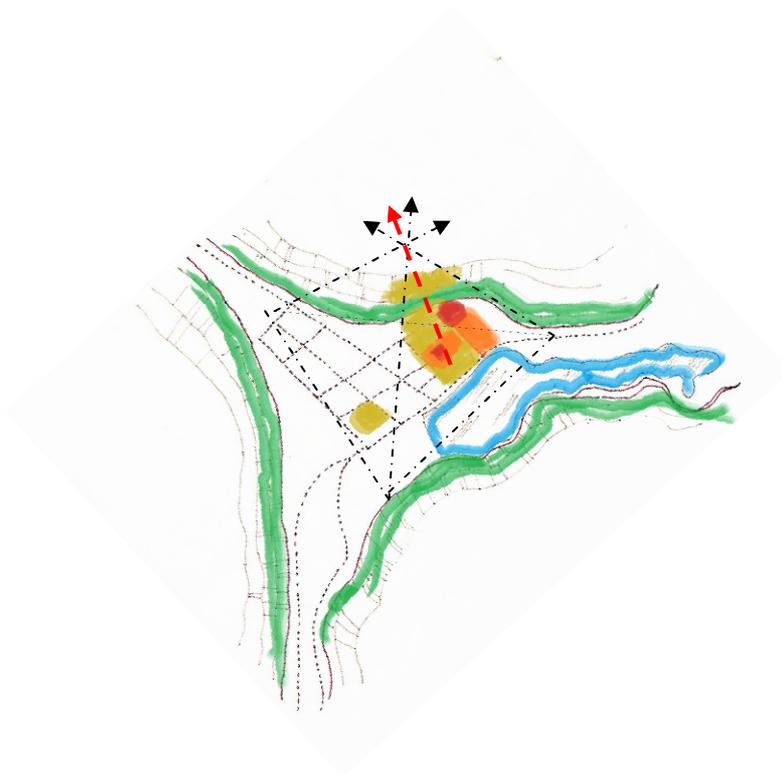

Fig. 7.25: **Absolute form of good imagined in Kandy and Lankathilaka**

Architecture and built space emerges within the understanding of absolute form of good flourished in everyday life experiences relating to natural landscape.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter concludes that in both case studies people are acting, sensing and making the place and the space. It was observed that hewisi sounds played a central role in the performance and place making. As examined in the theoretical discussion in chapter two, an inter-related network developed between body and the other performers, with the action and with the space, and with landscape producing new space. It was examined, that people have experienced embodied relationship between the body and the surrounding, and gained worldhood understanding. It is proved that the theories described in chapter two, people by performative actions (walking, repeating, circling, rotating, jumping, dancing and singing) experience the space, spatial quality, of the surrounding and produce space. It was explained, that the repetitive nature of body performances strengthens the sense of being, and their attachment to the place and sense of place. Asala perahera is discussed as a technique of sensing and making the place, which represents divine dimensions and mundane dimensions. Perahera performers experience embodied experience in the perahera, performance, and the place. The chapter compared ways of place making, in relation to spatial dimensions of dwelling and ideal forms. The tension established by taking in and taking out of the sacred insignia from devale/temple signifies axis which performers move along in natural landscape, having divine experiences. The physical movement of the perahera along the natural landscape coincides with the movement along the divine axis which is non-physical, and natural *topos* is understood within this transcendental axis within the experience of ideal forms. *The thesis proposed that, becoming everyday place is a result of interplay between understanding natural topos and divine experiences of ideal forms.* Each time of repeating the ritual event, everyday forms emerge within the relationship of natural landscape (physical forms) and ideal forms (non-physical forms) through dwelling, and strengthening the sense of being and sense of place discussed as a dynamic process.

It was described 'planting kapa' at both locations signifying centre and axis perhaps as basic physical form (*topos)* of the built form/ architecture passing through

invisible and intangible domains of ideal forms and understanding the natural landscape through performances into the everyday world. In both cases along the axis of movement (of perahera) divine dimensions of basic natural elements are connected. It was described that emerging everyday place and cultural place in Kandy and in Lankathilaka as interplay between the basic natural elements and ideal forms. In Kandy the circumbulation of the movement of perahera strengthens the centre inside, in each time of circumbulation, interplaying with forms of natural landscape and ideal forms, repeating the circumbulation by ten continuous outer parades. The MITTE existing (thesis propose) inside the enclosed valley by three mountains, is coincided by established centre and axis within marked domain through these performances. The city emerges within this understanding, as an inside representing divine places and mundane places within marked domain by the parading of perahera. In Lankathilaka, MITTE exists (thesis propose) along the Deva veediya, which coincides by the established transcendental axis between divine domain on the rock and mundane/kingly domain at the sloping down of the rock, by the repetition of parades. Temple village has been emerged within this understanding, as a divine centre.

