



ceremonial
dances
of the
Sinhalese

OTAKER PERTOLD

TISARA



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The
CEREMONIAL DANCES
of the
SINHALESE

AN INQUIRY INTO SINHALESE
FOLK RELIGION

by

OTAKAR PERTOLD

*Reprinted by kind permission of the Czechoslovak
Oriental Institute, Prague, Czechoslovakia from
Archiv Orientalni, Volume II, the Journal of the
Institute for the year 1930*

with 35 Plates

The Ceylon Historical Journal
Volume Twenty



Tisara Prakashakayo

PUBLISHERS • DUTUGEMUNU STREET • DEHIWALA • SRI LANKA

793.31095493

PER

First Printed

... 1930

Reprint

.. November 1973



Printed at the

TISARA PRESS

Dutugemunu St., Dehiwala, Sri Lanka.

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OTAKAR PERTOLD*

A NOTE

OTAKAR PERTOLD, D. Phil., Professor of the Comparative Science of Religion in the Faculty of Philosophy at the Charles University, Prague, Czechoslovakia needs no introduction to students of Indology. In a long lifetime lasting over 80 years, Dr. Pertold studied and published his researches on ethnography, the science of religions, particularly of Eastern religions and on linguistics. He was the pioneer not only of ethnological research but also of the comparative study of religion in Czechoslovakia. His work on *The Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese* reprinted in this volume is one of the many studies Professor Pertold undertook on Ceylon. It is easily the finest work written on this subject and most subsequent writings on the folk religion of the Sinhalese have been based on this pioneer work. Visiting Ceylon as he did just before and after the first world war it is indeed fortunate that Pertold undertook this work for most of the ceremonial folk dances of the Sinhalese have now passed into the limbo of the forgotten arts. Many of the ceremonies referred to by him have now completely disappeared and cannot be seen enacted today in Ceylon except in very corrupted versions.

Otakar Pertold was born in March 1884 and after receiving his early education at Slany was admitted to the great Charles University of Prague in 1901. Here he studied philosophy, oriental linguistics and science and in 1908 was awarded a doctors degree. From his

* This brief introductory note on Otakar Pertold is based on the tribute published to the professor on his 70th anniversary by Vincenc Porizka in *Archiv Orientalni*, Vol. XXII, Nos. 2-3 in 1954.

early university days Pertold's abiding interest had been linguistics and oriental studies and after receiving his doctorate Pertold pursued his interests further by studying under well-known orientalists like Geiger in Germany, Kern in the Netherlands and Barnett in England. In the British Museum he made the catalogue of the Sinhalese manuscripts in Hugh Nevill's famous collection. In 1909 Pertold visited South India and Ceylon at his own expense to study the survivals of folk religion. In India he studied the religion of the Parsis at Bombay and Sanskrit texts in Calcutta. This was followed by studies in Mahayana Buddhism in the latter place and in Sikh theology at Hardwar.

This was however only a background study for his real work which commenced in South India where he studied demon worship and devil dancing ceremonies among the Tuluvas in Cochin, the Kaniyar (western Ghats) and among several tribesmen around Tinnevely. Crossing over to Ceylon Pertold commenced the study of the folk religion of the Sinhalese, the Vedddhas, Vannias and the Rodiyas. To do a effective study of these varied subjects, Pertold required a knowledge of a large number of Indian languages and this he undertook in his stride. He mastered not only Sinhalese and Tamil but also Sanskrit and Pali and a number of other Indian languages including Tibetan, Bengali and Burmese.

Returning to Europe in 1910 Pertold continued his study of Sinhalese folk religion by studying the collections of material in London, Oxford, Vienna, Berlin, Copenhagen and Paris. The first world war interrupted his work as Pertold was called to active military service. At its conclusion, however, he was appointed in 1919 to the Faculty of Philosophy at Charles University as lecturer in Comparative Mythology of inferior tribes in South East Asia and of Australia. His inaugural dissertation on this appointment was a remarkable exposition of Ceylonese folk religion published under the title *The Ceylonese Gods, Gara and Giri*. A second dissertation offered by him in the same capacity to Charles University was *Parittam: Pirith, the Buddhist Rtual of Priestly Exorcism*.

Other interests not entirely divorced from his studies now took Pertold's time. In 1919 the new state of Czechoslovakia was founded by Tomas Masaryk and Pertold was nominated Director of the propaganda department of the Czechoslovakian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the following year appointed the first consul of the Czechoslovak Republic in Bombay. The three years stay in India which

followed were fruitfully spent in his learned searchings and his furloughs were used to travel widely both in Ceylon and to Burma. In 1927 Pertold was appointed a Fellow of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute which had just been established and in the same year the President of the Czechoslovak Republic appointed him to the high position of Professor of the Comparative Science of Religion in the Faculty of Philosophy at the Charles University. The years of the second world war when Czechoslovakia was over-run by the Nazis were spent in retirement but with the declaration of peace and the founding of the new Czechoslovak Republic ample honours were conferred on Pertold, including Membership of the Czechoslovak Academy of Arts and Sciences and the post of leading Professor of the Cathedra of Ethnography in the Philosophico Historical Faculty of Charles University.

The course of Professor Pertold's life forms eloquent evidence of his never failing energy, of his single-minded devotion to his studies and of his firmness of spirit undimmed by disappointment and unbeaten by hardship. He must surely rank among the great indologists of Europe.

A complete bibliography of Professor Pertold's writings on Indology will consist of several pages. The bulk of his writings however, are devoted to his two main theses—the Religion of the Jainas and Folk Religion. Fortunately in dealing with the latter subject Pertold wrote several dissertations on Ceylon which, however, are not readily available to the Ceylonese reader apart from the fact that they are written in the Czechoslovak language. A list of these is given below. His most outstanding work however, is that on *The Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese* which is now being reprinted in this volume. The more important writings of Pertold on Ceylon are:

1. Ceylonska bozstva Gara a Giri. *Vestnik Ceske Akademie*, XXI, Str. 1 - 63.
2. Der Singhalesische Pilli-Zauber. *Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft*, Bd. XVI, Str. 52 - 65.
3. Spolecenske Rostrideni Sinhalcu. *Vestnik Ceske Akademie*, XX, Str. 1 - 24.
4. Parittam—Pirit. *Vestnik Ceske Akademie*, XXIII.
5. The Pilli Charm. A Study in Sinhalese Magic. *Jurnal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol, XII, p. 594 - 609.

6. A Protective Ritual of the Southern Buddhists. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XII, p. 744 - 789.
7. Inquiries into the Popular Religions of Ceylon. (Sinhalese amulets, talismans and spells) *Sbirka pojednani a rozprav filosoficke fakulty Carlovy University*, Sv. VI, Stran 80.
8. Problum Sinhalstiny—*Jos. Zabateho na Karlovy University*. Str. 249 - 263.
9. Foreign Demons. A Study in Sinhalese Demon Worship. *Archiv Orientalni*, I, p. 50 - 64.
10. A Short Sinhalese Ritual of Seven Steps. *Archiv Orientalni*, I, p. 191 - 198.
11. The Conception of the Soul in the Sinhalese Demon Worship. *Archiv Orientalni*, I, p. 316 - 322.
12. A Singular Sinhalese Mask in the Collection of Naprstkovo Museum in Prague. *Archiv Orientalni*, III, p. 350 - 53.
13. The Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese. *Archiv Orientalni*, Vol. II.
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15. Sinhalese Amulets in Leiden and London. *Atti Del XIX, Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, p. 424 - 27.
16. Die Ceylonische Gottin Pattini. *Archiv Orientalni*, XIII, p. 201 - 224.
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18. Customs and Rites Accompanying the Cultivation of Rice in Ceylon. *Zpravy Anthropologicke Spolecnosti*, IV, Str. 4 - 7.
19. Na Ceylonskych Plantazich. *Novy Orient*, VII.
20. Artistic Metal Craftsmanship in Ceylon. *Cezkoslovenska Ethnographie*, Vol. I, p. 59 - 69.
21. Survivals of Some Ancient Ceylonese Methods of Agriculture. *Cezkoslovenska Ethnographie*, Vol. I, p. 174 - 182.
22. Rodiyas. A contribution towards the Ethnography of Ceylon. *Narodopisny Vestik Cezkoslovansky*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 1 - 35.

The publishers wish to record their thanks to Professor Pertold and the Council of the Czechoslovak Academy of Oriental Studies, Prague, Czechoslovakia for their kind permission to reprint the present work on *The Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese*. Considering the fact that this book is virtually unknown in Ceylon except in a few libraries we feel that this reprint will be widely welcomed. The art plates of masks which accompanied the article are also reproduced in full.

Simultaneously with the reprint in English the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute has also agreed to our publishing a Sinhala translation of the book. This will make Professor Pertold's pioneer work available to Sinhala speaking readers who can now read for the first time certain customs which were widely observed in Ceylon over 50 years ago and which are now virtually unknown. That Sinhala readers should know of their own heritage from the studies made by a Czechoslovak professor many years ago is a fitting tribute to the happy relations now existing between the two socialist countries of Sri Lanka and Czechoslovakia.

S. D. S.

INTRODUCTION

UNDER the name of "Devil Dancing" ritual supposed to be the remnants of strange cult-forms of the old Ceylonese peoples are known to those Europeans who came in touch with Ceylon either as residents, visitors or as students of Ceylonese lore. It is hardly necessary to say that the expression "Devil Dancing" is perfectly incorrect, and that many quite different performances of the Sinhalese are described as "Devil Dances" which have nothing to do even with the possession by demons or the expulsion of demons from the possessed, ceremonies for which the name "Devil Dancing" could be considered more or less justified. All such performances are in reality ceremonial dances of unknown origin which became obsolete with the passage of time, especially by introduction of foreign religions, and survived to the present time in poor remnants which have been made up with the help of elements of various sources, as it will be seen from further details. We have a series of descriptions of such "Devil Dances" from various times and by various authors since the Europeans came in touch with the Sinhalese, but nearly all of them are only descriptions of such performances by casual witnesses who had no intention of investigating the matter thoroughly and to go into detail regarding the history and meaning of the performance. Where there was such intention lack of knowledge of other details of the Sinhalese folk-religion caused misrepresentation of facts and loss of many important details. It must be said that we have no reliable, complete, and systematic account of the Sinhalese dancing ceremonies, not to

1. Although the word Folk-religion is unused in common English, I have adopted it on the authority of many other scholars who use it even at the international congresses. Analogically to such words as *folklore*, *folk-custom*, *folk-song* etc. it is used here to denominate that religion which is produced by people itself from elements of various religions, and is to be regarded as distinct from the priestly religion which is its original basis.

speak of inquiries into the problem of their origin, of their early forms and aims, and of their connection with old traditions.

It is my intention to make a thorough survey of the whole matter in a series of articles dealing with various provinces of this peculiar phenomenon of the Sinhalese folk-religion. I consider it very important to do it now in order to utilize fully all the traditions and customs still extant which may disappear wholly or partly during the next few years, as the Sinhalese become more and more Europeanized, for even the old accounts of their customs in their ancient *baḷads* slowly disappear and will be lost in very short time. I cannot discuss here the causes of these circumstances, but I only mention the fact that the Sinhalese writings are written on a very fragile material, viz., dry palm leaves, which even in European libraries become illegible in time, and they are lost if they are not copied or photographed at an early date. As there are only few Sinhalese scholars in Europe, and as the majority of them as well as the Sinhalese themselves mostly care only about those works which deal with Buddhism, there is danger of losing by delay the little which still remains.

The condition of the European reports of the "Devil Dancing" in Ceylon is not much better than the condition of the native texts used at the ceremonies. Only very little is contained in books and learned journals. It is probable that many reports of this phenomenon must have appeared in news-papers, magazines, etc., but it is very difficult to trace them, as there are no indices to magazines and news-papers, and it is a mere chance to find an article on a special subject in such a vast amount of paper, as a daily news-paper represents several volumes. Although I have tried my best in this regard, I have succeeded to gather only very little, and I am sure that much more must have been written on the subject. Notwithstanding that, I have put together all such articles and books where either any account about "devil-dancing" is given, or where even other information relative to the subject is contained in them, and formed a kind of bibliography which, however, does not and really cannot claim to be complete, but will be of use for the further research.

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To observe the subject of the treatise in general it must be said at the very beginning that it is not uniform either in its external appearance nor in its ideological basis. The only outside marks of the subject are that it is a ceremony accompanied by a dance in which supernatural beings are concerned as recipients of the ritual goods in return for which worldly profits is expected to be received by the man for whom the ceremony is performed. It is not possible to decide in advance whether those dances are religious or magical rites or simply social performances. Opinions on that subject vary considerably. E. g., W. L. Hildburgh (22, pp. 169 ff.) considers the Devil Dancing to be curative magic in spite of the fact that there are demon dances among Sinhalese which have nothing to do with curing sickness at all. There are also opinions that at least some of the dancing ceremonies are mere social performances, e.g., the *Kolam-natima*. My opinion is that at least the basis of all such performances is a religious ritual which in some cases is filled up with magical elements, whereas in other cases the performances have lost most or all of the characteristics of a religious ceremony. I shall try to show these peculiarities in the descriptions of the individual dancing rituals.

A few methodical remarks must be added before I shall deal with the matter. Two questions especially must be cleared up in advance. It is the problem of the ethnographical background of those dancing ceremonies, and the use of masks at some of those ceremonies and absence of them at others.

Ceremonial dances appear to be used by Vaddas, Sinhalese and Tamils of Ceylon, but the ceremonial dances of Tamils — so far as they were not taken over from either the Sinhalese or Vaddas — differ so much from these standard Ceylonese type of the "Devil Dancing" that they cannot be considered in this treatise¹. The use of the said type of the ceremonial dances by the Vanniyas of Northern Ceylon is uncertain as the cases known can be attributed to the influences of similar performances of Vaddas or Sinhalese. On the other hand a striking fact is the total absence of the dancing ceremonies among Rodiyas of Central Ceylon².

The ceremonial dances of the Sinhalese and Vaddas have so many relations and similar features that they must be considered as ceremonies springing from the same origin, and only developed in different surroundings. The connecting links between both are : the representation of the supernatural being by a dancer (or by a number of dancers), and the descending of the invoked supernatural being into the body of a dancer, or even into the bodies of number of dancers, and sometimes even of some of the onlookers. At the same time the ceremonies cannot be styled as Shaman Dances, because the possessed is not supposed to travel in the supernatural regions, as it is always the fact with the Shamans, but only brings in his body the supernatural being within the reach of human beings for benefit of himself or of another individual, sometimes for the benefit of the whole community. The dancers of the Sinhalese and Vaddas do not use any narcotics or stimulants as Shamans do (cf. 3, pp. XII f. and XVI). The ceremonial dance is simply one of the various attempts to solve the general Indian problem of connection of the human beings with the super-human beings, a problem which is known in India under the name of *yoga*. Of course the methods of its solution are quite different in India and in Ceylon. While India is more under the influence of the Aryan rationalism and dry speculation, in Ceylon, the primitive mentality with its straightforwardness and direct transfer of ideas in the world of facts and vice versa prevails. In this way the demon dances appears to be at least mental survivals of the pre-Aryan periods while in the present form their origin can hardly be traced back later than pre-Buddhist times. The origin of some of their elements can be

1. What is described in the introduction of Katalog Museum Umlauf (3, p. XVI) as Devil Dancing of Tamils, is not an original dancing ceremony of Tamil, but more probably a ceremony introduced either from Sinhalese and Vaddas, or from aboriginal tribes of Southern India.

2. The existing dances of Rodiyas are mere playful performances, e. g., "the spinning of the dish".

discovered by detailed studies of these ceremonies, but most of them will remain in darkness for ever, as the sources of our knowledge of them are of comparatively very recent date and of very insufficient nature.

The other problem is the use of masks during the dancing ceremonies. It is a fact that Veddas do not use masks at their ceremonies, and that masks are unknown at those Sinhalese dancing ceremonies which seem to be of very old origin, and already obsolete in the rather remote past. From these circumstances it could be inferred that the use of masks is of more recent origin, or perhaps that masks have been introduced from a foreign country. But there is no reliable evidence for such an opinion neither in the Sinhalese literature nor in the archaeological discoveries in Ceylon. The other fact is due to the fragility of the material from which the masks are made. It is a wood of a rather soft nature which decays during a few years in the tropical climate of Ceylon under the influence of damp heat and devastating power of insects. Those masks which are kept in European museums are hardly more than one hundred years old, and in Ceylon probably no mask older than fifty years will be found.

But the prominent dramatic character of the dancing performances speaks for the admission of the use of masks even in the oldest times. The use of bunches of leaves or grass for changing of the appearance of the dancer at dancing ceremonies of Vaddas corroborates this theory. It could be rather supposed that we have here perhaps to do with two different kinds of ceremonies, not only performed for another purpose and aim, but also based on a quite different mentality. And this is also my opinion on the strength of which I have divided my treatise in two parts. In the first part unmasked dances will be dealt with, viz., the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas, the rock-dances in the worship of *Gale yaka*, and the *Kala-gedi-natima*, while in the other part I shall discuss those dances at which masks are used, viz., *Kolam-natima*, *Yakun-natima*, and *Gara-yakun-natima*.

Part I

THE NON-MASKED DANCING CEREMONIES

1. *The dancing ceremonies of the Vaddas.*

THE ceremonial dances of the Vaddas have been fully described by C. G. Seligmann (32, pp. 209—272), and hardly any new detail can be added to that scholarly description, except to state that these customs, even among the Vaddas, are rapidly dying out. If I insert here a chapter on them, I do it only for the purpose of giving a full survey of the subject of the Ceylonese ceremonial dances, and because there are details in the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas which are essential for the understanding of the Sinhalese dances proper. Also a few of details contained on the subject in the able book by H. Parker (27.) must be taken in consideration. Therefore I shall not reproduce the description of the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas given by Seligmann, but I shall only emphasize those elements which it is necessary to know, when we shall explain some of the Sinhalese customs and ceremonies, and I shall try to deal with them from the point of view of the comparative history of religions. My own experience with the ceremonies of the Vaddas is very limited, as I was able only once to witness a *Kiri-koraha* ceremony among the Vaddas in the forest track between Yakkure and Bintenna.

I think there is no need to discuss the question of the relation of the Sinhalese and the Vaddas: the anthropological researches of Virchow, the Sarasins brothers and Mr. and Mrs. Seligmann have proved it beyond any doubt. Therefore also the customs and especially the religious habits of the Vaddas must be considered as only another stage of development of the same cultural stratum as these of the Sinhalese. Of course we cannot trace the development of them in all elements; in particular, we are absolutely unable to discover all the elements of foreign influences. Therefore we cannot decide even the question whether the religious ceremonies of the Vaddas, especially their ceremonial dances, represent a stage of a purer religion, less polluted by

foreign elements, than the Sinhalese folk religion, or whether it is a tertiary stage of religious development, as it is undoubtedly in the case of the Sinhalese dancing ceremonies. My opinion after a careful study of the work of Mr. and Mrs. Seligmann is that even the religion of the Vaddas is a tertiary form of religion which has been preceded by an unknown form of another religion. To my conviction much has been added by the fact that many village Vaddas which I found in the neighbourhood of Yakkure professed to be "Buddhists" although they had not the slightest idea of the essence of the teachings of Buddha. But even if we deny any importance to this declaration of some of the Vaddas, we must bear in mind the fact that the Vaddas were not always living in such a seclusion from the other inhabitants of the island as now-a-days; they were, in fact, in constant touch with the ruling race, and even had their habitations in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital of the kingdom, and did services as hunters and in other ways to the rulers of the state, if we believe the accounts of those ancient Ceylonese chronicles, as *Mahavamsa* etc.¹ We can learn still more from the ceremonies themselves.

The ceremonial dances of the Vaddas described by Mr. and Mrs. Seligmann are following :

1. The arrow dance or the Itale Yaka ceremony.²
2. The Kirikoraha ceremony.
3. The Nae Yaku ceremony.
4. The invocation of Bambura Yaka.
5. The Pata Yaku ceremony.
6. The Dola Yaku ceremony.
7. The invocation of the Rahu Yaku.
8. The Vanagata Yaku ceremony.

1. E. g. *Mahavamsa*, ch. X 89 speaking of the dedication of a *tala* tree to a Vadda deity (*vyadhadevassa talakam*) by king Pandukabhaya presuppose the existence of a Vadda settlement in the capital Anuradhapura, or in its immediate neighbourhood. Perhaps that Vadda settlement is mentioned in the verse 84, where it is said :

*kalavela nivasesi yakkham purapuratthime
yakkhantu cittarajantam hettha abhayavapiya.*

(He established the *yakkha* Kalavela in the eastern quarter of the city; and the chief of the *yakkhas*, Citta, he established on the lower side of the Abhaya tank.) No doubt can arise that by the *yakkhas* are meant here, as in other Pali works, the not fully Aryanized inhabitants of Ceylon, most probably identical with the present Vaddas. This opinion is confirmed by the verse 86, where we are told that also demon offerings have been established by the king (*nivesesi balim*).

2. I do not correct the mode of writing the Vadda words, when I quote from the work of Mr. & Mrs. Seligmann, but I give the philologically correct transliteration of the names and words, whenever I deal with them myself in the text.

9. The Alutyakagama ceremony.
10. The Ruvala ceremony.
11. The Kolamaduva ceremony.
12. The Avana ceremony.

But from the description of other religious elements used by the Vaddas, and of various magics, invocations and incantations as described by Seligmann, it transpires, that the described ceremonial dances do not represent a complete list of religious or magic ceremonies at which dancing is used by the Vaddas. H. Parker knows also other dancing ceremonies of the Vaddas, and describes e.g. their *Gale yaka* dances (27, p. 189 ff.). The difficulties, however, in communicating with the Vaddas which are described by the authors in every detail, make it quite clear that it is impossible to get an absolutely complete collection of ceremonies and usages. But the description of the ceremonial dances enumerated is quite sufficient to get an idea of the character of those ceremonies and to get a reliable basis for the comparison with similar ceremonies of the Sinhalese.

All these ceremonial dances must be considered as religious ceremonial acts, even if magical or social elements appear among the performances. Their chief characteristic is that all of them are directed to superhuman beings who are styled as *yaku* or more correctly *yaka*. This is the name which appears in the Sinhalese language as *yaka* (from the basis *yak-*, with the plural form *yakku*, and in the indirect cases also *yaku-*), and generally is considered to be an etymological derivation of the Pali word *yakkho*, a derivative of the Sanskrit, *yaksa*, of which there is a *tatsama* in the Sinhalese in the word *yaksaya* (with the inflectional basis *yaksa-*). The etymological relationship of these words cannot be discussed in this place, but it must be admitted that by both of them either the aborigines of the island or some superhuman beings are described.¹ There have been attempts to draw a line between them and to divide the different forms of the words by attributing to them different meanings. We can find opinions that e.g. the word *yaka* means a god of the aborigines of Ceylon, while the *tatsama*-form *yaksaya* means a demon. This and similar opinions, however, are not based on any facts or observations, being quite fictitious, as in the colloquial Sinhalese no such differences are made between the different forms of what seems to be the same word. Anyhow the occurrence of the word *yaka* as that of the

1. Cf. the article Foreign Demons by the author in *Archiv Orientalni*, vol. I., (1929), p. 59.

object of the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas means that those ceremonies are directed towards a superhuman being, and therefore are of a religious character.

The *yakas* named by Seligmann in his description of the ceremonies are not of an uniform character. There is a number of *yakas* which are undoubtedly of pure Vadda character. Such are the *Pata-yaka* (perhaps to be written *Patta-yaka* i.e. the god of cow-pens), *Ule-yaka* (perhaps to be written *Uyala-yaka*, the god of yams), *Dunne-yaka* (more correct: *Dunna yaka*, the god of the bow), *Bambura-yaka* (more correct: *Bambura-yaka*, the short curled god). Of pure Vadda origin is also the *Bilindi-yaka*, the child god, who is mentioned in the Sinhalese *Pitiya Devi Kavi* as *Lama Bilindu Bandara*, the young child god, being a Vadda deity (cf. 7, p. 50). *Dola-yaka* means "offering god" and ceremony for his benefit must be in any way connected with the Sinhalese *dola-dima* which is the name of a kind of offerings to demons connected with a demon dance (cf. 15).

A special Vadda deity is the *Na yaka* (written by Seligmann *Nae-yaka*) which is a kind of ancestor spirit. It is true that a deity of this name is unknown to the Sinhalese, but if we try to find out a counterpart of it among the Sinhalese deities, we shall soon discover that it is almost identical with the Kandyan *Bandaras*. And of course in the Sinhalese ballads which kattadiyas used to recite at the dancing ceremonies, many of the Vadda deities are styled as *Bandaras*, even if they do not belong to a group of ancestor deities. E.g. *Bilindu yaka* is named as *Bilindu bandara* (7, p. 11). This ancestor worship, spreading over its own limits, is perhaps also one of the connecting links between the Vadda ceremonial and the folk-religion of the Kandyans.

Indigolla yaka, *Vanagata yaka*, are simply local deities, named after the place of worship or after the place of their supposed origin. In this category undoubtedly falls also the *Kande yaka*, whose name correctly should be written *Kanda yaka*¹. He is the famous *Kataragama deviyo*, whose shrine, still extant, is in the village Kataragama in the southern part of Ceylon, and who has been united with the Brahmanic god *Skanda* in a kind of syncretistic deity who under the name of *Kanda deviyo* became a Pan-Ceylonese god worshipped not only by the Sinhalese and the Vaddas, but also by Tamils, and even by some

1. The mode of writing the names as *Kande* represents the colloquial pronunciation, whereas the written form used in the literary language, and etymologically as well as orthographically more correct is *Kanda*.

Christians and Musalmans¹. The existence of *Kanda yaka* in the dancing ceremonies of the Vaddas is an infallible evidence of foreign influence even in that kind of Vadda ritual. Nothing can be changed in this opinion by the fact, that the *Kanda yaka* is identified by the Vaddas with the *Itale yaka*, the god of the arrow-head (cf. 32, p. 216). Moreover the opinion is confirmed by that fact, as the *Kanda deviyo* in the modern conception of the Sinhalese is a war-god like the Indian *Skanda*, and always has been worshipped with arrows, spears, javelins etc. Such arms are still kept in a chamber of the Kataragama temple for ceremonial purposes².

Still more evident is the influence of the Indian religious elements even in the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas from the presence of the *Rahu yaka* as a god worshipped at those ceremonies. *Rahu yaka* is nobody else than the Indian demon supposed to swallow the sun and moon for a time and thus to cause their eclipses, and regarded as one of the nine planets.

Alutyaku like the Sinhalese *alut deviya* (the new god; cf. 7. P. 3) is a general term used as a name of any newly introduced deity either of foreign or indigenous origin. Thus "the new god" is the typical syncretistic deity in Ceylon.

The ceremonial dances of all the twelve kinds mentioned are according to the description of the Seligmanns real religious rituals of similar art to those of the Sinhalese folk-religion. They are all intended to accompany offerings to the mentioned *yakas* in return of which a boon or favour of the deity or another profit is expected. The dance itself represents in a rather dramatic performance the bringing of the offering, its value, the difficulty with which it has been procured,

1. Cf. MANUAL OF THE PROVINCE OF UVA. By Herbert White, C. C. S., (Colombo, 1893). P. 42: "Singularly enough the Musulmans of India also profess reverence of Kataragama, and have built a mosque there, alleging that a *Nebi* of great sancity discovered in the neighbourhood the fountain of life, of which whoever drinks becomes immortal".

2. The full description of Kataragama and the cult there is given in the quoted MANUAL OF THE PROVINCE OF UVA in the article *Kataragama* (Chap. IV) by H. White, pp. 35—43; and in the article *Hindu Kataragama*, by Dr. M. Covington (reprinted from *The Illustrated Literary Supplement to the Examiner*) pp. 149—156. There (p. 154) the name of the ceremonial weapon is given as *vela* (pl. *vel*), i. e. 'a staff', 'a spear'.

There are temples of *Kanda-deviyo* also in other places than Kataragama, most of them being attached to Buddhist monasteries. The mode, how the worship of the god spread to various places of the island is described very instructively in the articles THE EMBEKKE DEVALE and KURADENIYE KANDE DEWALE both by T. B. Pohat-Keheppanala (*Monthly Literary Register, and Notes and Queries for Ceylon*, New Series, vol. IV, p. 52 f., and 129. Colombo, 1896).

that result which is expected to be effected with all the details accompanying it. That involves that one of the performers must represent the deity, and it is always the case at the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas according to the description of Mr. and Mrs. Seligmann.

The dancers are called *katandirale* as among the upcountry Sinhalese. It is explained by Mr. and Mrs. Seligmann as "devil dancer" (cf. 32, p. 210) either that the word is used in that sense by the Vaddas which they have met with, or by their informant. It is perfectly right if the word *katandirale* is used in the sense of devil dancer in such a case, where only one man performs the dance as it must have been the case with the ceremony described by Mrs. B. Seligmann (cf. 31, pp. 368—378). The correct form of the word is *kattadirala*,¹ and its meaning is a *rala*, i. e. a master or a chief, of *kattadiyas*,² i. e. devil dancers. Therefore in a group of dancers only one, viz., the leader can be called *kattadirala*, the other being only *kattadiyas*, unless it is used out of reverence to those persons whose influence is revered and feared at the same time.

According to my experience, however, more common among the Vaddas is *kapurala* as the name of the leader of the dancing party and of that man who becomes possessed by the demon. *Kapurala*³

1. Of course the pronunciation of the word varies between *kattadirale* *kattadirale* and *kattandirale*, according to the locality and to the tribe of the man speaking.

2. I have proposed in my treatise *Ceylonska bozstva Gara a Giri* (Ceylonese Gods Gara and Giri). *Vestnik ceske Akademie*, vol. XXI (1912) an etymology that explains the word from a supposed Sk. from **kartra-jaya*, "who conquers magic". I now doubt, however, whether I am right on the subject. Anyhow the word seems rather difficult with regard to its origin, and perhaps represents several words joined to develop its present sense.

3. The word *kapurala* means a *rala*, chief, among the *kapuvas*, and can be according to circumstances considered as a honorific. The etymology of the word is not easy like that of *kattadiya*. The popular interpretation of the word by the Sinhalese is to connect it with the verb *kapanu-* (*kapanava*, pret. *kapuva*), to cut. The meaning of a "sacrificer" is then derived in different ways, either as one "who cuts offerings (especially limes)", or "who cuts away demons". But the word itself can be connected with the Sk. verbal root *kṛp-* (pres. *kalpate*), meaning "to be fit", and in the causative form (*kalpayati*) "to make fit", "prepare", from which the meaning "to prepare offerings", "to offer" is derived. The Sinhalese *kapa* is used regularly in the sense "dedicated", "devoted", "consecrated", "an offering to gods". But at the same time the word *kapuva* means a barber (i. e. the man who cuts and dresses beards and hair), the Tamil word *ambattaya* being freely used instead of it in the colloquial Sinhalese. There are ceremonies where barbers officiate as priests, and both the Sinhalese as well as the Tamil word is used to denote the man in his priestly function. There are deities in Ceylon whose priests can only be barbers. We cannot decide whether we have to do in such cases with deities of the barber class which later on became the property of the whole race, or whether the contamination of the words for a sacrificer and barber gave origin to the use of barbers as priests. It is of some interests to mention the fact that even in Sk. the word *kalpaka* (m.) has similar meaning, viz., 1 barber, 2 a rule, a statue, 3. a rite.

means really a "chief sacrificer", and has in reality nothing to do with the ceremonial demon dances. It can be used in connection with the demon dances only if they have a pure religious character and if the act of bringing offerings to the deity has a prominent part in the ceremony. And that happens really at the occasion of the most Vadda dances. But then it is wrong to describe a *kapurala* as a shaman as Mr. and Mrs. Seligmann do.

It is true that in the majority of cases this representant of the deity becomes possessed by the deity during the ceremony, advantage being taken sometimes from this state of the performer for divination. But it is not an absolutely necessary element of the performance. But it is not right to describe the performer as a shaman as is done in Seligmanns' work.

The difference between a shaman and a Vadda dancer is according to my experience rather a considerable one. In shaman there is a permanent inclination for getting possessed as a habitual state. The shaman is a kind of spiritualistic medium, and knows how to bring himself in the state of trance which is identical with possession. The Vadda performer becomes possessed by mere chance. Any one of the performers can become possessed, and also even the on-lookers. It is no habitual state of a man which is or can be developed, and it is not a real trance, but rather a kind of frenzy caused by the excitement of the performance. Shaman pretends to travel to various spheres of heaven and hell and to come into touch with various superhuman beings, and in this way communicates the wishes and grievances of mankind to the being concerned. Besides, the Shaman in this state of trance becomes a master of demons, so to speak a ruler of demons, able to represent them before the people, but also able to command them, to give orders to them, and even to castigate them. In this way the Shaman is an exorcist par excellence. The Vadda dancers come in touch only with the single individual demon which is invoked in the respective ceremony. He does not pretend to do more, and the single advantage from the possession is the possibility of divination. He becomes for the moment the invoked deity whom he was representing during the dance, and in this way communication with the deity is made possible.

The intention of the performers to get information or to gain advantage from the ceremony cannot be explained as a kind of magic, if there are no other criteria of a magical performance. Each and every religion is based on the egoistic tendencies of man, and we cannot deny that a performance of an otherwise religious character is

magic, because it is made for profit. And really in the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas there is very little magic, much less than in similar ceremonies of the Sinhalese, although the Vaddas know and use magic.

To discuss the performances in their characteristic parts, we must at first call special attention to the fact that every ceremonial dance of the Vaddas is centred round an altar be it an altar even of a very primitive character, as e.g. an arrow driven in the dancing ground (cf. 32, plate XXVI) or a bunch of leaves. Generally, however, a tripod is used for such an altar for which the Vaddas use as the name the Tamil word *mukkaliya*. By the Sinhalese it is commonly called *putuva* (a chair) or *pidenia* (a demon altar). On the tripod a large pot, *koraha* is placed as the recipient of the fluid offerings (cf. 32, pl. XXIX).

For solid offerings much more elaborate altars are necessary, the names of which are *massa* (scaffold, platform), *bulat-yahana* (betel-carrier), *maduva* (a shed) of which special kinds are the *ruvala* and the *kolamaduva*, or perhaps more correct *kolammaduva*.

Massa is a kind of scaffold made of sticks, resembling a table over which sometimes a kind of roof is erected. To take the offerings *massa* is generally covered with cloth or leaves (cf. 32, pl. XLVIII, 1, and pl. XLIV.) More elaborate kind of *massa*, in some cases even with several platforms is *bulat-yahana*, used only for the betel offerings (cf. 32, pl. XXXV). Therefore it is sometimes combined with a *mukkaliya*, or another kind of *pideniya* consisting of a wooden mortar, *vangediya*, and a pot, *koraha*, placed in its muzzle. (cf. 32, pl. XXXV and XLIX, 2).

Maduva (derived from Sk. *mandapa*, an open hall, a tent) is a structure of sticks very similar to the *massa*, but much larger and higher so that a man can easily enter it. It is now never covered with any roof, but consists only of a number of sticks. In contrast to the *massa*, where the offerings are placed on a kind of platform, in the *maduva* the offerings are hung up on the horizontal stick, as there is no platform where to place them. A special kind of *maduva* is the *kolamaduva* (cf. 32, pl. LIII), in which form the word is given by Seligmann, being considered by him as a near relative of the *ruvala* (cf. 32, pl. LII). He openly accepts the popular etymology of the Vaddas, who consider the *Ruvala-yaka* to be a foreign demon who "long ago . . . made a raft and crossed the ocean, and the sail (*Sin. ruvala*) and mast of their raft are represented by the centre pole (*ruvala*) of the structure of that name . . ." (cf. 32, p. 263). Accordingly the *kolamaduva* is correctly *kola-maduva*, i.e. a raft-shed, as *kolaya* is a raft. It seems that the *ruvala* ceremony and *kolamaduva* ceremony

were considered by Seligmann's informant if not identical at least reciprocal, as he says "... it had arisen as an elaboration of the *ruvala* ceremony . . .", which is supplemented by Seligmann: "The *ruvala* . . . itself shows signs of having been introduced from the Tamils of the east coast, though probably at a comparatively remote period" (cf. 32, p. 267).

This explanation perhaps agrees with the present opinion of the Vaddas, but hardly represents the true state of the matter. In this surrounding, the *kola-maduwa* is connected probably with *kolaya*, a raft, and to be explained as a shed in the shape of a raft. Then easily the middle post in the *maduwa* can be called *ruvala*, a sail, perhaps supposed to be a mast for the sail. But I have seen the word written by natives (not pure Vaddas) as *Kolam-maduwa*, and I am of the opinion that this is the right way to write the word. As *kolama* is a kind of masquerade which will be described in the other part of the treatise, the *kolam-maduwa* would be a shed for a masquerade. With that will agree the assertion of Mr. Seligmann that "Great numbers of *yaku* and *yakini* should be invoked at the *kolamaduva*; some, the spirits of people who frankly were not Veddas . . .".

The real meaning of the *kolam-maduwa* has nothing to do with that bunch of leaves which is used at the said ceremony and according to Mr. Seligmann is called *kolavegena*, correctly, however, *kolava kana*, or still better *kolaye kana*¹) i.e. a bunch of leaves on one stalk (cf. 32, pl. LIII). Of course, one should be inclined to think that the word *kolaya* (leaf) is also in the first part of that word which is written by Seligmann as *Kolamaduva*, and which accordingly should be written *kolamaduva*, with the meaning "shed of leaves", suggesting something like the Buddhist Sinh. *pansala*, Sk. *parana-sala*. Pali *pannasala*. But such an explanation does not agree with the use of the word in the Sinhalese demon dancing.

* * *

Like in any other religious ceremony, at the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas, various tools and implements are used for different purposes. Some of them are used to add the necessary requirements to the altar, as e.g. to make the altar fit to hold the offerings. To this group belong all the vessels, those leaves which are used instead of

1. The pronunciation of *k* between two vowels as *g* which is documented by Seligmann when he writes *kolavegena* as representing the true sound heard by him, discloses a very important phonetic fact, viz., that the tribe of the Vaddas concerned shows tendencies to pronounce even Sinhalese words in a fashion peculiar to the Tamil language.

vessels, arrows, lances to which offerings are pricked on. The other group are things used to mask the performer, the offering, etc. and to adapt them to the supposition of the ceremonial group. The third group of the ceremonial utensils are real tools, implements and weapons, used or pretended to be used for their normal purposes, e.g. knives for the killing of the victim, for the dressing of the offering, etc.

To the first group belongs in the first place the *koraha*, a large earth pan used in Sinhalese households for cooking rice, and by Tamils called *catti*. If it is used for offering of coconut milk, or rather of the rice boiled in coconut milk, it is called *kiri-koraha*. Also smaller kinds of pots are used for ceremonial purposes, and sometimes even halves of coconut-shells (cf. 32, pl. XXXVI, 2). Brazen vessels are not used by Vaddas, but are preferred by the Sinhalese at their demon offerings. To hold small offerings offered during the dancing ceremony various leaves are used, among them the betel-leaves (*bulat*) holding the foremost place. Sometimes they are pricked to the points of arrows which are fixed in the middle of the dancing ground, being considered as a kind of altars (cf. 32, plate XLVII). In such function, leaves are used even by the up-country Sinhalese who use the name *gotuva* for it.

Other utensils of the first group are bunches of leaves called *kolave kana*, bunches of bast marked by different names according to the thing which they are pretended to represent, e.g. *vilakodiya*, a flag, *kude* a parasol etc. Further a piece of new cloth for covering of the *bulatyahana*. Also a number of sticks, pretending to represent various objects (e.g., the mast with the sail, *ruvala*) are used to supplement the altars. The names of them can be found in Seligmanns' work in the quoted passages, although the orthography of the name is inaccurate, and therefore it is sometimes very difficult to decide what is the proper meaning and what was the original use of the object concerned.

Of a much greater importance for us are such utensils which are used by the Vaddas at the ceremonial dances to mask themselves and to make themselves up to resemble the *yaka* represented. They do not use any masks for this purpose, and not even a special dress. I have seen in Polonnaruwa a group of Vaddas pretended by a Sinhalese to have been brought elsewhere from the neighbourhood of Yakkure, who performed a ceremonial dance being wrapped in bunches of leaves from the *Na-gaha* (iron-wood tree, *Measua Ferrea*). But I did not see anything similar during my travel in the country between Yakkure and Bintenna. No such make-up is mentioned by Mr. and Mrs. Seligmann. According to the Seligmanns during some of

the dances the performers used a cloth wrapped round them in the shape of a skirt the name of which is given by Seligmann as *hangala*, and should be perhaps correctly written *hankada*, although the *Vadda* pronunciation will not differ very much from the equivalent given by Seligmann. Otherwise only some weapons (e.g. the ceremonial spare *avudaya*,¹ or a stick representing a javelin, lance, etc.) are used to help the fancy of the men to recognize the representation of the *yaka* in the man. Perhaps for the same purpose, at least at some of the ceremonial dances, a *tadiya* or a carrying pole is used (cf. 32, pl. XLIII, 2), although in several dances it is used directly to help the bringing of the offering.

Very few real offering tools are used at the ceremonial dances of the *Vaddas*. It is chiefly a knife or two, with which it is pretended to stab the offering, if the demon does not comply with the prayers; the ceremonial bow with an arrow [*dunna* (bow); *i*, *iya*, *igaha*, *italaya* (arrow)]; a sword, supposed to be a golden sword (*ran-kaduva*). But even they are used to characterize the performer as such, and therefore can be classed with those in the preceding group, i.e. as masking utensils of the dancers.

* * *

Each of the ceremonial dances of the *Vaddas* consists of a series of rythmical movements performed by the dancers in the front of the altar or round it on a flat space amongst hills, called *talava*. The dancing performance is either continuous with a gradation of the movements up to the moment when the leading performer becomes possessed, or it is interrupted by various more or less dramatic scenes, e.g. staging of a tracing the sambar deer, shooting the wild boar, or collecting honey. But sooner or later the possession by the demon must be effected, as only in that state is communication with the invoked being possible.

The moment of the possession of the performer by the demon is utilized for divination. During the whole time of this part of the performance the possessed man is out of his senses, although he speaks, has his eyes wide open and sometimes rolls his eyeballs furiously. Sooner or later the state of possession changes in a state of stupor, during which the body of the dancer is perfectly stiff so that he must be helped by his companions (cf. 32, pl. XXVII, 2). According to my

1. The colloquial form of pronunciation of the word is *aude*, therefore it is also often written by English authors *aude*.

experience from Yakkure the man during this state of trance is insensitive to bodily pain, as the man concerned did not respond to pinching, pricking with a pin, or burning with a piece of charcoal. After the performance the man who has been possessed, was perfectly exhausted and had to be attended to by his companions. That is my own experience as well as that of Mr. and Mrs. Seligmann.

The dance is an essential part of the ceremony which cannot be divided from the offering or the dramatic performance. The performance is a whole, and no constituent part of it can be separated in order that the character of the ceremony may not be changed. It is my experience from Polonnaruwa that even the suspected "Vaddas" when they did the performance only for show, brought offerings and the leader became possessed as in a true ritual performance. This fact I consider as the most reliable proof that the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas are real religious rituals.

Much more difficult, however, is to decide whether they do represent remnants of old pre-Aryan rituals, or whether they are new products developed under the influence of foreign elements. Perhaps we cannot go beyond mere opinion in this province of research, and I gave my own opinion about this matter in the beginning of this paper, maintaining that the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas are a tertiary phenomenon like the whole Sinhalese folk-religion of a comparatively recent origin, perhaps a little older than the Sinhalese folk-religion, but possibly identical with similar ceremonial dances of the Sinhalese.

