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A Man in between: Re-locating David Paynter in-between Paynter Home and Orphan Boys

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on aesthetic reaction of David Paynter's art, relating to the depiction of male body. David Paynter was a Sri Lankan prominent painter who lived in from 1900 to 1975 and became a world recognized painter in the twentieth century. He did paintings entitled *Four Boys* (plate 28), *Two Fishermen* (plate 26), *The Spear-Fisherman* (plate 31) and *The Offering* (plate 30) at the Paynter Home. Their body complexions depict Burgher features a very fair complexion and, they were orphans from the Paynter home. As he painted orphan boys as his sitters for those paintings, sooner or later, these boys became one of his major interests in his art practice. It re-locates Paynter in the engagement of the Paynter Home understanding the cultural and political affairs in a certain criteria. Therefore, this paper connects to the missionary education which maintained these bodies as docile bodies in the domestic space. This study also examines the aesthetic reaction of David Paynter's art associated to the depiction of male body; it points out most important crucial remarks making links between the male body and its representation.

KEYWORDS

Burgher, Missionary Education, Orphan Boys, Paynter Home, Representation

3. The Salvation Army is a Christian denomination that has spread throughout the world and also in Sri Lanka (The researcher).
4. Her uncle was Piyaratne Maha Thera, the Venerable. His Buddhist Seminary in Dodanduwa is still active (Sooriyakatha 2008: 9-25).
5. According to the 1911 census in Ceylon, there were 41,095 Anglican Christians, including 4983 Europeans and 7299 Burghers (Quoted in Robinson 1915: 149); 17,323 Wesleyans (including 1977 Burghers and 310 Europeans); 3546 Presbyterians (including 663 Europeans and 2684 Burghers); 3306 Baptists; 2978 Congregationalists; 1042 Salvation Army.
6. Operations of The Salvation Army are supervised by trained, commissioned officers. They proclaim the gospel and serve as administrators, teachers, social workers, counselors, youth leaders, and musicians (Salvation Army, 2017). Promotion is based on length of service, character, efficiency, capacity for increased responsibility, and devotion to duty. The ranks are lieutenant, captain, major, lieutenant colonel, colonel, and commissioner.

Re-locating Paynter in his Social Milieu

David Paynter's father - Arthur Stephen Paynter was an Englishman who was born to a country family in Bicester, Oxfordshire, England, on July 8, 1862 (Rathnayake 2008: 9-11; Darling 1982; Darling 1987). Arthur's father was a Warden of the Bicester Church in England. He served in the Salvation Army³ and became a cadet. He had the opportunity to serve in India and Ceylon when he began working as a Christian missionary in the Salvation Army. Arthur travelled to many countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Scotland, Italy and France (ICM Church, 2016). He has published journals, and *Calvary* was one of his very popular journals. He was the Vice-Chairman of the 'Home for the Homeless', 'Helpless' and 'Hopeless' - charitable organizations in Calcutta. David's mother - Anagi Weerasooriya (Agnes Louisa Paynter) was born on 15th November 1863 to the Dodandoowa Weerasooriya family⁴ (Sooriyakatha 2008, p. 9-25). Her family was an old Christian family that owned rubber, coconuts and citronella estates in Hikkaduwa, Dodandoowa and Baddegama. She was a Sinhalese woman and the daughter of David Weerasooriya.

The socio-political scenario was instrumental in bringing together both families - Paynters and Weerasooriyas. Various Christian denominations⁵ have been established in colonial Ceylon (Robinson 1915, p. 148). Since 1799 British missionaries have arrived in Sri Lanka (Harris 2007, p. 169), they came mostly as principals of missionary schools and as priests of the security army in Colombo (Robinson 1915, p. 148). The missionaries, however, belonged to the Baptist, Wesleyan Methodist and Anglican churches and became the strongest Christian denominations in these Buddhist regions. 'The Evangelistic Revival' which was formed in the late eighteenth century facilitated this situation. The Salvation Army, which was started in 1882, was another missionary organization that was established in Ceylon. The Weerasooriya family had a strong Anglican background, and their boys went to Trinity College, Kandy (Rathnayake 2008, p. 9-11).