In both cases repetition of parades across the landscape celebrate the passing of boundary (MITTE) directed by the natural landscape. The re-enactment of the place in each time of performing rituals strengthens the sense of place the *chora*. Therefore place is a result of ritual performing and within the deeper understanding of body-mind and landscape, which uplift the nature of human beings. In both cases re-birth and refreshment are connected with water (river Mahaweli), by bathing and experiencing refresh quality of water, after long and hard journey of life performances and walking through the roughness of the landscape. Diya kapeema celebrates this spiritual moment. The day parade is described as re-visiting the place. Experiences of performers and observers describe the strengthening of sense of place and the sense of attachment with the place and natural landscape location at each time of participation. *It is not the traditional or contemporary, but what is important is the method of performing.* As discussed in chapter two it is by means of walking (barefoot)

in the landscape; repetition of action; acting and making inter-relationships with the place and landscape; imagination; bodily movements, gesture in order to understand spatiality of the surrounding; emotions, perceptions and sensation of the landscape; and doing the same action by a group of people. It is a question whether contemporary life styles encourage these kinds of methods of performing and bodily understanding. It is analysed and concluded that Buddhist, divine, kingly and mundane performances are influenced by the natural landscape.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Chapter Eight – **Conclusion**

Summary

This final chapter presents concluding remarks from discussions of previous chapters, reviewing links between research aims, arguments and research questions stated in the introductory chapter with the main findings discussed in chapters four, five, six and seven. It also delineates the study's original contributions to the body of knowledge within the discipline, as well as recommendations and areas for future research.

8.1 Summary of key findings

Chapter one introduced the issue of the impact on natural landscape of recent urban developments. It suggested that the apparent harmony between traditional settlements and the natural landscape of Sri Lanka was partly the result of a dynamic process of place-making involving the performance of regular religious rituals. The performance aspect of traditional settlements in Sri Lanka was explained as establishing invisible and intangible connections between people and the place, a process by which 'natural landscape' becomes 'cultural place'. The distinctive and varied nature of Sri Lankan natural landscape features was emphasised and discussed. The research investigation has therefore focused on the three-way relationship of natural landscape, performance and cultural place of Sri Lankan traditional settlements in order to develop an understanding of how architecture and urban form have been influenced by these united concepts.

Chapter one defined a number of key terms to be used in the research, including two words for the sense of place: *chora* and *topos. Topos* was explained as the visible dimensions of the place, and *chora* as the link between visible and invisible dimension of the place, as '*the place of becoming*'. The need to understand the dynamic nature of the place-making was discussed and a new understanding was proposed of the making of 'cultural place' as a 'performative' phenomenon. These

discussions raised two major research questions: a broader research question (implicit) and a focused research aim (explicit) for the case-study investigation.

Research question:

- How natural landscape of Sri Lanka (physical features, physical geography and topography) is understood through the performance of regular ritual practices and how do these understandings shape and reflect the cultural place?

Research aim for case study:

- How do similar rituals perform in two contrasting landscape locations in Sri Lanka help to shape both the understanding of cultural place and affect everyday dwelling patterns?

Further these two were devolved into sub-questions, and examined by applying three strategies. Firstly, a wide range of literature related to dwelling, performing and understanding natural landscape have been analysed. For example, Heidegger's *dwelling* and *fourfold*, Merleau Ponty's *body* and *mind*, O.F. Bollnow's *human space*, Richard Schechner's *performance theory*, *actor network theory* in social science and ethnography, *new research* on neuro-science and Norberg Schulz' *genius loci* were some of these (explorative strategy). Secondly, by explorative approach the study examined how Buddhist divine kingly life performance relate to natural landscape of India and Sri Lanka and examined relationship between natural place and cultural place. Thirdly, by explanatory approach it was examined how Asala Perahera perform in Kandy and Lankathilaka and how these performances relate to the natural landscape and emerging cultural place within this complex relationship. The theoretical performative model, developed through chapters one, two and three, was examined in chapters four, five, six and seven applying on case studies. Further, these findings were compared with the actual experiences of people, performers and observers dwelling in the place. The summary of key findings is described under the following sub headings.

Divine/Mundane experience of everyday life and Absolute form of good (Ideal forms).

It was discussed in chapter two that the everyday life in the places being studied could be understood as transcending between two worlds: divine & mundane, physical & non-physical, visible & invisible, tangible & intangible dimensions of existence. This experience is achieved by dwelling (which makes concentration towards one's self) in the surrounding which is a basic ontological concept of humans to understand their existence and the surrounding world. People make circumspective understanding around the body and the world is revealed around them in dwelling, concentrating to centre (the MITTE) which reveal the dimensions of non-physical experiences. Therefore the MITTE can be the threshold to beyond centre, the boundary between two worlds of mundane and divine. By passing MITTE, and experiencing divine dimensions and understanding of the world around them, the world is revealed as extension of the body (for the performer, it can also be transcendent to the observer and to the whole performance). This experience is recognized as the more dynamic sense of place or *chora,* the becoming place. The spatial dimensions and spatial form of dwelling is described as the absolute form of good (ideal forms) round and around the body directional towards inside (revealing outside), revealing divine dimensions connecting mundane to divine and physical to non-physical, *topos* to *chora* of the place. This kind of spatial experience is evident in Indian Sri Lankan cultural interpretations, myths of ideal places, city concepts and cultural performances. Art and architecture and man made landscape can be described as a result of this dwelling process of becoming place, reflecting shadows of the absolute form of good. *It was* argued *that architectural forms, places and cultural landscape might reflect the sense of human body as well as divine experiences (centre, inside, roundness) and natural landscape.*

Performing in Natural Landscape

The process of dwelling was examined within performative phenomenon. By performing a series of actions (by means of body and mind) such as narrating,

celebrating, making, creating, imagining, crafting, drawing, singing, dancing, playing music, dreaming, thinking etc. man has to work hard in order to dwell in the landscape. Therefore performances establish a dwelling process. It is revealed that divine/mundane experience in many life performances and ritual behaviour is identical with sacred experiences and repetition. *It was argued that in everyday life performances, people understand natural landscape as natural topos in relation to ideal forms which guide performance and dwelling. Visible dimensions of these physical features provide invisible dimensions to be imagined (complete image of ideal form) mythic landscape and perform daily life, creating dwelling places.* The study categorized the phenomenon of the basic natural landscape features as rocks and stones, hills and mountains, water and trees as having divine dimensions in relation to ideal forms. These natural elements guide people directing MITTE to pass the boundaries and experience divine dimensions. ***It was argued that divine and mundane domains experienced in natural landscape in relation to ideal forms by climbing, walking, or seeing these places and the boundary of passing MITTE (line of transition) lying within the natural landscape influenced divine and mundane domains in cultural landscape.***

