

**TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURE
OF SRI LANKA**
(a collection of articles)

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NOTE FROM THE COMPILER

Dr. S.G.Samarasinghe, Director of Hector Kobbekaduwa Agrarian Research & Training Institute on a suggestion by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Hon. D.M.Jayaratne, to establish a Museum to display the Traditional Agriculture of Sri Lanka in commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of Independence invited me to help in the planning and arrangement of the said Museum. The idea itself is a noble one which deserves the appreciation of every true patriotic citizen since this is something that should have been established fifty years ago, soon after we achieved political freedom. Had we been fortunate to have had one at that time we would by now have been freed from most of the socio-economic problems too. Therefore with grateful feelings I accepted the challenge and helped Dr. Samarasinghe to accomplish the objective.

In designing the Museum I took up the view that mere display of artifacts would not help to achieve the desired ends. At a time when people have been compelled to forget about their own heritage and ape all that is foreign and western, the people in general and the younger generation in particular have to be guided properly to appreciate their past achievements and encourage to get inspired and learn from the traditional wisdom to plan for a better and sustainable future. Entire planning of the Museum and other related activities had this objective as its ideology and guiding principle. That, no doubt, is the wish of the Hon Minister as well as the wish of the members of the Museum Committee.

Therefore the display arrangement of the Museum was designed in such a way that the wisdom of our forefathers would be highlighted to throw light for the future generation to get a glimpse of the appropriate technology invented by them. But mere display of objects would not achieve the objectives.

Therefore action was taken to provide as much as possible reading material to those who would be inspired to know more about our traditional agricultural technology and the wisdom behind it. A series of six

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publications was designed and accomplished and "The Traditional Agriculture of Sri Lanka (a collection of articles)" is one of them.

This is a collection of already published articles by eminent scholars on the subject. Yet the compilation was no easy task since they had to be collected from here and there. In this difficult task Mr. K.A.S. Dayananda, Head, Publication Unit of the HARTI contributed much and he deserves all the credit for doing a great job. He was ably assisted by Miss Srimala Katugampola, Asst. Librarian, of the HARTI, who spared no time in locating and collecting them in a short period of time. Mr. Palitha Gunaratne has done a commendable job in preparing the type settings. The services rendered by the Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon and the acting Librarian of the Colombo National Museum, Mr. Darwin Ananda, also deserve our gratitude since but for their help we would not have been able to publish this valuable collection. Mr. K.D. Siriwardena and his staff of the Printing Section worked tirelessly and deserve a big bouquet for the excellent work done during short notice.

The authors of these articles who are all no more with us are remembered with gratitude for having left behind for us a glimpse about our own heritage. Dr. S.G. Samarasinghe has to be commended not only for the guidance and inspiration provided. An eminent scholar and writer of Dr. Samarasinghe's caliber lost no time in appreciating the need for such publications and promptly approved the entire project of publishing these six valuable publications. All these accomplishments are due entirely to the wisdom of the Minister of Agriculture and Lands Hon. D.M. Jayaratne and hence our kind gratitude to him.

Pandula Endagama
Compiler/Project Consultant.

Foreword

The Ministry of Agriculture and Lands has established an Agricultural Museum in Gannoruwa, Kandy as a part of its activities in commemorating the Golden Jubilee Independence Celebrations. The task of coordinating, collection of articles of agricultural interest and the establishment of the museum was assigned to the Hector Kobbekaduwa Agrarian Research and Training Institute. I appreciate very much the assistance and the cooperation extended by all the departments, corporations, companies and the statutory boards under the purview of the Ministry who helped us both financially and providing physical and human resources.

The Hon. Minister appointed a Committee to plan and implement the Museum Project. I submitted to the Committee recommending to enlist the support and the consultancy of Mr. Pandula Endagama former Anthropologist of the Department of National Museums who obviously has a sound background and knowledge of the traditional agriculture and the folklorist perspectives in the agricultural museum concept.

The intensive cultivation and the participatory approach now dealt with in much verbosity by many some of whom I doubt has ever seen a traditional Govi Gedara (farmers cottage) are not new concepts to our traditional farmers. The Gevatta (home garden) now demonstrated in the Gannoruwa Museum premises is what the ancient farmer practised towards achieving self-sufficiency.

Mr. Endagama and I thought it is befitting on this occasion if we were to publish a collection of articles pertaining to traditional agriculture and folklore published in English. This exercise would undoubtedly be a stimulus for researchers. I am aware that this certainly is not a complete document, but I am happy that we have made a beginning. I appreciate very much the effort and the dedication extended to us by Mr. K.A.S Dayananda, Miss Srimala Katugampola, Mr. K. D. Siriwardena and his staff and Mr. Palitha Gunaratne who typeset the document.

Dr S G Samarasinghe
DIRECTOR.

Hector Kobbekaduwa Agrarian Research and Training Institute

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CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH PADDI CULTIVATION.

As considerable attention has been recently directed to paddy cultivation, I propose to give a brief description of the customs and ceremonies used in the Kégalla district, which may be interesting for comparison with those of other districts.

As agriculture forms the chief employment and even amusement of the villagers, we may expect to find it treated as a very serious matter, and one involving much superstition.

The yaksayo or evil spirits are supposed to be not only malicious but even covetous, and, therefore, the grain must be protected from harm whilst growing, and secured from theft by them when matured.

I shall give some account of the ceremonies connected with each stage of the growing and thrashing so far as I have been able to procure information from intelligent headmen and the kachchéri records.

The most important persons in the village to whom the cultivators look are the astrologer (neket rala) and kapurala, who is the lay-priest of a Dewale. When a cultivator intends to begin his work he has first of all to discover a lucky hour for doing so, and he goes with a gift of forty betel leaves and a fanam to the astrologer who then fixes an auspicious time.

The channels for irrigation and jungle overhanging the field having been cleared and cut away buffalos with clappers of bamboo (sokaḍa) tied round their necks are tethered for the next day's work, which is the first plough-

ing (binnegama). The dams are then cut and water is introduced through the openings (wakkadawal), and the ground is left to soak for 18 days when the second ploughing (dehiya) takes place. The dams are then repaired and sloped with mud, and the seed paddy is prepared in the following way. The seed is placed in a copper or earthen vessel, and kept for 60 peyas in the water (about 20 hours), and is then spread on the ground, and haberala leaves are placed under and over it and weights are placed above.

The germinated seeds are then carefully separated (yaṅkaranawá) sprinkled with water, and sown in about ten days. Meantime the astrologer (neket ralá) is consulted for a lucky day and hour in which to sow, and on its being fixed a little seed-paddy with a saffron and ginger plant and a cocoanut flower are placed on a mud-ball on a dam to appease the tutelary deity. Then the third ploughing (edduma or wakhíya) takes place. The last named ceremony is called bittara wadanawá. The mud is now levelled with a large board (póruwa) dragged on its edge by buffalos, and by smaller boards (atpóru) worked by men. When the mud is as level as glass and about two feet deep, the germinated seed is scattered over it. Ten days afterwards water is admitted to a certain height (isnambandinawá). If watered sooner the seeds are liable to be eaten and destroyed by the crabs (kakkutto) which inhabit the dams. Creepers of a poisonous plant (niyagalá) are sometimes put in the water to kill the insects which prey on the roots. Ashes and sand, charmed in secret, are also thrown into the field to kill these insects (gópannuwó).

One or two months now elapse, and the women's work of weeding, thinning and transplanting comes on, and they beguile the labour by a pleasantly sounding but monotonous chant.

Before the blossom has set if the crop appears likely to be a very good one, it must be protected from the evil eye

and evil mouth (əswaha kaṭawaha). To ensure this a ceremony (called garayakuṇ natanawā) is performed. The devil-dancer goes at night to the field where a small platform has been erected for him, and dressed in all his hideous array and clashing his bangles dances on the platform before the admiring villagers who sit there all night with lights and burning gums, the smell of which are supposed to be peculiarly grateful to the yaksayo.

When the blossom has well set many ceremonies are used to prevent the attacks of flies and insects. Seven kinds of charms are used by the kapurala who specially invoked the aid of Abimāna Dewatāwa "the Lord of Flies." He is said to have been the Triptolemus of Ceylon and reigned under the name Upatissanam Amāptayā, and after teaching agriculture in the next stage of existence became Ahimāna Dewatāwa. Offerings are made to him and to Kohomba Yakū. Four posts are erected in the field and a kind of basket ornamented with flowers, ironwood twigs, &c., is set up. Three measures (lahas) and three handfulls of rice are pounded, and cakes cooked with curry, and new oil are prepared. It is essential that these things should be untasted by anyone. They are tied in a bundle covered with a red cloth and carried on a pole between two men round the field. The Kapurala follows beating a kind of bason (taliya) and blowing a chank shell (hakgediya). The offering is then placed on the platform in the receptacle (meṣsa) and is eaten by the Kapurala and his two assistants.

If all these charms are unsuccessful the Kāpurala and astrologer save their credit by informing the villagers that the failure is not owing to weakness in the incantation but to the sins committed by the cultivators in a former state of existence (jāti kerapu paw), which have angered the Gods. We will, however, assume that the Kapurala has been successful, and that the crop duly ripens, and is fit for reaping.

A lucky hour is selected as before and the reapers bathe, put on clean cloths, eat milk-rice, and at the appointed hour one goes and bows down nine times to the ears of corn, cuts a handful and selects three ears which are wrapped in three bo or Kaduru leaves and are carried on his head to the (kamata) threshing floor. If the ceremonies succeeding are not most carefully observed, all the labour will be fruitless as the yaksayo will carry off the grain and spirit it away! A hole is dug in the threshing floor and the three ears all buried in it and a peculiar round stone (aruk gala) is placed over them. The crop is then reaped with joyous shouts and stacked on the dams of the field. A seer of well cleaned ashes is brought to the threshing floor and curious figures are drawn with ashes on the ground. I annex a diagram (No. I.) shewing these figures. (Aihapwadanawá.) Then a shell, a king cocoanut, a small bunch of ripe arecanuts, a piece of iron, a piece of margosa wood plant with charms drawn on it, a leaf of tolabo and of hiressa, and a handful of grain are placed on the round stone. Women then carry in three sheaves and after laying them down all the other sheaves are brought in.

These charms are designed to prevent the grain being stolen by the yaksayo and if duly performed will cause even increase of yield in threshing. But the most potent charm of all is that of the fortunate possessor of a jackal's horn! (narianga). The lucky finder of this rare appendage (said to be only half an inch long) can procure a hundred fold or more above what he has actually reaped if he buries the horn in the threshing floor and if he carries it about with him it acts like Fortunatus's cap and he succeeds in all his cases in Court and in all his projects!

When the paddy is winnowed (betapahinawa) a line is drawn with ashes and a twisted straw rope round the heap of paddy.

When the threshed grain has been winnowed the owner proceeds to measure it (yallanawá) after bowing

down nine times. One measure (laha) called the akyala is given to the kapurala in the names of Pattini and Kataragam Deviyo and Kohomba Yakun, and small quantities are given to the village washer-man, blacksmith, potter and astrologer or tom-tom beater. Then at a lucky hour the grain is removed to the granary (bissa).

The last ceremony performed is call the Alutbatmangalaya, or "new rice festival," a kind of "harvest home." Before any of the new rice is used, a little paddi is pounded by the women, cooked, and then carried as an offering in the name of Buddha to the Viháré.

I have omitted to mention one of the most curious of the customs observed at the harvesting and threshing-floor. It is considered desirable that the yaksayo should be kept as much as possible in ignorance of what is going on and that no opportunity should be given them of taking advantage of what someone may have said. Consequently they will not "call a spade,—a spade," but will call it something else and a peculiar conventional and euphemistic language is spoken. For instance they use the word "bēta" for "wi" = paddi, for "kanawa" (to eat) they say "bandinawa," for "yanawa" (to go) they say "pura-wanawa." A man will not use the word "take" lest the yak should consider it a permission and steal the paddi! I annex a list (No. II.) of these conventional words given to me by Ekñeligoda Ratémahatmayá of Three Kóralés, which will, I doubt not, be interesting. My limits and the short time at my disposal at present do not permit me more than briefly to describe these customs and I leave for some other occasion the interesting questions of their origin and connection with the folk lore of other peoples.

I hope the derivation of these words may be shown by some competent person as in them traces of survival of older religions and language may be found and these linger longest in semi-religious rites as we see in many familiar

customs of the Teutons and Celts and in allusions which might be illustrated from the Georgics and song of the Frates Arvales in Italy. I think this idea that the evil spirit should not be allowed to hear or understand what is said is analogous to the belief among the Irish peasants that "the Devil does not understand Latin," and that it was on that account the service of the Roman Catholic Church is continued in that language! A statement which I have myself frequently heard in the west of Ireland.

The practice which obtains there of carrying fire round the fields on St. John's day—evidently a relic of fire-worship—is not uncommon here and is avowedly used for the protection of the crop against malicious faeries ("the good people") who correspond in many respects to our yaksayo.

R. W. IEVERS.

SINHALESE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES CON-
NECTED WITH PADDY CULTIVATION
IN THE LOW-COUNTRY.

By H. C. P. BELL, Esq., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

(Read February 15, 1882.)

ON nearly all that pertains to the general process of native tillage in this Island, the curious enquirer need but consult the quaint description given by Robert Knox in his "Historical Relation of Ceilon," or more recent writers, notably Pridham and Campbell,—who have, however, done little more than condense Knox's account.*

It is proposed here rather to follow out the particular branch of enquiry taken up by Mr. R. W. Ievers, C.C.S., in his interesting paper contributed to the Society's Journal for 1880, by dealing with the superstitious beliefs and practices which continue to this day—though, be it noted, with marked diminishing force—to centre round and form an integral part of the agricultural operations of the Sinhalese cultivator.

A record of these semi-religious rites and ceremonies is important, not merely for purposes of comparison with those found cropping up under one form or another all over the world, but as tending to bring out, more than ought else, the actual, if confused and undefined, religious ideas and aspirations of the unenlightened *goyiyá*.

The faith of the Sinhalese is a strange mixture of demonolatry (including the worship of devils or *Yakseyó* and demi-gods or *Déviyó*) tempered more or less by Buddhism, but withal showing unmistakable traces of that older "nature worship," which preceded both, and dates from the

* Pridham, "Ceylon and its Dependencies," Vol. I., pp. 362-7, 1849; Campbell, "Excursions, &c., in Ceylon," Vol. II., pp. 34-48, 1843; Knox "Historical Relation of Ceilon," pp. 7-11, 1681.

childhood of the world. The power of sun, moon, and stars are invoked jointly with the dreaded spirits of evil—those “unknown gods,” to whose baneful influence is attributed the many changes and chances incident to daily life—and the less malignant *Dévatávó*, to appease whom resort is had alike to the priest of Buddha, the *Kattádiyá*, and the *Kapurálá*.

That the ignorant cultivators should themselves be unable to account for the performance of these ceremonies—the inheritance of ages—is not surprising; but, though they are slowly and surely dying out with the spread of knowledge, the majority of villagers in inland districts attribute the short crops of the past few years to their non-observance and the waning faith in their efficacy.*

In no other occupation are superstitious practices more rigorously observed than in agriculture. This is only natural, when the vital importance to the *goyiyá* of ensuring against precarious seasons and failure of crops is held in view.

PRELIMINARY OPERATIONS.

From the first commencement of agricultural operations until the harvest is fitly closed by the feast of thanksgiving to the gods, every stage is made dependent on the occurrence of a “lucky hour,” or, to speak more accurately, the position of planets and asterisms at specified moments.

At the outset the astrologer (*neketrálá*) is interviewed with the *bulat-ata* or usual fee of 40 betel leaves and a leaf of tobacco, and asked to name a suitable time to start work.†

* “And indeed it is sad to consider how this poor people are subjected to the devil; and they themselves acknowledge it their misery, saying their country is so full of devils and evil spirits that unless in this manner they should adore them, they would be destroyed by them. If a stranger should dislike their way, reprove, or mock at them for their ignorance and folly, they would acknowledge the same, and laugh at the superstitions of their own devotion; but withal tell you that they are constrained to do what they do to keep themselves from the malice and mischief that the evil spirits would otherwise do them, with which, they say, their country swarms.”—Knox, Ceylon, pp. 77, 83.

† Note 1.

At the appointed hour, on arriving at the ground, one of the cultivators, who has the credit of being fortunate, begins the work (*puravadanavá*) by clearing the boundaries of jungle with a bill-hook and mamotie (*baḍarvetiya gahanavá* or *dánavá*); and at the second lucky hour he and his companions go to the field with the required number of buffaloes. These are yoked together and driven about the field for the purpose of trampling down and destroying weeds and grass, and puddling the soil. This is the first mudding (*puran-medavuma*): if the fields are dug up by men with *udali*; the proper term is *puran-koṭanavá*: if *kehulan* fallow land has to be broken up, oxen are used to plough it (*binneganhija*).

The dams are then repaired and sloped with mud, openings for the water cut (*vakkadaval kapanavá*), and again closed at points of exit (*vatura bandinavá*), and the channels for irrigation (*depá éla*) cleared.

If at the expiration of five or six weeks from the time of the first ploughing the grass and weeds are not sufficiently decayed, the fields are mudded or ploughed a second time (*de-medavuma*; *de-hija*) though with less regard to a lucky hour. In some Kóralés a third ploughing (*edduma*) is found necessary.

In the low country the fields are usually swampy, necessitating considerable labour to drain. The day before the seed paddy is sown, a *yotumána** is erected on the boundary dam (*vélla*) at the lowest part of the field, where the water chiefly accumulates and can be readily bailed out into the channel intended to carry off the surplus. The bailing goes on throughout the night, the men whiling away the time by songs.†

* A *yotumána* is generally constructed as follows:—Six bamboos are planted on the dam, three on either side and about two yards apart, so as to meet about 8 or 9 feet above, and form three crutches. Across these is laid an arecanut stem, and the whole structure made fast by two extra bamboos supporting the ends. To the arecanut cross-pole are then suspended as many *yotu* as may be needed for bailing. These *yotu* are elongated canoe-shaped scoops, about 6 feet long by 3 in girth, hollowed out of logs, one end of which is to serve for a handle.

† Note 2.

A few days prior to manuring, the fields are trampled by men to crush the larger clods (*keṭa páganavá*); after the bone manure has been sprinkled about, it is trodden into the mud (*maḍa kakul gánavá*), often by boys. The *liadda* (space within four dams) is then levelled and divided into small beds (*pátti*) by a mamoty.

SOWING.

When a favourable hour has been ascertained, as before, the cultivator, taking a handful of seed paddy, strews it over a corner of the *liadda* he has raised with mud, and in the centre of which he plants a *habarala* plant or an arecanut flower with as many nuts on it as possible.* The rest of the field is then sown with germinated paddy mixed with bone dust.† For some days after the seed has been sown, and until the paddy plants have attained a height of 3 to 4 inches, the field is bailed nearly dry of water every morning; subsequently a few inches of water are allowed to remain, the openings through the dam being stopped with mud.

To prevent the young plants suffering from the ravages of insect pests, such as *geṭapanuvó*, *kokkannávó*, and *godavéllu*, charmed sand or ashes are thrown over the field at different stages of the growth of the grain.

This ceremony is performed by a *Kattádirálá* at dusk. Taking the sand to the field and removing his waistcloth (which he wraps round his head), he proceeds to scatter the

* Note 3.

† Seed paddy is prepared in the following manner:—The paddy is put into an earthen or wooden vessel, full of water, and allowed to soak for 90 *péyas* (36 hours). It is then taken out, strained, and spread upon a mat covered with plantain and arecanut leaves. More leaves of the same plants and another mat are placed over the paddy and kept down by weights for 150 *péyas* (2½ days). The seeds which adhere together are finally separated from each other by gently rubbing between the palms.

Another way is to keep a bag of paddy in water for 90 *péyas*, after which it is taken out and covered with leaves of the *burulla*, *habarala*, and *wereniya* during the day, and put in water again at nights until the paddy germinates.—See, too, Knox, p. 10.

sand about the boundaries of the field: then, without a word to any one, or allowing so much as a quid of betel to pass his lips, he retires for the night to a deserted house; otherwise the charm will have no effect.

It is considered advisable to protect the paddy plant by the performance of a separate *kema*, or charm, as it attains each of its nine nodes (*geta*; *puruha*), or rises each inter-node (*petta*).*

When there is every prospect of a very good crop, a *Gará-yakun* ceremony is resorted to in the hope of warding off the baneful influence of evil-eye (*es-vaha*) and evil-tongue (*kata-vaha*), as Mr. Ievers has noted in the Kégalla District.†

REAPING.

Similarly, when the crop is ready for the sickle, a lucky hour is named, and the cultivator, after bathing and putting on a clean cloth and eating *kiribat*,‡ enters the field, and at the set time cuts three handfuls of ripe ears. These are kept apart for *Kataragama Déviyó* on a tree, or post, close to the field, and at the close of the harvest used in the *Déviyanné dánaya*.§ Reaping is then commenced in earnest, men and women working jointly and “beguiling their labour” with cheering songs.|| The unthreshed paddy is stacked in ricks or cocks (*goyan-kola keti*) frequently encircled with young cocoanut leaves or jungle creepers, round, or within, the plot of ground reserved as the threshing-floor (*hamuta*; *kalavita*; *pávava*.)

THRESHING.

Two or three days elapse before the important business of threshing begins.

* Note 4. † Journal C. A. S., 1880, pp. 47-8.

‡ Rice pudding made with cocoanut milk and a little salt in a shallow dish (*vattiya*) and cut or pressed into convenient pieces for eating.

§ “When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first fruits of your harvest unto the priest, and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you.”—Leviticus, xxiii., 10, 11.

|| Note 2.

In the preparation of the *kamata*, scrupulous attention is paid to minute details, which vary considerably in different districts.*

In the Rayigam Kóralé, before the sheaves are removed from the ricks, five, seven, or nine large mats (*mágal*), about 4 feet 6 inches by 25 feet, are spread on the ground, and three concentric circles traced upon them with ashes (*aluhan vadánavá*.) Two straight lines bisect the circles at right angles, E. to W. and N. to S., and within each segment of the innermost circle are drawn representations of four agricultural implements, viz., *póruva* or scraper, *deti-goyiya* or pitch-fork, *kulla* or winnowing basket, and a *láka* measure. [Diagram No. 1.] At the centre of the figure is placed the *mutta*. This consists of a large conch shell† (with seven points, whenever procurable), into which are stuffed a little gold (beads, &c.), silver, copper, brass, iron, ashes, cowdung, a jak flower (*varaká-mála*), and, if obtainable, a *gongohoré*—or clot of hair which certain bullocks are supposed to vomit—wrapped together in white rag. A smaller conch serves as stopper to keep all in; after which both shells are further covered with *tolabó* leaves, *híressa*, and three sheaves (*uppiði*) of paddy, and tied into a bundle with *baravá-madu-vel* creeper.

At the lucky hour, a *goyiyá*, reputed fortunate, placing a sheaf of corn on his head walks thrice solemnly round the *mutta*, bowing towards it each time at the four corners of the mats. Then, looking in the direction fixed by the astrologer with reference to the *nekata*, he deposits it upon the *mutta* and thrice salutes it with joined palms. After this, the corn is brought in by the rest and spread out on the mats, round and over the *mutta*, the ears pointing upwards. Six, or sometimes seven, bullocks yoked with ropes in two lots, are now driven over the corn round the *mutta*, until all is roughly trampled out.

A ceremony termed *áñdu-karanavá* is next performed.

The chief *goyiyá* on the *kumata* taking *deti-goyiya* lays it

* Note 5.

† Conch shells may be commonly noticed on the necks of bullocks as talismans against the powers of evil.

across the back of his neck, with some straw hanging from its ends, and two other cultivators do the same with sticks. The leader then walks seven times round the corn whilst the bullocks are in motion, repeating this refrain (*goyibasa*), the other two following him. At the completion of the seventh round, the three shout in chorus the last two words :—

දෙති දෙති කුමන දෙති
 සමකල්ප් ගෙසා දෙති
 කොස් දෙති කොසම දෙති
 කපුළුල ගැට දෙමට නිකද කොබ්බා දෙති
 රන් දෙති රිදි දෙති
 එරන් දැගෙනන් එරන් උකුලට කොල සලාබා දුරවති
 එගල් මෙගල් තද මෙරගල් මලරන්දෝ මලබොඩදෝ
 පරාවතදෝ මලගිය මල දෙගගේ මල වසා
 ආණ්ඩු, ආණ්ඩු

Deṭi deṭi humana deṭi
Samanalin gená deṭi
Kos deṭi kosamba deṭi
Kaṭupila geṭa demata nikada kobbé deṭi
Ran deṭi ridi deṭi
Eran deṭten eran ukulaṭa kola salábá puravati
Egal megal tada meragal malarandó malabodádó
paruwatudó malagiya mala denage mala wassá.
Anḍu, Anḍu.

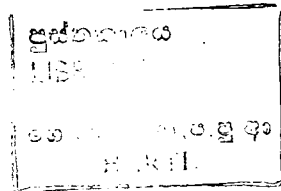
Deṭi, what deṭi?
Deṭi brought from Adam's Peak,
Kos deṭi, kosamba deṭi,
Kaṭupila, geṭa, demata, nikada,
Kobbé deṭi.

Gold *deṭi*, silver *deṭi* :
 With these golden *deṭi* toss the corn and fill the golden centre.

O dead calf of the dead cow, are you sturdy as this rock, or that rock, or Meru rock, or like dead gold, a *malabaḍa* (tree), or mountain ?

Peace ! Peace !*

In the Siyané Kóralé the procedure differs slightly. The *súlun* or *trisúla* is introduced more frequently into the diagram drawn on the *hamata*, and a hole (*arukvata*) dug at



* Note 6.

PADDY CULTIVATION CUSTOMS

the center. Inside this hole are arranged seven *divi-kaduru* leaves, and upon them is placed either a small margosa-wood plank (*kohombarella*) 3 by 4 inches (on which two circles to represent sun and moon have been described), with a knot of *korasa* creeper (*korasa-gete*), a pointed conch shell (..... *hakgediya*), and a stone-or, more commonly, outline representations in ashes of these articles and of a scraper (.....), flail (*deti-goyiya*), broom (*bolatta*), measure (*yala-goyiya*), andura, and Buddha's foot (*Budu-sri-patula*). [Diagram No.2.]