I have now only to explain the reasons of my argument. From the anthropological point of view the present Vaddas cannot be considered as remnants of the aborigines of Ceylon, but must be regarded rather as a tribe closely related to the Sinhalese, but having several distinctive marks of Tamils. To go into detail would mean to discuss the problem of the origin of the Ceylonese inhabitants, a question which cannot be reliably replied to at the present stage of research.¹ The same can be said about the Vaddas from the linguistic point of view. Their language is essentially identical with a more ancient layer of the Sinhalese language, free of nearly all modern foreign

1. For a number of further details cf. the Introduction to my essay *PRISPEVKY KE STUDIU LIDOVYCH NABOZENSTVI CEYLONSKYCH* (Contribution to the study of the Ceylonese popular religions); Publication of the philosophical faculty of the Charles University, Prague, vol. VI (Prague 1925), pp. 7—10.

elements¹. There are Tamil words in the language of Vaddas, but we cannot trace them to their real source and their time of introduction. More important is, however, that the ability of the Vaddas to pronounce some sounds approximates more to the Tamil than to the Sinhalese pronunciation. But a similar fact can be observed among the low-caste Sinhalese in those tracks of land, where they are in continuous touch with Tamils of a similar social position. And nearly identical are the circumstances in which the present Vaddas are living. I came across Vaddas who had even completely adopted the Tamil language as their own². Therefore we cannot be surprised if they have adopted in the course of time some habits and even religious ceremonies of the Tamils. But the Tamil influences in this regard are very rare, and we can scarcely ascertain mere traces of Hinduism among the Vaddas. And where such elements do appear, it cannot be decided whether they are of Tamil or Sinhalese origin.

A psychological analysis of the ideas of the Vaddas teach us that the mentality of the Vaddas about the ceremonial dances is identical with the mentality of the Sinhalese. The idea of communication with the deity by means of possession and the ceremonial dance with all the proper paraphernalia as means of attaining the possession are the same in both. Even the idea that no special abilities are needed for the performer in the ceremonial dance are identical with both. Also most of the deities are the same even if the names slightly or totally differ from each other. A careful study of Sinhalese ballads used in the Sinhalese demon ceremonies teach us that even such specific Vadda deities at the *Na-yaka* have their equivalents in the Sinhalese folklore. Even some of the local deities of the Vaddas are known to the Sinhalese and their names appear in the Sinhalese ballads perhaps with a remark that it is a Vadda deity. The identity of the mentality

1. I. e. *Elu*, or *Elu-basa*. There are many features in the Elu language which are similar to Tamil, as e. g., the want of aspirates, change of palatal *c* into *s*, change of groups of consonants into single consonants. But there are other changes, as e. g., that of *j* into *d*, loss of nasalisation before consonants, & *c* which are peculiar only to Elu. The change of a toneless (non-sonant, surd) consonant to a consonant with tone (a sonant), of a *ahgosa* to a *ghosavant*, between two vowels, which is peculiar to Tamil language, never appears in Elu, but is more or less common in the pronunciation of Sinhalese words by those Vaddas who are in touch with Tamils, and by members of some lower classes of the Sinhalese.

2. Tamil speaking Vaddas are mentioned by H. Parker (e. g. 27, p. 186) and others. I came also across Tamil speaking men who professed to be Vaddas. But their language was not a pure Tamil, but rather a slang composed of Tamil and Sinhalese words with no distinct grammar, special words being used as formatives, like in the colloquial language of some very low classes of the Sinhalese.

is apparent also from the similarity of the offerings and of the manner in which they are offered.

The tertiary character of the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas appears immediately when we compare them with the other religious ideas of the Vaddas and with their other customs and habits. The low standard of living of the Vaddas would require much more primitive forms of religion and religious ceremonial. A primitive dancing ceremony is either a social function with a religious aim, as are all the totemistic rituals, or a pure shamanistic performance of a great naivete. The ceremonial dances of the Vaddas are no social gatherings of a totemistic character as it is quite clear from all the descriptions available. But there is also no such naivete in their performances as is observed in all shamanistic ceremonies. According to the descriptions of Mr. and Mrs. Seligmann the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas are very elaborate rituals, sometimes rather schematic. The egoistic purpose of the ceremony exceeds all the other religious or social regards, as it is characteristic for all tertiary religious phenomena. Of course we must then suppose for the Vaddas a stage of a secondary religious development which is, however, unknown to us, because we do not know their history in the remote past, when they became divided from the Sinhalese, nor their relationship with the Aryan period of the Ceylonese culture.

We can, however, take the ceremonial dances of the Vaddas into consideration, when we are studying the "Devil Dancing" of the Sinhalese, and compare both kinds of ceremonies, and even use the knowledge of the Vadda ceremonies to supplement the missing elements in the demon ritual of the Sinhalese. Therefore I have devoted more space to the discussion of that matter, because I will be obliged to draw attention to many of the mentioned details, when I shall discuss the more important matter of the masked ceremonial dances of the Sinhalese.

2. *The dancing ceremonial of the Gale Yaka.*

The only authority for the worship of the *Gale Yaka* in Ceylon is H. Parker, and his account of the deity and its worship (27, pp. 144, 177—206) seems to be based on the results of his personal observation. It is a fact that in Nevill's collection of Sinhalese ballads used in the demon worship not a single piece is contained bearing any relation to a deity of a name *Gale yaka*, *Gale deviya*, or *Gale bandara*. It is true in Barnett's list (7, p. 24) a *Gale deva* appears, but there is no other infor-

mation than that he is a companion of Dahanaka about whom "the *Dahanaka-devi-kavi* relates that he with *Gale deva* took possession of the forests" (7. p. 16). All my efforts during my stay in Ceylon in 1910 to find MSS containing ballads about *Gale yaka*, or reported to be used in his worship were in vain. Therefore it is very difficult to take a critical point of view towards Parker's report on the matter.

In consequence of this state of research on that subject it is impossible to go to the root of the problems connected with the existence and worship of this deity. On account of the importance of this religious phenomenon for the study of the other Ceylonese ceremonial dances and dancing rituals to make the survey as complete as possible I must give the most important facts about the deity, and few details of the ceremonies, but I am restricted to a reproduction of a single source of knowledge of the matter, viz., the said work of H. Parker, to which, of course, I will be obliged to add several critical notes.

The deity worshipped in the strange dancing ceremonial described by H. Parker is a rock or hill deity, about which there is very little knowledge from other sources than from Parker's book. Parker (27, p. 144) says that the Sinhalese recognise three if not four special forms of such deities, and enumerates four of them whose names are given as 1. *Gale deviya*, considered by Parker to be identical with *Gale yaka* of the Vaddas, 2. *Gale bandara*, a foreign demon (Indian), 3. *Kande bandara*, whose name is interpreted by Parker as "The Chief of the Hills", apparently accepted in the list under Nevill's influence, and 4. *Kurunagale Postima bandara*, a local demon.

No evidence is brought forward by H. Parker in support of the non-identity of the named beings, or of their character as rock or hill deities. At first it must be said that little difference is between *deviya*, *yaka*, and *bandara* in the use of the plain Sinhalese people. All three names are used at random, although originally there has been a difference between them. *Deviya*, which is identical with *devaya*, originally means an Indian or Hindu god, generally one represented by an image. The original significance of the name *yaka* is quite uncertain, and the name is explained in several ways as it was already explained (cf. p. 116). Anyhow it seems to be used, at least in some parts of Ceylon, to denote such deities which are not represented, or at least upon a time were not represented by images, and are believed to have an ability to descend in human beings or to possess them. *Bandaras* as it was already explained, are ancestors who became after their death deities of similar character like the *yakas*. Even these slight differences are now-a-days obsolete, and nothing can be inferred from the fact,

that different of these attributes are added to the same name. And such conditions must have already existed considerable time ago, as such a promiscuous use of the third attribute can be found in my Sinhalese ballads of a rather old date.

Therefore I think that there is no difference between *Gale deviya* (or *Gale yaka*) and *Gale bandara*, as I have already explained in the article about the Foreign Demons (Archiv Orientalni, vol. 1, p. 62), and they are in the best case only aspects of the same deity. The foreign character is given to the *Gale bandara*, according to my opinion, only as a kind of backing to enhance the importance of an old deity in the eyes of the people. A similar mentality is hidden behind local legends in which a well known deity is connected with the name of an important personality of the locality. Undoubtedly such a case is when the spirit of Postima is connected with the rock deity who at one time was perhaps worshipped throughout Ceylon.

The only remaining rock deity who does not seem to be of the same origin as the three other ones is the *Kande bandara*. This deity has been put among the Ceylonese rock deities, I think, for the first time by Hugh Nevill, and his opinion was not opposed by anyone since that time, although it is very dubious. Nevill committed the fault that he did not distinguish properly between two meanings of the word *kanda*. It is true that *kanda* in the Sinhalese language means "hill", and in that sense appears in many geographical names of the Ceylonese mountains. But besides that meaning the word *kanda* (written in the same way) is the *tadbhava* of Sk. *Skanda*, the war god of India who was united with an unknown Ceylonese deity worshipped especially in the Southern Ceylon in the village of Kataragama¹.

Besides the simple form *Kanda* also the names *kanda kumara* and *Kande bandara* appear as the names of that god. That *Kande bandara* is the Indian *Skanda* appears from the *Kande-bandara-kavi* where, however, also an attempt is made to connect the deity with a Hill deity; he is invoked as riding upon a peacock and descending from his bower on the hill (*kanda*) to heal sickness (7, p. 44). In Barnett's list of Sinhalese deities and demons a *kanda devi* is quoted as a spirit invoked in *Dalu-mura-pidum-kavi*, which seems to be identical with *Irugal*.

1. *Kande* is not the genitive form (of inanimate nouns) of *kanda* (hill), but a contracted nominative form of *Kandaya* (a *tadbhava* of *Skanda(ya)*) which must be admitted on the evidence of analogy with such nouns as *Brahmaya*, *Asuraya*, etc. At the same time it must not be mistaken for colloquial *kande* which is a common pronunciation of nom. *kanda*.

bandara a local deity of *Payin-gamuva* (cf. 7, p. 33), which is a god giving permission (*varan*) to *Kalu Kumara*.¹

The Hill deity is considered by H. Parker as a primitive deity of Ceylon although he does not quote any authority for his opinion². He gives a full account of several traditions relative to the deity, in which a kind of an *Odyssey* of the god is depicted, and several halting places of the deity are named, among them also *Kataragama* and *Kurunagala* (27, pp. 178–180). Those traditions about coming and travelling of the foreign god seem to represent a process of unification of various local cults of a Hill deity accompanied by the knowledge that similar cults existed abroad, or in plain words, that such an unification has been effected in times when regular connections with Southern India had been established. I cannot go into details of the tradition, and have to refer to the quoted passages of Parker's book.

For us the most important part of Parker's information about the Ceylonese Hill deity are those passages describing the ceremonies. All these ceremonies consist of ceremonial dances. Such a dance with offerings is performed by the Tamil-speaking *Vaddas* in order to pray for success in the hunting of sambar deer (27, p. 187). It is of a great interest that the prayers uttered during the dance are Sinhalese, although the performer does not understand the language. Still more important is that the Hill deity is worshipped with a dance in case of sickness. At the ceremony cooked rice, pieces of cocoanut, a small cake made of rice flour and a little meat are offered. The food is purified by lustration of water and one lighted wick is fixed in front of the offering.

1. According to the Sinhalese belief there are four Guardian gods (*hajara varam-deviyo*) one in each of the four quarters of the world, which take care each of his quarter, granting permission (*varam*, or colloqu. *varan*) to demons to extort offerings from men by means of sending on them diseases, bad luck, and other disasters which can be afterwards diverted only by proper offerings accompanied by proper ceremonies. Various gods used to be enumerated as the Guardian gods. The oldest group seems to be: *Saman* in the east, *Vibhisana* in the west, *Kanda-kumara* in the south, *Aiyanar* or *Boksal*, *Vessamuni* or other (cf. 27, p. 668) in the north. In modern times Hindu gods have been put on the place of the old Ceylonese gods, viz. *Sakka* (i. e. *Sakra*, *Indra*), *Visnu*, *Skanda*, and either *Aiyanar*, or *Siva*, or *Kuvera* (called *Vessamuni*, i. e. *Vaisravana*). But it seems that also other gods, especially old aboriginal gods, perhaps different in different localities, have been worshipped as the Guardian gods.

2. Parker (27, p. 203) seems to connect the *Gale Deviya* with *Kiri-Amma*, whose name he is right to explain as *Giri-Amma*. Of course then she must be in any connection with *Gara yaka*, as it has been explained in my treatise *CEYLONSKA BOZSTVA GARA A GIRI* (The Ceylonese Deities Gara and Giri), *Vestnik Ceske Akademie*, vol. XXI (1912).

"The officiator holds an arrow upright in his right hand, and while repeating his prayer to the God for the removal of the sickness makes little cuts with it at the rice, believing that as he cuts it, the sickness passes into the rice. At the conclusion of the offering, a ceremonial dance is performed by the celebrant, in front of the shrine, holding the arrow in his hand. Now comes the peculiar part of the ceremony. Although the sickness is supposed to have been communicated to the rice, it is thought that a ceremonial sprinkling of water over the latter will drive it out again. This is now done, and the food having been thus purified is divided among the persons who are presenting the offering and the patient, and is eaten together with the other things offered. This ceremony is called *Gale-Yak-maduve bat pujava*, "The Offering of the Rice of the *Gale Yaka's* Shed".

This is the description of the ceremony by Parker (27, p. 187 f.) as it is performed in South of Ceylon and in Uva. Parker asserts, that the Vaddas of the interior and their Sinhalese neighbours perform similar dances as a preventive in cases of epidemic disease, or misfortune (27, p. 188), and mentions especially such annual performances, perhaps as a kind of seasonal ritual. Dance, possession and resulting divination are the most important parts of the ceremony (27, p. 188—189). And these seasonal dances differ rather greatly from the other Ceylonese ceremonial dances according to the description given by H. Parker. He says: "But the special place for such dances to the God of the Rock, for the Vaddas particularly, and also for the Sinhalese who live near them, is on the summit of precipitous crags on or near the top of certain hills of the district, on which this form of worship has been performed from ancient times. On these they dance once a year to ensure the general prosperity of the district" (cf. 27, pp. 189—190).

From the description the most important details are that the performer with only two attendants climbs the rock, but only himself alone performs the dance. As dress a white cloth is used by the Sinhalese, by Vaddas an old torn cloth. The dancer has a short-handled bill-hook, *ran-katta*, in his hand. The performance takes place generally during the day-time. If it is performed at night, the attendants carry lighted torches. The ceremonial dance itself is according to Parker's description very simple, and is accompanied by a short song in the style of usual Sinhalese ballads. The most important detail is that a kind of ritual cleanliness is required, and not only three days before the ceremony, but also three days after the ceremony, a series of prohibitions being imposed upon the performer.

The "Dancing Rocks" are according to Parker's information called *nata gal*, on each of the hill concerned being one such rock. Parker supplies what he calls a nearly complete list of the Dancing Rocks in the Kandyan district (27, p. 192) and adds (p. 193) a series of drawings representing the hills with the Dancing Rocks. From the drawings it can be seen that the Dancing Rocks were always projecting crags on prominent hills where the dancer could have been seen by the people standing below. Parker says that most of them face towards south, a feature which differs much from the ceremonial habits of Indian forest tribes who prefer the North. Parker speaks about those ceremonies as still extant in his times, but I was unable to trace anything of them although I was in Ceylon only few years later. Parker considers that the Rock Dancings have survived or have been developed in the most complete manner among the north-western Sinhalese (27, p. 191). In Kurunagala district the dancer who performs the Rock Dance becomes possessed by the deity and still in this state of possession goes to the rock, climbs it and performs the Rock Dance (27, P. 197 f.). The performance is followed by an elaborate offering ceremony in the temple of the deity (27, p. 198—202).

A striking feature of the Rock Dancing in Kurunagala as described by H. Parker is that the performer is never a low-caste professional demon-dancer, *yak-dessa*, even not a common sacrificer, *kapuva* or *kapurata*, but a special priest of a good social class (like the Indian *pujarin*). The name of the priest is according to Parker (27, p. 197) *Anumatirala*, i.e. 'a chief who has consent' (viz., to officiate for the god).¹

Parker's description supplies a vast amount of information and details which need not be reproduced here as they are easily accessible in his book. He has codified an almost obsolete ritual in its various local forms, a ritual which is up to now unknown in the ritualistic literature of the Sinhalese folk-religion. It is a pity, that his description is not accompanied with texts of the songs and invocations by which the dances are accompanied. With what, however, we cannot agree, are the conclusions in which Parker tries to draw a parallel between *Gale yaka* and *Rudra*. I consider any such attempt as a hopeless and useless task².

1. The word is derived from *anumatiya*, more correctly *anumatiya*, written some times also *anumataya*, "consent", "command" (from Sk. *anumati*). It is meant consent of god to officiate for him.

2. Contrary to Parker's opinion, it is a fact that *Rudra* absorbed in himself a great number of Indian aboriginal deities, before he became the great syncretistic god, known under the name of *Siva*. Because there is at least a parallelism if not a relation between the Indian aboriginal religions and that unknown basis of the

The importance of the knowledge of this ceremony lies in the fact, that Parker's description gives us a vivid and complete picture of a popular Ceylonese dancing ceremony, as it hardly can be seen again. This completeness discloses to us the original character of all Ceylonese dancing ritual.

The dancing ceremony is only a part of the rather elaborate ritual where preparatory rites precede the dancing ceremony which is followed by a series of concluding rites that depend more or less upon the result of the divination of the possessed performer. It is a real religious ceremony not of a social character like e.g. the totemistic rituals. The worship of the deity is the main purpose of the ceremony even if it is directed by the human egoism requiring a reward for those partaking in the ceremony. It is a propitiatory ceremony for a deity ruling over a district or a country, and therefore it must have a local character. It is difficult to search for its origin in foreign countries and foreign mythologies, as its local character prevails over all the other elements that even those foreign elements which perhaps have been taken from other religions have been so completely adapted to the local colouring that it is difficult to discover how they have been introduced in the cult. That can be said about all the Sinhalese dancing ceremonies, not only about the Rock Dancing.

The second conclusion drawn from the observation of this obsolete Sinhalese ritual is in a very close relation with the fact that the ceremony is a real religious ritual. Moreover the deity worshipped is a real god as it has been already mentioned, and it does not matter whether his name is given as *deviya*, *yaka* or *bandara*. All these expressions are more or less only local varieties of names for super-human, supernatural, transcendental, and never a mere spirit or ghost can be described by any of them. The *Gale deviya* himself is a god of supreme attributes who can hardly be compared with many other Ceylonese deities, but he is simultaneously a demon in the original (Greek) sense of the word, he is the deity communicating with man for their mutual benefit.

If we compare this characteristic feature of the dancing cult of *Gale deviya* with the above mentioned dancing ceremonials of the Vaddas, we can see that all those Vadda ceremonials, known to us perhaps in the most cases only from specially staged performances,

present Sinhalese folk-religion, it can be easily understood that similar features, similar attributes, and similar functions can be found between any obsolete Ceylonese god and Indian *Siva-Rudra*, if he belongs to the same sphere of ideas.

are of the same character, and are product of the same mentality, but have not survived in such a complete form as the Rock Dancing, of course at the time when it was observed by H. Parker. Even here the *yakas* are more or less gods, always, however, deities governing the welfare of the tribe or locality, never mere spirits haunting the place or devils lying in wait for man in order to injure or to destroy him. If they are supposed to injure man in order to get from him offerings, it is only a mere anthropomorphy, a transfer of the mentality of the man living in the wilderness to the supposed superhuman beings, too. Man cannot realize a being thinking and acting in another way than he thinks and acts himself, at best he can admit a slight quantitative modification of the habits of the superhuman.

The same character can be found, as we shall see in the following parts of the treatise, in a number of Sinhalese dancing ceremonies. Of course from the Sinhalese dancing ceremonies only poor traces remain, because by the influence of foreign culture, foreign education, and foreign religions everything which could have been substituted by more developed forms disappeared. In this way only the typical Ceylonese ceremonial dancing remained from the original complete cults of local deities. As the foreign gods, in this case the Hindu gods, were rising in esteem, *yakas* were sinking to demi-gods, demons living on mercy of the foreign gods¹, and getting from them permission (*varan*) to trouble and even injure men in order to extort offerings from them, and thus becoming devils and ghosts, as a result of that mentality, and as a consequence of the influence of similar phenomena in the imported foreign religions. Especially the Indian stories about *yakas*, *raksasas*, *pretas* etc., were of great influence in this regard. Under this influence the Sinhalese ceremonial dances get a double character of a real religious ceremony and of a quasi-magic performance, of an exorcism. Both the elements can be connected in one ceremony, or one can be of a pure religious character, and the other a pure exorcism. This is the difficulty with the present Sinhalese dancing ceremonies, which can be decided only in individual cases. And for that purpose the ritual of Rock Dancing (and also some of the Vadda ceremonials) can give us many clues and bearings.

1. For such kinds of supposed beings Indian names *raksasa* (tadbh. *rakusa*, *rakussa*, or corruptly *rassaya*), *preta*, *bhuta*, *pisaci* (tadbh. *pisas*) etc., have been introduced probably through the medium of Buddhism.

Still one question remains unanswered. That is, whether the Rock Dancing ritual is a primitive or a tertiary religious phenomenon¹. The reply to this question is very difficult, and is connected with the question whether *Gale deviya* is a primitive deity of Ceylon or not. Really it cannot be replied satisfactorily at all. The idea of the deity itself is on the whole indistinct as I have already explained, and shows many features which can be considered either primitive or tertiary. The story of the travelling of the deity speaks for the tertiary character of the deity. His ritual is absolutely no primitive ritual except few elements of primitive character, e.g. the dancing performance on the rock itself. Therefore it is my opinion that even the ritual of *Gale deviya* is a tertiary religious phenomenon in which, however, a great deal of ancient primitive elements survived, although they cannot easily be divided from the innovations and foreign elements. That is the same stage of evolution as we can see it in other Sinhalese or Vadda dancing ceremonies, where, however, the process of development on one side and decay on the other side proceeded farther and more deeper than in that case.

3. *Kala-gedi natum*.

Our knowledge of this ceremony is quite the reverse of the preceding one. While we know Rock Dancing only from information based on the personal observation, we get the only knowledge of the *Kala-gedi natum* from a single ballad which appears to have been sung at the ceremony giving very scarce information about the dancing performance.

The name *kala-gedi natum* means a "water-pot dance"² and appears only in Nevill's Catalogue of Ballads, and from that came into

1. Tertiary religious phenomena are those which have developed on the basis of a secondary (commonly *theistic*) religion under influence of superstitions as degenerative products, forming occasionally new religious systems which have some characteristics of primitive religions and some of the secondary religions. They compose what can be described as "folk-religion" or "popular religion", opposite to the "official" or "priestly religion".

2. *Kala-gediya* is a large earthen pot which is used for carrying water to the houses. In the same sense the simple *kala* is used, which is a derivation of Sk. *kalasa*, "a pitcher", "a jar". But the same form can be also equivalent of Sk. *kala*, time. *Gediya*, a word of unknown origin, means originally "anything voluminous, hollow, of rather round form", then it is used for "fruit", "boil", "tumor", and with the names of vessels to express the idea of their large volume, and possibly also their round form.

The double sense of the Sinhalese word *kala* seems to have influenced the minds of the performers of the present ceremony so that the word *kala-gediya* evoked in their minds not only the idea of "large earthen water-pot" but also the idea "the fruit of the time". If we bear in mind that fact, we can better understand many details from the ballad concerned.

Barnett's Alphabetical Guide to Sinhalese Folklore. Barnett (7, p. 36) quotes probably from Nevill's Catalogue of Ballads four titles of ballads on the subject, viz., *Kala-gedi varnanava*, *Kala-gedi pimbima*, *Kala-gedi natum*, and *Kala-gedi male*. It must be supposed that all the four ballads were in possession of the late Hugh Nevill, and the information on the subject contained in his catalogue must be derived from these four ballads. Especially the first one, if we infer from the title *Kala-gedi varnanava*, i.e. 'the full description of water-pots', must have contained the most important information. But sad to say in the Nevill's Collection in the British Museum there is no MS which could be identical with the text mentioned.

There are only two MSS in British Museum on the subject, viz., Or. 6615 (148) with the subscription *Kala-gedi-male sinduva*, containing sixty eight stanzas forming a song recited probably at the performance of the ceremony; and Or. 6615 (104) *Kala-gedi-male pat-iru*, containing only fragments of a similar ballad, if not another version of the same ballad. The most important *varnanava* seems to be lost.

The first of two MSS is written on twelve palm-leaves of the size $12\frac{3}{8} \times 2$ in. (318 X 50 mm) marked by Arabic numbers of European character 1—12. The stanzas are marked in similar way 1—68. Each page of a leaf contains three stanzas, except the last (twelfth) leaf where only two stanzas are written on the obverse while on the reverse only the subscription as it was given above is written¹. The stanzas are of the usual type of four lines each, known under the name, *sivpadaya* (quatrain). They are rhymed with rhymes not only on the end of verses but also in the first words of each verse, either in the second, third or fourth syllable of the verse. The ballad is a *sinduva*, i.e. a song recited during a ceremony or a game. Such ballads do not describe the performance, and only from allusions the character of the performance can be inferred.

The second MS consists of only three palm leaves of $14\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{11}{16}$ in. (360 X 41 mm) which seem to belong to two different MSS. It is evident just from the marking of the leaves. The first two leaves are marked *ge* and *gr*, the third one *da*. The first two leaves contain six quatrains written in a very rough hand. The obverse of the third leaf contains the end of a Buddhist story (*katha*) in prose, written in a fine, almost calligraphical hand. The reverse of the leaf is blank. On a small piece of a palm leaf added to the MS as a kind of label the title

1. The same subscription is written on a small piece of palm-leaf attached to the MS as a kind of label, on which also the library number in ink is written.

is given as *Kala-gedi-male pat-iru*, i.e. '(single) leaves on Kala-gedi-male.' Thus both of them deal with the same matter, i.e. *kala-gedi-male*, 'a garland of waterpots'. Stanzas of the smaller MS are very similar to some of the large MS but there cannot be found two perfectly identical stanzas.

From the contents of the ballad we learn very little about the ceremony, even the title "Garland of the Waterpots" is not quite clear from it. Each stanza is in reality a separate invocation, and only the last line of each stanza seems to allude to the actual performance, e. g. 6.: *sit-satosi kala-gedi pimbinta venave gena*, 'joyful in mind we shall come to blow the waterpots'. Only in the first stanza besides the name of the ballad a quasi contents of the composition are given. For more detail Nevill's Catalogue of Ballads, or Barnett's Alphabetical Guide (7, p. 35 f). must be consulted.

According to those informants the *Kala-gedi natum* is a magic rite for the New Year, in which dancers throw about and blow into clay pots. The New Year is meant the Buddhist New Year falling on the first day of the light half of *Caitra*, being identical with the Hindu New Year. The day is called *avurudda-davasa*, and it is occasion for general joy and merry-making.

Barnett's information of the ceremony, most probably based on Nevill's account in his Catalogue of Ballads, gives the following details: "The dancers are young men in women's dress, each holding a pot in each hand, with drummers playing an accompaniment. They worship Iru Deva (Sun God) and Mihi-kata (Earth Goddess), and dance, blowing into their pots so as to make a dull roaring sound; four of them blow into four pots in honour of the four Guardian Gods. The sky and the earth are compared to pots, which echo the tune. At certain points in the rite the pots are thrown up into the air and caught again".

We do not know whether this information is derived only from the lost ballads, or whether it is based also on Nevill's personal knowledge of the ceremony described which is now perfectly obsolete as far as I could ascertain during my stay in Ceylon. There is also no information of the performance in the articles concerned in The Monthly Literary Register (1 and 30).

Barnett's information is corroborated by the *Kala-gedi-male-sinduva* in Or. 6615 (148), although it is not the ballad where the complete description (*varnanava*) of the ceremony was contained.

That the performance was given at New Year's day, we learn from the stanza 7:

*yahapat-avurudu-kona balala
paha pat abaranin sarasilala
are gena kala-gediyak toralala
ranga den melesata pimbi nala-mala.*

(Having seen the end of the excellent year, having himself ornamented with a bright cloth from among ceremonial implements,¹ having released and having chosen (or seized) a clay water pot, give performance and thus blow the garland of reeds). Here also the woman's bright cloth is mentioned, the performance with pots and a kind of music performed on reeds.

The invoked deity we learn to know from stanza 9. The Sun God is here called *Iri-deviyan*, perhaps a local pronunciation being codified by this mode of writing instead of the correct *Iru*.² Whether the Indian god *Surya* is meant by the name is very difficult to decide.³ The other deity is the Earth Goddess *Mihi-kata*, literally the Earth lady.⁴

The ballad shows that the performance was a joyous time for the performers, and perhaps it was a part of a merry festival, one of many such performances, on the occasion of the New Year festival of the other, however, we have no knowledge. The general merry-making is especially well depicted in the stanza 67 :

*dimi tisa pirimiyo⁵ bade manaramba
avit pelata ganduna-yi⁶ manaramba*

1. *Abaranaya*, in the literary language generally *abharanaya*, (Sk. *abharana*) in the original sense of the word means 'any ornament for wearing', 'jewellery'. But in the religious terminology it is used as the name of all the ritual utensils and implements kept in the temple and lent to the performers during the time of ceremony. Such *abaranaya* does not only contain dresses, and jewellery of the dancers, but also ceremonial weapons, etc. H. Parker is not right when he thinks that *abaranaya* is only the symbol of the god (cf. 27, p. 197, 199).

2. It is one of those few instances from which we draw the evidence that in the original colloquial Sinhalese besides an *u* and an *i* also an *u* must be supposed, which is written either *u* or *i*, as there is no sign for that sound of *u*.

3. It is generally accepted etymology that the Sk. *surya* have changed in Sinhalese first to **huri(a)*, and then to *iri* and *iru*. The difficulty of that etymology is that the form *iru* is more common, and seems to be original, and the form *iri* is rarer, and seems to be secondary derivation of the first form.

4. It is an Elu *tadbhava* of Sk. *Mahi-kanta*, the Lady of the Earth, the Earth Goddess.

5. In the MS it is written *piripiyo*.

6. I leave the form *ganduna* as it is written in the MS, although it is evident that it is an equivalent for *ganuna*, or *ganuna*, 'a woman', 'a girl'. I consider it as another form of the same word.

*noyek sadisi-vana¹ tambili-kurumba
pimbiti no-hara kala-gedi manaramba.*

(Having taken thirty red ants delightful men, having come in the row (they) are women delightful, several young king-cocoanuts of the same colour, they blow without interruption the clay water pots delightfully.)

Although the invocation of the ballad give us so many details of the performance, nowhere it is even mentioned that the performance is accompanied by dancing. Not in a single verse word *natima*, *natum*, or *natanava* can be found, although the ballads which are composed to accompany ceremonial dances, use to mention the fact very often in the text, especially on such points of the performance where the performer after another kind of ceremonial performance takes again to dance. Such a want of a standard mode of expression is very surprising in the popular Sinhalese poetry, as it must be admitted by expert. There would be a need to explain it, if the reply to the question was not given in the last stanza (68), where it is sung :

*ahas deviyo eliya karanne
polove mihi-kata bin banda ganne
satara-varam² devi bala sitinne
ada me keliyen api dinavanne.*

(In the sky, gods will make light, on the earth, the Earth Goddess will take sites for herself, the four guardian gods will stay looking, to day this p l a y we shall cause to win.)

In the last verse the problem is solved. It is no ceremonial dance but it is a r e l i g i o u s g a m e, *keliya*, as they were used to be played at great seasonal festivals of the Sinhalese.³ In such games two rival parties take their parts, one of them representing the party of gods, and both of them try to win in the contest. It is considered auspicious when the party of gods wins the game. In this case the throwing and catching of the pots seems to be the subject of contest, the broken pots being perhaps considered as faults calculated to the advantage of the rival party. The party with more broken pots was perhaps the loser, the other one the winner, taking advantage of the number of their pots and making a noise by blowing the pots, beating tomtoms, and blowing Pan-pipes (*nala-male*, lit. garland of reeds).

1. In the MS. : *sadisi-vana*.

2. In the MS it is written *varan*, perhaps according to the actual pronunciation before the *d* of *deviya*.

3. Cf. 27, pp. 631—642.

Only by a mistake either of a copyist or of an informant a ballad on this play could have been marked *Kala-gedi-natum*, and only by this mistake it could be considered by Nevill as a dancing ceremony. Still, because the name appears in Barnett's *Alphabetical Guide* it was necessary to deal with it here also in order to show the proper character of the performance as that of a religious game and not a ceremonial dance. Therefore I do not publish the full texts of the ballad here, and reserve it for a later publication with other texts on the Sinhalese religious games which I am preparing, and for which I am now collecting the original materials.

Part II

SINHALESE MASKS AND THEIR USE IN DEMON-DANCING

1. *General remarks.*

BEFORE commencing inquiries into those ceremonial dances of the Sinhalese with which masks are used, it is necessary to deal with the masks from the technical point of view, to consider their technical relations to similar masks of other nations, and to observe their nature and use in general, especially compared with that of other nations. These inquiries and comparisons are not to be made for the purpose of ascertaining the origin of the use of masks in Ceylon, which is hardly possible now, when most of the connecting links are lost, but to show that Sinhalese masks and their use in Ceylon are not a speciality of that country, and that it is not an isolated phenomenon, but a means of ceremonial disguise used almost in every age everywhere in the world. The peculiarities of the masks of each country rest in the difference of the shape and the mode of the use of the masks. And those are the facts which must be mentioned here in order to draw a reliable sketch of the ceremonies concerned.

•• The material which we have at hand for the purpose of our inquiries is of very recent date, as has been already mentioned, although we must suppose the existence of the same kind of equipment for ceremonial dances also in the more remote past. We cannot, however, from grounds already mentioned, assume the use of masks in Ceylon during the earliest times, or even during the prehistoric times of the island. Most of the Sinhalese masks in museums and private collections belong to the beginning of this century and to the second half of the last century. Masks from the first half of the nineteenth century must be considered as very old, and are very rare, of course if we do not believe the natives, who declare each and every mask which they want to sell to a European to be a piece at least one hundred years or even more old, in order to be better paid for it. But in reality we have very few pieces accompanied with statements which can be relied

upon that the mask concerned has been made twenty to thirty years before the time when it has been collected.

With regard to the quantity of material we are much better provided for. Perhaps the collectors of ethnographic specimens have been so attracted by the curious forms and unusual style of the Sinhalese masks that they have gathered as many specimens as were available. Perhaps even the supply was abundant when the natives have realized that the masks are an article of good business and source of a good profit; and it must even be allowed as possible that at times masks have been manufactured *en gros* in Ceylon for sale only, and not for dancing ceremonies at all. To this class of Ceylonese masks belong perhaps many of those masks which cannot be assigned to any known dancing ceremony, or for which no equivalent can be found in the descriptions of similar, even obsolete ceremonies, in Sinhalese folk-literature.

The result of this abundance of material is that there are very good collections of Sinhalese masks in European museums, and even in many private collections, and some are quite frequently even for sale in curiosity shops and at dealers in antiquities. For research the collections of public museums are of most importance, as private collections are seldom freely accessible. Besides, the masks in private collections are mostly collected haphazard, and seldom represent a complete series of masks of one kind. Of course, even here there are exceptions.

The largest collection of Sinhalese masks is in the ethnographical section of the Imperial Museum of Natural History (N a t u r h i s t o r i s k a R i k s m u s e u m, etnografiska avdelingen) in S t o c k h o l m. There are over three hundred masks from the Ceylon collection of the former Museum Umlauff in Hamburg. At present that collection is all in Sweden, the majority being in Stockholm, and only few specimens are in Kristianstad (Skane). I regret, however, to say that the collection in the Stockholm Museum is stored at present in packing cases for want of space and therefore is practically inaccessible.¹ As a kind of makeshift can serve the auction catalogue of the Collection Umlauff where all the masks as well as the other Ceylonese specimens are reproduced in fairly good illustrations, although of such small

1. For all information about the collection of Sinhalese masks in the R i k s m u s e u m in S t o c k h o l m I am obliged to the kindness of the Director of the Museum, Professor Dr. K. G. L i n d b l o m, who has been kind enough to lend me also a copy of the Katalog "Umlauff".

size that the details can be recognized only with the help of a very strong magnifying-glass. The importance of the Stockholm collection lies in the large number of specimens, and in the fact that there are several specimens representing the same character, showing, however, more or less considerable differences in details and in the mode of representation of the character. In this way we can easily get an idea of the types of Sinhalese masks and their representation of various characters. Notwithstanding the great number of specimens the collection cannot be considered as complete and containing all existing types of Ceylonese masks, even of all their characters.

The next largest collection of Sinhalese masks is kept in the Ethnographical Museum (*Museum für Volkerkunde*) in Hamburg. This collection is smaller in the number of specimens (77 only), but they represent many more varieties of characters, and a much wider range of dancing ceremonies. There are also in Hamburg several singular types of masks, some of rather ancient, or at least at present unusual kind.¹

The third according to the number of specimens is the collection of Sinhalese masks in the Ethnographic Department of the British Museum in London.² The importance of this collection rests upon the fact that there are several specimens of a very peculiar type or character, and one among them which seems to represent a very old and now quite obsolete mode of representing the demon character by a mask.

A very good collection of Sinhalese masks is also in the Ethnographic collection of the National Museum (*Nationalmuseet, etnografisk afdeling*) in Copenhagen (Kobenhavn). There are specimens in this collection of a rare type, some of them perhaps of rather old origin.³

1. By the authorities of the *Museum für Volkerkunde* in Hamburg I have been supplied with excellent photographs of all specimens of Sinhalese masks contained in the Museum collection, and with a copy of the description of the masks from the catalogue of the Museum, entirely free of charge. I feel obliged to Professor Dr. G. Thilenius, the Director of the Museum, who kindly arranged it for me, and also to all officials on the staff of the Museum, who were engaged in preparing the material for me.

2. Through the kindness of the Keeper of the Department, Mr. T. A. Joyce, O. B. E., and of the Assistant Keeper, Mr. H. J. Braungoltz, I was enabled to obtain photographs of all those Sinhalese masks which are kept in the British Museum, and through their kind advice I was much helped in my research work. My thanks for their help are registered here.

3. For help and assistance in obtaining the necessary photographs of the Sinhalese masks in the National Museum in Copenhagen I am much indebted to the kindness of the Assistant Keeper, Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, and to the complaisance of the Director of the Department, Mr. Thomas Thomsen.

There is also a small collection of several good specimens of Sinhalese masks in *Naprstkovo Museum* in *Prague*, where there are types which cannot be found in any other collection, as far as I was able to ascertain.¹

There are also collections of Sinhalese masks in the *Ethnographical Museums* in *Munich* and *Berlin*, which are, however, unknown to me up to now. All the information I have about these two collections is derived from the article of Prof. Dr. A. Grunwedel (19, p. 72). From that account it appears that the great number of the masks in both these collections have been newly made to order, of course in *Ceylon* and by Sinhalese workmanship. The *Berlin* collection is at present lodged in the *Museum store-houses* in *Dahlem*, and practically inaccessible.

In *Ceylon* there is only a single collection of dancing masks, in the *Colombo Museum*, which is comparatively inconspicuous both for the number of specimens and their special features and rarity. Even the most important types are not fully represented in this collection, so that it can hardly give a fundamental idea to the newcomer to the island. Of course I am quite unaware whether any additions have been made to the collection in the last years since my second stay in *Ceylon* (1922).²

It is possible that there are greater or lesser collections of Sinhalese masks in other museums but they are unknown to me. But the material contained by them cannot be so different from the material known to me as to change my conclusions considerably. The same rule can be applied to private collections. The only difference is that the private collections generally contain only few specimens, perhaps one or two, collected haphazard, representing, with very few exceptions, only the most common types and characters.

Sinhalese masks are devices to change the face of the dancer in order to resemble the supposed appearance of the represented character. In this respect they are expressions of the *Ceylonese* tradition, and have many individual features, especially in the choice of characters, the racial type of the faces, and the mode of representing the frame of

1. I am specially obliged to thank Mr. Fr. A. Borovský, the Chief Keeper of the Museum, through whose kindness I have been allowed freely to do my research work in the Museum and to take photographs of the specimens. I am also obliged to mention with thanks the kind help of the Assistant Keeper of the Museum, Mr. Tájek, as well as that of the remainder of staff of the Museum.

2. For valuable information I am obliged to Mr. Aubrey N. Weimann, Librarian of the *Colombo Museum*, who also has helped me to get copies of very important ballads sung at the dancing ceremonies.

mind of the supposed being. Apart from these individual features Sinhalese masks resemble very much the masks of other nations of advanced civilisation, especially those of the Asiatic nations. Sometimes a striking likeness can be ascertained between a Sinhalese mask and a Tibetan mask, a Burmese mask or even a mask from Bali. Of course an expert will not a moment hesitate to classify the specimens according to their place of origin. It is the technical side, the craftsmanship and the mode of work, by which they are distinguished each from the other.

On the other hand Sinhalese masks have sometimes much resemblance to the masks of primitive peoples. Especially those used in the agricultural ceremonies are often very primitive and can be compared with masks from Pacific Islands, although masks made only from a wooden framework, supplemented by grass or bast plaits, by painted fabric (*tapa*) etc. as can be often found for instance in Melanesia never occur in Ceylon. An expert even in cases of a great likeness between such specimens is able to distinguish both at the first glance. Those details to which this individuality of Sinhalese masks is due will be discussed on the proper place.

If we take a glance over Sinhalese masks as far as they are accessible to our investigation, and compare them mentally, with masks of other nations, we must say that they constitute a special class of masks, and although they have many details in common with the masks of other nations, and although they are identical with them in general appearance and in the fact that they are counterfeits of faces, they cannot be considered as nearly connected with any group of masks of any race, nation or tribe, even in such cases where they have sprung from the same tradition, i. e. where they represent characters of the same mythical or historical story. And therefore the comparison of Sinhalese masks, which is useful for studying the art of making masks and for folklore studies in general, cannot bring any help to an inquiry into the origin of the use of masks in Ceylon and the probable antiquity of such use of masks there.

2. *The craftsmanship of the masks.*

All the Ceylonese masks are carved from wood, and the carving is supplemented by painting. Only exceptionally such additions as feathers, hair etc. are used in finishing masks of special characters. Masks of other material than wood are not found in Ceylon at present. Especially are there no metal masks in Ceylon of the kind used fre-

quently in the demon worship of Southern India. Even masks of pasted paper or fabric, afterwards painted, as are used regularly in Further India (especially Burma and Siam), cannot be found in Ceylon.

The wood used in producing the masks is any soft kind of wood which can easily be carved. No special kind of wood is preferred at present. We are not sure whether this was the usage also in the past. We have passages in old incantations, and other texts accompanying the demon ceremonies, where special kinds of wood, or planks of a special kind of tree are mentioned. In the *Kolam natima* according to Callaway's translation (12, p. 37, v. 8—12) they are supposed to be made of Sandal-wood (*handun* or *sandun*). Most frequently, especially in the agricultural ceremonies, the wood of *kohomba*, i.e. nim or margosa tree (*Azadirachta indica*) is alleged to be of great efficiency in dealing with the demons. Besides that *na-gaha*, the iron-wood tree (*Mesua ferrea*) and *kos gaha*, the jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) are often mentioned in that kind of poetry, although it can hardly be considered as possible to use these hard woods for carving. The wood of several masks I examined myself proved to be the wood of various kinds of accacia.

The carving of very old specimens and that of the most recent ones is simple and far from being elaborate and artistic workmanship. The oldest masks known to us do not represent even the whole face, but are content with marking the most essential features of the character to be represented¹. Generally only eyes, nose and mouth are represented, although sometimes any other part of the being represented can be substituted, e. g., the wings of a bird, beak of a bird, etc. Such specimens can seldom be found now a days. I saw one or two specimens of this kind during my first journey in Ceylon (1909—1910), and undoubtedly of this kind is the mask of *Dalaraksasa* in the British Museum (cf. Pl. IV. fig. 3) which is the oldest specimen of a Sinhalese mask I have ever seen. The carving is here the simplest which can be imagined, but notwithstanding that does not need to be supplemented by any specially elaborated painting.

From modern specimens two wings in the Ethnographic Museum in Hamburg can be placed in this category, which were used probably to represent either a bird or perhaps rather a winged celestial being

1. I cannot agree with the opinion of Prof. Dr. A. Grunwedel (19, p. 71f.) who says: "Die alteren Stücke zeichnen sich durch scharfe Charakteristik und feine Arbeit aus, an ihnen erscheinen eingesetzte holzerne Zähne und durch aufgeführte Grabbuchsel hergestellte Haare und Barte. Die modernen entbehren dieses Aufputzes, sind grell bemalt . . . etc." This can be right, if we pay no attention to the oldest period of Sinhalese masks.