One Sunday, Arnolis Weerasooriya - Agnes' brother - a teacher at Trinity College, Kandy, has listened to the preaching of Captain⁶ William Gladwin of the Salvation Army in Kandy town (Rathnayake 2008, p. 9-11). Arnolis Weerasooriya left the job and joined the Salvationists.⁷ He was the first Sinhalese who was converted to the Salvation Army. William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, welcomed him to the First International Congress in England, where a hundred missionaries accompanied him. It says that Arnolis was travelling with Arthur - David Paynter's father.⁸

Arthur Paynter (David Paynter's father) came to India as the chief

secretary for India and Ceylon (Sooriyakatha 2008, p. 12-25). Arnolis and Arthur became friends while serving in the same Salvation Army in both countries. In 1884 Agnes joined the Salvation Army, and eventually Arthur met Agnes in the late 1800s, while serving in the Salvation Army; he had served in India for many years before he met Agnes. They had fallen in love, and they had continued their relationship for seven years before they got married (Rathnayake 2008; Darling 1987). The issue was that Agnes' father- David Weerasooriya was unhappy about the marriage of his daughter to a foreigner (Quoted in Darling 1987, p. 27). Finally, they got married in 1893 in Bombay, India; Arthur was soon forced out of his family because of his marriage, and Agnes was also abandoned by her family. Yet together they continued to serve as missionaries in India, together and his brother-in-law-Arnolis Weerasooriya accompanied them. A few years later, in 1897, they left the Salvation Army and started 'The India Christian Mission.'⁹ In the same year, David's brother Arnold was born and since then they seem to have settled down in India.

David Paynter (Figure 1) was born on 5 March 1900 in Almora Uttar Pradesh, India. He was the third child of the family. The eldest was Arnold, and then his elder sister-Ada, David, and the youngest was Eve, who wrote two books on David Paynter (Aldrich 2014, p. 178; Darling 1982, p. 7; Darling 1987, p. 1-9; Sooriyakatha 2008). Arnold and David went to Christian Anglo-Indian School - The Breeks Memorial School in Ooty, South India, When the Paynter family (Figure 2) still lived in India. They were there until their primary education was completed.

After a couple of years, in 1904, when David was only four years old, the Paynter family (Figure 2) moved to Ceylon (Rathnayake 2008, p. 11; Darling 1987). Arnold and David went to Trinity College, Kandy, once they settled in Ceylon; Arnold was an athlete, winning the school quarter mile, long and high jump events. He (Arnold) has worked for several years on the school magazine's editorial board. Arnold volunteered for the First World War, when he was only 18 years old, and was the youngest in the regiment (Fernando 2008). Sadly, being gassed and shell-shocked, he had to spend many years in hospitals. He was also taken to Nuwara Eliya as his health improved. Arnold qualified for a scholarship at Hertford College, Oxford when he recovered.

Arnold began to accompany his mother on her visits to the villages in the Uva province. There he saw the Eurasian children in difficult situations, abandoned by their European fathers. That was how David's brother came up with the idea of building a home for these children, later known as 'The Paynter Home' (Paynter children 2018). The website also highly praised Arnold's personal qualities as "The tragedy of these little neglected and forgotten blonde, blue-eyed, beautiful, but incredibly dirty, sickly children overwhelmed him. Urge to help them became his greatest

7. The Christians who go to the church or Christian denomination called the Salvation Army.
8. Arnolis Weerasooriya later died in 1888 serving a society infested with cholera in India.
9. Arthur resigned from the Salvation Army and formed the India Christian Realm Mission. This new Christian denomination was founded on the 1st November 1897 in Uttar Pradesh, India. W. H. Greet and G. F. Grundy helped Arthur to build this Church (ICM Church, 2016).

¹⁰. She wrote two books with Albert Dharmasiri about her artist brother David in the 1980s. These two books became the only platform that has confronted David Paynter and located him in the historical arena of art until today (year 2019).

obsession.” Later on, Arnold married a young girl from the Paynter Home.

David’s two sisters, Ada and Eve were born in Ceylon. Ada was a soloist in performances of *Handel’s Messiah* in the early forties. Evangeline (Eve)¹⁰ was a brilliant pianist and the choir trainer who produced the first Sri Lankan production of a choral drama by Rutland Boughton: *The Immortal Hour* and *Bethlehem*. The British press also reported some of her performances.