The cultivator at the fixed time looking towards the field from which the paddy was reaped, and reciting the *Navagana-gathawa*, walks with some corn on his head seven times round the *arakvala*, and, once more looking at the field places the corn into the hole. The whole of the corn is then put onto the *kamata*, and some six pairs of bullocks driven over it. Within a short time the corn on the borders of the threshing-floor is tossed onto the centre heap with the *deti-goyiya*, the bullocks made to trample it, and the straw (*cata-kedu-meduvan*) thrown outside the *kamata*.

Of the corn that remains unthreshed, two-thirds are separated and winnowed (*halabanava*) and again thrown under the bullocks' feet, and the resulting straw (*maha meduvan*) removed as before.

The rest of the corn is once more tossed about, winnowed and made into a heap, over which the bullocks are a third time driven, and the straw (*goyikame-meduvan*) finally cast aside.

The paddy is then collected (*rahi-karanava*) into the heap (*ei-varuva*) ready to be measured.

To return to the Kalutara District. At the conclusion to the *andukerima* ceremony- during which the bullock- drivers run the risk of getting a sound rap on the head with the *deti-goyiya* should they forgetfully shout to their animals (*andaherati yanava*)- the threshed corn is piled in heaps at the four corners of the mats, and the men begin to winnow (*halabanava*) the seed (*beta*) from the straw (*meduvan*). Every time the men stoop to remove the grain from the straw (*meduvan-karanava*) or to sweep the paddy towards the *mutta* (*bolati-yanava*) they bow in adoration of the corn heap in the centre.

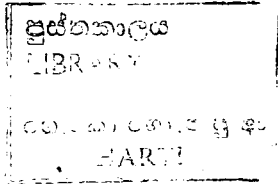
When about three-fourths of the corn is reduced to grain, all the ears of corn, except those on the *mutta*, are taken off the heap, separated from the grains (scattered round), spread out, and threshed as before (*vata-nelanavá.*) After the grain has been threshed out of this, and the straw put aside, the bullocks are driven outside the *hamala*, and the heap of paddy (*pávava*) further freed from chaff with the hands (*pávava-sudda-karavavá.*) The ears of corn on the *mutta* are then removed, husked, and spread round it on the rest of the paddy, the bullocks being driven over it for the last time (*palla-pellanavá.*)

Meanwhile a cultivator prepares the *amákete*,* a whisk of straw six inches long and of the thickness of the wrist, in which are enclosed a few seeds of paddy, some ashes, a scrap of the bullock horns, a hair or two from their foreheads and tails, a little dung of the two bullocks moving immediately round the *mutta*, a bit of the rope yoking them, and chips of the driver's rod, of the *deti-goyiya* and *pórunu*.

After all the grain has been freed from straw, the chief *goyiyá* steps into the centre of the paddy and stands on the *mutta*, whilst the others pile the paddy round him knee-deep, covering the heap with a mat, and hand up to him the *amákete*. He changes it from one hand to the other round his legs, repeating each of the following lines three times, and at the end jumps down backwards :—

අමකටද ගොන්කිලි
 නබා මුදන නහරවිල
 මකම සිඳි පාද උසට
 සමනල සිරි පාද උසට
 ඉහල මෙලෙ නිබෙන බිනන
 පහල මෙලෙ නිබෙන බිනන
 අවුකොටුවල නිබෙන බිනන
 අද පුරවන් මෙ නමන

Amáketeḍu gontumbili
Tabá mudana nahara veḷ
Makkama Sīripādu asaḷa
Samanala Sīripādu asaḷa



* Unknown in the Siyanç Kōralé. Grass sods turned up in ploughing are termed *amákete*.

Ihala velé tibena bətat
Pahala velé tibena bətat
Atu-koṭu-vala tibena bətat
Ēdu puruvan mé kamataṭa.

O sweet grain-cock ! O *təmbili*-hued oxen !

Place creeper (yokes) on (their) heads.

May the paddy in the upper fields—

The paddy in the lower fields—

The paddy in lofts and barns—

Be drawn to fill this *kamata*,

As high as Mecca's sacred foot,

As high as Samanala's sacred foot !

Ashes are given him at once and with them he lays three lines, one above another, round the grain. Two other cultivators next join him in placing five or six empty bags a-piece, mouths in front, on their heads, and walk thrice round the paddy, bowing to it each time at the four corners of the mats. Two or three men then cautiously open just enough of the mat covering the paddy heap to allow of their hands being introduced, and briskly fill the bags which are handed to them from behind. Meanwhile the principal *goyiyá* remains kneeling on the opposite side with his fore-head resting on the grain, and repeats the *Navagaṇa-gáthāva* :—

ඉති පිසො භගවා අරහං සමමා සමබ්බුධො
 විජ්ජාචරණි සමාදනො සුගතො ලොක විදු
 අචුඡාභරෙ පුරසධමම සාරථී සඤ්ඤා දේව
 මනුස්සානං බ්බුධො භගවාති

Iti piso bhagavá arahaṇ sammá sambuddho
vijjācharaṇa sampanno sugato loka vidu
anuttaro purusadhamma sārathi satthā deva
manussānaṇ Buddho bhagavāti.

Lo ! that Blessed One is sanctified, is fully enlightened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the Auspicious One, acquainted with the world, the unrivalled trainer of the human steer, the Instructor of gods and men, the Wise One, the Holy.

Silence is strictly enjoined throughout the performance of the *amāketé* ceremony until the paddy has been put into bags, all requirements being indicated by motions of head and hand.

Indeed, little licence is permitted inside the limits of the *hamata* from the commencement of threshing operations. It is unseemly to stand on one leg or to place the hand under the chin, whilst the presence of certain persons and articles of food is absolutely tabooed. Any one who may have eaten of meat or fish which is held unclean—names ending in *raṇ* are impure—is not admitted: nor are (unless after bathing and putting on clean clothes) persons who have attended a funeral or come from an “unclean house.” After threshing has once commenced, women are prohibited from entering the threshing floor altogether.

The tabu extends even to the words employed at the threshing-floor. All terms conveying a negative or unlucky sense are discarded, and, *a fortiori*, the names of *Yakseyō* never breathed.

Mr. Levers has already drawn attention to the strange conventionalism adopted by Sinhalese cultivators of substituting an odd shibboleth for the ordinary colloquial talk of everyday life.

This *goyibasa* or threshing-floor speech, as might be expected, varies in different localities. A comparative list is appended of some of the words in use in the Kēgalla District, the Rayigam and Siyanē Kōralés of the Western Province, and a portion of the Galle District, which, however incomplete, may serve as a nucleus for further investigation into this branch of the subject.*

If threshing is done by men (*minissunnen pāganavā*) a *kutura* is erected. This construction consists of four poles, placed so as to form two crutches, across which another pole (*pāvāra-liya*) is laid horizontally, chest high. Mats are spread underneath, and the corn from the heap gradually trodden out by men, who hold on to the cross pole from either side to make greater play with their feet.

When all the grain has been threshed, the mats are taken up and the bags covered with straw to protect them from rain. The paddy is winnowed (*hulan-karanavā* or *gāhanavā*) finally a day or two days afterwards and dried for two or three days more as required.

* Note 7.

MEASURING AND STORING.

Then follows the measuring of the paddy, which in some districts at least is carried out with equal superstitious scrupulousness of detail. A mat is first laid on the ground, and a large picked-bag of paddy (*paturu malla*) placed on it and covered with one end of the mat. The person about to measure the grain bows thrice to the bag, and thrice moves the *láha* measure, bottom upwards, round his legs; then, pressing it between his body and the bag, he rapidly places the fingers of one hand over those of the other upon the bottom of the measure three times, and turns it again round the legs thrice every third time the hands are shifted.* After this he sits down on the mat, tilts the bag over towards him, and after saluting it thrice proceeds to measure.

The cultivators of some part of the Galle District, before proceeding to measure the paddy, consider it essential to draw on the heap with both the palms a rough representation of the *trisúla*, or trident, the signification of which they do not profess to understand.†

The paddy is taken home at another lucky hour. There the seed paddy is first dried in the sun, and put up in bags of 12 or 15 *kuruni* each. The rest of the paddy is similarly treated, except the portion—a *laha* or two—set apart for the gods (*akhyála*; *Déviyanné vi*)‡ at the threshing-floor, which is so dealt with last. At a further lucky hour the bags of seed paddy are first secured in the loft, and afterwards the

* To the world-wide prevalence of this "mysterious practice of touching objects to baffle the evil chance," the Sihalèse *goyiyá* and the Tamil or Moor cooly are no less witnesses, when ignorantly striking the *láha*, or the bushel-box, with open hand before measuring grain, than was Royalty some centuries back by assenting to touch for "the King's evil."

† The *trisúla*, Shiva's emblem (especially common in Coorg at places connected with superstition), denotes that the three great attributes of Creator, Destroyer, and Regenerator are combined in him.

‡ "There is yet another due *ochyaul*, which belongs to their gods, and is an offering sometimes carried away by the priests, and sometimes they bestow it upon the beggars, and sometimes they will take it and hang it up in their houses, and at convenient time sacrifice it themselves. It is one of their measures, which is about half a peck."—Knox, p. 101-2.

remainder, leaving sufficient for the New Rice Feast (*alut-bat-kéma*.) The *Déviyanné vi* is stored in a separate part of the loft. *Mantras* are occasionally resorted to for the preservation of the paddy from rats.

ALUT-BAT-KÉMA.

Where, as is too frequently the case, the cultivators are poor and in want of food, the *Déviyanné-dánaya*, or offering of the first-fruits of the harvest to the gods* is deferred until after the New Rice Feast, though such action is generally admitted to be irregular and only justified by necessity.

The *Saṅgha-dané* or almsgiving to Buddhist priests, also precedes or follows the New Rice Feast according to the religious fervour of the *goyiyá* donor.†

Timely intimation of the day appointed for "eating the new rice" (*alut-bat-kéma*) is given to friends and relations. On the day itself sufficient paddy having been previously dried and husked, first by pounding on an ox or elk hide (*vi koṭanavá*) and finally in the usual wooden mortar (*hál pahimavá*), the resulting rice is cooked, as well as vegetables and fish, none of which may be tasted during preparation. The lucky moment for commencing to eat is marked by the chief man of the house tasting the food; after which he serves those assembled and seated, with rice and curries upon plantain leaves.

DÉVIYANNÉ-DÁNAYA.

To name a suitable day for the *Déviyanné-dané*, the feast in honor of the gods, a *Kapurálá* or *Pattinihámi* is called in. Upon the set day the house is well cleansed and the *Déviyanné-vi* taken out, divided into three portions, one of which is

* Corresponding with the 'Sing Bouga' of certain Hill Tribes of India. "It is solemnised in August when the gold rice ripens, and till the sacrifice is complete the new rice must not be eaten. The offering in addition to rice is a white cock. This is a thanks-offering to the Creator and Preserver. It is called 'Jummama,' and considered of great importance."

† The close similarity between the Sinhalese *goyiyá's* offerings and the sacrifices enjoined upon the Israelites at harvest time by the Levitical law will not fail to be remarked in the ensuing description of the *Déviyanné dané*.

† Note 8.

reserved for a succeeding ceremony, *Rálahámi-pidíma* or *Kudá-yakun-pidíma*. The other two portions, after being again dried in the sun on clean mats, are husked by about a dozen women, who have purified themselves by bathing and putting on clean cloths (*piruwata*.) The rice is then put into bags and kept in the *dáné-pela* or cadjan covered alms-shed, which is erected opposite the space where the Kapurála is to perform. Inside the *pela* are also placed the different vegetables brought by those attending the *dáné*, and a hearth roughly built for cooking. The Kapurála requires to be got ready for him 50 sticks, 6 young cocoanut branches, 4 arekanut flowers, 6 young cocoanuts (*gobalu*) a bundle of *vallá* fibre, 2 clean cloths for each man, 50 torches, a clay oven (*gini-kabala*), and 5 chatties—a *kotalé*, a small *hattiya*, and three *kalagedi*. A boy is sent ahead to erect a small shed (*kúduwa*; *koratuwa*; *mal-pela*; *pahan-pela*), adorned with young cocoanut leaves, flowers, and encircling lamps.*

On arriving in the evening with three or four assistants, the Kapurála first places his box of bangles (*deyiran-karan-duwa*) on two chairs cleansed with saffron water† and covered with a white cloth.

Then the *pé-bat* meal, consisting of untasted rice and vegetable curries, is served, and the Kapurála with the other persons assembled there sit on mats and proceed to eat from plantain leaves, after the Kapurála has invoked the gods' blessing (*yága-karanamá*) and first tasted the food. Dinner concluded, four or five women, dressed in clean cloths, repair to the *dáné-pela* and begin cooking, while the Kapurála, tying a cloth round his head, enters the *mal-pela* and makes obeisance to the red cloth arras embroidered with representations of deities, and taking a tom-tom

* "When they worship those whom they call devils, many of whom they hold to be spirits of some that died heretofore, they make no images for them, as they did for the planets; but only build a new house in their yard, like a barn, very slight, covered only with leaves, and adorn it with branches and flowers." (Knox, p. 77.) He adds that "victuals" are placed on "stools at one end of the house, which is hanged with cloth for that purpose."

† See C. A. S. Journ. 1865-6, p. 58, note (*).

(*udakkigu*) and dancing in front of the seated house-inmates (*áturayó*) recites songs (*yálini*) in honor of Pattini and Kataragama Deviyó.*

Having continued this performance for some time, the Kapurála calls for a *pehidun-tada* or pingo of three *neli* rice, six coconuts, a bunch of plantains, a pumpkin, and a packet of chillies (*miris-mula*), and smoking it with *dummala* (resin) incense,† places it in front of the figured curtain inside the *mal-peḷa*. Again chanting awhile, he has brought to him some untasted oil in an arecanut leaf cone (*goturak*) covered with a clean cloth, which, after perfuming, he pours into one of the lamps (scooped out of half papaw fruits by the *Maduparayá*, an assistant, and hung round the *peḷa*), lights the wick and bids the *áturayó* light the rest. When this is done, and he has recited more *yálini*, the Kapurála desires them to bring their *panduru* or money offerings, which are sprinkled with saffron water, saluted and deposited with the *taḷa*. Next, the Kapurála, still singing, covers himself entirely, except the face, with a red cloth and opens the box containing the *deyiran*; then washing his hands, and perfuming the bangles, puts them on his wrists and begins to jangle them (*halan-párvádenavá*), finally appealing to the *áturayó* to offer them *panduru*.

Continuing his chant, the Kapurála drives a stake into the ground together with a piece of a plantain stalk to which he affixes twelve torches at the bottom, and puts some coconut refuse round the foot. Then taking three betel leaves he holds them over the lighted torches, rubs them on the heads of the *áturayó*, and tosses them once or thrice into the air. If the majority of the leaves fall face upwards, it is looked upon as a good omen; if otherwise, the gods are not satisfied (*Devi-dósa*).‡ Subsequently two additional six-*kurani* bags of paddy with two coconuts in each are placed near the chair on which the *halan* box stands. The Kapurála recommencing his incantations, separately ties to three pieces of coconut stalk, a coconut flower and a pair of young coconuts, and directs the *áturayó* to touch them; after which he

* Note 9. † See C. A. S. Journ. 1865-6 p. 62, note.

‡ Cf. Mr. Fowler's account of the Panikkans' similar ceremony, *ante* p. 15.

carries them three times round the *deyiran* box, and ends by planting them in the earth in a line, exclaiming "*Bohó bó veñda, purá, purá!*" 'May it be (a harvest) of great plenty! full, full!*' At the same moment the *Madupurayá* breaks a cocoanut with a bill-hook (*gana-deviyan-gahanavá*). Once more the *áturayó* are invited to contribute *panduru* for the *deyiran*.

The night is generally well advanced before the above rites are carried through. When dawn is approaching, the *Kapurála* turns his attention to the last ceremony preceding the actual feasting, known as *kiri-itiravima*, or "causing milk to overflow." Entering the *pahan-pela* he ties a piece of white cloth over his mouth, and places three new clay pots on three 'gipsy-kettle' supports in a row. Into the pots he puts some rice with water, and kindles a fire under each, fanning the flames, but taking care not to blow the fire with his mouth. As soon as the water boils he pours in untasted cocoanut milk and allows the whole to boil over. Much weight is attached to the direction towards which the scum runs over, as on it is believed to hang the cultivators' fortune for the ensuing year. If it fall Eastwards or Southwards all will be well (*subha*); if to the West or North it portends the form of ill-luck, called respectively *Devi-dósa* and *Yak-dósa*. The boiled milk is then poured into another chatty, and the *áturayó* sprinkled with it by the *Kapurála*, whilst chanting something more.†

Meanwhile, during the night women have been cooking the *dáné*—a meal differing in some respects from that cou-

* Just as many an old orchardist in the cider districts of Devon and Cornwall will drink to his apple trees on the eve of Epiphany some such toast as this. (Notes and Queries, Vol. 6, 2nd Series):—

"Here's to thee, old apple tree!

Whence thou may'st bud, and whence thou may'st blow,

And whence thou may'st bear apples enow!

Hats full,—caps full!

Busbels full,—sacks full!

And my pockets full!

Huzza!"

Há, há, purá, hondayi, Deviyané pihitayi! is a common Sinhalese ejaculatory prayer preceding any undertaking.

† Note 9.

sumed at the subsequent feast which closes *Rálahámi-pidíma*; and consisting merely of untasted rice and vegetable curries, *kiri-talapa*,* and the inevitable betel. Anything fried having special attraction for the *Yaksajó*, flesh and cakes are invariably excluded from the gods' *dáné*.

When all is in readiness for the feasting itself, the Kapurála, or an assistant, places not far off a *gotuvá* (which he has filled with a little of each kind of food provided) upon a three-cross-stick stand, and a chair covered with a clean white cloth (*etirilla*) on which is put a plantain leaf with a similar offering, *panduru*, a quid of betel, and may be a cheroot.

Sometimes for the single *gotuvá* and chair *tattuvá*, are substituted two *gotu* placed one above the other on the same frame, some space apart—the upper for the celestial beings, the lower for *Mahikántává* the female Atlas of Aryan mythology.

The gods are now considered to have received all their just dues, and nothing remains but to partake of the meal.

First, all the women who have prepared the *dáné* are sprinkled with saffron water, and atonement made to the gods by the Kapuráva for any fault they may have unwittingly committed. The Kapurála and the rest of the persons then sit down and proceed to eat, after the former has blessed the food with an incantation and tasted it. The meal over, the Kapurála and his assistant carry away the food and *panduru* collected since the evening.†

RÁLAHÁMI-PIDÍMA.

Some days—at least three—elapse before the *Rálahámi-pidíma* or ceremony and feast to propitiate *Kosgama Devijó*,

* A kind of custard pudding made of rice flour, cocconut milk, and honey, boiled to some consistency, and eaten with rice as sweetmeat.

† "And all that time of the sacrifice there is drumming, piping, singing, and dancing; which being ended, they take the victuals away, and give it to those which drum and pipe, with other beggars and vagabonds, for only such do eat of their sacrifices; not that they do account such things hallowed, and so dare not presume to eat them; but contrariwise they are now looked upon as polluted meat, and, if they should attempt to eat thereof, it would be a reproach to them and their generations."—Knox, p. 77.

the bane of crops and cattle, whose good will it is essential to win over by a special sacrifice.*

On the day selected, four or more women, after bathing and dressing in clean cloths, husk the paddy previously set apart for this *dáné*, as before. When well beaten out they place it in a room, which has been thoroughly cleansed, and inform the Kapuwá summoned to officiate, who, filling a chatty (*némbilya*) with the rice and muttering some incantations, hands it over to the women. In the same room is collected the rest of the food intended to be consumed at the feast—e.g., oranges, sugar-cane, toddy, arrack, opium, fish and meat, salt, milk, honey, vegetables, biscuits, cocoanuts, and three kinds of plantains (as *ratnamálu*, *púválu*, and *kannannóru*).

Some of the women-cooks pound the rice to flour, extract oil, and fry cakes, seven of which they put into each of three bags. Others are employed in cooking the *dáné*, for which are required, in addition to the cakes, three chatties of boiled rice (each containing three *neli*)† and seven curries made with seven different kinds of vegetables. Everything should not only be untasted, but prepared without so much as blowing the fire with the mouth.

Whilst the cooking is proceeding, the Kapurála constructs a shelf (*yahana*) waist-high, and over it a cloth canopy adorned with flowers. The cooking over, and all being ready, the Kapurála, tying a piece of white cloth across his mouth, enters the room. Upon the clean white cloth spread over the *yahana* he arranges five plantain leaves, and on the floor he lays a mat with a white cloth, and puts two other plantain leaves there; lastly, he uses a chair as a *mal-bulat-tattuma*. The dishes as cooked are placed in a line, the first chatty nearest to the shelf, and so on. The Kapurála puts some boiled rice into a *némbilya*, and from it deposits a little on each plantain leaf three times. With a cocoanut-

* Note 10.

† This is the number usual in the Galle District. In the Rayigam and Siyané Kóralés, seven chatties of rice are provided, and seven plantains; and in the latter Kóralé the pounding of the paddy is done by two men, called *Kottóruwó*, who have to purify themselves before commencing.

shell spoon he then mixes in the *nēmbiliya* a little of each of the seven curries taken thrice, thus forming a *hat-māluwa*, which he adds to the seven rice heaps, perfuming them and muttering *mantras* (*kepa-karanavá*). Next he takes the three cake bags, and after incensing them puts all the cakes (one from each in turn) on to the several heaps. So with the three plantain bunches, from each of which seven fruits are taken : a little *kirijja* (boiled cocoanut-milk remaining after the oil is skimmed off) is further added. The "dessert"—the oranges, biscuits, &c.—is also incensed and placed on the shelf in a *vattiya* dish, so that any demi-god or demon may help himself at pleasure.

This done, the Kapurála makes a cone-pouch (*Káberigoṭuwa*) out of a plantain leaf, and putting rice and other articles of food into it, formally deposits it for *Káberi-Yuksayá* on a support made of three-cross-sticks (*kattirika*). The last cooked chatty of rice he covers with a plantain leaf, after putting inside three cakes and three plantains : this chatty is called *yahan-heliya*. When everything is thus arranged, the Kapurála supplicates the gods and demons to receive the offering, perfuming all afresh and reciting over them a *kannalavuyatikáva*,* followed occasionally by some powerful *mantra*.

After this propitiation (*kepa-gannavá*; *disti-lanavá*) the Kapuwá comes out of the room and locks the door. About a *peya* afterwards he knocks at it, as though seeking permission from the *Yakú* to enter, and opens it. Accompanying his dancing with further invocations, he closes the door again, bringing out the *Káberigoṭuwa*, which he leaves at the back of the house. Then taking *paṇḍuru* and a quid of betel from the *áturayó*, he re-enters the room, as before, and laying them on the *yahana* recites some stanzas ; and whilst so engaged takes one of the empty cake bags and a plantain leaf, and on them puts a little of every kind of food as well as a lighted torch. This offering he carries to the stepping stone in front of the house, (after locking the door for the third time) and there presents it with a suitable *mantra* to *Mólankada Aimíná*—the demon known elsewhere as *Kaḍavara-Yuksayá*. He then returns

* Space will not permit of the insertion of the several incantations, &c., embraced in the ritual of *Rálaháni-pidima*.

to the room, and at his bidding the house inmates offer more *panduru*, and are sprinkled with the holy saffron water, as well as the women who have prepared the *dáné*.

Finally, the Kapurála taking some *dummala* (resin), charms it with a *kepa-harina-mantra* and perfumes the whole of the food about to be partaken. Those assembled then seat themselves on mats in a row, and do justice to the viands, only waiting for the Kapurála to first taste something. The *mal-bulat-tattuva* and the seven plantain leaf offerings are placed at a little distance from the house—left for dogs and crows, into whom it is considered has entered the *disti* or perception of the *Yaksayó*.

As though the superstitious rites of the *Deviyanné-dánaya* and *Rálahámi-pidíma* were not sufficient “spots on their feasts of charity,” the Sinhalese *goyiyá* too frequently resort to further devil ceremonies such as *Devol-mađu*, *Gam-mađu*, which need not be described at length here, not being intimately connected with the subject in hand.*

NOTES.

(1.)

ASTROLOGY IN AGRICULTURE.

Those who may care to become thoroughly versed in the set “times and seasons,” which ought to be observed in native agricultural operations, will find full particulars in the *Muhártta-chintámaná*, a metrical treatise on the subject, by the famous astrologer, E’pá Appuhámi, published at Colombo in 1876.

The following extracts from a similar ola MS. in the writer’s possession give some idea of the extent to which “the stars in their courses” influence the action of the Sinhalese cultivator.

* In other districts (Siyanné Kóralé, for wit) instead of the ‘gipsy-kettle’ support, a post (*evari-hauva*) is planted outside the compound with a light upon it, and the plantain-leaf-cone there offered to *Kađuvara Yaksayá*. The *yuhana*, too, is constructed in the compound, and

Definitions.

I.—The following are the twenty-seven asterisms (*neket*).*

1.—Aşvida.	10.—Máuçkata.	19.—Mula.
2.—Berapa.	11.—Puwapal.	20.—Puwasala.
3.—Kçeti.	12.—Uttarapal.	21.—Uttarasala.
4.—Rehena.	13.—Hata.	22.—Suvana.
5.—Muwasirisa.	14.—Sita.	23.—Denafa.
6.—Ada.	15.—Sâ.	24.—Siyâwasa.
7.—Punâwasa.	16.—Vişâ.	25.—Puwapuţupa.
8.—Punsha.	17.—Anura.	26.—Uttarapuţupa.
9.—Aşlisa.	18.—Deţa	27.—Révatiya.

