The Colombo Townscape: Some aspects of its Morphology

"Man organises the site prepared by nature as to enable her to satisfy his needs and desires."

P. Vidal de la Blache.

I—Elements of its Structure

THE morphology of Colombo, despite its extensive spread during the last eighty years, clearly reflects the influence of the physical features of its site (Fig. I). The highest surfaces of the site at Elie House (north-west) and at Maligakanda (east) are occupied by the water reservoirs. The surfaces above forty feet are either occupied by the public buildings of the Supreme Court, All Saints Church (Hulftsdorf), the Municipal courts, waterworks, laboratories at Maligakanda or reserved for recreational uses. The harbour to the north, the lake to the south prevent the extension of the multifunctional core area of the Fort. The Kelani Ganga and its flood plain towards the north-east, together with the swamps and marshes (below four feet) are real obstacles to urban extension. Some of these open spaces and grassland tracts form miniature intra-urban green belts of parks and playgrounds. The lake premises are primarily a commercial annexe to the port. Some of its reclaimed surfaces, however, are also used for recreational grounds and public buildings. (Fig. I).

The site is 8,711 acres, but the built-up area is about 5,700 acres (Fig. I). Most of this surface is between ten and forty feet. On this surface physical factors exercise little control over building development. The built-up area has spread out from the core along the arteries of Aluthmawatte-Galle Roads in a north-south direction, and Prince of Wales-Panchikawatte-Maradana Roads in north-east and south-east directions. The built-up area is elongated as the physical obstacles of its site have prevented concentric development.

The road pattern was the skeletal framework, the most permanent feature of the townscape, in relation to which building development has

been articulated. The initial layout of the Fort and the Pettah had a clearly defined gridiron system, suited to their original military purpose. This pattern extended fanwise from Kayman's Gate. The basic street plan (Fig. II) which is also the basis of the general plan of buildings and structures of the city consists of a major framework of arterial roads radiating from the central business areas (Fort and Pettah), connecting this core with the major towns of the island. Such are the Galle Road, the main highway from Colombo to southern Ceylon ; Prince of Wales Avenue leading towards the northern and central areas of Ceylon ; Havelock-High Level Road towards the Kelani Valley and Albion-Dematagoda Roads leading to the Low Level Road and to the Kelani Valley. These arteries are met by a series of lateral roads such as Turret-Ward, Bullers, Hill Street, and Pamankade. There is an inner ring encircling Fort (Lotus Road) and a middle ring (Skinners-Panchikawatte-McCullum) the new Kelani Bridge-Base Line artery provides a by pass for traffic from the north to the south of the city without passing through the centre. On this basic structural pattern rectangular, crescentic, square and circular forms have evolved as secondary and tertiary patterns.

The railway to Matara runs parallel to the coastline and the Galle Road, passing through the city stations of Slave Island, Colpetty, Bambalapitiya and Wellawatte. The Kelani Valley line passes through the eastern marginal areas and has in no way attracted towards it any industries or concentrated settlements. A distinguishing feature in the morphology is this west-east extending zone occupied by the Fort Railway Station, the railway yards, the Maradana Junction and yards, the Dematagoda Station, Kuppiyawatte yards, workshops and sidings. The railway track from the Port to Kolonnawa is built on a flood protection bund, which checks the spread of the floods westwards. The Beira-San Sebastian waterway is significant leading to the river-canal system of the Colombo region.

II—Aspects of the Urban Spread

The whole life span of the townscape is not epitomized in its fabric. Most of its monuments have either vanished or have been destroyed either by the elements of tropical weather or as a result of numerous sieges and battles during the colonial period. The fabric has changed almost completely and few residues are incorporated in it.

Urban development entered a new and major phase after 1870 along with the harbour development. There was unhampered spread of buildings

close to the harbour and the business areas of the Pettah in the St. Paul—Hulftsdorf—Kochchikade areas between 1870-1891. Housing was in the form of low terrace-tenements and back to back lines very closely packed together. In the Port premises, the outmoded warehoues, (bangasalas) and other obsolescent property were replaced by bigger warehouses, godowns, stores and the Chalmers Granaries, on the reclaimed surfaces of the harbour foreshore. The fabric of the core (the Fort and the Pettah) changed rapidly.

The centralisation of Ceylon's commerce, business and government administration, in the Fort, the retail and wholesale trade in the Pettah intensified the competition in site selection in these areas. Owing to the great demand for space, the capital value of land increased. This had a two-fold effect : first the vertical expansion expressed in the form of multi-storeyed buildings was emphasized. Secondly, a tendency towards horizontal extension began rapidly towards the outer zone, for it is seen that " the growth of any town is a twin process of outward extension and internal reorganisation."[1]

Fort began to change its face.[2] Large and tall multi-storey buildings as Negris, New Australia, Bristol, Arcadia, Gaffoor, Lloyd blocks and those of Chartered, Imperial and National Banks replaced the one-storey structures.[3] The general pattern was predominantly three-storey and below one hundred feet in height.[4] Times block alone had six-storeys, a landmark in the progress of engineering and architectural achievement in the island.

The Pettah business areas have also changed in the post 1870 period. The compact, contiguous blocks of small shops were replaced by one-storey blocks with moderate road frontage and depth. A few intrusions of two-storey blocks break the monotony of the regular skyline. Commercial buildings predominantly one-storey, flank the thoroughfares radiating from Kayman's Gate to the inner zone. A mixed pattern of one-storey buildings-tenements-small houses with shop fronts characterise this inner zone.

1. A. E. SMAILES.—Geography of Towns, London, 1955, p. 92.
2. N. M. INGRAM.—" Colombo, 1905—1930 ; some recollections and changes." *The Engineering Association of Ceylon, Transactions*, 1931.
3. Following British usage, the ground floor is not counted as a storey.
4. The height limit for buildings in the town.

Horizontal expansion has taken place primarily in the residential areas (1900-1930), and this has resulted in the establishing of retail shopping centres at favourable junctions within the newly occupied and expanding residential areas. The buildings in the inner zone had been developed along insanitary lines. Speculative land owners built these with little consideration for air space, lighting, ventilation, drainage and access to cleaning. The town was congested with ill designed buildings and poor environmental sanitation. The uncontrolled and irregular building spread was checked by the "Housing and Town Improvement Ordinance Number 19 of 1915." This attempted to control the size, orientation, spacing, height and spacial arrangements of buildings, to permit sufficient direct sunlight to the house premises and also to maximise ventilation. The chief features of the Bill were its preventive and remedial measures. These were fourfold ; (1) No building was to be erected unless roads existed to serve them, (2) No building was to exceed in height the width of the street on which it is situated (about forty feet), (3) Rooms were to be provided with enough space, ventilation and light, (4) Open spaces were to be provided in the rear of the buildings as a common channel of ventilation behind continuous rows of houses. These remedial measures marked a general improvement in rehousing, housing reconstruction, improvement and street schemes. Town planning in Colombo was the necessary corollary of this Ordinance of 1915.

The congested areas close to Fort and Pettah were opened up by driving through them wider streets. Tenements were improved. Municipal housing schemes at Kochchikade, Rajamalwatte and multi-storeyed flats at San Sebastian, Slave Island and Maradana were constructed to house the workers.