(cf. Pl. III. fig. 4). Here the painting is the most essential component in particularising the object to be represented and therefore we must infer that the wings are of very recent extraction. Similar "parts" are also to be found among the specimens of the Museum in Stockholm, which however, may be real parts detached from masks, the main part of which has been lost.

The good specimens of masks from the second half of the last century are generally richly carved, so that all the important features of the character to be represented are done in carving, and only the details are rendered prominent by the painting. Especially the big masks representing kings, queens, gods and celestial beings, and used in the *Kolam natima*, which will be spoken of in part III, generally excel in their carving, both artistic and elaborate. Masks representing lower beings, men, *yakas*, *raksasas* etc. are mostly simpler. In the most recent masks the carving is restricted to what is absolutely necessary to express the outline of the face, eyes and mouth, and in special cases also fangs, ears, and perhaps outlines of ear-ornaments. All the details are done in painting. Whilst in the previous group of masks their character can be discerned even if the painting is lost, in this category the painting is the most essential part, and a large number of masks of this category will be of the same shape, if they have no painting, although they are intended to represent different characters.

The painting of very old masks is dull and the colours have an earthy appearance. No lacquer or varnish seems to have been used as medium of the dye-stuff on the masks of this period, and it is difficult to discover what kind of medium has been used, if any at all. Thus is painted the mask from the British Museum reproduced on plate IV, fig. 3. On the moderately old masks mostly Ceylonese lacquer of the same kind as on the Kandyan lacquered pottery, spear-staves etc. is used as medium for the dyes. Therefore the appearance of the masks is shiny, and the colours are bright. Both earthen and vegetable dye-stuffs are used. On the most recent masks imported, ready-made paints are used, and the appearance of the mask depends on the quality of the paint used. There are also masks giving an impression of having been painted with a watercolour, perhaps something similar to the paint used in the oldest times, and afterwards varnished with a transparent varnish. Of that kind is a *Gara-yaka* mask from Kandy in my own possession. I am unable to say anything about the period to which this mask belongs.

The scale of colours used is standard and does not differ in various periods. Therefore we can infer that it is fixed by tradition, and that differences in the use of these colours, if they appear at all, are rather local than in point of the time of origin of the masks concerned. The use of the colours differs according to whether they are used for painting the face or for other details.

Colours of the face are :

White : used to paint the faces of women of higher descent, of *Naga*-women, of a number of gods, goddesses and other celestial beings.

Pink is used for faces of kings (rarely also queens), Europeans, high-caste people, a number of supernatural beings appearing on the earth (e. g. *Dadimunda*) and a few of demons (*yaka*).

Yellow of three shades is used. **Light yellow** are painted the faces of men belonging to *vaisy* caste, and sometimes foreign kings and foreign supernatural beings, but that is rather an exception. **Bright yellow** is used to imitate the golden faces of some gods. Thus are painted also the faces of disease demons causing such diseases as manifest themselves by the yellow colour of the face. Masks of a series of other demons supposed to cause diseases accompanied by short breath, choking, fits of cough, etc. are painted with a kind of **dirty yellow**.

Red, but not vermilion or carmine, rather a kind of **red brown**, an 'Indian red' issued to paint the faces of bloodthirsty men and demons. Therefore masks representing warriors, hunters, cruel demons and devils are painted red. Red is always the face of *Gurula* or *Garuda*.

Besides this red-brown a **light brown**, of the shade of earth or walnut, is used for the faces of masks representing people of lower Sinhalese classes, of some demons and devils of the *sanni-class*.

Blue is the colour of the faces of all foreign, non-Aryan, especially aboriginal, tribes, their deities and therefore of most foreign demons and foreign devils which are not supposed to have belonged to the Aryan Hindus. Especially Oddisa demons are preferably painted blue, sometimes also Vadda gods and demons.

The **green** colour is very often used instead of the blue, and seems to be a local variation for Vaddas, Vadda deities and Oddisa deities. Also, a series of demons causing diseases is painted green, e. g. several of the *sanni* group.

B l a c k are painted the faces on Moors, of wild men of very low social position, and of some very malevolent devils. But the black used is seldom pure black, generally being rather a very dark blue or very dark green, so that in many cases it is very difficult to decide which colour is concerned.

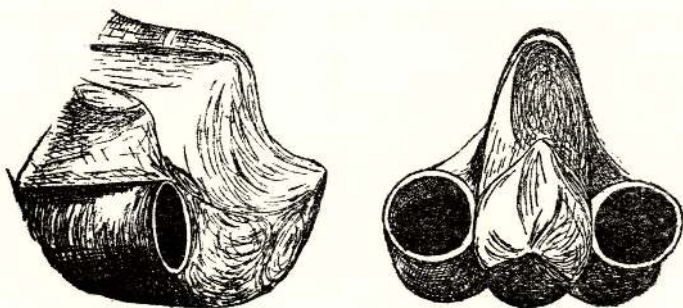
In painting details of the masks white, bright yellow, red (vermilion or scarlet), blue, green and black are used. If any other colour appears on a mask, it must be considered as an innovation, or can be due to careless painting so that two colours might have become mixed together unintentionally.

W h i t e is the colour of teeth, fangs, and eyeballs. White are sometimes head-dresses and the plumage of birds. Also, cows are often represented as white. **Y e l l o w** is the colour of gold and brass. Therefore all ornaments are painted yellow. **R e d** is used to paint the pattern of the golden ornaments and wrinkles on yellow faces. Red are painted the lips, gums, especially those of demons, then the outlines of eye-lids, when the impression of sore eyes should be effected. Of course red turbans and ted caps are rather frequent as well as a red pattern on fabrics of other colours. **B l u e** is generally used only for head dresses and to represent iron. **G r e e n**, often a blueish green, is a colour much used in painting the details of demon masks. Green is usually used on demon masks to represent beard and other hair, especially those in or on ears. Therefore also eye-lashes and eye-brows are painted green. Green are painted also the snakes either in the head-gear of a demon or protruding from his mouth, nose or ear. Green are also painted intestines eaten by the demon. Only exceptionally are such intestines painted red or reddish brown; perhaps when the idea of blood-stained intestines is to be evoked. Black are painted generally wrinkles and other details on blue and green faces, then men's beards and moustaches, women's hair, and sometimes even that of gods, goddesses and demons.

There are seldom deviations from these rules, e. g. locally the use of blue and green is interchanged, or an other shade of red or brown is used. Sometimes even other colours for painting the faces of demons, than allowed by these rules are used, but in such cases it is rather a matter of difference in the tradition about the demon concerned and his descent than a departure from the standardized use of colour

to express the standard characters of the ceremonial dances. Any gross blunder against these rules of use of colours in painting the dancing masks is suspicious, and such mask must be considered as made in recent times by an unexperienced workman who does not know either the tradition or the rules of the workmanship.

In the same manner as the painting, also the art of the representing several details of the masks are standardized, especially faces, noses, eyes, ears, mouth, teeth and fangs, beards and moustaches,



A nose with nostrils turned to the front.

(a) side-view

(b) front-view

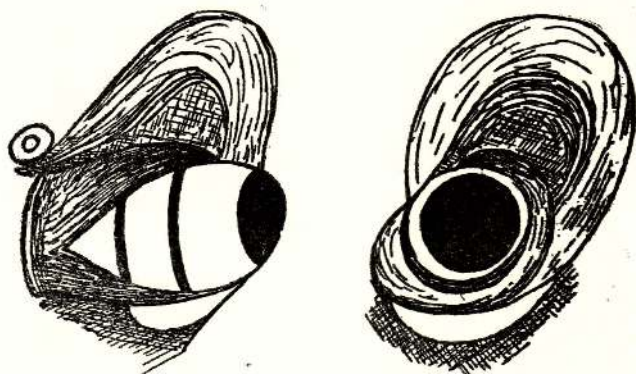
head dresses and attributes. In this way each and every character has its own type or types, representing eventually different conditions, so that the spectator recognizes at once which character, in which state of mind or mood is standing before him. ••

Faces generally resemble human faces except where animals are represented. But even animal faces have very often something human in their expression. Especially the sacred bird *Gurula* (*Garuda*) in older times has been very often represented as having a human face, of course with an eagle's beak. Characteristic marks are carved or painted on the faces of some characters to represent their peculiar features. Soldiers and warriors have scars on their faces, demons of skin diseases are represented by boils and tumors in their faces, and by flowing pus. Faces of demons of diseases causing cramps, convulsions, fits, excessive pains etc. are made distorted, bent to one side, with distracted features etc. A frequent representation of demons is with a face swollen on one

side, or with a part of the face cut away, to represent the corresponding diseases.

The nose of masks is generally the natural human nose even in the case of demons and devils, of course with all its characteristic differences by which races and tribes can be discerned. A speciality of one class of masks is a nose with nostrils turned to the front like that of an animal; such a nose is a characteristic of *Gara-yaka*, *Purnaka-yaka*, *Naga-rassaya* and few others. Of course the nose of disease demons is sometimes represented as scarred, torn, or partly or wholly eaten away by the disease.

The eyes are in the most cases ordinary human eyes, expressed rather by painting than by carving. Such human eyes are given even to the animal characters. Beneath the eyes of each mask are cut holes for the performer to look through. A special feature of masks of the



Protruding eye of a demon mask.

(a) side-view

(b) front-view

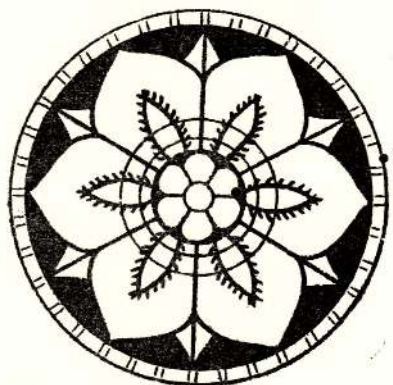
(Below the eye proper the looking hole can be seen.)

Gara class of demons are large, protruding eyes (called *Krebsaugen* by Germans). This kind of eyes is afterwards used with masks of other demons too, and become characteristic of *Purnaka-yaka*, various serpent-devils (*Naga-rassaya*), demoniacal form of *Gurula*, and others.

Two kinds of ears appear on the masks: human ears for human characters and many demons, and animal ears for animal characters, and

a few demons and devils. Many masks especially those used in curing diseases, have no ears at all. Large masks used at *Kolam-natima*, and the masks of special classes of demons and devils are characterized by large and sometimes elaborated ear-ornaments. The ear-ornament of serpent-demons and serpent-devils is a partly coiled cobra with a spread hood. Demons of the *Gara* class are represented by large rings as ear-ornaments, being an imitation of the gold ornaments inserted by Dravidians into the dilated lobes. *Maha-kola-sanni-yaka*, *Purnaka-yaka* and few others are represented by similar ear-rings which are moreover adorned by leaves, often beautifully carved and finished with paint.

The mouth of most masks is represented as open, simply to enable the performer to speak or to utter cries, groans etc. and to be heard by the audience. The form of the mouth is used to express the frame of mind of the character concerned. Especially many disease demons are characterized by their mouth. The expression marked by various forms of mouth is in many cases supplemented by the representation of teeth and tongue. Most of the masks are represented with teeth clearly visible. Diseases are characterized by one or more teeth being missing. But there are also demon masks perfectly toothless to express various diseases, and masks with a closed mouth to express either dumbness or insanity. Demons of the above mentioned four classes are regularly represented with long protruding fangs (canine teeth). By a protruding tongue *Purnaka-yaka* and *Naga rassaya* are characterized. The lower jaw of *Gara-yaka* masks is very often detached and fixed on hinges in order to enable the performer to imitate chattering, rattling, and gnashing his teeth. A series of demon-masks have no lower jaw at all, only the upper lip and upper teeth, which are sometimes represented as being very long.



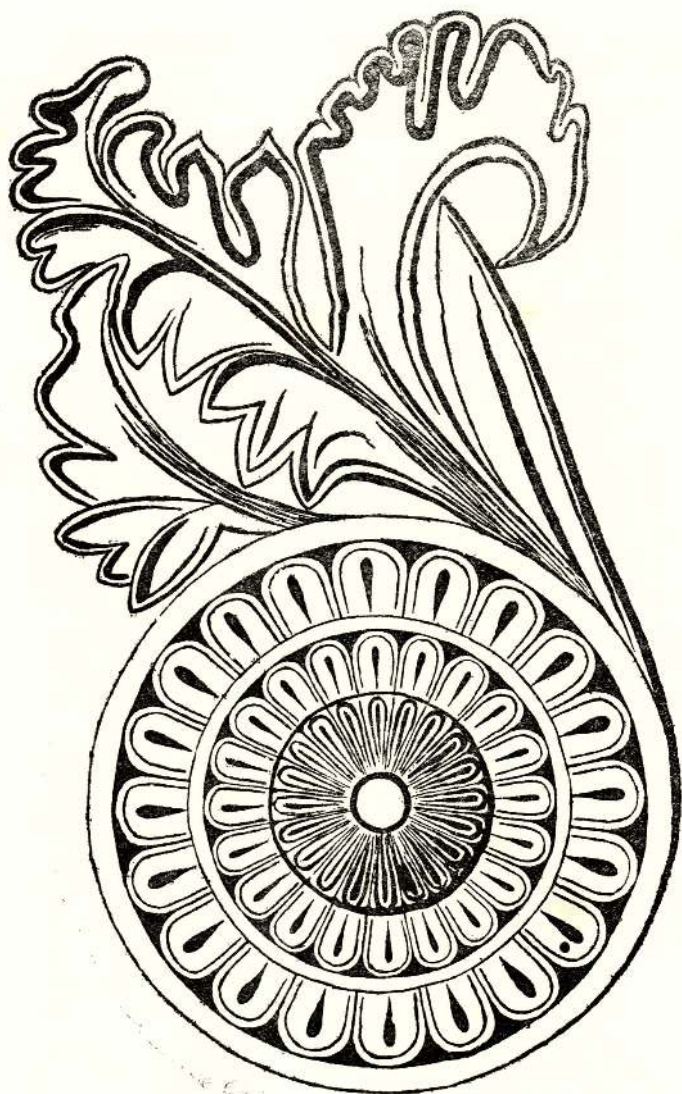
An ear-ornament of a *Gara*.

Hair, beards and moustaches are usually only painted on the masks, in black for human and celestial beings, and 'green for demons, as has been already explained. But there are several specimens in various collections, appearing rather old, where hair and beards are represented either by real hair, horse-hair or dried and dyed grass (cf. Pl. XVIII, fig. 4, XIX, fig. 1 and 4, XX, fig. 3; cf. also 22, Plate XI). Sometimes, especially at the agricultural dancing ceremonies, the whole mask is substituted by a mere representation of a bearded mouth made of grass or hair and generally fitted with teeth made of cowries or bones (cf. 22, Plate XI fig. r, and Pl. XII, fig. 4).

The majority of demon-masks have no head-dresses at all. Some of them, especially those of serpent-devils, are shaded by the hoods of cobras, which are often coiled together in shape of a fantastic crown. Foreign demons are regularly represented by the head-dress of that country to which the origin of the demon is ascribed. E.g. Oddisan and Tamil demons are represented by gaily coloured turbans. Moors by their fanciful wickered basket-like caps etc. The majority of the characters of *Kolam-natima* are provided with gorgeous head-dresses corresponding with the nature and qualities of the being represented. Crowns of kings and queens are of such enormous size, and therefore so heavy, that now-a-days a performer strong enough to wear such a mask can be found but seldom, and the old heavy masks are at present replaced by smaller and lighter ones.

Besides cobras and ear-ornaments, and in some cases also head-dresses there are regularly no special attributes represented on masks to determine more specifically the character concerned. Only the masks of kings, queens and princes bear sometimes such attribute as determine to which country, which religion or race they belong. Thus on the crowns of the would-be Buddhist kings a seated Buddha (Pl. VII) or a dagoba (Pl. VI), is carved or the crown has a shape of dagoba; on the crown of a king of the solar race the sun-disc is painted; the crown of a Kandyan king is supported by two lions (cf. Pl. VIII.), etc. Also dagobas, Makaras, symbols of gods etc. are seen on the crown of such masks; seldom however are these kinds of attributes intended to determine a specific difference in the character represented.

Masks of the kind described are not the only ones we can see at dancing ceremonies in Ceylon or in collection of Sinhalese masks. Among the Sinhalese masks are included large wooden figures which have little in common with real masks. Perhaps only the technical art of the manufacture is identical, because they are made by the same workmen who make the masks proper. Only the lower part on



An ear-ornament of the *Purnaka yaka*.
(From a mask in Stockholm; Catalogue Umlauf Nr. 342.)

which the figure stands is a real mask, which suggests that once the whole structure has been used to adorn the face of a demon dancer. There are, however, strong doubts whether it was at all possible to wear such a heavy mask.

The mask and the figure standing on it represent the same demon. The figure is equipped with all the characteristic marks of the demon concerned. Because only man-eating demons are represented by this kind of structure, several human beings are generally carved at the feet of the demon, in his hands, and sometimes even in his mouth in the moment when the man is to be devoured by the demon. Demons represented by such structures are generally the *Maha-kola-sanni-yaka*, and the *Gara-yaka*.

Many structures of this kind are in the collection of the European museums. The largest number are in the Museum in Stockholm, two are in the Ethnographic Museum in Hamburg, one in the ethnographic collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen, one in Naprstkovo Museum in Prague, one in the British Museum, etc. They are intended for the ceremony of *yakun-natima*, and they will be described in detail, and their significance explained in the chapters concerned.

3. Characters and types of masks.

From the carving, painting, characteristic details of the features, and in some cases even from a characteristic head-dress or an attribute nearly any Sinhalese mask can easily be allotted to the character which it represents. Of course the texts used to accompany the ceremonies at which the masks concerned are worn must be respected, and they will prove in majority of cases very helpful, especially as the number of characters in the Sinhalese dancing ceremonies is very limited.

• Characters represented by the Sinhalese dancing masks can be classified into seven groups which are:

1. Persons of royal families and royal households.
2. Other human beings.
3. Gods and other celestial beings and their relatives.
4. Demons of the *Gara* group.
5. Demons of the *Sanni* group.
6. Other demons and devils.
7. Animals, spirits of animals, ghosts, etc.

Masks of each of these groups show more likeness among each other than can be found between any two masks of different groups. Of course if masks of various groups are used in the same ceremony, details of the masks of all characters appearing in the ceremony must

be modified and adapted to the idea of the ceremony. Therefore the masks of demons appearing e.g. in the *Kolam-natima* are more gorgeous than otherwise, especially than those very simple demon-masks of *sanni* ceremonies. In this way the *kolama* type, the *Gara* type, the agricultural type and the *Sanni* type of masks can be distinguished, although it is not always easy to decide to which type the individual mask belongs, if we do not know at what kind of ceremony it has been used. Thus it frequently happens that we have two or three different masks not resembling each other and representing the same demon or the same character, even if they belong to the same province and are of the same age.

In addition we shall find also in different provinces different representations of the same character in the same ceremony. Such differences are not so striking as those before mentioned. They can be considered as local types. Their differences generally correspond with the differences appearing in the poetry accompanying the ceremony concerned and in most cases they are limited to a few details and changed colours. How insignificant these differences between local types are can be seen from the fact that the majority of masks used in Low-country and in Kandyan provinces do not differ at all.

There is therefore no need to deal with individual characters and their several types of Sinhalese masks in general, as it proves more expedient to discuss the details of the masks with each dancing ceremony described. Here the question of the origin of the character and types of the Sinhalese masks only is to be discussed, although it is not easy to answer.

In the characters represented by masks are reflected old traditions as they are known in Ceylon at the present day, and in the demons characters among the Sinhalese masks the present popular system of demon-worship is reflected with such an exactitude that the obsolete demons do not appear among the characters used at present. Among the human characters of masks such characters appear as the English king, the English queen, an English minister, Dutch ladies etc. which are proofs of the very recent origin of this system of characters used in the masked dances.

If we compare, however, these modern and foreign characters with the corresponding Ceylonese characters, we shall see, as soon as we eliminate a few distinguishing marks, that there are in reality no newly-introduced characters, but only new types of the old characters. The English king is simply the old *Raja*, devoid of the attributes of Buddhism,

or of his connection with the solar race of Indian kings, or with the ruling family of Kandyan kings. Instead of those attributes new attributes are added which characterize him as a foreigner. In this way new characters develop from the old ones as new types, hardly to be distinguished from them. Masks which are now accessible to our examination are, as it has been already explained, of quite modern origin, and all must be considered as made in Ceylon. But if we follow the above mentioned process into the past, we shall arrive at the conclusion that the modern Sinhalese masks are new types developed from ancient ceremonial characters in the same way as the mask of the English king is only a modernized continuation of the old *Raja*. In the same way obsolete gods and demons have been changed at first to more modern types, and finally have developed into quite new characters. Perhaps a mask which represented a certain demon one hundred years ago, represents to day a quite different demon, if not directly his rival. With the help of these conclusions we shall be able to explain many disagreements in the description of identical masks labeled as different or different masks labeled with the name of the same demon or devil, provided that the difference is not due to the intentional or unintentional misinformation of the natives. These facts about the development of new types from old characters does not answer the question of the origin of the Sinhalese masks, but gives us opportunity at least to have some insight into the process of the development of the present characters and types of masks and to help us to deal with the material at hand.

4. *The use of masks.*

I do not intend to explain here the ceremonial use of masks and their value in worship as this can be discussed only together with the details of the ceremony itself, and therefore must be postponed to the chapters where the ceremonies will be dealt with, but shall give only the details of the mere technical side of the use of the masks which is not so simple as it seems to be. Of course the masks are carried on faces of the dancers to disguise them and to make them represent the characters appearing in the ceremony concerned.

This is an easy matter with those small masks of disease demons which are used at exorcisms and at rituals for curing diseases. Even the masks of the *Gara* group are easy for the dancer to carry, and no special appliance is needed to fix the masks to the head of the performer. But not so easy is the matter with the heavy and voluminous masks used at the *Kolam-natima*.

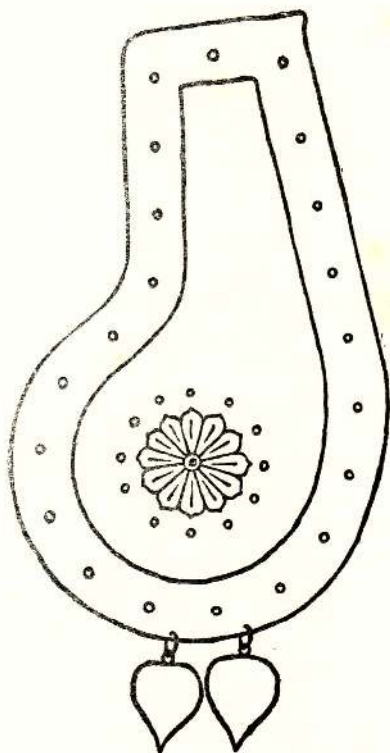
At present no heavy masks are used by the dancers for dancing, more-over such masks are only exhibited on the place of performance as a kind of decoration. All the heavy masks of former times have been replaced, as I have already mentioned, by smaller types. But the shape of the large and heavy masks shows that formerly they have been used as real masks, as otherwise another shape would have been given to them. The question is how they have been fixed to the body of the performer in order to prevent their falling and at the same time leaving to the performer freedom enough to move and to use his hands and legs.

It is a fact that the heaviest masks representing kings, queens and princes are hollowed inside so that the performer was able to put his head inside the mask which rested on his shoulders (cf. P. V, fig. 1, and 2). The shape of all masks of this kind is adapted to such a mode of carrying them. Perhaps the mask was tied to the shoulders by means of a string or a strap. On several very heavy masks appear appliances which suggest that on the back of the mask a stick or lath has been fixed which ran along the back of the dancer and was tied to his body. If we consider that only the characters of kings, queens, princes and gods are represented by the heaviest masks, and that these characters are supposed even during the dance to move only slowly and with an amount of grandeur, we can believe that it was possible for a man of a strong physique to carry the burden for the time of the performance. We understand, however, why such heavy masks came in disuse and became a mere decoration.

But there are still more clumsy masks of which one hardly can imagine how they were carried over the face of a dancer performing the necessary jumping evolutions required by the ceremony. They are those big figures represented as standing on a mask, and often holding a number of other masks. One of them is the mask of *Maha-kola-sanniyaka* or *Daha-ata-sanniyaka*. It is a mask of the *Maha-kola-sanniyaka* with typical ear-ornaments, on which a full-sized figure of the same demon represented as devouring human sacrifices, is standing. Cobras creeping from the ear-ornaments of the mask form frames on both sides of the figure in which the eighteen masks of the *Sanni* demons are fixed. Similar, but much more simple is the analogous figural mask of *Gara-yaka* which, however does not carry additional masks as does the previous one.

It is quite impossible even only to try to fix one of these masks to the face. Even a very strong man will not be able to balance such a heavy burden, with such an uneven distribution of weight after having fixed it to his face. At present the *Maha-kola-sanni-yaka* mask never is used as a mask, but is only exhibited at the *maduva*. The figural *Gara-yaka* mask is quite obsolete now, as according to the tradition it used to be carried on a special car during certain demon festivals (cf. 3, Introduction p. XIV). We must suppose that both the present use of the first figural mask and the traditional use of the other figural mask is the only possible, and that they never have been carried by a man on his face, not to speak of a dancer performing his dances.

The mask, however, is not the only means of disguising the man and giving him the likeness of the character concerned. The mask is only the disguise of the face, but the whole appearance must be adapted to the character represented. In the first place a proper costume is required, of which several types are known. The finest among the dancing costumes are royal robes, used by dancers representing the king and persons of the royal household, gods, and higher classes of demons, especially *Bandaras*. This costume is generally red in colour, embroidered and trimmed with laces and ribbons, now of white or yellow colour, but formerly of gold and silver. It consists of a skirt and short jacket, underneath which a kind of white shirt is worn, part of which can be seen between the skirt and jacket, (cf. 22, Plate XII, fig 6, and Plate XIV, fig. 1, 2 and 3). Sometimes also a kind of



An ear-ornament of a
demon dancer
(in the form of a conch-shell).

leggings with metallic bells are used to cover the part of legs between the knee and ankle, when these are not covered by the white undergarment (cf. 22, Plate XI, fig. b). Otherwise jingling anklets are used. Fancy imitations of jewels are worn by the dancer and various weapons or symbols are carried in their hands. Among the jewels the most conspicuous are the ear-ornaments which are used whenever the mask is without ears, or at least without ear-ornaments. These ornaments are made of white or yellow sheetmetal to represent silver or gold. The form of the ornaments is either that of the ear-ornaments on the masks, or the form of conch-shells (but flat).

The costumes of demons are less splendid, sometimes being even very simple. Ceylonese demons are characterized by skirts, while the foreign demons are represented as wearing either Indian *dhoti*, or European trousers. Sometimes Sinhalese woman dress is used by dancers representing special kinds of demons, viz. such by which women are supposed to be attacked.

Costumes of a quite different kind are used at the agricultural ceremonies or when forest characters such as hunters, wild animals, forest spirits etc. are to be represented at the *Kolama* ceremony. Such garments are made of dried grass, bunches of leaves, sometimes supplemented by the hides of animals which are to be represented. The appearance of dancers clad in such costume is dreadful and really awe-inspiring (cf. 22, Plate XIII, fig. 2—11), and that seems to be the purpose of the disguise.

The costumes described are the most usual types of the disguise of demon dancers based on a probable traditional authority. In modern times and in villages without a tradition in demon dancing queer forms of dancers' costumes can be seen. I have witnessed a dancing ceremony in a remote village of the Kandyan district, performed by a single dancer clad only in a pair of short blue trousers as they are worn by policemen in Ceylon, and a mask. A similar demon dancer's costume has been witnessed by the anonymous author whose experience was published originally in the *Ceylon Forester* (cf. 6, p. 112).

Part III

KOLAM-NATIMA

1. *The present ceremony.*

AT present *Kolam-natima* is — according to the opinion of educated Sinhalese — a mere masquerade, performed at festal occasions for pleasure and enjoyment of the people, and has no or only very little religious character. I have been told that in some places it is even not performed by the professional demon dancers, but by young people as amateur dancers. I have, however, no reliable authority for it except the assertion of a few village men from the southern part of Ceylon (Matara District). I have witnessed personally two or three times a real *Kolam-natima*, which must be strictly distinguished from various dancing plays of young Sinhalese men, and it has been always performed by professional dancers. It is quite probable that the proper ceremony of *Kolam-natima* has always been performed by professional dancers, as it requires great skill in dancing and in use of masks which hardly could be acquired by amateurs. Even by the professional dancers the complete ceremony of *Kolam-natima* is now-a-days seldom performed, as it requires a very great number of masks and a considerable number of special dresses, and above all it is connected with great physical strain and exertion, as the complete ceremony lasts for several hours of the night during which the dancers must balance heavy masks on their heads (even if we admit that the heaviest masks are not used at present) and make dancing evolutions, which are in many cases, especially when the dancers appear as wild animals or demons, of a rather wild and furious character, changing at times to a real frenzy.

Short isolated scenes from the *Kolam-natima* are often staged by travelling parties of Sinhalese and can be seen even in Europe. For instance the dancers of Hagenbeck's Sinhalese party stage quite well and with professional skill a few of the characters of *Kolam-natima*.

To understand the ceremony entirely and perfectly it is necessary to know the meaning of the name itself. The name *Kolam-natima* is a

compound word, the second part of which means "dancing", "dance". Its equivalent forms are "*natum*" which is in reality only an orthographical variety of the same form of the word and the gerundium "*natanava*", "the act of dancing", used also in the sense of infinitive and of a *nomen verbale*. It is a derivative from the Sanscrit verbal root *nrt-*. I do not need to go in farther details as they have been explained elsewhere and it offers no difficulty.

The first part of the word is a plural form of the word *Kolama*, which according to the Sinhalese dictionaries, and according to the colloquial use means "masquerade, fancy ball; fantastic appearance, gazing-stock" (Carter)¹ or "masked dance in which both human and supernatural characters are introduced, masquerade, show" (Clough)². Carter's definition of the meaning of the word is more in accordance with its modern use, Clough's with the historical. But the evidence of the colloquial or literary use of a word is not sufficient, and we must try to explain it also etymologically. From the etymological point of view it must be stated that the word is not of Aryan origin, but Dravidian, if this generic term may be used for some of the tribes and nations of Southern India.

In Tamil the word *kolam* is used in the sense of either "beauty, gracefulness", or "costume, attire, trappings, equipment, mien, guise, distinguishing marks, character, etc."³. From these meanings given in the dictionary it seems that the original meaning of the word was that of any vestment or adornment. If we search for the word in other Dravidian languages, we find it in Tulu which is spoken by tribes where devil dancing is in vogue. In Tulu *kola* means a "devil-dance". To "act a devil dance" is said in Tulu *kola kattuni*, which in reality means "to bind or tie a kola".⁴ From this combination of the two words it can be inferred that even in Tulu *kola* was originally something what could be bound or tied, i. e. a vestment as in Tamil. It is never used in the sense of a mask, for which there are other words in Tulu as e. g., *ani* (mask worn by devil-dancer), *vesa* (a Sanscrit

1. A SINHALESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, By the late Rev. Charles Carter. Colombo 1924.

2. A SINHALESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, By the Rev. B. Clough, new and enlarged edition, Colombo 1892.

3. Quoted from A DICTIONARY TAMIL AND ENGLISH, revised and enlarged. By V. Visvanatha Pillai. Madras 1921.

4. Quoted from TULU-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, By Rev. A. Manner. Mangalore 1886.

word meaning "a disguise"), *muga*¹ (originally "a demon's head-gear made of silver") etc. The use of the compound word *kolahala* in the sense of "pomp, display" gives evidence that the word *kola* has been used originally in the sense of a garment, dress, apparel, like the Sanscrit word *vesa*, and only lately changed its meaning into that of "a disguise".

From these Dravidian parallels we must infer that the Sinhalese word *kolama*² had originally the same meaning, being itself of Dravidian origin. That original meaning is in the Sinhalese absolutely lost at present and does not appear even in composites. But its use in the texts of ballads which are chanted at the ceremonies has not only that meaning which is found in the dictionaries, but also that of a mask, and then that of a fictitious person, or a character staged at a dancing ceremony. When the narrator of the story shows those masks which are put on the dancing ground, he uses the word *kolama* for each of them or *kolam* collectively.³

In the colloquial Sinhalese a mask is called *vesa*, or *vesmuna* which are the Sinhalese equivalents of Sanscrit word *vesa* and *vesa-mukha*.⁴

Comparatively few descriptions of this festive dance exist by European authors who have witnessed the dance, and we have none from those times when it was performed in its entirety and in its original gaiety. But none of them gives the full description of the ceremony including the preparations which, judging from the accompanying texts preserved up to our times, must have been quite elaborate and must have required rather much time, and in some cases lasted perhaps several days if we are right in interpreting the story as a description of the actual functions done before and at the ceremony as generally is done at the *Yakun-natima*. Even the vivid description of the performances of several *kolama* characters given by Annie Besant (II, p. 81 f.) is an account of a performance staged by her host purposely

1. It is a Pracrit equivalent of the Sk. *mukha*, face (instead of *mugha* or *muha*), used here in the sense of an artificial face, like Sk. *kapata-mukha* or *chadma-mukha*.

2. It must be supposed that the original singular of the word was *kolam* as in Tamil, and after its frequent use as a collective noun it became a plural to which a new analogical singular was fabricated in the form of *kolama*.

3. Cf. Or. 4995, fol. 2 a, st. 13—16, and other.

4. The Sinhalese word *muna* means face, and is a derivation of Sk. *mukha* in a similar way to the Hindi word *mumh* with the difference that in the Sinhalese word the nasalisation rose to the full *n* and caused the disappearance of the weak aspirate *h*. Of course it is not clear why it is written with the lingual *n* and not with the dental *n*.

for her, and containing only disconnected shows by isolated *kolama* characters. Even those *kolama* dances which I was able to witness in Ceylon did not stage the full legendary tale as it is given even in the shortest texts.

If we compare this scarcity of descriptions of the *kolama* dances and the rarity of its performances at present with the frequent occurrence of description of and notes about the *Yakun-natima* we cannot refrain from surprise at the difference. It is, however, very difficult to explain it, as according to the descriptions and according to that little which is still performed as *Kolam-natima*, these dances must have been much more conspicuous, more gay and attractive than those rather dull performances of the *Yakun-natima*. There are two possibilities according to my opinion : either the European visitors of Ceylon have been more attracted by *Yakun-natima* as they considered them to be a kind of magic, and it was (and still is rather) a fashion in Europe to admire the magic practices of exotic nations, or the *kolama* dances were already obsolete in time when Ceylon has been visited by such men and women from Europe as had leisure enough to observe the customs and manners of its people. And it is most probable that this second possibility is the right one. At least the low standard of the present performances staged under the name of *Kolam-natima* well supports this my opinion.

Those dancing ceremonies which I have seen in Sinhalese villages as a *Kolam-natima* are a rather simple performance, more or less tedious for a European spectator even if he is interested in Ceylonese folklore. It is performed, like every Sinhalese dancing ceremony, at night. A clean place is prepared and adorned with arches of palm-leaves as are used in Ceylon at every festive occasion. The place is well lighted. Kitson's lamps were used in both cases in which my description is based, but besides them there were several old-fashioned oil lamps, even some made of cocoanut-shells, and also torches were carried in the hands of a number of performers. The performance is started by a masked tom-tom beater who represents the king's crier, *ana-bera-karaya*, and in a kind of sing-song tells the story of an Indian king whose pregnant wife has been attacked by a *dola-duk*,¹ i.e. an unnatural craving, in this case longing

1. *Dola* is the Sinhalese equivalent of Sk. *dohada* or *dohala*, although the occurrence of the cerebral *l* in it cannot easily be explained. The second component part of the word, viz., *duk* is a regular Sinhalese form of Sk. *duhkha*. Even at present Sinhalese women suffer very much from *dola-duk* during the pregnancy, and it is still believed that the *dola-duk* is caused by demons. If we can believe the Sinhalese tradition, *dola-duk* in royal women was in the past frequently a cause of wars and other national disasters.

to see a masked dance, a performance unknown in her country. In the morning grand masks appeared in the garden as a gift of the god Indra, and the crier points to those masks which are exhibited round the dancing place. Then he announces that a warrior is coming. The dancer representing a warrior is coming, tells a story about his experiences in campaigns in which he took part and points to the many wounds on his face (i. e. on the mask). Then his wife comes, who cannot recognise her husband and a dialogue between them develops, ending in a quarrel. Then appear other characters, a king, queen, prince, minister, a *Naga* princess, and the original story loses connection more and more with the words sung by the dancers. Several dancers are now on the scene, making their evolutions and singing verses, which are apparently parts from various stories of quite different tradition and from different origin. The scene becomes still more confused when the fabulous bird *Gurula*, i. e. the Indian *Garuda*, appears, probably in pursuit of the *Naga* princess. Probably to help her several Serpent-devils, *Naga-rassaya*, and other demons appear, the *Purnakayaka* with torches in his hands comes on the scene, and even various animals are introduced on the stage. A wild melee results during which some of the *dramatis personae* disappear and other new ones again appear on the stage, so that the unaccustomed spectator is unable to follow the connection of the various, seemingly disconnected scenes. The performance ends after several hours of wild dancing in a peaceful scene where a god (or in the other case several gods) appears together with the king, queen and minister and pronounces a blessing over the people present. At that moment nothing more from the original fable is mentioned, as if it have been forgotten during the performance.

Nonsensical as it is, this performance cannot be the original *Kolam-natima*, as all the other Sinhalese dances have their inner sense and purpose, and have a kind of logical development in the whole performance which is absolutely missing in the ceremony described. Some of the Sinhalese dances even have a positive dramatic tendency. And this dramatic element appears also in the beginning of the performance witnessed by myself and here described, but it disappears during the performance in the quantity of rather insipid declamations by the demon characters, in their repeated yells, the cries of the human characters, the roaring of the animals, and the crying of the birds represented on the stage.

It is quite clear from the details mentioned that the performance in this form is already corrupted and degenerate, having preserved from the original ceremony only a series of standardized characters, and a quantity of verses attributed to those characters, perhaps in several cases belonging to different stories, which have possibly been the basis for individual performances. We perfectly understand that *Kolam-natima* in its present form is considered by the Sinhalese to be a mere masquerade staged for amusement at special occasions, and having nothing to do with religious dances either those unmasked dances already described, or those of *Yakun-natima* at which special kinds of masks are used.

With the above mentioned present form of the *kolam-natima* the texts of the Sinhalese ballads which were probably intended for accompanying of the performance partly agree and partly disagree. These texts as well as the existing masks are the only help in getting an idea of the original form of the performance, and to restore it with regard to its original sense and aim.

2. *The accompanying text.*

At Sinhalese dancing ceremonies of a great importance are the accompanying texts, those Sinhalese ballads composed in rhymed quatrains which constitute a greater part of the Sinhalese folk-literature. Although a great number of such ballads exist at present, it is sometimes very difficult to ascertain at which ceremony the text concerned has been used, and sometimes it is a mere chance if we succeed in determining its purpose. In the search for *Kolam-natima* texts we are helped by the very divergent types of that ceremony, and by the fact that we know the most important characters staged in the performance from the existing masks. •

Besides we have an old translation in English of such a text, from times when a better knowledge of the ceremony must have prevailed in Ceylon. It is the *Kolan Nattannawa* by John Callaway, which has been published in 1829 (cf. 12). One hundred years ago such popular ceremonies must have been still in vogue in Ceylon and considered as a part of a sacred tradition, and therefore as little changed as possible. From that time we have those best masks still existing. As John Callaway was for a long time a missionary (later Bishop) in Ceylon, it must be supposed that he had a fair knowledge of Sinhalese customs and manners as well as of the Sinhalese language and literature. In consideration of all these facts his work became a stimulus

ERRATA

PLATE REFERENCES

By an error the 35 Plates in this book have been numbered in Roman numerals from Plate I to Plate XXXV. In the references to the Plates in the text please read as follows:—

Plate III	in text refers to Plate I
Plate IV	in text refers to Plate II
Plate V	in text refers to Plate III
Plate VI	in text refers to Plate IV
Plate VII	in text refers to Plate V
Plate VIII	in text refers to Plate VI
Plate IX	in text refers to Plate VII
Plate X	in text refers to Plate VIII
Plate XI	in text refers to Plate IX
Plate XII	in text refers to Plate X
Plate XIII	in text refers to Plate XI
Plate XIV	in text refers to Plate XII
Plate XV	in text refers to Plate XIII
Plate XVI	in text refers to Plate XIV
Plate XVII	in text refers to Plate XV
Plate XVIII	in text refers to Plate XVI
Plate XIX	in text refers to Plate XVII
Plate XX	in text refers to Plate XVIII
Plate XXI	in text refers to Plate XIX
Plate XXII	in text refers to Plate XX
Plate XXIII	in text refers to Plate XXI
Plate XXIV	in text refers to Plate XXII
Plate XXV	in text refers to Plate XXIII
Plate XXVI	in text refers to Plate XXIV
Plate XXVII	in text refers to Plate XXV
• Plate XXVIII	in text refers to Plate XXVI
Plate XXIX	in text refers to Plate XXVII
Plate XXX	in text refers to Plate XXVIII
Plate XLI	in text refers to Plate XXIX
Plate XLII	in text refers to Plate XXX
Plate XLIII	in text refers to Plate XXXI
Plate XLIV	in text refers to Plate XXXII
Plate XLV	in text refers to plate XXXIII
Plate XLVI	in text refers to Plate XXXIV
Plate XLVII	in text refers to Plate XXXV

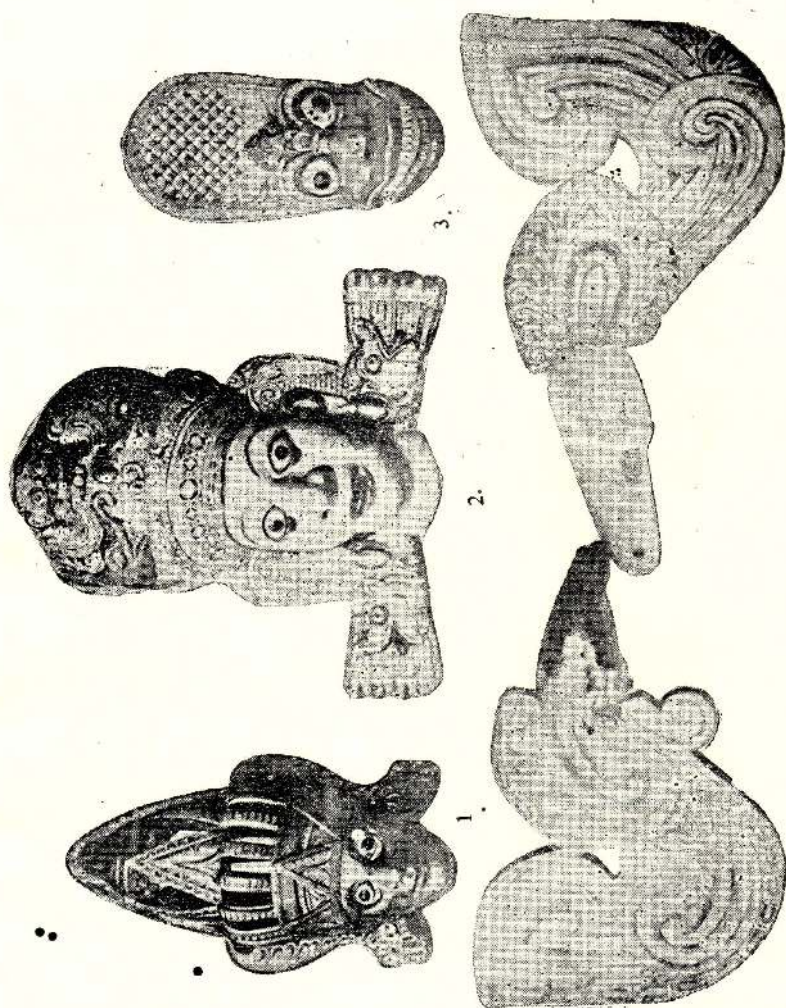


PLATE I

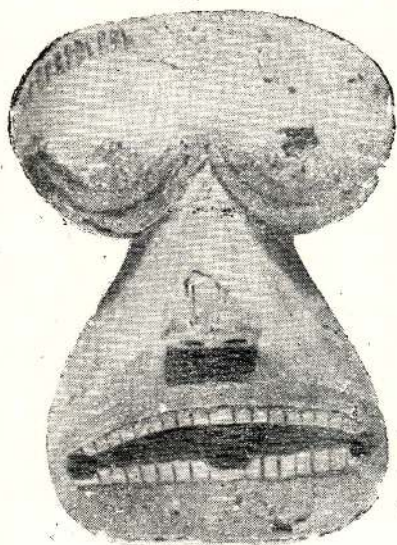
- Fig. 1. Probably a PRINCE, *Kumaraya*. Height about 22½ in. (57 cm.). Orig. in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (No. D 1215).
- Fig. 2. Probably a PRINCE, *Kumaraya*. Height about 24 in. (60 cm.). Orig. in Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (No. D a 572).
- Fig. 3. Probably *Maraka* or *Marahu*. No information. Orig. in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (No. C a 141).
- Fig. 4. Two WINGS, probably not from the same pair. Length about 17 in. (43 cm.), height about 10½ in. (26 cm.), each. Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 712 : 07).