Performing and Place Making

It described the production of place and place making by acting and performing in landscape. Relational actions and relational views of the world, walking and movement, make space and place establishing embodied relationship between the subject and the environment. Landscape is described as a dramatic episode and lived practice between lived body and surrounding as an extension of the body. Repetition of action strengthens the sense of being and sense of place. Transforming natural places into cultural places is a process of lived practice. People do not change natural place instead make complete image of ideal forms and places, comprehending natural *topos* by performing in natural landscape, by means of narrating, imagination, making, crafting, writing, singing, sound performing etc. and the place is created. It is a place where man and nature unite; a place where divine dimensions unfolds within mundane

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life. The cultural place and the cultural landscape is the result of this place making process. Everyday life is framed by cultural narratives from one side and natural topos from the other side. It was discussed that the universal understanding might recognize vividly by narrating life, within a variety of natural *topos* and within a variety of cultural performances, creating multiplicity of cultural places and cultural landscapes. The performing aspect of people helps to understand roughness, materiality, hardness of landscape and life, which exaggerate divine experience of immateriality and lightness. Performances and natural *topos* help to pass MITTE beyond the boundaries and reach the non-physical domain, sensing ideal forms and places understand as re-birth or re-generation in ancient cultures. Creation of place is happened by re-visit, thus performance makes a process of creation and re-creation of the place. Place making is a process by sensing and weaving the place. The emerging place is always not visual and it can be mythical: making temporary structures / permanent structures; making mythical stories about landscape features; singing and playing sounds; dancing; decorating, drawing of pictures and images; crafting which varies from farming lands to arts and crafts; narrating stories etc.

Buddhist divine kingly life performances, Ideal forms and Natural Landscape.

Mythical concepts mythical diagrams and mythical stories of Indian Sri Lankan cultural interpretations are signified with the experience of ideal forms and dwelling. Divine axis, divine centre and the ordered world are evident in these cultural interpretations of everyday world. Mythical stories are related to divine experience of mountains, rocks, landforms and water of Himalayan landscape. Buddhist, divine, kingly, mundane life performances are main cultural performances influencing dwelling pattern of everyday life and cultural place of Sri Lanka. In ancient times, Kings were recognized as more divine, transcending between two worlds of divine and mundane dimensions. The concept of the ideal king is placed on the peak of ideal form (summit of Maha mera). Hindu divine concepts are related to the Himalayan landscape, experienced and understood by relating to gods and their subsequent characters. The

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universal truth is understood in Hinduism by referring to ancient texts, by relating to ancient incidents and stories of gods and divine kings and by mythology of sacred landscape (transforming natural landscape to sacred landscape). In Buddhism, Bodhisatva occupies the natural landscape comprised of basic natural elements in searching the path to attain Buddhahood. The basic concept of Buddhism described in four noble truths explains the absolute form of good, holistic understanding of the dwelling concept and form. Chapter four discussed Buddha's way as a direction to the pure understanding and experience of the world and *chora* without making physical inter-relationships (place making) , but by experiencing sacred dimensions of natural landscape (directing MITTE) for the process of meditation and passing MITTE. In Sri Lanka after the introduction of Buddhism the divine concepts were replaced by the natural landscape in the cultural place/ cultural landscape and there is no mythology in Buddhism. The diagram of absolute form of good developed in chapter two was re developed in relation to Buddhist divine kingly understanding in cultural place which reflecst the understanding of dwelling patterns in Sri Lankan cultural place. *The study argued the uniqueness in natural landscape of Sri Lanka has provided an ideal physical setting to understand pure Buddhism: the four noble truths.*

Cultural place and Natural Landscape of Sri Lanka

Sri Lankan cultural place and place concept, cities and architecture were influenced by Hinduism, Buddhism and mandala shilpa diagrams, which originated in India. First Aryan civilizations flourished along northern plains during the 6th century BC in Sri Lanka. The concept of nuwara (city) in traditional settlements is a holistic place similar to Maha mera the ideal form. Anuradhapura was the first nuwara of this kind lasted until the end of 10th century AC. Divine concept was replaced by natural *topos* or built *topos* in Anuradhapura in which the major land marks are large *wewa* (water tanks) and great stupas in many numbers, are discussed as built *topos* resembling mountains thus absolute form of good was recognized within the vicinity of flat terrains. Buddhist meditation was a significant life performance in the place. The basic