II.—The fifteen lunar days (*tithi*) during which the moon waxes are named :—

1.—Pçlaviya.	6.—Sařawaka.	11.—Ekoşwaka.
2.—Diyawaka.	7.—Satawaka.	12.—Doşwaka.
3.—Tiyawaka.	8.—Ařawaka.	13.—Teleswaka.
4.—Jalawaka.	9.—Nawawaka.	14.—Tuduswaka.
5.—Vişçuiya.	10.—Dasawaka.	15.—Pasaşwaka.

The same order should be followed for the fifteen *tithi* she wanes—the 15th day being termed Amâwaka.†

not inside the house. The house inmates are directed by the Kapurâla to stand by the *çvari-kauwa* and *yahana* in bowing attitude with joined palms, whilst he chants *yâdini* regarding *Koşuwara Yakşayâ's* birth and power, invoking his aid to ward off sickness from them, and to prosper their tillage and trades. The Kapurâla then tastes each of the seven heaps, and the whole are afterwards eaten by all assembled. If the ceremony ends with the eating of this rice, it is called *Kuřâ-yakun-piduna*, but *hellun maşuva* if the dancing and tom-tom beating is continued till morning.

Many other *Yakşayâ* are jointly propitiated, such as *Dunumâla-yakun*, *Moraşuwé-yakun*, *Kaşugampola-yakun*, *Kalu-kunâra-yakun*, *Viranuşala-yakun*.

* Strictly speaking there are 28 *neket* or asterisms: the *nekata* 'Abiyut' (a fractional or occasional "mansion" only, consequent on the moon's fractional revolution occupying 27-8 days) lies between 'Uttarasala' and 'Suvana.' The Maldivians retain the full number of "lunar mansions," but place 'Avihi' (Abiyut) last, save 'Réva' (Révatiya), thus:—Assida, Burunu, Keti, Kónu, Miyaheliha, Ada, Fanós, Fus, Abulihâ, Mâ, Fura, Utara, Ata, Hita, Hé, Vihâ, Nora, Dorha, Mula, Furahaşâ, Uturuhaşâ, Huvan, Dnuarha, Hiyavihá, Furabaduruva, Fasbaduruva, Avihi, Réva. "The *tithi* and *nekata* of any day or time are those in which the moon is in her course through the zodiac in that day or time."

† The lunar month is divided into *pura* or *purva pakşhâ* (from the day after the new moon to full moon day), and *ava* or *apara pakşhâ* (from day after full moon to new moon day).

III.—The seven days are :—

1.—Ravi	...	...	Sun.
2.—Chandra	...	...	Moon.
3.—Kuja	...	...	Mars.
4.—Budha	...	...	Mercury.
5.—Guru	...	...	Jupiter.
6.—Śukra or Kivi	...	...	Venus.
7.—Ṣeni	...	...	Saturn.

IV.—The twelve signs of the Zodiac (*rāsi*) are :—*

1.—Mésa.	}	7.—Tulá.
2.—Wṛishabha.		8.—Wṛiṣchika.
3.—Mithuna.		9.—Dhanu.
4.—Karkaṭaka.		10.—Makara.
5.—Siṅha.		11.—Kumbha.
6.—Kanyá.		12.—Mína.

Commencing Operations.

V.—The *nehet* Pusha, Sá, Uttarapal, Uttarasala, Uttarapuṭupa, Sita, Anura, and Berana, and the *tithi* Pélaviya, Diyawaka, Tiya-waka, Viséniya, Satawaka, Dasawaka, Ekoḷoswaka, and Pasaḷos-waka, and the days Kuja, Guru, and Budha, in the *rāsi* assigned to the planets, Guru, Śukra, Budha, † are auspicious for entering upon a field to commence cultivation.

Ploughing.

VI.—For ploughing adopt the following *nehet* :—Puwapal, Puwasala, Puwapuṭupa, Hata, Sita, Mánekata, Deṭa, Mula, Réwatiya, Anura, Punávasa, Suvana, Pusha, Uttarapal, Uttara-sala, Uttarapuṭupa, Sá, Visá, Muwasirisa, Denata; *oja tithi* having no *riktá*; ‡ the days Ravi, Budha, Guru, Śukra; the

* “The Sun, Moon, and Planets move through these *rāsi* in their courses. *Avuruḍa* (‘year’) is the time during which the Sun travels through all 12 *rāsi* in his course, beginning from the first point of *Mésa rāsi*,” and the solar month the time during which the Sun continues in any one *rāsi*.

† Of the twelve *rāsi*, that called *Siṅha* (*Leo*) is allotted to the Sun, and *Karkaṭaka* (*Cancer*) to the Moon; the rest are given to the other five planets in the order of their position with regard to the Sun. *Mithuna* and *Kanyá*, the *rāsi* bordering “the mansions” of the Sun and Moon, on either side, are assigned to Mercury; the two beyond these, viz., *Wṛishabha* and *Tulá*, are assigned to Venus; the next two, *Mésa* and *Wṛiṣchika*, to Mars; *Mína* and *Dhanu* to Jupiter; and the last two, *Makara* and *Kumbha*, to Saturn.

‡ “*Oja tithi*” are the eleven *tithi* from *Dasawaka* of *pura paksa* to *Viséniya* of *ava paksa*. Of these, *Tuduswaka* and *Jalawaka* are “*riktá*,” and rejected as bad for all work.

*lagnas** *Wṛiṣhabha*, *Karkaṭaka*, *Makara*, *Mīna*, *Mithuna*, which are best; *Tulá*, *Dhanu* and *Kanyá*, fairly good. At these *neḥet*, and observing the *lagnas*, *wah*, &c., make one, three, or five furrows, with the plough gazing Eastwards, without stooping or looking down.

Introducing Water.

VII.—The following *neḥet* are good for admitting water into a field:—*Mula*, *Puwasala*, *Uttarasala*, *Suwana*, *Réwatiya*, *Deṇaṭa*, *Máuḅkata*, *Muwasirisa*, *Puwapal*, *Deṭa*, *Sá*, and *Beraṇa*.

Sowing and Transplanting.

VIII.—Sow seed paddy at the *neḥet* *Má*, *Hata*, *Mula*, *Tunaturu*.† *Pusha*, *Siyáwasa*, *Anura*, *Sá*, *Muwasirisa*, *Réwatiya*, and *Suwana*; on the *tithi* *Viśéniya*, *Satawaka*, *Ekoloṣwaka*, *Teleswaka*, and *Pasaḷoṣwaka*; and on the days *Saudu*, *Budha*, *Guru*, *Ṣakra*, also observing the *lagna* which these planets belong to.

For sowing paddy according to the *kekulaṇ* system, adopt the *neḥet* *Tunaturu*,† *Punáwasa*, *Pusha*, *Anura*, *Hata*, *Má*, *Reheṇa*, which are to be taken for transplanting also.

On Sunday mornings in the month of *Mithuna* and *Sigha* sow *el* paddy.

Reaping.

IX.—Reap corn on good days (i.e. days having no *ava-yóga*‡) at the *neḥet* *Kēti*, *Reheṇa*, *Ada*, *Pusha*, *Sá*, *Deṇaṭa*, *Siyáwasa*, *Puwapuṭupa*, *Tunaturu*, *Anura*, *Má*.

Threshing and Measuring.

X.—Thresh corn at *Anura*, *Réwatiya*, *Mula*, *Pusha*, *Sá*, *neḥet*; and at the *lagnas*, *Mithuna*, *Dhanu*, *Kumbha*, and *Mīna*, and when the planets *Guru* and *Ṣikuru* are in the said *lagnas*.

All work connected with paddy cultivation should be performed when the tide rises from the first *peya* for eight *peyas*, and from

* The day of 60 *peyas* or 24 hours (*hórá*) is in astrological calculations further divided into 12 *lagnas*, each *lagna* comprising roughly 2 *hóras*. The *lagnas* are synonymous with the 12 *rásis*, and rotate in the same order, the first *lagna* of each day always being that of the particular *rási*, or month, through which the Sun is passing. See, too, C. A. S. Journ. 1856-8, pp. 181-194. "The Principles of Singhalese Chronology," by Rev. C. Alwis.

† *Tunaturu*, i.e. *Uttarapala*, *Uttarasala*, *Uttarapuṭupa*.

‡ *Ava-yóga*, i.e. the unlucky conjunction of certain *neḥet* with special days Thus on Sunday, *Ada* and *Deṭa*, on Tuesday, *Deṭa* and *Suwana*, on Thursday, *Ada*, on Friday, *Viśá*, and on Saturday, *Punáwasa* and *Suwana*, are *avayóga*. There are 10 bad (*dasu mahá dasu*), and 4 good, *yógas*.

the thirteenth *peya* for eight *peyas* of the *neket* Keṭi, Reheṇa, Muwasirisa, Uttarapuṭupa and Réwatiya.

The tide rises (*diya-waḍi*) from the first *peya* for eight *peyas* of Pélaviya and Diyawaka, again at the 47th *peya*, at the 2nd, 25th, and 50th *peya* of Tiyawaka, the 20th *peya* of Saṭawaka, the 22nd *peya* of Hatawaka, 23rd *peya* of Aṭawaka, the 20th and 55th of Dasawaka, the 20th of Ekoḷoswaka, the 20th of Doḷoswaka, 8th and 25th of Teḷeswaka, the 8th *peya* of Paṣaḷoswaka. At all these times from the commencement of the *peya* the tide flows for 8 *peyas*.

At the fourth *páda* of the four *lagnas* Mésha, Wṛishabha, Mithuṇa and Karkāṭaka, water will rise. For threshing corn and measuring paddy, if the moment when *nekata*, *tithi*, and *lagna* for the rising of the tide are contemporaneous can be taken, it is best : if two agree it is good : one alone is fairly good.

Storing and Consuming Paddy.

XI.—For storing paddy the *neket* Hata, Aḍa, Má, and Reheṇa and the *lagnas* Wṛishabha, Siṅha, Wṛiṣchika, and Kumbha should be taken, and (if possible) when seen with the planet Saturn.

On Sunday at sunrise at Reheṇa *nekata* consume paddy.

Eating the New Rice.

XII.—For *alut-bat-kéma* observe a good *tithi*, avoiding Mína Mésha, and Wṛiṣchika, at the *neket* Sita, Aṣṣida, Hata, Punáwasa, Pūsha, Suwata, Anura, Tunaturu, Muwasirisa, Denāṭa, Reheṇa, Réwatiya, Siyáwasa, Sá, Mula, Má, and Visá.

In spite of the well-meant efforts now being made to convert the *goyiyá* from the error of his ways by opening a School of Agriculture, and the introduction of modern appliances, it is to be feared that years must elapse before his mind is disabused of the conservative notions he shares with the American "Farmer Ben" (Notes and Queries):—

"I tell ye it's nonsense," said Farmer Ben,

'This farmin' by books and rules,

And sendin' the boys to learn that stuff

At the agricultural schools.

Rotation o' crops and analysis!

Talk that to a young baboon!

But ye needn't be tellin' yer science to me,

For I believe in the moon.

If ye plant yer corn on the growin' moon,
 And put up the lines for crows,
 You'll find it will bear, and yer wheat will, too,
 If it's decent land where't grows.
 But potatoes, now, are a different thing,
 They want to grow down, that is plain ;
 And don't ye see you must plant for that
 When the moon is on the wane.

So in plantin' and hoein' and hayin' time,
 It is well to have an eye
 On the hang of the moon—ye know ye can tell
 A wet moon from a dry.
 And as to hayin', you wise ones, now
 Are cuttin' yer grass too soon ;
 If you want it to spend, just wait till it's ripe,
 And mow on the full o' the moon.

* * * * *

With farmers' meetin's and granges new
 Folks can talk till all is blue ;
 But don't ye be swollerin' all ye hear,
 For there ain't more 'n half on 't true.
 They are tryin' to make me change my plans,
 But I tell 'em I'm no such coon ;
*I shall keep right on in the safe old way,
 And work my farm by the moon !*

(2.)

CULTIVATORS' SONGS.*

I.—*Whilst bailing Water.*

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|----|--|----------------------|
| 1. | බබලන පුත්සඳ මෙන් ගුණ බිඳි
පුබා රුසිරුඳැනි මගේ හිමිසඳි
මබ ගිහකල් ගොම නාවා මෙඳි
මම එනතුරු හුබ කොහකක ඉඳි | හේ
හේ
හේ
හේ |
| 2. | කොම්පුර කාබේරි පවුනක බු
වෙහෙකර නැසිස අන් රට ආ
ලොන්දෙර සෝතිණි කඳුලොන් නැ
මුන් ඳැර ගොස් මම කෙලෙසක වැ | මේ
මේ
මේ
මේ |
| 3. | බුමේ මිතුරුව කමිසා වේක
මහමෙර ගුගුර වැසිවැස ඒක
ඒ මේ කාරණ හුබ දුටුවේක
ඒ මේ වැඩකුක ගිහ ගවහේන | හ්
හ්
හ්
හ් |

* The specimens given are throughout ungrammatical and disconnected, but just as taken down from the mouth of an ordinary illiterate *goyiyā*. The meaning is in places very obscure.

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|-----|-----------------------------|----|
| 4. | හිස් කල හිස් අනිකුන් එන අග | යෝ |
| | බස්ගොළි ඇස්තැනි අසකර හීග | යෝ |
| | ගොස් දුටු පෙරමගදී සොද ගම | යෝ |
| | නිස්පල වෙයි හිමියන් ගියගම | යෝ |
| 5.* | ලොඹේ වඩන ආරුචරුණි අසන් | යෝ |
| | ඉබේ සිනින් විපරන්කරගන් | යෝ |
| | ලැබේ හුවන ගණ්දෙව් මට දෙන් | යෝ |
| | සබේ සියළුදෙන වරද ගොගන් | යෝ |
| 6.* | ලකුන් දෙසක් කිසු ලොවට බෙලන් | යෝ |
| | සකුන් සියළු සැමදෙන ලොබවන් | යෝ |
| | ලකුන් බුමේස් කිසු බෝවන් | යෝ |
| | දෙකුන් වරක් මුනිදුට වැදදෙන් | යෝ |
| 7.* | ලන්කම බිම මිටි කැන් බලමින් | යෝ |
| | ලන්කම සහොසින් බන් අරවන් | යෝ |
| | නිකුතම කනුමුල් බිඳ හරිමින් | යෝ |
| | ලන්කම වැච් අමුකුන් බිඳිමින් | යෝ |

1. Like the moon shining in full splendour,
My beauteous endearing lord.
Since the day of departure thou returnest not as yet :
Till I may reach thee where wilt thou remain ?
2. At a desolate town of Negroes I arrived,
Leaving kith and kin for a foreign land.
With scalding tears I bathe my breast ;
By him deserted, how may I sustain my grief !
3. Though the friendly earth quake and tremble,—
Maha Meru thunder with torrents of rain—
Though these, and such like portents, thou beholdest,
Whatever thy undertaking, it will not prosper.
4. A woman empty-handed, or bearing empty pot,
A beggar, be he deaf or be he blind—
These in good journey shouldst thou meet,
Fruitless will be thy going.
5. Hear me, ye learned, that benefit the world,
Consider it with mind unfettered ;
Ganadevi, grant me to receive wisdom :
May the assembly not find fault.
6. Fellows, a mighty-boon is seed ;
Desired of every creature ;
In fruitful land it multiplies :
Worship oft the Teacher.
7. Of land acquired spy out the low places ;
Cause rice received to be served with glad heart ;
From stumps and roots ever strive to rid you,
Building dams for tanks acquired.

* These three stanzas will be found in almost the same form in a small pamphlet of Harvest Songs styled *Goyam-mālaya*, printed in Colombo, 1881.

II.—Reapers' Song.

1. ඉරිදෙවියන් වැද නොනට බසින් නට සැමදෙවියෝ අවසර දෙන් ගෙන්
සැමදෙවියන්ගෙන් අවසර අරගණ ගොසිසාමිනි දැකැති දෙන් ගෙන්
පාසන ඉරුරැස් වලා මුළුකර සිසිල් අපට අද රැකදෙන් ගෙන්
අද මේ කිස්පාස සියලුකොපාඩුම ගලවාදෙවියෝ සෙන්දෙන් ගෙන්
2. කන්දේ පාසන ඉරුරැස්දෙවියෝ මේ සබසට දන් සෙවන ක ලේ
වැඩවෙන දැකැති සුරකට අරගණ අමිමානට පින් දෙමුව අ ගෙන්
ගොඩසිටලාවන් ගොසිමකානුන්තට ඇසුකොන් මේ මට නැති ලා බේ
සබේ සිටිග ලොකු කුඩා මගන් අස දබරකැතිව කවි පවසන් ගෙන්
3. බැසලා සන්දෙවි බවනින් එකනට පෙර නපසේ ඉද දන් ඉලුන්ගේ
වපුල එරන් පරවන මඩකරලා පැසිකරල් අග බරවෙන් ගෙන්
පසලා බෝපන ජලයෙන් ගිණිකර නොබලයෙන්මයි දන් දුන් ගෙන්
බැදලා මේ කසි නිසණක පන්තිනිදෙවියෝ අවසර මට දෙන් ගෙන්
- 4.* නමින් පැවත එන රසිගමිකෝරලේ පරසිදු තල්ගස වැවුනි ස සේ
කියණකි ලුණක බැරිලෙස නිවිදුට අලංකාරවිස ගොසෙක් ලෙ සේ
ගමින් ගමට පරකාසසවෙනනට පිටුමිපෙනියෙ මල ඉසිරග සේ
සොදින් මෙ තලමල උතුම් වරුණයෙන් අගේවඩනලෙස පිසුකාසේ
5. උදේසිටන් දන් වරවන්වෙනතුරු දෙවිපිහිටක් කිසි කැනුව මු ලා
ඉසසිට දෙපසද දසහිලි දසසද ගලවා දෙවියෝ සෙන් දුන් ගෙන්
අද අපි කිවු කවි සිසු රගපද කිවුමේ සුලගට දුරභාර ලා
මේ වරැබේ වැඩ ඉවරවෙන්ට අද දෙනවද අවසර සිනාසි ලා
- 6.* මලේ වරැණ මම කියණකි පදකර දෙවිදුනි අවසර මට දෙන් ගෙන්
එලේ රැවැති මල් රන්වන් පැසට දසඅනටම පෙනි විහිදෙන් ගෙන්
ජලේ වතුරපිට නිබුකාසි මාගෙල් මලේ සුවද වට විහිදෙන් ගෙන්
පිලේ රැවැති මල් රන්වන් පැසට දසඅනටම පෙනි විහිදෙන් ගෙන්
- 7.* ඇට වසුලේ ලොව පැලවහියේ ගස උඩ වැඩුකා උසකන් ලෙසි කා
උනගොපිලේ අතු වටගෙනාදක මෙමලෙසිගේ තලමලේ ලකුකා
මල්කැනුලේ මල්පෙනි නිබුකා දක කොසි ලෙසිගේ මග බැසසන්ගේ
ගොස්නවිලෙන් බැස වස්ගරිනා දක දෙවියොදිගේ අප රැකගන්ගේ
8. එ රන්කැලි ලි දෙසි දෙඩග් බබලිද මොර ගිණ අඩද මිඅඹ උග ගෙන්
වරෙන් නැමි අඹතුරෙන් සෑදි ඉදි පලොල් දිවුල් මි සල් අර ගෙන්
සදුන් සමන් බෝදිලිද පිටුමි සසු ගෙන එම එ මාගෙල් මල්එව ගෙන්
උතුන් සමන්දෙවි නමින් පැවත එන සමන් ගිමාලේ ඇති වරු ගේ
9. සුරන්ගනේ සන්දෙගෝ එද ගොස් දිවස එ දිවමල් ගෙණ පිදු වේ
වරන් ලබාගෙණ දෙවියෝ සැණෙකින් පරසනුමල් දෝනින් පිදු වේ
එරන් නාගබවගේ කඩුපුල් දිව්‍යනාගසන් ගෙණ පිදු වේ
නිලන්කරේ මේ ලොවේ සියලු අස එදසිටන් සමනල පිදු වේ

1. May all the gods permit us to enter the field after worshipping
the sun god:
The gods' consent obtained, O goyi lord, give us sickles.
May the clouds keep us cool, shading the sun's rays,
And the gods deliver from all evil, granting peace these 30
péyas.

* These stanzas probably form part of the *Tala-mala-varnana*.

2. The god of the sun's rays shining on the hill has now shaded
this our gang :
With fortune-bringing sickles in right-hands invoke we merits
on the Moth .
Should the go, lord on the highland hear me, I shall receive
reward :
May all this company, great and low, recite songs without
bickering.
3. Sakdevi, descending from his abode, begs alms in his ascetic garb
of yore :
The corn sown on the mudded golden rock bends down ripened
ears :
With boiling water dressing food by supernatural power the alms
were given.
May goddess Pattini grant me permission to compose and recite
these verses.
4. In Rayigam Kóralé renowned there grew the far-famed palm tree,
Fair beyond words of poet, with manifold beauty crowned ;
From hamlet unto hamlet known, like lotus petals, expanding on
the tree,
Rarely this palm-flower bloomed glorious in colour.
5. Half the day has passed since morning, nor failed of god's pro-
tection,
From head to foot thro' every limb god has blessed and pre-
served us ;
The songs in rhyming measure we loudly sang to-day have made
the welkin ring.
Will leave be blithely granted to forego work the rest of the
day ?
6. God, grant me to tell in verse the flower's fame,
Of the lovely tank lily's golden hue, its petals spread in ten
directions,
As o'er the water's surface the *Ma-nil's* scent is scattered :
Its petals spread in ten directions, golden-hued as the lovely
tank lily.
7. The seed was sown and sprouted, and like a grove rose the tree ;
Like boughs of bamboo shoots entwined, the palm-flower's
pageant seemed :
Lur'd by sight of the flower-petals the wayfarer his journey
forgets.
Lo! from Gosna lake descending the evil to avert, in safety
keep us God (of mercy).

(3.)

TABU.

This tabu resembles the custom of "Pomali" practised by the Dyaks of Borneo, the Alfuros of Celebes and Timor, and the Mentamei Islanders.

"The only outward indication that *Pomali* is being resorted to is a bundle of maize leaves stuck into the ground, or bushels of rice suspended from a bamboo post, either in a rice field or under the house of a person who is ill. All strangers are forbidden to cross the threshold of a house where the signal is placed.

"Mr. Hugh Low, in his 'Sarawak,' also mentions three kinds of *Pomali*, or, as he calls it, *Pumali*.

"The *Pumali omar*, or tabu on the farms, occurs immediately after the whole of the seed is sown. It lasts four days, and during that period no person of the tribe enters any of the plantations on any account; a pig and feast are according to their practice also necessary."—Carl Bock, "Head Hunters of Borneo," p. 230.

The Oraons and Mundáris (hill tribes of India) observe similar precautions to propitiate Desánli and Jáhir Bárhi for a blessing on the crops in their "Hero-Bouga" and "Bah-Towli-Bouga" sacrifices, to which the "Karam" of the Kol villagers is nearly allied. "Each cultivator sacrifices a fowl, and after some mysterious rites a wing is stripped off and inserted in a cleft of bamboo and stuck up in the rice field. If this is omitted, it is supposed that the rice will not come to maturity."

(4.)

KEM, OR CHARMS.

(1.) Against *Geṭapanuvó* (Grubs).

(a)

පහේ බුදු රජතන්වකන්හේ රන්ඇල්ලැසියා ලඟට වැඩියා; එකතදී දැක සන් දෙණ්ඩි දෙසක්කා; මහා බුහු රජසා ලඟට ගොහින් ඉල්ඵවා; ඉල්ලා දු කැකදී රන්ඇල්ලු දුන්කා; ඒ ඵ් වැදුරුවා; එකතදී පලමුවෙහි කොලොට ගැටපනුවෝ වැහුවා; සන් වෂ්ඨසක් වැහුවා; බුදු රජතන්වකන්හේහේ ආනුතාවෙන් ඒ පනුවෝ අකත්චෙණ්ඩි ඉල්ඵවා; එවිට ඒ පනුවෝ අකත් උතා; සත්චෙහි පෙහෙහේදී රන්වන් කරලක් වැටුවා; ඒ කරලට සන් වච්ච සක් මැස්සෝ වැහුවා; එවිටත් බුදු රජතන්වකන්හේහේ ආනුසාවෙණ්ඩි ඉල්ඵවා; එවිට අකත් උතා; ඉතින් ඒ විස කොටලා, බන් පිස, දවල් දැකස කොට දුන්කා; ඒ බුදු රජතන්වකන්හේහේ ආනුතාවෙන් අදන් අකත් චෙණ්ඩි මිනා.

"Pase Buddha went to Ratel Rusiya, who had nothing to offer as alms. He went and begged of Maha Brahma, who gave him *rat-el* (bill-paddy). He sowed it. The first leaf was covered by *getapanuwó* of seven kinds. Then he prayed that through the power of Buddha the grubs might leave: the grubs left. When the plant grew to its seventh node, it bore an ear of golden hue. This ear was covered by seven kinds of flies. Then also he entreated Buddha's supernatural power, and the flies disappeared. That paddy was then pounded, the rice boiled and offered for that day's noon-meal of the said Buddha.

"By the influence of the same Buddha let the worms quit the plants to-day also."

Walking round the field repeating the above is supposed to destroy *getapanuwó*.

(b)

Seven of these grubs are collected from a plant, and the following *pirit* repeated over them :—

ශ්‍රීසාරද මුනිසාදි මුඛ පංකජ මාසිසි,
සාරදු බිල මාග්දේවී පාසුමා සඵ මංගලා.

"May the all-auspicious goddess of speech (Saraswati), the bestower of the essence (of wisdom and eloquence), who dwells in the lotus-like mouths of the illustrious and eminent sage Nārada, &c., preserve you (from all evil)."

Three are then burnt with *pas-peṅgeri* (five bitter kinds of wood), and the remaining four enclosed in four pieces of reed and buried at the four corners of the field. During the performance of this ceremony the *Kattādiyá* should be naked, and at its conclusion remain dumb for seven *peyas* in an unfrequented place.

(II.) Against *Kohkanávó* (Grubs).