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PLATE II

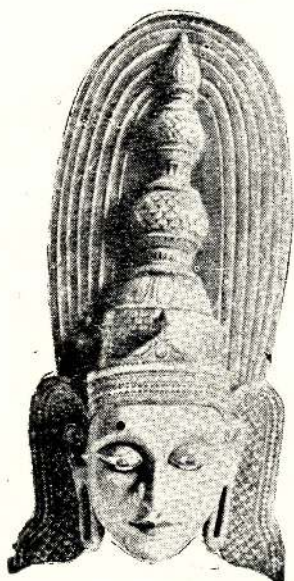
- Fig. 1. Probably a PRINCE, *Kumaraya*. Height about 14½ in. (37 cm.). Face light brown, crown red and yellow with green ornaments. Orig. in the Naprstkovo museum, Prague.
- Fig. 2. Probably a PRINCE, *Kumaraya*, or a subordinate KING, *Raja*. Similar mask is described in Umlauf's catalogue as *Verdi radja kolan* (sic!), i.e. a *Vadda raja*. Yellow, the crown with red and green ornaments. Orig. in the British Museum (collection Burton).
- Fig. 3. Described as *Dala Raksas*, but more probably representing the *Dala-Kumaraya*. Old fashioned mask. Orig. in the British Museum.
- Fig. 4. Probably *Vadda raja*. Orig. in the Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Hamburg.



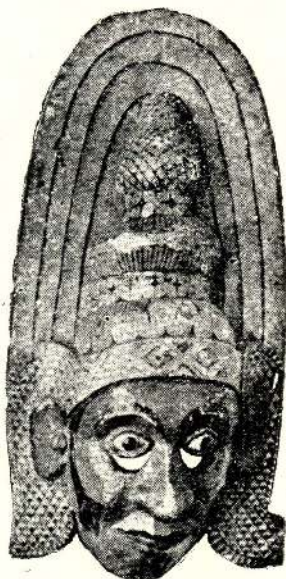
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PLATE III

Fig. 1. and 2. Mask of a KING, described on the label as *Raja-muna*. Height $43\frac{1}{4}$ in. (110 cm.). Dagoba-shaped crown bears in the lower layer figures representing Kandyan lions. The hair-dress beneath the crown is formed in the shape of a *torana*. Similar mask in Umlauf's catalogue (No. 7) is described as *Mahasammata raja*. Orig. in the Naprstkovo museum, Prague.

Fig. 3. Mask of a KING with a dagoba-shaped crown and a halo. No information Orig. in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.

Fig. 4. Mask of a KING, perhaps of a foreign country. Face green with black whiskers. Dagoba shaped crown with ornaments in many colours. Round the crown a halo. Height about 20 in. (51 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 702 : 07).



PLATE IV

Mask of a KING. Yellow with ornaments in many colours. Dagoba-shaped crown is surrounded by a halo. A *tilaka* on the crown shows that he is an Indian king. Height about 29½ in. (75 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 94 : 09).



PLATE V

Mask of a KING or GOD. A little resembling No. 250 in Umlauf's catalogue, described as *Deva kolam*. Height 35-7/8 in. (72 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 706 : 07).

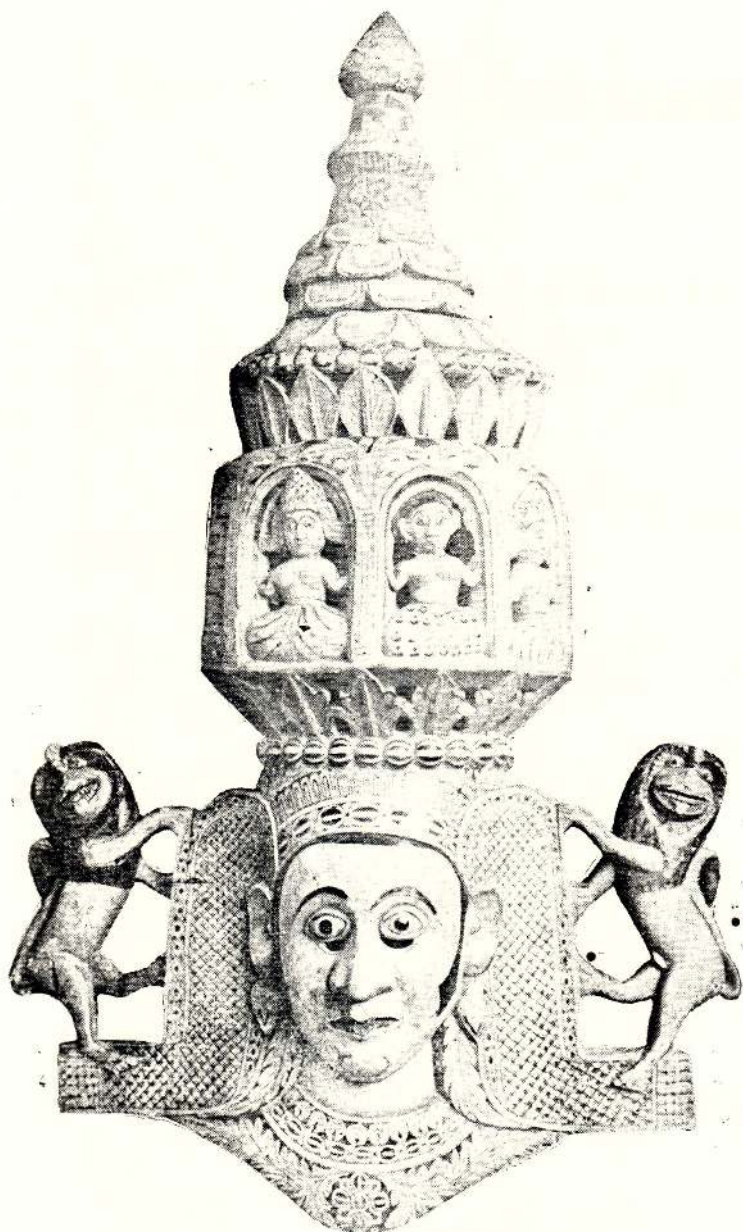
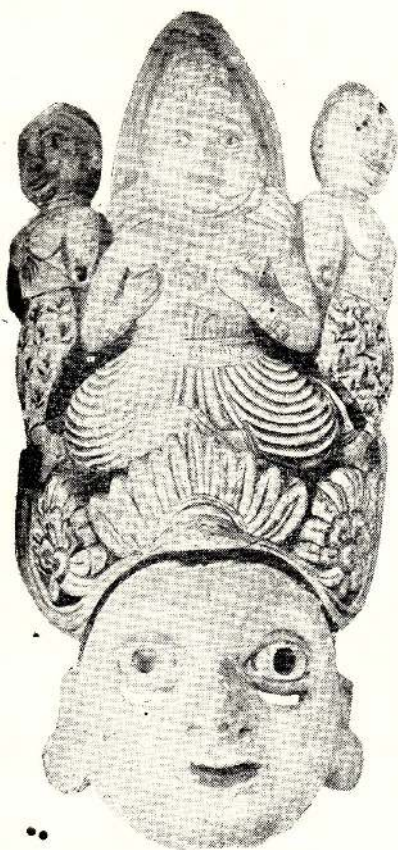
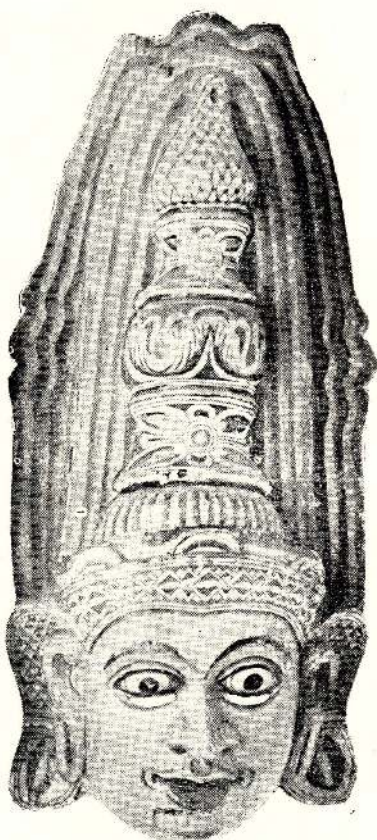


PLATE VI

Mask of a KING, with dagoba-shaped crown. In the lowest layer of the crown male and female figures representing either gods and goddess or male and female demons. Typical Kandyan lions on both ear-ornaments. Face yellow. Height about 52½ in. (134 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 91: 09).



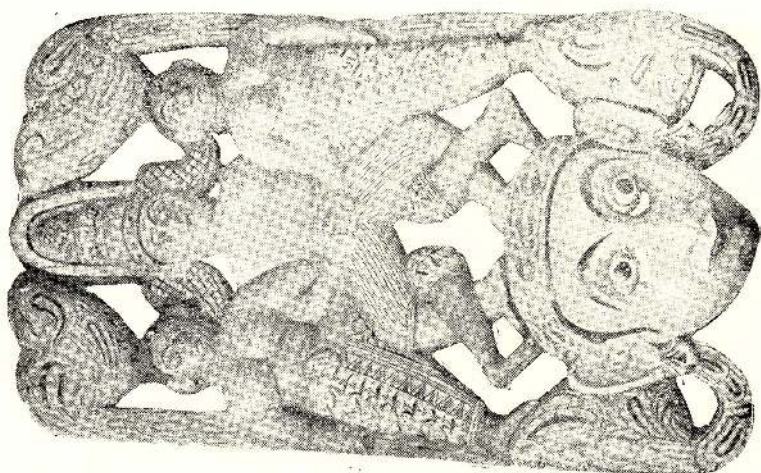
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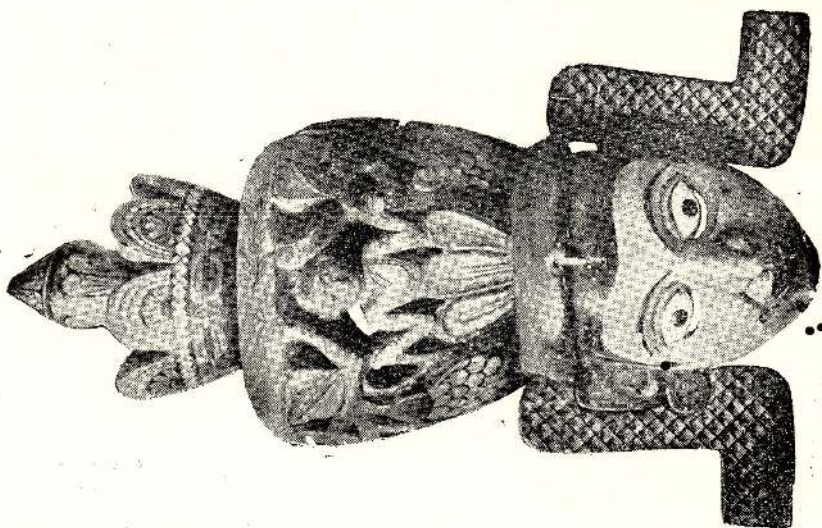
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PLATE VII

- Fig. 1. A non described mask, perhaps of a Demon Princess. On the crown are a male figure, and two females. Yellow. Height about 31-5/8 in. (55 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4401).
- Fig. 2. Mask of a KING with a dagoba-shaped crown and a halo. Height about 21-5/8 in. (54.8 cm.). Orig. in the Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4404)



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PLATE VIII

- Fig. 1. Mask of a KING or a PRINCE with a dagoba-shaped crown with floral and figural ornaments, of yellow colour. Height about 23-5/8 in. (60 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 703 : 07).
- Fig. 2. Mask of a KING with a figural crown, consisting of a male figure with two females. Yellow. Height about 24 in. (61.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 95 : 09).

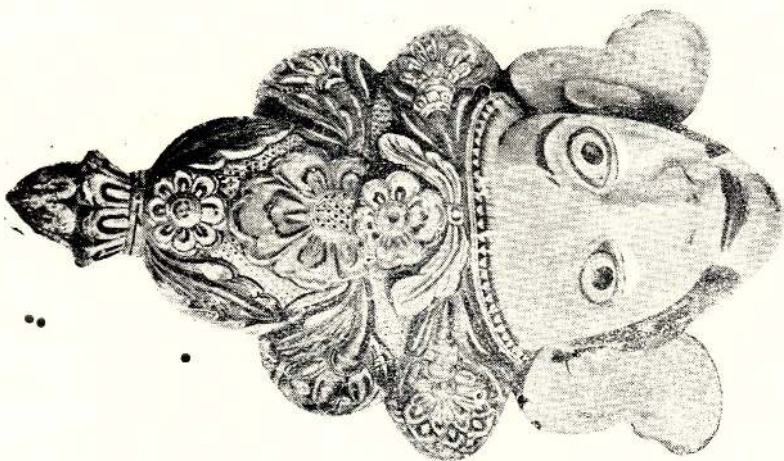
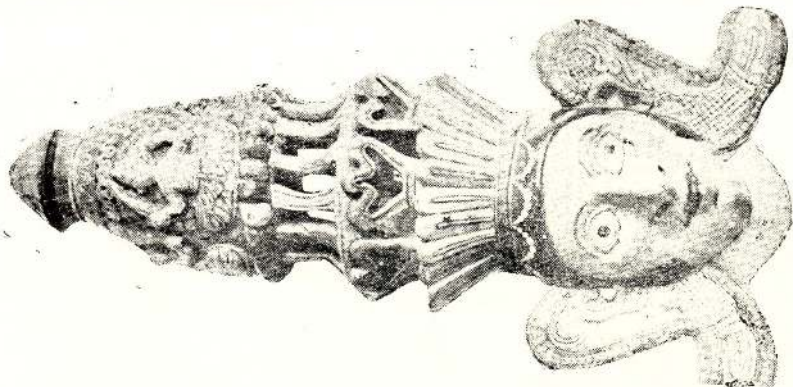


PLATE IX

- Fig. 1. Mask of a KING or PRINCE, yellow with black whiskers. The crown has a shape of a big turban with floral ornaments. Height about 24 in. (60.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4424).
- Fig. 2. Mask of a KING. Dagoba-shaped crown with floral ornaments. The upper part of the crown can be removed perhaps in order to use the mask also with a lower crown to represent a PRINCE. Height about 21½ in. (55 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4428).



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PLATE X

- Fig. 1. Mask of a QUEEN, perhaps THE ENGLISH QUEEN according to the jewels and the plaited collar. Height about 24-3/8 in. (62 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 92 : 09).
- Fig. 2. Mask of the QUEEN VIKRAMA DEVI, her Indian origin distinguished by a *tilaka* on the crown. Height 24 3/4 (63 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 93 : 09).
- Fig. 3. Probably mask of a KING, although the face is that of a female, the apparent whiskers being really a part of the hair-dress. The crown is a kingly crown of a rather unusual form, the second layer being of an open work, in the uppermost part bearing four figures of *pankhavalas*. The face is yellow. Height about 34 1/2 in. (80 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 96 : 09).



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PLATE XI

Four masks representing QUEENS or NOBLE LADIES. Faces yellow or light yellow. crowns with floral ornaments. Height: Fig. 1 about 10-5/8 in. (27 cm.); fig. 2 about 17 1/4 in. (44 cm.); fig. 3 about 11 in. (28 cm.); fig. 4 about 9 1/2 in. (24 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4417, A. 4400, A. 4395, A. 4425).



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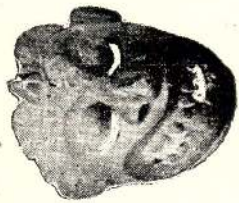
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PLATE XII

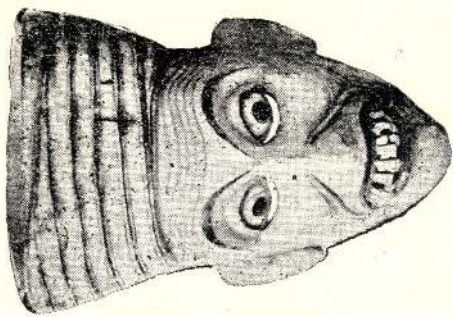
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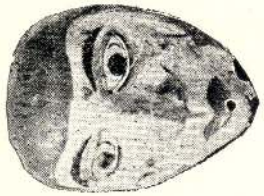
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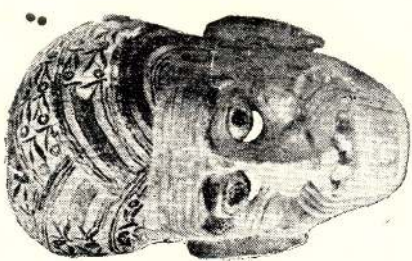
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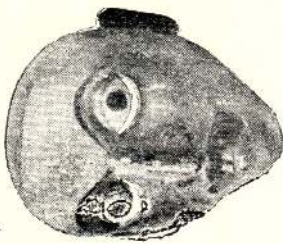
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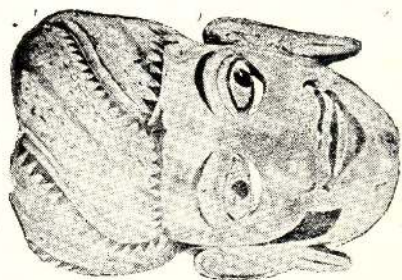
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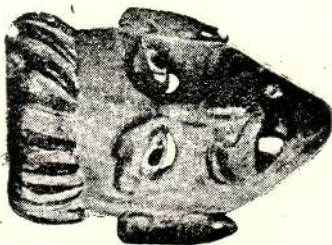
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PLATE XIII

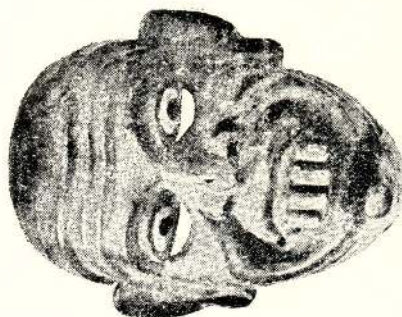
See page following Plate XXXV for titles.



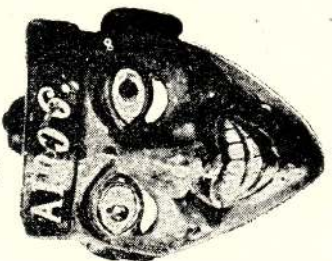
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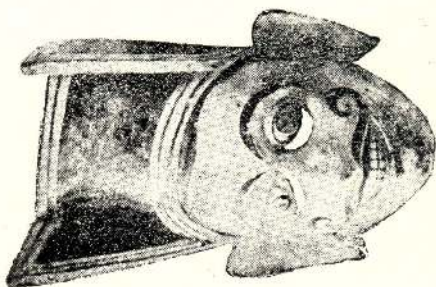
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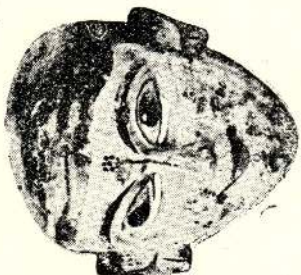
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PLATE XIV

- Fig. 1. Probably mask of a MINISTER, *amatiya*. Face yellow with a black moustache. A peculiar head-dress resembles the Sinhalese *cumb* as it is worn by higher classes of Low-country men. Height about 11½ in. (28·5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 99 : 09).
- Fig. 2. Mask of a MOORMAN or of a DEMON. No information received. Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg.
- Fig. 3. Mask probably of a MINISTER, *amatiya*. Face yellow with black whiskers and moustache. On the head a coloured turban. Height about 10·7/8 in. (27·5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4415).
- Fig. 4. Mask of a YOUNG MAN. Face yellow with a *tilaka* on the forehead. Height about 9 in. (23 cm.). Orig. in the Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 101 : 09).
- Fig. 5. Mask of the POLICEMAN or SOLDIER (CORPORAL according to Callaway). Face purple with black moustache and eye-brows. As head-dress a low cap as that of policemen of the present time. Height about 9¼ in. (24 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 100 : 09).
- Fig. 6. Mask of the OLD MAN in the last scene. No detailed information at hand. Height about 9·5/8 in. (24·5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde Hamburg (No. A. 4410).



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PLATE XV

- Fig. 1. Mask of a MINISTER. Face of the flesh-colour. Coloured turban. Height about 12-3/8 in. (31.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A 4392).
- Fig. 2. Mask of a MINISTER (?). Similar to specimens in Umlauf's catalogue No. 63, *Dantoberre kolan* (sic!), and No. 84, *Demale kolan* (sic!). Face greyish yellow. Height about 11 3/4 in. (30 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 700'07).
- Fig. 3. Mask of a PRINCE, *Kumaraya*, probably of a foreign country. Face yellow. Head-dress a royal turban. Height about 11-3/8 in (29 cm.). Original in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 4409).
- Fig. 4. Mask of an unidentified character of *Kolam-natima*. Face greyish pink. Height about 8 1/2 in. (22.2 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 3385).



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PLATE XVI

- Fig. 1. Mask of the MOORMAN, *marakkalaya*. Face red. Cap of many colours. Height about 13-3/8 in. (34 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 693 : 07).
- Fig. 2. Mask of a POLICEMAN (European?). Face of the flesh-colour, with a black moustache. As head-dress a sun-hat (*topi*). Height about 11 1/2 in. (28.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 97 : 09).
- Fig. 3. Mask of the WARRIOR, *hevaya*. Brown. Height about 10-5/8 in. (27 cm.). Orig. in the Naprstkovo Museum, Prague.
- Fig. 4. Mask of the VILLAGE HEADMAN, *aracci*. Yellow face. Height about 15 1/2 in. (40 cm.). Orig. in the Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 687 : 07).



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PLATE XVII

- Fig. 1. Mask of an OLD WILD MAN. Face blue, chin black. Moustache made from stripes of a black skin. Height about $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. (18.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4402).
- Fig. 2. Mask of *Vevulum-sanni-yaka* for the ceremony of *Yakun-natima*, resembling that of the warrior, *hevaya*, for which it must not be mistaken. Height about 9-7/16 in. (24 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 698 : 07).
- Fig. 3. Mask of a DEVIL, *raksasa*, *rakusa*, or *rassaya*. Face yellowish green, lips red, teeth only painted. Height about 10 in. (25.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4418).
- Fig. 4. Mask of an OLD BLACK MAN. Face black with a beard made from stripes of skin. Height about $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. (19.7 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 102 : 09).
- Fig. 5. Mask of *Guru-hami*. No detailed information at hand. Height about $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. (25.7 c.m.). Orig. in the Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4423).
- Fig. 6. Mask of the WARRIOR, *hevaya* (?). No information. Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg.



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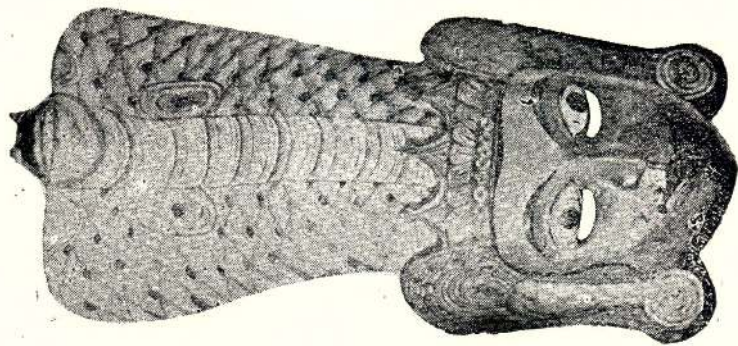


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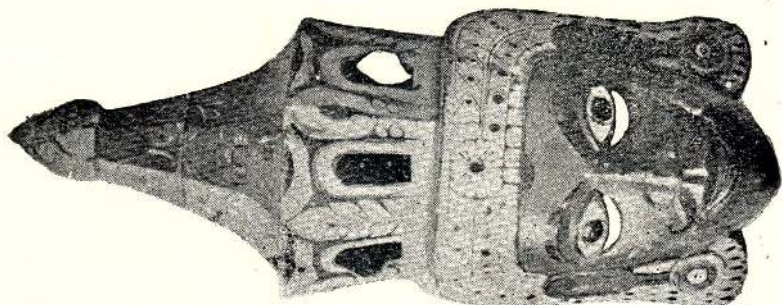
PLATE XVIII

- Fig. 1. Mask of the **BLIND MAN**. Yellow with brown lips. Height about 10½ in. (26 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4394).
- Fig. 2. Mask of the **WARRIOR, hevaya (?)**. Height about 8-3/8 in. (21.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 697 : 07).
- Fig. 3. Mask of an **OLD WILD MAN**. Similar to the mask in Pl. XIX, fig. 1. Face blue with a black chin; moustache made from a stripe of skin, and the beard from fibres. Height about 7-1/8 in. (18 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4405).

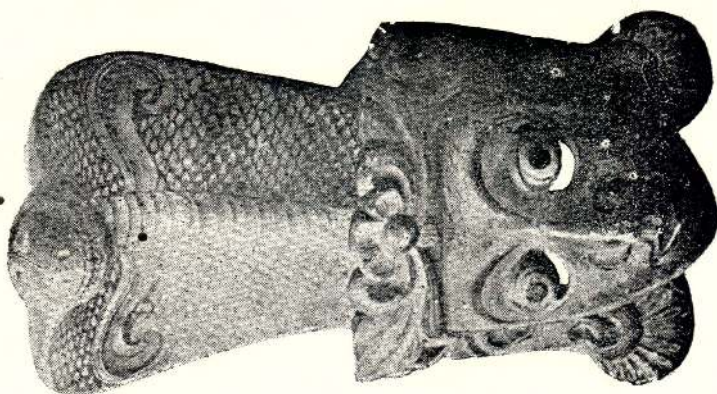
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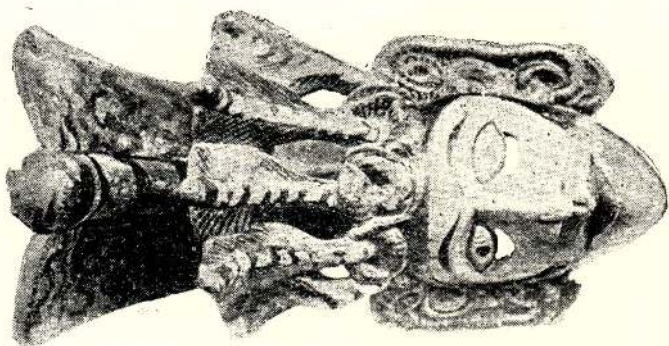
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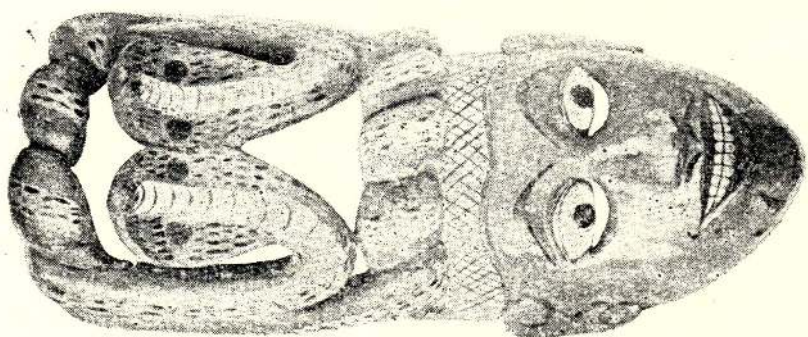
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PLATE XIX

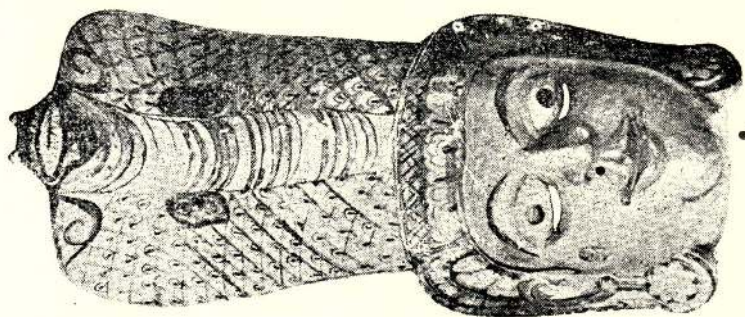
- Fig. 1. Mask of the SERPENT-VIRGIN, *Naga-kanyava*. Height given as 8-3/8 in. (21.3 cm.; probably mistaken for 51.3 cm., i.e. 20½ in.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 701 :07).
- Fig. 2. Mask of a PRINCE, *Kumaraya*. Resembling No. 25 of Umlauf's catalogue which is marked as *Manimal Aemataeya* (sic!), i.e. *manimala amatiya*, minister with garlands of pearls, viz. a minister as bridegroom. Height about 20-7/8 in. (53 cm.). Orig. in the Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4421).
- Fig. 3. Mask of the SERPENT-VIRGIN, *Naga-kanyava*. Height about 19-5/8 (50 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4426).



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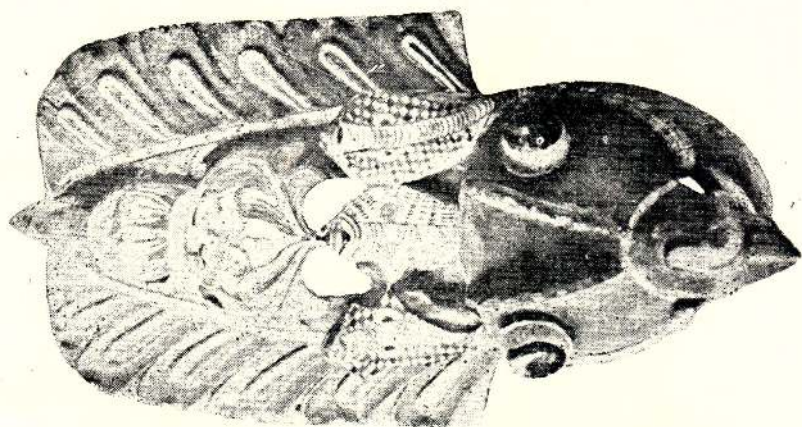
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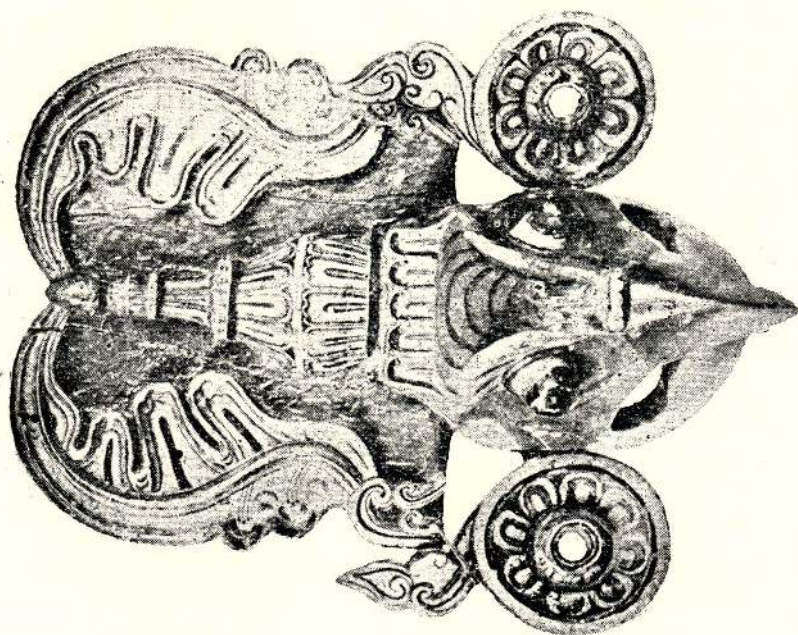
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PLATE XX

- Fig. 1. Mask of the SERPENT-VIRGIN, *Naga-kanyava*. Height about 17-3/8 in. (44 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4429).
- Fig. 2. Mask of the SERPENT-PRINCE, *Naga-kumara*. Face yellowy brown with a painted black moustache. Height about 16-3/8 in. (41.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4419).
- Fig. 3. Mask of the SERPENT-VIRGIN, *Naga-kanyava*. Marked as *Naga-devi*. Face white. Height about 19 1/4 in. (49 cm.). Orig. in the Naprstkovomus, Prague.



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PLATE XXI

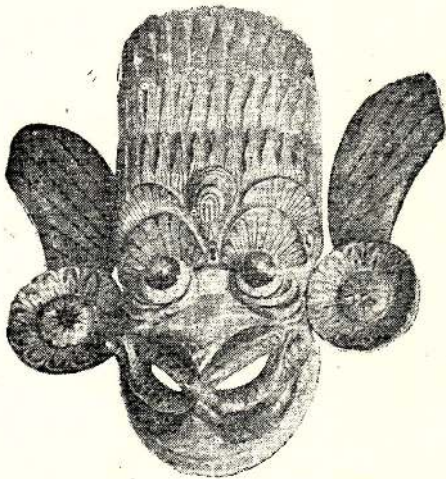
- Fig. 1. Mask of the *Raja Gurula*. Face and beak red, eye-brows yellow and black. The crown with a dagoba in the middle painted in yellow, green, red and black. No information about the size. Orig. in the British Museum, London.
- Fig. 2. Mask of the *Raja Gurula*. Face red. Height about 25½ in. (64.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4407).



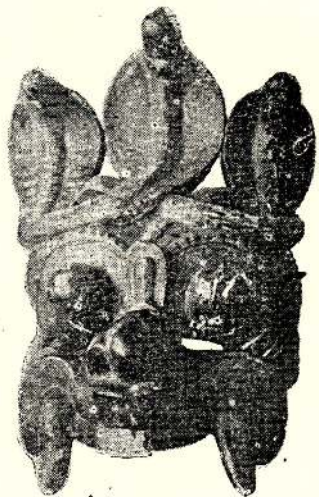
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PLATE XXII

- Fig. 1 and 2. Mask of the *Na Gurula* (front- and side-view). Red face (beak). No information about the size. Orig. in the British Museum, London.
- Fig. 3. Mask of the *Gurulu rassaya*, i.e. GARUDA AS A DEVIL. Height about 18½ in. (47 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 686 : 07).
- Fig. 4. Mask of a SERPENT-DEVIL. Orig. in Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Hamburg.



PLATE XXIII

Mask of the SERPENT-DEVIL, *Naga-rassaya*. Height about 20½ in. (51.5 cm.).
Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4406).

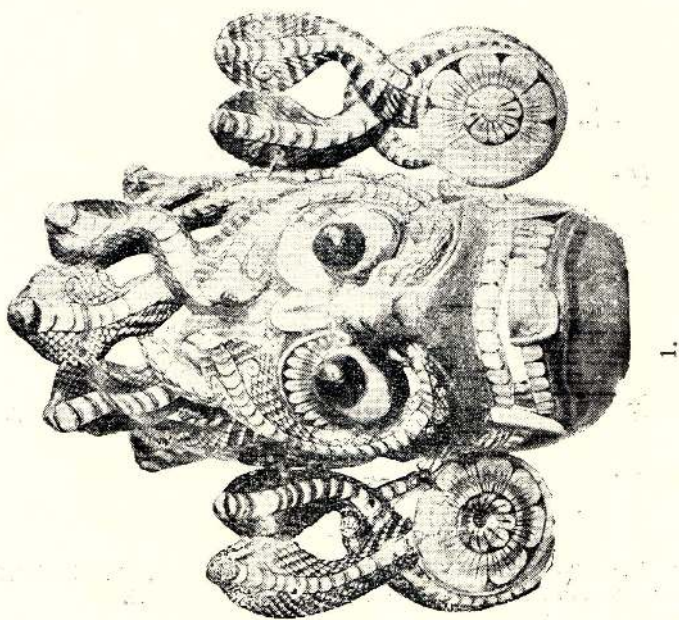
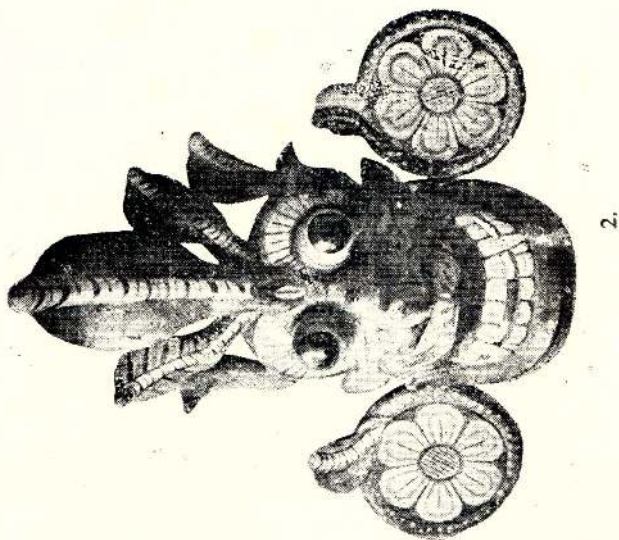
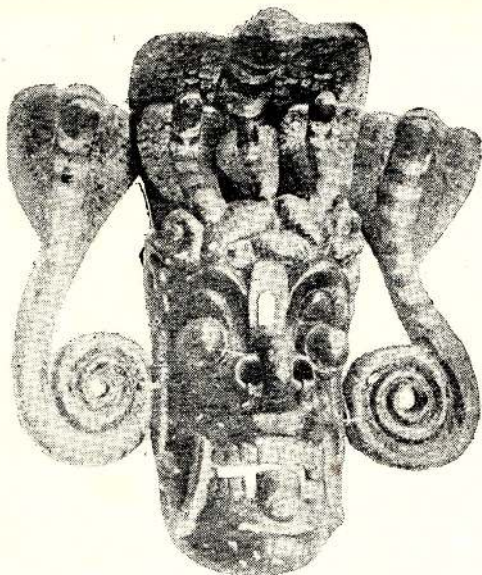


PLATE XXIV

- Fig. 1. Mask of the SERPENT-DEVIL, *Naga-rassaya*. No information at hand. Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4422).
- Fig. 2. Mask of the *Naga-Gara* (?). Similar are the masks No. 277, and 282 in Umlauf's catalogue, described as *Naga-Rasse* (sic!), i.e. *Naga-rassaya*. Height about 15-3/4 in. (40 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4398).



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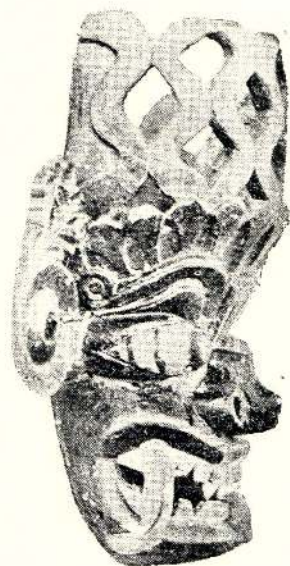
3.

PLATE XXV

- Fig. 1. Mask marked as *Sinayaka*, but more probably *Marahu* or DEATH. Mask of a similar shape in Umlauf's catalogue No. 341 is described as *Purenegge rasse* (sic!), i.e. *Purnaka*, of course without ear-ornaments. Height 23½ in. (59 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 3094).
- Fig. 2. Probably mask of the SERPENT-DEVIL, *Naga-rassava*. Marked, however, *Naga-rajjuruvo*. Cf. Umlauf's catalogue No. 277 - 287, and especially. No. 295 which is most similar to the present mask. Orig. in the Naprstkovo museum. Prague.
- Fig. 3. Mask of the SERPENT-DEVIL, *Naga-rassava*. Orig. in the Brit. Mus., London.



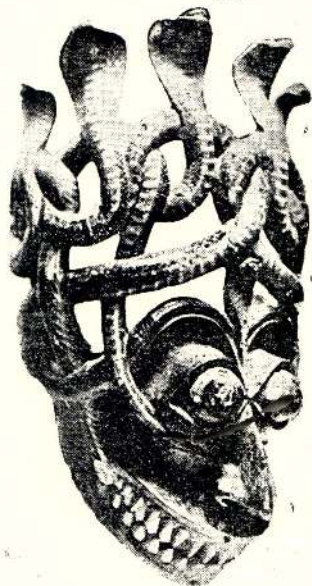
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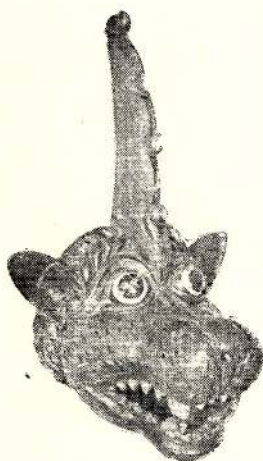
PLATE XXVI

Fig. 1 and 2. Mask of the *Purnaka*. (Front- and side-view). Face brown, eyelids yellow. The crown of flames yellow and red. Height about 20-7/8 in. (53 cm.). Orig. in the Naprstkovo museum, Prague.

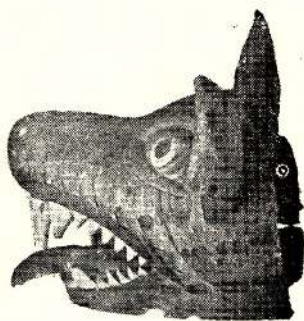
Fig. 3 and 4. Mask of the SERPENT-DEVIL, *Naga-rassaya*. Nearly identical is the mask No. 292 described in Umlauf's catalogue. Orig. in the British Museum, London.



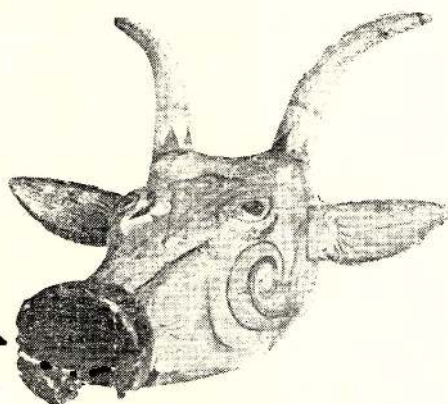
1.



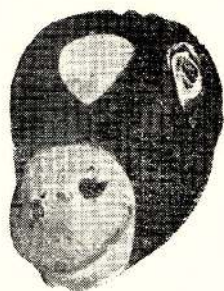
2.



3.



4.



5.

PLATE XXVII

- Fig. 1. Mask of a three-horned BULL (*gona*), but two of three horns are lost. Orig. in the British Museum, London.
- Fig. 2. Mask of a LION, *simhaya*. Yellow with black design, gums and inner part of the ears red; crest with black and red design. Height about 19½ in. (49.5 cm.). Orig. in the possession of the author.
- Fig. 3. Mask of a LEOPARD or TIGER, *diviya*. Height about 7½ in. (19 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4408).
- Fig. 4. Mask of a BULLOCK, *gona*. Ground-colour white. Height about 13½ in. (34.3 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4403).
- Fig. 5. Mask of a BULLOCK, *gona*. Black, with a light blue mouth, and a white star. Height about 15 in. (38 cm.). Orig. in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4396).