natural elements, mountains & hills, rocks & stones, trees and water, discussed in chapter two, influenced the Buddhist place. In Polonnaruwa (next capital to Anuradhapura), divine experience of water body influenced the shape of the city. Colossal Buddha statues, large image houses and stupa (of monasteries) act as mountains and rocks – as built *topos*- in the flat land as in Anuradhapura. Hindu divine concepts re-entered during the Polonnaruwa period.   The divine king being the guardian of sacred Tooth relic kept close by the palace as a pious Buddhist king. The ownership of the sacred Tooth relic determined the ownership of the Buddhism and Buddhist place by the divine king, making the Buddhist divine King. These settlements were later shifted to the hill country. There are no significant evidences to show how these capitals were in Dambadeniya and Kurunegala and Gampola. The place of evidence in Dambadeniya is a rock, Kurnegala a shallow valley between low scale mountains, Gampola on mountains. Kotte surrounded by marshy lands and water bodies and Kotte was known as a fortress city. There are two exceptional cases described in Yapahuwa and Sigiriya rock where King's palace was on top of the rock (experiencing divine king) surrounded by city, tanks and irrigation lands. The last capital Kandy is a shallow valley. These settlements flourished responding to the absolute form of good directed by the natural landscape. It is revealed that an important relationship existed between the cultural place and the natural landscape of Sri Lanka among these traditional settlements. All these cultural places provide specific examples of combination of Buddha's way of understanding the natural landscape and divine experience of the natural landscape in mythical landscape in variety of ways resulting a variety of cultural places. The relationship between dwelling patterns and the passing boundaries of MITTE in the natural landscape revealed divine areas and mundane areas in the landscape physically.

Kandy and Lankathilaka : Ideal forms and everyday forms

It was examined that rituals performed in both Asala festivals of Kandy and Lankathilaka signify marking centres, axis, entrances, insides and domains. Asala

perahera made more relationships with landscape by means of: walking (barefoot), dancing, parading, repetition of activities & parades, drumming & playing musical instruments, connecting water, land form & topography connecting villages with the city (Kandy) and connecting with other villages (Lankathilaka) establishing inter-related network among people, performance, landscape and producing place and space. These performances signify a dwelling process and a place making process. Throughout the performative process experiencing of ideal forms are evident and ideal forms are reflected on temporary structures and permanent structures (built forms). Significant aspects in these performances at both locations are making sacred objects, sacred places and sacred events and moments (time) by rituals and performing, for example, circumbulation temples, city, rock and marking geometrical patterns on the landscape. Planting kapa, taking sacred objects outside of temples and taking back to inside of temples are signified by special drum beating and magulbera playing. Marking geometrical patterns were different in two case studies. In Kandy it was observed by marking four centres simultaneously, while in Lankathilaka it was only a centre. It is examined in Kandy that marking enclosed domains are getting larger and larger each following day until the whole city and valley is enclosed. In Lankathilaka it is marked single centre and two enclosed domains while the larger domain is on the rock and the smaller domain is at the sloping down and these two are inter-connected by an axis.

Kandy city is an enlarged version of a centre as an intimate inside. Circumbulation of the valley (inclusive city) defines the importance of the inside, enclosed by three mountains. The boundary of passing MITTE in the natural landscape exists in the inside of the valley. This also prove the explanation in chapter four that the inside volume of the valley in Kandy is similar to invisible absolute form of good (ideal form). Therefore both divine domains and mundane domains exist inside the valley. By marking geometrical patterns on the landscape, by repetition of parades celebrate the MITTE inside the enclosed valley shaping the cultural place and architecture. Divine, non-being, kingly and mundane dwelling patterns share the valley. Divine nature of Vishnu and Buddhist, divine, kingly nature become the mountain

representing natural topos. Lankathilaka is a deep centre or divine centre. It was examined that inner parade in Lankathilaka marked divine experience on the rock while at the sloping down of the rock was marked as kingly mundane experience. It is explained that connecting these two domains through a line (marked by parading) as a transcending axis between two. The boundary of passing MITTE exists halfway along this axis. Dwelling patterns reveal this understanding. Divine domains are defined on the rock and clearly separated from mundane domains at the down of the rock in Lankathilaka. The centre of divine domain represents non-being nature. In Kandy, the intimate inside given by natural landscape is performed and strengthened by repeating of ten continuous parades. Experience of the place by dwellers also describe both divine and mundane experience (divine, non-being, mundane living together) a homely feeling in the city. Cultural place developed within this understanding as an inside, living together, sharing the place (by kingly, divine, non-being, and mundane life patterns) transforming natural place into cultural place. Built forms and architecture reflect this understanding emphasising the valley and three mountains. According to earlier descriptions (John Pybus, 1762; Robert Knox, 1681) mountains were emphasised in its original form in the city. It was described that all built forms in Kandy were in intimate scale, for example, stupa and image houses which were in large scale in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa ancient cities, king's palace and temple of the tooth relic. No built form comes out the landscape but emphasising valley and green mountains. Architecture and built forms reflect sense of human body, divine dimensions and natural landscape. In Lankathilaka, the divine centre given by the natural landscape is performed and strengthened by ten continuous parades. Inner parade and outer parade describe the perception of divinity and presence of divinity in the place. Experience of performers, observers and dwellers described divine experience on the rock and transcendental experience along Deva veediya. Cultural place developed within this understanding as a divine centre placing non-being at the centre of divine place on the rock and mundane life patterns at the down of the rock. The discussion in chapter four explained Lankathilaka as a prominent rock similar to

the shape of absolute form of good which with missing part on top represents divine nature. In the cultural place missing part is converted to divine area and in the built space, large temple is built to complete the whole image of absolute form of good, the ideal place and rest of other built forms are not coming out the context.