David Paynter was Burgher (His nationality can be recognized as either Burgher or Eurasian), which also inspired his social and cultural life to be a painter. His family history and heritage gave him the identity as a Burgher. Kumari Jayawardena writes about Burghers and Eurasians as important in forming the ideology of the emerging class (Jayawardena 2012, p. 231-232). They were a part of the bourgeoisie. She explains how Europeans had relationships and married locals afterwards. She argues that European descendants were the central bourgeoisie, because the Portuguese policy has promoted intermarriage with the local inhabitants (De Silva 2009). The Dutch and the British were married into this mixed community. Jayawardena writes furthermore, that with the surrender of the Dutch and British maritime regions in 1796, many of Dutch origin left Ceylon, but others, such as traders, priests and government employees, remained there and were named as ‘Burghers’ (Jayawardena 2012, p. 231-232). There were also marriages and relationships between British men (soldiers, planters and others) and local women, their children were identified as ‘Eurasians’. Therefore, she defines all the mixed European-Asian as ‘Euro-Asian’/‘Eurasian’ (Quoted in Sanathanan 2008, p. 12).

In a cultural norm, Michael Roberts, Ismeth Raheem and Percy Colin-Thome describe the term ‘Burgher’ and defines ‘Burghers’ as ‘people-in-between’ (Roberts et al, 1989, p 6-8, 12). The term ‘parangi’ could be extended from the European rulers to the Burghers and locals labeled the descendants of the British or European males and local women as *Eurasians*. They note that even though there were groups such as Dutch Burghers or Portuguese Burghers, still Eurasians called themselves ‘Burgher’.

Then how can we assume that David Paynter can be a Burgher? Was he a Burgher, or was he a Eurasian? The term ‘Burgher’ means the people who belong to the middle class or to the bourgeois (Henry 1986, p. 6). Kumari Jayawardena gives a further answer to the questions that explain the social context. In 1908, the Dutch descendants founded a club called the Dutch Burgher Union and were given the meaning of ‘Burgher’, based on Dutch or other European descendants in the paternal line (Jayawardena 2012, p. 235). According to the above argument, David Paynter’s father was a British man, and his paternal line was European, which made him a Burgher. But the primary arguments which explain Paynter either as a Eurasian or as a Burgher do not change his identity.

PAYNTER AND ARTISTS'S COLLECTIVES

Colonialism urged amateur artists to make art independently. Before the colonial era, the artist was controlled by the authority and its choice of subjects. According to Sanathanan, Colonialism has withdrawn art away from traditional borders and from every boundary of caste hierarchy (2009, p. 95). *People In between* (Roberts et al, 1989, p. 24) and *Nobodies to Somebodies* (Jayawardena 2012) encounter the emerging Ceylonese middle class¹¹ within the urban British colonial society. In other words, the middle class of British Ceylon was a product of the colonial order (Roberts et al. 1989, p. 32). Kumari Jayawardena further argues that different Ceylonese elites, including Burghers eventually came to form a new middle class (Jayawardena 2012). This class learned drawing and painting while they embraced the colonial lifestyle (Sanathanan 2010, p. 140, Aldrich 2014, p. 82). Portraiture of the bourgeois and landscape painting became very popular among them. They became the ruling class by the beginning of the twentieth century. David Paynter's family is a part of this socio-political scenery. This was the same middle class where we place Paynter and his art practice. It is the key turning point that these social and class values made him a painter. These newly emerged elites practiced leisure-time activities.¹²

Sanathanan explains this as the colonial institutions¹³ effectively shaped and formed an art practice towards representationalism (Sanathanan, 2015). The Colombo Academy comprised about 250 members. Andrew Nicholl was responsible for 30 to 40 students (Quoted in Raheem & Percy 2002). Nicholl trained this selected number of students in topographical and mechanical drawing. These students learnt how to use their skills in topographical drawing to work in the Public Works Department and Survey Department. Until the arrival of Nicholl, no artist had previously worked in watercolours. Nicholl was one of the first to introduce this medium to the Ceylonese, and the Colombo Academy therefore, influenced on the contemporary era and its art practice, that was connected with the future years ahead.