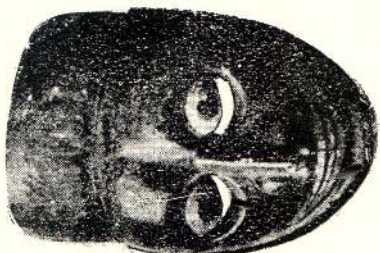
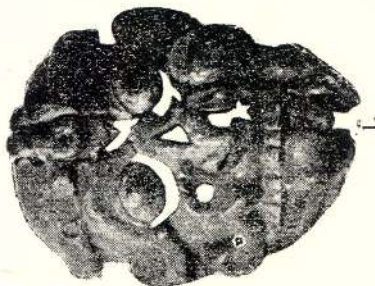
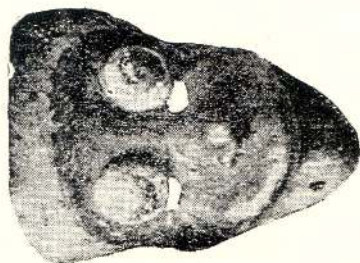
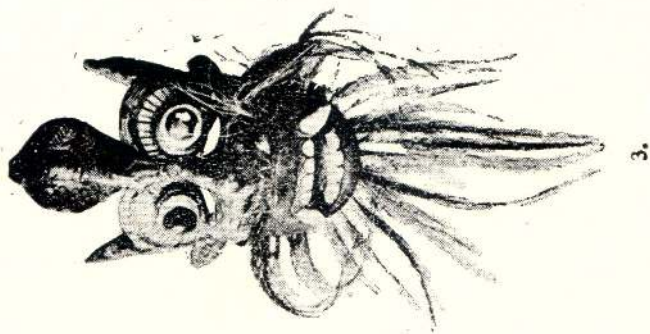


PLATE XXVIII

- Fig. 1. Mask of the WARRIOR, *hevaya*, or the demon mask of *Mukha-sanniya*. Cf. Pl. XX, fig. 2, 4, 5, 6. Red with black design. Height about 8-1/8 in. (20.6 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 698:07).
- Fig. 2. Mask probably of a black faced MONKEY, *vandura*. Dark green, eyes, eyebrows, ears, and the mouth lined red. Orig. in the British Museum, London.
- Fig. 3. Mask of a DEVIL, perhaps *Marahu*. Green with moustache and beard of horse-hairs. Height about 10 1/2 in. (26 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4420).
- Fig. 4. Mask probably of a MOORMAN, *marakkalaya*. Dark red. Height about 9-1/8 in. (23 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 695 : 07).
- Fig. 5. Mask of an OLD MAN, represented toothless. Bluish grey and reddish, design. Height about 9 in. (22.2). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 692 : 07).

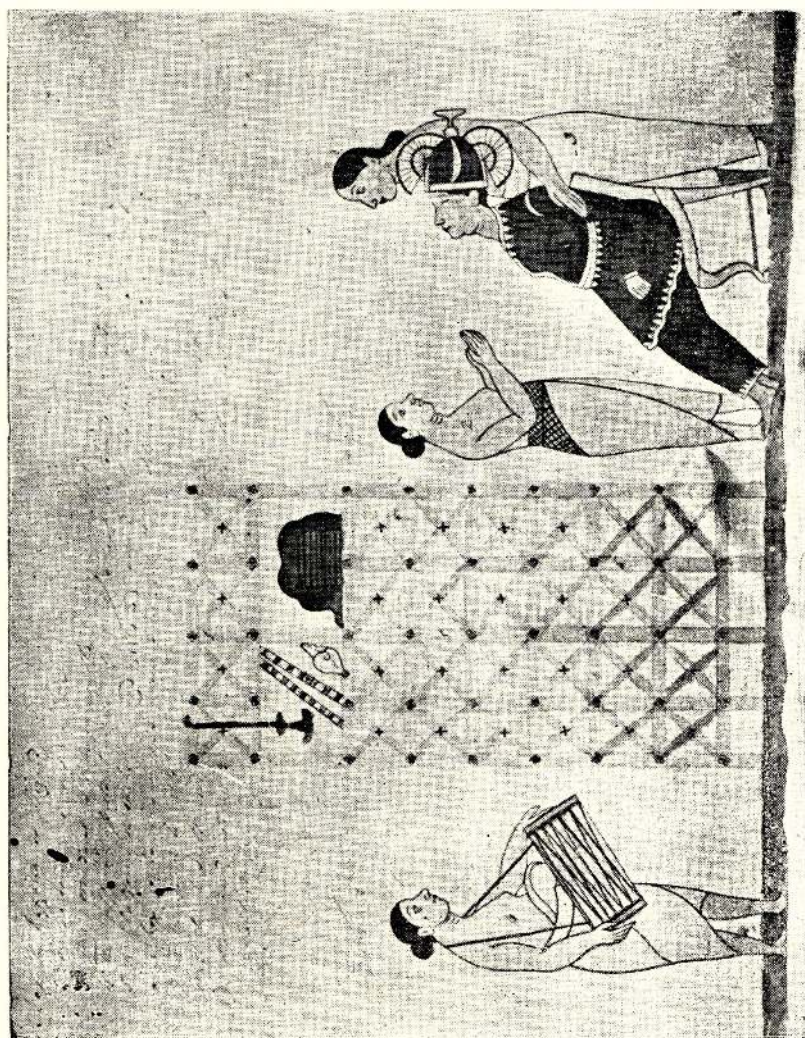


PLATE XXIX

Pena-kiyanava. MS. of the British Museum, O . 5067, fol. 1.

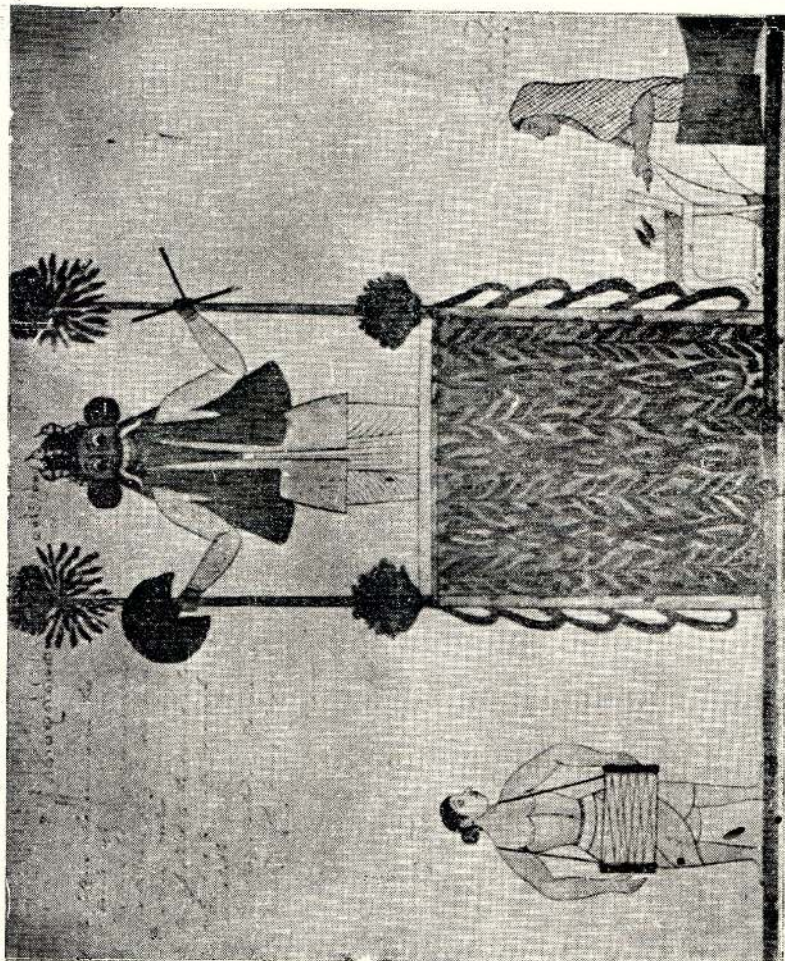


PLATE XXX

Gara-yakun-natanava. (MS. of the British Museum, Or. 5067, fol. 3).

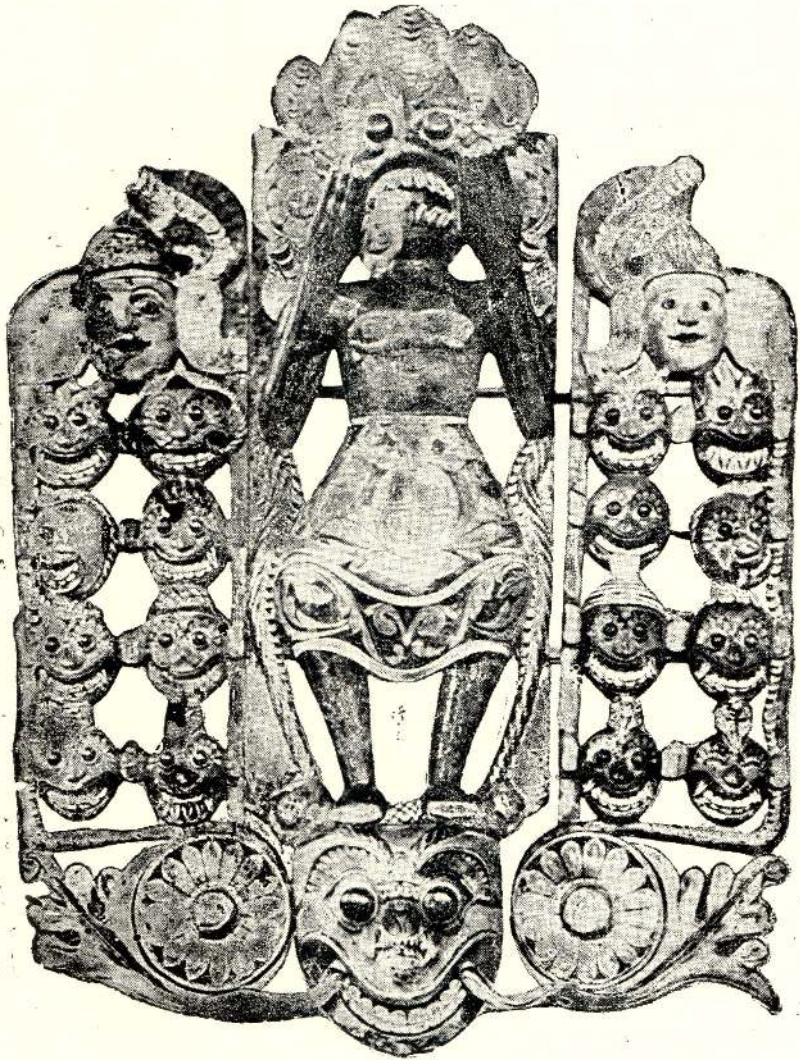


PLATE XXXI

Maha-kola-sanni-yaka. Orig. in the Naprstkovo museum, Praha. Height 43-5/10 in. [110 cm.], width 30-3/4 in. [78 cm.], depth 11 in. [28 cm.].

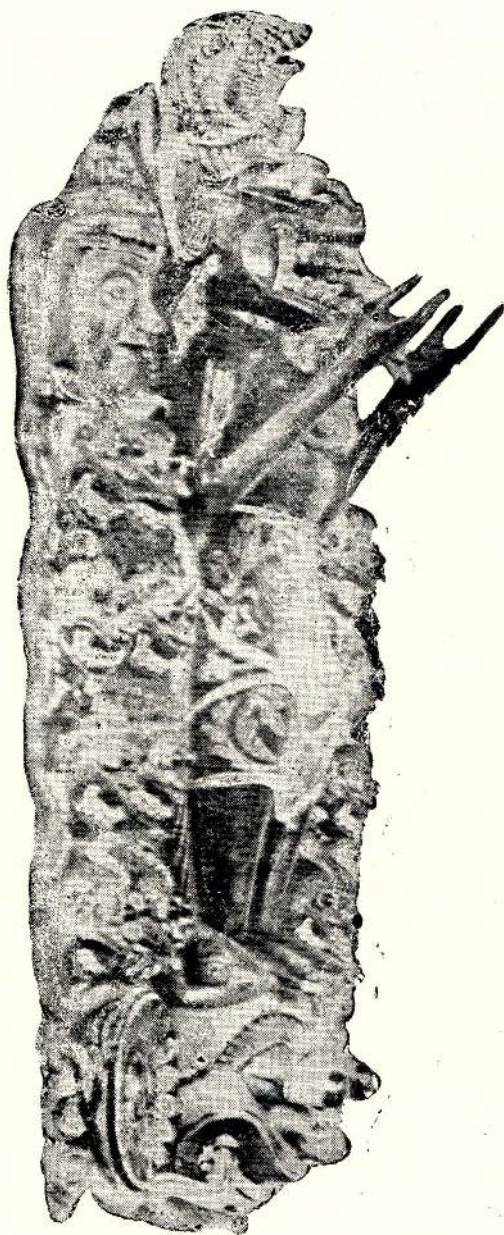
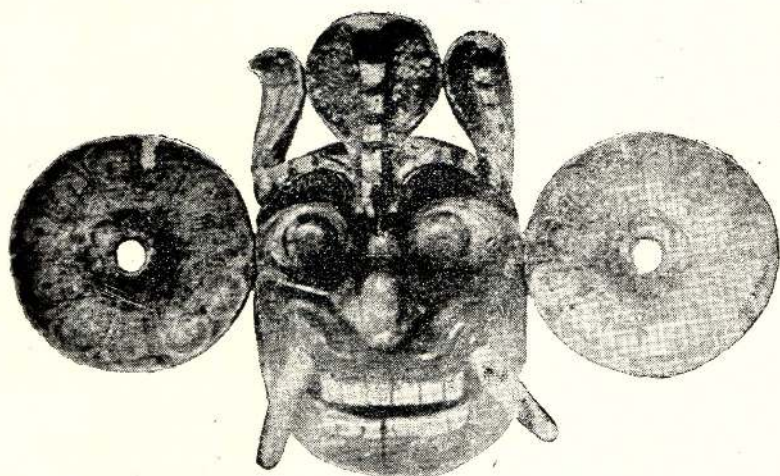
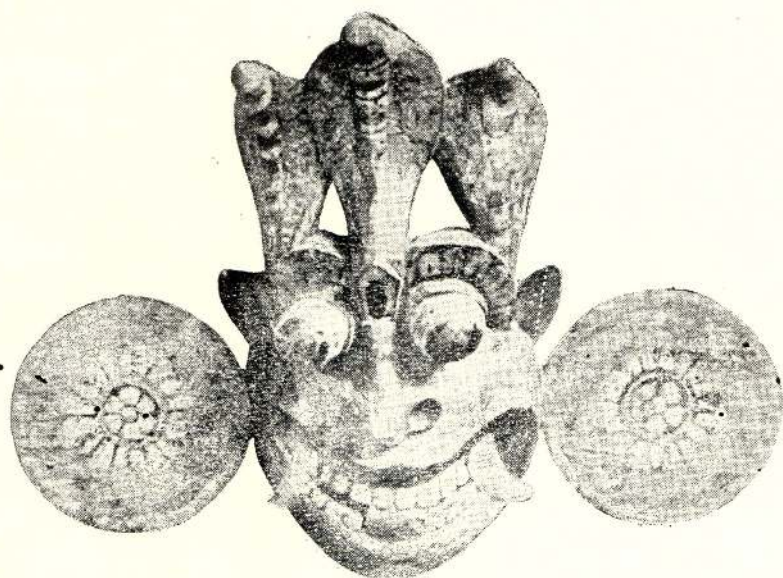


PLATE XXXII

Maha-kola-sanni-yaka. (Side-view of the mask reproduced on the Plate XLIII.)
Depth 11 in. (28 cm.).



1.



2.

PLATE XXXIII

Fig. 1. *Gara-yaka*. (Orig. in the Naprstkovo Museum, Praha. Height 9-1/16 in. [23 cm.], width 15 in. [38 cm.], depth 5-1/8 in. [13 cm.].

Fig. 2. *Gara-yaka*. (Orig. in the possession of the author. Height 11-3/4 in. [29½ cm.], width 16 in. [40½ cm.].



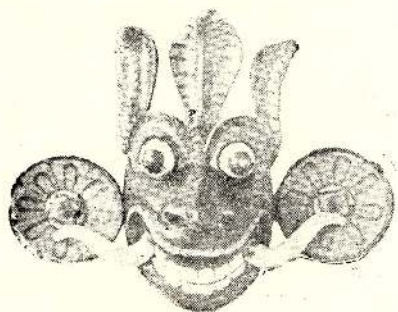
1.



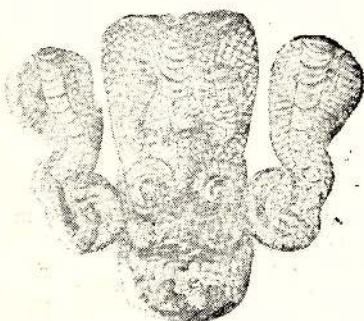
2.

PLATE XXXIV

- Fig. 1. *Gara-yaka*, marked as Marussania. (Orig. in Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen sub Da 676).
Fig. 2. *Gara-yaka*. (Original in the British Museum, London).



1.



2.



3.



4.

PLATE XXXV.

Fig. 1. *Gara-yaka*. (Orig. in Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg, sub A. 4414 Height $10\frac{5}{8}$ in. (27 cm.), width $13\frac{3}{4}$ in. [35 cm.]).

Fig. 2. *Gara-yaka* (?). (Orig. in Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, sub DA 675. Height $17\frac{5}{16}$ in. [44 cm.], width (without ar-ornaments) $9\frac{1}{16}$ in. (23 cm.).

Fig. 3 and 4. *Maru-sanniya*. Original in the British Museum, London.

PLATES

PLATE XII—(Contd.)

- Fig. 1. Mask of a QUEEN marked as *Devinnanse*. Face greyish white. Diadem finely carved in a rather ancient manner, painted red, green, and yellow. Height about 11 in. (28 cm.). Orig. in the Naprstkovo museum, Prague.
- Fig. 2. Mask of a QUEEN. Face yellow. Diadem in carved open work, with floral design. Height about 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (37.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 688: 07).
- Fig. 3. Mask of a QUEEN, marked as *Devinnanse*. Face light brown, diadem painted red and green. Height about 10-5/8 in. (27 cm.). Orig. in the Naprstkovo museum, Prague.
- Fig. 4. Mask of a QUEEN. Diadem only painted in many colours. Height about 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (30 cm.). Orig. in the Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 710: 07).
- Fig. 5. Mask of a QUEEN or a NOBLE LADY. Face yellow. Head-dress roughly carved and finished by painting. Height about 11-1/8 in. (28.2 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 98: 09).

PLATE XIII—(Contd.)

- Fig. 1. Mask of the BRAHMAN-MINISTER, *amatiya*, sometimes used to represent the god *Sakraya* in the disguise of a Brahman. Face reddish. Height about 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (30 cm.). Orig. in the Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 685: 07).
- Fig. 2. Mask probably of the same character as the preceding. No information at hand. Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4397).
- Fig. 3. Mask of a MINISTER, *amatiya*, or a PRINCE. Face greyish yellow with black moustache. Head-dress resembling a low crown. Height about 14 3/8 in. (36.5 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 1450).
- Fig. 4. Mask of a MAN or DEMON, appearing in the wilderness scene, and the following demon scene of the *Kolam-natima*, most probably a Vadda. Face greyish green. Height about 8-3/8 in. (21 cm.). Orig. in the Mus. f. Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 704: 07).
- Fig. 5. Probably mask of the DWARF. Face of flesh-colour, hairs and whiskers black. Height about 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (19 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4412).
- Fig. 6. Mask of a PRINCE, *kumaraya*, or a PRINCESS. Face of flesh-colour with red cheeks. Height about 10-1/8 in. (25.7 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4399).
- Fig. 7. Mask of a DEMON, appearing in the demon-scene, identity impossible to be ascertained, as little information is at hand. Face red, instead of a head-dress, a garland of leaves. Height about 7-3/8 in. (18.8 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. 707: 07).

PLATE XVIII—(Contd.)

- Fig. 4 and 6. Masks of the WARRIOR, *hevaya*. Height about 10 in. (25.5 cm.), and 9-8/5 in. (24.66 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg. (No. A. 4416, and 708: 07).
- Fig. 5. Mask of the demon *Mukha-sanniya*, used at the ceremony of *Yakun-natima* and to be distinguished from the masks of *hevaya*. Height about 10 in. (25.3 cm.). Orig. in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg (No. A. 4411).

to me in the study of that kind of Sinhalese ceremony and in the search for the text which has been the original text of Callaway's translation. I am sorry to say that I was not able to find out the exact copy, although I came across two copies which are very similar to the text of Callaway's translation. It is even possible that one of these two texts has been used by Callaway but not translated word for word, but excerpted and adapted to the mentality of an European reader to whom the original would have been too lengthy and too tedious.

The first of those two original Sinhalese texts is in the Colombo Museum Library and its title is *Kolamnatanava* (sic!). Unfortunately I have not a copy of this text, but only a few notes made after a rough survey of the text during my first journey to Ceylon (in 1909—10). According to these notes the text does not agree in details with Callaway's translation, and it seems not to agree even in the number of stanzas. Even the catalogue of the Library does not give detailed information except a short statement that it is "A collection of stanzas chanted at the farcical masquerade called *Kolamnetima*".

I have met with a better success in the British Museum, where I came across a paper manuscript (Or. 4995) the title of which was given in the catalogue as *Bali yagaya*. By a mere chance I found that the fourth stanza of this MS. is identical with that stanza which is reproduced in Sinhalese characters at the beginning of Callaway's translation as a sample of Sinhalese penmanship. By a more careful study of the MS. I have found that it is in reality a text for *Kolam-natima* but that even it does not agree perfectly with Callaway's text. Notwithstanding that I have obtained a photostat of the MS. and used it as the basis of my studies of *Kolam-natima*, what was a lucky find. It turned out to be the most complete text for the accompaniment of the ceremony that exist at present. Therefore it must be made the starting point of the inquiry. •

Or. 4995 is a paper manuscript consisting of fifty eight leaves of the size about $6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. (165 × 210 mm) bound together in a form of a book. The leaves are marked on the right page with numbers from 1 to 58, the pages are left unmarked. It is written in usual modern Sinhalese characters. On the first page on the inner margin, vertical to the lines of the MS. is the title *Bali yagaya* (sic!) written in Roman characters. The MS. contains 667 stanzas composed from verses of different length and different metres. The MS. does not appear at all uniform. Of the first twelve stanzas, which are a kind of invocation (1—8) and introduction, (9—12) eleven are marked with consecutive numbers, while the other stanzas of the whole poem are left unmarked.

The MS. is not all written by the same hand; at least three different hands can be distinguished in it, which relieve each other several times after a number of stanzas. From that fact it seems probable that the MS. was written to order by a number of Sinhalese clerks, perhaps as a copy of a palm-leaf manuscript. But even the original seems not to have been of a uniform character. At least the language of the poetry is absolutely non-uniform. We find a great number of verses which are written in good old *Elu* intermixed with verses of quite modern Sinhalese, both in the Low-country dialect as well as in the Kandyan dialect. From this condition of the MS. it can be inferred that already the original copy was only a collection of ballads, perhaps of such as were already becoming obsolete at that time when they were collected.

The title *Bali yagaya* is not the original inscription but it is later inserted either by the former proprietor of the MS. or by a librarian of the British Museum. It does not correspond with the contents of the poem. *Bali* is a kind of offering of Brahmanic origin which in Ceylon became a special worship at first of the *astral deities*, especially of planets and zodiacal constellations (*naksatras*), then even of the *demons*, by means of the construction of temporary *clay images* which are destroyed after the worship is finished. The name of the ceremony is *balibili*, that of the description of the ceremony *bali-yagaya*, and that of the songs accompanying the ceremony *bali-yadina*.¹ The text of Or. 4995 contains neither any description of constructing clay images, nor any accompanying songs, and therefore it cannot be described with right as a *bali-yagaya*. The name has been inserted perhaps by the mistake of a Sinhalese informant who was not expert in demon ceremonies and possibly did not want to confess it. On the other hand if compared with Callaway's translation there cannot be any doubt that the poem is a text intended to accompany a *Kolam-natima*.

Subjected to a thorough survey, the contents of the MS. appear as a series of songs to accompany various scenes of the *Kolam-natima*, and it can be considered as a kind of poetic scenario. The first four stanzas are an invocation in the form of similar Sanscrit poetry; the first

1. There is another rhymed short *Bali-yagaya* in the Library of the British Museum, and a number of *yagayas* in prose, e. g. Or. 6615 (115), Or. 6615 (132), Or. 6615 (134), Or. 6615 (158), etc. There is also large number of other texts intended to accompany the *bali* ceremonies. But none of them corresponds with the present text. For details about *bali* ceremonies and ballads and other texts connected with them cf. 7, p. 8, s. v. Bali.

stanza is even composed in a kind of corrupted Sanscrit, the other three in an archaic Sinhalese. The following stanzas up to stanza 11 inclusive are a continuation of the invocation. Stanza 12 introduces the public crier (*ana-bera-karaya*) on the stage. The whole of the following text is a number of individual songs, each of them belonging to a character of the dance. They are freely connected with each other by the tale which is the basis of the performance. These songs continue up to the stanza 662 inclusive. The following five stanzas are a kind of closing or blessing verses. Of special interest are stanzas 13 to 16 inclusive which are a list containing a rather dry enumeration of a number of masks or rather characters (*dramatis personae*), i.e. *kolama*. These verses are most probably recited by the crier, and the masks are those to which he points as standing round the place, being too heavy to be carried by the dancers. Perhaps even such figures as already have been mentioned on p. 58 can be considered here as *kolama*, although it is not absolutely evident from the text.

There is no need to give more details of the contents of the MS., as they will be discussed in the following paragraphs where the ceremony will be analysed according to these texts at hand. It is now still necessary to compare the existing texts with each other in order to find out whether the ballads contained in them were intended to accompany the same or different ceremonies.

According to my notes, which have not been made for this purpose, the Colombo MS. seems to be analogous to the Or. 4995 and to represent the same ceremony except for a number of differences in names and details; it is also comparatively smaller in size, judging from my notes, where no stanza over one hundred is quoted. I am trying to get a copy of this MS. and hope to be able to add more details about it in an appendix to this treatise, although it does not appear to be of great importance, as it is a recent copy which has been copied by order and under supervision of the Archaeological Commissioner. Anyhow the introductory tale is identical with the tales from the other sources.

Of much greater importance are the relations between the Or. 4995 and Callaway's translation. At first I was of the opinion that Callaway's translation was made from the MS. now lodged in the British Museum, and that the differences in both were caused by translator's tendency to make the text shorter and more acceptable to the European reader, and therefore I thought that he simply omitted a great number of stanzas, and abbreviated the others, giving the

contents of the stanzas instead of their full translation.¹ But after more careful study of Callaway's translation I came to the result that it represents a quite different text, that the translation is a comparatively accurate reproduction of an unknown Sinhalese original even if it cannot be considered as a literal translation. This my opinion is proved by the occurrence of other names in the introductory tale, by different succession of the characters, and by a number of slight differences in the relations of the characters. On the other hand, however, from the comparison of several stanzas of the translation with the corresponding stanzas of Or. 4995 it can be inferred that in both texts, viz., that of J. Callaway and that of the British Museum, many stanzas must have been identical not only in their general contents but also in their wording. That is a very important fact from which we learn that most probably even the stanzas of the characters appearing in the *Kolam-natima* were standardized in a similar way to the masks. Of course besides such standardized stanzas other stanzas were also sometimes added in order to keep the character for a longer time on the stage, or to make the performance more interesting and to introduce new details. On the other hand the text has often been abbreviated in order to make the performance as short as possible. The motives of such shortening of the ceremony may have been different, and the expense of the performance was most probably one and not the least of them. Anyhow Callaway's translation is very instructive and of great importance for the study of *Kolam-natima*.

3. *The frame of the ceremony.*

A careful study of the text of the *Kolam-natima* shows us that there are two chief divisions of the whole performance. The first is the introductory tale with a number of characters from the human as well as from the celestial world which cannot be separated from the story without changing it in its very substance. In a close connection with it is the part of the *crier* or *herald* which is the connecting member between the first and the second division of the ceremony. The second division contains an unlimited number of stories and characters, standing in a more or less loose connection with the characters of the first division. Their part is always in a very loose connection with the general tale, sometimes it is a mere declamation of verses and

1. How different is the length of both the texts can be inferred from the comparison of stanzas where the same character appears. E. g. the warrior appears in Callaway's translation in stanza 5, in Or. 4995 in stanza 69. *Naga-Kanyava* appears in stanza 21 and 113 respectively. Moormann in stanza 50 and 301, etc.

commonplaces of absolutely no connection with the story, sometimes it is a description of the movements of the persons on the stage. The performance corresponds with the text. There is the more or less dramatic performance of the chief characters of the introductory part, and a number of more or less unconnected performances of characters introduced by the crier as appearing on the stage to please the queen.

We can distinguish these two parts both in the text and the performance as the *f r a m e* and the *d e m o n c e r e m o n y* proper. The connecting part has the crier, who in reality belongs to the frame but acts during the whole ceremony. The frame appears in the text as the introductory tale which is always identical in substance, only the names being changed occasionally. Its contents is very important for the inquiry into the problem of the original meaning and purpose of the ceremony, and therefore it must be given here as completely as possible. It runs as follows:

“The chief queen of a great Indian king became pregnant, and signs of evil influences appeared : her face was disfigured, her nipples grew green, and she lost her appetite for wholesome food. Finally she was attacked by a *dola-duk*, i. e. an unnatural craving. The object of this unnatural craving in this case was a longing to see a masked dance of a kind which was unknown in the country. The king on hearing these news became much alarmed, being uncertain about what to do in that case. He called his ministers and asked their opinion on the matter, but they were unable to give him any advice, and trembled in his presence, fearing that the angry king would punish them. The angry king, however, left his throne and went to bed without taking any food, and in this way he unintentionally performed a meritorious act having fasted for the whole night. In the meantime a goddess whose dwelling-place was the fan of the king took pity on him and went to the god Indra, called in the Sinhalese *Sakka* or *Sakraya*,¹ and prostrate before him, addressed him respectfully and explained the matter of the trouble in the court of that king. Indra heard her request with attention, and promised to help the king. He summoned the God of Treasures² at once and ordered him to make the necessary masks for the dance. The God of Treasures obeyed the

1. It is the Sinhalese form of Sk. *Sakra*, a regular appellation of Indra in India, too.

2. The Indian *Kuvera*, called in Ceylon *Vesamuni* and considered to be one of the four guardian Gods, is perhaps this God of Treasures mentioned here.

order given by the King of Gods and immediately set to work. He went to the garden of the king, cut down sandal wood and carved from it a great number of masks representing different characters, and put them on several places in the garden together with this book (i. e. the present text), and went away.

Next morning the king's gardener was much surprised when he came at sunrise into the garden, and saw the masks, several of them frightening him by their awe-inspiring appearance. He ran into the palace and informed the king, shouting, that a great number of devils entered the garden. The king accompanied by a large crowd of courtiers, among whom were even foreign gentlemen and ladies, (in Or. 4995 *landesil nona*, Dutch ladies) went to the garden to see what really happened during the night. At once the king recognized the faces of the demons as dancing masks, and was much comforted. He ordered the masks to be taken to the palace and the performance of a masked dance to be prepared for the next day, at which the text of the book is to be chanted, to satisfy the longing of the queen."

This is the introductory tale in its substance. It is followed by an enumeration of the masks exhibited in the garden, and in Or. 4995 (stanza 21 ff.) by a description of the preparation of the dancing place and of building a shed (*maduva*). A similar description of the festive preparations is also given in Callaway's translation, not, however, immediately after the introductory scene, but between the warrior's scene and the scene of the *Nagas* (cf. 12, p. 42, st. 17—20). It can be followed by any number of any incantations of demons with dances even if that demon is not mentioned in the list of masks. In this way the tale became a frame to any series of incantations except those chanted for the purpose of curing diseases, and therefore belonging into the sphere of *Yakun-natima*.

The introductory tale also of a great importance because it is supposed in the story that the use of masks at dancing ceremonies was formerly unknown in India and it is said that men learned it from the gods. The God of Treasures, probably Kuvera, known also as Vaisravana, is introduced as the first woodcutter who cut masks. The common Sinhalese name of that god is *Vesamuni*. The current name of a mask in Sinhalese, as it was already mentioned, is *vesmuna*. It is quite probable that both the names have been connected by means of a popular etymology and *Vesamuni* was proclaimed as a maker of

1. It is formed from the Portuguese word *Olandesil* by dropping the initial *o*.

Vesmunas. As the place of the story is India, it perhaps indicates, that the using of masks was formerly unknown in India and perhaps introduced to India from Ceylon. That will agree with the opinion of Prof. Dr. A. Grunwedel (19, p. 72) that Ceylon is the home of demon dancing.¹

The main differences between the text of Or. 4995 and Callaway's translation with regard to this introductory tale are in the names of the chief characters. The name of the king in Or. 4995 is *Maha-sammata* which is the name of the first king of the world after the Sun and Moon were created.² In Callaway's translation his name is "Piliat, the Supreme King of Dambedeewa" (sici). *Piliat* is most probably a derivation of Sct. *parijata* which is a quite frequent name in Sanscrit, but no mythical king of this name is known from the literature. The form *Piliat* does not appear in the Sinhalese dictionaries, and I was unable to find it elsewhere in the Sinhalese literature, although it seems to be derived from a popular story. The names of the queen and of the minister are not mentioned in any of the texts at hand. The name of the Goddess of the Royal Fan is given by Callaway as *Sirretak*. It is evidently a misspelling for *Sirikata*, the Elu equivalent of *Srikantava* (Sk. Sri-kanta) which is a common appellation of the goddess *Laksmi*. The name appears in good Sinhalese MSS. also as *Siriya*. The misspelled form *Siritak* occurs frequently in the colloquial pronunciation of the uneducated classes, and perhaps from there it passed into the popular poetry.

In the performance the frame of the *Kolam-natima* ceremony appears as a dramatic production which seems in many respects to be an imitation of an Indian drama. It begins with an invocation of the gods chanted by an unmasked dancer as a kind of prologue, in which the chief characters and the substance of the plot is mentioned. The king, queen and the Brahman minister are the same persons as in Indian drama, and they act in a similar way, notwithstanding the fact that it is a dancing ceremony in Ceylon. Of course, it is necessary in the Ceylonese ceremony to save the time for the main purpose, i. e. for the demon dancing, and therefore the story cannot develop in following scenes on the stage, but is told by the narrator, and the

1. I do not believe in Ziegenbalg's etymologies on which Grunwedel's opinion is based. Therefore I cannot agree even with Grunwedel's opinion about the Ceylonese origin of Tiyars and Ilayars, although there is much probability in the theory that demon-worship and devil-ceremonies are of Ceylon but not Sinhalese origin.

2. Cf. 7, p. 53, s. h. v.

dramatis personae sing only a few verses in the critical situations, and accompany them with few dancing evolutions. Therefore this frame of the *Kolam-natima* can be considered as a simplified drama performed in order to introduce on to the stage a number of ceremonies either liked by the people, or considered as important and useful for some or other purpose.

4. *The leading characters, human and celestial beings, and their masks.*

In fact the leading part of the performance has the *Narrator*, or as he is called at present by common people "the *Manager*", in Sinhalese generally told as *tora-turu-katha-karaya*, i.e. the *Interpreter of the Affairs*. In Callaway's translation he appears as a "*Reader*". He is always unmasked. At the performances I have witnessed in Ceylon he was clad in the usual Sinhalese festive garments, i.e. a gay skirt (*kambaya*) and a jacket. He sings his part of the story, besides, however, he explains the characters coming, their acting and their words in prose. Whether it is already an ancient custom in Ceylon, or whether it is a modern introduction from times when the *Elu* verses became obsolete and unintelligible to the general public, cannot be decided. Notwithstanding the importance of this man at the performance, he is in fact no actor of the story, but an outsider, like the rest of the public. The real leading characters of the performance are the *king* and the *queen*. The king is distinguished by his gorgeous attire and by a big mask. This mask of the king is very elaborately carved and generally well painted. The distinguishing marks of the king's mask are the light face and the crown (cf. Pl. V, fig. 1, 2). Besides the crown there is a halo around the crown, especially on the old specimens of masks (cf. Pl. V, fig. 3, 4, Pl. VI, and IX, fig. 2). But it seems that this modern interpretation of masks with high crowns, chiefly in the form of *dagobas* is wrong, if they are supposed to be masks of the king. They are most probably the masks of the King of Gods, Indra; as such is to be interpreted especially the mask on plate VI. They are not used by the dancers at present, as I have already mentioned, but placed on the dancing ground as a kind of decoration. The dancers wear masks of smaller size, even in the case of the king, similar to those which are generally supposed to be masks of a prince (*kumaraya*) and as they are represented on Pl. III, fig. 1 and 2, IV, fig. 1, 2 and 4, XI, fig. 2.

Crowns in the shape of *dagobas* are generally three-layered, the layers being sometimes divided by brightly coloured belts (cf. Pl. VI). Such crowns are always the mark of a king either a human king or the celestial king. Sometimes the crowns are beautifully carved as e.g. the crown of the mask kept in N a p r s t k o v o M u s e u m in P r a g u e (Pl. V, fig. 1, 2). But not all crowns are *dagoba*-shaped. There are many masks with crown of flower ornaments (cf. Pl. XI, fig. 1, 2), and several with figural ornaments (cf. VII, VIII, IX, fig. 1, X, fig. 1, 2, XII, fig. 3). But if they are intended to represent kings they are always three-tiered. Even in the case of the figural crowns this fundamental principle is kept whenever possible. A fine example of a mask with such a crown is that reproduced on the plate VII, original of which is kept in M u s e u m f u r V o l k e r k u n d e in H a m b u r g. In the first layer there is the sitting Buddha. Over him, as a second layer is an arch of two sea-monsters, *Makaras*, attacking each other (*makara-torana*). The third layer is represented by the face of a demon which is the regular top ornament of each *makara-torana*. Another kind of *makara-torana* can be seen on Pl. III, fig. 2, where *Makaras* are used as ear-ornaments. Even in the head-dress of the mask on plate X, fig. 2, those three parts can be clearly distinguished. The lowest tier is represented by the lower parts of the figures dressed in gay skirts, the middle layer is represented by the naked upper parts of the figures, and the third layer by the crown of the middle figure and by the two huge chowries held in the outer hands of the female figures.

Masks of the q u e e n are distinguished by a two layered diadem (cf. Pl. XII, fig. 2), exceptionally also a three-layered as on the plate XII, fig. 3. On modern masks the diadem is often very small and sometimes it is joined with the hair in such a way that only its upper part can be distinguished (cf. Pl. XIII and XIV). Of such a kind are both the masks from N a p r s t k o v o M u s e u m in P r a g u e (Pl. XIV, fig. 1, & 3). Sometimes the mask of the queen is distinguished by a red dot on her forehead (*tilaka*) as an Indian and not the English queen, and not the foreign ladies. As, however, the English king and the English queen are only recently introduced characters, which are not mentioned either in Callaway's translation or in Or. 4995, this mark is seldom found on the forehead of old masks, or on such masks which are true copies of ancient masks. As far as the modern masks are concerned, as e. g. on the plate XII, fig. 1 and 2, it is rather difficult to decide whether the mask is intended to represent an Indian queen or the English queen. A clue can be found in the ornaments, especially in the form of the ear-rings, but even that is not an absolutely reliable mark of distinction. Therefore we must consider

every such mask, especially those in the European collections, as representation of the Indian queen, when there is no tradition saying that the mask has been considered as a mask of the English queen by that native from whom it was obtained. Such is the mask in the collection of the Riksmuseum in Stockholm which is marked in Umlauff's catalogue (3) as No. 2. There is also a number of masks in various collections representing ladies of noble descent, some of them even with diadems, which, however, hardly can be considered as representations of a queen. Perhaps they are masks of the court ladies and foreign ladies in the retinue of the queen. But nothing certain can be decided upon at present.

The third leading character of *Kolam-natima* is the minister, *amatiya* or *amattaya*, mostly represented as a shrewd Brahman in an Indian dress with a big turban on his head. Masks of this kind are those on the Pl. XV, fig. 1, 2, 3, Pl. XVI, fig. 1, 2, 3, 6, XVII, 1, 2. Sometimes even masks with crowns, generally considered as those of princes, are interpreted as masks of ministers (e. g. Pl. XXI, fig. 2 and Umlauff, 3, No. 6). At the performance the minister is generally represented by the dancer as a clever joker, playing the fool, however, in order to save himself in a situation which is beyond his powers. There are moments in such a performance when he resembles very closely *Vidusaka* of the Indian drama.

All the above mentioned persons are characters of the introductory tale or of the frame of the play. Besides them there is a number of minor characters of the introductory tale which are represented by a great number of masks kept in European museums, although many of them are not necessary exhibited at actual performance. Some of these characters were represented by masked dancers, others were represented perhaps only by masks put on the ground of the dancing place. Of this kind are many masks of a prince (*kumariya*), a mask resembling that of king but with a much smaller crown. The King of Gods, the Indian *Indra*, is a very important character in the story, but at the performance he was represented perhaps only by a large mask, or a figure, his part being chanted by the narrator. His mask has been already described as that of a king with a halo round the crown. Even the goddess *Sirikata* seems not to have appeared on the stage in person. At least the majority of masks labeled as "*Devi*" seems to represent a human queen. I did not come across a single mask marked as *Sirikata* or by any other appellation of goddess *Laksmi*. Of the other celestial beings only one is usually represented by characters is too large, the scenes and their characters must be classified in groups and dealt with accordingly.

In the frame of the introductory tale are set isolated scenes which vary considerably in texts and in the staging of *Kolam-natima*. Therefore it is difficult to enumerate and describe all the characters which can occur in these scenes. Only those who are represented by masks at hand or mentioned in the accessible texts can be considered here. As the number of the characters is too large, the scenes and their characters must be classified in groups and dealt with accordingly.

The scenes can be classified according to the characters appearing in them: these are human beings and gods, beings of the Nagaworld animals, and demons, *yaka* (including some of the devils, *rassaya*, *rakusa*, *raksasaya*). In this paragraph only the first group will be dealt with, to the other the next paragraphs will be reserved in order to discuss the matter thoroughly.

The most important human scene is that of the warrior, *hevaya*, and his wife. It is quite simple scene of no dramatic effect. The warrior's wife laments that she has been deserted by her husband whom she has not seen for several years. She describes her husband as a beautiful young man who stands sentry at the palace of Gampolla and attracts the hearts and looks of all women. On the stage enters a shaggy, limping man with scars on his face, several teeth missing in his mouth which is turned to one side by a sword-wound. Even his nose is disfigured. The warrior comes forward and tells the woman that he is her husband. She does not believe him and promises to slap his face if he does not desist in his pursuit of her. He boasts about his deeds on the battlefield, how he fought with Tamils by whom he was taken prisoner. Then he describes the battle of Gampolla where he fought and lost his nose. He says that, notwithstanding that he is now a famous man, the husband of the woman on the scene. With that the scene ends.

It must have been a favourite scene with the Sinhalese as it gave an opportunity to describe famous battles at which the Sinhalese were victorious. The large number of the existing masks of scarred warriors bear witness of it. Some of the masks represent such disfigured faces that the spectator must have been disgusted at looking at it (Pl. XVIII, fig. 3, XIX, fig. 2, 6, XX, fig. 2, 3, 5, 6). But not every mask with scars, wounds and cut nose must be considered as a mask of the warrior. On the contrary a very similar mask, of a disease demon (*Mukha Sanniya*) must not be mistaken for the mask of the warrior. That demon mask will be described later on among the masks of *Sanni* demons. Here only the distinguishing marks must be mentioned. On the demon mask black stripes are painted as connecting the wounds,

which should represent streams of flowing pus or blood. Masks of the warrior are generally dark brown, those of the demon reddish brown or even red.

A strange scene is that of the five beautiful women, according to Callaway's translation the five being really one and appearing in a flower pot. According to the repeated verses mentioning the beauty of their breasts and nipples, they must have been represented with the upper part of their bodies nude. At present they are represented by male dancers dressed like Sinhalese women with gay skirts and white jackets. These five women are supposed to be of a considerable sexual disposition and to attract men. The passage about the five women in one is not quite clear, but they seem to be considered as a magic having the power to multiply things which they receive.

No masks of the five women are known, unless those marked as masks of *Devi* will be considered to be the masks of those strange beings. But at present dancers representing the five women never, as far as I know, use any masks. This scene is now-a-days very popular with the Sinhalese, and I have seen it performed and did not know that it is in reality a part of *Kolam-natima*.