Interplay between ideal forms and natural forms

The sense of place as a divine centre and intimate inside are directed by two natural landscape locations and people understand the nature of the place through bodily sensing by means of performing. Walking bare footed, touching material sensitivity, hardness of the earth surface, making inter-related network of relationships are significant in these performances. Establishment of cultural theatre is evident in the place. All people make direct contacts with landscape with the body and performance making a one unit of body-performance-landscape and sensing and weaving the place. Experience of landscape is related to imaginary stories, cultural performing and dwelling patterns of the place. 'Mind-body' embodiment is significant in the procession of Asala perahera, as an 'entity of sensing and making the place'. Body performances take central role in Asala perahera as a medium of transcending experiences between inside and outside or physical non-physical domains of the place. The most important factor is not the traditional or contemporary; it is the bodily experience of space and place and methods of performing having direct experience of landscape. These ritual performances reveal authentic understanding of the place, deeply rooted between mundane and divine dimensions of the place. Therefore becoming place and dwelling open deeper side of the place which essentially uplifts the nature of humans and sensitivity of the world, a kind of self realization.

The tension established by taking in and taking out the sacred insignia from devale/temple signifies axis which performers move through the natural landscape, having divine experiences. The physical movement of the *perahera* along the natural landscape coincides with the movement along the divine axis which is non-physical. *It was proposed that becoming everyday place through interplay between understanding*

of natural topos and divine/mundane experiences of ideal forms. Each time of repeating the ritual event everyday forms emerge within the relationship of natural landscape (physical forms) and ideal forms (non-physical forms) thus, strengthening the sense of being and sense of place. The increasing number of performers increases this bodily experience and sharing the experience with each other and with observers sharing re-enactment of the place thus strengthening the place attachment and sense of place. Planting kapa at both locations signify the centre and axis as perhaps the basic physical form (*topos)* of the built form/ architecture passes through invisible and intangible domains of ideal forms and   understanding natural landscape through performances into the everyday world. In both cases along the axis of movement (of perahera) divine dimensions of basic natural elements are connected. It was observed that emerging everyday place and cultural place in Kandy and in Lankathilaka as interplay between these basic natural elements and ideal forms. In Kandy the circumbulation of the movement of perahera, strengthens the centre inside at each time of circumbulation, interplaying with forms of natural landscape and ideal forms emerging as a city. In Lankathilaka, MITTE existing (thesis proposes) along the Deva veediya, is coincided by the established transcendental axis between divine domain on the rock and mundane/kingly domain at the sloping down of the rock, by repeating of parades. This performance signifies interplaying between forms of natural landscape and ideal forms. As mentioned earlier temple village has been emerged within this understanding, as a divine centre. In both cases re-birth and refreshment are connected with water by river Mahaweli, bathing and experiencing refresh quality of water, after long and hard journey of life performances and walking through roughness of the landscape. Diya kapeema celebrates this spiritual moment. Day parade is described as 're-visiting the place'.

8.2 Validity of Research questions and answers.

It was observed that research questions and answers were validated by case study findings discussed in chapters four, five, six and seven. The table (*Table 8.1*) shows brief answers for each of these questions developed in chapter two and examined in subsequent chapters. It is noted that all answers are validated by case studies explained in chapters four, five, six and seven.

Table 8.1: **Validity of Research questions**

No.	question	brief Answers	examined through chapters
1a	*How do People understand their surrounding?*	*ideal forms, divine/mundane experience centre, inside domains*	**4** **5** **6** **7**
1b	*How do they recognize relationships between them, their activities and their environment? (phenomenological sense)*	*surrounding as a extension of the body, in relation to ideal forms, around the body*	**4** **5** **6** **7**
2	*How does dwelling take place, by performing in the landscape?*	*performing actions & processes, work hard in order to dwelling*	**5** **6** **7**
3a	*What inter-actions are happened between people and natural landscape?*	***Argument 2***	**4** **5** **6** **7**
3b	*What meanings and experiences are given by natural landscape?*	*Basic natural elements help to understand divine dimensions.* ***Argument 3***	**4** **5** **6** **7**
4a	*How do people perform in landscape?*	*Acting and performing, dramatic episode, lived practise, repeating of activities, Acting and making a network of relationships.*	**5** **6** **7**
4b	*How do place (art and architecture, built forms, tangible and intangible components of the place) emerge within the relationship of natural landscape and performance of people?*	*lived practice by series of performing actions as reflection of ideal forms sensing & weaving interplay between ideal forms and natural topos*	**5** **6** **7**

The four arguments stated in discussion of chapter two are as follows:

1. *The uniqueness in natural landscape of Sri Lanka provides an ideal physical setting to understand pure Buddhism (The four noble truth) , by distinctive natural forms of mountains & hills, rocks & caves, trees & forests and water of many kinds directing divine dimensions.*

2. *Divine and mundane domains are experienced in natural landscape in relation to ideal forms by climbing, by walking, or seeing these places and the boundary of passing MITTE (line of transition) lies within the natural landscape influencing divine and mundane domains in cultural landscape.*

3. *Architectural forms, places and cultural landscape might reflect the sense of human body as well as divine experiences (centre, inside, roundness) and the natural landscape.*

4. *In everyday life performances, people understand natural landscape as natural topos in relation to ideal forms which guide performance and dwelling. Visible dimensions of these physical features provide invisible dimensions to be imagined (complete image of ideal form) mythic landscape and perform daily life, creating dwelling places.*

Argument number 3 is confirmed by research findings discussed in chapters five, six and seven. Architecture and built forms in Kandy reflect human sense, proportions, scale and also natural landscape. In Lankathilaka main temple is more related to natural landscape and the form of the rock but there is human sense in entrances, curved doors, materials, use of techniques etc. Argument 4 is confirmed by typological analysis of minor case studies discussed in chapter four and further confirmed by detailed analysis of two major case studies. Argument 2 was discussed in chapter 4 by typological analysis and proved in detailed analysis of two major case studies. Argument 1 is a broader statement, although there are many evidences of examples discussed in case study chapters, it can be another vast research area.