After dark a man steals three *ilapata* (ekel-brooms) from three different houses. These he ties together with *kehipittan-vela* (creeper) and hangs it to his waist-string behind. Proceeding to the field, he walks three times round it, buries the bundle in the main *vakkada* (opening through the dam) and returns home unobserved. The whole time, and if possible till next morning, he remains mute.

(III.) Against *Messó* (Flies).

(a)

The *Yakdessá* should spend the previous night in a lonely spot, after having put on clean clothes (*piruwata*) and eaten "milk-rice" (*kiri-bat*). The following morning, without communicating with any one, he should go to the field. Having caught a fly, he must

hold it for a while in rosin smoke, over which he has muttered the following charm 108 times, and afterwards release it in the field:—

බහුකමෝ අපගේ බුදු රජයන්වහන්සේ විසාලා මහ නුවර ජනපත රෝගය දුරුකරණ්ඩ වැඩිය ආනුකාවෙන්, අදන් මේ කෙතේ, මල් මැස්සෝ, කච් මැස්සෝ, ගොටදිත් මැස්සෝ, ගොඩවිලි ප තුටෝ, නොසිටි හිටු හිටු ඒකෝ:

තමෝ ගජකුමයන් දලරක්කදේවතාවාගේ කවින් උපන් බුන් මැස්සෝ, පුත් බන් මැස්සෝ, අබු මැස්සෝ, අච් මැස්සෝ මේ කෙතේ තොසිටි මි. ශ්‍රී. බරතෝස්වා.

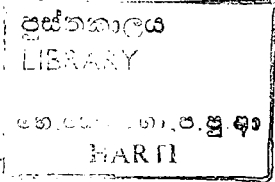
O'nnamó! By the power of Lord Buddha who came to dispel the pestilence of the great city *Wisala*, this very day all ye flower-flies, black flies, proboscis-armed flies, and earth grubs of this field, away, away (*ódu, ódu*); stay not. Let it be so! (*E'svāh*).

Namó! Ye flower-flies, proboscis-armed flies, tiny flies, ash flies, born from the mouth of *Guja-kumba-dala-rákshu-déwatāwā*, go, stay not in this field. In the name of the Triad (*O'n Triu*) and Kataragama Deviyo (*Baranét*). Be it so!*

(b)

The following well-known *gáthāva* is recited 108 times over some sand, which is strewn in the field at dusk, while four lamps (the oil used having been prepared without being tasted) are kept burning at its four corners:—

සබ්බපාපසා අකරණං.
කුසලසා උපසමපද,
සම්මාපච්ඡො දපසං.
එතං බුබුදුසාසනං.
Abstain from all sin;
Acquire merit:
Purify the heart:
'This the Buddha's commandment.



" Evil swells the debts to pay,
Good delivers and acquits.
Shun evil, follow good; hold sway
Over thyself. This is the way."

(*Light of Asia.*)

Throughout the performance of this *kema*, and until next morning, the person so occupied must not converse with anybody.

* Almost every charm begins with the words *O'n Triu*, which in Sanskrit are an invocation to the Hindú Trinity." The Kattádiyás not being worshippers of that Trinity, and not understanding the purport of the words, but attributing to them some mysterious magical properties, frequently add them to Sinhalese charms, in which the virtues and omnipotence of Buddha are described, in very grandiloquent style, to the exclusion of those of the Hindú

(c)

With red sandalwood, ground to powder, this stanza is written on a *rabāna*, or the drum of a tom-tom :—

සතාවසදාසන සමදාස නසසුධමමා ජනිතා භවනී
 සකතාසදිභි විවිජ්චිජිනංව සිලබ්බතංවා පිසදකන්තිචි
 වතුකපාසංසි ව විසා මුඛතා වජාභි ධානානි අභබ්බානානාදා
 ඉද්දෙසංසෙ රකතංජනිතා එතෙන සඤ්චිත ප්‍රචන්දිතොදා.

By the receiving of perceptive power (in religious studies) these three (false) pursuits, viz., worldly desires, doubts, and unorthodox observances, are dispelled : he escapes from the sufferings of the four hells : he is incapable of committing the six great sins. In the *Saṅgha* this gem-like state is noble. By this truth may all (sentient) beings benefit.

A lamp fed by *mitel* (oil of the *Bassia latifolia*), which has been hallowed by the recital of the *gāthāva* over it, is placed in the field inside a *mal-pēlak* (temporary altar decked with leaves and flowers). At dusk a man should walk round the field repeating the same stanza and beating the said tom-tom with a piece of *kayila-vēla* (creeper). This done, he must retire by the entrance he came in at, closing it, and sleep that night in an untenanted house.

(5.)

THE KAMATA, OR THRESHING-FLOOR.

“When they are to tread their corn,” writes Knox (p. 11), “they choose a convenient adjoining place. Here they lay out a round piece of ground, some twenty or five-and-twenty foot over, from which they cut away the upper turf. Then certain ceremonies are used. First they adorn this place with ashes made into flowers and branches and round circles. Then they take divers strange shells and pieces of iron, and some sorts of wood, and a bunch of betel nuts (which are reserved for such purposes) and lay all these in the very middle of the pit, and a large stoue upon them.”

See also Mr. Brodie’s Paper in C. A. S. Journal, 1849, p. 25, and Davy’s Ceylon, p. 275 (where a wood-cut is given).

triad. Sometimes, however, the names of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, and other Hindū deities are found mixed with those of Buddha and other Buddhist divinities in irretrievable confusion in the same charm. Nearly every charm, Sanskrit, Siphalese, or Tamil, ends with *Ḍ’svāh*—a corruption of the Sanskrit *Svāha*, corresponding to “Amen” in meaning. (C. A. S. Journ. 1865-6, p. 51.)

Much the same ceremonies have been noted in India :—

Idangal panni suttli seytè
Itta pida mitilè
Adanga nirum puje seytu
Arun davangal pannuvir

“Clearing a place, an altar
 Ye raise upon the site ;
 And heaping ashes on it,
 Perform ye many a rite.”

(“Tamil Popular Poetry,” by Dr. Caldwell, in Ind. Ant., Vol. I.)

“When Gonds, Kurkus, or Bharias start together in their *tilli* crops, they take with them some ashes and Indian cornseeds, and as they go along they keep making circles with the ashes, and place in their centre the seeds of the corn. This practice is supposed to keep away all the bad will of the *devas*.”—(Notes on the Bharias, by C. Scanlan, Assistant Surveyor, in Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 159.)

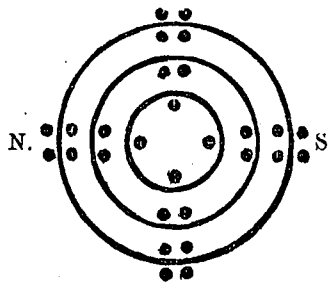
According to Mr. Ievers (C. A. S. Journ. 1880, p. 52, Diagram) the figure described on the threshing-floor by the cultivators of the Kégalla District consists of no less than seven concentric circles with four cross lines.

This is a noteworthy departure from the diagram usually seen elsewhere. Throughout the low-country not more than three concentric circles with two diameters between the cardinal points would seem to be drawn.

Precise directions regarding the preparation of a threshing-floor are laid down in the *Muhūrta-chintāmani* (stanzas 257-261) :—

කලච්චිකෑපිම.

E.



W.

257

ආද කව තුනක් එහි දෙහිරක් සිව් දිග	○
යොදනීහි නැකැත් ඉරිදෙසලෙ සිව් අත	○
මුදුනට නැගෙණිතීරගෙණි තීරු නැකත සි	○
දකුනට ගණිනු කලච්චි සත පිලිවෙල	○

258

පිට කව දෙවෙනි කවසිටි යොලස සිටුකො	න
වැඩකොවන පුරිනුවන කව අට සම	න
මැදසිටිඋතුම් පෙරසමවරුණ සවීමේ	න
ගැණගණකෙමෙන් නිමවණලෙස පෙරදිසි	න

259

පෙර ඉසිවරු පැවසු කොලසක් බිම්	න
පෙරදිග උතුරකතුබිම්ගෙණ බලාග	ණ
සුර ගුරු තුන තුරුද සුබගෝත්ථ ගෙ	ණ
කර කලවිටි වැඩ සුබදේස මනමේ	ණ

260

සුබ බමපාද මැදකසමින් අරන්ව	උ
කබ නතුදිගට බේර වතුර සන අ	උ
සුබ ලකුකැනි බිලිදෙකු අනිති කරලො	උ
හබතුරු පනිසේ ගෙන්වා කබ අරන්ග	උ

261

සුවද පැනින් ඉස් නානසකර සතු	ට
කොමද දෙමින් නිසිලෙස පුද එනි සකු	ට
දපමතුරින් අම් වඩමින් පුරැනිකො	ට
නවගුණසෙන් සලි අද සුස කමනව	ට

To make a Threshing-floor.

257.

Draw three circles and two diameters between the four cardinal points, and place the twenty-eight *nehēt* in the four directions on the sides of the lines. Calculate the threshing-floor circle towards the right from the *nehata* on which the sun stands, starting from the East.

258.

The sixteen *nehēt* standing on the outer and second circular space towards the four directions are profitless and bad : likewise the eight on the third space : the middle four are fortunate. Reckon Southwards from East to West finishing again at East.

259.

Of the 16 portions of ground described by ancient sages* select those

* The sixteen portions of land, as given in the *Māyamataya*, are the following:—*Siṅhākāraya*, *Sārākāraya*, *Brahmakāraya*, *Subhrākāraya*, *Gajākāraya*, *Gāndhāvākāraya*, *Chatrākāraya*, *Patrākāraya*, *Karaseḍḍākāraya*, *Chaturtvākāraya*, *Rākshamukhākāraya*, *Trisulākāraya*, *Gungākāraya*, *Varahākāraya*, *Kurminākāraya*, *Nandākāraya*, *Jalatalikāraya*. To these are sometimes added *Karatalākāraya*, *A'yatanākāraya*. In *pādu-bedīma*, or dividing into building lots, the subdivisions are:—*Brahma-pādāyā*, *Dewa-pādāyā*, *Manussiyā-pādāyā*, *Preta-pādāyā*, of which the last is never selected as a site, nor those portions of the others called technically *dēḍi* and *katūra*.

lying East and North. Choose a lucky *hóra** in *Tumuturu nehet* (Uttara-pala, Uttarasala, Uttaraputupa) on Guru (Thursday). The threshing-floor thus constructed will ensure success as desired.

260.

In the midst of fortunate Bamba (Brahma) portion, dig the *arakvula* (lit. 'protection hole'), clear the boundary drain, and have the *arakgala* ('guardian stone') brought and placed by the hands of a male child with perfect features like *Turupati* (moon.)

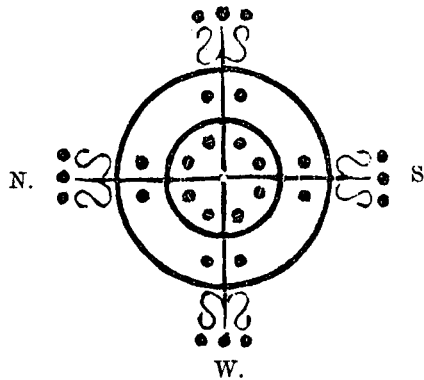
261.

Joyfully bathe the body with perfumed water: there sacrifice duly to the demons, offer ashes charmed by *mantras*, and encircle the threshing-floor with a thread hallowed by the *Navaguna-gátháva*.

The MS. from Pasdun Kóralé gives a somewhat different diagram.

කලවිච්චි චක්‍රසසි.

E.



කොන්මහ දෙලොස්ලක අට අසුබ පලව	හු
යළි මැද අටහැකැත් සුබ පල වෙතෙයිද	හු
ඊවිමුසුනේලා දකුණට සමකර	හු
තැණි කලවිච්චි සක වෙලෙසින් දැඩි කිය	හු

Threshing-floor Diagram.

The eight *nehel* next the twelve at the cardinal points are unlucky. Know that the middle eight *nehel* will bring luck. Place *Rivi* (sun) at the top (starting point) and calculate Southwards. Thus counting, resolve the threshing-floor diagram.

* "Astrologers suppose that the same seven gods to whom the supervision of the days of the week are appropriated, preside over each successive seven *hóras*, beginning from that one to whom the day belongs, but in the following order, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars."—C. A. S. Journ. 1856-8, p. 182.)

(8.)

(I.)—THE ANDUKERIMA CEREMONY.

The form of the *Andukerima* ceremony (though not known under that name) as practised in the Siyané Kóralé differs to some extent.

After the corn is threshed and before removing the straw from the *hamata*, five cultivators, each taking a *deti*, repeat the following words thrice :—

ඉරිදු මාසාකකන් සමකලලබොඩින් එලමිගෝන් සන් බාකක්
ගොනවා එක්සි දෙසි තුන්සිසෝන් ශ්‍රීමඩි පෝරුඛාවා ඇලවල්ඇර
බිජුවඩා එක්පෙති දෙපෙති තුන්පෙති පස්පෙති සපෙති සන්පෙතිදී
බණ්ඩිඅල්වා පිදි තීරිවාද පැසි කලව්ටක් සසවා ගොසන් කපා
කලව්ටට දමා

දැනි දැනි කුමන දැනි
රන් දැනි රිදි දැනි
කටුපිල නික දෙමට කොබ්බා කොසෝන් දැනි
මෙයන් දැනි පසක් ගොනා
පස්දෙනෙක්සිට කොලසලා ඇලව්
දෙදෙනෙක් ගොන් දක්කන්
දෙදිසෝ වැඩසිටිති
ගොපිසෝ වැඩකරති
මෙදුමෙ රජකමනට
දුනා සහපති පොලි

*Iridi má nēhatin Samanalugulaboḍin ela migon sat hānuh gennavā eksi
desi tunsiyen ṣali maḍa pōru gāvi ḡlavāl ḡra hiju voḍi eḡpeti depeti
tunpeti paspeti sapeti satpetidi haḡḡialvā pidi kirivēda pēsi kalavitāḡ
sassaḡā gōyan hapā kalavitūḡa damā.*

*Deti deti kumana deti
Ran deti ridi deti
Kaṡupila nika demaḡa hobbē koson deti
Menan deti pasak genā
Pas denek siṡa hola salā ḡlaṡi
Denneḡ gon dakhḡati
Deḡiyō vēḡa siṡiti
Goviyō vēḡa karati
Medā mé raja hamataḡa
Itā yahapati poli.*

Seven yokes of white buffaloes having been brought from Adam's Peak at *Mānḡkata* on Sunday, when the first, second, and third ploughings have been performed, and the mud levelled, with *pōru*, channels opened, seed sown, the paddy (plants) risen to their first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh nodes, and become pregnant with ears, the ears appeared and the grain matured. After the threshing-floor has been

prepared and the crop reaped and placed on the threshing-floor, five persons separate the straw (from the paddy) with five *dēti*—

Dēti, dēti, what dēti?
 Gold *dēti*, silver *dēti*,
Kaṭupila, nika, demaṭa, kobbē, koson dēti.
 Taking five of these *dēti*,
 Five (men) stand and toss the corn:
 Two (men) drive the bullocks:
 The god looks on:
 Cultivators work.
 May manifold return attend this royal *hamata* this
 (harvest) time!

Compare the Harvest song (*Huttari*) of the Coorg ryots (Gover's Folk-songs of Southern India, p. 121):—

“First they pray that God's rich grace
 Still should rest upon their race.
 Waiting till the gun has roared
 Milk they sprinkle, shouting gay,
Polè! Polè! Devarè!
 Multiply thy mercies, Lord!

(II.)—THE AMĀKĒTĒ CEREMONY.

It is interesting to find an analogous custom, *mutatis mutandis*, existing to this day in many rural districts of England, and markedly Devonshire and Cornwall.

The custom of “crying the neck”—a relic of old heathen worship, whether of Teutonic or Celtic origin, to the goddess who presided over the earth's fruits—is thus described in Mrs. Bray's “Traditions of Devonshire” :—

“When the reaping is finished, towards evening the labourers select some of the best ears of corn from the sheaves. These they tie together, and it is called the *nack*. The reapers then proceed to a high place. The man who bears the offering stands in the midst, and elevates it, while all the other labourers form themselves into a circle about him. Each holds aloft his hook, and in a moment they all shout these words: *Arnack* (or *ah nack*), *arnack*, *arnack*; *wehaven* (pronounced *wee-hav-en*), *wehaven*, *wehaven*. This is repeated three several times.”

Arnack, meaning “a bunch of ears of corn,” when thus coupled with *wehaven* expresses either a wish for a prosperous (Norse, *velhavende*) harvest, or the joy that its labours are ended (*wehave-it*). See Notes and Queries, 5th Series, Vols. VI., IX.

(7.)

COMPARATIVE LIST of Sinhalese Conventional Terms used at the Threshing-floor.*

English.	Sinhalese (ordinary.)	Kégalla District, Western Province.	Rayigam Kóralé, Western Province.	Siyané Kóralé, Western Province.	Galle District.
Arrack	arakku	—	peḍiya	<i>id.</i>	kaḷu-watura
Arecanut	puvak	kahaṭavá	kahaṭavá	puvak	kahaṭa-paḷu
Ashes	aḷu	—	davvá	aḷuhan	{ aḷu-bóya { yakunṭa-bóya
Bag	malla	puranné	kaṭupana	puravannáva	{ kaṭupana { peḷella
Betel	bulat	—	peṅgiriavá	ból-kola	peṅgiri-kola
Betel (quid)	bulat-vida	—	—	ból-vida	peṅgiri-kola-vida
Buffaloe	mí-haraká	ambaruvá	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>
Cakes	keṅum	ḍiya-piṭa-piná	ḍiya-piṭa-pinana	pupá	{ rat-kabala { pu { káṭu; egiṭi; { paligattá; méliya
Chaff	bol	—	káṭu	paligattó	{ paligattá; méliya
Chunam	hunu	kaṭuvan	suduvá	hunu	suduvá
Cloth	redda	—	ahura	redda	{ vaṭa-badanná { vastraya
Cocoanut (young)	kurumbá	uhan	uhanná	kurumbá	{ usan-gedi-bóya { usan-gedi
Cock	kukulá	biu-pahurá	<i>id.</i>	kukulá	{ pahuru-gánná { añdalaunná

Cock (paddy)	... ví-goda	... —	beṭa-varuva	... ví-varuva	... beṭa-varuva
Dung (cattle)	... goma	... gon-pas	... <i>id.</i>	... <i>id.</i>	... <i>id.</i>
Elephant	... aliyá	... maha-bólá	... —	... patubariyá	... { et-embayá maha-embayá maha-bólá.
Fire	... giudara	... rattá	... <i>id.</i>	... <i>id.</i>	... ratta-bóya
Fish	... málu	... —	kaṭu-goyiyan	... vēnjana	... { konahannan konussanno
Flail	... —	... —	deṭi-goyiya	... <i>id.</i>	... deṭi-póruva
Grain (fine)	... amu	... kaḷu-baruvan	} hínva	} —	... amu-bóya
Grain	... kurakkan	... hín-baruvan			... kurakkan-bóya
Goad	... keviṭa	... —	gon-kóṭuva	... gon-polla	... keviṭi-bóya
Handful	... atalossa	... at-baruva	... <i>id.</i>	... atalossa	... beṭa-ahura
Hare	... hává	... kaṅ-gotuvá	... —	... hává	... há-embayá
House	... gedara	... —	kúduva	... gedara	... nivahna-bóya
Jaggery	... hakuru	... rahatiya	... hakuru	... <i>id.</i>	... rasa-bóya
Little	... tikak	... —	boyak	... bóvak	... bóyak *
Mat	... peḍura	... aturanné	... aturannáva	... <i>id.</i>	... sivrupána (i.e. má-gala)
Measure	... lába	... goiyáva	... yála	... yála-goyiya	... <i>id.</i>
Money	... kási	... —	vaṭa-vannan	... vaṭa-van	... { vaṭ-vanná vaṭa-vanuvan vaṭṭan tani-paturu

* This list is by no means complete. The language of the threshing-floor would form subject for a distinct paper.

† Mr. Ievers in C. A. S. Journ. 1830, p. 52.

COMPARATIVE LIST of Sinhalese Conventional Terms used at the Threshing-floor—*continued.*

English.	Sinhalese (ordinary.)	Kégalla District, Western Province.	Rayigam Kóralé, Western Province.	Siyané Kóralé, Western Province.	Galle District.
Monkey (brown) ...	rilavá ...	keş-gahaná ...	—	rilavá ...	rilá-embayá
Monkey (grey) ..	vandurá ...	kaļu-geđiya ...	—	vandurá ...	gas-góná
Mouse deer ...	valmiya, míminná ...	rabbođayá ...	—	valimuva ...	{ velimuva { míminna
No ...	ne ...	—	bóyi ...	<i>id.</i> ...	<i>id.</i>
Oil ...	tel ...	vađu-diyavara ...	—	tel ...	—
Paddy ...	vi ...	beťa ...	<i>id.</i> ...	<i>id.</i> ...	<i>id.</i>
Pig ...	urá ...	hatarayá ...	hoťabariyá ...	urá ...	{ kaluđeđiya { kaluđeđi-embayá
Plantain ...	kesel-keñ ...	kabaťa-mal ...	vála-palam ...	kesel-kan ...	rambakan-bóya
Potatoe (sweet) ...	batala ...	bin-tamburu ...	batala ...	<i>id.</i> ...	kiri-geđi
Rice (raw) ...	hál ...	pěbiyan ...	<i>id.</i> ...	<i>id.</i> ...	—
Rice (cooked) ...	bat ...	pubbaruwan ...	<i>id.</i> ...	pubbórun ...	pubbaru
Rice (pounded) ...	habalapeti ...	—	váđi-hál ...	habalapeti ...	javáđi-hál
Rope (yoke) ...	bána ...	—	veļ-bóya ...	bána ...	lanu-bóya
Salt ...	lunu ...	miriyá ...	—	lunu ...	mihiriya
Sickle ...	deketta ...	—	liyannavá ...	deketta ...	liyannáva
Soothing board ...	puruva ...	—	goyiya ...	poru-goyiya ...	—
Straw ...	piduru ...	—	međuvan ...	<i>id.</i> ...	<i>id.</i>
Sunshine ...	avva ...	deđiyáva ...	deđiyá ...	<i>id.</i> ...	<i>id.</i>

Tobacco	... dun-kola	...	—	roḍu-kola	... dun-kola	...	{ mat-karaṇṭā titta-kola
Toddy	... rá	...	—	bora-diya	... bora-ganggula	...	... sudu-watura
Threshing-floor	... kamata	...	—	—	kalawiṭa	...	... pávara
Water	... watura	...	—	ganggula	... <i>id.</i>	...	... <i>id.</i>
Winnow	... kulla	... yatura	...	<i>id.</i>	... <i>id.</i>	...	... <i>id.</i>
VERBS.	Drink	... bonavá	...	—	puravanavá	... bonavá	... jaya-karaṇavá
	Eat	... kanavá	...	—	udavu-karaṇavá	... koṭá-bánava	{ veḍa-vindinavá jaya-karaṇavá
	Hasten	... ikman-karaṇavá	...	—	sédaru-karaṇavá	... ikman-karaṇavá	... séḍeru-karaṇavá
	Light	... pattu-karaṇavá	...	—	—	rat-karaṇavá	... udavu-karaṇavá
	Measure	... maninavá	...	—	—	yallanavá	... goyikam-karaṇavá
	Reap	... kapanavá	...	—	liya-bánava	... kapanavá	... liya-bánava
	Stack	... goḍa-gahanavá	...	—	—	ráhi-karaṇavá	... kandu-karaṇavavá
	Thresh	... páganavá	...	—	maḍavanavá	... <i>id.</i>	... maḍinavá
	Winnows	... pabinavá	...	—	hulaḡ-karaṇavá	... pabinavá	... molbambanavá
	Place	... damanavá	...	—	puravanavá	... damanavá	... séḍaruva-goyikam-karaṇava

(8.)

BALI, OR DUES.

Strictly speaking, orthodox Buddhists are enjoined to set apart from their "worldly goods" five dues (*bali*) :—

1. *Rāja-baliya*, the tithe due to the king.
2. *Deva-baliya*, the portion offered to the gods.
3. *Ñāti-baliya*, the share given to kinsfolk.
4. *Atīthi-baliya*, the guests' or wayfarers' portions.
5. *Pubba-Prēta-baliya*, the portion allotted to the shades of the departed.

Of these *bali*, the first three are specially required of cultivators : the other two should be discharged by all persons.

The *Rāja-baliya* ought to be paid over in the field itself ; the rest at home.

In former times grants of land were apportioned by the Kings to different *Devālēs* and *Koyils*, where distinct gods were not infrequently worshipped.

Thus, to this day, the adjoining hamlets of Kalutara, on the north and south of the Kaḷuganga, retain the names *Désapura* or *Désastara*, and *Velápura*. The former is said to derive its name from *Dévasāstra*, a synonym of Vibhísana, brother of Rávana, the mythical ruler of Lañka and abductor of Síta ; the latter from the war on the seaboard (*Velá*) in which Kanda Kumára also rendered substantial aid to the bereaved Ráma against Rávana. On this account it is asserted that Kataragama Deviyó is especially honoured south of the Kaḷuganga.*

(9.)

INCANTATIONS USED IN DEVIYANNE DÁNAYA.

(I.)—කතරගමදෙවිසන්තේ දුගේ දෙන වෙලාවට
කිසන ආභිකාවක්.

කමොහසා හගවතො අරහතො සමමාසමිබුද්ධසා.

අවසර!

1. කප්පනත්තියක් බුදුවන්ඩ :
 විරහන්කාලසකට බුදුවන්ඩ :
 ඉරසද පවනිකාතෙක් බුදුවන්ඩ :
 මුළුකල සහසකට අතුරුකල :
 දහසකට සමවජීපතාන කල :
 දහසකට ආසුවජීපතාන කලසදහසකට බුදුවන්ඩ!

* The above ingenious but fanciful derivations are given for what they are worth.

2. නවද මේ දසදහසක් සකල එකඟිලෙන් වැඩිහිටින සහම්පනි
කම් මහාබ්‍රහ්මරජෝත්තමයානන්වහන්ස!