Isolated characters are those of the tom-tom beater, *beravaya*, and of the Moorman, *marakkalaya*. They are probably survivals from scenes which became obsolete and for the most part forgotten. The tom-tom beater is represented as an old lame man, with reddish hair, hump-backed, suffering from elephantiasis of one leg, and white perhaps from leprosy or some other skin disease. But he is described as very dexterous in beating the tom-tom. At the performance the dancer representing him wears a mask of an old man whose beard and hair are made of grass or straps of leather (Pl. XX. fig. 3).

The Moorman is a black man of a cruel heart; he is a butcher and kills bullocks and cows. The mask of the Moorman has a black face and a high, basket-like cap (Pl. XVIII, fig. 1). Together with the Moorman on the stage appears a policeman or a soldier with a bullock which he tries to sell to the Moorman. A quarrel results. Masks of the policemen or the soldier of this scene (in Callaway's translation *c o r p o r a l*), show many variations; as a rule it is a mask of a handsome man with moustache either with a turban, or a round Indian cap, or a sun-helmet. The colour of the face of the mask varies according to the supposed descent of the man from greyish white over brown and blue to real black colour of a Moorman (cf. Pl. XVI, fig. 5, XVIII, fig. 2, XIX, fig. 5).

Another human character who acts only to prepare the scene of animals and demons is the *aracci*, the village head-man from Rohona, the southern part of Ceylon. He is represented by a mask with the typical hat of the village notables, and usually with a beard of grass or hairs (Pl. XVIII fig. 4). He appears on the stage together with that warrior who have boasted about his excellent deeds on the battlefields, and who promises now to go to the uncivilized districts in Rohona, haunted by wild animals and awe-inspiring demons.

In the following wild scenes still a few human characters appear: The first is a giant, *yodhaya*, who introduces the demon scene, and is represented as a man, at least according to the masks said to be representations of him. Perhaps he is the Sinhalese hero *Godimbara* whose glorious deeds are praised in all the books of the Sinhalese poetical tales and stories as e. g. *Sadharmalankara*. As his counterpart at some performances a dwarf, *kura* or *kuda*, appears, but no text relating to him known. There are several masks in Stockholm which according to Umlauff's catalogue (3, No. 79, 112—137) are representations of this being, and are marked as *Kutta Kolan* (sic!). From the number of the masks, twenty five specimens, it can be inferred that once it was a rather popular character on the stage of the *Kolam-natima*.¹ Farther there are an old man and an old woman represented by masks of a dull colour with narrow chins, few teeth in their mouths (cf. Pl. XX, fig. 1), sometimes in one or both eyes blind. They tremble at the sight of wild animals and demons, and are quarrelling among themselves, the man complaining that he has borrowed some money when they were young and now they have nothing to live on. In connection with this pair of old people a pregnant woman appears, who is much suffering and complains about her husband. She is supposed to be unable to move, and her part is chanted by the narrator, which can be inferred from the fact that the whole part is told in third person, and not in the first. There is no mask which could be identified as a representation of this woman. It is possible that the woman did not appear at all on the stage, or she appeared perhaps without any mask. Anyhow her part is very important when we try to penetrate the sense of the ceremony and wish to understand its aim and purpose.

1. There are also in the Riksmuseum in Stockholm three masks described in Umlauff's catalogue (3, No. 29—31) as *Rugotte* (Zwerg) (sic!), i. e. a dwarf. But *Rugotte* is evidently a misspelt equivalent of *rukadaya*, which means, "puppet", and has nothing to do with *Kolam-natima*, as such masks were used for puppets at a puppet show.

The performance of *Kolam-natima* usually ends by the appearance of an ascetic or a blind beggar who pronounces the blessing by which the queen is relieved from her *dola-duk* or unnatural craving. There are many varieties of masks representing this man. Their faces are always of greyish white colour as the man is supposed to be besmeared with ashes; sometimes diverse representations of long hair are attached to that kind of masks, e. g. stripes of palm-leaves. In addition, in Callaway's translation in connection with the ascetic appears also a drunken pilgrim and woman of the goldsmith caste, *Viragama Naccire*.

There are a number of other characters, too, which, however, seem not to be exclusively characters of *Kolam-natima*. For instance also a *Vadda*, even a *Vadda King* or a *Vadda Prince*, a *Black Prince* and many other are mentioned. The majority of them are characters of *Yakun-natima* and they will be dealt with in the chapter on that ceremony. It seems to me that the frame of the *Kolam-natima* was able to embrace every dancing ceremony and every popular story.

5. *The characters of the Naga world.*

After the scene of the warrior and his wife the Naga scene follows, introduced e. g., in Callaway's translation by the description of building of the *maduva* and decorating of the place, which precedes even the warrior's scene in the Or. 4995. When the court and the people are assembled, a beautiful *Serpent-virgin*, *Naga-kanyava* comes on the stage. She comes because she loves mankind, and having heard songs, joins in singing. Her mask represents her as a beautiful woman having as head-dress a cobra with spread hood (Plate XXI, fig. 1, 3; XXII, fig. 1). Also masks of *Naga-kanyava* with even six cobras can be found (Plate XXII, fig. 3). She is represented as a princess having a low diadem beneath the cobra hood (cf. Pl. XXI, fig. 1, 3, and XXII, fig. 1), or her crown is built by coils of the bodies of cobras (Pl. XXII, fig. 3).

The moment she starts to sing, *Gurula*,² the enemy of snakes, comes flying through the air to catch the Serpent-virgin. Other

1. This *Black Prince*, mentioned in connection with *Kolam-natima*, is perhaps no human being at all, moreover a demon, either *Dala-kumaraya*, or *Kalu-kumaraya* who is believed to possess black women.

2. *Garula* is the Sinhalese form of *Garuda* which is the name of a huge mythical bird, said to be the son of Kasyapa and Vinata; he is the king of the feathered race, the enemy of serpents, and the vehicle of god Visnu. In India he is represented in the

snakes come to help her, among them the Serpent-prince (represented by the mask Pl. XXII, fig. 2). but *Gurula* devours them all, drinking their blood furiously. There are two forms of *Gurula*. One is the *Gurula* as a demon, or rather a devil (*Gurulu-rassaya*). He is described as having a green face like the face of a devil, roaring like a devil and gnawing like a snake.

In Callaway's translation (12, p. 44 f., st. 39) he is said to take a devil's form "in order to frighten every side of the heaven and earth, he is dressed in sixty four habiliments, with a dart of death in his left hand — a fire comes out of the crown of his head, with thunder roaring and lightnings flashing. . . ."

His mask resembles a mask of a devil in all details; it has even the protruding eyes, and the large ear-ornaments. A fine example of a mask of this kind is in the Museum für Volkerkunde in Hamburg (cf. Pl. XXIV, fig. 3). More frequent is the mask of *Naga-Gurula*, *Garuda of Snakes*, representing the sacred bird devouring snakes and wrapped in coils of fighting cobras with spread hoods. A very good specimen of this kind is in the British Museum (Pl. XXIV, fig. 1, 2). *Gurula* in this form is usually painted red, as he is supposed to be bathed in blood (Cf. 12, p. 43 f., v. 30 et 31). The third form of *Gurula* is the *Raja Gurula*, *Garuda as king*, represented by a mask with a high, *dagoba*-like crown, resembling that of a king (cf. 12, p. 44, v. 33 ff.). Some of this kind masks are decorated by cobras with spread hoods (e. g. Pl. XXIII, fig. 1), other with kingly ornaments, as ear-ornaments, etc. (Pl. XXIII, fig. 2).

The scene of the Serpent-virgin and the *Garuda*, does not contain anything dramatical, and its only purpose is apparently to eulogize the sacred bird *Garuda*, and to extol his merits as of a liberator of mankind from the venomous serpents. The performance of the dancer representing the sacred bird is in reality a solo dance accompanied by an eulogy on *Garuda* sung by the narrator. The scene has also no connection with the introductory story. It is perhaps merely inserted to show to the people their favourite story.

Either here or in the wilderness scene appears another inhabitant of the *Naga* world, viz. the Devil of the Serpents, the *Naga-rassaya*. This devil is an embodiment of the destructive power of snake poison. Therefore he is a being feared by everybody. Men and animals tremble

form of an enormous eagle. As to the form of the word it must be mentioned that already in Sanscrit forms *Garula* and *Garula* can be found, which in many modern Indian languages became regular forms of the word.

at the mere sight of this incredibly cruel devil. Even Garuda stops for a moment in his pursuits among the snakes, but immediately with a still greater fierceness continues to kill the snakes. Masks of the *Naga rassaya* can be found almost in all even the smallest collections of Sinhalese masks, and are frequent in private collections, too. From the frequent occurrence of this mask it can be inferred, that it was an extremely popular mask. And it must be admitted, that it is a very fine mask. There are also many varieties, which can be grouped in three types. The first type is that of a common devil-mask with protruding eyes, surmounted by a group of coiled cobras as a kind of crown. If ear-ornaments are added, they are also formed by one or more coiled cobras. Good examples of this type of *Naga-rassaya* masks are those on plates XXV, XXVI, fig. 1, and XXVII, fig 2, 3. The second type is very similar to the first, only the ear-ornaments are large discs with the lotus flower painted on them as those which are a usual attribute of the *Gara-yaka*, only with the change that one or more cobras are wound round the ear-ornaments of the *Naga-rassaya*. As in popular Sinhalese ballads a name *Naga-Gara* occurs, perhaps masks of this type might be the representation of that demon; but no details of that form of demon are known to me at present. The third type resembles very much the mask of *Na-Gurula* at least in the shape of the cobra crown; the face of the mask is that of a fierce devil with protruding eyes and sharp teeth. I know only two specimens of this type: one is reproduced n 3 as No. 292, the other one is kept in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 3, 4; compare with the mask of *Na-Gurula* on Pl. XXIV, fig. 1, 2.).

A being of the Naga world is represented by the mask reproduced on plate XXX, fig. 3. It is a mask of a demon or a devil with protruding eyes, big protruding canine teeth, moustache and beard of horse hairs, and a single cobra over the forehead. I have no clue to identify the mask, but I am of the strong opinion that it belongs to a character of *Kolam-natima*. Perhaps it is only another type of a *Naga-rassaya* mask.

This scene from the Naga world requires much vigorous dancing accompanied by furious yells, cries and roaring, and is very impressive. Besides the wilderness scene it is the wildest scene of the *Kolam-natima*, and perhaps the most impressive of all. Although it is not connected with the fundamental story, it must have been of a great importance for the ceremony as it is never missing even in the shortest forms of *Kolam-natima* of the present times. The accompanying text is of a propor-

tionately great length and was perhaps intended to keep the Naga characters as long on the stage as possible. This is another proof of the importance of the scene in the ceremony.

6. *The animal characters.*

There are no special animal scenes in the *Kolam-natima*. Animal characters appear in various scenes and various connections. In reality even the Naga scene could be considered as a scene with animal characters, or a pure animal scene, as only snakes and the snake-eating eagle appear on the stage, but having regard to the Sinhalese ideas about the Nagas according to which they are superior beings, sometimes considered as a class between human beings and celestials, it cannot put be together with animal scenes.

According to the texts at hand there are a great number of animal characters appearing at the *Kolam-natima*. One of the most frequent and most important is the bullock, *gona*. It appears in the scene of the Moorman and is a connecting member between that scene and the wilderness scene, prepared for by the village head-man mentioning that there are many tigers which are a great danger for the bullock. At modern performances bullocks appear also in other scenes.

Masks of the bullock represent the complete head of the animal with horns (Pl. XXIX, fig. 4). They are of different colour, white, black, red or of two colours, black and white, or red and white. But always there is a star on its forehead (cf. Pl. XXIX, fig. 5). Even representations of three-horned bullocks are found, as e. g. in the British Museum (Pl. XXIX, fig. 1) where, however, only the middle horn remains, the other two having been lost and leaving the holes as marks where they have been formerly put on. The bullock is now represented by a single dancer in the normal standing position. But from such remarks as that it has white forelegs, a bushy tail like a woman's wig (cf. 12, p. 46, v. 54) it must be inferred that originally the bullock, and perhaps also all the other animals were represented by two men each, one representing the fore-part, the other the hind-part, both having been connected together with an artificial construction in a similar way as animals are staged up to the present on the island Bali, where the masked dances have much likeness with the Sinhalese dancing ceremonies.

In the scenes where a bullocks or bullock appear, also dogs are mentioned as watching the resting bullocks, but they seem not to have been represented by any masks. In Umlauff's catalogue (3, No. 194) is

a mask described as *K u t t a K o l a n* explained as a mask perhaps of a dog, but it seems quite improbable, as the Indian word *kutta* is never used in the Sinhalese language in the sense of "dog". It was perhaps misunderstood for *kuda* (as there is only slight difference in German in the pronunciation of *t* and *d*) which means a hump-backed man, or a lame man.

From the wild animals in the wilderness scene a tiger, lion, leopard, and bear appear. All of them appear either in the *f u r i o u s* form or in the *p e a c e f u l* or *r e s t i n g* form. The tiger, *valabavaya* or colloquially *diviya*, is represented by a mask of a dark-yellow black-striped head with an open mouth, showing the teeth and tongue. As the colloquial word *diviya* means for the common Sinhalese both a *t i g e r* and a *l e o p a r d*, and as an average Sinhalese does not know a tiger at all because no tigers are found in Ceylon, light yellow, spotted masks can be seen which are considered to represent tigers (cf. Pl. XXIX, fig. 3). Lion is represented by a similar mask of yellow colour, the hair being marked by black lines in the shape of small angles. The mane is marked by a crest-like plank standing on the top of the head (cf. Pl. XXIX, fig. 2). The bear, *valasa* (*valaha*), is represented by masks resembling more the head of a boar, than that of a bear, especially in its typical snout. But we must bear in the mind that the Ceylonese bear (*Ursus Malayanus*) in reality has such a boar-like snout. A bear's mask is either brown (cf. 3, No. 190) greyish blue (cf. 3, No. 191). I have never seen any mask of any other wild animals mentioned in the texts, as jackals, wolves, etc. But from the detailed description of the wolf in Callaway's translation (cf. 12, p. 49, st. 80, 82) it seems that at least masks of the wolf have once existed. From the description mentioned it appears that a wolf's mask was painted black with three white lines on each side of the face; the eyes were reddish and shining.

Of the other animals there exist masks of a number of animals mentioned in no text of *Kolam-natima*: crocodile, *kimbula* (cf. 3, No. 192); *chodya*, explained as panther (cf. 3, No. 193, 195—200) described as yellow black-spotted, with a red crescent mark in each black spot; *nani* (cf. 3, No. 181—183) which is described as a long pointed animal head of reddish colour, having no ears (3, No. 181), or like a head of a porpoise of dark blue colour (3, No. 182), or as a head resembling that of a wol. (3, No. 183). The names *chodya* and *nani* show that the man by whom those masks have been collected perhaps did not properly understand the Sinhalese language, or the man by whom the catalogue has been compiled did not understand

his notes and labels. Both the words are not used in the sense ascribed to them in the colloquial Sinhalese and do not appear in the texts at hand; they cannot be found in Sinhalese dictionaries, either.¹ It is very difficult to draw any conclusions from such unreliable sources, especially when the originals of the masks are not at hand.

In the British Museum there is an animal mask which does not agree either in its form or in art of painting with any other of the masks described. The mask is painted dark green, the eyes, eye-brows, ears and the mouth are lined red (Pl. XXX, fig. 2). In my opinion it is a representation of a black faced monkey, *vandura*. As there is no mention of a monkey in the texts of *Kolam-natima*, it must be supposed, that perhaps also other stories have been formerly staged with it which now became quite obsolete, or that it has appeared in some other ceremony or performance.

Among the birds besides the sacred eagle *Garula* only one other bird appears at the performance of the *Kolam-natima*, viz., a wader known under the name *vikurulla*, the Paddy-bird (cf. 12, p. 50, st. 85), or *koka*, crane or heron (cf. 3, No. 207), being a representation of foolishness on account of its custom of pecking the ground with its bill for no purpose. At the dance it is represented by a man with either a mask of a white bird with a movable lower part of its bill, or with a mere representation of the bill with few feathers round it, or with a long neck of feathers ending in an imitation of a bill. Masks of this kind are as far as I know, to be found only in Stockholm (cf. 3, No. 207, 209, and other).

All the animal characters are represented on the stage as only crying, roaring or yelling, and making more or less furious movements and exertions. The text accompanying their movements and describing their appearance and their acting is supposed to be chanted by the narrator. The stanzas accompanying such animal scenes are full of details and particulars about the form, colour and general appearance of the animal, about its habits in general and especially about those exhibited on the stage. As a result of such detailed description of the animals acting, such scenes are very vivid very attractive, even if they are in a very loose connection with the other scenes and with the fundamental story. But when we hear about the behaviour of the

1. I am unable to identify the meaning of the words. There is a Sanscrit word *codya* (n.) with the meaning of "Wonder", "surprise", which is frequently used in the Dravidian languages in the sense of "curiosity", and sometimes even "a curious being". There is no point from which to start an inquiry into the meaning of the word *nani*.

animals among themselves and towards human beings, we must admit that there is a purpose in staging these animal scenes at *Kolam-natima*.

7. The demon characters.

The scenes with the demons are the top-scenes of the whole performance of the *Kolam-natima*, and when we read the accompanying texts the preceding scenes seem to have been arranged only for the purpose of preparing and introducing this scene. During the performance they are also the most noisy and awe-inspiring moments, at which the Sinhalese spectators tremble in their limbs, and are very near to an ecstasy. Perhaps this impression was intended. The series of scenes in which various demons appear on the stage can be considered as an act of the whole performance, or it can be connected with the wilderness scene as a part of it. Anyhow both the wilderness scene and the following demon scene are closely related to each other, the animal scenes being the introduction to the demon scene, and the demon scene their gradation.

The demon scenes are introduced by the appearance of a giant, perhaps a representation of the famous Ceylonese youthful warrior *Godimbara*. After him *Purnaka* appears. *Purnaka* is now a rather obsolete figure in Ceylon, but formerly he was very important as well in popular stories of the Sinhalese people as in ballads and ceremonies of various kinds. He is a general of the army of demons, and therefore he is known as *Purnaka-yak-senevi*. He is in close relationship with the celestial world, his maternal uncle being *Kuvera*, in Ceylon better known as *Vesamuni*, who is one of the four guardian gods, who give permission, *varam*, to all the demons. *Purnaka* is father of *Dadimunda*, a *yaka* who was appointed by three of the four Ceylonese guardian gods to establish Buddhism in Ceylon, and who, as it appears from the Sinhalese tradition, extirpated those forms of demon worship in Ceylon which were opposite to the Buddhism (cf. 7, p. 15, s. v. Dadimunda). *Purnaka* is somehow connected with *Sanni* ceremonies performed for curing diseases caused by that demon (cf. 7, p. 94, s. v. Sanni Yaka). Accordingly he seems to have been considered as a benevolent demon, but probably with several different appar-

1. The meaning of the word is "one who is full". As the fullness is considered in the Sinhalese folk-religion as a happy omen it is a propitious name. In Sanscrit it is the name of the blue jay, and perhaps the idea of that bird was originally in the minds of those who raised this demon character. Although now nearly obsolete, *Purnaka* is a much esteemed and revered demon in Ceylon.

tions. At least in the *Kolam-natima* texts he is represented as a devil, with devilish, ruddy face and making devilish noise. He is supposed to be naked, wearing only white ear-rings (cf. p. 217). He is believed to bear a *viduru*, i. e. diamond, like beings from the Naga-world, and a big club in his hand. His mask is described as of reddish colour, showing lengthy, protruding white canine teeth. In Callaway's translation (12, p. 51, st. 98 f.) the mask is supposed to have been fresh cut and brought directly from the artist to the dancing place; it is also said to be seen nowhere but here.

Masks of *Purnaka yaka* are rather rare in museum collections; many of them are in Stockholm, seven in number. They are described in Umlauff's catalogue as *Purenegge (?) rassé* (sic!) which name proves that the *Purnaka* has been considered by the informant as a devil, *rassaya*. The shape of the mask corresponds with that conception of *Purnaka*. Each of the masks has a nose with nostrils turn to the front, large protruding eyes, protruding tongue, and protruding white canine teeth. The face is painted red, the colour varying from bright red over cherry red to dark red-brown; only one of the masks is painted black.¹ As a head-dress every mask of *Purnaka* has a crown of flames, painted red and yellow, in a few specimens supported by a white ornamental belt representing either hairs or a kind of cap or still more probably ashes beneath the flames. As ear-ornaments are attached to the masks of *Purnaka* large discs with a lotus-flower ornament as those of *Gara-yaka*, adorned, however, each with an ornamental leaf so that they resemble those ear-ornaments which are worn by the demon dancers in their full dress (cf. p. 212 and 217). There is a number of masks-resembling in every details masks of *Purnaka* but the ear-ornaments which are missing. From some of the masks the ear-ornaments were probably lost, as they are detachable, and the masks show holes for the pegs of the ear-ornaments. But there are also masks which have no such appliances for the missing ear-ornaments, and I suppose in such cases the ear-ornaments were worn by the demon dancer himself. Mask of that kind seems to be the mask represented on Pl. XXVII, fig. 1, although it has been described by a Sinhalese as a mask of *Sin-yaka*.² A very fine mask of

1. On account of this colouring it is doubtful whether this mask can be considered as a mask of *Purnaka* at all. It is more probable that it was marked with that name by a mistake, and that it is perhaps a mask of *Maraka* or *Marahurassaya*.

2. No such *yaka* is known among the Sinhalese demon Pantheon. *Sin* or *Hin* is a term designating the constellation under which a person is born (cf. 7, p. 31, s. v. *Hin*). Perhaps the informant said that the mask is a *Sanni-yaka*, as it is sometimes

Purnaka is in the Naprstkovo Museum in Prague (Pl. XXVIII, fig. 1, 2) which is extremely simple in its form, but very impressive. The exceedingly well-finished details of the mask can be seen especially well from the side-view on Pl. XXVIII, fig. 2.1

Vescuni himself also appears on the stage as a king of demons with fifteen cobras as his head dress. He is supposed to change his appearance very quickly and to assume different forms.

The next demon is *Ratna-kutaya*, apparently a serpent-demon. His name is to be explained as "who creates the illusion of a ruby" which he according to Callaway's translation (12, p. 52, st. 105) bears upon his large red nose. He seems to be an evilly disposed demon, as he is represented as shaking his lips and teeth and making a devilish noise. He is represented as fully dressed and girded with snakes (cf. 12, p. 52. st. 101, 103). The mask which represents this demon has a red shining face, a huge red nose, large mouth, "like a cave", two big eyes of reddish colour "like young cocoa-nuts". On the head he has a head dress formed by four coiled cobras with spread hoods; he has also two cobras on each ear as an ear-ornament. I did not see any specimen of such a mask.

Then a number of *Giri* demons follow each after another. Among them regularly appear: *Nila-Giri-yaka*, the blue *Giri* demon, *Nanda-Giri-yaka*, the joyous *Giri* demon, *Nata-Giri-yaka*, the dancing *Giri* demon, and *Giri devi*, the goddess *Giri*. All these demons belong to one class and are perhaps in some or other relation to the *Gara-yaka* and his group. They are in reality gods who became obsolete and are now considered as demons, or even as devils, but all of them are good-natured towards human beings. All of them are worshipped also at other ceremonies, especially they are subject of *Yakun-natima*. Usually twelve *Giris* are supposed by Sinhalese to appear in the world, and are regularly regarded as goddesses and counterparts of corresponding male beings styled as *Gara* or *Gara yaka*. Here they seem to be

used at the Sanni ceremonies, and the negligently pronounced word *sanni* was misunderstood for *sin*. The colouring suggests to explain the mask as that of Marahu, too.

1. In Umlauff's catalogue (3) there is a note at No. 336, that it is used at *Ghindere natuma* (sic!) (Feuertanz), i. e. *gindara-natima*. As far as I was able to ascertain there was no ceremony of that name in Ceylon, and it must be a local appellation of another ceremony, or it must be a name of a ceremony which formerly existed in Ceylon, but now became quite obsolete, and even the name have been lost from the minds of the people.

supposed as males.¹ Rituals for their worship are contained in *Giriliyo dolaha pidavila*, the British Museum MS. Or. 6615 (331) and *Dolos Giri deviliyage puvata*, the British Museum MS. Or. 6615 (79).

Nila Giri is "expert at making curiosities; at redressing all grievances; at removing all sorrows; and able to support us all" (12, p. 52, st. 107). He drives away the evil of all present by his dancing. His mask is a very large one in a form of a devil, with a crown of nine cobras, and with a devil on each side. *Nanda Giri* dances with two torches in his hands. His mask has five cobras on the head, and two men's faces one on each side. *Nata-Giri* drives every kind of evil from human beings and he catches venomous snakes.² His mask is resembling those of the previous demons with following differences: on the top of the head instead of a crown of cobras is a face of a devil (*raksasa*), and two women's figures on each side; the ear-ornaments are rounded by cobras.

Farther *Gara-yaka* and *Dala-kumaraya* appear which both are closely connected with the preceding group of benevolent demons. According to a number of Sinhalese ballads *Dala-kumaraya* is brother of *Giri devi*. Both of them are believed to cause sicknesses and to cure them. Of course, they like other disease demons belong to the sphere of *Yakun-natima*, and they will be described in the fourth part of this treatise in detail. At *Kolam-natima* performance *Gara-yaka* is represented as a devil (*raksasa*) with a black face and a crown of three cobras. *Dala-kumaraya* is represented as a devil with black face, too, and in addition with elephants trunk and tusks. In Callaway's translation (12, p. 60, st. 175) a companion is added, whose name is given as *Pel Madulla*, perhaps correctly to be spelt as *Pal Madulla*.³ No demon or devil of this name is mentioned elsewhere, and even his name can be suspected to be the result of misunderstanding the original Sinhalese text. Another similar spurious demon character which occurs only in Callaway's translation (12, p. 53, st. 114—117) is the demon *Candra-kava*, literally "the moon-moth",

1. For details about *Gara* and *Giri* demons cf. my article CEYLONSKA BOZSTVA GARA A GIRI, published in *Vestník České Akademie*, vol. XXI, Prague 1912. An abstract of the article in English can be found in *Actes du IV^e congrès international d'histoire des religions* (Leiden 1913, p. 86—88: GARA AND GIRI THE OBSOLETE GODS OF THE SINHALESE).

2. He is sometimes identified with the Indian god Siva in his form as *Nata-rama*, and worshipped together with him in the *Nata-devalayas* at Buddhist monasteries.

3. The etymology of the name is easy. It is the Elu equivalent for the Sk. *pari-mandalaya*, "an atom, a molecule in a sunbeam"

whose mask is described as red and white, having black eyes and green eye-brows, and on both sides arrayed with images of gods and goddesses, wearing a crown surmounted by a cobra. Nowhere else in the Sinhalese folk-literature is such a being mentioned.

In addition to these benevolent demons or demons at least in one aspect friendly disposed towards humanity, in *Kolam-natima* a number of demons appear which are unfavourable, even at enmity with men. The first is the devil *Maraka*, identical with Mara of the Buddhist Scriptures. He is supposed to wear an iron rod in his hand, to move very swiftly and to make a deafening noise. He is described as intoxicated by drinking toddy. His mask is described as a devil's mask with a broad face, either of green or of blue colour. On the forehead four cobras are coiled. On the top of the mask is a red figure of a devil, and one similar figure is on each side of the masks (cf. 12, p. 54, st. 122—125). He is said to seize people who pass by, and to eat their flesh. Whom he beholds with his red eye will not escape death.

Further the *Assuraya* devil is introduced. He is represented as dressed in a red coat and to have white palm-leaves on his head instead of hair. He is said to look stern and to have also an iron rod in his hand. The mask is described as being of a red colour with five cobras, coiled, as a head-dress. (12, p. 55, st. 128—134.)

Many other less important devils are supposed to appear on the stage. But the last one is always *Marahu*, the demon of death, originally identical with *Maraka*, but later on believed to be another being. He, too, is described as intoxicated by liquor. There are seven masks of this demon in Stockholm, in Umlauff's catalogue marked as *Maru rasse* (sic!) i. e. *Marahu-rassaya* (3, No. 311, 319, 334, 335, 338, 343, 344). They are described as masks of half animal and half devilish beings with yellow or red face, and with a crown of feathers. Of this kind is undoubtedly also the mask reproduced on Pl. III. fig. 3, and perhaps also that on Pl. XXVIII, fig. 1. In Callaway's translation he is represented as having devil's face, grinding his teeth, in one hand holding a mirror, and having his body rubbed with red sandal (12, p. 60 f., st. 178).

All these mentioned, and many other demon and devil characters are a secondary element in *Kolam-natima*, and almost all of them are worshipped in other ceremonies, too, especially in *Yakun-natima*, and they will be described in detail in that part dealing with *Yakun-natima*.

8. *Conclusions : probable original aim of the performance.*

All the three textbooks of *Kolam-natima* agree with the popular Sinhalese opinion that it is a mere masquerade performed for pay. Especially at the appearance of evil demons and devils it is said in the texts that the demon or devil will not harm anybody, or that he will depart immediately, if he is sufficiently paid, or if acceptable offerings are made to him. This detail is not necessarily an innovation of recent date, but perhaps only its explanation is new. Originally, perhaps, true ritual offerings were encouraged by such verses. On the whole all the ceremony, and especially the accompanying text, compels one to think it over and over, and to ask why a mere masquerade remains for centuries the same standardized form with such few changes in the story and its performance. Why it is always the unnatural longing of the pregnant queen which is the supposed cause of the performance? Why do always five magic women appear, why is a scene of the pregnant women staged with such accuracy, and why always the same demons and devils, viz *Purnaka*, demons of the *Giri* and *Gara* group, the *Dala-kumaraya* and the demons of death? To answer these questions is not an easy matter without reconsidering the whole of the ceremony.

If we have in the mind the whole of the story and the sequence of the scenes we cannot deny that there is a purpose in it. Simultaneously we must admit that the dominant part of the ceremony is in close connection with pregnancy, unnatural longing of pregnant women, and other sexual moments. Even such a minute detail that pregnant women frequently conceive a hatred against their husbands is not missed here. In the scene of the pregnant woman as it is reproduced in Callaway's translation (12, p. 57—59, st. 147—163) is given a full account of pregnancy, confinement, childbed, and weaning the child, with all the popular customs as they are current among the Sinhalese. We cannot suppose that these details were introduced to a mere masquerade for fun of the people. The Sinhalese like the Indian, look upon a pregnant woman with a deep interest and show compassion with her, even when she is troubled by unnatural longings of the most loathsome kind. Therefore it would be next to nonsense to believe that such scenes have no purpose.

The text considered as a whole has an undoubtedly religious character. There appear gods and goddesses, and other celestial beings. Buddhas and pratyeka Buddhas are mentioned as well as the guardian gods. A *maduva* is built for the performance as at other religious or demon ceremonies. Arches of palm-leaves,

torana, are built which are supposed to represent the bow of *Anam-gaya*, i. e. Cupid, and thus again the sexual moment is emphasised. There are many instances where bringing offerings is suggested. Some of the scenes are evidently ceremonies, e. g. the scene of the *Dalakumaraya*. Some of the demon scenes are evidently mere torsos of original demon rituals, starting with description of the appearance of the demon and of his traditional origin and advancing to the appeasing ceremonies and bringing suitable offerings.

We cannot admit that, as I was told by a Sinhalese of Kandy, the *Kolam-natima* is a mere staging of those characters of other ceremonies by the professional dancers in order to make some money because the Sinhalese are glad to see such performances, and gladly pay money for it, to exhibit the masks, and quasi to advertise the group of the demon dancers for professional services in case of sickness etc. Against that speaks the structure of *Kolam-natima* which appears, as a whole, too logical and too balanced for it to be considered as a haphazard collection of scenes for advertising purposes.

Then at last there remains the opinion which is directly opposite to the present Sinhalese opinion, and which I have hesitated long to accept, viz., that *Kolam-natima* is a real religious ceremony, although perfectly obsolete in its original significance at present, but formerly perhaps of a great esteem and importance in Ceylon. It is suggested by the ancient language of a number of stanzas, and by the fact that many scenes, however important formerly, have been shortened so that they have lost their original meaning.

The introductory tale and many scenes evidently connected with pregnancy and sexual life suggest that it was a pregnancy ceremony. It is the question which kind of pregnancy ceremony it was, and whether we can reconstruct it as far as to understand its original meaning. A help can be found in present Sinhalese customs. During my first journey in Ceylon in 1910 I have frequently witnessed in Kandyan district performances of devil dancers in the houses of pregnant women, especially at the time of confinement. Such ceremonies usually lasted through the whole night accompanied by uninterrupted tom-tom beating. Awe-inspiring masks were used and heart-penetrating yells were ushered by the dancers in order to facilitate the labours of the woman in childbirth. Then I was told that such ceremonies are performed several times during the pregnancy, especially when the woman first feels herself pregnant, whenever she gets unnatural longings, and then when the confinement is expected. In each case different ceremonies are said to be used. But even these

ceremonies show signs of decay; although obsolete they are kept as a habit fixed by use through ages and ages, and difficult to be put aside.

It must be supposed that such ceremonies have existed in ancient times in a much more perfect form, and that they were in reality quite elaborate rituals from which we have mere fragments in those dances performed now a days in the houses of pregnant women. Beside them there is the *Kolam-natima* ceremony with such a number of sexual and pregnancy elements, so that we are near to a suggestion that there is a connection between the pregnancy ceremonies and the *Kolam-natima*. This opinion after the preceding analysis seems true, although it is opposed to the present custom. But to go farther and to say which pregnancy ceremony *Kolam-natima* was, is much more difficult, if possible at all.

If we survey thoroughly the texts at hand, and compare the scenes occurring in them with those ceremonies current at present, and with the stages of pregnancy alluded in them, we shall arrive at the result that there are two possibilities to explain *Kolam-natima*. Either *Kolam-natima* is a ceremony performed at those moments of pregnancy when the woman suffers by the unnatural longing; or there are two ceremonies in one, the first performed at the same moment of pregnancy, and the second at the moment of confinement. In the second case it must be supposed that in the first ceremony all those scenes were included which are described in the text up to the moment when in the wilderness scene the pregnant woman appears. The rest including the description of childbirth etc. up to the end must have belonged to the childbirth ceremony. But such dividing of the compact whole of *Kolam-natima* seems to be very improbable, and I prefer the first possibility, viz. that *Kolam-natima* was originally a pregnancy ceremony of a religious character performed at the moment when a woman suffered by unnatural longing. I do not need to repeat proofs already brought forward in support of my opinion.

If this possibility is admitted, the reconstruction is quite easy. The first, introductory part is invocation of gods and proof of the usefulness of the ceremony by an example from the history. As a second part humorous and pleasant scenes follow, such as that of the warrior, of the Naga-kanyava, five magic women who are really only one! etc. Here already the demon element appears: but it is the demon of fullness very ominous for a pregnant woman. The scene of the

1. It is perhaps allusion to the state of a pregnant women who is in reality also many beings in one.

Moorman alludes to frequent longing of pregnant women for flesh and blood; therefore he is described as a butcher. Then comes the wilderness scene in which such characters are introduced to frighten the longing away from the woman when the pleasant scenes did not succeed to divert her from it. The ceremony increases in gradation, avails itself of stronger and more frightful scenes: description of the pregnancy and childbirth with the soothing end, the introduction of the demons of the death. Then the gradation ends. An ascetic comes to give her a kind of absolution or blessing. Thus the performance ends peacefully, and was able perhaps to bring peace even into the disturbed heart of the pregnant woman, at least for a shorter or longer period of time.

And what is the cause why *Kolam-natima* in its original validity fell in disuse among the present Sinhalese? I think it was the expense of the ceremony which must have been enormous. Therefore, I think, it was performed even in the past only in the royal house, and in houses of the nobility and other very rich people. When Sinhalese independence was lost and foreign government came to Ceylon, the nobility adapted themselves to the new conditions, succumbed to Western influences and discontinued such practices. The common people among whom such practices have survived up to the present were unable to pay for it, and therefore preserved it partly in small fragments performed for the original purpose, partly, as a popular feast paid for from entrance-fees, like a theatre etc.

Part IV

YAKUN-NATIMA

1. *The present ceremony.*

ALTHOUGH the expression *yakun-natima* or *Yakun-natanava*¹ embraces in theory each and every religious dancing ceremony of the Sinhalese in honour or for placation of *yakas*, in reality only such dancing ceremonies are considered as *Yakun-natima* by the Sinhalese which are used for curing diseases supposed to be inflicted by some of the *yakas*. In the original sense of the word even the non-masked dancing ceremonies described in Part I can be classified as *Yakun-natima*, and sometimes they really are. But always they are strictly distinguished from the ceremonies known as *Kolam-natima* so that we must suppose that they represent two groups of ceremonies perfectly different, and based also on different ideological foundations. In English generally the expression "Devildancing" is used as an equivalent of *Yakun-natima*, although the use of it is not consistent, being used also for many other ceremonies sometimes even for *Kolam-natima*, and

1. The etymology of this word is often given in the wrong way, the first component of the word being explained as the plural oblique form of *yaka*, viz. *yakun*, or more properly *yakkun*, the second part being clear as a nominal derivative of the verbal root *nata-*, resp. *natanu-* (Sk. *nrt-*, *nrtiyati*). The above-mentioned explanation of the first component of the word is impossible. In reality it is simply the plural form of *yakuma*, "a devil ceremony". Therefore the proper form should be really *yakun-natima*, analogically to *kolam-natima*, derived from the *kolama*, "a square". Of course in both words the *m* before the *n* is pronounced as *n*, or sometimes even not pronounced at all except for a slight nasalisation of the preceding *u*, which hardly can be distinguished by the ear of a European. As the Sinhalese prefer the etymological mode of writing, it is always written *kolam-natima*, as has been already explained. You will, however, never find written *yakun-natima*, perhaps on account of the plural form *yakun* or *yakkun* which has influenced the orthography, especially because the word *yakuma* is little known by the common people, being rather a literary word. As it is not my aim to propagate a new orthography of the Sinhalese, I use the current form *yakun-natima* in spite of my conviction that it is not right according to the present rules of the Sinhalese orthography, and inconsistent with my writing of *kolam-natima*.

also not quite correct, as has been explained already in the first part of this treatise.¹

Yakun-natima of the present is a typical evil-averting ceremony, in the most cases performed for the purpose of curing diseases, supposed to have been caused by some or other demon, *yaka*. But there are also other instances where the evil influence of *yakas* is hoped to be averted by such ceremonies as e. g. in the agricultural ceremonies which have become, however, quite obsolete at present. From allusions in Sinhalese and even Pali literature it can be inferred that formerly such evil-averting ceremonies must have been more frequent in Ceylon, and must have been applied to a far greater variety of cases and dangers, and have been used perhaps even as a prophylactic measure, a use of the ceremony perfectly unknown to the present Sinhalese. At present the *Yakun-natima* is simply an exorcism, i. e. a dancing ceremony for curing sickness by means of expelling the demon, *yaka*, by which the sick person is supposed to be possessed. In many cases it is now used as to counteract sorcery and magic, which are considered to be often the cause of demon possession.

In the present fashion the *Yakun-natima* assumes forms resembling very much shamanistic ceremonies of other countries, including the state of possession of the dancer. At present the *Yakun-natima* is regularly performed by a single dancer, only exceptionally a whole band of demon-dancers being engaged. Financial reasons seem to be decisive for this reduction of the ceremonial apparatus. But there are also many other circumstances to which the deterioration of the ceremony seems to be due, and which will be discussed in detail in another place. It is especially the discontinuation or disturbance of the tradition by foreign influences, and the fact that demon-dancing slowly receded to remote villages and country-tracks, while in the Europeanized cities and towns it survives only secretly, owing to fear that the person believing in the efficacy of the ceremony might be considered superstitious and below the general standard of education.² But there are still many other causes lying in the very nature of the ceremony itself, as will appear quite clearly from my further argument.

1. Cf. pp. 108 ff.

2. Many other moments are of influence on this kind of performances, e.g. interference of police, government, or of other religious, especially in large towns, or in places inhabited by people of various creeds. The cause is evident from the words of Donald Ferguson (17, p. 82): "Very properly, in large towns, police authority has to be obtained for the holding of a 'devil dance' at night, sleep being rendered impossible to the residents in the vicinity of the house where the ceremony is held".

I had occasion to witness this kind of dancing ceremony during my first stay in Ceylon in 1910, in a village near Kurunagala, of which a full description is given in my book describing in Czech my travels in Ceylon.¹ Only in a short abstract I shall reproduce it here in order to give a brief outline of the present form of the ceremony.

The ceremony was performed for the sake of curing a sick, well-to-do Sinhalese after all other attempts to cure him — including the treatment of an English doctor — absolutely failed. Owing perhaps to the wealth of the family an unusually large group of demon-dancers (about fifteen) were employed to perform the ceremony. The whole ceremony consisted of three parts, viz. 1. the building of a sacrificial shed (*maduva*), 2. the diagnostic ceremony in which the identity of the demon causing the disease was to be ascertained, and 3. the exorcizing of the spirit, supplemented by other ceremonies which are in reality not a part of the *Yakunatima* proper. The building of the *maduva* was done at about sunset in a ceremonial way, every piece of wood or fabric used having been consecrated beforehand. In the *maduva* of the usual type, as has been already described in the first part of this treatise,² offerings of several kinds were deposited and a series of ceremonial dancing masks exhibited. After these preparations had completed, the scene was profusely lighted and the second part of the ceremony began. The leader of the dancing party took one mask after the other and danced with each of the collections of the masks round the sick man. This dancing continued until reaction was evoked in the sick man, and he started to scream and yell, and writhed in cramp. That was explained as a sign of the presence of the demon by whom the sick man was possessed, and from this fact the supposition was drawn that the demon who has caused the disease is identical with the demon represented by the mask worn at the moment by the dancer. After a short rest the third part of the ceremony, the exorcism proper began. It was a dance of the whole group of dancers accompanied by the sound of tom-toms (*beraya*) and small drums (*dakkiya*, *damaruva*), singing of appropriate ballads, and the burning of incense and a kind of resin (*dummala*)³ producing a blaze and afterwards thick, heavy smoke. The

1. Cf. PERLA INDIČKEHO OCEANU: vzpomínky z dvou cest na Ceylon (The Pearl of the Indian Ocean: memories of two journeys to Ceylon) (1910 a 1922) Praha 1926 Pp. 195-208.

2. Cf. pp. 120 f.

3. *Dummala* according to my experience is not a homogenous matter, but a compound of different inflammable noninflammable ingredients which are kept secret by the exorcists. The sample which I took at the ceremony mentioned, after being soaked

leader wore a mask, but a different one. The dancing was continued with alternate gradation and relaxation of movements and noise for several hours. Then, after a short pause, the dance continued in the same way, until a man swooned, and was supposed to have become possessed by the demon who was the cause of the sickness of the sick man. After the man recovered, it was ascertained that it was not the same demon and the dancing commenced again. Several men became possessed, but with no result and finally the ceremony was declared by the leader as too weak for the demon concerned, and another kind of ceremony, viz. "cutting of the limes" (*dehi-kapima*) was ordered. As a result of all the ceremonies the sick man died the next day'.¹

A similar ceremony is described by an anonymous author in an article published originally in the *Ceylon Forester*, and afterwards reprinted in *The Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon* (6). As there are many details of interest in that article, and as it is now hardly accessible in European libraries, I reproduce in full all such parts of it as are of any importance for the knowledge of the ceremony. It is said there: "(p. 111). . . The neighbourhood of the hut is decorated with stems of the plantain tree placed as posts in the four corners of the compound and connected with each other by arches of the areca wood cut in lathes. From these depended the young leaves of the cocoa-palm with here and there a cluster of its fruit and flowers. On one side a sort of altar is erected of the same materials and similarly decorated, and lighted by small torches struck in the soft plantain stem the upper end being composed of several folds of old linen steeped in cocoanut oil, with which flame is fed. On the opposite side of the enclosure is a framework about four feet in height, on which is represented in a clay figure of the particular demon supposed to torment the patient; and in the centre is placed a mat of split reeds, on which the devil dancer performs his gyrations, surrounded at a convenient distance by two or three tom-tom beaters and his admiring audience. . . (p. 112). . . The performance commenced at 7 p. m. and was kept up till dawn. The *Kapurala* was clothed in knee-breaches of coarse blue serge and a well patched coat of the same material, with large brass, navy buttons; hollow metal rings called "*Salamba*" to which were attached small bells encircled his arms and ankles; his face was masked, and in his right hand he carried a "*Yakadupha*" torch. Starting to

in alcohol, dissolved partly, leaving a sediment consisting of powdered sulphur and some grey powder of semimetallic appearance, the chemical structure of which I was unable to ascertain. But I think it was either antimony or plumbago added to the mixture in order to cause the fire to emit sparks. The alcoholic solution after having been evaporated, left a crust of resinous substance, containing mainly shellac and common pitch. The insoluble sediment was about half the volume of the whole sample. In another place I was told by a *kapuva*, that the *dummala* is simply the powdered resin of a certain jungle-tree. He was however not inclined to supply me with a sample of that resin, nor to give me the usual Sinhalese name of the tree.