This new middle class was inspired, directed, strengthened by this social situation, but they even criticized the artists (Aldrich 2014, p. 63). In that case, new ideologies of socialism, Marxism, nationalism became popular among this class. It was indeed a new way of living. A new art was practiced in the course of these new thoughts and knowledge (Wright 1907, p. 421). This mind explosion era played a major role in making Paynter a painter. This way of thinking helped the other amateur artists to accept Paynter no matter what his identity was.

The Ceylon Society of Arts¹⁴ was started to promote pictorial art among the emerging local amateur artists (Wright 1907, p. 420). It also became the main promoter and representative of a western stylized art in colonial

11. Tennent referred to the 'middle class' as the members of the indigenous aristocracy who lived in the towns. McCallum used this term, the English speaking aristocrats and headmen (Roberts et al, 1989: 26; Wickramasinghe 2006).
12. In the same platform, new schools of art and literature were established and several art societies were emerged (Quoted in Raheem & Percy 2002): Colombo Academy (1835), Colombo Drawing Club (1880s), Portfolio Sketch Club (1880s), Ceylon Society of Arts (1887), Ceylon Art Club (1928), 43 Group (1943) and Arts Council of Ceylon (1951).
13. In 1896, the British colonial government introduced a course in painting and drawing at the Government Technical College: Christian imagery, water colour painting, colonial photography and the engravings of visiting artists (Sanathanan, 2015).
14. Gate Mudliyar A. C. G. S. Amarasekara, G. P. Malalasekara, J. D. A. Perera, Saraswathi Rockwood, Gate Mudliyar Tudor Rajapaksa and Mapalagama Vipulasara Thero were added to this group. Even Paynter became a member of this group and practiced art using models for his every figurative work.

15. These painters often sent paintings back to London and some of them gained a reputation as regular exhibitors at the Royal Academy, the New English Art Club and the Cooling Galleries.
16. David Robson argues about this period that 'It was a time of great optimism and experimentation, a time when people were receptive to new ideas, a time when resources were limited but anything seemed possible' (Robson 2007: 16).
17. Most of the boys of new bourgeoisie families in the last decades of the nineteenth century Ceylon graduated as doctors and lawyers abroad (Jayawardena 1995: 1-5). Foreigners or Sri Lankans returning from abroad played a prominent role in Sri Lankan art history during the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century (Aldrich 2014).
18. For instance, David Paynter even won prizes several times at the Royal Academy.
19. Rabindranath Tagore's ashram and school of Shantiniketan in India (Aldrich 2014: 84).
20. 1857 the Bombay Government Art College and Madras Government College of Arts & Crafts (MGCA) and, in 1867 twenty two Industrial Art Societies were established (Tuli 1997: 184). They

Ceylon. The society became the most influential art body in colonial Ceylon (Perera 1999). It promoted painting, sculpture and photography, which emerged from Victorian academism of the European tradition. There were major purposes in that period. They were, study the human form and its' rhythm, copy the natural environment, use chiaroscuro and represent images in compositions.

Local painters¹⁵ first adopted western techniques and materials. Borrowing from the western academic style, he renders traditional religious scenes (Aldrich 2014, p. 82, 63). Ceylonese were represented by these painters in various art practices such as portraits, compositions, landscapes and seascapes. The way of representing the local body in the landscape is clearly adopted from contemporary European imagery. Eventually, the male figure was a subject of the painters and the photographers. Somehow, the Sri Lankan manliness also reformed due to these reasons.¹⁶ Victorian Academism (Goonetilake 2004), neoclassical painting concepts and Indian painting movements played a special role in the establishment of the painter - David Paynter. First, neoclassical painting style came along with the colonialism to Ceylon and was established in the particular groups I have mentioned earlier.