පිත්තනනවයි ;
සියවරද ඤාමාච්චි වදුරණවයි ;

3. නවද වයිකුන්භිකනම් පච්චෙන වාසඤ්ඤාකරණ ශ්‍රීච්ඡක්‍රද්වාර
ජෝත්තමයානන්වහන්ස නමුන්තාන්සෙට කියගකනලච්ච ගෙණ
වදුරණවයි,

පිත්තනනවයි ;
සියවරද ඤාමාච්චි වදුරණවයි ;
පිත්තනනවයි ;

4. නවද දෙදෙවුලොවට අභිපති ශක්‍රද්වාරජෝත්තමයානන් වහන්ස
පිත්තනනවයි ;

සියවරද ඤාමාච්චි වදුරණවයි ;
පිත්තනනවයි ;

5. නවද ඊසවර විංශති අභිග්‍රව වැඩිහිටින ඊසවර ද්වාරජෝත්තමයා
නන්වහන්ස,

පිත්තනනවයි ;
සියවරද ඤාමාච්චි වදුරණවයි ;

6. නවද මෙම මුලංකාන්දාංග අමානමයා නිවන්සම්පත් සාදුදෙන
පිණිස අපතිලෝගුරු සමාක්සම්බුධ සඵලයානන්වහන්සෙගෙන් පන්දුස්
පන්සියසක්, පවතිනා බුඩ්ධාසනස සාක්‍රද්වාරජෝත්තමයානන් වහන්සෙ
ගෙන් භාරව මේ ලංකාව තුන්පියවර කාලේකට මැණ අරගණ ප්‍රවර
චික්‍රමචේසධාරී තිලෝපල ඡෛස සංචබ ගරුචාචානගාරුචව වැඩිහිටිනමහා
චිඡක්‍රද්වාරජෝත්තමයානන් වහන්ස,

පිත්තනනවයි ;
සියවරද ඤාමාච්චි වදුරණවයි ;

7. කිසිච්චිලපුල්වන් සමන්බොක්සලල විනිසග ශ්‍රීතාරසන කතරගම
කඤ්ඤාමි සාමුදුරුන් වහන්ස දෙවුන්දර දේවාලයට මහාකතරගම දේ
වාලයට කුඩා කතරගම දේවාලයට පුනසසරම් දේවාලයට සෙලුන්දු
වට රත්තඤ්ච රිද්දකඤ්ච මැනික් ගංගාවට නීතිගංගාවට වලඹවගංගාවට
කැම්ලිචිතාසට කිරිවෙහෙරට බැල්මකරවදුරණ කතරගම කඤ්ඤා
මිත්තවහන්ස නමුන්තාන්සෙට කියග කනලච්ච දිවස්කරුණවටගෙණ
වදුරණවයි,

පිත්තනනවයි ;
සියවරද ඤාමාච්චි වදුරණවයි ;

8. නවද මතු අභාගහකාලයෙහි පස්වෙනි කපට බුදුවෙන්බ බුදුබව
ප්‍රාචීනාකාර වැඩිහිටින නානද්වාරජෝත්තමයානන්වහන්ස,

පිත්තනනවයි ;
සියවරද ඤාමාච්චි වදුරණවයි ;

9. නවද සමන්තකුට පච්චකසට, දිවාගුභාවට, සමනල ශ්‍රීපාදන්පත්ම
සට, හබරගමු දේවාලයට බැල්මකර වධාරණ සමන්ද්වාරජෝත්තමයා
නන්වහන්ස,

පිත්තනනවයි ;
සියවරද ඤාමාච්චි වදුරණවයි ;

9. නවද සමන්තකුට පච්චකසට, දිවාගුභාවට, සමනල ශ්‍රීපාදන්පත්ම
සට, හබරගමු දේවාලයට බැල්මකර වධාරණ සමන්ද්වාරජෝත්තමයා
නන්වහන්ස,

පිත්තනනවයි ;
සියවරද ඤාමාච්චි වදුරණවයි ;

9. නවද සමන්තකුට පච්චකසට, දිවාගුභාවට, සමනල ශ්‍රීපාදන්පත්ම
සට, හබරගමු දේවාලයට බැල්මකර වධාරණ සමන්ද්වාරජෝත්තමයා
නන්වහන්ස,

පිත්තනනවයි ;
සියවරද ඤාමාච්චි වදුරණවයි ;

Namó Tassa Bhagavató Arahato Sammá Sam Buddhassa.

Permission!

1. Be thou Buddha to the end of a *kalpa* :
 Be thou Buddha for immeasurable time :
 Be thou Buddha whilst sun and moon exist :
 Be thou Buddha for a thousand full *kalpas* :
 for a thousand intermediate *kalpas* :
 for a thousand *samavarshaptanu kalpas* :
 for a thousand *ayuvashaptanu kalpas* !

2. O Sahampati, mighty lord Bráhma, who with one finger supportest these 10,000 universes (*sakwala*),

accept our merits :
 pardon our offences :
 hear us !

3. O illustrious Vishnu, great heavenly king, who residest on Vayikunḍika Mount, listen to the prayers addressed to thee,

accept our merits :
 &c., &c.

4. O Sakra, mighty king of heaven, lord of two god-worlds,

accept our merits :
 &c., &c.

5. O great heavenly king I'svara, the presiding deity of the I'svara cycle of twenty years,

accept our merits :
 &c., &c.

6. O great Vishnu, heavenly king, who art seatedst on the back of a full-grown *garuda*, of blue colour, of eminent valour, who measuredst out this Lañka in three footsteps, when entrusted to thee by the heavenly king Sakra, during the existence of Buddhism, of our omniscient, true, and perfect Lord Buddha, Teacher of the Three Worlds (*Buddha-sésanaya*) that will last 5,500 years, to show to the inhabitants of this glorious Lañka the path to the bliss of the great "death-ceasing" Nirvána,

accept our merits :
 &c., &c.

7. O Kataragama Kandaswámi, of the race of the four gods, Upulvan (Vishnu), Saman-boksalla, Vibhísana, and illustrious Nariyana. Kataragama Kandaswámi, who presidest over Devundara Déválé, Maha Kataragam Déválé, Kuḍá Kataragam Déválé, Punnaswaram Déválé, Sellandáwa, Rankanda, Ridikanda, Menikgaggáwa, Trinigaggáwa, Walavéggáwa, Tembivilimánaya, Kiri Vehera, listen with divine graciousness to the prayers addressed to thee,

accept our merits :
 &c., &c.

8. O heavenly king Náta, who hopest to become a Buddha when five kalpas have expired,

accept our merits :
&c., &c.

9. O heavenly king Saman, presiding over Samantakuṭa Parvata (Adam's Peak), Divágnháva, sacred lotus-like Savanala Sripáda, Sabaragamuwa Déváié,

accept our merits :
&c., &c.

(II.)--කිපිඉහාරවිමම කියන සාදිත්ත.*

සසිරිබර මෙසිරිලක
සිරිලකට පාවනඵන
සෝචන්දනම් යුවර
කවුස්මුනි සුර යුවර
සිමවනෙන් අපාසල්
දකුමනෙන් රකින සිල්
දෙවගනන් කල කුසල්
උපන්දෙව් ලද එකල්
කෝගිවේ සයෙන්තා
කඳුරුපනලබවැවුනු
දෙමටමලද,ගොසින්
තාගලොව ගොස්වැටුනි
සැටකෙලක්නසින්ගේ
පෙයගොබසද,ගොසින්
මේකවුද දිවස්ලනි
දිරිකලපසට එන
දෙවිකෙනගෙන් සිසාලා
නාගරජ පෙන මැදින්
පැයුඅවසාරයෙන්
වැටුනු නාලියපසන්
අනුන්දිඵි කුලමුදුන්
සක්රජට දිවිසුදන්
එසක්රජ දුන් එරන්
වැනු පෙර පින්බලෙන්
අම්උසක මැදගොසින්
මිඅඹස කොලතුරෙන්
පිලිසිඤකොවලසින්
උපන්ගොටු දුකනෙතින්
රජුට සැලකලගොසින්
ගෙණගසක පොඵරගේ
අසලකට ගොලසේ

එසක්දෙවි කී අබ්බි
සැහුවිදඵගොසින්
එකාපසිනොවලසින්
ගොසින් මම ගොන්දුවෙන්
වරකකාලිවෙමින්
සොලොස්ඇවිරිදිවෙමින්
සරනමගලායෙන්
පොරකමාදෙව්ගේ
පසස රස ගුණඇඟේ
ගුණකොදහු වේසිගේ
ඇඟේසිටි කොපගේන්
ගෙවාගොස් නමගොදුන්
මිනිසලඹ ගෙණදෙමින්
කරකඵද දුකඇසින්
සලඹගෙණ සගොණ්ඵ
ගනිමි මිල සිවිසිවා
කරදිසගෙන්නවා
සමැසිකී විදිසට
දිවිගොසින් රජුලඟට
කිසාබොරු පිටින් පිට
දුකසා ගෙනනමින්
ගොර මොහුන් ගෙණේවා
පිටිසාලා බන්දවා
ගෙණසලඹ උදුරමින්
පන්වචදකරමින්
කොසඹමුල මරවමින්
මදුරුවෙස ගෙණ ලසින්
ආසිකිරිකිසවගේ
තමන්විදිකාදුකින්
ඉදිකපන්තිනි දුකින්
ජලපොතිදඵන්වෙමින්

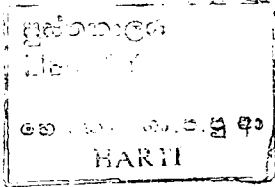
* This yadinna--a very disjointed and hardly intelligible account of Pattini's birth--is used during the "Kiri staravima" ceremonial.

තවසොදුන් මහ ගෙවා
පවුසුරට වැඩගොසින්
මැරූ භාරතුරුආසා
කොසමුලුසටගොසින්
හිමිලපදවාගෙගෙණ
වෙල්ලිමඩමටදෑගේ
වැඩමවාසකොසිගේ
සුරසුරට වඩිමගේ
දෙසක බඩ දහමිගෙ

සිවිකඉදිකටුමුගේ
දිවිකනින් අසමගේ
දිවිගෙනින් අසමගේ
දුටන් වරදන්අගේ
අගේ සමාවන් දෙවිගේ
එසසා මෙපසා
දහසකල රකින්වා
දිගේවා දිගේවා
දිගේන් මතු දිගේවා

(III.)—කිලිතුරුණ වෙලාවට කියන කාවි.*

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|----|
| 1. | හිමිසදුගෙන් වෙන්ව ගි | යෝ |
| | දිනසෙගෙදස ඇරම ගි | යෝ |
| | එදින පෑමිග දුකින් ගි | යෝ |
| | අඩුනි මෙලෙස පත්තිනි | යෝ |
| 2. | මගෙහිමි ගිස වෙලදාම | ට |
| | මදුණසුරවර නුවර | ට |
| | ඇද්ද කොතෙක් ගමු විවර | ට |
| | කියව කලිය සෝදිය ව | ට |
| 3. | සාසේ මෑද සදසහසු | රු |
| | වාසේකල සිතක සොදු | රු |
| | මාගේ හිමි සොද වැඩක | රු |
| | තාවේ කිම අදවෙනතු | රු |
| 4. | සලඹට මිල කොකිසද් | දෝ |
| | මෙතසක් සිත බැදුගෙන් | දෝ |
| | තෑන කිසිසන් දුකකින් | දෝ |
| | මහිමි පමාවනු කින් | දෝ |
| 5. | සුගගෙහුමුල සිවි පියස | ද |
| | කොසුලක මුල බද්ද පිට | ද |
| | සරකට සුග සවිපතුල | ද |
| | ඉදිති දිරුතු අවුකනුව | ද |
| 6. | ගෙදෙති හරක් කිරිදෙවිග | ට |
| | අඩුනි ලමා වගෙක් සි | ට |
| | දුවනි ගාල් බිද පිටක | ට |
| | දුවනි ගෙදර දස එකවි | ට |
| 7. | පෑසපිය බිම නිරිලෙස එලිකර | ලා |
| | සස සොද සුදුවැලි ගෙණ බිම ඉස | ලා |
| | සසගුන පත්තිනිසද වැඩි මතු | ලා |
| | බෑස මෙසුරසට දෙස දුරුකර | ලා |



* A mere fragment in verse of the story of Pattini, recited subsequent to the *yādiṇna* given above. For a fuller account of the goddess see the *Pattini-hālla*.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------------|
| 8. | එර්දි සලඹගෙන ගුවනින් වැඩි | යේ |
| | එර්දි එසක්මන් ගමනින් වැඩි | යේ |
| | එර්දි සලඹ කිනිකෙලි කෙලි | යේ |
| | සෙන්දි රැකගෙන් පත්කිනි දෙවි | යේ |
| 9. | ඉරිදෙවියනි කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් |
| | අපිකල වරදක් දුට ඉවසන් | ගන් |
| | මේආතුරුකට සැපක දෙවන් | ගන් |
| | ඉරිදෙවි මේකිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් |
| 10. | සදෙවියනි කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් ආදියයි. |
| 11. | විස්නුදෙවියෝ කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් ආදියයි. |
| 12. | කඤ්ඤමරු කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් ආදියයි. |
| 13. | කාකදෙවියනි කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් ආදියයි. |
| 14. | සමන්දෙවියනි කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් ආදියයි. |
| 15. | විචිසකදෙවි කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් ආදියයි. |
| 16. | ගණදෙවියෝ කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් ආදියයි. |
| 17. | පත්කිනිදෙවි කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් ආදියයි. |
| 18. | වාසලදෙවි කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් ආදියයි. |
| 19. | දෙවොල දෙවියනි කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් |
| 20. | මංගලදෙවියනි කිරි පාවාගන් | ගන් |

1. "Parted from my spouse, I am left alone :
Left to stifle my heart's love :
Left with the grief born on that day—"
Thus mourneth Pattini.
2. "My spouse has gone to trade
To the great city Madura.
How many gows is it distant ?
Say, Kali ; comfort me.
3. "Like the hare in moon midst,
So lived we in fond love.
My spouse is a good helpmate ;
Why comes he not to this day ?
4. "Offered they not for the bracelets ?
Has change come o'er his mind ?
Or mayhap some other sorrow
Has delayed my lord."
5. Wiping tears that well in her eyes,
Cheeks, body, back, all,
E'en to her foot's sole,
Lifeless as a log remain,
6. To milk the cow she forbiddeth,
Though the calves stand lowing ;
Breaking the pinfolds they burst forth,
By tens they scamper home.

7. The ground is hoed and neatly trimmed,
Pure white sand brought and strewn ;
For the advent feast of holy Pattini.
Descend to this city dispelling evil !
8. By *irdi* with the bracelets she came ;
By *irdi* came she on foot ;
By *irdi* the bracelets shone like fire.
Guard and bless us, Pattini !
9. O sun god ! accept our milk offering :
Pardon the faults thou knowest :
Bestow happiness on these patients :
O Sun god ! accept our milk offering.
10. O Moon god ! &c.
11. O Vishnu ! &c.
12. O Kanda Kumara ! &c.
13. O Nāta ! &c.
14. O Saman ! &c.
15. O Vibhāsana ! &c.
16. O Gaṇādevi ! &c.
17. O Pattini ! &c.
18. O Vāsala Devi ! &c.
19. O Devol Devindu ! &c.
20. O Maggala Devindu ! &c.

NOTES ON PADDY CULTIVATION CEREMONIES IN THE
RATNAPURA DISTRICT (NAWADUN AND
KURUWITI KORALE).

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, B.Sc.

THE following notes are intended merely to supplement the information already available¹ on the subject of Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies; they are based on observations and inquiries made at various places within ten miles of Ratnapura. The customs are slowly dying out, and are often neglected or forgotten by the younger generation. In one place one part, in another other parts, of the ceremonial procedure may be observed.

The *kamat-hella* or threshing-floor song forms the main feature of this Paper; it is of much interest, as giving full details of the proper preparation of the *arak* or talisman that is deposited in the *arakwala* or "arak-hole" in the threshing-floor. I believe there may be other versions of some parts of the song, as I have heard verses sung in which Gana deviyo (Gaṇeśa) and, I think, other gods were also invoked. It is

¹ See especially—

H. C. P. Bell, "Sinhalese Customs and Ceremonies connected with Paddy Cultivation in the Low-Country," *Journal, C.B.R.A.S.*, vol. VIII, No. 26, 1883, pp. 44-93.

H. C. P. Bell, "Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Four Korales, Kégalla District," *ib.*, vol. XI, No. 39, 1889, pp. 17-21.

And also—

R. W. Lévers, "Customs and Ceremonies connected with Paddy Cultivation," *ib.*, vol. VI, No. 21, 1880, pp. 46-52.

J. P. Lewis, "Tamil Customs and Ceremonies connected with Paddy Cultivation in the Jaffna District," *ib.*, vol. VIII, No. 29, 1884, pp. 304-333.

J. P. Lewis, "The Language of the Threshing-floor," *ib.*, vol. VIII, No. 29, 1884, pp. 237-270.

C. J. R. Le Mesurier, "Customs and Superstitions connected with the Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon," *Journal, B.A.S.* Great Britain, vol. XVII. (N.S.), 1885, pp. 366-372.

H. C. P. Bell, "Superstitious Ceremonies connected with the Cultivation of Al-wi or Hill Paddy," *Orientalist*, vol. III, 1888-1889, pp. 99-103.

H. Nevill, "An early Arak-gala or Threshing-floor Charm," *Tappo-banian*, vol. II, Part IV., 1887, p. 97.

by no means generally well known, and often only a few verses can be sung. It is chanted line by line by some old man who knows it well, and repeated after him in chorus by the men at work, while the paddy is being trodden out. The effect of the whole scene on a bright moonlight night is very impressive. It is difficult to set down the notes on which the words are intoned or chanted, as unless a man is a good singer he does not keep constantly to the same air; and the members of the chorus often sing together in several different keys at once. Nevertheless the effect is good. The following is, with many variations, one of the airs to which the words are sung:—



Muduné ya - na gon ra - ju - né

There are a number of euphemistic terms of the usual character employed, *e.g.*, පෞඨ, to cut. There are also many technical agricultural terms. The song must be a very ancient one, and is handed down by word of mouth; so far as I know it has never yet been printed.

I give also seven charms that are used to protect the grain from various injuries or to promote its general growth. One of the charms (No. 8) is referred to in verse 5 of the *kamat-hélla*.

Finally there is briefly described a "fire-walking ceremony," intended to promote the general welfare of the village as well as the abundance of crops. This is, however, less directly connected with the cultivation.

The words of the *kamat-hélla* are given, with some corrections in spelling,* as written down for me by an old man at Niriella, about five miles from Ratnapura, this year. It is sung while threshing is going on, but not, of course—continuously the whole time. At the conclusion all the cultivators shout *ándu ándu* (?) and *heri heri*.

* For these I am indebted to Mudaliyár J. D. Abegoonewardene and Mudaliyár A. Mendis Gunasekara.

කමත් හැල්ල.¹

1.	බුබං සරණයද බ	ලේ
	බමමං සරණයද බ	ලේ
	සබ්බං සරණයද බ	ලේ
	මෙතුන් සරණ කමත බ	ලේ
2.	ඉරිදෙවියෝ වැඩිය නැ	නේ
	බොල් පිණි නොතිබෙයි එනැ	නේ
	සද දෙවියෝ වැඩිය නැ	නේ
	කරුවල නොතිබෙයි එනැ	නේ
3.	මහ ගජතුන් බැන්ද නැ	නේ
	කණුමුල් නොතිබෙයි එනැ	නේ
	සැම ² දෙවියෝ වැඩිය නැ	නේ
	උවදුරු නොතිබෙයි එනැ	නේ
4.	වී සහ බිඳු ³ වපුල කල	ට
	හිරිනල්ල වෙන නරම	ට
	දිය බදිමින් හිසි තරම	ට
	හිස් බණ්ඩී වෙන ගොයම	ට
5.	දියබදිමින් හිසර උස	ට
	කිරිදී ³ කිරිවදන කල	ට ⁴
	කරල් නැමි නැගෙන ඉර	ට
	ගොයමි පැසි තිබෙන සල	ට
6.	නැකන් බලා ⁵ ගොයම ලී	යා ⁶
	කමතට හිසි බිමන් සො	යා
	නැකන් බලා කමත ලී	යා
	කමත වටට වැල් ආද	යා ⁷
7.	කමතක් සැඟා කවය ලෙස	ට
	කැට කර කැටකදු ⁸ එක්කො	ට
	වටටම වටමළ ⁹ එක්කොට	ට
	කමත සුද්දකර ¹⁰ වීගස	ට

¹ හැල්ල hēlla (from හැල්ල sēlla, a contraction of සැහැල්ල *sphella*).

² Perhaps Saman deviyó is meant, but as it stands [in the MS. ගම; but ග is not a letter belonging to pure Elu in which poetry was written, although it is not infrequently found in Kandyan MSS.] the words mean "all the gods." I have heard other words sung in which Gaṇa deviyó was also mentioned.

³ "Having offered milk." This refers to a *hema* or charm, for an account of which see below, No. 6.

⁴ "At the milk-entering time," *i.e.*, when the young grains are becoming filled with soft milky endosperm before the grain sets.

⁵ The auspicious hour may be determined by a regular astrologer or by an ordinary cultivator acquainted with astrology. For further particulars see H. C. P. Bell, *Journal*, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., No. 26, p. 78.

Threshing-floor Song.

1. The strength of refuge in Buddha,
The strength of refuge in Dharmma,
The strength of refuge in the Saṅgha —
In these three refuges is the strength of the threshing floor :
2. Where the sun god appears
There will remain no dew drops,
Where the moon god appears
There will remain no darkness.
3. Where the great tuskers are tied up
There will remain no tree stumps,
Where all the gods appear
There will be no mishaps,
4. At the time of sowing paddy and seed paddy,
When it waxes parrot green,
Turning in the water to the right degree—
When the seed is just maturing in the ear,
5. Turning in the water to the level of the balk,
And having offered milk at the milk-entering time,
The ears bending towards the East—
At the time the paddy ripens.
6. Having found out a good hour and reaped the paddy,
Having chosen a good place for the threshing-floor,
Having found out a good hour and weeded it,
And drawn creepers round the floor,
7. Having in a circle scraped the threshing-floor,
Having made and put the sheaves together into *keṭakanda*,
And gathered into *watamaḥu* all around,
And having purified the threshing-floor.

* *ඔට*, reaped ; this word is used euphemistically to avoid the harsher term *කප්ප*, cut.

† Cf. J. P. Lewis, *Journal, C.B.R.A.S.*, vol. VIII., p. 312 ; and H. C. P. Bell, *ib.*, vol. VIII., p. 48, for references to a "guard cord." Such do not appear to be actually used.

* "And put together into *keṭakanda*," i.e., arranged the sheaves in cocks previous to stacking in regular *watamaḥu*.

† *Watamaḥu*. These are the stacks in which the paddy is arranged ready for threshing. They are ring-shaped, with a central space big enough for a man to stand in ; the paddy is arranged with the ears pointing inwards.

† "Purified." This refers to cow-dunging the floor and sprinkling it with "milk" made of sandalwood ground with coconut milk.

8.	කමත මැදික් අරක් වළ	ක් ¹
	ඒ මැද්දේ ගොන් කණුව	ක් ²
	කණුවේ අග පුවක් මල	ක් ³
	ගොන් කණුවට ගලඹටුව	ක් ³
9.	දුවට පිළිල හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	දෙහි පිළිල හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	හුග පිළිල හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	බුලන් පිළිල හරිකරගෙ	ණ
10.	දෙවම පිළිල හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	ඉරක් පිළිල හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	ගොයම් පිළිල හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	පිළිල හතම හරිකරගෙ	ණ
11.	අරක් බෙල්ලා ⁵ හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	රබ්බඩ ගෙඩි හතක් රැගෙ	ණ
	කදුරු ⁶ කොළඳ හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	වරකා ගැටයක් ⁷ ඇරගෙ	ණ
12.	මිගෝරෙක් හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	හාසිගෝරෙක් හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	එළිගෝරෙක් හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	අස්ගෝරෙක් හරිකරගෙ	ණ

¹ The *arak* is a talisman protecting the threshing-floor from charms or any misfortunes; its theoretical ingredients are detailed in verses 9 to 16. In practice most of these are omitted; the arecanuts, the sickle, the *arak-belli*, and the ears of paddy at least are used, and often some other of the more easily obtained objects, such as the *kaburu* leaves, young jak fruit, the metals and gems, and also a *gun-gure* if there is one to be had, which is often not the case.

² *Gonkayyawa*, the bull post, is an areca tree planted firmly in the centre of the floor, and to which the bulls are fastened while they are driven round it in a circle.

³ *Galaoyawa* (the correct form would be ගැලොවුව *gelooyawa*, from Singhalese ගැල, a pair or team of oxen, and connected with Tamil ஒட்டுகிறது, to drive). This is the jungle rope by which the bulls are fastened to the bull post; at one end is a loop passing round the post; the other end is fastened to the rope by which the bulls are yoked together. The number of bulls used varies from four to twelve, the latter being the full complement; they are yoked in two sets of six each, and

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8. (Having made) in the middle of the threshing-floor an arak-hole,
(And set up) a bull post in the middle of it,
And on its end a *puwak* flower,
(And round) for the bull post a *galaotuwa*,
9. Having got some *dawata piñila*,
Having got some *dehi piñila*,
Having got some *nuga piñila*,
Having got some *bulat piñila*,
10. Having got some *dodam piñila*,
Having got some *iñuk piñila*,
Having got some *goyum piñila*,
Having got these seven *piñila*,
11. Having got the *arak bellá*,
Having brought seven red ripe arecanuts,
And also seven leaves of *kaduru*,
Having brought a very young *waraká* jak fruit,
12. Having got as well the *górë* of a buffalo,
And also having got the *górë* of a cobra,
And also having got the *górë* of a goat,
And also having got the *górë* of a horse.

follow each other round the post trampling out the corn. They are driven by boys, who catch what is voided in the basal leaf sheaths of the areca palm and throw it away from the floor.