1. Donald Ferguson (17, p. 82) says: "If any patient recovers under the tender ministrations of the *Kapurala*, it is certainly in spite of, and not owing to them".

his feet in sudden and apparent alarm he executed a lively dance to the quick beat of the noisy tom-tom, his eyes at time starting from their sockets, and his whole frame quivering with excitement. In movement of frenzy he would rush towards the person for whom his incantation were performed, and drawing a deep breath, rapidly repeat some mystic sentences, and try the nervous system of the invalid by suddenly throwing a handful of some powdered resinous substance, called "dummalla" into the torchlight, which would blaze up and for a moment illumine the surrounding objects and then sink into a dull blue flame. Retiring to an ante-shed he would return differently and more sparingly equipped and still masked and continue his labourious rites with untiring energy, until after a good couple of hours of perpetual and violent motion he would sink exhausted on the mat, his hair dishevelled, and beads of perspiration pouring down his half-naked body. A few minutes' rest and a chew of betel, and he is again on his feet; first moving slowly and keeping perfect time with feet and arms to the sound of the tom-tom, now increasing the rapidity of his motions and anon relapsing into a languid shuffle. To the din of the music were added the voices of the musicians exorcising the evil spirit in some most monotonous ditty, the kapurala occasionally joining in a short gasping voice like some evil spirit bereft of speech. — The motionless body of spectators, some standing and others reclining on the ground; the background of cocoa and areca palms, with wild figure of the kapurala; the whole lit up by the lurid glare of the torches, made a most uncanny and ghostlike scene not easily forgotten. — At dawn the music ceased, and the tired dancer fell in an apparent swoon on the floor of the compound, the clay figure was carried amidst loud shouts to a neighbouring field, where it was placed with an offering of flowers. . . . the patient died a few hours afterwards."

In this account there seems to be described only partially a ceremony in which both the *Yakun-natima* and a *Bali* ceremony have been mixed together, as frequently occurs at present, because the exorcists know very little of the ancient lore on account of the discontinuance of the tradition. But the characteristic points of a *Yakun-natima* appear in it in full, and therefore I consider it noteworthy.

Another description of a similar exorcism is given by Caroline Corner-Ohlmus (16)¹, in the same rare magazine, and therefore at least a part of it must be reproduced here : ". . . A slight commotion occurred on our approach, even the *Kattadiya* (devil priest or charmer) wavered somewhat in his vociferous invocation to the "the invisibles" to cast a side-glance with his mesmeric eye, and the *Beravayo* relaxed even as much their vigorous beating. But only for a moment. . . . and all went on again as before. As soon as my eyes became accustomed to the sudden glare I found myself making mental mems. A cadjan hut with open doors . . . ; within a bed covered with a white sheet, on and around which were strewn *ola* leaves which are considered to possess properties

1. The title of the article is given as *YAKADURA*, which is considered by the authoress to signify a ceremony, because she says expressly : "In answer to our inquiry we were told a *Yakadura* or devil-dance was taking place . . .". That is evidently a misunderstanding as *Yakadura* is the name of the man, the exorcist, and never of the ceremony which besides the commonly used *Yakun-natima* is called *Yakadurukama*. The etymology of the names will be given in another place.

thaumaturgic and magical, the whole being extra well lit up for the auspicious occasion. The occupant of the hut, a bachelor and sick man on whose account the *Yakadura* was holden, was then seated or propped up on a chair just in front of the entrance, and very ill and very wretched he looked, poor fellow. "Vis-a-vis, to him was an altar, temporarily erected and composed of split bamboos having an oblique canopy, the whole resembling as much as anything a square cloths-baskets with the lid two thirds open, standing on trestles and laden with offerings (*poya*) such as wild fruits, areca blossoms etc. But something more than an altar was this, it was a shrine for the time being for it contained a priceless treasure jealously screened from vulgar eye. In the interval when the *Beravayo* ceased for a while their strenuous manual exertions, and the *Kattadiya* his vocal, we were shown the outward wrappers, three in number, one being a bit of mosquito net, horribly dirty. But this satisfied. But this satisfied me not; . . . I wanted more and . . . I got it. But to pursue the description of the rites and scene. Halved coconut shells with lighted wicks floating in coconut oil were everywhere, that is within the area of the charmed circle, on trees, on the ground, clinging to the altar, indeed everywhere, as our noses could testify, for the sickening odour was not neutralised but rendered doubly obnoxious by the combatting fumes of incense smouldering away in little earthenware pans all around. Adjoining the altar was a coconut flower fully four feet high stuck impromptu in the ground, with an inverted *chatty* crowning the apex, which pot at the conclusion must be shattered into a thousand pieces, for, as I translate it, the bad or poisoned magnetis of the patient is supposed to have been drawn by the charmer's medical powers to the spotless, clean and new but afterwards defiled piece of earthenware . . . The dance I will not here describe, being identical or almost with that already described in my paper, a *Doladima*, . . . The *Kattadiya's* minor yells set up at intervals during the wild gyrations came as a figure flitting about the strangely savage harmony so rich and really fascinating in grotesqueness and discords. At 9 p.m. the *Yakadura* terminated".

The description of the dance at *Doladima* (15, p. 102) is given by the authoress as follows: "The *Kattadiya* and company were already there; the former a brawny brown fellow whose only apparel was the *Kambaya*: the dancers or *Netun Karayo*, lithe-limbed acrobats, were dressed in red and white embroidered jackets with . . . "accordian skirts" and "paniers", and wore coronets of *ola* leaves arranged in triple fans standing erect . . . while the *Beravayo* or Tom-tom beaters are evidently aware of their renown for being the handsomest caste judging from the exceeding small attempt to hide their fine proportions . . . the performance soon commenced by the *Kattadiya*, with a burning torch in either hand, not muttering but thundering a lengthy incantation, in front of and facing the principal altar, all the while brandishing the torches, which, on being frequently replenished with powdered resin belched forth fire several yards distant, producing a terrible effect. At the end of each *mantra* only was breath taken, when a man in attendance gave a shrill shriek through a whistle. — The incantation ended, the demons evoked, the dance began. I have seen all sorts of mesmeric and hypnotic experiments in London and elsewhere, but never did I witness such apparent nerve- numbness, one may say, as that evidenced by these *Netun Karayo* in their violent contortions and distortions of the human frame: they certainly seemed to be made of India-rubber and nothing else. At the same time a pandemonium of jingling bells (13 worn in rows up to the knee of each of the quartet) and *beras* (drums) manipulated dexterously by extra four pairs of supple wrists and fingers. Each executed his dance searately to the rythmic measure of the tom-toms, whilst the

torches, one in each hand, emitting with the aid of resin tongues of flame and showers of sparks blazed forth a dazzling glare. The *finale* when all danced and sprang shouted was a *melee* . . . ”

These two are the most important accounts of *Yakun-natima* as it is performed in Ceylon at present, and I was not able to discover any other. They afford a fairly vivid picture, and notwithstanding many misunderstandings and many misinterpretations of the ceremony, give an idea of the ritual which is here evidently described as a religious function, a fact acknowledged even by my own observations mentioned before. From both these accounts the corruption of the ceremony is evident, even if we admit that many strange and non-organic elements appearing in the description are due to a misunderstanding either of the ceremony or the language. Here another fact experienced even by me personally must be mentioned, too. It is a frequent fact that the Sinhalese either for shame at being laughed at or for fear of divulging the secrets of their magical rites, purposely misinform the European inquirer. To eliminate such misinformations is sometimes very difficult even with the help of the Sinhalese literature concerned, as even there passages occur which are purposely changed so as to become either perfectly unintelligible to an uninitiated person, or to have apparently another sense than intended. It is sometimes effected by the use of special slang-words, sometimes by transposing syllables in the verse or stanza in a peculiar mode known only to the initiated person.

Whether also other dancing ceremonies except the *Kolam-natima* are classed among the *Yakun-natima*, and which, is very difficult to decide nowadays, as even the Sinhalese do not agree on this subject. Some of them were ready to admit even various thanks-giving ceremonies as *Yakun-natima*, as e. g. one kind of *Doladima*¹, while others refused such opinions as perfectly false. On the other side it is fact which cannot be refuted that the present demon ceremonies represent such a conglomerate of various elements of different origin, that it is a quite easy to class one ceremony under several names, representing different original ceremonies or functions. I think we are not wrong if we consider all Sinhalese dancing ceremonies bearing the character of an exorcism as *Yakun-natima*. And this opinion seems to

1 Literary : giving (*dima*) of a demon ceremony (*dola*); it is a thanksgiving sacrifice, generally effected after a successful *Yakun-natima*, at which the most important functions are the bringing of offerings in cups made from betel-leaves (*gotuva*) and ceremonial dancing resembling very much that of the *Yakun-natima*. Perhaps on account of this dance it is sometimes considered as identical with, or part of the *Yakun-natima*.

agree with the original Sinhalese ideas on the subject, as clearly appears from allusion in texts intended to accompany such ceremonies, although ritualistic annotations are never inserted in such texts.

The present ceremonies which can be classed under the heading *Yakun-natima*, are in reality only poor fragments of real religious ceremonies of yore artificially joined together, mended and remodelled. In this form they are the product of a superstitious mentality, holding to every performance which has the seal of an ancient effective remedy. How strong is this superstitious mentality in the Sinhalese can be seen from the fact that as late as in 1910 even native Christians in remote places in cases of incurable sickness frequently resorted to this kind of exorcism, if they did not get the proper spiritual guidance in time.

The form of the present *Yakun-natima* is very simple as can be seen from the descriptions reproduced above. If we gather all the elements described together, we can get a general idea of the ceremony. It is always performed for exorcising a demon, and therefore it is performed at night. For the performance a clean place is prepared and well lighted, on which a ceremonial shed (*maduva*) and eventually also a hut for the sick man is built. The ceremony is performed by a professional exorciser, whose proper title is *yakadura*¹, i. e. who removes demons.¹ But he is frequently called by other names, e. g. *kapurala*,² demon priest, *kattadiya*,³ sorcerer, or *yakdessa*,⁴ demon priest

1 *Yakadura* sometimes written *yakadura* is according to the Sinhalese folk-etymology explained as composed from the root *yaka*-demon and the word *adura* "teacher" supposed to be derivation of Sk. *ajurya*, what is most improbable. According to my present opinion it is necessary to take as basis of the explanation of the word the verbal form *yaka-duru-karanu* — the meaning of which is "to make (*karanu*-) the demons (*yaka*) far (*duru*, Sk. *dura*)," i. e. "to remove the demons". According to this explanation the *Yakadura* is the "remover of demons", and the ceremony of *Yakadurukama* "the removing of demons". This etymology is plain, but more probable than the current Sinhalese etymology which is based on the etymologically obscure word *adura*.

2. The word is composed from the root *kapu*- and the honorific title *ralu* "master". The root *kapu*- is derived from the verbal root *kapa*-, resp. *kanu*- "to cut". Its nominative form is *kapuva*, "the man who cuts", i. e. either "a barber" or "a sacrificer" (who cuts the victim dead). In the second meaning the word is especially used in Ceylon to denote a "demon priest" of any category. The influence of the meaning "barber" appears in the fact that there are numbers of ceremonies and deities for which barbers are required as officiating priests.

3. The only probable etymology of this name is to connect it with a supposed Sk. **kartra-jaya* "one who conquers magic". But there are objections even against this etymology, although the first component of the word is explained correctly as *kartra*, "magic".

4. The second component of the word is derived from the Sinhalese verbal root *desanu*- "to preach", "to scold" (derived from Sk. *dis*-). The form

(i. e. who held discourse with demons). When it is financially possible, the exorciser is assisted by a group of demon-dancer, *natum-karuva*.¹ Essential for the ceremony are also several tom-tom beaters, *beravaya*, who beat time and inspire the dancers. The ceremony begins with invocation of demons, sometimes followed by prayers to the guardian gods. Then the dance begins. The exorciser wears a mask, supposed to represent the demon which is the cause of the disease. If he is accompanied by other dancers, they do not wear any masks. But all the exorcisers as well as the other dancers have small drums in the shape of a bobbin, i. e. broad at the ends and small in the middle,² which they held in one hand and beat with the fingers of the other hand. Sometimes the exorciser has besides it a burning torch, possibly even two torches. The dance begins at a slow pace, being accompanied by a very low beating of the drums, then rises gradually in a rapid gradation while the music becomes louder and louder, until it culminates in very rapid gyrations of dancers accompanied by heavy beating of tom-toms.³ The purpose of the dance is that the exorciser might become possessed by the demon, and in this way the sick man freed from the demon's influence. That result appears to be reached when the exorciser gets fits of frenzy, ending in swoon. The whole performance is accompanied by singing ballads relating to the demon concerned, in which his origin, his power and tricks, kinds of offerings etc. are described in a rather lengthy and uninteresting mode. In pauses, interrupting at times the performance, offerings are brought to the demon and guardian deities in the sacrificial shed, and *mantras* are muttered or recited in full voice, according to the circumstances. This kind of exorcism is sometimes accompanied, sometimes followed by other ceremonies which are not connected with it,⁴ and are adopted only for safety's sake, in order to exhaust all possible remedies to the advantage of the sick man.

desa requires, however, an original Sk. form *desya-*, while the verb *desanu-* is based on the form *desa-*.

1. The professional demon dancers belong to a special class of the Sinhalese population, being a subclass of *Oli*. The exorcists and sacrificers and other demon priests can belong to different classes, but they never come from the lowest classes, except in the case of deities of those lowest classes themselves.

2. The name of this kind of drum is *udakkiya* (also *dakkiya*, and *udakkiya*), derived from the Tamil *udukkai*, or *damaruva*, which seems to be an original Sinhalese word. This kind of drum can be tuned by twisting a piece of fabric put over the cords connecting and spreading the drumskins. Therefore it is narrow in the middle in order to allow this kind of tuning.

3. *beraya*.

4. E. g. the ceremony of cutting lime, *dehi-kapima*; exorcising from the head to the feet, *sirasapadaya*; and many other.

More details than can be obtained from the observation of the present ceremony may be gathered from Sinhalese texts intended for use at such ceremonies. Such texts are very frequent in Ceylon, and the majority of the manuscripts of the Sinhalese ballads kept in the British Museum belong to this class. Of course, no description of the ritual is contained in them, and only from their structure and occasional allusions can be inferred for what purpose and in which way they were originally used for the ceremony. With the help of these texts we can even draw conclusions in regard of the original form and purpose of the *Yakun-natima*.

2. *The accompanying texts.*

During my first stay in Ceylon, in 1910, searching for texts accompanying various ceremonies of the Sinhalese folk-religion, I came across a text subscribed as YAKUN-NATANAVA, and kept in the Library of the Colombo Museum. As I had no time to make a copy, having urgently to sail home, I dropped that matter, having made only a few notes, and nearly forgot it afterwards. Later on I began to study Sinhalese folk-religion systematically, and with the help of L.D. Barnett I made a thorough search for texts appertaining to the subject in the collection of Sinhalese manuscripts in the British Museum. At that time I did not find any text expressly subscribed as a text to accompany the *Yakun-natima* ceremony, but I found many texts of ballads which appeared to be fragments of such rituals. And at the same time I came across Callaway's translation, mentioned already above (12), which immediately evoked my recollection of the Colombo MS above mentioned. Therefore this translation must be considered as starting point of my inquiries into the *Yakun-natima* ceremony, and I feel obliged to begin with it even in this treatise.

Callaway's translation has been already mentioned with the description of the *Kolam-natima*, although it is not of such importance for that ceremony as for the present. It contains at the beginning what is called there *Yakun-nattanawa*¹ (sic!), followed by a translation of a

1. Correctly *natanava*. Grammatically *natanava* is an infinitive (as far as we can transplant the latin grammatical termini into the Sinhalese grammar) with a nominal value but distinctly different from the real verbal substantive (in this case *natima*). The infinitive expresses the mere idea of the verbal action, or the fact that this action does exist; while the verbal substantive expresses the duration or the actuality of the action. Therefore *natanava* is the "fact of dancing", *natima* the "actual dancing", the "performance of a dance". Both forms are strictly distinguished in the use in older forms of the Sinhalese language, but intermixed in modern times, especially in the colloquial.

poem entitled *The Practices of a Capua*, described by A Buddhist. *Yakun nattanawa* is the translation of an unknown Sinhalese ballad, used at the *Yakun-natima*, and occasionally describing ritual functions done at the moment of recitation. Nowhere, even in the preface ("Advertisement") is the text, from which it is translated, described, or the place where it is kept mentioned. Although I tried my best, I was unable to find the original either in England or in Ceylon. I suppose the original Sinhalese MS is either entirely lost, or perhaps is kept in one of several present collections of Sinhalese MSS divided in a series of parts, classified according to their individual subscriptions without being connected by the generic title. But even if we bear this in mind and try to identify such pieces of Sinhalese folk-poetry with Callaway's translation, we can hardly be successful, as Callaway's translation is only approximate, and there are passages which have been entirely omitted "for their grossness or obscurity", as the translator admits. Therefore I did not succeed in finding out the original manuscript-text from which Callaway's translation has been translated. But it seems that it was made during his stay in Ceylon from a MS kept in private hands or from a copy of such a MS. He admits at least assistance from a certain Don Nicholas Perera and acknowledges visits at the place of a chief tom-tom beater in Tallapitiya near Galla. But it must be expressly stated at once that the translation has nothing common with the manuscript-text of the same name which is kept in the Colombo Library, and which will be thoroughly discussed below.

The poem "*Practices of a Capua*" added as an appendix to the translation, is a derisive composition written in a rather sarcastic tone. Callaway gives a few informations about it saying: "The *Practices of a Capua*, annexed to this translation, is a longer poem than the Cingalese often compose in modern times. It affords a gratifying display of zeal on the part of a heathen against demon-worship; and in striking manner exposes the impositions of a class of boundless influence. It was written by an inhabitant of Matura, and transcribed by request." Of course, I was unable to get access to the MS of that poem, as it remained most probably in private hands, and possibly has been lost in the course of time. But even Callaway's copy is no longer traceable, notwithstanding my urgent inquiries and endeavours to find its present custodian.

1. The largest is Nevill's collection of Sinhalese ballads in the British Museum.

As it is impossible at present to discover the original Sinhalese manuscript-text of these two poetical compositions which appear from their contents to be of a great importance for the inquiry into the Sinhalese ritual of *Yakun-natima*, we must accept them as a kind of original sources, notwithstanding all their faults and shortcomings. On account of these defects we must bear in the mind that 1. it is not an accurate translation, but more or less approximate reproduction of the contents of the ballads; 2. that it was done by an European, whose interest in the subject was negative (as J. Callaway was a Christian missionary), who, may he master the Sinhalese language as well as possible, yet did not specialize in the peculiar dialect of the exorcists, and therefore misunderstood details which are quite plain, to a specialist even with a less thorough knowledge of Sinhalese; 3. that he has been assisted by an apparently half-caste, most probably also a Christian, who had the same attitude towards the ceremonies as the translator himself; that 4. we do not know the exact locality of the origin of the text, although it seems to me probable that it came from the southern part of Ceylon, perhaps from the locality around Matara. With all these reserves we can make it a link of our inquiry, especially since there are several clues of the ritualistic character in it which seldom are found in the Sinhalese ballads at hand. Therefore I consider it essential to give its contents, of course leaving out all unnecessary details.

The *Yakun-natanava* of Callaway's translation is a ballad of 93 stanzas according to Callaway's introduction composed in the usual Sinhalese quatrains of four lines each, not necessarily of the same length and the same meter, connected by the usual Sinhalese letter-rhyme. It begins with invocation of *Buddha Lovaduru* (st. 1) and of the Goddess *Pattini* (st. 2 & 3). Then the description of the origin (*upata*) of the Great Black God and his pursuits follows (st. 4—13). In the next ten stanzas (14—23) a ritual of offering to the Black Devil is introduced. It is, however, not clear from the text whether he is the same being as the above-mentioned God, or another. From the second sentence of st. 23 it seems, however, that he is another being. Then a Black Female Devil is invoked (st. 24—29), being, as it appears from the translation, identified, perhaps by a mistake of the translator, with the Black *Sami* (33—48). The following three stanzas (30—32) are an introduction to a ritual for *Mangra deviyo* who is described here as a bloodthirsty devil having permission (*varam*) to exercise his power from the god *Saman* (more correctly *Sumana*). It seems, however, that a confusion crept here into the translation, as the description of the "sanguinary devil"

(as he is called by Callaway) agrees more with that of *Riri-yaka* than of *Mangra deviyo*.¹ The mention of the *Mangra deviyo* in the stanza 33 belongs still to the introduction of the ritual which is in reality that of *Riri*.² It is quite clear from stanza 46, where he is said to have a face resembling a monkey's face, that is applicable only to *Riri*. In this ritual (st. 45) it is prescribed to make an image of the planets with a female figure of the deity mentioned. After this ritual a similar ritual of *Maha Sohon yaka*³ follows (st. 49—66) in which again making of a planetary figure is prescribed, and offerings to it are ordered. Stanza 66 connects this ritual with the next one, while *Oddi-yaka*⁴ is invited to the mentioned offerings. *Oddi* ritual continues up to the stanza 79. In the next stanzas (80—85) is described a ritual to the "Devil of the Victim" as he is called by the translator. That is evidently a misrepresentation of the Sinhalese original, as nowhere else such a being is mentioned. It is most probably the final offering to the deities invoked in the previous rituals, which is commonly known as *Yaksa-yagaya*, i. e. sacrifice to the *Yaksas*, (but not "Yaksa of the sacrifice", as the word seems to have been interpreted by the translator). If we interpret this part of the text in this only right way, we must necessarily add to it even the rest of the stanzas up to the end, viz. 86—93, in which — as far as can be discovered from the

1. *Mangra-deviyo*, properly to be written *Mamgara deviya*, is a benevolent deity of the *Gara* group, considered to be custodian of ways and paths. Therefore it is difficult to explain the connection of this being with the idea of a "bloodthirsty demon". More details about *Mamgara* can be found in my treatise about the obsolete Ceylonese gods *Gara* and *Giri* (Ceylonska bozstva *Gara* a *Giri*; in Czech). *Vestnik ceske akademie*, Prague 1912, pp. 28 ff.

2. *Riri-yaka* is a Sinhalese demon of bloodthirsty character, or perhaps rather a chief representant of a group of such demons. He is supposed to have several forms appearing in pairs, i. e. as demons and she-demons. The most popular idea is that even this demon like the *Sanni-yaka* has eighteen apparitions, *avataraya*, which are in a similar way invoked, except that their feminine counterparts are added. The name *Riri* is probably derived from the Indian name *Rudra* (supposing an intermediate form *Rudira* connected by folks-etymology with sk. *rudhira*, *blood*).

3. His name means "Great demon of Graveyards", *sohon* being the Sinhalese equivalent of Sk. *smasana*, graveyard. According to a Sinhalese tradition he is of Ceylonese origin, and his origin is connected with the story of the Ceylonese hero *Gotha-imbara*, mentioned already in *Mahavamsa* (Ch. 23), and told in detail in *Sahasavathu* (4), *Rasavahini* (VII, 6 & 7), *Saddharmalankaraya* (XIV, 5 & XV, 1) and other Sinhalese and Pali collections of popular stories. The idea of *avataras* is applied to this demon, too, but not with such a logical strictness as in the case of other demons, so that it easily can be inferred that the Indian idea of *avataras* is strange to this figure. Generally five apparitions of this demon are admitted, which in reality are no *avataras* in the Indian sense at all.

4. Commonly called *Oddi-kumaraya*, i. e. Orrissan prince, is an other name of a demon better known as *Huniyam devatava*, or *Huniyam yaka*, believed to have six different apparitions. He is in reality an abstraction derived from the Sinhalese belief in sorcery, *huniyama*.

misspelled names — the deities *Gara*, *Abhimana*,¹ and *Molangara*² are also invoked.

From the aforesaid the importance of the composition is quite clear, but it appears at the same time a great pity that it is not possible to restore the original meaning of its every passage with the help of the original text. It is also evident that only conjectures can be made about the greater part of the composition, and that it can be relied upon only where we have any other similar Sinhalese texts in original. There are such and they will be mentioned elsewhere.

The appended PRACTICES OF A CAPUA seems to be better translated, perhaps because the original was written in a plain modern Sinhalese, as it was current at the time when Callaway was living in Ceylon, without special technical expressions used by the exorcists. Its fault is, however, that the original itself despises the subject dealt with in it. It is written by a Buddhist, and as such it begins by invocation of Buddha, and strangely enough, accentuating belief in God, so that Christian influence can be suspected (st. 1 & 2). Then it is said, that demon ceremonies are resorted to from ignorance of Buddha's doctrine, especially in cases of sickness in young men or women. (St. 3 & 4). Next a pretended conversation between an Applicant and a *Kapuva* is reproduced in such a way as to expose the superstitious credulity of the people, and the cunning and deceit of the exorcist. During the conversation various kinds of demon service are described, as binding of a thread with knots to the head of the sick person (st. 8), dancing and sacrificing (19—31), etc. The enumeration of offerings is partially exaggerated, partially such things are named as to make the ceremony ridiculous. Information about functions mentioned in Sinhalese texts without reference to or description of their real mode of performance can nevertheless be gathered from this particular poem.

1. Called also *Ahimana* or *Abimana*, and supposed to be of Indian origin. From the name it can be inferred that originally he was a demon of pride and arrogance (Sk. *abhimana*). In Ceylon, however, he is considered to be a demon of short stature, or having short stumps of legs, and therefore called also *Kota*, of black colour, riding on a cat, and causing various diseases, which he also cures. In the ballads concerned he is described as the son of a king of *Kasi* (Benares) and an ascetic woman (*andi*).

2. It is a very obsolete deity whose character is very difficult to ascertain from the texts at hand. The only thing which is quite sure is that he is a deity who cures various diseases. To connect him with the pestle (*mola*, Sk. *musala*), as it is done by the Sinhalese folks-etymology of his name, seems to have no authority. Anyhow this deity was formerly one of the most important deities from the *Gara* group. Cf. my article *Ceylonska bozstva Gara a Giri* (Vestnik ceske Akademie, vol. XXI, Prague 1912; pp. 26 ff.).

Of much greater importance, of course, are the original Sinhalese texts for this kind of rituals; unfortunately I was able to find only one such complete ritualistic text, viz. the above-mentioned *Yakun-natanava* of the Colombo Museum Library, of which I possess a copy, through the kind arrangement of Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman copied by Mr. H. L. Caldera of his staff.

The MS of this text, which is kept in the Colombo Museum Library is also not the original, but only a copy, of course written in the ancient way on palm leaves. It has been copied in the year 1898 by order and under the supervision of the Archaeological Commissioner from a book obtained from the *Rayigam Korale* in the Kalutara district, as we learn from the subscription of the copy which runs: "*Kalutara palate Rayigam koralen labunu potakin pitapat kota varuse ekdas atasiya anu-ate desambra masa tis-ekveni dina liya-nimakarana lada. Yakun-natanava nimi.*" I. e. "The transcript made from a book obtained from the *Rayigam Korale* of the Kalutara District has been completed in writing on the 31st of December 1898. *Yakun-natanava* is completed".

The book in the present copy of the Colombo Museum Library consists of 88 palm leaves with various number of stanzas on each side, freely interspersed with *mantras*, salutations, ritual remarks, and subscriptions marking the parts of the text as well as of the ceremony. There are 859 stanzas altogether, most of them regular Sinhalese quatrains with the usual letter-rhyme. A number of the stanzas, however, are defective. There are stanzas of three, and even of two verses¹. There are several stanzas of three verses with, however, four rhyming letters, so that it is quite evident that there is a line missing². There are also several stanzas unrhymed with whole sentences or lines in a kind of corrupted Sanscrit or Pali which may possibly be considered as a kind of *mantra*, or quotation of unknown writings³. According to the opinion held and the classification of such corrupted stanzas, the above number of stanzas can be slightly modified, especially if we eliminate those unrhymed stanzas which are twenty in number.

About the age of the composition it is very difficult to judge, as it is at hand only in a single very recent copy, which perhaps does not

1. Of this kind are e. g. stanzas 278, 304, 333, 335, 336 and other.

2. E. g. st. 339, 336 & o.

3. St. 380, 385, 388, 393, 396, 399, 402, 405, 408, 411, 412, 417, 420, 423, 426, 429, 434, 492, 606, 607.

reproduce the original MS completely and exactly.¹ The only clue in estimating the age of the composition is its language, which is a mixture of the greatest possible number of the most various elements mixed together without any order or system. From this state of the language of the ballad it can be inferred that there is included in it a very old basic part of the ritual canto which has been changed when it has become partly or totally unintelligible to the man of a new generation, and supplemented according to the casual needs and wants of the exorcist, not provided for in the ritual by his predecessor. Of course, the present form of the ballad cannot be considered as of an earlier date than the first half of the nineteenth century. The most important argument for this opinion is the prevalence of the present colloquial form of the Sinhalese throughout the whole composition, while the ancient elements are restricted to passages of special importance or of obscure meaning so that it was difficult to change anything in it.

Not only by the number of stanzas, but also by its contents the present ritual differs rather considerably from that of Callaway's translation. Only the skeleton of each agrees apparently. Both of them begin with an *upata*, or description of the origin and pursuits of a demon, followed by a prayer or *yadina*; then in both the ceremony proper develops, of course different in details. The only difference of the skeleton is that in the Sinhalese text another *upata*, viz. *Sanni upata*, occurs at the end of the text (st. 794—859) which, however, is only very loosely connected with the rest of the ceremonial poem, so that it can be easily considered as a late addition. The detailed contents of the text is about this :

The ritual begins with *Abhimana upata* i. e. the Origin of *Abhimana yaka* (st. 1—45), who is here (st. 5) described as a son of *Guru-vata*, the king of *Kasi*, and a woman ascetic (*andi*).² For him is the present ritual intended (st. 39), because he has permission (*varam*) to exercise his power from the god *Narayana* to cause and cure sickness; he causes and cures innumerable, amazing diseases, and therefore he must be duly propitiated by offerings of cock's flesh, cocoanuts, flowers, betel, white rice, etc. Then a general prayer, *yadina* follows

1. There are passages where the original copyist seems not to have understood the original, or at least was unable to decipher the writing. The copyist who provided copy for me, reproduces such words and sentences with a such diplomatic correctness that there is no doubt about the form in the Colombo Museum MS.

2. Cf. p. 397 note 1. There is an *Abimana puvata*, i. e. A Story of *Abhimana* in the British Museum Library sub Or. 6615(51) in which he is supposed to be a son of a king of *Oddisa* and *Kavist* (?).

(st. 46—61), in which the origin of demon offerings (*dola*) is put up to the times of *Kuveni*¹. A number of demons is invoked, as e. g. the *Kalu kumara*², God *Sura*³, God *Saman*⁴, *Kalu yaka* and *Kalu yaksini*⁵. Most characteristic for this kind of ritualistic poetry is the stanza 60:

a t a a n u r o g a y a-----*n*
n a v a a n u v y a d h i y a-----*n*
d e t i s t u n a a n t a-----*r a*
d u r i n d u r a d u r u k a-----*r a*

(i. e. "ninety eight sicknesses, ninety nine diseases, thirty two to three dangers remove to the utmost distance").

After the prayer the ceremony proper called *vidiya pavadima*, giving in charge of the ceremonial place⁶ (st. 62—255) begins with worshipping the *Maha Kalu devata*⁷ who has permission (*varam*) to exercise his power from the *Riddi-deviya*.⁸ In a later stanza probably

1. According to *Mahavamso*, ch. VII a *yakkhini* and perhaps an aboriginal queen of *Lanka* (Ceylon), supposed to be a witch. After the arrival of prince *Vijaya* in *Lanka* she became his wife, to be rejected by him afterwards to make place for a *Pandu* princess from Southern India. She is believed to have become then a she-demon of great influence, as it is described in various Sinhalese poetical stories of her, known under the name of *Kuveni asna*.

2. His full name is *Kalu kumara devatava*, and he seems to be an aboriginal Ceylonese deity to which a great respect is payed by the Sinhalese up to present times. He is also considered not to be so savage and malevolent as other demons and devils believed in by the Sinhalese. Later his origin has been sought also in India like of the other demons, and his birth has been placed in different countries of India, and a theory of his various apparitions or *avatars* has been established. For more details cf. 18, pp. 28 f., and 7, p. 39 f.

3. A name derived from *Asura* by the false supposition that the initial *a* in that name is an *a-privativum*, and that the meaning of the word is non-god.

4. More correctly *Sumana deviya*, the god of Adam's Peak, one of the four guardian deities. Cf. Part 1, p. 128.

5. *Kalu yaka* according to the best Sinhalese tradition must be distinguished as different from the *Kalu kumara*, although L. D. Barnett (7, 39—41) supposes both to be identical with *Maha-kalu-devata*, admitting another *Kalu-yaka* as an associate of *Riri-yaka*. The best Sinhalese tradition asserts *Kalu-yaka* to be either son of king *Vijaya* and *Kuveni*, or a product of the ashes of the burned corpse of *Basmasura*, while *Kalu-kumara* is said to be the son of *Boksal*. Cf. 18, p. p. 27ff.

6. *Vidiya*, Sk. *vithi*, *vithika*, the original meaning of which is "r o a d", in the Ceylon demon-worship is "a space of enclosed paths surrounding the site of a ceremony" (7, p. 113). This space is consecrated and divided to various gods in a special ceremony, the *pavadima* (n. v. of *pava-denava*, to give in charge, *pava* being probably derived from Sk. *pavan*).

7. It is probably the same deity as invoked in stanzas 6—13 of Callaway's translation, as Great Black God and which must be distinguished from the *Kalu yaka*, invoked there as the Black Devil.

8. *Riddi*, or *Ridi*, seldom is considered as god of prosperity in the Sinhalese tradition. It is an abstract, derived from Sk. *rdhhi*, and appearing in the Sinhalese more frequently as *irdi*, supernatural power. Which deity is meant here it is difficult to say.

the same deity is invoked as *Kaluvan yaka*¹ having permission (*varam*) to exercise his power from the *Vessamuni* (st. 77 & 78). Further many other deities are invoked, and diseases caused by them mentioned. Also temples and shrines of these deities are enumerated, some of which can be located either in Ceylon or India while the others are now perfectly unknown localities, having perhaps never existed except in the mind of the composer of the ballad. Most of it (st. 105—169) is devoted to the *Riri yaka*², the bloodthirsty Sinhalese deity of many apparitions, which is much feared by the Sinhalese as the cause of various dangerous diseases. This part has the appearance of a special independent ritual. This ritual is followed by that for the *Sohon yaka*³ (st. 170—181) where especially his fight with the national hero

1. *Kaluvan-yaka*, demon unknown from any other text, and therefore difficult to identify.

2. Cf. p. 396 note 2. There is a number of ballads about *Riri-yaka* in the collection of the MSS in the British Museum which seem to be fragments of dancing rituals of *Riri-yaka* of similar kind. The most important ones are :

Riri-yaka-ge kavi-pota, Or. 6615 (176), containing 58 stanzas, the last one being a kind of colophon, in which the author is named as *Dingiri Banda*, a descendant of the family of *Virasuriya Vijesundara Vikkramasingha Tilakaratna* of *Alujjama* (perhaps *Alutgama*?) who were personal attendants of the king. The present copy was written in 1818 A. D. It is a kind of *upata*, in which origin of the demon is described, the description of his bodily appearance is given, and the offerings are suggested.

Ami-riri-yak-kavi, Or. 6615 (350), is a fragment of a ballad which originally contained according to Nevill's Catalogue of Ballads 36 stanzas, but now only nine of them and two odd verses remain. It is a ritual song in which one of the 18 *avatars* of *Riri-yaka* is worshipped.

Besides them there are several other ballads having character of ritualistic *upatas*, e. g. *Riri-yak-kavi* Or. 6615 (90), *Riri-yaksani-ge kavi* Or. 6615 (220), *Tanipola-Riri-kavi* Or. 6615(304), *Riri-yakun-ge kavi-pota* Or. 6615(491). There are mentioned in Nevill's Catalogue of Sinhalese Ballads several *Riri-kavis* more, of which the MSS however are lost at present.

Further there is one *Riri-yak-yadina*, sub Or. 6615(150) and Or. 6615(151) which is connected in the MS with a *Kalu-yak-pideniya*, i. e. a song recited during the building of an altar for the *Kalu-yaka*; and finally one *Riri-yak-vidiya*, Or. 6615(506), and *Riri-yaka-ge vidiya saha dola-dena kavi-pota*, undoubtedly for the purpose of being sung at the consecrating ceremony of the surroundings of the place of the sacrifice, and possibly at the moment of bringing the sacrifice itself.

Although the individual pieces of this poetry are from different localities, from different times, and composed by different persons, they seem to represent a ritual for *Riri-yaka* in its most important parts, and their mere occurrence among this kind of the Sinhalese literature corroborates my theory about *Yakun-natima* as a ritual for any of the Ceylonese *yakas* or demons.

3. Cf. p. 396, note 3. And also cf. 7, p. 55, s. v. Maha-sohona Yaka.

Gota-imbara is mentioned. Further there are stanzas for *Dala yaka* the tusked demon, for *Riddi deviya*, the god of prosperity, *Pattikara yaka*² a kind of demon of cattle-pens, etc. with many details of what is offered to the deity, on which kind of altar and in which way. The general name used here for this kind of offering is *puda*, i. e. the Sk. *pūja*. The *Vidiya pavadima* is concluded by a *mantra*, composed in a language which is a mixture of Sinhalese and corrupted Sanscrit, in which removal of the danger and general protection is prayed for. By this *mantra* a certain whole seems to be closed, either being the original whole ceremony, or a definitive part of the ritual with an independent aim, and perhaps independently used. For the next stanza (256) is a "*tun-sarana*", i. e. the Buddhist invoking of the three gems, introducing even in the demon rituals a new ceremonial, never occurring in the middle of a ceremony. Then a description of curing a dangerous sickness of king *Mahasammata's* queen³ follows (up to st. 321 incl.) which is concluded by the usual tantric blessing, used regularly at the end of Sinhalese magical texts or demon ceremonies, viz. *siddhir astu, subham astu, arogyam astu*. Therefore another part of the ceremony seems to be concluded here. On the next leaf (31, st. 322) follows a rather lengthy ritual, inscribed as *Bala-giri-ta dola-dena hatiya-yi*⁴. This form usually is a subscription, and really should belong to the previous part. But with regard to the fact that it is written on the beginning of a new leaf, it seems to belong not to the previous, but to the following ritualistic poem. This opinion is corroborated, too, by the first stanza of this ballad (st. 322),

1. *Dala-yaka*, explained as either a tusked demon, or as a rough demon, or a thick demon, is a deity much worshipped by the Sinhalese, but not clearly distinguished from other Sinhalese demons, so that it seems sometimes as if the name was originally used only as an attribute for any demon of any group. At least this deity appears in the *Gara*-group, among *Kadavaras*, and in the *Riri*-group as a demon not of the group but in some way connected with *Riri*. In the form *Dala-kumara* the name appears as one of the apparitions of *Kalu-kumara-devatava* (cf. 18 p. 28). There are a good many ballads for the worship of this deity, the most important mss of which are kept in the British Museum. They all bear a distinctly ritualistic character. Cf. also 7, pp. 16—18.

2. Very little is known about this deity, even the orthography of the name is not yet settled definitely. The name appears as *Pata-yaka, Pattikara-yaka, Patti-Gara, Patta-Gara*, and all these names seem to be only different forms of the same name. Cf. my article *Ceylonska bozstva Gara a Giri* (Vestnik Ceske Akademie, vol. XXI, 1912), p. 31.

3. It is a striking coincidence, that the sickness of the same queen is mentioned in the introduction of the *Kolam-natima* text. Cf. p. 229. For the story of king *Maha-sammata* cf. 7, pp. 53 f., s. h. v.

4. The meaning of the sentence is: "It is the method of bringing offerings to *Bala-giri*. *Bala-giri* is a deity of *Gara*-group having the habit of bewitching small children, who is invoked especially in the *Giriliyo-dolaha-pidavilla*, kept in the

the fourth verse of which runs: *bala-giri puda varen balala*¹, and the next mantra following that stanza, which is a kind of Sanscrit traduction of that verse, viz. *om hram hrim hrum bala-giri-yaksa idam balim grahantu svahah*. Even the description of different functions of this ritual shows that it is an independent ceremony, most probably at first in no connection with the *Yakun-natima*, in which it has been enclosed by mere chance, having been written in the same MS. The opinion is corroborated by the occurrence of a great number of *mantras*, even some of large extent, as they are used at the offering ceremonies to demons (*dola-dima*), and not at the *Yakun-natima* proper. It is evident also from many of the ritualistic remarks in the text, as e. g. *tindu kapanu* (cutting of the end), frequent use of salutations, etc. This ceremonial text continues up to the stanza 793 incl.

With the following stanza (794) begins another text which is inscribed as *Sanni-upata*². It is evidently also an independent text,

British Museum sub Or. 6615(331), and *Dolos giri-deviliya-ge puvata*, Or. 6615 (79). For details cf. my article *Ceylonska bozstva Gara a Giri*, etc. p. 33 f., note 85 & 86, and p. 35 and note 93.

1. It means: "*Bala-giri*, come to the offering, having seen it!"

2. There are several *Sanni-upatas* in Nevill's Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum Library, some of them bearing even the title *upata*, some of them being inscribed simply as *kavi*. The most important ones are:

Sanni-upata Or. 6615(458), a MS which seems to be a fragment from a larger ritual. There are 25 + 2 stanzas on four leaves marked *la — li*, and 26 stanzas on the leaves marked *na — na*, of which the first thirteen stanzas partially agree with the first stanzas of Or. 6615(459). In Nevill's Catalogue both these MSS are referred to as *Dan-udiya kathava*, which is the usual title of those ballads which describe events which happened before the great plague has befallen the city of *Visala*, and of which they were the cause. Cf. 7, p. 116, s. v. *Visala*.

Or. 6615(459) has 27 stanzas, and is of similar character.

Sanni-yak-kavi. Or. 6615(482) is a MS of 11 leaves according to the marking representing fragmentary remains of a much larger text, of which only two parts from the middle are preserved here (i. e. three leaves marked *ka, ka, ki*, and then five leaves all marked with the letter *ta* and distinguished by addition of small rings to the letter, and *tam, te, to*). The *ka-ki* group of leaves bears a special inscription *Kola-sanni-baliya*, i. e. Offering to the *Kala-Sanni*. The whole text bears a distinct ritualistic character, and undoubtedly it is a fragment of a complete *Sanni-yakun-natima*. Therefore it is a great pity that only these scanty fragments remained preserved at the present time. Nevill in his Catalogue describes it as a ballad of 60 stanzas, having been sung by the exorcist during the performance of a *dapima* (n. v. from *dapanava*, "to utter incantations").

Of a similar character is *Sanni-yak-dapanaya* Or. 6615 (481), containing 52 stanzas of no great poetical skill. It seems to be a rather recent composition as great stress is laid upon the invocation of different Buddhas.