In contrast to this zone the Colpetty-Cinnamon Gardens area became the residential zone of the wealthy folk. 'High Class' houses were built by the Europeans, Burghers and wealthy Ceylonese. The residential spread, however, was checked by the effects of the depression years that followed 1930.[5] There was a decrease in the construction of 'High Class' houses for economic reasons. Tenements also decreased. Speculative builders constructed small houses and cottages, a tendency which often threatened to mar the former picturesque appearance of the 'High Class' residential areas. The residential areas were gradually spreading out along circulatory systems towards the outer zone and even the suburbs.

5. "Administration Report of the Municipality of Colombo." *Ceylon Sessional Paper*—XXVIII, (1939).

During the World War II period, there was a high degree of administrative decentralisation. The establishing of certain government departments in the suburbs gave an impetus to the growth of suburban towns especially as dormitory or residential areas. The scatter of the residential areas accompanied by administrative devolution led to the growth of a closer relationship between the city and suburbs.

Post war city growth, development and expansion were planned according to "The Town and Country Planning Ordinance No. 13 of 1946." For the first time, buildings,[6] building areas and other areas were zoned into commercial, industrial, residential, agricultural uses and open spaces. The purposes of planning were towards zonal uniformity, a better spacial relationship within the respective zones and orderly spread and growth of the city.

Modern developments in science, technology and engineering have modified or extended the feasible ways of organising urban space. In the Fort the multi-storeyed new Secretariat, the Baur's building, the new Bristol building, the Y. M. B. A. block, the incomplete but towering Ceylon Insurance block are some of the recent additions to its fabric. The former direct functional relationship between the Passenger Jetty and York Street, a cardinal element in the structure of the Fort, has changed completely as a result of the new Queen Elizabeth Quay on which the new Passenger Jetty, new warehouses, Customs buildings, Tourist offices etc. are constructed. In the Pettah a few multi-storey blocks have intruded into its mono-storey pattern. Changes and new accretions are found along the thoroughfares of the inner zone. Multi-storeyed buildings flank Skinners-Panchikawatte Roads. A predominantly one-storey pattern flanks the other business ribbons, which becomes multi-storey at the junctions.

In the residential outer zone housing has not kept pace with the city's increase of population. The Municipality considers the shortage of housing especially for the working classes as the most serious civic problem. Multi-storey residential flats at Bambalapitiya, Thimbirigasyaya, Maradana and Kotahena have been constructed. A two and a half million rupees slum clearance scheme is planned to house those in the slums in new flats at Cattle Mart Road, Maligakande, Vuystwyke Road and Maligawatte. Private investments in the construction of residential quarters and one-storey living

6. Building means any house, garage, hut, shed or any enclosure, and boundary wall, fence, gateway or pillar.

flats and bungalows are considerable because of good rentals. Co-operative Building Societies, Building Companies and the Ministry of Housing have started housing schemes and it is noticeable that the residential spread is increasing along the urban fringe and suburban zone. An urban sprawl has set in especially along the metalled circulatory systems leading out to the suburban towns of the Colombo region.

III—Urban Profile

" Urban morphology, however, is not merely two dimensional in scope. On the contrary it is through the special importance which the third dimension assumes in the urban scene that much of its distinctiveness and variety arise". In reality " the town is not merely a street pattern, or disposition of filled and open spaces in two dimensions, but is first and foremost an arrangement of structures that rise from the ground in different shapes".[7]

There is a preponderence of single-storey buildings in the townscape. The observer from commanding viewpoints[8] gets an impression of a low and flat city. The multi-storey area is localised and not widespread, and this fact once again emphasizes the flatness of the city. Colombo, when compared with other cities of like size and importance has scarcely begun to build upwards. The peaks of the building profile of the Fort correspond to the Times block, the new Secretariat, Baur's block while the highest point will be the new Ceylon Insurance building which exceeds one hundred feet.[9] The average height of the profile of the Fort is about sixty to seventy feet. The Pettah profile is lower, about thirty to forty feet high but more irregular. Parallelism of roof line and street intensifies the impression of monotony imparted by other features of the buildings. Elsewhere in the townscape (residential zones) a low profile may be seen. However, prominent buildings such as churches, temples, schools, hospitals, monuments and mills stand out above the low accordant roof surfaces. The domes of St. Lucia's Cathedral and the Town Hall, the spire of All Saints Church (Hulftsdorf), the chimneys of the British Ceylon Corporation mills and the Wellawatte spinning mills, the new lighthouse, project

7. A. E. SMAILES.—" Some reflections on the geographical description and analysis of townscape." *Institute of British Geographers : Transactions and Papers*, 1955, p. 101.

8. Such points are top of Times block (Fort) ; St. Lucia's Cathedral (Kotahena) and the Town Hall (Cinnamon Gardens).

9. In this case a height exceeding the permissable limit has been allowed. The relevent regulation referred to is Part I, No. 10 (*b*) *Town and Country Planning Ordinance No.* 13 *of* 1946.

prominently and contribute especially to the individuality of the urban skyline as a whole. The storey variations necessarily bring changes in the skyline pattern.

IV—Urban Texture

The varying balance between spaces and structures gives the townscape some of its textural variety.[10] On this basis a major characterization can be made (Fig. II). The nature of texture owes much to three basic forms of buildings: —(*a*) high blocks so typical of business centres that have the effect of " block clumping," (*b*) terrace-housing which show a ribbed texture, and (*c*) semi-detached and detached house types that produce a " studded effect".

The texture of the Fort, the Pettah, the congested housing areas (inner mixed zone) the business junctions and ribbons is tightly woven. However, only Fort shows high block clumping whereas low block clumping characterizes the Pettah, the business junctions and the ribbons. Ribbed texture is the pattern of the inner mixed zone with the terraced tenements, lines, small houses with shop fronts flanking the streets, lanes, paths and alleys, often intruded by prongs of one-storey commercial blocks. Textural variety is common in the intermediate areas of Grandpass, Slave Island and Maradana. The residential outer zone has a loosely woven texture. The house types (Fig. II) associated with different spacial characteristics such as small houses with only front gardens, cottages with front and backyards, spacious one-storey bungalows with ample front space and backyards intermixed in a zone of public parks, playgrounds, golf links, and private open land account for this pattern.

V—Tone

Differences in tone or colour are less marked in the Colombo scene than in Western cities as the building materials used are uniform and the differences in the age of the buildings are slight. However, public buildings (government and commercial functions) contrast with the residential types which are multi-coloured and thereby show tonal variety especially in the residential outer zone. Besides, micro-vegetational and fungal growth in the hot-wet environment also account for pleasant tonal combinations and slight variations.

10. A. E. SMAILES AND G. SIMPSON.—" The changing face of East London." *East London Papers*, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 1958.

VI—Distinctive Buildings

Differentiation of building forms may also result from differences in taste and architecture. The Wolfendal Church is unique both for its architecture and its age. Few residue forms such as the Old Pettah Post Office, few walauwas at Silversmith, Green and Kuruwe Streets show Dutch architectural influences of the eighteenth century. The public buildings with distinctive taste are the Supreme Court (Doric columns) ; the Lake House (Sinhalese architecture) ; Independence Memorial (Oriental Classic style) ; Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital (Indian Islamic style) ; Lady Havelock Hospital (Gothic style) ; the Museum (Gothic) ; the General Post Office, Royal College, The University, the new Town Hall, St. Lucia's Cathedral ; All Saints Church ; Millers Limited and Public Works Department blocks ; Technical College and Galle Face buildings.