¹ *Piñila*, i.e., *Loranthus*, a parasite resembling honeysuckle, common on many trees in Ceylon; the trees mentioned are *dawata* (*Carallia integerrima* DC.), *dehi* (lime), *nuga* (*Ficus altissima*, Bl. var. *laccifera* Roxb.), *bulat* (betel) *dodam* (orange); but I do not know what the *piñila* of *iñuk* (*Imperata arundinacea*, Cyr.) or paddy can be. *Iñuk* leaves are, however, put into the *arakwañá*, perhaps as a substitute.

² The *arak-bellá* is a seven-fingered *aporrhais*-like marine shell, placed with the *arak* in the *arakwañá*, apparently corresponding to the *mutta* of Mr. Bell, Journal, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., p. 49.

³ *Kaduru*, *Tabernaemontana dichotoma*, Roxb.

⁴ There are two kinds of jak fruit, *waraká* and *wela*; the former, being firm textured and of a golden colour, is preferable to the latter, which is soft.

PADDY CULTIVATION CEREMONIES.

13.	ඇත්ගෝරෙත් හරිකරගෙ ගොත්ගෝරෙත් ¹ හරිකරගෙ මුවගෝරෙත් හරිකරගෙ ගෝරහතම හරිකරගෙ	ඡ ඡ ඡ ඡ
14.	රිඳි උත්තරත් ඇරගෙ තඹ පිත්තල සපයාගෙ ලෝකඛ වානේ ඇරගෙ යකබෙත් දූකැත්තක් ගෙ	ඡ ඡ ඡ ඡ
15.	රත්ත ජනී හැකිපමණි මුතු ඇටයක් සුරකිව ගෙ පබළුත් සපයා ඇරගෙ මෙකී සෑමඳේ ඇරගෙ	ඡ ඡ ඡ ඡ
16.	නැකත් බලා අරක් තී අරක් වලේ බැතක් ² තී ඊට ලඹිත් ගොයම් ³ තී මෙකී ලෙසට නිවැරදි	යා යා යා යා
17.	හරක් ගෙණත් කමහ තුළ බාන් වැලක් ⁴ රුගෙණ අහ ගලභාලා නිසි හැවිය දෙවියන් සිහිකරගණ සි	ට ට ට ට ⁵
18.	මුදුනේ යන ගොත් රජු ඊලඟ යන වේරිය කලාග යන නාමබ මබවදමවි විගසකී	හේ හේ හේ හේ
19.	අං දෙකරත් ගාච කන්දෙක මුතු අමුන සුණරේ ⁶ මුතු අමුන මෙකී ලෙසට සරස	සුද්දා සුද්දා සුද්දා සුද්දා

¹ The *gôrê* of a bull; some bulls have a habit of licking their bodies and so hair gets on the tongue and ultimately finds its way to the stomach and forms there a matted ball. Such bulls are said to be unable to mow, or at least not to do so properly. The ball of hair may be emitted from the mouth, and is called *gôrê*; one that I obtained was about two inches in diameter. The *gôrê* of the other hairy animals mentioned must be analogous. The cobra's *gôrê* may possibly refer to the stone or gem which is said to be put out of the mouth and to provide a light, within the

13. And also having got the *górë* of a tusker
 And also having got the *górë* of a bull
 And also having got the *górë* of a deer
 These seven *góra* having got ;
14. Having taken gold and silver,
 Taken (also) brass and copper,
 And taken bronze and steel,
 And an iron sickle having taken,
15. As many sorts of gems as possible,
 And one pearl having chosen out,
 And coral also having taken,
 Having taken all things told of here,
16. Having found out a good hour and put the *arak* in
 And put some paddy also in the *arak*-hole,
 And over it some ears of paddy,
 As here is stated, making no mistake,
17. And having brought the cattle on the threshing-floor.
 And taken in your hand a *biawoel*.
 And duly yoked (the beasts) together,
 Standing mindful of the gods—
18. (Say) O Bull king, going on the top,
 O *Wériya*, going next him,
 And young bull *Kaláta* not yet gelded.
 Quickly get the threshing done :
19. I will get your two horns gilded,
 (Get your two ears decked with pearls,
 Your dew claws also decked with pearls,
 In this way I will deck you.

radius of which the cobra moves about. The *górë* of an elephant is said to be something found in the tooth. In practice only the *gon-górë* is used, and even this is often not available ; a man who owns one is able to hire it out for use on different threshing-floors. See also H. C. P. Bell, Journal, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., p. 49.

² *Béta*, i.e., a handful of paddy from last year's crop.

³ *Goyam*, i.e., paddy in the ear (from the present crop).

⁴ *Báwoel*, the jungle rope or creeper used for yoking buffaloes (actually however *weniwoel* is generally used).

⁵ This line gives the key to the spirit of the whole song.

⁶ *Huparé*, shortened form of හුපුකුරු, *hupukuru*.

20.	ගොණු යන්නේ කඳුබොඩ	ල
	ගලකන්නේ කලවැල	ල ¹
	පලදීන්නේ මුතු පබ	ල
	වලදන්නේ කිරිමදු	ල ²
21.	ඉහල වෙලේ නියෙන බැ	තා ³
	පහලවෙලේ නියෙන බැ	තා
	අඩුකොටුවල නියෙන බැ	තා
	ඇඳ පුරවන් මේ කම	තා

20. Bulls that wander by the hillsides,
Yoked together with the *kulawel*,
Wearing pearls and coral beads,
And eating *kiri madu*,

21. The paddy in the upper field,
The paddy in the lower field,
The paddy in the stores and barns,
Draw and fill into this threshing-floor.

The following further details may be noted with regard to threshing :—

Andakirima ceremony.—This ceremony, known under this name (අන්දකිරීම), is rarely performed so far as I can learn. It was carefully described to me by a man from Godigomuwa and stated to be performed in the Gilimalé district. (From the same man I obtained also the charms given below, the directions being very clearly written out and made clear by means of excellent descriptive diagrams.)¹

After the *arak* has been placed in the *arakwala* the following objects are represented in ashes on the floor :—

¹ *Kulawel*, *Derris scandens*, Benth.

² *Madulu* means the segments of a fruit, especially ripe jak fruit : here, however, the real word is මදු, mada, and the ලු, lu, is added for the sake of rhyme. The *maduwel* is a creeper, of which there are two or more varieties recognized. The *kiri madu* or sweet madu mentioned here is one (*Ipomoea*, sp., probably *I. cynea*, R.) the leaves of which are given to very young buffaloes when they are first weaned, and also to sick buffaloes.

³ The last verse is practically identical with the lines quoted by Mr. Bell, Journal, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., p. 53. Compare also verses 18 and 21 with those quoted by Mr. Lewis, *ib.*, vol. VIII., pp. 269, 270.

⁴ These MSS. as well as that of the *hamat-héllu* have been handed over to the C.B.R.A.S.

sickle, conch, scraper (*gōruwa*), billhook (*keti*), and two brooms (*pamba kossa* and *idala kossa*).

Subsequently four *goyiyo* recite the following charm as they walk three times round the floor. Two *goyiyo* take *deti* (pitchforks) and lay them across the backs of their necks and hook their elbows in them; a third man does the same, but with straw hanging from the ends of the *deti*. The fourth man carries a goad for driving bulls. The words recited are as follows:—

රන් දැනි පිදි දැනි ගැට දෙමට නික පිල වර දැනි පසක් ගෙණමින්
දැනි පසක්ගෙණ එලේ මෙලේ බොඩ අඩනා කරදු කඵ වැසි වස්සා මේ
කමතට අරත්තන් ගොසියෝ. මැදුණු කොළ ගණිනි, නෙමදුණු කොළ
සලාලනි. මේ කමතට අරත්තන් ගොසියෝ මැඩ කරනි, දෙසියො
බලාසිවිනි. ආණ්ඩු, ආණ්ඩු.

Gold *deti*, silver *deti*, *geta demata*, *nika*, *pila*, *warā deti*,¹ of those, five *deti* taking, (and) of these, five *deti* taking, that *galboda* this *galboda*² crying, black daughter, black calf and heifer, *goyiyo* that guard this floor. They take well-threshed paddy, they toss the unthreshed paddy and let the grain fall. *Goyiyo* that guard this floor are working, the gods keep watch. Peace, peace!

This is an interesting variant of the formula given by Mr. Bell (Journal, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., p. 50).

Another use of ashes.—After the corn is all threshed and the straw removed, in the night, it is left on the threshing-floor, occupying the centre of it, and is protected by a single continuous ring of ashes round it.

Winnowing.—After threshing is completed a tall bamboo is set up close to the *gonkanuwa* and cross bars erected at a convenient height, and over the top cadjans to keep off the sun; this erection is called වි හුලගේ අරින කනිරේ, *vi hulangé arina katiré*; the winnower climbs up on to the cross bars and takes the paddy in a *kulla* and gently sifts it over the edge, so that the grains of paddy fall just below him while the chaff is blown away by a slight breeze.

¹ *Pila*, *Tephrosia purpurea*, Pers.; *Warā*, *Calotropis gigantea*; *geta demata*, *Gmelina asiatica*. The other trees not certain.

² *Galboda*, rocky ridge or line of rocks.

Threshing by men.—Even in the same field part of the paddy may be threshed by buffaloes and other part by men; the latter being too poor to possess buffaloes and unwilling to give a share of paddy due for their hire.

Charms.

The following charms are used to avert various disasters, or merely to promote the general growth of the crop:—

(1) *If the young paddy plants die off.*—A plantain tree is set up in the middle of the field and decorated with young cocoanut leaves and areca flowers and two lighted torches, one on each side of the tree. The *kattadiyá* must enter the field from the east side, and after completing the charm leave it on the west. A little fowl's blood in a leaf cup (කොටු, *gotuwa*) is placed on each side of the entrance. The *kattadiyá* must wear a clean cloth and go to and from the field alone without speaking; this applies to all the charms here described.

(2) *If the plants are eaten by rats.*—A *tatuwa*¹ is prepared and five kinds of flowers offered on it and a lighted buffalo-ghee lamp placed on it. A thread spun by a virgin is taken and knotted seven times, and the following charm repeated seven times for each knot, after which the charmed thread is burned in the field and left there.

ඔං ඡ්‍රීං ගුත්තීලානන් මුසිකානන් කලහන්තේ න ඤාන්තු: සුර ගුරුඵ
නම: නම: ඡ්‍රීං නමො නමිටන් චිචිටං අරිචිචිටන් පෝ පෝ ඤාමිඤානේ
පො: ඡ්‍රීං අරනුඤා අරහන්තං නමාමි නම.

Om! holy! Guttila² rats quarrels destroy: Guruḷu god hail! hail! hail to Om! I will tie you, I will kill you, begone! begone! Oh god, begone! Om! I bow before the "sin-destroyer's" (Buddha's) foot, hail!

Of this, the first part is Sanskrit, the middle Tamil, and the end Siphalese.

(3) *If the ears die off at the time of flowering.*—Place on the *tatuwa* (lit. මල්වලන් කටුවක්, flower betel shelf) seven betel leaves, seven lamp wicks, seven leaf cups of milk

¹ *I.e.*, a small decorated platform or shelf of young cocoanut leaves, &c., supported on four sticks, such as is commonly used in devil ceremonies.

² *Mūsila* was Guttila Bodisat's rival: *mūsika* is a rat; taking advantage of this resemblance in the words, the charmer prays Guttila to treat the rats as he did *Mūsila*.

(කිරිගොටු); then whistling (හුරුවන්න) thrice proceed northwards, and when near the boundary of the field clap the hands behind the back three times and spend that night only in a place where there are no other persons.

(4) *If white ants eat the roots.*—Take a handful of sand from an untrodden place and repeat the charm මිං ඡ්‍රිං බහිරව චට්‍රික ප්‍රලයන්තු නම: (“Om! holy! Bahirawa—burst up, hail!”) a hundred and eight times over a little sand and throw it away in the field.

(5) *If the plants are sucked by flies* (මැස්සො බොනවා).—Place four lime thorns in the four corners of the field; put five lime sticks in the middle of the field, and taking a little king cocoanut oil repeat the charm මිං මුනි මහාමුනි ආබුලිමාල තෙරුන් අනීන් මෙහි ඇප කැප තැර බිඬු බිඬු නම: (“Om Muni! great Muni, by the order of Aṅgulimāla Théra¹ relinquish your rights here, run! run! hail!”) nine times over a little of the oil, then light a lamp and go away.

(6) කිරිකොම, *Kirikema*, to promote the flow of milky sap into the young grains at the “milk-entering time” (කිරි වදන කලට).

Take a forked *rukattana*² stick (රුක්අත්තන බලවටක්) and decorate it with young cocoanut leaves and areca flowers; on Saturday evening clear a place near a jak tree, sprinkling sandalwood milk-water (සදුං කිරි පැන්), and make an enclosure with young cocoanut leaves ready for the ceremony; next day go before the crow caws (කපුටා අඬන්ට පලමු), and taking a little milk from the jak tree put it “in a leaf cup” (ගොටුවකට); into the same vessel put milk of *kaduru*,³ *daḥuk*, cocoanut, and *del*; then taking these five sorts of milk and a little *kāḷu-duru*, *sudu-duru* (spices), *sudu-lānu*

¹ Aṅgulimāla Théra.—In the Aṅgulimāla Sūtra, Aṅgulimāla was a man who killed 999 persons and made a garland of their fingers (whence his name). He was converted by Buddha, and became a priest and attained Nirvāṇa.

² *Rukattana*, *Alstonia scholaris*, Brown.

³ *Balaḥṭṭa* = *haloḥṭṭa*, a prop; cf. *guloḥṭṭa* in verse 8 of the *kamat-hōlla*.

⁴ *Kaduru*, *Tibetoramontana dichotoma*, Roxb.; *daḥuk*, *Euphorbia antiquorum*, L.; *del*, *Artocarpus nobilis*, Thw.

(garlic), *perunkāyan* (assafœtida), grind them together and put into a king cocoanut and take it to the field. Set up the *rukattana* stick; make with young cocoanut leaves five chains of five links each, and with them join the *rukattana* stick to five bamboo sticks set round about it. Then set the king cocoanut on the fork of the *rukattana* stick, and take three paddy plants from three sides and put the ears into the king cocoanut, and pour the five kinds of milk into it, and place seven *kaduru* leaves over it and tie *iukh*¹ leaves, and go away without speaking to a lonely place. Three days afterwards go to the field and untie the aforesaid ears and come away. Then the milk will enter (එවිට කිරි එයි). At the stile at the entrance to the field on either side of it fasten two young cocoanut-leaf chains of three links each. It is usual also to stick the king cocoanut on the fence.

This *kirikema* is the charm referred to in verse 5 of the *kamat-halla*: it is something like one described by Mr. Bell (*Orientalist*, *loc. cit.*) as being used at the same time and for the same purpose in connection with the cultivation of *el-wi*.

(1) *Charm against wild animals*.—Write the following mantra on an ola and put it at the fence where they come in:—

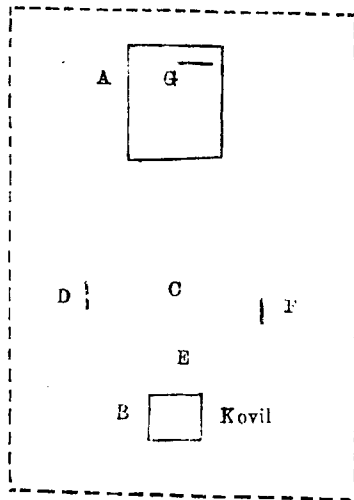
මි.	භි.	ම	භාවු:
ම	සා	හ	ම:
භා:	සා:	හ	ම:
ම	ම	හ	මෙසා:

¹ *Hak. Imperata arundinacea*, Cyr.

The last ceremony which I describe is of a different character, and less directly connected with cultivation. It is of special interest on account of the fire-walking, which, I believe, has never been previously recorded as Sinhalese.

Ginimaduwa, or fire-walking (ගිනිමාදුවා).

I witnessed the performance of this at Niriella in March of this year. It is performed at irregular intervals (four or five years) with the general object of ensuring health and prosperity for the village and abundant crops. The expenses are borne by general subscription. A large rectangular area is railed in with young cocoanut-leaf fencing on a dry field. Inside this two temporary houses are erected, and three separate unroofed altars called *torana*: the larger



building (A) covers a fourth *torana* (G), that of Pattini deviyó; the others are dedicated to Kataragam deviyó (D), Dewol deviyó (E), and Wáhala deviyó (F). These altars are beautifully decorated with cut-out patterns in young cocoanut leaf laid on a back ground of ගබරලු *habaralu* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*, Schott) leaf.

The proceedings are in charge of a *kappurála*, who brings the *ábarana* of Pattini deviyó with him from the *déwálé*. Before dark a number of *milla* (*Vitex altissima*) logs are brought in procession, ready for the fire.

The ritual begins at about eight. The *ábarana* are kept in the smaller building (*kóvil*), which is an upstairs building on a small scale. The *kapurála* is in the top storey, and the *ábarana* are wound up in a great turban and arranged on his head. The largest of the three elephants available was brought alongside, and the *kapurála* with some difficulty climbed on to its back without upsetting the erection on his head. A procession of three elephants, tom-tom beaters, dancers, and boys with lighted candles then proceeded round the field outside the enclosure. On returning, the *kapurála* dismounted outside the larger building, and very slowly and solemnly conveyed the *ábarana* (which was kept in round lac-painted boxes) to the Pattini *lorana* within. Each elephant was made to kneel towards the altar before being led away.

There were eight dancers, wearing coats and skirts with good *appliqué* decoration (two of the coats were embroidered with cobras), and also belts, turbans, and bell-covered leggings. The operation of dressing was very casually performed in public, and several were not ready until the ceremony had begun some time. The remainder of the night was occupied with songs and offerings (betel), &c., made to the *ábarana*, and dances both under cover and outside. The fire dance with *dumma* dust was very well done, an interesting and beautiful variation being seen when the men stooped opposite each other and threw fire over each other's heads. These fire dances on a dark night are really splendid. The men also repeatedly extinguished the burning torches in their mouths.

Towards morning a fire is lit and burns down to red hot glowing ashes, which are arranged in a circle about a yard in diameter; the ashes are about 6 in. thick in the middle and 1 in. at the edge. The heat is tested from time to time by laying a spray of areca flower on the ashes. Presently the chief *kapurála* present (in this case a man who had arrived unexpectedly, and not the officiating *kapurála*) jumps first on the red hot ashes two or three times, and finally all the dancers and the *kapurála* do so until they are extinguished.

The chief *kapurála* above-mentioned alone seemed as if he felt pain, but no one seemed the worse after the performance was over; even the chief *kapurála* set off at once, carrying a heavy load and walked seven miles without inconvenience. Afterwards a *kalagediya* of water, its mouth tied over with a leaf, is inverted in the ashes, and after the *kapurála* has attended to the altars and packed up the *ábarana* the ceremony is over at about 7 A.M.

So far as I am aware no treatment was given to the fire-walkers' feet beforehand; however, this could have been done, as I did not watch the proceedings right through. The dancers themselves state that they are protected by *man-trams*: it is, however, more or less generally supposed that some sort of "medicine" is used. Iron smelters in a similar way have a custom of jumping on the red hot iron when it is made; this was done before Mr. im Thurn a few years ago at Balangoda. I must say the fire-walking was not a very alarming performance, and it seemed to be possible that well hardened feet would not in any case suffer much by it. Several of the men started off immediately for a ceremony in another village. I regret that I am unable to give a more detailed and particular account of the whole performance, with the words of the songs.

In conclusion, I wish to thank Mr. J. D. Abegoonewardene, Court Mudaliyár at Ratnapura, for his invaluable help in Englishing the Sinhalese. One other point I should like to say a word about, viz., that all of the eight Papers referred to above as dealing with the present subject have been written by foreigners, for whom such investigations must always be difficult and laborious. It is surprising that no Ceylonese has cared to take up these studies, and publish some account of the many interesting customs which are now dying out in the more civilized districts. The collection of agricultural, religious, and other songs, with the airs to which they are sung, is particularly needed: if their study is too long neglected, they will be sought in vain when interest in such matters is at last awakened, as is bound to happen sooner or later.

SUPERSTITIOUS CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE CULTIVATION OF ALVÍ OR HILL PADDY¹

By H.C.P. Bell

“The cultivation of paddy [in the Sabaragamuva District] is of two kinds: sowing upon cleared land upon the hill-side, and sowing in swamps where land has been prepared by irrigation. The latter is the kind of cultivation more generally employed, and the lands used for the purpose can be sown from season to season and year to year, whereas the hill paddy, as it is called, will only grow upon a soil which has been many years undisturbed, and upon which the exuberant vegetation must be allowed to spring up and grow for a lengthened period before it can be again used for this cultivation.

“Hill-paddy, of which there are many kinds, is sown in June. Six months suffice to bring to maturity the following kinds: *rat-al-vi*, *batu-kiri-al-vi*, *gonabaru-al-vi*, *muduhiri-al—vi*, *layinn-al-vi*, *voyikola-al-vi*, whilst *pallayi-al-vi* grows so rapidly that it ripens in three months. Hill-paddy is never sown more frequently than once a year.

“It is planted upon land which has been under forest or very full-grown chena for many years, it is so exhausting a crop, or the land is naturally so poor in the ingredients for cereal production, that every crop taken requires newly cleared land. Artificial manure is never applied; the ashes of the wood fires alone assist the fertility of the soil. Chenas are largely cultivated in the Kuruvita, Navadum, Kukulu and Atakalan Korals in the Sabaragamuva District. The crop of hill-paddy suffers more from drought than the grain cultivated in swamps; indeed any deficiency in the seasonable moisture is sure to result in a total failure of the crops. When the land is moderately good and the season propitious, the return from this cultivation is generally ten fold.

“The work is generally conducted by the inhabitants of the village together, who share equally in the produce; the women do their share of the work in weeding and harvesting, also in carrying the brush off the land to be used for firewood. It is computed that the labour of two men in this cultivation will produce sufficient for

1 Originally intended to form an appendix to the paper “Sinhalese customs and ceremonies connected with paddy cultivation in the low country” contributed to the Ceylon As. Soc. Journ. No.26, 1883.

the subsistence of three persons. Swamps paddy is more prolific and the labour of cultivation easier, the labour of one man being supposed to be sufficient to raise the food of three and often more. The same superstitious ceremonies are observed with reference to the operations as described above [of the low country.]²

The concluding statement is somewhat misleading. Whilst similar in general character to those in vogue where swamp paddy is grown, the ceremonies attendant on the cultivation of *al-vi* exhibit several unique features.

One or more of the cultivators who have decided on clearing a spot in the jungle first go to an astrologer (*Nakat-rala*) with the necessary offering of betel leaves and areca-nuts and say: "This (Maha) season we propose to cultivate such a land (naming it). You should therefore calculate and tell us whether or no Saturn's evil influence (*Senasurudistiya*) be upon that land." The astrologer according to his lights informs the cultivator of the advantage or disadvantages that will attend the undertaking.

If the prediction be favourable betel leaves and areca-nut are again taken to the same astrologer on a subsequent day and a "Lucky hour" (*nakata*) ascertained at which to commence cutting down the trees and scrub (*val-gevadima*). On the day fixed the intending cultivator of that portion of land after partaking of sweet cakes (*kavun*) and "milk-rice" (*kiri-bat*) prepared for the occasion, set out with their faces turned in the auspicious direction named by the astrologer. Should a house lizard (*huna*) cry as they are starting or if on their way they meet with such ill-omens (*badha*) as a person carrying dead wood or injurious weapons (*hadi-avuda*), a rat snake athwart the path, or a wood-pecker (*karala*), they either give up the cultivation of that particular land or, more often, refrain from going there on that day and start again at another *nakata*.

On the other hand should they encounter such pleasing objects as milk cows (*kiri denun*) or women who have milk (*kiri mavun*), they proceed with gladness and confidence. When they reach the land the lucky hour is awaited; at it they turn their faces towards the quarter the astrologer had fixed and crying out "*Ha, poura, hondayi, Deyiyanne pihitayi*," "Hail! happy start, God speed (the work)," commence clearing a little of the jungle. This done they return home.

2 Mr. R. E. Lewis: "The Rural economy of the Sinhalese" in Ceylon, As. soc. Journ. No.4,1848 (reprint), pp.31-52.

The work of clearing having been begun at the *nakata*, the cultivators at their convenience (say a day or two later) continue it, first cutting down the lower portion of the land (*pavullanava*). The upper portion is left under forest, and ultimately felled with the assistance of two or more men brought by each shareholder.

If any of the cultivators fails to do his share of the clearing he has to make it up by getting the assistance of his neighbours to work on the land on a certain fixed day. The usual and more ancient manner in which a cultivator solicits such aid is by personally interviewing his friends at their houses with a present of betel and saying, "On such a day (naming it) the clearing of the jungle in my *hena* will be done; be pleased to assist me in the work."

On the appointed day the persons who agreed to help proceed to the land early in the morning and before the work begins, the cultivator gives them breakfast (*hil bat; hila*) sent there from his house. In the preparation of this meal it is said that the quantity of rice boiled is limited to an *avaliya* (1/4 measure) for each individual of the working party (*kayiya*). After this meal and a chew of betel, they set to work and continue to cut down the jungle till sun-turn when they eat the midday meal (*daval bata*). This consists of a measure of rice for each man and two or three curries.

They cut and trample down the jungle (*val paganava; hemun karanava*) in this manner for about 15 days; and whilst so engaged encase their feet in buffalo hide as a protection from thorns.

After the sun has thoroughly dried the felled jungle, on a Sunday, a Thursday, or a *ritta-day*³ all the cultivators of the *hena* proceed thither and at mid-day set fire (*gini pavullanava*) to it on the lower side. The burn is enlivened by incessant cries of "*hari, hariye*" under the belief that noise causes fire to burn more rapidly and with greater effect. When the flames die out they return home.