Aldrich notes the background of the Ceylonese artists (Aldrich 2014) that they emerged in the British era and there was a group of Ceylonese worked to take root over modernism in Sri Lankan art arena. Among them, there were several artists who came from the Burgher community. This was the same Burgher community where Paynter came from. Some others had gone abroad to follow university degrees in Europe¹⁷ (ex: Oxbridge or to study in London at the Slade School, the Royal College of Art and the Chelsea School of Art). In order to encourage these young artists, these Colleges introduced special awards and prizes for the best work annually.¹⁸ That gave many amateur artists the opportunity to study with a greater effort (Wright 1907, p. 421).

The second point is that Indian art movements enlightened the Ceylonese art practice in a strong manner. In some way, a number of artists had studied in Bombay, a major center of modernizing South Asian Art.¹⁹ Art schools in India promoted figurative art and studying the human form and its rhythm.²⁰ Even in Bengali painting, the whole painted space was filled with human figures and no space was empty (Ray 1995, p. 364). Their major art practice was to paint the human body and its rhythm. This quality can be depicted in Ceylonese artists in various ways. At the same time, Paynter travelled a lot and visited India many times and several times to do portraits. Not only Paynter, but also many amateur artists used to go to India.

Nineteenth century art education history in India is important in global design education history. 'The development of the first art schools in India

was closely associated with the Government School of Design in Britain' (Fujita 2017, p. 112). The British art surgeons began to help in pottery production in India and started local industrial subjects in those design schools. The main industrial subjects in the Ceylon Government College of Fine Arts were painting, weaving, Lākshā²¹ and pottery (Ariyasena 2019). In 1896, the British colonial government introduced a course in painting and drawing at the government technical college in Ceylon²² (Sanathanan, 2015). Visiting artists (amateur and professional) conducted the lectures on Christian Biblical imagery, watercolour painting, colonial photography, and engravings.

According to Ismail, George Keyt, Lionel Wendt, Justin Deraniyagala and Ivan Peries mostly painted the male figure. He believed that they produced stunning, innovative work (Ismail 2008, p. 7). But he had totally forgotten about David Paynter. The 43 Group introduced modernist painting to Sri Lanka as a powerful opposition to the realist art or to the Ceylon Society of Arts (Weeraratne 1993. p. 3, 5-7). Furthermore, Halpe argues that the radical developments in the Sri Lankan painting led to the formation of the 43 Group and parallel other artists such as David Paynter²³ (Halpe 2011). Sanathanan too believes that David Paynter played a unique role which became a bridge from the Ceylon Society of Arts to the 43 Group (Sanathanan 2008).

THE PAYNTER HOME AND THE ORPHAN BOYS

Paynter Home²⁴ (Figure 3) is a childrens' home currently run by an authorized director, and it was established in Nuwara Eliya on 17th September 1924, registered on 05th December 1944 and Gazetted as a charity. It was first known as Nuwara Eliya Childrens' Home and then as *The Paynter Home* from the 01st July 1967. Arnold-David's brother showed a greater compassion on the Orphan Eurasian/ Burgher boys in the surrounding tea plantations.²⁵ He was especially concerned their problems and chose to help them by building a house. It became a home for the Eurasian children. They were growing up in poverty without families, and without any cultural identity (Paynterhome 2014). Both Arnold and David were attracted by the hybridity of these Burgher boys. Is it because there were no Eurasian/Burgher girls? No. Alternatively, is it because, Arnold's desire was on the Burgher boys thinking once he was one of them. The Paynter Home definitely enables the availability of models. Therefore, using boys as models in Paynter's works brought another reality in artist life.

The group portrait of '*Four Boys*' (Figure 4) represents boys with well combed hair and not directly looking at the spectator. It seems that the boys are under the surveillance of a powerful gaze that they are

were formed and structured through the colonial ideas, social and cultural norms.

21. Lacquer work or 'laaksha' is a kind of art of painted woodwork. It is also called 'nail work' as it is done by using nails to carve the wooden surface (The researcher).
22. Later on David Paynter became the Director of this college for several years.
23. And also Nalini Jayasuriya and George Beven; and the teaching of art in the schools by C.F.Winzer and W.J.G.Beling as the major reorganizations at the time (Halpe 2011).
24. The vision and the mission of the Paynter Home had a greater effect in immersing Paynter in his idea on an ideal male body. Moreover, his brother Arnold was also attracted to these charming features of those Euro-Asian boys (Paynterhome, 2014).
25. Arnold Paynter and David Paynter also Eurasians- British father and a Sri Lankan mother.
26. Most Burghers

lived in the Sinhala-majority areas. So many Burghers in the towns of Jaffna and Trincomalee quickly migrated to the south, due to the predominant socio-political movements in British times centered upon the southern and south-western (Roberts et al, 1989: 24).