VII—Morphological Regions

On the basis of urban texture, profile, current land values and consequent functional differentiation, the townscape* may be divided into the following regions: (*a*) the core, (*b*) the integuments (inner mixed zone and outer zone), (*c*) suburban regions. (Fig. III).

The existence of a " core area " in the Fort and the Pettah, associated with the highest land values (ranging from two to six million rupees per acre), tallest buildings, high density land use, the greatest concentration of people, traffic, business during the day hours is unique. This core area offers the convenience of both accessibility and availability. This compact area serves the centre of business and commerce, finance, insurance, banking, wholesale and retail distribution and government administration. Consequently it is the greatest area of employment concentration. Historically, the town has grown up around this centre, the residential areas have been oriented in relation to this focal area. The existence of the core and the marked separation of the areas of work and residence is a distinctive feature of the structure of Colombo.

The development of retail business at favourable junctions has altered significant place relationships which has given rise to basic structural shifts in the arrangement of land uses. The development of these secondary core areas such as at the central junctions at Maradana, Borella, Colpetty,

* The Port premises comprises a distinct morphological unit. But this area is not studied in this analysis.

Bambalapitiya and Slave-Island is consistent and appropriate to population increase and areal expansion of the city. Traffic congestion, lack of convenient parking within the ' core area ' and inadequate mass transport to it have changed the shopping habits of the customers which to some degree show a preference for retail shops at these junctions.[11] These retail centres have developed because of relatively low rentals, adequate ground floor space for display of goods and storing, affording easy parking close to the shops and their closeness to the public market, the railway station and the junction bus stand.

The integuments may be divided into (*a*) inner mixed zone, (*b*) and outer zone. The inner mixed zone lies immediately adjacent to the core areas and is crescentic in shape comprising the wards of Kotahena, Kochchikade, St. Pauls, San Sebastian and Slave-Island. The average population density here is about 175 persons per acre. Most of the working class population of the city lives in this zone in either one or two room rented tenements. The contiguous lines of tenements face either the street or a common path or alley. They have very limited backyard space. A few have a common tenement garden at the back. In general most of these tenements are dilapidated and slum like and are badly in need of repairs or complete replacement. Long tenantcy and low rentals prevent improvements. The low rentals are partly owing to the congested conditions of the zone, the limited living space of the tenements and also the result of obsolescence and decay. These conditions have a drastic effect on land values. Holdings with road frontage which could be used for commercial undertakings fetch about one million rupees per acre whereas residential blocks with good access sell for about 200,000 rupees per acre. This is a zone of wide fluctuations of land values.

Though most of the communities are intermixed, residential segmentation, however, of certain communities may be traced. Along Old and New Moor Streets there are more Muslims than other communities ; in Chetty Street, the Colombo Chettys predominate in numbers ; along Silversmith Street are found a mixed Hindu population of Indian and Ceylon Tamils and Wilson Street is a predominantly Cochin—Tamil area.

Contiguous rows of small shops, boutiques, kiosks and stores flank both sides of the New Moor, Old Moor, Messenger, Wolfendal and Silversmith Streets. Along the other roads and streets, small houses with shop

11. " Social survey of shopping habits." *Ceylon Sessional Paper I*—1959.

fronts combine residential and commercial functions. Religious edifices such as kovils, churches, mosques, temples and shrines reveal the cosmopolitan and mixed religious structure of the zone. The planned and pleasing arrangement of the public buildings such as the law courts at Hulftsdorf break the monotonous terraced pattern and congested appearance of the zone. Small industrial units connected with tin smelting, blacksmithing, goldsmithing, carpentry, brassworks, cottage crafts, cigar, beedi rolling, snuff making, repair and scrap yards and garages are part and parcel of the functional ensemble. However, the industrial premises of British Ceylon Corporation exists as an enclave and is walled and isolated from the residences. In general, there is such a great mixture of activities, tenement residences, retail trade, light industrial and institutional functions so mixed up and intermingled, that it is quite incapable of separation except on a map showing individual houses.

The outer zone of the townscape is associated with relatively self-contained, compact, single family dwellings varying in size from three rooms in about 4,080—5,440 square feet lots, to the spacious bungalows and storeyed residences of Colpetty-Cinnamon Gardens areas in large land lots of about 21,760—43,520 square feet. Land values range from about 300,000 rupees per acre to about 100,000 rupees along the urban fringe areas.

These cottages have about four or five rooms separated from each other either by a wall or hedge fence and have both front garden and back-yard. Space in these rectangular land lots is used economically and aesthetically as regards the orientation of the house towards the road and the provision of space around it. There is good air drainage and plenty of direct sunlight. Variety of architectural design, forms and colour combinations reduce monotony and make the area attractive. Ridge shape roofs and projecting "V" shaped porticos are typical of the houses built before 1940; the new houses show contemporary architectural trends both in the use of construction materials and the functional aspects.[12]

The land lots of the cottages vary regionally reflecting differences in house density (Fig. IV). In the Wellawatte area (south) the cottages are small with about twenty to twenty five yards road frontage, have about forty yards depth with small back gardens. The cottages face each other

12. The new houses are well designed and locally called "American style cottages." A pleasing change is that the dark, smoky kitchens and the miserable bathrooms and lavatories relegated to the back of the houses have been replaced by spacious attractive kichens and colourful bathrooms.

along the parallel lanes which are spaced in about eighty to one hundred yards apart. The Kotahena residential areas (north) also show a similar spacial arrangement. The Bambalapitiya-Colpetty-Borella areas show a broader road frontage, more depth and considerable backyards. The land between the parallel streets is divided between two sets of rectangular blocks and two rows of cottages are built to face the parallel lanes. From 1946, the cottages have multiplied and spread over to the Thimbirigasyaya-Havelock Town areas. Housing estates have sprung along the urban fringe zone and it is pleasant to note the absence of stereotype architectural designs in these areas.