8.3 Reflection on Research Methodology

The 'performative approach' is a relatively new area for architectural research. However, out of many complexities of performances practised in traditional societies, selecting the most appropriate example for research investigation is not an easy task. What type of rituals, how many rituals, how these rituals are related to the research question, were some of the difficult issues raised at the beginning of the research study.

Two pilot case studies done during the years 2010 and 2011 helped to overcome these issues and to develop research methodology and conducting case studies. It is noticed that the researcher needs to spend more time in case study locations in order to develop more internal contact with performances, people and place of the case to capture most appropriate analytical data for the purpose of investigation. As discussed in chapter seven there are many variegated performing methods within a single ritual performance and all seem to be useful and interesting to understand the place and production of place. However, for the purpose of research one or two methods of performing (suitable for the research) were selected.

The researcher needed patience, spending a long time at case-study locations witnessing ritual performances, sometimes as a participant-observer and always with a friendly attitude towards the performers and their cultural interpretations in order to understand the process of 'performing place' and specific characteristics of the context. Having discussed all these, I would suggest that it can validate the research methodology as a means to investigate the human understanding of the natural landscape and place, and the more intangible realm of the 'cultural place'.

The theoretical performative model developed in chapter two & three can be used to understand any place and performance. Therefore, the research methodology developed in this study is useful not only for investigating traditional societies; it could also be used to investigate new developments and new life performances to see how the sense of place emerges within the relationships of performance-natural landscape-dwelling.

8.4 Conclusions

In conclusion, it has been shown that a dynamic interaction between ritual performance and the natural landscape setting results in the shaping of 'cultural place' and guiding the making of urban and architectural form and the everyday dwelling of people. Natural landscape and architectural form provide the visible dimensions of cultural place, with the invisible part imagined and enacted in the performance process making a holistic place. There are passing boundaries (MITTE) in natural landscape and people celebrate these boundaries of transcending experience by narrating, pilgrim journeys and celebrations. In both case-studies Kandy and Lankathilaka, the Asela perehera performance celebrates the passing of boundaries (MITTE) within the natural landscape. In the case of Kandy it is inside the valley and at Lankathilaka it is along Deva veediya. This understanding shapes the cultural place of Kandy as a city and Lankathilaka as a temple village.

Overall, the research suggests that this performative understanding of place-making provides a more effective analysis of the dynamic nature of place within the relationship of performance, natural landscape and art & architecture.

8.5 Recommendations and Areas for Future Research

A number of areas for further investigation have emerged from this research, including:

- Conservation of natural landscape: (physical features, physical geography and topography of the Earth). Mountains, rocks, stones, boulders, land undulation patterns, flat lands, valleys etc. should be respected and preserved where ever possible for future people to imagine and develop their own world views, narratives, cultural stories, dramatic episodes in order to be able to dwell more effectively within the landscape.

- Application of the 'Performative Model': This model can be used to examine issues in new urban and rural development projects.

- This model can also be applied in other cultural contexts in order to understand the emerging place within the three-way relationship of landscape, performance and cultural place.

- Anthropology, landscape, and architecture could provide an integrated curriculum for architecture and urban design education.

8.6 Original contribution of the Research:

A number of original contributions to knowledge within the field of architectural and urban research have been developed within the thesis:

1. Use of the 'performative' approach in architectural research.

2. Investigation of the relationships between rituals / ceremonies and natural landscape and the emergence of 'cultural place'.

3. Case study in Kandy – investigating relationships between performing Asala perahera and natural landscape and shaping the cultural place.

4. Case study in Lankathilaka – investigating relationships between performing Asala perahera and natural landscape and shaping the cultural place.

5. Research Methodology - linking areas of Phenomenology, Anthropology, Psychology, Landscape, Ethnography, Sociology, Neuro-Science and Architecture.

6. Typological analysis of natural landscape of Sri Lanka in relation to performance, dwelling patterns and physical form and shape.

7. Explanation of Buddhist understanding in relation to natural landscape and related architecture in Sri Lanka, including the great stupa, colossal images of Sri Lanka as *built topos.*

8. Explanation of cultural place of Sri Lanka in relation to divine, kingly, non-being, meditation, and mundane dwelling concepts.

9. Explaination of how passing boundaries (MITTE) of natural landscape have determined the dwelling patterns spread over the landscape and emerging cultural place and architecture within this context in Kandy and Lankathilaka.

APENDICES

Apendix 1 : *Typological analysis* – Natural topos, built topos, dwelling pattern