²⁷ These families do not

not strong enough to face. They do not show their full bodies to the viewer and keep hiding their fearful bodies by one to another. Their light coloured complexion, brownish hair, blue or brown eyes, rosy pink lips and brown thin eye brows clearly mark their burger identity (Figure 5). David Paynter's sister identifies these boys as they are from the Paynter Home (Darling 1982, 1987). Another two boys are painted in another composition called *Two Fishermen* (Figure 7) which represent these boys as not more than fifteen years old. Both have brown short tresses, the first one (from the left) is with the bare body and the next one is wearing a sleeveless white T-shirt. Seascape is appearing in the background, as it is a meaning to the title of the composition. The boy who is wearing a tea-shirt is looking at the left corner which goes far beyond the frame and not surprisingly they are similar in features to the previous painting.

The Spear-Fisherman (Figure 6) represents a boy reclining - an elegant pose. He is resting all alone under the hot sun, featuring a very young boy with underwear. It is evident that this composition is made from a figure painted in a studio. He sits facing the sea with his body slightly turned and there is no other figure in the depiction of the painting. No depth in the depiction of the water and gently painted rocks in a distance. Sea shore is getting wet smoothly by a coming wave passing the reclining boy, yet it never makes wet this charming body and it never disturbs his contemplating mood. A shadow makes him the delicate lines of the body allowing the viewer to see the thighs. But in contrast, Paynter offers here a mythical representation of the sea which means he did not paint any seascape. Thus, the spectator is unable to see the seascape and he needs to see it only through the eyes of the fisherman. As he pretends the atmosphere of the beach, on the other hand, he is seducing the viewer and maintains his attention.

These models are Burghers as the artist himself, yet these two bodies are from different social classes (Figure 4, Figure 8). There is a clear hegemony that operates from the artist to the orphan in the bottom. The orphan model occupies lesser cultural or social strata and the society has already neglected these tan bodies. Most of these orphan boys have their mothers, but they lost parental love, because they were abandoned by their European fathers and, might be seeking this paternal love from the artist. Especially, *Four Boys* represent their neglected bodies.

As the Burghers were seen as "half-caste", they became a lower part of British colonial society²⁶ (Roberts et al, 1989, p. 26, 38-39). Although they were the hybrid ethnic group between the Europeans and the natives, there are hierarchies among them. An Instance, Dutch Burghers are fairer in skin colour with brown hair. But, Portuguese Burghers are darker in skin just like Tamils (Geigher 2010, p. 115-116). Furthermore, Burghers have been separated socially, culturally and politically. Upper

Burgher class families²⁷ take the advantage to accompany the British.²⁸ Jean Arasanayagam explains the bond between the colonials/ British and Burgher families. They were curious on the locals in the colonies and vice versa. The way they do things, the way they live, the way they spend time and numerous additional things attached to their life²⁹ were pretty much similar to the Europeans.

Many Burghers thought of themselves as a greater caste of Ceylonese. This sense of moral superiority was of different dimensions. In the first instance, they tried to enforce divisions within the Burgher community (Roberts et al. 1989, p. 12). There was dissimilarity between the “front door Burghers” who were the high class and “the back door Burghers” as the lower class. Dynamically, the high class Burghers saw themselves as “Dutch Burghers” which gave them a significant quality as “true Burghers”, and rejected the rights of “Portuguese Burghers” and “Eurasians” to call themselves “Burgher.” They have been able to refer to the inferior class of European descendants in disparaging style as “Mikoes,” “Dematagoda Miks,” lafai types” and “tea bushes.” The high class was also made fun of the lower class, at their broken English, which was characteristic of the power layers of the population of Burgher.