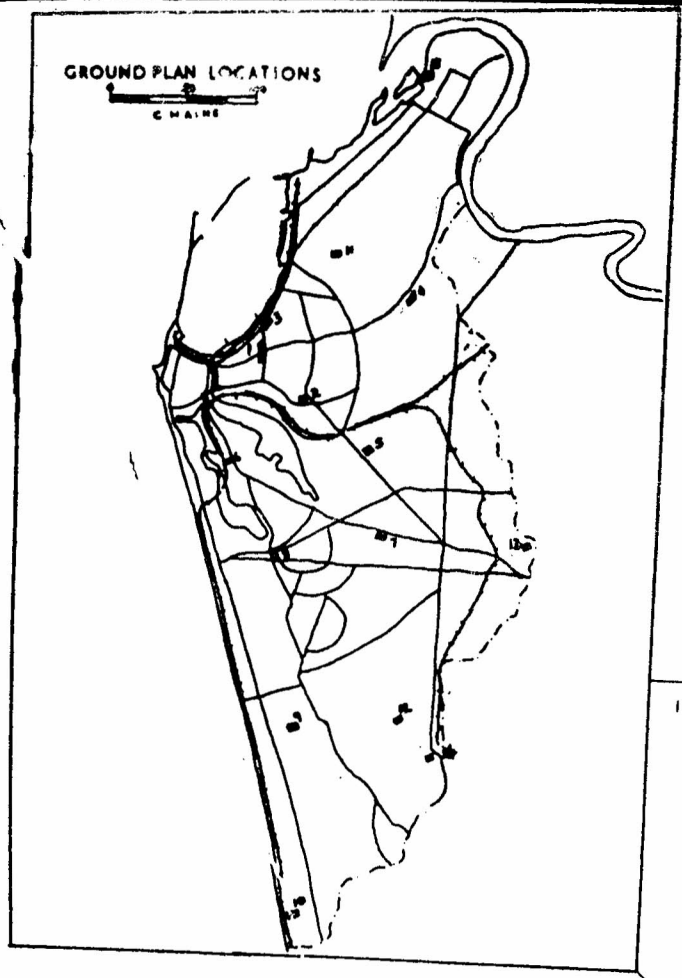
In the outer zone, the Colpetty-Cinnamon Gardens areas with their spacious bungalows and storeyed residences have distinctive features which are different to the other areas. These are the best and 'High Class' residential areas and contrast sharply with the slum like areas of the inner mixed zone. This 'High Class' residential district is well drained, free from the risk of floods, provided with large parks and open spaces, well ventilated, away from the noise and perhaps the nuisance of railway stations, public markets, light manufacturing and repair shops and petty retail stores.

The building density is low per acre. Land values and rentals are high because of the better disposition of the area and the social values attached to this district. Land sales are less common in this area than elsewhere in the city because land and other possessions are inherited and have strong sentimental attachments. Besides, there is little need for the wealthy class to sell these.

All the bungalows have spacious front gardens and extensive backyards in land blocks of about 21,760—43,520 square feet. Lawns, flower gardens enhance the general appearance of this district. These spacious bungalows, storeyed residences, flank shady avenues constituting a labyrinth of pleasing leafy vistas. The area of government bungalows situated along Buller's Road and Stanmore Crescent for the 'High Officials and Diplomatic personnel' also accounts for the high status of this area. A special residential quarter for medical specialists and consultants lies around the Regent Street-Ward Place-Maradana road triangle. These residences are so grouped together to be near the hospitals, nursing homes and clinics which are located in the above named triangle. The large buildings of the Museum, the University of Ceylon, Royal College, new Town Hall and the hospitals form conspicuous landmarks in this district.

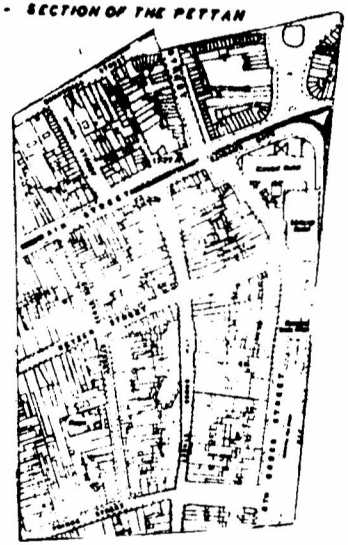
Finally the urban fringe and suburban zone show distinctive features which are different to those within the town. These areas are open like, having a low population and housing density per acre, possessing good access with the core area especially along the road system, with favourable land values (100,000—70,000 Rupees per acre), and land available for purchase. Consequently the urban sprawl is best seen in these areas. These areas are then the city's dormitory zones which are spreading rapidly as a result of both private and co-operative building enterprises along the metalled circulatory systems especially towards the south and south-east. At present the dormitory areas of Rajagiriya, Nugegoda, Ratmalana etc. show a planned and pleasant general layout and healthy environment. With the increase of population both in the city and the region, coupled with the tremendous shortage of houses for city dwellers, it is likely that the suburbs may experience a greater pressure of people both from the city and the surrounding countryside. However it is here that we maintain the features of a townscape of a "Garden City" preserving the rural spirit. Thus it is seen that the morphology of each zone in the townscape is changing in response to human wants and desires and relative to technological progress and development.