Allowing 15 or 20 days for the ground to cool another *nakata* is ascertained for the complete clearing of the land. Bon-fires are made in several places with the wood remaining unburnt (*mala gahanava*) and a shed (*pala*) put up in the centre of

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- 3 Ritta day - There are 6 rittas in a lunar month, two of each kind.
Jalavaka rittā - 4th and 19th day. Navavaka rittā - 9th and 24th day.
Tudusvaka rittā - 14th and 29th day.
 - 4 Al derived from Sans, *sali*, rice in general; *sal, hal, hal* and finally *al*; *Vi* from Sans, *vrihi* or Pali *vihī*.

the *hena* for the cultivators to rest in during the heat of the day. Some of the men dig up the earth with hoes, women and children following to break the sods and pick out stones. Others of the cultivators ascertaining a lucky hour commence to fence in the land (*danduvata bandinava*) with a double row of wooden posts erected in pairs a yard or so apart, and logs laid across them slantingly. One man at a *nakata* prescribed by the same astrologer sows the first handful of paddy (*biju vadanava*) as a prelude to the sowing of paddy in that *hena*. At the exact spot where the paddy was first sown he puts into the ground a yam plant (*habarala*) or a cocoanut or an arecanut flower.

When these preliminaries have been completed and the sowing time arrives all the cultivators sow the hill-paddy (*al-vi*)⁴ and finish off the fencing previously begun. From this time until the young paddy plants shoot up, one or more of the cultivators (with a number of boys, if possible,) have always to be present in the *hena* to prevent birds and other grain destroyers from rooting up the seed.

When the paddy is about 6 weeks old grubs in turn attack it. At this period too, if the rainfall is heavy, the plants are liable to another disease called in Sinhalese *ala-kola-rogaya* (lit. "root and leaf disease"), caused by the rotting of the plants in the water.

To avert these mishaps a *kema* or charm called *nava nilla* (?nine herbs) is prepared. Getting together nine *nili* (? green) branches, nine bamboo-caness, each wrapped in nine tender coconut leaves, and an *unel* plantain leaf, or, failing that, a *navari* plantain leaf the *Kattadiya* (charmer) goes at midday to the *hena*. In the centre of it he fixes the bamboo-caness; then taking two of them, one in each hand, without uttering a sound he plants them in the earth at the exit-stile of the *hena*. The cultivators have hung beforehand a packet containing untasted *kiri-bat* at that stile, and watch unobserved.

Should this *kema* prove ineffectual, a peculiar species of oil is distilled for a further charm. Mustard and cummin seed (black and white) are well ground, and mixed with five kinds of wax and five of oil. These ingredients with the milk of a king-cocoanut are put into a new chatty and all boiled together. In this oleaginous mixture three small torches are soaked and stuck into three oranges. Three *habarala* leaves are then smeared with the wax and *dila* at the north-east, the centre, and the lowest side (*pavula*) of the *hena*, one lighted torch being placed over each leaf. The charmer must perform this *kema* at dusk (*gomman keli velava*), and return home in silence by a path other than that he came by.

At the weeding time again the same astrologer is resorted to fix a lucky hour for the commencement of that portion of the work. Women do the weeding (*nelun-allanavu*): after that no female dare enter the *hena*. The cultivators themselves in going to the *hena* should be free from *kilikuna* (uncleanness), and should abstain from such flesh and fish as are considered to be unclean, viz., pork, peacocks, monkey, *magura* fish, and all creatures whose names end in *ran* in the plural.

Some two months thereafter the plants begin to blossom. Flies then swarm over them in myriads and suck the sweet juice of the tender paddy flowers. As a preventive the cultivators at a *nakata* prescribed by the astrologer resort to a device termed *kem palali lama*. From the gum of the jack tree and oil is made a paste called *dorolla*; with this young bamboo twigs are smeared and dragged along the tops of the plants by men walking on the ridges of the *hena*, and the flies that touch the sticks are caught. Winnows daubed with the same substance are similarly used for the purpose.

When the blossoming season is over the ceremony of sprinkling the five kinds of milk (*pas-kiri vakkaranava*) is performed. The sap of the *ruk-attana* (*astonia scholaris*), *kaduru* (*Strychnos nux vomica*), *del* and *jak*, trees is taken and mixed with cocoanut milk. Meanwhile in the middle of the *hena* nine bamboos have been planted, and to each nine tender cocoanut leaves tied. A king cocoanut is then cut open at the bottom and an ear of corn being plucked from the *hena* is put inside the cocoanut and the "five kinds of milk" are also poured into it and the opening of the nut closed with the piece that was cut off. Then it is placed on the centre bamboo—the eight other bamboos surrounding it. This ceremony is performed at noon, and thereafter the seed will mature properly.

Next follows the period of most importance to the cultivator, that in which the grain attains maturity and the cultivator's presence at the *hena* is required all day. A shed (*pita-pala*) is erected outside the fence for the purpose of cooking meals: whilst to scare the birds that flock to the *hena* from all quarters to pluck the ripening grain many cunning contrivances are set up such as *kerali-val*, *appidi-lali*, *gatalunu*^s, & c., and men and boys watch in different parts of the *hena*. Twenty days after the seed begins to ripen it attains a golden hue, and in another fortnight is fit for reaping.

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- 5 *Kerali-val*, *appidi-lali* are bamboo canes, fixed in the ground in such a way as to make a creaking noise when the string (*kerali-vala*) which is tied to them is pulled and suddenly let go. They are placed at different parts of the *hena*. *Gatalanu*, Slings with which stones are thrown at birds, & c.

The astrologer is as before asked to fix an auspicious time for reaping and threshing.

On the set day the cultivators eat kiribat which has been cooked without being tasted, and with sickles in their hand start for the *hena*. At the prescribed time they begin to reap the paddy.

Three or four handfuls of ears of paddy together form an *uppida*, and ten *uppidi* a *kata-kanda*. These are carried to the threshing floor (*kamat-pola*), and stacked in cocks. Thirty *kata kandu* or two *peti* (?) make a cock (*goyan kole*, *goyan kolakatiya*).

If a lucky hour for threshing the paddy should occur in the course of reaping it is done there and then; otherwise not for three or four days after the reaping is over. The cultivators bathe, put on clean clothes (*piruvata*), eat *kiribat*, and go the threshing floor. Two poles are planted on either side of the threshing floor inclining inwards, so that their tops cross, and another pole is laid across them, its two ends resting on forks formed by the two pairs of sticks. This cross pole is intended for the men to hold on to when treading out the grain on the mat placed below it, and is called *allana-liya*. Two large mats (*magal*) are spread on the threshing floor beneath the cross pole, and on them some figures are drawn with ashes (*aluhan vadanava*). One or more of the cultivators looking in the direction fixed in the *nakata* take paddy from the cock (*petta*), and bowing to it with closed palms begin to thresh out the paddy with their feet. Whilst engaged in this occupation they very seldom speak; if forced to do so, they use a peculiar language⁶, (*goyibase*), the subtle depth of which the *yaksayo* or malignant spirits cannot fathom. As soon as one cock is threshed (*vadi pirenava*) the paddy (*bata*) is put (*rasikaranava*) into bags (*kotupan*). A cock of paddy, consisting of thirty *kota kandu* should, it is held, give five bags or more of paddy; if the out-turn is less the cultivators attribute it to a bad *nakata*, and will not thresh more until another *nakata* has been ascertained.

Threshing completed the next step is to winnow the grain. At a *nakata* a platform (*massa*) is constructed about four feet above the ground. On this one man stands whilst another hands him from below a bag, or a winnow, filled with paddy. The man above slowly pours out the paddy, so that as it falls into the mat below the wind may blow away the chaff.

6 Vide Ceylon As. Soc. Journ. No.26, 1883, pp82-85

Here again if the cultivators do not get more than one *laha* (a measure) of good paddy (*asvanna*) from a bag they attribute the deficiency to a luckless *nakata* and will not proceed with the winnowing until they have been given a fresh *nakata*.

The winnowed grain is stored in a shed called *kalal-pala*, erected for the purpose. A *nakata* is then found for dividing the paddy, and it is measured in the presence of their relations and neighbours at the lucky hour. The cultivators have to contribute to fill one or two bags of paddy for the gods and one large bag for the astrologer. Next the Government tithe and seed paddy (with interest if it had been borrowed) are separated from the heap. The remainder is divided amongst the cultivators, who on their part present some of their shares to their relations and friends.

On the same day on which the paddy is thus divided or on the following day a *Yakdessa* skilled in making offerings to the *yaksayo* (*yakun pudanava*) is brought to the *hena*. There the paddy put aside for the gods is husked and the rice boiled. The *Kattadiya* then makes a tray (*tatuwa*) and filling it with the boiled rice and with the vegetable curries offers it to the *yaksayo* with incantations. In these he implores them to be merciful, to be satisfied with the offerings, and to release the cultivators from their evil influence. The blessing of the gods being thereupon invoked the *Kattadiya* redeeming, as he says, the *tatuwa* from the devils, eats the rice and curry on it. Then all assembled partake of the rest of the food that has been cooked.

On the next day, or soon after, meals made from the new rice (*alut-bat*), are cooked at the houses of the cultivators and taken to the *hena*. There the cultivators make afeast, and then with regret quit the land, abandoning it for at least a year.

(Orientalist Vol III 1889 - 89. P. 99-103)

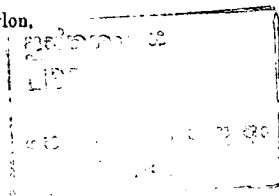
ART. XV. — *Customs and Superstitions connected with the Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon.* By C. J. R. LE MESURIER, Ceylon Civil Service, M.R.A.S., F.G.S., etc.

THERE are few Oriental races more superstitious than the Sinhalese of Ceylon. Omens, charms, divinations, etc., are as much sought after by them as by any other Indian people, and no undertaking of any importance is commenced without a previous consultation with the Neket Kórayá, the astrologer of the village. He is supposed to be acquainted with the temper, habits and movements of the planet gods, and to be able to prescribe offerings for their propitiation; while the Kapurála or Giganarála, the minister of the gods, the Kattadiya or devil charmer, and the Yakkadura or devil dancer, are scarcely less important personages when it becomes necessary to perform the ceremonies prescribed by the astrologer.

I propose in this paper to describe a few of the customs and ceremonies connected with the cultivation of rice in the district in which I am at present stationed,¹ merely premising that although many of them are only observed in full in the more out-of-the-way, and therefore less civilized parts, they are all very generally regarded as absolutely essential to a successful harvest.

When it is intended to commence the work of cultivation, the astrologer is consulted, and he selects a lucky moment (nekata) for the beginning of the work. He also prescribes the food to be eaten and the dress to be worn at the time, and the direction facing which the first sod is to be turned. Above all, if the cultivator wishes to obtain an abundant crop, he must be free of uncleanness of any sort. He should be

¹ Mátora, Southern Province of Ceylon.



careful to turn the sod at the exact moment appointed for it, and he should, at the same time, offer up a short prayer to the Alutnuwara¹ or the Kataragam,² the God for a good yield.

When it is time to soak the seed, another lucky moment is obtained, a bow is made to the corn before it is removed to the water, and nothing unclean or impure is admitted into the cultivator's house during the process of germination. A nekata is again required at which to sow the seed, and the manner of performing this work is minutely set out by the astrologer. It often happens that the lucky moment is in advance of the time appointed by the village committee for the sowing of the tract of fields in the village, in which case the cultivator prepares a few inches of ground in a corner of his own field, and sows a few seeds in it at the right moment. At the first sowing of the year he places a flower of the areca-nut palm and a branch of bamboo or a ginger plant over this spot; and, at the sowing in the latter portion of the year, a flower of the cocoa-nut palm or of the Rat Koraleha (a species of the *Achyranthes aspera*), and a leaf of the Haborala (*Alocasia Macrorrhiza*) plant, while he offers up a prayer that the blades of the rice plants may resemble the broad and green leaves of the Haborala, Bamboo, or Ginger Plant, and that the yield on each ear may be as numerous as the flowers of the cocoa-nut, areca-nut, or Koraleha.

After a tract has been sown, and the plants begin to be attacked by grubs, or are likely to suffer from drought, the cultivators get up what is called a Parapolyehūna (a cocoa-nut fight), one of the favourite games of the goddess Pattini; the scarcity of water or the grubs being ascribed to her anger, and the game being intended to appease her. Each cultivator subscribes a measure or two of unhusked rice to pay expenses, and then, with alms in the shape of fruit and flowers, they wait on the minister of the goddess, the Giganarāla or Kapurāla, and entreat his services. At the same time the spot is prepared for the game, the cocoa-nuts collected, and the opposing teams are chosen. The Kapurāla

¹ The son of Siva Rama.

² The son of Siva.

or Giganarála then proceeds to invoke the goddess, explaining, amid the beating of drums and the burning of resin, the object of the meeting, and then the game commences.

The two captains stand about thirty yards apart, and one of them throws a cocoa-nut at the other, who strikes it while in the air with another cocoa-nut held in his hand. Should the thrown cocoa-nut be broken, the sender repeats the throw, until the nut in his antagonist's hand is broken, and then the process is reversed. The game is continued in this manner for several days, until a large number of cocoa-nuts have been broken. Each day a procession is formed and the cocoa-nuts that have been broken are carried in triumph round the fields whose crops are in danger; and every night the kernels of the cracked nuts are crushed, and the oil extracted therefrom is used to light up the play-ground. On the last night a feast is prepared, and, after the Kapurála or Giganarála has offered up a dish containing a small portion of each of the different curries, on an elevated platform, for the use of the gods, the assembled villagers sit round and eat the rest of the food towards the early part of the morning. This brings the ceremony to a close. Should the drought continue or the grubs remain, the evil is attributed to the devils and not to the gods, and the devil-dancers are sent for. A grand dancing (Garayakun-netúva) is begun in the evening and continued until the following morning, offerings being made in the meantime to the Garayakshayo—the house devils.¹

A platform is also put up by the side of the field, on which, at certain stages of the ceremony, one or more of the dancers perform, and on which, after certain charms are repeated, some resin is burnt.

This devil-dancing is also sometimes performed when flies attack the blossom of the rice plants, the flies being considered due to the agency of the devils or of the evil eye or of the evil month.

¹ These devils are supposed to haunt the house of the cultivator and to be always on the look-out to injure him.

In the Mátora district the plague of flies is, as a rule, met by a ceremony called the Kenkeriwa. This is performed by the Kattadiya or devil charmer, who repeats certain charms over some cocoa-nut milk or powdered resin and then scatters the milk or burns the resin at different places in the field. The field itself is marked out by a line of tender cocoa-nut leaves tied all round it. A platform is erected close by, and offerings made on it to the Mangala, Hurriyam, or Riri¹ devils. There is another form of the ceremony, and a very effectual one it is considered to be, in which a brazen vessel, with the figure of the devil drawn on it, is carried round the field and beaten with a Ranawara (*Cassia auriculata*) stick.

The services of the astrologer are again sought for at the reaping of the corn. He selects the lucky moment, and at the appointed time the cultivator, with a low bow to the standing corn, and a short prayer for a good crop, commences the work; the astrologer's directions as to the quarter to be faced, the dress to be worn, and the food to be eaten having been in the meantime most strictly observed.

Another nekata is required for the threshing, and another for the measuring of the corn. On both occasions the bow and the prayer for plenty are never omitted. The bow is an acknowledgment of the great number of uses to which the corn can be applied; the Sinhalese believing that everything of great service to them is entitled to respect.²

When the corn is removed from the threshing floor to the house, a nekata is obtained to place it in the garner. This is a precaution against rats and insects, while it is also believed that, if stored at the right moment, it will increase in quantity under the watchful eye of the planet gods. Often, too, a nekata is obtained for the first time the corn is taken from the granary, or when it is required for seed purposes.

¹ Devils in the retinue of Vesamuri, the chief of the devils, noted for their mischievousness.

² As, for instance, they take particular care at home not to trample on grains of boiled rice, or to leave them where they are liable to be trampled on.

Uncleanliness excites the anger of the gods, and defilement of any sort is carefully avoided during the cultivation of the rice fields. A birth, a death, the eating of pork, and of certain kinds of oily fish, a woman's courses, etc., all cause defilement, and no person who has been rendered unclean from any one of these causes is allowed, if possible, to pass through a field of standing corn or a threshing floor. Empty vessels or dried firewood, especially if carried by women, are forbidden in a rice field; in fact, anything which has a tendency to emptiness, lifelessness, or barrenness, is most studiously kept away from the crop.

The roasting or pounding of rice near a field is supposed to have an injurious effect on the quantity and quality of the crop, and, curiously enough, the stealing of unripe corn, by persons who live on the border of rice fields, is commoner in places where this belief is weak than elsewhere. It is thought that the devils, to whom an offering of roasted or fried rice-flour cakes is always made after the crop has been garnered, will be angry because the cultivator has, they will imagine, commenced to enjoy the raw rice without the usual public offering to them.

When the corn is in blossom, no grass can be cut in the field,¹ indeed, the cutting of anything in the field is believed to have a pernicious effect on it.

No account of income and expenditure is ever kept, it being considered most unlucky to do so. The gods, it is thought, dislike it as being a check on their benevolence, and would be certain to punish such presumption.²

The mystic number nine is always omitted when corn is measured. In its stead the previous number is repeated with the addition of the word "hondai" (it is good). Thus they say "eight hondai" instead of "nine," "twenty-eight hondai" instead of "twenty-nine," etc. It is believed that the mention of the number enrages the planet gods who are

¹ There is sound practical wisdom in this. The grass at the sides of the ridges, etc., protects the blossom from the wind and from injury by the passers-by.

² The fisher people will never count the number of fish they catch, or a large cattle proprietor the number of head he possesses.

nine in number. In some places the odd numbers are omitted, and the word "lábai" (gain) substituted.

When measuring the corn the measurer generally faces the east. He may, however, face any direction but the west, *i.e.* that of the setting sun.

At the threshing-floor empty vessels are always kept upside down, and the language used there is peculiar and not easily understood. All indecent words or words of evil import are carefully avoided, and the threshers behave as if they were in a temple of the gods when they put the corn into the bags.

There is a curious custom of the threshing-floor called the "Goigote"—the tying of the cultivator's knot. When a sheaf of corn has been threshed out, before it is removed the grain is heaped up and the threshers, generally six in number, sit round it, and taking a few stalks, with the ears of corn attached, jointly tie a knot and bury it in the heap. It is left there until all the sheaves have been threshed and the corn is winnowed and measured. The object of this ceremony is to prevent the devils from diminishing the quantity of corn in the heap, which it is believed they would otherwise most certainly do, if the performance were omitted.

Soon after the corn is threshed, winnowed and measured, a "merit-giving" entertainment is held. This takes place either at the cultivator's house or at the threshing-floor, before the corn is removed from the field, and generally in the early morning.

The preparations are completed on the preceding night. One among the many dishes is made of seven different kinds of vegetables, while the dessert is composed of ripe plantains and cakes made of the new rice. In some parts of the country guests are verbally invited, in others a conch is blown to assemble the friends and neighbours, and elsewhere they come without invitation after the day and hour have been publicly notified.

On this occasion the Kapurála or Giganárala erects a platform close to the field and places a dish on it containing

a small quantity of all the different kinds of food prepared as a thank-offering to the gods. The guests then sit round on mats, and rice is served out to them on pieces of plantain leaves, but they do not begin the meal until all are helped and the Kapurála or Giganárala has proposed prosperity to the cultivator, and invoked the blessing of the Kataragawa, Pattinà or Alutnuvara gods conjointly with the other deities on him. After this ceremony the corn is taken home.

Next, the cultivator pounds out a few measures of the new rice, cooks it and takes it with some highly seasoned curries to the nearest temple, to be offered to the priests, in consideration of which, a short benediction, with a promise of Nirvána, is pronounced upon him. On his return home he takes another supply of uncooked rice to the village headman, who gives him in return for this favour, a cup of coffee and a chew of betel.

As a general rule, the Kapurála, Giganarála, Kathádiya, and Neket Kárayá are paid for their services in kind at the harvest, together with the washerman, the tontom-beater, the blacksmith and the devil dancer. These present their "little bill" in due course, and are cheerfully and generously requited for their services at the different stages of the cultivation of the field during the preceding months.

Sowing and Reaping Ceremonies South of Batticaloa
(compared with those in Uva and Sabaragamuwa)

By
J.A. Will Perera

Sowing and reaping ceremonies in the majority of Sinhalese districts of Ceylon are fairly well known and have been written upon by various writers. It is seldom that one gets an opportunity of reading accounts of these ceremonies in the Tamil districts far removed from any railroad or omnibus route.

In the southern part of the Eastern Province on the borders of the Yala Game Sanctuary, the Hindu villagers neither sow nor reap without first propitiating the Goddess of Chastity, Paththini or Durga, - with their offerings.

When the harvest terminates, the cultivators remove the stubble and make a road that is circular from a space about ten feet in diameter. A large hole is next dug in the centre. Several stakes are then fixed round this hole. Each stake is decorated or festooned with arecanuts, sheaves of corn (paddy), coconuts, the flower spikes of the screw-pine (*Pandanus Odoratissimus*) and white olas. The flower spikes of the Screw-pine are considered indispensable for the ceremony, as the belief prevails that the diffusive odour of these is loved by Maha Yka. No bloody sacrifices take place. The Hindus are more merciful than the Syracusans of old (who held the cypress, maiden hair, and narcissus to Pluto as sacred). *No blood of any living thing defiles the threshing floor.* The Syracusans, it will be remembered, sprinkled black bulls' blood on the ground.

Certain ceremonies are gone through, after which many bits of wood, several bunches of arecanuts, and a hen's egg enveloped in a talipot or palmyrah leaf, and containing written by the officiating priest or Kapurala the presiding goddess Paththini are deposited by the central hole. The "treasure" so buried finally covered with a big stone. This stone ceremony is performed with much solemnity.

The female folk who helped to reap the paddy, approach the spot carrying on their heads the sheaves of paddy. In solemn silence they walk thrice round the stone, and then lay the sheaves on it as a "first fruit offering" of the harvest to the Maha Yaka who is held in awe by these simple East Coast people. It is not known whether the Moors of Akkarai Pathu also observe this ceremony. Perhaps they do, like Moors in Tamankaduwa who observe all Sinhala rites, ceremonies, and

customs - even THOVIL (devil dancing) which I noted on my tours of Raja-Rata.

The silence is broken, joyous sounds are heard from all quarters. The women next bring in the paddy that has been reaped. With stentorian voices the women reapers lay claim to a share of the grain "by way of largesse" writes Bennett, who passed through this land southward over a century ago, and who witnessed this quaint ceremony. The share claimed by each woman was "sufficient to cover, to a certain thickness, the stone" upon which the offerings to Maha Yaka rested. The harvest is called "ARUPPU" in Tamil and "KALAM" stands for the threshing floor.

I shall here acquaint my readers with a quaint ceremony or two in Uva and Sabaragamuwa, and compare them with similar observances in the southern part of the Eastern Province. This threshing floor ceremony differs materially from that practised by the Sinhalese in the adjoining province of Uva where seven layers of offerings are placed in the hole or "arakwala" (Arak-Sanskrit: "Araksha" Protection). The stone covering is called "arak-gala" in Uva. The seven layers deposited in the "arak wala" consisted of (a) two stalks of iluk grass (*Imperata arundinacea*), (b) Two leaves of 'telambo' (*Crinum Asiaticum*), (c) A piece of Rambuk stalk (*Sachcharum arundinaceum*), (d) two stalks of iluk grass, (e) a piece of the creeper "Maduwela" (*Ipomoea Coseura*), (f) five stalks of paddy. The first fruits (paddy or rice) offered to the Deity for protecting the crops are called "AKYALA", and are offered at the Devale perahera.

In Sabragamuwa, paddy from the previous year's harvest was also deposited in the "arak wala". In Uva and Sabaragamuwa the articles buried under the "arak-gala" were offerings to propitiate the evil spirits. Flowers and betel leaves were offered to the Devas or Gods in flower-stalls called "mal-pelas" erected on the outskirts of the threshing floor. The sheafs of corn are called "UPPIDA" in Sinhala, "BATHGAM" means "Rice villages". Royal store-villages were known as "GABADAGAM", villages and land belonging to Buddhist Temples are called "VIHARAGAM" while "DEWALAGAM" are lands and villages owned by Hindu Devales. A broom made of leaves, also a bundle of leaves generally of "GURULLA" are set up on a field to indicate that it had been appropriated by the party setting it up. No one, therefore had a right to enter or cultivate that field. This sign was, and is called a "BOLAATHHA".

(The Ceylon Causerie, Vol. 25 (2), July 1958)

The Historical Tract of Fields at Gampola and the Receptacle for Storing the Paddy

Pohath- Kehelpannala, T.B.

Gampola, Kehelpennala Walawwa, Nov. 13.

Sir, Some historical importance is attached to the royal fields at Gampolawela, (as they are called) which anciently supplied paddy to the King's barn. The granary was adorned with massive woodwork finely chiselled and erected on rock hewn pillars. It was built in a garden called Gangahagedara. We find Unambuve Disawa, supervising the repairs of this structure. During the King's time, there were several officers attached to the Atuwa. Some of them were, a *Maninna* [paddy measurer] a *Diya-balanne* (water supervisor) and *Atuwa-balanne* (superintendent of the barn). This large receptacle of paddy was purchased at an auction sale, by the late Martin Muhandiram, a wealthy Kandyan, who got it re-erected taking care to keep to the former shape and style. It was commonly known as, *Gampola Atuwa*, or the "Gampola Barn," and it is said that such an enormous quantity of paddy was required to fill it, that the Kandyans proverbially used to say when they found people given up to gastronomic pleasures, of children crying for food, "*Ubata Gampola Atuwa genavath madivai*," "Even the Gampola Atuwa would fail to satisfy you". So much for the *Atuwa*. The range of fields is very fertile and extensive. The last King was in the habit of maintaining 40 Buddhist priests of the two principal monasteries of Kandy. After the accession, the priests were provided for by the English Government; but this help ceased a long time ago. The ecclesiastical men then petitioned the Secretary of State, and received a favourable reply. Thereupon the Gampola fields which had become Crown property, were dedicated to the priests and the Maligawa of Kandy, empowering the Ministers to enjoy the produce.