Michael Roberts, Ismeth Raheem and Percy Colin-Thome mentioned that the Burghers have been explained by the majority- the Sinhalese as ‘samkara, para, tuppahi, pant, nica, vanachara, gattara and nosandala’ (1989, p. 63,19) which are cursing Sinhalese words. The word *tuppahi* was used to refer the Burgher for many years and sometimes up to today; in the mid twentieth century usage, ‘tuppahi’ referred to rootless. In the 1950s and 1960s ‘tuppahi’ used to ridicule someone. The Portuguese word ‘tupai’ points out as “thou boy” (you boy!) which refers to slaves born in Portuguese homes in the east. Male servants are also commonly indicated as ‘boys’, whatever their chronological age are (Lau 2011, p. 35-40). Furthermore, Lau explains this use of term “boy” instead of “man.” It is problematic in an American context where calling an adult. Non-white man a “boy” was an insult or makes the servant inferior, especially during the slave era. In the South Asian context, masters and male servants are ‘a legacy of the pre-colonial feudal aristocratic culture’. In the colonial milieu, male servants are called as ‘boys’ that neutralizes the threat of adult male bodies. Sullivan describes the differences between the Malabars and the Ceylon and, he notes that Malabar males are more miserable, effeminate, treacherous, lying, cowardly race than the low country Cingales. The Malabar men are called as “boys” from the age of seven to seventy. They supposed to be attached to their masters (Sullivan 1854, p. 37). Most male servants are mere boys, some were teenagers, because young servants were not only easily trained yet many developed obedience to their masters (Lau 2011, p. 40-41). The South Asian tradition of having

abandoned by their European originally fathers.

28. “. The colonials too lived in railway houses like ours. All the houses had sloping, tiled roofs, white washed walls lined with a narrow edge of black tar at the bottom to keep out the termites, barred windows, with the kitchen and outhouses a separate entity.” (Arasanayagam 2010: 149).

29. The children came from these Burgher families had a good education. Their daughters never got second to any lady. Even their sons went abroad for their higher studies (Geigher 2010: 116).

male household servants is a long established one.

The education vision of the Paynter Home was totally focused on the missionary education system.

It would be a holistic education where children would not only be taught literacy and numeracy, but be trained in farming, building, woodwork, and home management. They should grow up appreciating the finer things of life (art and music literature), but also grow up with a sense of 'the dignity of labour'. They should be able to 'turn their hand to anything'. The education must engender a strong sense of community, and prepare children to live in community as adults (paynterhome 2014).

The early Christian missionaries thought that if they clothed the natives, they could close a door to sin (De Alwis 2009, p. 185). And that may help them to control the impure thoughts of the natives and promote domestic happiness. Malathie De Alwis explains that the colonial evangelists' contribution establishing 'the sanctity of properly housed, properly gendered domestic life' (2009, p. 184). This domesticity was totally family or 'home' centered. Certain personal manners and very personal space like home were re-fashioned and re-cast by missionaries (David's parents were also missionaries and including his elder brother Arnold, the whole family was involved with charity works as missionaries). They renewed the conceptions of 'family', 'chastity', 'marriage', 'attachment', 'nature' and 'home'.

Two important points can be clarified; first one is that, these orphans are 'boys' which also make them inferior. When Paynter titles his paintings as *Four Boys* or *Boy with Pumpkins*, the artist made these bodies inferior again. He did not title as 'James with Pumpkins' or 'John with a Catapult,' therefore, now, the boy models were inferior to the artist. Second point is, the artist is belonged to the upper Burgher class and these boys are not from the same social strata. They are not socially recognized or accepted Burgher families, since their Eurasian fathers had left them and their mothers are from lower class Sinhalese families. Thus these boys were raised by their Sinhalese mothers or relatives until they come to the Paynter Home. As they belong to a different social status, these boy models are absolutely inferior before the artist.