All these texts contained in the MSS mentioned seem to be remains of a systematical ritual, a supposed *Sanni-yakun-natima* which, however, is unhappily lost at present as a complete whole. It is a typical example, of how Sinhalese tradition

as it can be inferred from the introductory stanza, which however, was used in *Yakun-natima*, but never as a concluding part. Therefore it seems to be inserted here as a text for a variant ceremony, and most probably is here to substitute the *Abhimana upata* in the beginning of the ceremony, when it is to be used for curing Sanni-diseases. On the whole, the whole text as it is at hand in the Colombo Museum Library MS seems to be a kind of missal for the *Yakun-natima* ceremonies, from which the exorcist selects, or formerly selected all parts which were necessary for the actual case. Therefore, compared with Callaway's translation this text appears more extensive: simply Callaway's translation represents an individual ceremony, the Colombo Museum Library MS a collection of ritualistic texts which have been used at various ceremonies by selection of an individual exorcist who was accustomed to perform this series of ceremonies. It cannot be said that this is the only possible collection of ceremonial texts for *Yakun-natima*, and that no others have ever existed. We have, however, no other similar MS accessible to our inquiries.

Notwithstanding this lack of complete MSS texts for various forms of the *Yakun-natima* ceremony, we must assume that there were also many other forms of this ceremony and other texts used at it than they are contained in the present texts at hand. I came, however, across a great number of rather short texts bearing the same character as other Sinhalese ritualistic texts, which in the present form could not represent independent ceremonies or rituals and are evidently only parts of more elaborate rituals or fragments of larger texts, possibly texts which are to be substituted in other rituals if used for a demon mentioned in the text. After careful investigation of a number of such ballads found in private hands in Ceylon, and after a thorough survey of such Sinhalese ballads as are in possession of the British Museum, I arrived at the opinion that, when we eliminate all such texts which are used as magic and charms, further all the texts for the well-known short demon ceremonies for various purposes, a number of ballads remain, which in the present form have no purpose at all. After a thorough study many of these texts have appeared as texts which could have

preserved from the old rites only that which was considered as having a practical value, while all the other details of ceremonies and texts to accompany them were thrown away as a useless ballast. The occurrence of such behaviour is a characteristic mark of the tertiary development of religious ideas, while the primary development adheres to every and each detail, and the secondary development tries to give reasons for every idea and action.

1. E. g. *Sirasapadaya, Dehi-Kapima, etc.*

been used in the *Yakun-natima* ritual. But we have nowhere any proof that they really were used for that purpose, and therefore it remains only a conjecture, although it is a most probable conjecture.

Of this kind are many *Upatas*, especially those kept in the collection of Sinhalese MSS in British Museum, *vidiyas*, *yadinas*, and perhaps many *puvatas* and even some of the *santiyas*. There is also a number of Sinhalese ritualistic ballads which are simply inscribed as "kavi" or "kavi-pota". A number of them are in reality ceremonial poems having the function of one or other of the above-mentioned forms, and receiving the present name only after having been isolated from the original complete ritual. To decide definitely which of them belong to the sphere of the *Yakun-natima* is very difficult, and perhaps it will be never possible, if we do not find a descriptive ritualistic text, where the individual parts of such a ceremony will be enumerated nominatim and seriatim. But still a considerable amount of inference is possible even with the present material, as it will be shown in the next paragraphs.¹

3. *The original ceremony.*

With still greater difficulties are we confronted, when we try to restore with more or less probability the original ceremony, as it was performed in times before it has become as corrupted as at present. The difficulty lays in the above-mentioned lack of any descriptive ritualistic text. Yet we must get an idea of the original ceremony from the texts at hand and from the present mode of its performance, in order to understand Sinhalese demon-worship at all.

From the existing ceremony we learn that a complete *Yakun-natima* consists of three parts, viz., 1. the introductory part comprising all preparations, including the building of an altar *pideniya* and a sacrificial shed *maduva*, making of a clay figure, and preparing and arranging of all the necessary dancing masks; 2. the dancing ceremony proper, as it was described in para. 1, connected with

1. Of this character are most of the above-mentioned ritualistic texts for the worship of *Riri-yaka* (cf. p. 401, note 1), and *Sanni-yaka* (cf. p. 403, note 1). Further there are similar ballads for the worship of almost all the demons who can be worshipped in this way, especially *Sohon-yaka*, *Huniyam-yaka*, *Oddi-kumara*, *Vadi-yaka*, *Kalu-kumara*, etc. Slightly different are the ritualistic ballads for the worship of the deities of the *Gara*-group. There is a number of ballads differing not so much in their contents as in their titles. Besides there is a number of ballads which undoubtedly were composed to accompany some other ceremonies, at present unknown to us in their details.

necessary offerings to the demons at the altar prepared; 3. concluding ceremony consisting of a kind of thanksgiving sacrifice to the demons.

Beside the present ceremony we have the text or texts which restored in the probable form consist of 1. an *upata*, a song describing the origin and pursuits of a demon, 2. a *yadina*, a prayer to demons, 3. a *vidiya pavadima*, sometimes simply called *vidiya* or *vidhiya*, 4. an exorcism accompanied by a ballad describing all the functions performed, and interspersed freely with *mantras*, salutations and ritualistic remarks, 5. a concluding prayer, not always occurring in the ritual text.

To conform both the lists of ceremonial functions and the ritualistic texts at hand is a rather difficult task, because we have no clue for it. The present ceremonies are performed with such rapid development that it would be impossible to follow all the incantations, songs and exorcisms of the exorcist even if they were pronounced in such a mode that they could be understood by the hearer. But they are recited in such a way, that even the Sinhalese are unable to understand more of them than isolated words, especially the names of demons and gods. It seemed to me that it is done purposely, either for the sake of keeping the songs secret, or what is more probable, that the exorcists now do not know the text at all, and only pretend to sing a ballad, while in the flow of unarticulated murmur here and there an intelligible word or a name of a demon or God can be grasped. This is the greatest difficulty in the whole problem. Therefore we must rely upon inference from the texts at hand.

The fact that the ritual begins with the *upata*, i. e. the origine of the demon suggests that the demon must be already known to the exorcist, and therefore one will be inclined to accept that the text is used only with the dancing ceremony proper, i. e. with part 2, as classed above. But against this opinion are such passages in the latter parts of the text where advice is given to make clay images (12, st. 45, 58, 60) or how to build an altar (Col. MS. 338 & o.). Further in both the texts at hand a number of demons is introduced as appearing one after the other, and the sicknesses caused and again cured by them are explained rather in length, especially in the Colombo MS. so that it suggests that it should be considered as a text for the introductory diagnostical ceremony, although it is in the middle or towards the text end of the concerned. Again, there are, especially in the Colombo MS., many ritualistic remarks, by which it is undoubtedly indicated at what moment stanzas concerned are to be sung. From these remarks one of the most

important is that after stanza 622: *itin natima-yi*, i. e. "after that there is dancing", then after the stanza 656; *sarasili nivadu-yi*, i. e. "cessation of decorations"; after stanza 774: *kilapama-yi*, i. e. "there is show of the play" (which is to be accompanied by the following stanzas where it is occasionally mentioned); and after the stanza 788: *e kande nivadu-yi*, i. e. "there is a rest in this section".

From these remarks it could be inferred, that the dancing commences after the stanza 622 and comes to a rest after the stanza 788. That would be, however, quite incorrect, because we must bear in the mind the fact that the present text is not an uniform composition, but rather a garland of texts selected by an exorcist according to his needs and liking without regard to their uniformity and perfection and perhaps even their sequence. Therefore, if there are little or no ritualistic remarks in the first part of the text up to the stanza 622, we cannot suppose that during the singing of these six hundred stanzas and more nothing was done at all, no functions performed, and no display shown. Even if those passages were used for the preparatory ceremony, we cannot suppose that no ritualistic performances were accompanied by them. Notwithstanding that we have in the text itself allusions enough to be convinced of the existence of such performances even when we cannot discover of which kind they were.

The first two parts, viz, the *upata* and *yadina* do not require necessarily the accompaniment of dancing, although they do not exclude the possibility of such an accompaniment. The third part, *vldiya pavadima*, which describes sacrifices to various deities, directly requires such an accompaniment, even if it is nowhere mentioned, notwithstanding the fact that this very part of the text seems to be the *Yakun-natanava* proper: we have here all possible diseases enumerated according to their originators, and for each of them there is a proper sacrifice and proper incantation. From that what is known as *Yakun-natima* at present it must be supposed, that this is the real accompanying text sung by the exorcist, who takes various masks on his face which agree with the demon named in the part sung by him at the moment. Only in such connection can many exhortations and invitations occurring in the text be understood because they require the presence of the demon, which is represented by the dancer with the mask, supposed to be the true appearance of the demon concerned.

Notwithstanding these facts, it is known that with the exorcising the *Sanni-yaka* texts are used, which resemble the *upatas*, even when they do not bear this title. Further at those ceremonies which I have had the opportunity to witness, the building of the *maduva* and of the

ceremonial altar *pideniya* was only a matter of handicraft, being accompanied by no ceremonies at all, at least by no visible ceremonies. A kind of consecration has been performed during that "diagnos-tical" part of the ceremony, at which no discernible song was sung, drumming and inarticulate yells having been the sole accompaniment.

As the most essential part of the ceremony remains that performance at which the exorcist becomes possessed by the exorcised demon. That is the proper "demon dancing" in the real sense of the word, when the dancing is increased into frenzy, until the demon enters the exorcist, sometimes even some of the accompanying dancers, and even some of the onlookers. We must suppose that that performance is the real *Yakun-natima*, and that it was ever thus. Strangely enough there is, however, no reference to such a possession by the demon in any of the texts at hand, either in the stanzas, nor in the accompanying ritualistic comments. But it would be wrong to suppose that the absence of any such allusion means that it did not exist, or even was not common during the ceremony in the past.

Moreover, it is quite natural that the possession by the demon is not mentioned in the text, and it would surprise if it did. The state of possession by the demon is a kind of trance, which cannot be brought forth at the will of the exorcist at a fixed moment, but it is the result of the prolonged influence of the dancing, singing and other suggestive performances working on the nerves of the man, and it is effected at that moment, when the influences reach its utmost height. It is possible, and it happens quite frequently, that the state of possession is not reached by the exorcist at all. Of course, such cases are considered at present as the sign either of an error in the preparation of the ceremony, or of the inability of the exorcist. And again, the possession by the demon can happen at any moment of the ceremony, no special text or melody being required. Thus must have been the case with possession always, even in the classical times of demon-worship in Ceylon.

Such a scene of the exorcist's trance or possession by a demon seems to be depicted on fol. 1 of the British Museum MS. Or. 5067, which in a naive manner represents an exorcism. It is inscribed *pena-kiyanava*, meaning "to speak under the inspiration of a demon". This interesting picture is reproduced on plate XLI.¹

1. MS. Or. 5067 consists of four paper leaves, in size 19 × 14 3/8 in., with a picture of the size 16 1/2 × 13 in. on each of them. To the first three pictures an English explanatory text is added. The MS is dated Colombo, Ceylon May 20, 1825, and bears a remark "Drawn by a Native Boy". The British Museum bought it of W. G. C. Stewart on July 16, 1896. The English text is perhaps added by the

After such detailed comparison of the existing ceremony with the extant text, it appears that no essential differences exist between the present ceremony and its original form, even when a few details have been lost during the time and eventually substituted by some others newly invented. The skeleton form of the ceremony seems to have remained unchanged. It appears that always there was an elaborate preparatory ceremony at which no dances were performed and only functions of manual character were performed in the same way as at present. It remains, however, quite uncertain whether the "diagnostical" part was originally a separate ceremony, a kind of a quasi introduction, or an indivisible component of the ceremony proper. This question never will be solved as there is no clue either in the texts or in the present ceremony. Moreover on the evidence of the texts at hand the second possibility seems more probable, and perhaps the "diagnostical" dance was repeated during the whole ceremony as many times as it seemed necessary to the exorcist. The allusions to the taking of different masks and the appearance of new demons mentioned in the text may refer to it, but we have no reliable proof that the opinion is correct. We have, however, no idea what was the original form of the ceremony, and we shall never succeed in discovering it. We can only assume that it was perhaps similar to the present demon dancing, but we cannot ascertain how many details were lost in times past. We have, however, many reasons to admit that the present ceremony is only a collection of poor remnants of an original elaborate ritual. One of the most important reasons for this opinion is that all the present texts have decidedly the character of mere fragments. And at the same time there are texts relating to the most divergent groups of demon, and not only those which are now commonly considered as those invoked at *Yakun-natima*, which bear the same character as texts for the *Yakun-natima* ceremony.

Englishman in whose possession the ms. passed or by whom it was ordered. The text of the first picture runs: "An account of knavish mummy of Prediction called by the Sinhalese Penakiyanawa. A place being prepared as in this picture the kappuwa begins at midnight, and by shouting, running, dancing — blowing the shell, yelling and exciting himself by every possible means becomes at last quite frantic, his appearance is then more friendlike than human, and at last he sinks into a state of complete exhaustion, his whole frame is agitated and trembling — and the deluded wretches who enquire of this ... (here one word illegible)... oracle suppose he is then inspired by the devil and the wild unconnected jargon, he at intervals utters, is carefully remembered by the enquirer as his in-evocable fate."

From the picture it can be seen that the ceremony existed and was the same as now at times more than one hundred years ago. From the fact it can be inferred, that the demon ceremonies change very little and very slowly.

From these reasons it seems that originally *Yakun-natima* was a general ritual for diverting evil influences of demons from men and their property, and that it could have been applied to any demon or to any group of demons. All those special ceremonies which exist at present or have existed in times not too remote from the present, as e. g. dancing ceremonies for *Gara-yaka*, *Kohomba-yaka*, *Sanni-yaka*, are only adaptations or individual applications of the common, uniform ritual. Even the present name of the ceremony, viz. *Yakun-natima* corroborates this opinion, as it describes it as a dancing ceremony for *yakas*, but does not say for which individual *yaka* or group of *yakas*. Therefore we can, I think, consider with great probability, all those ceremonies which are here and there mentioned as *Gara-yakun-natima*, *Sanni-yakun-natima*, *Kohomba-yakun-natima* etc. as only special cases of the same general ritual. Whether any other demon ceremonies which are not explicitly named as *natima*, and which of them belonged into the sphere of the *Yakun-natima*, cannot be ascertained any more, and it is useless to engage in vain conjectures.

4. Masks used at the *Yakun-natima*.

According to the present custom at the *Yakun-natima* performances which are intended as exorcisms of disease-demons, masks are always used. They are both exhibited in the *maduva* and worn on the faces of the performer or performers. I never have seen masks used at the agricultural dancing ceremonies, especially during the exorcizing of the *Kohomba-yakas*, and I never came across a mask representing a *Kohomba-yaka*, or supposed to have been used at the ceremony¹. There are also never used any masks at the house-warming dancing ceremonies and at the ceremonial dances which sometimes accompany religious performances of the Buddhists at their sacred places, and especially those performed in the temples (*devalaya*) of gods either hinduistic or aboriginal Ceylonese. These facts must be borne in the mind from the very beginning of our dealing with the subject.

1. Even texts relating to the *Kohomba-yakas* are very rare. I know only one *Kosamba-upata* which seems to be only the remains of an old *Kohomba-yaka* ritual. The deity is, however, frequently, mentioned in texts relating to other demons and gods, especially those of *Kadavara* group. The most exhaustive account about ceremonies relating to this group of deities is in Hugh Nevill's article RELICS OF ANCIENT RELIGIONS IN CEYLON: THE KOHOMBA YAKAS, AND RICE CUSTOMS, in the *Tarobanian*, A Dravidian Journal of Oriental Studies in and around Ceylon, etc., edited by Hugh Nevill, Bombay 1885-6, vol. I, pp. 93-96, 114-117, 136-146, 167-175. Cf. also articles by H. C. P. Bell, SINHALESE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIALS CONNECTED WITH PADDY CULTIVATION IN THE LOW-COUNTRY, in the *JCBRAS*, vol. VIII, pp. 44-93 (Colombo 1866), and PADDY CULTIVATION CEREMONIES IN THE FOUR KORALE KEGALLA DISTRICT, vol. XI, pp. 17-21 (Colombo 1889).

First the stock of masks other than those for *Kolam-natima* must be surveyed. There is a great mass of this kind of masks, most of which are rather inconspicuous and small and bear the marks of use, so that it is undoubtedly proved that they have been worn at the ceremonies concerned. A great majority of these masks are known according to the tradition as those of *Sanni-yakas*¹. Only a comparatively small number of this kind of masks are without names and marked only with the names of the diseases which they are supposed to cure. Many even of these are masks of *Sanni* demons causing and curing the diseases concerned. There are frequent collections of eighteen such masks of *Sanni* demons adjusted to a frame with a figure of *Maha-kolasanni-yaka* (cf. Part II, p. 213, and Pl. XLIII) known generally as *Daha-ata-yaksaya*, i.e. the eighteenfold demon. Then there is a small number of masks which cannot be grouped in either of the categories, most of them approaching in their shape those of the *Kolam-natima* group. (Cf. Plate XLVII, fig. 2). To this category belong especially the majority of *Gara-yaka* masks (cf. Pl. XLV, XLVI, & XLVII, fig. 1.) although even a few *Sanni-yaka* masks are of the same kind. From the present use of these masks it must be inferred that they all are for use in the *Yakun-natima* ceremony. For farther inquiries it is necessary to arrange this material according to a system based on the ritual itself.

It must be acknowledged that far the largest group is the group of *Sanni-yaka* masks. The use of the smaller of this group is quite clear and fixed by the usage preserved in the present exorcistic ceremonies of *Yakun-natima*, which are now mostly resorted to in the cases of the so-called *Sanni* diseases. The idea of *Sanni* diseases caused by the disorder of three humours is taken over by the Sinhalese from India, and mixed with the pure Ceylonese idea of demons as a cause of diseases.² That the Sinhalese are aware of the Indian origin of this belief, appears from the tradition according to which the origin of the *Sanni* demons is connected with the plague in *Visala* referred to in the commentary of

1. There is a great number of *Sanni-yaka* masks in British Museum, in Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen, and in other collections. It can be said that besides the *Kolam-natima* masks the *Sanni-yaka* masks are the most frequent in European museums. I do not deal with the *Sanni-yaka* masks here in detail, as they have been dealt with already by prof. Dr. A. Grunwedel (19), and more detailed inquiry into the matter would require much space that cannot be afforded to it by this Journal. Therefore I beg to refer to Grunwedel's work about those details relating the *Sanni-yaka* masks, which are here missing.

2. Cf. 19, pp. 86—88.

the *Ratanasutta*, being the eighth part of the *Paritta* text¹. Various diseases of this kind are considered as caused by a number of demons, generally eighteen, which are, however, supposed to be only different apparitions, *avatarayas*, of one and the same demon, viz. the *Maha-kola-sanni-yaka*², an idea undoubtedly influenced by the Indian theory of *avatars* of gods. The number eighteen most probably is a result of combinations of the three humours concerned in the arising of different *Sannis*, but it is very difficult to decide in which way these combinations are built up. Moreover, there is even no uniformity in the lists of diseases and demons, as they appear in different texts for the ceremony and books on them. The result of this lack of uniformity in the idea of the *Sanni* demons and *Sanni* diseases is that there are about forty or still more demons considered by the Sinhalese as apparitions of the *Maha-kola-sanni-yaka*, and about the same number of *Sanni* diseases. It is quite evident that the same number of masks exists as *Sanni* masks, and that the different collective masks of *Daha-ata-yaksaya* from different localities and from different times do not agree each with the other in details of the masks affixed. I cannot go in more detail into this subject, as I intend to deal with it separately, after collecting more specimens of this species of masks, and at the present state of investigation I refer to Prof. Dr. A. Grunwedel's treatise on the subject (19) to be referred to as the most exhaustive and most informative at present.

Of course Prof. Grunwedel nowhere discusses the question in which way these large structures of what can be called collective masks were used. It is a fact that now they are never used as masks, but only for exhibition during the performance, although even in this function only very seldom, generally being substituted by other kinds of images especially those clay images as they are used at *bali-arinava*. The shape and art of the holding of the hands of the image suggests that it was

1. Identical with *Khuddaka-patho* 6, and *Sutta-nipato* II, 1. The complete text of the Pali commentary is contained in the MS. Pali 217 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. There is also a Sinhalese edition of this Commentary *Saraththa samuccaya nama catubhanavarathakatha*, Colombo 1902, where the part concerned appears on pp. 102—131. There is also a free Sinhalese translation, perhaps of another commentary on *Paritta*, at hand as a printed book, viz. *Saraththadipani namvu satara banavara sannaya* (Alutgama, Saddharmaparakasa Press, 1915). Commentary on the *Ratana-sutta* appears here on pp. 34—50, and seems to be independent from the above mentioned Pali commentary, which, however, seems to be quoted in it on places. Although both are identical in substance, they differ in a number of details. Incomplete MSS of both the commentaries are frequent as well in European libraries as in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodge. A number of fragments in Cambogean characters are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

2. Cf. 18 pp. 24—26.

made to accept offerings laid down upon them (cf. Pl. XLIV). As the lower part of the whole is a real mask as fit for wear as any other mask (cf. Pl. XLIII.) it seems probable that formerly the whole was used as a mask and at some or other performance was worn by the exorcist on his face. That it is possible to wear such a heavy mask on the face can be seen from the fact that the devil-dancers of the Tuluvas, viz. the *Nalke* and *Parava*, wear at their ceremonies much heavier and clumsy masks and headdresses than these¹. But in no text or even in no ritualistic remarks in the texts of ceremonial ballads this use of the whole of such a collection of masks is mentioned. Moreover from the arrangement of the *Daha-ata-sanni-yaksaya* it seems more probable that the purpose of the structure was to hold those masks which were necessary for the performance, and that one after the other was taken down from it by the exorcist who took it on his face, perhaps even in the diagnostic part of the ceremony, and performed the individual dance with it on his face. It would happen, but only exceptionally, when the gradation of the dance reached its utmost height, that even the whole structure was taken by the exorcist to challenge all the eighteen *Sanni* demons at once. Of course it is a mere conjecture as it is, as far as my experience reaches, no longer done in this fashion. But only if we admit such a use of the structure we can understand why there are two groups of nine masks each on both sides of the central figure of the grand demon, and why beneath his feet there is a perfect mask of the same demon cut in such a way as to enable it to be fixed to the face and danced with.

At present the small masks are fixed to the structure so that they cannot be taken down, and instead other masks a little bigger than those on the structure, but of the same shape and the same colour are used by the exorcist, and the exhibited structure with the eighteen masks seems to be the image to be worshipped during the ceremony and a quasi mnemotechnical aid for the performer at the same time, although the exorcists do not admit this second purpose of the structure. Very seldom, however, are these large structures used now. At most of the dances for propitiating the *Sanni* demons I have ever witnessed during my stay in Ceylon no such structure was employed, but only a clay image of one or the other demon and few masks of *Sanni* demons, and I doubt whether in a single case there were all the eighteen masks of the eighteen apparitions of the *Sanni* demon.

1. Cf : *CASTES AND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN INDIA* by E. Thurson, and K. Rangachari. Madras 1909. Vol. V, picture facing pp. 143 and 145, and vol. VI, picture facing pp. 139 and 141. Of course these structures are only of very light material.

Moreover it seems very often, when we witness such a ceremony performed, that the text of the ballad recited at the occasion is the only directive for the exorcist which mask to use. And therefore he takes masks even of such demons which are mentioned in the ballad only passim, or even as the rivals of the demon invoked at the moment. In this way sometimes situations arise which were impossible in the original ritual. And I believe that the present corrupted state of demon dancing, especially that of *Sanni-yakun-natima*, cannot help us in the reconstruction of the original use of the masks at it. Therefore also my opinion must remain only a conjecture however probable.

A still more difficult question is that of the *Gara-yakun-natima* and the use of masks of the *Gara-yaka*, as these rituals are now perfectly obsolete, and we have no information about them, except a few ballads, perhaps used originally at those ceremonies.¹ But they are no complete rituals, only poor fragments, with no ritualistic notes, and with no clue regarding the use of masks. We have, however, a rather large number of masks known as masks of *Gara-yaka* in European as well as in Oriental museums and even in private collections. All the masks known as *Gara-yaka* masks are not of the same type, and many of them are expressly marked as masks used at the *Kolam-natima*.² We cannot at the present state of investigation say whether such marking of the masks is a mistake or not, and whether the differentiation of the several types of *Gara* masks is derived from being used either at the *Yakun-natima* or *Kolam-natima*, or simply from their different local or chronological descent.

From the *Kolam-natima* text, however, we know, that in that ceremony *Gara-yaka* and gods of his group actually appear, and therefore their masks must have been provided for the said ceremony. We know also that there was a *Gara-yakun-natima*, for the purpose of curing diseases caused by that demon and his allies. But we cannot say whether the same mask was used for both the performances or for each of them a mask of another type. The characteristics of the *Gara-yaka* as represented on the majority of masks are a black or dark green face with an half open mouth, red lips and nostrils, with big white teeth and two big tusks turned either down or upwards,

1. Information about the *Gara* deities and the Sinhalese ritualistic ballads concerning them can be found in my article CEYLONSKA BOZSTVA GARA A GIRI (Vestník Ceske Akademie, XXI, 1912) and in the English abstract from it in Acts du IV^e congrès international d'histoire des religions, Leiden 1913, pp. 886 ff.

2. Cf. Plate XXVI, fig. 2. Similarly the mask on Plate XLVII fig. 2 can be explained both as belonging in the sphere of *Kolam-natima* as well as of *Gara-yakun-natima*.

sometimes in the shape of a S. Further characteristics are the red protruding tongue, large protruding eyes (cf. p. 51), a mark (*tilaka*) on the root of the nose, large lotus shaped ear-ornaments (cf. p. 52) and three cobras with spread hoods as a head-dress. All these details are essential for a mask to be admitted as being a *Gara-yaka* mask, although additional elements do not exclude a mask from being considered as a *Gara-yaka* mask. The differences of the various types are rather insignificant, although sometimes such masks on account of them are classified even by the Sinhalese experts in groups of other demons.

The first type of *Gara-yaka* masks are those most common ones, viz masks with downwards turned tusks as they are represented on Plate XLV. fig. 1 & 2. The mask in my possession is immovable, only the ear-ornaments being detachable, while the mask of the National Museum has a moveable lower jaw, fixed to the mask proper by means of little pieces of cord.

The second type are masks with tusks turned upwards, sometimes in the S shape as it is shown on the Plate XLVI, fig. 1 & 2. It is a striking fact that masks of this type frequently are denied by the Sinhalese exorcists to be *Gara-yaka* masks, and various other names are given to them. Thus the mask on Plate XLVI., fig. 1., which is kept in the National Museum in Copenhagen is marked there as that of *Maru-Sanniya* although this is decidedly wrong, as is evident on comparison with a real mask of *Maru-Sanniya*, as e. g. that of the British Museum, reproduced on Plate XLVII., fig. 3 & 4. Even this type occurs with moveable or immovable lower jaw which easily can be discerned even on the reproduction of the masks. The masks of Copenhagen (Plate XLVI fig. 1) and of the British Museum (Plate XLVI fig. 2) are with moveable jaw, while the mask from the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg (Plate XLVII fig. 1) is with immovable jaw. The third type is that resembling the devil masks of *Kolamnatima*. It is represented, as far as I know, by a single specimen in the National Museum in Copenhagen, viz. that reproduced on Plate XLVII fig. 2. It is very difficult to decide whether the information on which the denomination of this mask as a *Garayaka* mask is based, is right or wrong. Masks of similar shape are classified in Umlauf's catalogue as *Naga-rassaya*, and almost identical with the mask reproduced here is the mask of *Naga-rassaya* reproduced on Plate XXV from the collection of the Museum für Volkerkunde, Hamburg. I doubt whether this kind of masks can be at all grouped among the *Gara-yaka* masks. I fear that the absence of lotus-shaped ear-ornaments is decisive against it. A *Gara* mask is undoubtedly that repro-

duced on Plate XXVI as figure 2, and described as *Naga-Gara*, as there are all those necessary elements of a *Gara* mask, to which only few additional cobras in head-dress and round the ear-ornaments are added. Perhaps even figure 1 on the same Plate can be classified among *Gara* masks in spite of its being marked as *Naga-rassaya*. The vulgar form *rassaya* instead of the more correct form *rakusa* or the *tatsama* form *raksasaya* shows that the information is derived from an uneducated person, and that it is only approximative, based on the mere appearance of the mask. I mean that the *Naga-rassaya* is not to be explained as a special name of devil represented by the mask, but simply a general reply to a question something like "that's a kind of serpent devil".

Regarding the use of the *Gara* masks it seems probable that only the masks of the third type were used at the *Kolam-natima*, all the other being among the paraphernalia of an exorcist. The existing differences of both the types are either local or personal; at least it is most improbable that there was any difference in their use.

Besides the *Gara* masks there are also complete images of *Gara-yaka*, resembling in their workmanship those of *Maha-Kola-Sanni-yaka* except for the characteristics particular to the *Gara-yaka*. One of these images is in the Ethnographic collection of the *Naturhistoriska Riksmuseum* in Stockholm, which is published in Umlauf's catalogue as No. 316. It is a wooden image of black colour, having a crown of blue and black coloured cobras on the head, and possessing large lotus-shaped ear-ornaments. The whole appearance resembles that of ordinary *Gara* masks. The image is fixed on the top of a red demon-mask with large ear-ornaments of the same kind as that of *Maha-Kola-Sanni-yaksaya*. Men are represented as sitting at his feet, either as victims or as suppliants. One figure of a red man is represented as embracing the demon's chest, hanging with his head downwards on the belly of the demon. The image is about 68 in. (170 cm) high and 24 in. (60 cm) broad. It was probably used instead of the now prescribed clay image in the sacrificial shed (*maduva*). Perhaps similar wooden images were originally employed at every *Yakun-natima* and masks were hung round the image on a kind of suitable frame. In this way perhaps developed such structures as the above-mentioned *Daha-ata-yaksaya*, but only at those ceremonies where a rather large number of masks was used, and where all details could develop on account of the frequent occurrence of the ceremonies. Therefore, perhaps, we have such structures for *Sanni* demons, but not

for the *Gara* and other demons, although even the *Gara* deities were many in number and represented a separate pantheon like that of the *Sanni* demons.

An idea of the use of *Gara* masks can be gained from Plate XLII a drawing by a Sinhalese, in which *Gara-yakun-natima* is represented. It is quite clear from it that it is identical with any *Yakun-natima*, only it seems that it has been performed on a special platform, perhaps a kind of a primitive stage.

The existence of similar ceremonies, at which masks of the demons concerned were used, must be assumed for every group of Ceylonese demons and deities who were believed to cause diseases and other results of bad fortune, and again able to remove them, even if no masks representing these deities can be found now. But the mask is not the only means used in Ceylon to express the presence of a demon. Even the dress and ornaments were used for this purpose, sometimes only to supplement the mask, sometimes to substitute it, as e.g. at the dancing ceremonies in honour of *Kohomba-yakas*. If we take in consideration the dancing ceremonies of *Vaddas* we can admit that it was possible that *Yakun-natima* in honour of any deity could have been performed in special cases without using any mask, if only the illusion of the presence of the demons was evoked in the performer and in the people present so as to effect the final aim, viz. the possession by the demon.

1. It is the reproduction of the fol. 3 of Or. 5067 of the British Museum for details of which cf. p. 123, note 1. The English text added to the picture runs: "The form of supplicating the Devil for help, or to deprecate his wrath — chiefly used to induce him to spare them from sickness called by the Singhalese Garayakun-natanawa or Dance in the develish dress. — A stage being prepared as in the picture the performers begin at Sunset, and continue without intermission till Sunrise, the principal performer on the stage holds a torch of three lights in one hand, and a white Coconut leaf in other — the object to be attained is to Cajole the devil, who is considered the author of every calamity; by the most hideous exhibition of dancing — shrieks beating of Tomtoms — etc. etc. — Everything frightful to us is considered as graceful in his sight, the dancer's object therefore is to exhibit the most horrible antics — at Sunrise the ceremony ends, but if the suppliant is very ill or any public calamity has happened it is continued for several successive nights, till such time as they think the Devil ought in all conscience to be appeased — the offerings consisting of cloth & money are carried off by the dancers who are considered the Devils priests."

By that it is not only proved that at the beginning of the XIX century the *Gara-yakun-natima* was probably a regular ceremony, but we learn from it that it was, except for a few details, almost identical with any other *Yakun-natima*.

CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding four parts I have tried to collect as much material about the Sinhalese dancing ceremonies as is possible at present, to classify the material, and to reconstruct their various forms, which have become obsolete in the course of time. I have included even such phenomena which do not belong to the group or are at least doubtful, as e.g. the *Kala-gedi-natum* which however must be definitely eliminated, in order not to be included in the group on account of their name. Notwithstanding, I am quite aware that the material is not complete, but I hope I have not omitted anything of any importance. It is not possible to reach perfection in this regard, as the accessible material is of such vast extent, and scattered over the whole world, so that it is beyond the powers of a single man to collect it and work it up, and beyond the possibilities of a Journal to publish the results. But at the same time it is useless to quote or even to reproduce all the ritualistic ballads, as the different varieties seldom offer anything new and of any special importance. Therefore it is necessary to make a selection of text to be referred to, so as not to make the inquiry unclear and difficult of reference. I tried my best, and the readers will be my judges, whether I succeeded or not. I must only add, that in drawing conclusions from the preceding chapters, I have borne in my mind even such texts which were not referred to, and it can happen that my opinion is influenced by such purposely omitted Sinhalese texts, although I have tried my best to avoid this.

If we survey the forms of dancing ceremonies of the Sinhalese and Vaddas in all their variants caused by time, or local or tribal differences, we can see that, notwithstanding the great variety of details and the varied modes of performance, they are all founded on a common basis which is the uniform mentality and identical ideology of the people performing these dancing ceremonies, although they belong to different tribal, social and even religious communities. There is also the memory of a uniform ancient religious catena under all these rituals which is, however, perfectly forgotten by the present performers and changed in such a manner that nothing from it can be restored, and sometimes not even guessed at. Each and every ritual, and even each ceremony, is product of its time, sometimes of a momentous inspiration of an individual, always new, although they bear the marks of the influences of age. These are, however the typical characteristics of tertiary religious phenomena of any race or any country. They are identical everywhere in respect of this individuality, personal as well as local, but they have the special racial and local hue, upon which react even the slightest tribal differences of the worshippers. From the similarities in the performances, and their differences, nothing can be inferred at all,

except the undoubted fact that they are result of the same mentality, of the same frame of mind, and of the same mental inclinations. They cannot be therefore traced back into the remote past, as they are inseparable from the living tradition, and die out with it. Therefore it is difficult to restore any of the ceremonies which have become already obsolete, and it is extremely difficult to infer from the present forms of any such ritual what was the shape of the same two or three generations ago, even if we possess ballads, songs, ritualistic remarks, etc. relative to it. And therefore it is extremely important to codify from these rituals as much as possible, before they disappear under the crust of the variegated influences of European civilisation and culture. This is the result of a general comparison of the entire yield of the inquiry into Ceylonese dancing ceremonies performed in order to worship demons and aboriginal deities. In particular there is a number of small problems which are important in order to get a clear idea of the religious ideology of the Sinhalese and they must be solved individually. The results of inquiries prepared in the foregoing chapters will be given in the following paragraphs.

There is a striking fact that there are among the Sinhalese two similar dancing ceremonies, both with an evident demon character, which are, however, considered by the Sinhalese as entirely different and unconnected with each other. They are the *Kolam-natima* and the *Yakun-natima*, or if their dancing character is supposed as obvious, simply *kolama* and *yakuma*, which are in reality the only proper termini technic for the basic elements of the rituals. The difference seems originally not to have been radical, and something can be inferred from the meaning of the names: *kolama* is simply mask ceremony, *yakuma* a demon ceremony. It means that, for the *kolama* the use of masks is essential, for the *yakuma* the worship of demons. In the form we know the *kolama* from texts and the present mode of performance, we can declare it for a staging of human and supernatural beings for the purpose of distraction and of removing in this way such mental disorders in the human mind as are believed by the Sinhalese to be result of natural causes, in special cases to remove the unnatural longing, *dola-duk*, of a pregnant woman. The *yakuma*, however is a demon ceremony..... having among the Sinhalese always the form of an exorcism, while not always among the Vaddas, as it has been already explained in the chapters concerned. The purpose of the *yakuma* must have been to enable a communication with the demons and other deities

believed in and in this way to ascertain their will and their commands. Therefore it was always a kind of divination, while the exorcism was the secondary component of the ceremony. Among the Vaddas that original character prevails up to present, and their *yakuma* is prevalently divination. Of course this character of their *yakuma* results from its purpose which is in the most cases especially to ascertain the presence of the game for the hunter. Among the Sinhalese living the settled village life, however, the *yakuma* is only the means to keep off the evil influence of the demons, either from man and domestic animals whose diseases are caused by it, or from the fields, crops, and houses, where every loss and damage is believed to be caused by a demon. Therefore among the Sinhalese the *yakuma* is an exorcism arranged for the purpose of driving the bad demons away, or to propitiate the angry or offended deities who are usually not believed to be inauspicious towards the human beings. The divination in the *yakuma* is among the Sinhalese only of a subordinate character, being the preparatory rite for the purpose of ascertaining by which demon the evil concerned in the individual case was caused.

Perfectly separate stand the religious plays, *keliya*, even when at times dance is a part of them; and they have nothing to do with either *kolama* or *yakuma*. The typical example of such a religious play with dance is the *kala-gedi-natum* described.

The most important problem of the Sinhalese dancing ceremonies is the use of masks. The use of masks is involved in the name of *kolama* which is the masked ceremony in the fullest sense of the word. Therefore *kolama* cannot be imagined without using masks. Not such an organic element is the mask in *yakuma*. The exorcism can be effected without using any mask, and we know that even among the Sinhalese it frequently does. Vaddas do not use any masks at all, get easily into a state of frenzy and trance, so that it cannot be supposed that the use of masks is a condition of the exorcist becoming possessed by the demon, as sometimes has been explained either by Europeans or by the Sinhalese. The use of masks in the *yakuma* seems to be only of a subsidiary character, and probably developed under the influence of the *kolama*, to add to the *yakuma* dances more splendour and impressiveness, and perhaps to make them more popular. This opinion is supported by the fact that there are a number of demons which are never represented by masks at any *yakuma*. It is striking to know that all such demons which are invoked without the use of masks, are now

more or less obsolete deities whose mere names survive in a number of ceremonies without being known by the people and even by the exorcist in their original character and domain.

The influence of the *kolama* on the *yakuma* can be also guessed from the forms of the masks. There are masks which can easily be attributed to one or other kind of demon ceremonies. Although the mask used at *yakuma* seems to have been much simpler and smaller than the *kolama* mask, in the course of time it approached the forms and dimensions of *kolama* masks, where the splendour and grandeur are original. In turn the *kolama* has been influenced by the *yakuma* in the mode of use of the masks. There is no doubt that at the *kolam-natima* originally all the usual masks were worn by the performers as a decoration for their faces, what dimensions and weight they may have had. At *Yakun-natima* it was necessary, after the introduction of the use of masks to have a number of masks at hand in order to seize the right mask at the right moment, so as not to lose the auspicious occasion; therefore the masks were exhibited at the ceremonial shed probably in the same manner as is done up to now, and sometimes special structures bearing masks of various apparitions of the same demon were constructed, and eventually worn for the short time by the performer. Under this influence even at the *Kolama-natima* the masks, especially those of larger sizes, began to be exhibited on the place of performance, and appropriate texts have been composed to explain this peculiarity. The influence of *yakuma* on the *kolama* increased to the extent, that now even in the *kolam-natima* ceremonies it frequently happens that one or other of the performers falls in frenzy similar to the state of the exorcist of the *Yakun-natima*, a phenomenon which is surely not original in the category of *kolama*. But *kolama-natima* is never danced without masks, only smaller and lighter kinds of masks are substituted instead of the large and heavy masks which are at the same time exhibited. The necessity of masking at the *kolam-natima* goes so far that even the musicians, i.e. the tom-tom beaters (*beravaya*) wear them, the only unmasked person being the interpreter (*tora-turu-katha-karaya*), although probably even he was masked formerly while, to-day he is only dressed in festive garments of the usual Sinhalese design.

Another very important problem of the Sinhalese dancing ceremonies is the use of fixed texts as accompaniment of the ceremony, or even the existence of real rituals which would provide for every eventuality. I have discussed this matter in the foregoing chapters in some extent so as to be able to suppose an amount of knowledge of the present position in the readers. It is a fact that there is a large number of manuscript-texts, poetical and in prose, which once undoubtedly

were used as accompanying songs, incantations, spells, etc. at some or other dancing ceremony. There are even collections of such texts, as they were already mentioned, e.g. for the *kolam-natima*, *Yakun-natima*, etc., sometimes of a great extent. But we have no descriptive texts or commentaries from which we might learn what was the place of these ballads and mantras in the original ceremonies. We also do not know anything about the origin of such texts, whether they were the property of exorcists and other performers, perhaps kept for ages in their families, or simply notes made by individuals to support their memory, who either overheard a song and noted it down, or composed it or got it communicated by somebody. The most probable is the first origin of these MSS, viz. that they are family books of exorcists and sorcerers, representing a tradition of several generations, although it can seldom be expanded for a greater space of time than two centuries. But it seems to be not the only mode of handing down of such texts. There is a number of MSS which are undoubtedly rough notes, surely not intended as a "book". When we consider the great amount of such MSS, and realize the fact that the text evidently intended for the same ceremony and for the same deity exists in hundreds of variants which hardly can be reduced to the original common source, except the plot of the story itself, we are at loss to understand the possibility of such considerable differences, as the island is not big enough or sufficiently populated, and the time of development of these texts is also not extensive enough for us to suppose that all these differences are local variants and forms caused by the influence of too ancient tradition. On the contrary most of the differences seem to be of individual character, especially we are sure of it when we know several MSS of the same kind of ritualistic song that are from the same locality and from approximately the same time as frequently happens.

After a thorough survey of a large number of MSS of this kind, I have arrived at the opinion that it is most probable that originally there were no ritualistic manuals for demon ceremonies of any kind, and for dancing ceremonies especially, as is at present still the case among the Vaddas, whose songs, mantras, incantations etc. at their dancing ceremonies are all pure improvisations, of course based on the tradition, but tinted with individuality. Most of the MSS of the ceremonial texts originated as personal notes, the causes of their being written down having rather various. But in the times when many of the demon ceremonies began to become obsolete, they were sought for, and perhaps collected in books. At that time perhaps some individuals tried to restore the original rituals, and in this way new ritualistic collections of ballads sprung up from the old, half-forgotten songs and spells. Some of such

collections became afterwards "family books" of exorcists or sorcerers and were forthwith used at the ceremonies appropriate texts being selected for the individual occasion. Therefore we find Sinhalese MSS where texts for any occasion, for any demon, or for any ceremony used to be performed in a locality are contained, sometimes absolutely heterogeneous pieces which never could have been parts of one and the same ritual being mixed together. Therefore nothing can be inferred from the simultaneous occurrence of text in such MSS which are collections of ritual songs, spells and ballads.

The preceding results can help us in solving the most important problem, which has been suggested by many students of the Sinhalese folk-religion, but never brought to a probable conclusion, viz. the problem of the original aboriginal religion of Ceylon. The references to *Kuveni* and *yakkhas* in *Mahavamso* were utilised for it, but with no effect. In a similar way Sinhalese demon worship and dancing ceremonies were studied, but with no avail. Always there is a missing link which cannot be substituted by anything known from Sinhalese history or tradition. Bearing in mind the preceding result of our inquiry, we shall easily understand his failure to trace the religion of the original Ceylonese aborigines. We know about those aborigines nothing except a few remarks in the Ceylonese chronics which may but also may not be right. It is therefore a too bold supposition that we shall be able to penetrate in that dark past into a province of human activity which has extremely vague laws of development, and where foreign influence works wonders, as is in the province of religion.

From what has been said about the origin of the dancing ceremonies of the Sinhalese and about our knowledge of their past forms and their development, it can be seen that even here our knowledge does not reach further than a few centuries back. We have no certainty about the continuity of the present ceremonies, except that they are based on a mentality which is the product of the mind of a people during a development of centuries from an aboriginal, now absolutely unknown foundation, under the joint working of innumerable influences, of which some are known, but still more are unknown.

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Printed at Tisara Press by K. Hemachandra, for Tisara Prakasakayo,
137, Dutugemunu Street, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka.