B. L. PANDITARATNA



THE CORE AREA

1- SECTION OF THE PETTAH



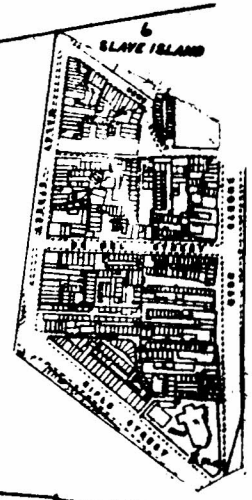


3. ST. PAUL'S

INNER MIXED AREAS

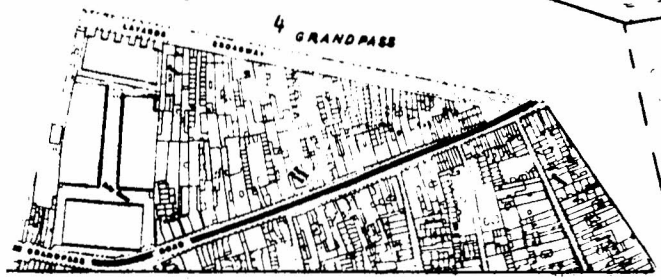


2. SAN SEBASTIAN



6 SLAVE ISLAND

INTERMEDIATE AREAS

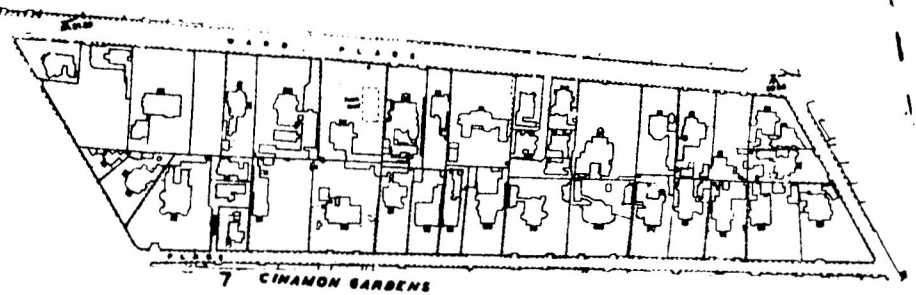


4 GRANDPASS

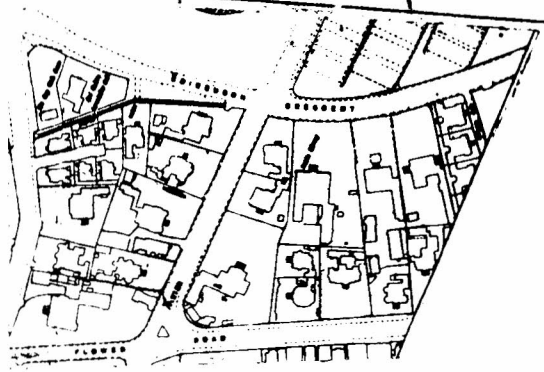


5. MARADANA

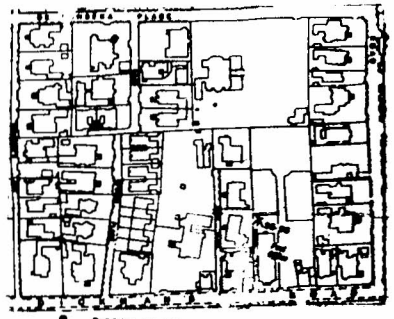
OUTER RESIDENTIAL AREAS



7 CINAMON GARDENS

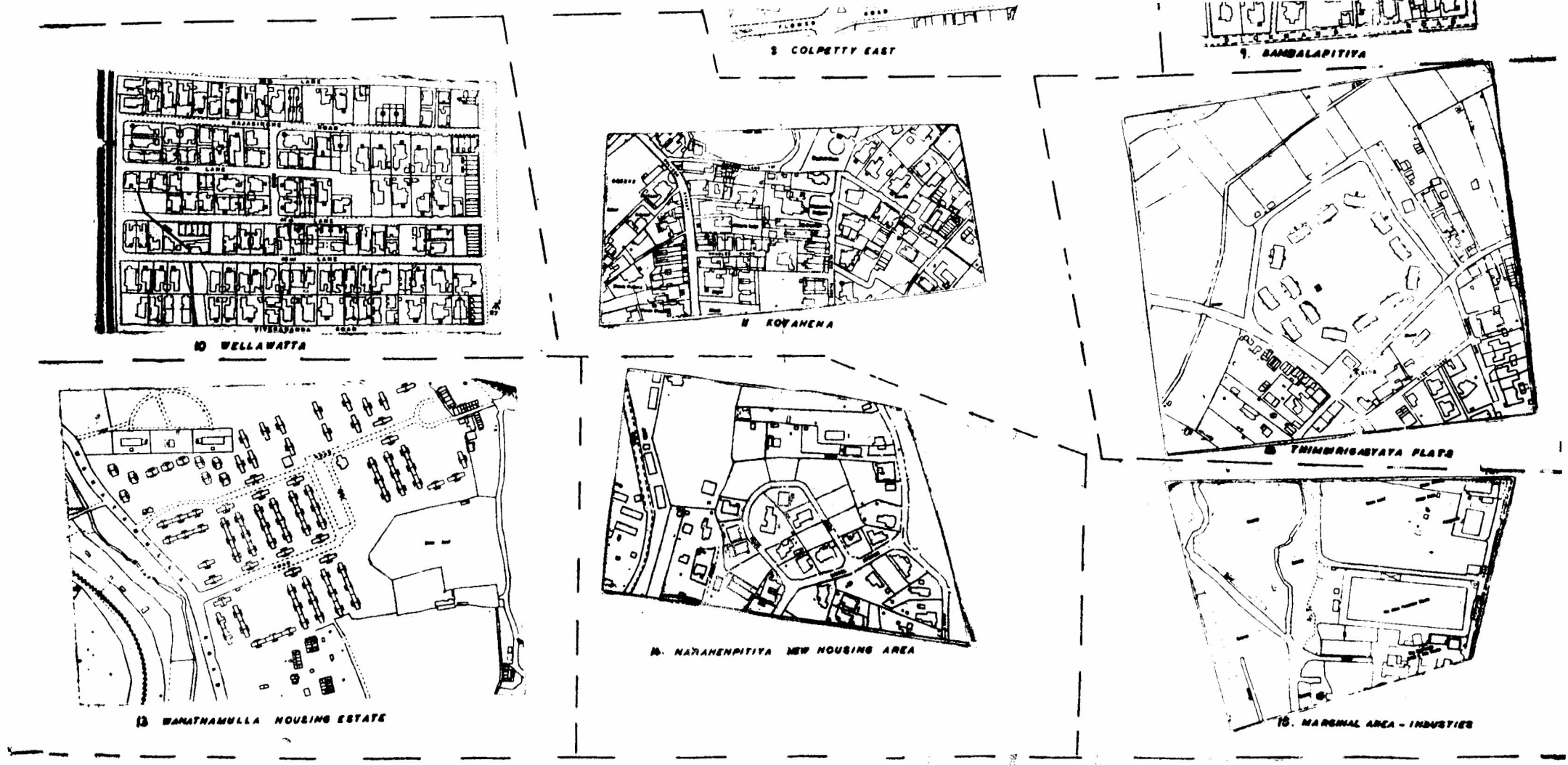


8 COLPETTY EAST



9. BAMBALAPITIYA





GROUND PLANS OF SELECTED LOCATIONS

CHAINS

(FROM TOWN SURVEY SERIES)