The Udadeltota people, called *Porokaragamaha* were wont to supply buffaloes for the cultivation of these fields. It is curious to know that the number of cattle supplied ran as follows:-

- 100 *Ankota Mevoo* (short-horned buffaloes).
- 100 *Æelavesso* (white-headed ones).
- 100 *Kan-kottu* (short-eared ones).
- 100 *Nangutu-kottu* (short-tailed ones) and
- 100 *Kalu Migon* (dark-skinned ones).

The amuna of water-course irrigating these fields takes its rise from the

Ulapana river and is known as the Raja-ela or kings' stream. It is great antiquarian interest. A prince called Bulata, a man of great ability, was said to have first traced out the site of the stream with a walking-stick, and the King, after inspection, highly approved of it. It is about 12 miles in length, and rises so high in some places, as 80 ft. from the level of the main river. During the native government, sticks and durable pillars were erected on the huge rock, which is on the bed, with side railings called *Dandu Mana*, over which the barks of *Gaduma* trees were closely tied, with Mana and Illuk to match. This bulwark was then covered over with earth pressed hard, which when dried and seasoned, was well calculated to resist the velocity of the current. The English Government followed this tedious process after the Kandyan fashion, but found it very expensive. In 1858, or thereabouts, Mr. Caley an Engineer, blasted the rocks and excavated them so as to form a water-course and fitted it with a sluice gate, to keep the water within a good focus. The stream is said to have been broad enough to allow of the king's being rowed from Gampola to Ulapane in the royal boat, called *Deva-Angula*. The channel is worth a visit.

The following verses describe the natural landmarks and scenery of the village Gampolawela.

1. එක ලෙ ස ට ම වටකර ඇලකුත් සැදු නා
2. යස ලෙ ස ට ම වෙලකුත් ඒ මැද සැදු නා
3. එක ලෙ ස ට ම වෙලපෙරම දැන් පෙනු නා
4. යස ලෙ ස ට ම ගම්පල වෙලයයි දැන් සැදුනා

Transliteration

1. Eka Lesatama Watakara Elakut Seduna
2. Yasa Lesatama Velakut Eh Meda Seduna
3. Eka Lesatama Vela Serama Den Panuna
4. Yasa Lesatama Gampola Velayai Den Seduna.

Translation

1. A stream was formed round in uniform beauty.
2. With a fine field in the middle to match.
3. A full view of the fields can now be taken
4. Thus Gampolawela was formed in the most of fine.

The present Gampolawela of which I have spoken, was the former Gampola Nuwara or the City of Gampola, while the present town, known as Gampola, is properly *Molligodda*, by which name it is still known to the Kandyans.

It appears that while the fields at Gampolawela lay fallow prior to cultivation, the peasant boys who looked after the cattle driven thither for pasturage always congregated at noon at a spot where there were many *Dan* (*Eugenia Jambolana*) trees. The rendezvous was therefore, commonly known as *Dan-pola*, *Dan* (a tree) and (*pola*) place, which in course of time, was changed to Gampola. This was how the name derived according to a popular etymology.*

Monthly Literary Register 3(1), June 1895. p.24 - 25

A NOTE ON PADDY CULTIVATION CUSTOMS

By
H. White

In the very interesting papers on paddy cultivation customs contributed to the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) by Messrs. Ievers, Lewis, and Bell, the two former writers draw our attention more particularly to the euphemistic language used at the threshing floor for the protection of the crop from Yakseyo.

Mr. Bell in the commencement of his very complete paper says: "A record of these semi-religious rites and ceremonies is important, not merely for comparison with those found cropping up under one form or another all over the world, but as tending to bring out more than aught else, the actual, if confused and undefined, religious ideas and aspirations of the unenlightened "Goyiya."

The faith of the Sinhalese is a strange mixture of demonolatry (including the worship of devils or Yaksayo and demigods or Deviyo, tempered more or less by Buddhism, but withal shewing unmistakable traces of that older "Nature worship" which preceded both, and dates from the childhood of the world.

The power of sun, moon, and stars is invoked jointly with the dreaded spirits of evil, those "unknown gods" to whose baneful influence is attributed so many changes and chances incident to daily life and the less malignant Devatavo to appease whom resort is had alike to the priest of Buddha, the kattadiya and the kapurala."

Mr. Bell goes on to say in another part of his paper describing the ceremonies of the Kalutara district:

“Every time the men stoop to remove the grain from the straw or to sweep the paddy towards the “Mutta” they bow in adoration of the corn heap in the centre.” I would ask; have we not here faint but unmistakable traces of the survival of tree and plant worship? I do not find that any one who has treated of paddy cultivation customs has pointed out that coupled with propitiation of Yaksayo and adoration of Nature in general is adoration of paddy in particular, a survival-albeit a faint survival-of plant worship. Tylor, in his “Primitive Culture” Vol.I.,p. 474, thus discusses the subject: “Plants, partaking with animals the phenomena of life and death, health and sickness, not unnaturally have some kind of soul ascribed to them. In fact the notion of a vegetable soul, common to plants and to the higher organisms, possessing an animal soul in addition, was familiar to mediaeval philosophy, and is not yet forgotten by naturalists. But in the lower ranges of culture at least within one wide district of the world, the souls of plants are much more fully identified with the souls of animals. The Dyaks of Borneo not only consider men and animals to have a spirit or living principle, whose departure from the body causes sickness and eventually death, but they also give to the Rice its “Samangat paddy” or “spirit of the paddy,” and they hold feasts to retain this soul securely, lest the crop should decay. The Karens (of Burmah) say that plants as well as men and animals have their “la” (kelah) and the spirit of sickly rice is here also called back like a human spirit considered to have left the body.

The formulas used for the purpose have now been written down and this is part of one. “O come rice, kelah come. Come to the field. Come to the rice. Come from the west. Come from the east. From the throat of the bird, from the maw of the ape, from the throat of the elephant. From all granaries come. O rice kelah, come to the rice.” There is reason to think that the doctrine of the spirits of plants lay deep in the intellectual history of S.E.Asia, but was in great measure superseded under Buddhist influence. The Buddhist books show that in the early days of their religion it was a matter of controversy whether trees had souls, and therefore whether they might lawfully be injured. Orthodox Buddhism decided against the tree souls, and consequently against the scruple to harm them, declaring trees to have no mind or sentient principle, though admitting that

certain devas or spirits to reside in the body of trees, and speak from within them. Buddhists also relate that a heterodox sect kept up the early doctrine of the actual animal life of trees, in connection with which may be remembered Marco Polo's somewhat doubtful statement as to certain austere Indians objecting to green herbs for such a reason and some other passages from later writers. Generally speaking the subject of the spirits of plants is an obscure one whether from the lower races not having definite opinions or from our not finding it easy to trace them."

(Orientalist Vol.III, 1888-89, P.156-157)

The Terraced Hillside of Ceylon

By

Henry W. Cave, MA., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

To the visitors from the Western world few tropical scenes appear more strikingly beautiful than the terraced hillsides devoted to rice culture in the central province of Ceylon. Their interest is, however, too often limited to the picturesque qualities which they exhibit, the traveller being content to remain in ignorance of the circumstances and conditions to which this enhancement of natural beauty by the artifice of the cultivator is due; nor is he generally informed of the many remarkable features and ceremonies that belong to the culture which thus superficially attracts his notice. Yet there are so many and so interesting that it would be impossible adequately to describe them here; some few may, however, be referred to briefly in explanation of our photographs.

At Urugala, in the central province, and about thirty miles east of Kandy, the above view is presented from the main road, which traverses the steep sides of the mountains. The scene is an excellent representation of the ingenuity displayed by the Kandyan Sinhalese in the irrigation of steep mountain slopes. In the first place it must be explained that the cultivation of rice demands land that will retain water upon its surface, not only during the period of germination, but during the growth of the plant until it reaches maturity. This being so, a less intelligent race would not have conceived the possibility of extending its culture to the precipitous sides of mountains. But in the olden days there were long periods during which the inhabitants of these mountain fastnesses depended entirely upon local produce for their sustenance, and their inventive faculties were thus quickened by necessity. If they were to enjoy the fare which the low-country people with their vast stretches of swampy land could so easily obtain, they must find means of retaining the needful element upon the precipitous hillsides; to this end they scaped the hills, bringing forward the earth thus removed to the front edge of the levelled ground, and utilizing it for the formation of shallow dams. The effect of this was the construction of a series of pans, the shape of which followed the contour of the hills.

The greatest ingenuity was displayed in keeping the thousands of tiny lakelets supplied with water. By a little exploration the traveller might see that the watercourses of the mountain tops are carefully studied and every stream is deflected to serve the end of the husbandman; aqueducts of various materials, some of stone, some merely mud, and others of bamboo, convey the precious fertilizer to the various ledges. Water-courses are even constructed by tunnelling for long

distances to catch the water of streams whose natural courses would convey it in quite different directions. Many of them are considerable works of engineering, one having been carried for six miles, in the course of which it is fed by five large streams.

But the application of art to the culture of rice is not limited to the formation of the terraces and their irrigation; it extends to every process connected with the industry. The traveller sees only the picturesque fields and the quaint groups of workers as he travels by road and rail; sometimes perhaps he hears a distant chorus of song, or the sound of the tom-tom; but he knows nothing of the curious and interesting ceremonies that accompany every operation. In the first place the cultivator appeals to his gods. It is the belief of the agriculturist that the success or failure of his endeavours depends mainly on the innumerable and unseen influences of gods, demi-gods and devils, benign or evil, all of which must be invoked, conciliated or appeased, as the case requires. The most enlightened tenets of Buddhism have not banished his fear of the spirits of evil who figure so largely in the older religious systems. The belief in the necessity of an appeal to the supernatural in almost every important act of life is the heritage of vast ages of Eastern thought. Thus, in the primary operation of selecting land for tillage there is the consultation of planetary powers through the medium of the astrologer. Again, cultivation must be begun with due regard to the lucky day and hour; the astrologer claims his toil of betel in fixing the auspicious moment. Even the choice of a person who is to start the work of clearing the land is important, the task being committed to one who is considered to be favoured by the gods. With equal care must the buffaloes be introduced for the purpose of trampling the weeds and kneading the moistened soil, while for the most important act of sowing the choice of the proper hour is the object of great solicitude. In this climate, where the temperature changes little throughout the year, seed time and harvest are, by means of irrigation, very much at the will of the husbandman, who therefore fixes his seed time according to the average conditions of rainfall in his particular district. In Kandy the harvest is arranged to fall in February, while in the low-country, nearer Colombo, it is some weeks earlier, and in many districts it falls at quite different periods of the year.

The plough is a primitive implement of wood, the share of which is not much larger than a man's arm, or, as Knox says, "something like an elbow which roots up the ground as uneven as if it were done by hogs". He also states that the ploughs are made light in order that they may not be unmanageable in the mud. The Sinhalese do not turn the soil in furrows and bury the grass, which would be un-

unnecessary; for the land is subsequently flooded in a manner that rots the uprooted surface vegetation. A cross-bar is attached to the end of a pole that extends from the ploughshare, and, tethered to this, the buffaloes draw the plough, the operation of which they effectively supplement by their own trampling.

The seed rice is prepared by soaking in water for about thirty six hours, after which it is spread upon a mat and covered with the green leaves of the plantain tree. After several days it begins to germinate and is then ready for sowing. Meanwhile the cultivator levels the ground, which is still flooded and so remains while the seed is germinating. The seed being now ready, the water is drained off, and diminutive channels or furrows are found on the surface which carry away any rain that may fall; for water would now be injurious until the corn has attained the height of about three inches. The rice seed is now strewn upon the mud with great evenness. After a few days, during which the land is kept as free as possible from surface water, the openings that have been made through the dams to drain off the water are stopped, the land is again flooded and so remains until the corn ripens and the time of harvest is near.

The young plants are said to be saved from the ravages of insects by means of charms and the recital of various incantations. The charms include the scattering of sand or ashes around the borders, accompanied by fasting and strict seclusion from society on the part of the performer of the rites; instances of the benign influence of the Lord Buddha in freeing the corn from pests are solemnly recited and the same influence invoked. Other gods and goddesses are appealed to for securing the departure of various grubs and flies, and in every case a strange ceremony is performed.

It would almost seem that charms are introduced chiefly to meet emergencies in which practical methods are of no avail; but when the Kandyan has to deal with the depredations of birds and the larger animals we find that he is not above supplementing supernatural agency by human means. A crop-watcher's hut is built of bamboos and roofed with plaited coconut fronds; and from this lines of cord, made from coconut fibre, extend in all directions, communicating with ingeniously-constructed rattles of an alarmingly discordant nature. Thus the inhabitants of the hut are enabled effectively to scare both animals and birds who would otherwise rob them of the fruits of their labour. But they do not depend solely upon these devices; this little hut is the temporary home of many persons who reside in it night and day during the ripening period, and each occupant is armed with a bow and stones. The bow is of the ordinary kind used with arrows, but with a second

string which enables it to hurl stones; for the enemies of the rice cultivator are not limited to the smaller creatures, but include all manner of wild animals, whose depredations need the most constant vigilance.

At harvest time the reaping is carried on in the old English manner with the sickle, in the use of which the Sinhalese are adept. The greatest harmony prevails throughout the division or parish, all the cultivators joining together in the reaping of one another's corn. There is no question of pay, but every man finds the rest in food during the reaping of his own field.

Indeed this pursuit of rice culture is to them an honourable and even sacred duty, and is engaged in quite irrespective of economic considerations; for if wealth were the only object, the Kandyan would now find it more profitable to import his rice and direct his attention to other articles that would bring him a better return. But it is not wealth that he seeks; he works not for mere wages, but in obedience to ancient customs. It is this attitude that accounts for the introduction of an elaborate ceremonial into his favourite pursuit. We shall now see in his harvest operations how true this is, and the reader may behold in our illustrations realistic scenes that will confirm our assertions.

The priests, astrologers, doctors and devil-dancers are now agreed as to the auspicious moment for putting in the sickle; the band of tom-tom players assembles; spectators also arrive upon the scene; every one wears a look of gladness. The introductory symphony is played by the drums of strange make and tuned to intervals unfamiliar to Western ears, and song bursts forth from the reapers as they spring forward from the shallow embankments with their keen sickles to fell the standing corn. Our illustration faithfully portrays the scene.

The on-lookers are in the foreground, and the tom-tom players upon the bund are stimulating the reapers with the wierd music of their drums. The vivacity of the scene is striking; it is natural introduction of native sentiment into the operations of agriculture.

The work of carrying the sheaves of the threshing floor is allotted to the women. The threshing floor is in the open field upon high ground in the most convenient place that can be found near the irrigated land. It is usually circular in shape and from twenty-five to forty feet in diameter. The ceremony that here takes place is exceedingly picturesque. The details only varying in different districts. In the middle several concentric circles are traced with ashes, the outer one being

bordered by various ornamental signs. The circles are bisected by straight lines; in the divisions or segments thus formed various representations are drawn. Sometimes these are a considerable number and include several agricultural implements, a broom, Buddha's foot, a scraper, a flail and a measure; but in the ceremony which I witnessed and illustrate the segments only of the inner circle were used, and in these were drawn a pitchfork, a scraper and a measure; near these were placed a stone and a conch shell, the latter filled with various ingredients which remind one of the constituents of the pot of the beldames in Macbeth. The preliminaries being now completed, and the lucky moment ascertained, that husbandman whom the gods have most consistently favoured with good fortune is chosen, to cast down the first sheaf. With this upon his head he walks with grave and solemn step thrice around the traced figure, bowing towards the conch as he reaches each point from which the bisecting lines are drawn; then, being careful to face the direction fixed by the astrologer, he casts down the sheaf upon the conch and prostrates himself as illustrated by our plate; with joined palms he profoundly salutes it three times, rising to his knees after each salutation. He then retires and three women approach the conch; after walking thrice around it in solemn and silent procession they cast down their sheaves upon that already placed there and retire. The rest of the corn is brought in and cast upon the threshing floor without further ceremony. The fee due to the women for their share of the ceremony is as much rice as would lie upon the stone which formed part of the articles deposited under the first sheaf.

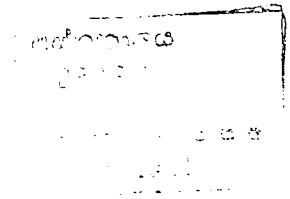
At eventide, the auspicious moment being first ascertained, teams of buffaloes as innocent of the muzzle as though they were subject to the Mosaic law, are brought to the threshing floor and driven over the rice, always to the accompaniment of song. In districts where rainfalls is frequent threshing takes place on the eve of the day of reaping, and while in such fresh condition the ears need a very considerable amount of trampling, during the course of which no reverence that can be shown towards the mutta or charmed conch is neglected; with solemn homage the men bow as from time to time they sweep the half-fresh ears from the edges towards the centre of the floor. Sometimes one of them will take up the wooden prong with which the straw is pushed back from the outer edges, and, placing it upon his shoulder, march round the threshing floor singing a song invoking immunity from the influences of evil spirits.

At length the rice is found to have been trodden from the ears, and the buffaloes are released and driven off to their more congenial occupation of wallowing in the swamps until again required. The straw is removed and the rice fanned free of any rubbish that may have accumulated amongst it. Next it is heaped

in the middle of the threshing floor and a charm is placed upon it. A lucky hour is next ascertained for the process of winnowing, when it is pounded by the women as illustrated in our plate and tossed and fanned upon the winnowing trays. It is then stored in granaries.

This short sketch of the ceremonies attendant on the cultivation of rice must not be regarded as a complete account; for the customs are infinite in variety, and if fully, described, would occupy a large volume.

(Times of Ceylon, 1910 - CHRISTMAS NUMBER)



Designs of Paddy Field Irrigation Channels

By

J.P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S (Retired)

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register Vol. 6, Oct. 1920. p. 101-102

"De minimis non curat lex", but the maxim does not hold good with regard to the study of a people or a civilization.

I wonder whether it has been generally noticed that in the paddy fields of the Sinhalese, both Kandyan and Low-country, the channels (diya maru) are constructed on regular patterns of which there are a considerable variety, and not without an eye to artistic effect.

I annex a series of designs which I have noted, chiefly Kandyan, but I think that they prevail more or less all over the country where the Sinhalese are. I regret that I have not noticed what the Tamil practice is in this respect.

It would be interesting to learn what the custom is in other rice-growing countries, India, Java, Burma, Siam, China, etc. and in Europe, Italy.

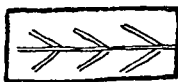
The boundary lines in the sketches (vide p.101) represent dams (niyarawal), the interior lines channels.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PADDY FIELD CHANNELS.



1. The Umbrella
perhaps the commonest type of any



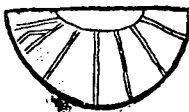
2. The Arrow



3. The Rising Sun



4. The Fan



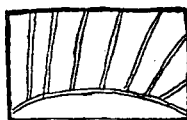
5. The Gorget



6. The Tunnel



7. The Perspective



8. The Cigar Case



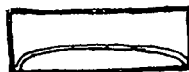
9. Futurist ?



10. The Cigarette Case



11. The Crook (*hendawa*)



12. The Envelope



13. The East Indiaman



14. The Cocade



15. The Bosc



16. The Tree

Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Central Province

By
the late Mr. J.P. Lewis, C.M.G.,

The following is a note I made at Nugawela, on 12th Feb., 1907, of information given me by the then *Ratemahatmaya* of Harispattu, and subsequently at other centres by other *Ratemahatmayas*.

Reaping. This is carried out in the early morning as far as possible, before the sun is very hot. It is done with the sickle. The men who do the work are accompanied by others (not necessarily of tom-tom beater caste) who beat a peculiar kind of tom-tom made of earthenware, which is known as a *bummediya*, and is only used on the occasion of reaping the crops or when the stick-dance is performed. The top of this tom-tom is closed with the skin of a *talagoya*. The reapers keep up a succession of joyous shouts or sing songs to the tom-tom accompaniment. The idea is that they are expressing their joy at at last obtaining the reward of their eight months' labours.

The Threshing Floor. Seven concentric circles are drawn on the threshing floor with ordinary ashes. In the centre are deposited three articles, viz *arukgala*- a stone to ward off the demon *Bahirawaya*, *arukpola*- a coconut, and *aruklella*- a shell of chank shape. Figures of various agricultural implements an *ukunu gaha* or stick used on the threshing floor, a sickle, a *goyilella* (a T-shaped stick or rake), a *kohomba poruwa*, a *laha* measure, etc., and of the sun and moon, are drawn between the circles.

There is no stake in the centre, as in Low-country threshing floors.

In Uda Dumbara the seven concentric circles are also used, also the *arukgala*, *aruklella*, *arukpola* and *kohomba poruwa*. Sometimes *tolabawa* leaves are used to mark the inner circle, but this is not done frequently

In Uda Bulatgama seven circles are used when the operations are extensive; three when they are on a smaller scale.

In Uda Palata three circles are now generally used instead of seven. They are less trouble. This probably means the gradual dying out of these ceremonies.

The paddy is carried to the threshing floor by women, but the first sheaf must be carried by a man. He walks three times round the circle - sometimes seven times-

and then deposits the sheaf in the centre over the *arukgala*, *arukpola* and *aruklella*, and having done so bows to it. Then three women in line encircle it three times and deposit their sheaves-after that the rest of the women promiscuously.

Threshing. This takes place at night generally on moonlight nights. This is because the buffaloes cannot work on a threshing floor during the heat of the day. They can work in the paddy fields because there is water all about, and they can be splashed with it occasionally. (At least this was the explanation given me.) They are yoked together in gangs of from three to six, with the oldest and best trained buffalo on the inner side, and they go round and round in gangs, the man or boys who drive them singing snatches of songs in the peculiar loud voice that is used when buffaloes are being driven. The whole guidance of the team depends on the innermost buffalo.

No attempt is made to prevent the buffaloes from helping themselves to the paddy stalks they are treading, and this they do from time to time. The cultivators have an idea that they lose nothing by this liberality; that what the buffaloes eat is no loss to them. A similar belief prevails as to the depredations of sparrows in the paddy when it is stored in the *atuwa*. As the threshing goes on men toss the paddy stalk about with a stick having a crook at the end of it. This stick is called *ukunu gaha*.

Any stalks that fall outside the circle or get trodden outside it are arranged in a ring round it, leaving a space between the outer circle and the ring.

(Spolia Zeylanica 9 (4) April 1924 P 243-245)

Threshing -Floor Ceremonies in UVA

By

James Parsons

Certain protective offerings were found buried in the threshing-floor of a paddy field in the village of Dehiwinna, Yatipalata division, Uva, a week or two after the *yala'* threshing and winnowing had taken place. The stone or arak-gala covering the offerings was found concealed beneath some straw.

From below upwards, i.e., in the order in which they were placed in the whole or arak wala, the following were noted:-

- (1) Two stalks of *iluk* grass (*Imperata arundinacea*).
- (2) Two leaves of *tolambo* (*Crinum asiaticum*).
- (3) Seven *bo* leaves (*Ficus religiosa*)
- (4) A piece of *rambuk* stalk (*Saccharum arundinaceum*)
- (5) Two stalks of *iluk* grass.
- (6) A piece of the creeper *maduwela* (*Ipomaea obscura*).
- (7) Five stalks of paddy with the ears.

The *iluk*, *maduwela*, and paddy were tied into rough rings about 10 cm. in diameter. Resting on the offerings and half projecting from the ground was the arak-gala, a roughly ellipsoidal stone of quartz rock measuring about 18, 12, and 10 cm. along its axes, obviously shaped by natural agencies and probably obtained from the nearest stream.

It is interesting to compare this list of offerings with those that should, at least theoretically, be placed in the threshing-floor according to the threshing-floor song translated by Dr. Coomaraswamy in his paper on "Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Ratnapura District"².

Here seven *pilila* (i.e., the parasitic plants) from different sorts of trees or plants are recommended. It was suggested to me that one at least of the *iluk* offerings was intended to be *iluk pilila*, a plant which is said to be exceedingly rare, and would appear to share the sanctity attached to parasitic plants in most primitive religions. The parasitic plants of the genus *Loanthus* are known as *pilila*, but as these plants

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- 1 The second paddy harvest of the year, or autumn crop.
 - 2 Journal R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XVIII., 1995.

are shrub-like and have woody stems, the *iluk pilila*, supposing it actually exists, can hardly belong to this genus. Assuming that the *iluk* represents its *pilila*, the reasons for the use of the other ingredients of the offering are fairly obvious.

The blossom of the *tolambo* has a sweet smell; the *bo* leaves have evident religious value, and it is interesting to note that seven leaves were used, that ever-recurring number in Oriental mysticism.

The piece of *rambuk* stalk may have been placed as a substitute for sugarcane, and *maduwela* is used in Sinhalese medicine. The paddy ears are the first that are gathered in the field after the threshing-floor has been reaped and the sheaves piled on the sides of the floor. It thus constitutes a sort of first fruit. It is, however, the paddy cut from the threshing-floor³ which is the first to be threshed.

Certain objects are placed on the floor, but not in it at the time of threshing, viz., a shell, presumably the *arak-bella* mentioned by Dr. Coomaraswamy, a piece of gold, iron, or other metal, and a piece of *kohomba* wood (*Azadirachta indica*). Also, if it can be obtained, the *gorochanna*, or hair ball (=the gore of Dr. Coomaraswamy) of a buffalo. According to the Ratnapura threshing-floor song seven *gorochannas* should be used.

These objects are kept in the paddy while it is being trodden and removed when the threshing is finished. They therefore seem to be simply talismans, while the leaves, &c., from the fact that they are buried and allowed to remain in the ground, would rather lead one to consider them as propitiatory offerings to evil spirits.

The word *arak*, or in its Sanskrit form *araksha*, means preservation or protection.

A distinct set of offerings is made to the gods (*dewas*). These, consisting of betel leaves and various flowers, are placed in a *malpela* or rude shrine erected on the margin of the floor, and usually made of cadjan, but in this case of *rambuk*, on account of the scarcity of coconut trees in the neighbourhood.

(Spolia Zeylanica 5(19) Aug-1908. P 125-126).

3 It is to be noted, according to the Ratnapura threshing-floor song, that, in addition to the paddy *pilila*, paddy from the last year's crop should be placed in the hole.