Type	Settlement/ Performance	Natural *Topos* representing divine dimensions	Built *Topos* representing divine dimensions	Dwelling pattern
Flat lands	01.Anuradhapura **capital city**	Rocks and stones stone terrains trees and parks large water tanks river	Large stupa Colossal images Image houses. large water tanks	Kingly nature is at the centre of the place. Non-being and mediation encircle this, followed by circle of meditation and mundane life.
	02.Polonnararuwa **capital city**	Rocks and stone terrains. Trees and parks. Large water tank. The Parakrama samudraya (ocean).	Large water body large stupa, Colossal images, image houses, rock cut images	Kingly nature is supported by linear formation of water tank and built topos, meditation places shaped by this linear formation.
Dominant rocks	03.Sigiriya **Kingdom**	Dominant rock with steep slopes, stones , boulders and stone terrains, water tank, river, trees, park	Water ponds, legs of a Lion, Moat and walls enclosing the kingly area.	Kingly nature is on top of the rock, experiencing divine dimensions given by natural landscape, surrounded by mundane life.
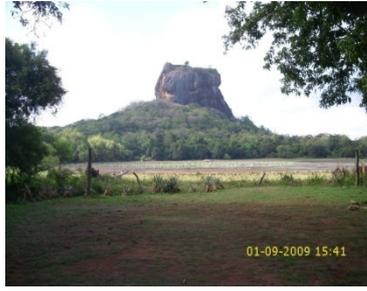
	04.Yapahuwa **Kingdom**	Dominant rock with steep slopes, river, ponds, trees.	Moat, high style stairway, ramparts, palace	Kingly nature is on top of the rock, experiencing divine dimensions given by natural landscape, surrounded by mundane life
Prominent rocks	05.Lankathilaka **temple-village**	Prominent rock with a steep slope, stone terrain, pond, sand terrace, sacred trees.	Temple, small stupa	Non-being is at the centre, surrounded by divine nature, monks residencies are at the down of the rock, and mundane life surrounds all these.
	06.Gadaladeniya **temple-village**	Prominent rock with , stone terrain, pond, sand terrace, sacred trees.	Temple small stupa, ponds.	Non-being is at the centre, surrounded by divine nature, monks are at the side of the stone terrain, and mundane life surrounds all these.

Stones, boulder and rocks	07.Vessagiriya **Buddhist meditation**	Stones and boulders of different shapes, trees, ponds	Small stupa pancavasa	Buddhist meditation, non-being.
	08.Isurumuniya **Buddhist meditation**	Stones, boulders, rock, trees, ponds	Temple, pancavasa, small stupa	Buddhist meditation, non-being
Stone terrains	09.Passinnatisa pabbata **Buddhist meditation – different type**	Stone terrain, water ponds	Mandala plan forms surrounded by water moat, stone wall, and stone terrain, pancavasa.	Buddhist meditation, non-being
	10.Western monasteries **Buddhist meditation- different type**	Stone terrain, water ponds	Mandala plan forms, surrounded by water moat, stone wall and stone terrain	Buddhist meditation, non-being

	11.Dambulla **Non-being**	Rock caves, ponds	Paintings, images, rock cut caves	Non-being
Caves	12.Hindagala **Non-being**	Rock caves, sand terrace, sacred tree	Paintings, images, rock cut caves	Non-being
Deep valleys	13.Meemure **village settlement**	Deep valley and river walled by high mountains of different shapes. .	Village , agriculture lands	Mundane life is prominent
	14.Village in knuckles **village settlement**	Deep valley and river walled by high mountains of different shapes.	Village, agricultural lands.	Mundane life is prominent.

Cherished valleys	15.Kandy **capital city**	Valley enclosed by low scale mountains, lake.	Capital city	Kingly, non-being, divine, mundane.
	16,Kurunegala **capital city**	Valley enclosed by low scale mountains, lake.	Capital city	Kingly, non-being, divine, mundane
Sloping lands	17.Embekke **Devale village**	Sloping land 	Temple.	Divine is more prominent than non-being, and mundane.
	18.Saman *devalaya* **Devale village**	Sloping land, river 	Temple	Divine is more prominent than non-being, and mundane.

Residual mountains with terrains at different levels	19.Kaludiya pokuna **meditation place**	**Mountain, stones, boulders and rocks, terraces open to far views, black pond by the side of hill similar to absolute form of good, Trees.**	Small stupa, pancavasa	Meditation (more prominent), non-being.
	20.Maligatenna **non-being, meditation**	Mountain, stones, boulders, rocks, terraces open to far views, stone terrains, ponds, rock cut steps.	Small stupa, meditation caves.	Non-being, meditation
	21.Varana **non-being, meditation**	Mountain, stones, boulders, rocks, terraces open to far views, stone terrains, ponds, rock cut steps.	Small stupa, meditation caves.	Non-being, meditation
Shape of the mountain similar to absolute form of good and close by a settlement	22.Mihintale **significant place in Buddhism**	Shape of the mountain, rocks, boulders, stone terrains, terraces open to far views, ponds, rock cut steps, trees.	Stupa, meditation caves.	Non-being, meditation.
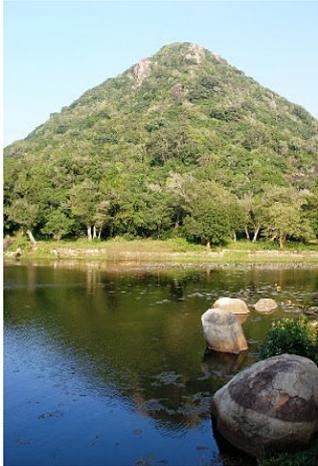
	23.Ritigala **meditation**	**Shape of the mountain, trees, streams, forest, rocks and boulders.**	Pancavasa.	Meditation
Shape of the mountain similar to absolute form of good and difficult to reach	24Mount Sripada **pilgrim journey**	Shape of the mountain, difficult to reach, panoramic display of sun rise, central place in the island and among other mountains.	Imagined stories around Buddha, (and among other religions too)	Non-being, divine.

Apendix 2 : Ethical approval for the research

Faculty of Engineering: Process for approval of research study involving human participants

The University of Nottingham

Ethics Committee Reviewer Decision

This form must be completed by each reviewer. Each application will be reviewed by two members of the ethics committee. Reviews may be completed electronically and sent to the Faculty ethics administrator (Richard Adams) from a University of Nottingham email address, or may be completed in paper form and delivered to the Faculty of Engineering Research Office.