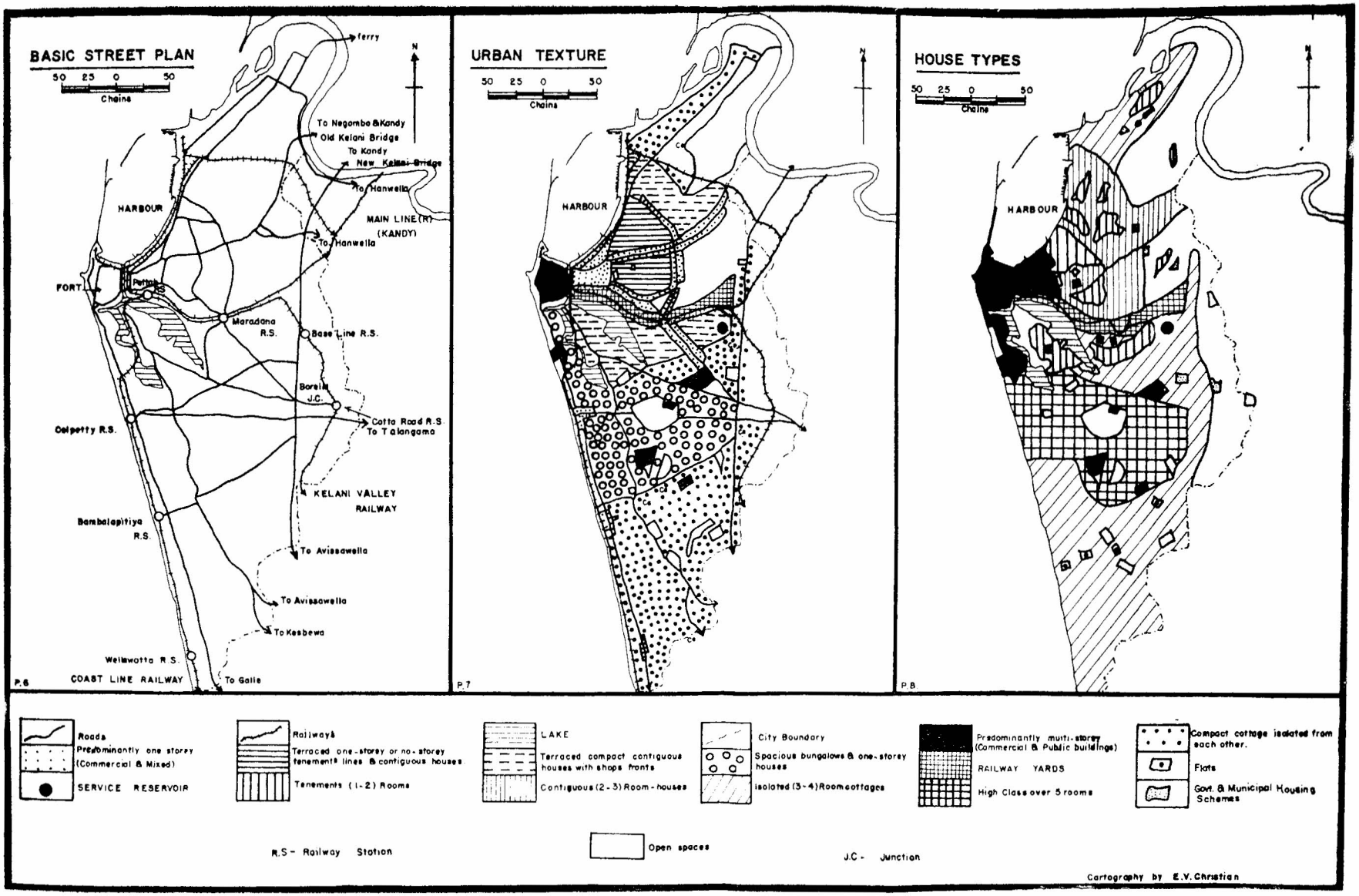
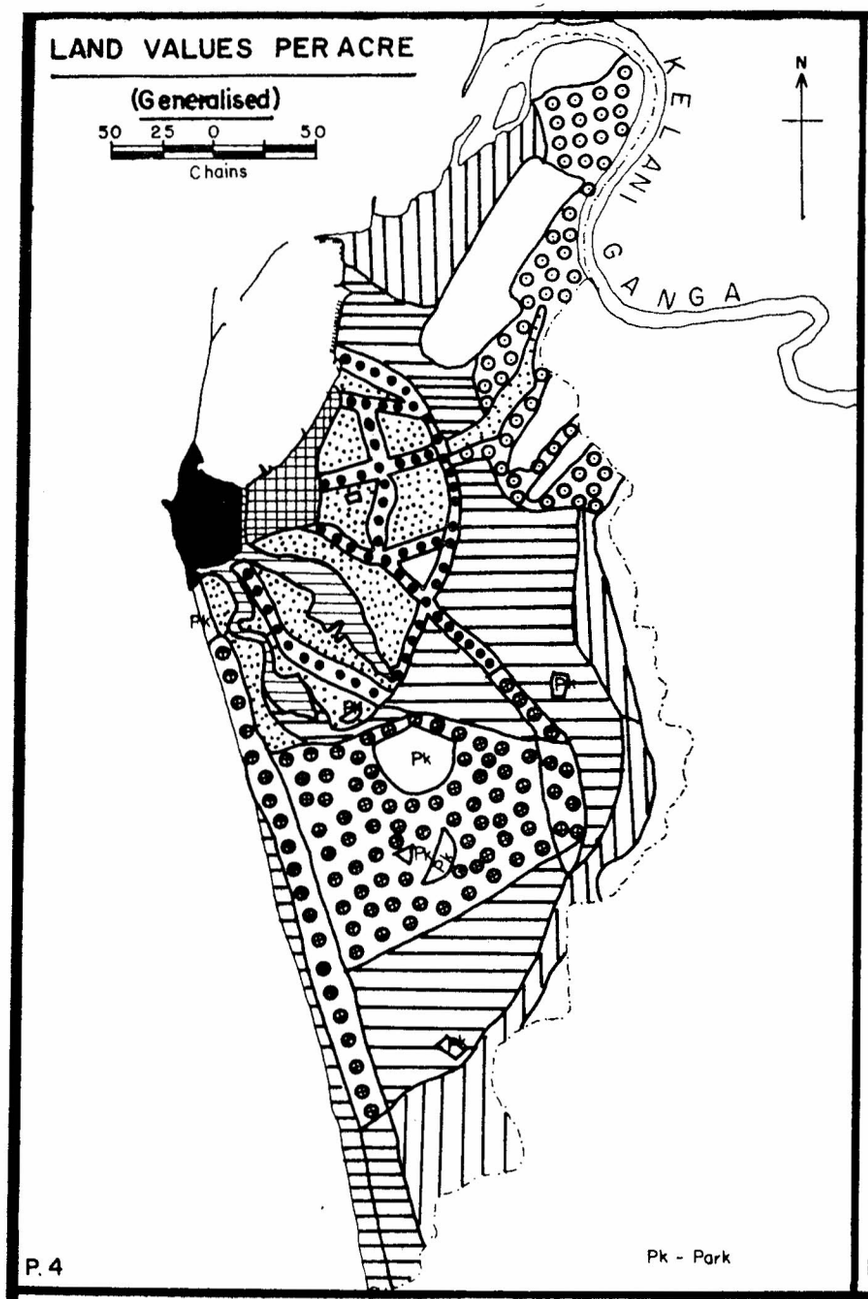
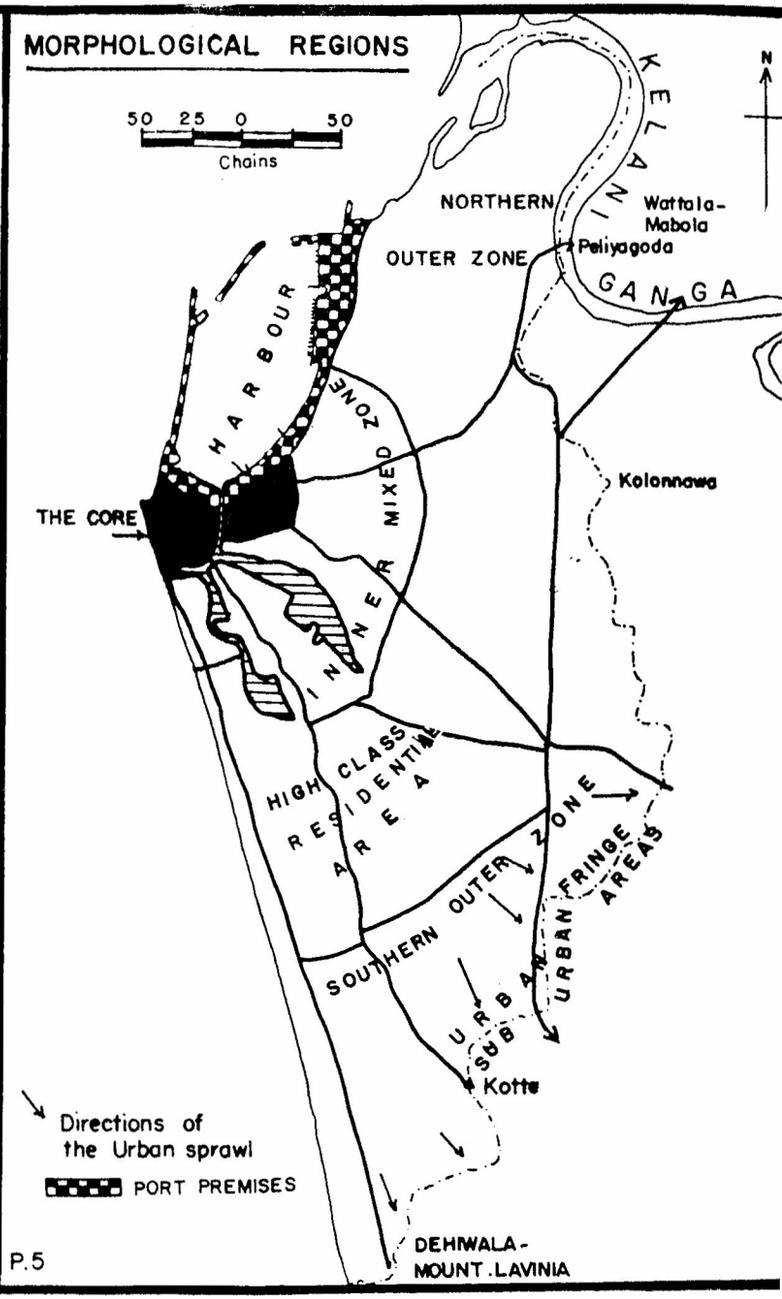