Dickey (2011) explains in general, which can be applied into the colonial Ceylonese social context, that a person who is not decent, is someone whose clothing is dirty, un-ironed, torn, and unwashed (p. 577). Then his hair is oiled and should be neatly arranged. Finally, he should be modestly covered the body. The English education system was

propagated by the missionary school. It focused on the discipline of the body of the boys. Their prime aim was to fashion the bodies according to the Victorian notion of manliness (De Silva 2009, p. 87). They wanted to make productive national and native bodies. According to Malathie De Alwis, these bodies were ready for industrial labour. Therefore, they were disciplined to perform routinized tasks. Foucault also shows that school time table made the students obedient (Quoted in De Silva 2005, p. 169-172). Their stubborn bodies disciplined as decent and systemized. The meaning of this idea was to take their adolescence out of their young bodies and to make these bodies docile and passive. These English public schools again divided young boys into their 'sport houses'. Then they were supposed to show their loyalty to their house as they were loyal to their school. This sporty mindset and the tough discipline of the sport ground supported to rebuild the gentle, unformed boys' bodies tough, muscular and well developed with broad shoulders and V shaped chest. Then, the boys who got small and weak bodies were mocked or bullied by those who got this ideal Victorian body.

CONCLUSION

Rathnayake places Paynter as a man with a good sense of humour (Rathnayake 2008, p. 9-11). There are several points that made David Paynter - a painter. First, David Paynter belonged to the new middle class Burgher community. His family background and religious faith were a strong factor in making him a painter who devoted his life to painting Biblical scenes. Second, his higher education was completed at the Royal Academy of Arts in London. Finally, his teaching career and administrating profession at the Government College of Fine Arts made him an all rounder.

Paynter captured the locals, their bodies, and features. His passion was to paint the Ceylonese, and he placed his models in an interior setting where they are seated comfortably, but he also presents the outdoor scenery behind his models. Hence, these models must always be a part of it and vis-à-vis the indoor and the outdoor environment. Paynter was essentially a master of pictorial compositions and painted figures following the academic style without using a limited range of colours. He had a strong reverence for all forms of life which came from his Christian faith that everything was the work of God. His colours are in harmonious tone with the selected subject matter - the locals. For an instance, '*The Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem*' shows how he gave male bodies an architectural value while he placed them to balance the composition. They became pillars in the painting where they hold the whole sky and the background all together. He used a colour pallet like fading with the mist. It gives his

paintings a romanticized fantastic quality.

The only self-portrait painted by David Paynter must be extraordinary among his many other commissioned or non-commissioned portraits. He represents himself as a painter as well as a Burgher, but it represents two different social strata: Paynter's Burgher caste and Orphan boys' Burgher caste. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of Paynter's life is that he should have given the name 'man in between'.



Figure 1: Photographer unknown, *David Paynter's photograph*, Date unknown, Paynter Home.



Figure 2: Photographer unknown, *Paynter family photograph* - first row from left- Arnold, Agnes and Arthur painter, second row from left- Eve, David, Ada; Paynter Home.



Figure 3: Photographer unknown, *Paynter Home*.



Figure 4: David Paynter, *Four Boys*, 1960, *Paynter Home*, Nuwara Eliya.

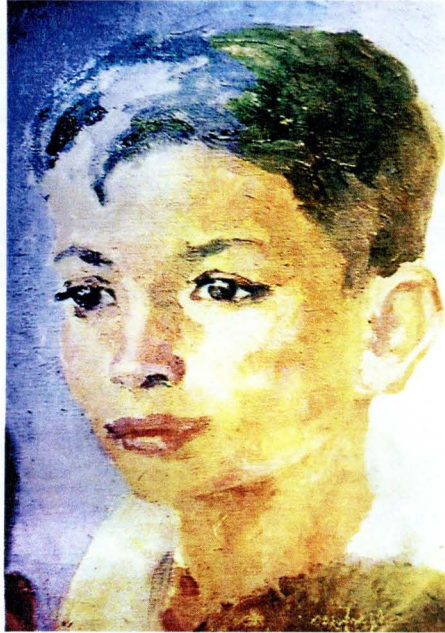


Figure 5: David Paynter, Detail of *Four Boys*, 1960, Paynter Home, Nuwara Eliya.



Figure 6: David Paynter, *The Spear Fisherman*, 1955, Oil on canvas, Private collection.



Figure 7: David Paynter, Two colour photograph of *Two Fishermen*, 1937, Paynter Home, Nuwara Eliya.



Figure 8: David Paynter, *Self Portrait with Lotuses*, 1927, Oil on canvas, University of the Visual & Performing Arts' collection, Colombo07.

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