Applicant full name: Wasana De Silva   Application ID: 2012-49

Reviewed by:

Name: Jen Martin and Gary Burnett   Date 11th July 2012

Signature (paper based only)   ....

■ Approval awarded - no changes required

☐ Approval awarded - subject to required changes (see comments below)

☐ Approval pending - further information & resubmission required (see comments)

☐ Approval declined – reasons given below

Comments:

Approved following resubmission

Please note:
1. The approval only covers the participants and trials specified on the form and further approval must be requested for any repetition or extension to the investigation.
2. The approval covers the ethical requirements for the techniques and procedures described in the protocol but does not replace a safety or risk assessment.
3. Approval is not intended to convey any judgement on the quality of the research, experimental design or techniques.
4. Normally, all queries raised by reviewers should be addressed. In the case of conflicting or incomplete views, the ethics committee chair will review the comments and relay these to the applicant via email. All email correspondence related to the application must be copied to the Faculty research ethics administrator.

Any problems which arise during the course of the investigation must be reported to the Faculty Research Ethics Committee

Apendix 3 : Semi Structured Interviews.

INTERVIEW SURVEY

INTERVIEW TYPE 1 : INFORMAL INTERVIEWS WITH PERFORMERS.

Case study location 01 – Kandy city, Sri Lanka
(July/August 2012,December/January 2013)

Case study location 02 – Lankathilaka village setting, Sri Lanka.
(September 2012 and December/ January 2013)

Unit of Analysis – Performing place of narratives.

Amount of time required – 10 – 30 minutes.

[A] When – questions should be raised before the performing starts, when participants are in informal gatherings and again at the end of the performance, when they are in relaxed informal gatherings.

[B] Attitude –The researcher should approach participants very informally, and aim to gather information in a relaxed way through more familiar friendly informal discussions. These semi-structured interviews will use open questions in a way to encourage participants to narrate their personal stories.

[C] How participants should be informed the purpose of the research –
Participants will be given only a brief introduction   at the beginning, with the aim of maintaining   their natural relaxed way of speaking and telling their story. This should help to prevent them becoming nervous and only providing answers in a   formal manner. First the researcher must develop a positive and friendly interrelationship with the participant and encourage more relax talking and open   discussion. As the discussion progresses   he/ she can gradually reveal more about the purpose of the research.

[D] Dress code – casual.

[E] Rewards for participants – friendly discussions, listening to their stories in a way to raise their self identities, admire their performing, and at the end of the interview researcher should appreciate kindly and gratefully participants for time spending for the interview and providing information.

Questions to be asked during semi-structured interviews with participants about their experiences of 'performing place'.

Event –

Role of Participant -

Age -   **Sex –**

Time & date -

Questions before 'Performance'

	Question	Answer (Experience)
01	Do you like to participate in this event?	
02	How did you prepare for this performing?	
03	Is there a particular traditional process to prepare?	
04	How do you feel in this preparation period?	
05	Are you a traditional performer/or ?	
06	How did you learn this performing?	
07	How long have you been participating in this event?	
08	Why are you participating in this event?	
09	What ideas about contemporary life and trends?	

Comments :

…………………………………….   ………………………………….
Researcher (name & signature)   Date

Questions to be asked during semi-structured interviews with participants about their experiences of 'performing place'.

Event –

Role of Participant -

Age -   **Sex –**

Time & date -

Questions after 'Performance'

	Question	Answer (Experience)
01	How do you feel about your performing?	
02	The feeling between you and the place?	
03	The feeling between you and the whole performance?	
04	The feeling between you and the Gods and temples?	
05	How do you experience the benefits of this performance to the place?	
06	How do you feel about your body in the performance?	
07	What ideas about contemporary life and trends?	

Comments :

…………………………………….   …………………………………….
Researcher (name & signature)   Date

Appendix 4 : Structured Interviews.

INTERVIEW TYPE 2: FORMAL INTERVIEWS WITH OTHERS ASSOCIATED WITH PERFORMANCES.

Case study location 01 – Kandy city, Sri Lanka (July – December 2012)
Case study location 02 – Lankathilaka village setting, Sri Lanka
                                    (July – December 2012)

Unit of Analysis – Performing place of narratives.

Potential participants will be approached and invited to participate in interviews.

Amount of time required – 15 minutes to 1 hour.

[A] When – There is no specific time, but most of interviews to be done during July – December, and annual major ceremonies are happening between July – September in these case study locations. The time and place for interviews is arranged according to convenience of the participants, for example in their office room, lobby/ veranda of their house, etc.

[B] Attitude – The researcher should approach participants through friendly discussions, giving required honour to participants' status and position.

[C] How participants should be informed the purpose of the research –
Participants will be informed clearly and directly the purpose of the research at the beginning of the interview and how research findings would be benefited in conservation approaches of traditional cultures.

[D] Dress code – casual smart.

[E] Rewards for participants – Researcher should kindly and gratefully appreciate participants for time spending for the interview and providing valuable information.

Questionnaire to be asked during interviews with other persons involved in performances.

(selected group of people, old people, specialized performers, temple priests, traditional administrative heads)

Event –

Role of Participant/ position   -

Age -   **Sex –**

Time & date -

	Question	Answer (Experience)
01	What is the meaning of the event to the place and people? The whole performance.	
02	What is the meaning of your particular performing?	
03	The meaning of traditional preparation process?	
04	What is the meaning between Gods and the place?	
05	What is the meaning of making temporary structures?	

Comments :

....
Researcher (name & signature)   Date

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