BASIC STREET PLAN
50 25 0 50
Chains
N
ferry
To Negombo & Kandy
Old Kelani Bridge
To Kandy
New Kelani Bridge
To Hanwella
HARBOUR
MAIN LINE (R)
(KANDY)
To Hanwella
FORT
Pettah
Maradana R.S.
Base Line R.S.
Borella J.C.
Cotta Road R.S.
To Talangama
Colpetty R.S.
KELANI VALLEY RAILWAY
Bambalapitiya R.S.
To Avissawella
To Avissawella
To Kesbewa
Wellawatta R.S.
COAST LINE RAILWAY
To Galle
P.6
URBAN TEXTURE
50 25 0 50
Chains
N
HARBOUR
P.7
HOUSE TYPES
50 25 0 50
Chains
N
HARBOUR
P.8
Roads
Predominantly one storey (Commercial & Mixed)
SERVICE RESERVOIR
Railways
Terraced one-storey or no-storey tenements lines & contiguous houses
Tenements (1-2) Rooms
LAKE
Terraced compact contiguous houses with shops fronts
Contiguous (2-3) Room-houses
City Boundary
Spacious bungalows & one-storey houses
Isolated (3-4) Room cottages
Predominantly multi-storey (Commercial & Public buildings)
RAILWAY YARDS
High Class over 5 rooms
Compact cottage isolated from each other.
Flats
Govt. & Municipal Housing Schemes
R.S - Railway Station
Open spaces
J.C - Junction
Cartography by E.V. Christian

Fig. II





2 to 6 Million Rupees per acre

1 to 2 Million Rupees per acre

500,000 to 1 Million Rupees per

300,000 to 500,000 Rupees per Acre

275,000 to 300,000 Rupees per Acre

150,000 to 225,000 Rupees per Acre

75,000 to 150,000 Rupees per Acre

30,000 to 75,000 Rupees per Acre

Below 30,000 per Acre

LAKE

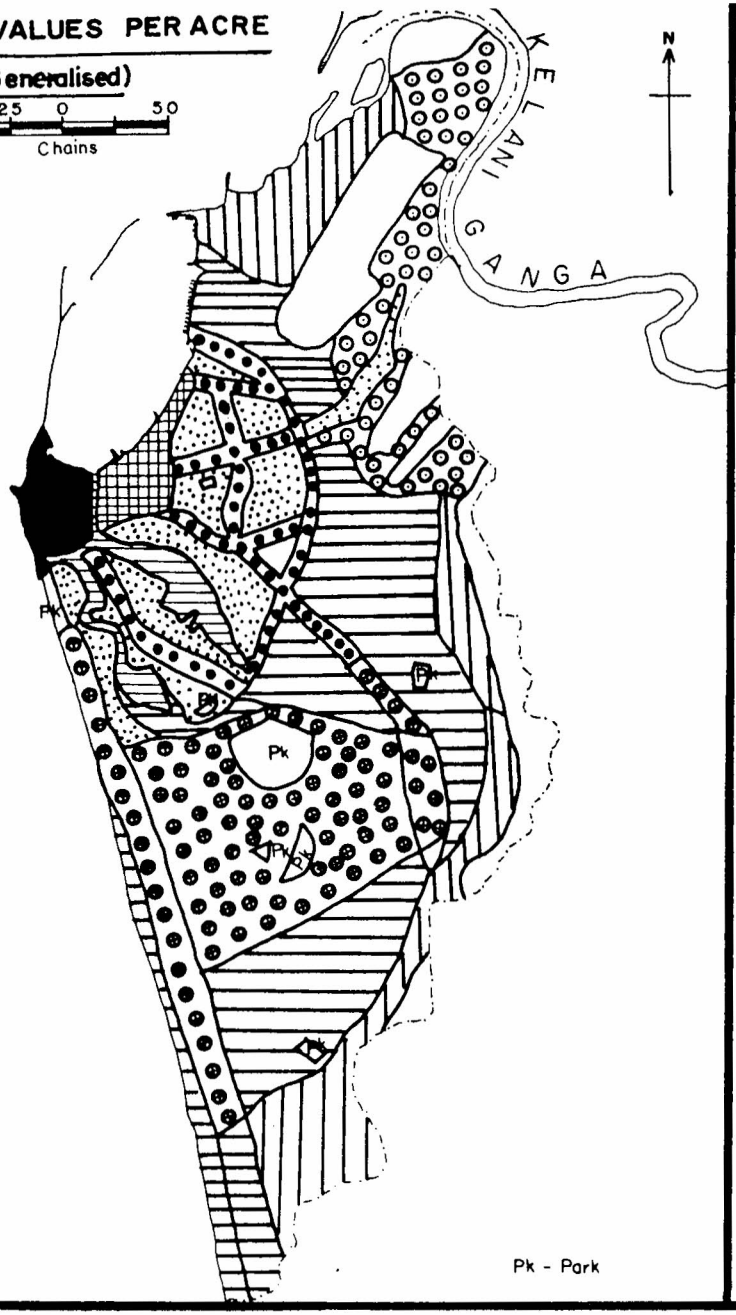
City Boundary

Road

LAND VALUES PER ACRE

(Generalised)

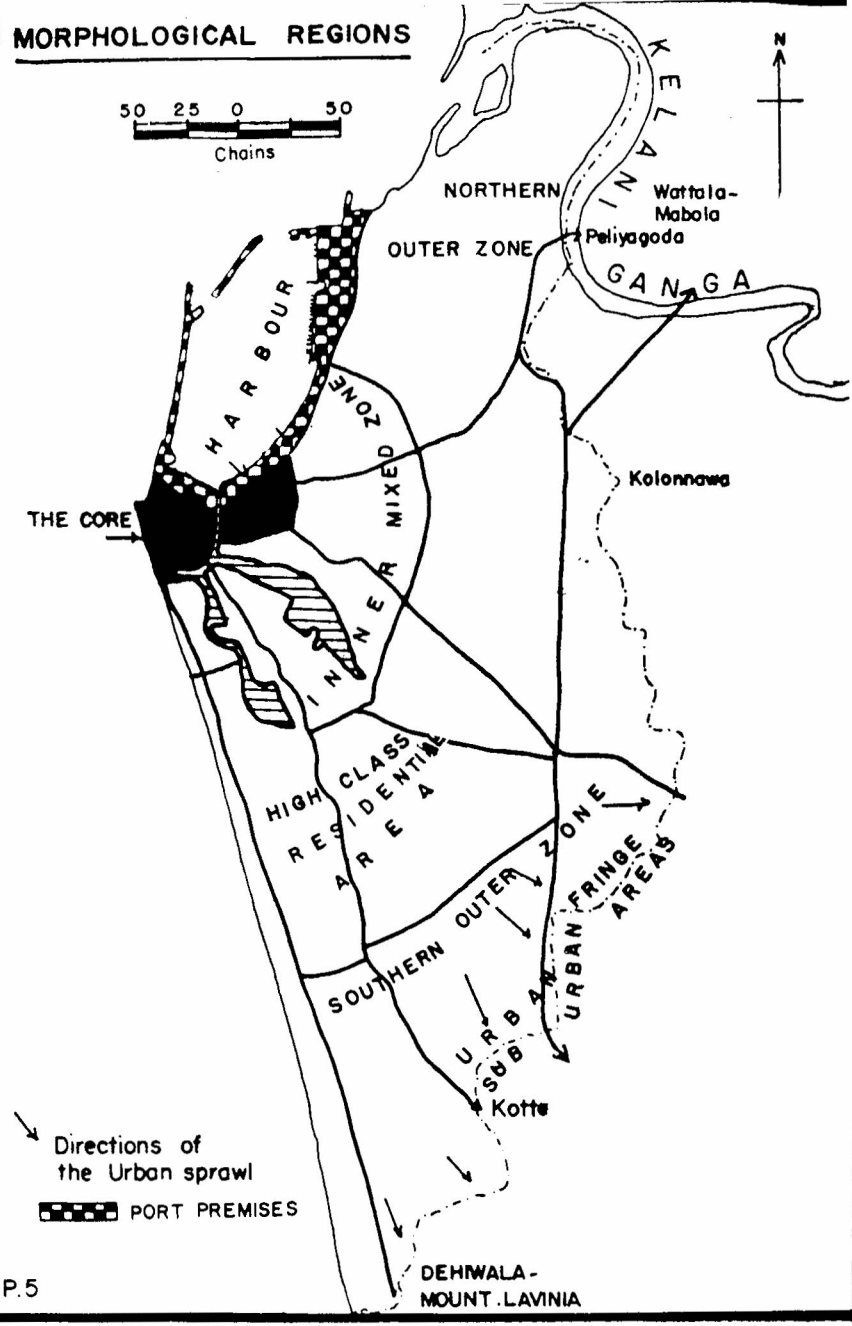
50 25 0 50
Chains



P. 4

MORPHOLOGICAL REGIONS

50 25 0 50
Chains



P. 5

2 to 6 Million Rupees per acre

1 to 2 Million Rupees per acre

500,000 to 1 Million Rupees per acre

300,000 to 500,000 Rupees per Acre

275,000 to 300,000 Rupees per Acre

150,000 to 225,000 Rupees per Acre

75,000 to 150,000 Rupees per Acre

30,000 to 75,000 Rupees per Acre

Below 30,000 per Acre

LAKE

City Boundary

Road

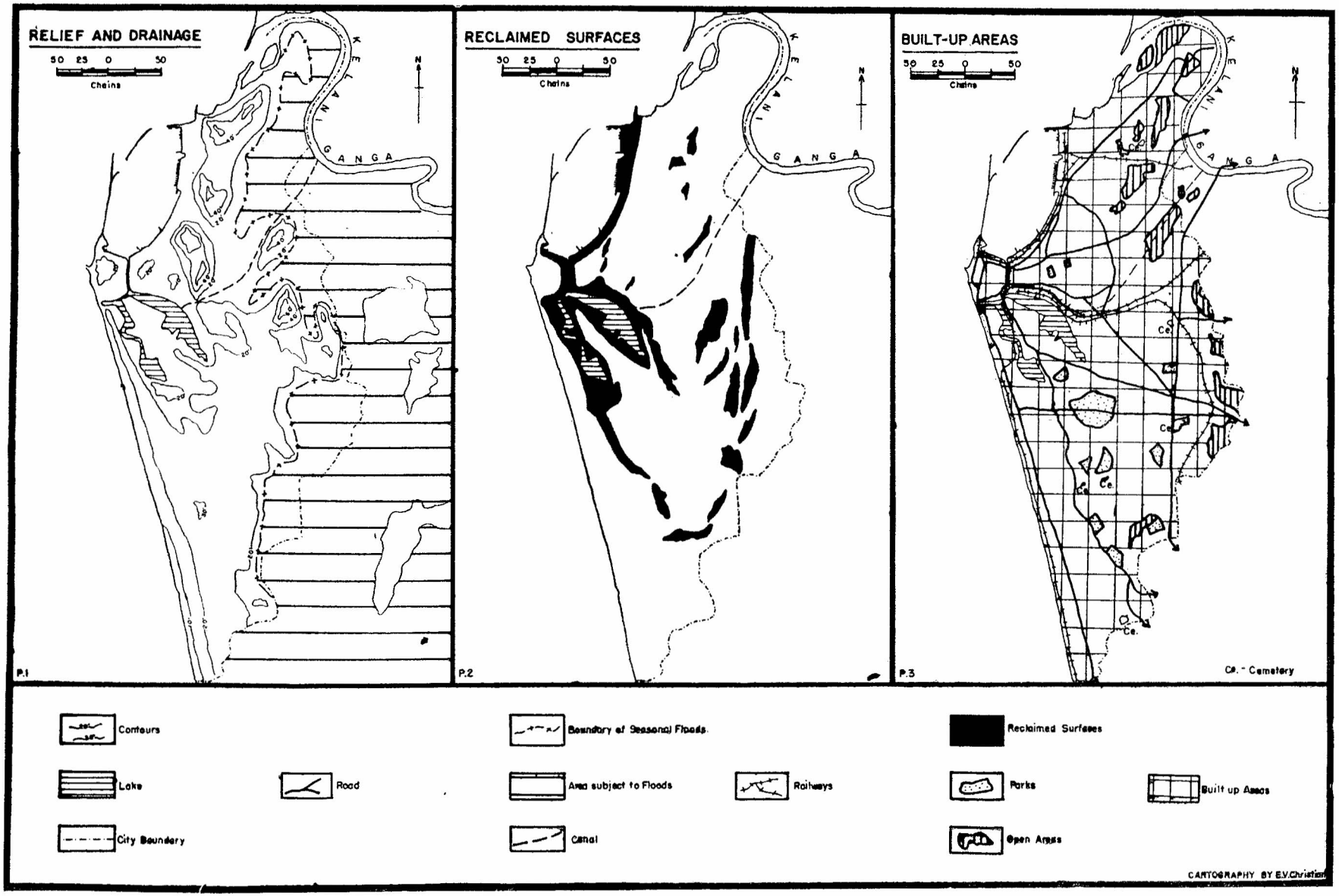

RELIEF AND DRAINAGE
50 25 0 50
Chains
KELANI
GANGA
N
P.1
RECLAIMED SURFACES
50 25 0 50
Chains
KELANI
GANGA
N
P.2
BUILT-UP AREAS
50 25 0 50
Chains
KELANI
GANGA
N
Ce.
P.3
Ce. - Cemetery
Contours
Lake
Road
City Boundary
Boundary of Seasonal Floods
Area subject to Floods
Railways
Canal
Reclaimed Surfaces
Parks
Built up Areas
Open Areas
CARTOGRAPHY BY E.V.Christian

Fig. IV