Pandith Amaradeva, A Sri Lankan Icon: His Life, Music and the Sinhalese Cultural Revival

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Pandith Amaradeva, A Sri Lankan Icon: His Life, Music and the Sinhalese Cultural Revival

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This dissertation centres on the career and music of Sinhalese cultural icon, Pandith W. D. Amaradeva. More specifically, it investigates the widely held claim that Amaradeva had an unparalleled impact upon Sri Lankan music and culture. The investigation involves historical research, primary data collection including interviews, and musicological and song text analysis. It is hypothesised that one of the reasons for the persistence of this claim has to do with the socio-historical context in which Amaradeva emerged as a creative musician. An examination of the development of Sinhalese nationalism indicates that colonialism created an environment for the emergence of an Anglicised elite class who became the cultural gatekeepers of the island but grew increasingly distant from endogenous culture and heritage. While the Sri Lankan Buddhist revival of the mid-nineteenth century brought about a cultural re-awakening, endogenous music remained in the shadows. While there was some interest in researching endogenous music during the early twentieth century, early popular songs drew mainly from exogenous sources. From 1906 to 1930 popular songs were derived from North Indian ragas and theatre melodies, and after the 1930s from Indian film tunes. Pandith Amaradeva was arguably the most influential musician in forging a new genre of Sinhalese song in the 1940s called *sarala gee* ("light songs") that drew on endogenous folk traditions and was considered an authentic form of expression by Sinhalese bourgeoisie nationalists. It is argued that Amaradeva was the most historically significant of musicians who forged *sarala gee* not only because of his prolificacy, but because his compositions were more closely attuned to the sentiments of the Buddhist revival, the subsequent movements that embraced nativist linguistic affiliations, and the nostalgia for a perceived idyllic pre-colonial past. It will also be argued that through a cosmopolitan approach to composition that included a carefully proportioned combination of South Asian and Western musical elements, Amaradeva found favour with the influential nationalists and simultaneously touched the lives of the broader Sinhalese population.

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Abstract

This dissertation centres on the career and music of Sinhalese cultural icon, Pandith W. D. Amaradeva. More specifically, it investigates the widely held claim that Amaradeva had an unparalleled impact upon Sri Lankan music and culture. The investigation involves historical research, primary data collection including interviews, and musicological and song text analysis. It is hypothesised that one of the reasons for the persistence of this claim has to do with the socio-historical context in which Amaradeva emerged as a creative musician. An examination of the development of Sinhalese nationalism indicates that colonialism created an environment for the emergence of an Anglicised elite class who became the cultural gatekeepers of the island but grew increasingly distant from endogenous culture and heritage. While the Sri Lankan Buddhist revival of the mid-nineteenth century brought about a cultural re-awakening, endogenous music remained in the shadows. While there was some interest in researching endogenous music during the early twentieth century, early popular songs drew mainly from exogenous sources. From 1906 to 1930 popular songs were derived from North Indian ragas and theatre melodies, and after the 1930s from Indian film tunes. Pandith Amaradeva was arguably the most influential musician in forging a new genre of Sinhalese song in the 1940s called *sarala gee* ("light songs") that drew on endogenous folk traditions and was considered an authentic form of expression by Sinhalese bourgeoisie nationalists. It is argued that Amaradeva was the most historically significant of musicians who forged *sarala gee* not only because of his prolificacy, but because his compositions were more closely attuned to the sentiments of the Buddhist revival, the subsequent movements that embraced nativist linguistic affiliations, and the nostalgia for a perceived idyllic pre-colonial past. It will also be argued that through a cosmopolitan approach to composition that included a carefully proportioned

combination of South Asian and Western musical elements, Amaradeva found favour with the influential nationalists and simultaneously touched the lives of the broader Sinhalese population.

Foreword

A note on orthography

Several orthographic rules have been followed when transliterating non-English words in this thesis. Diacritics have been used for both Sinhalese, Sanskrit and Pali words, as well as Hindustani classical music terms (including names of ragas). A chart outlining the use of Sinhalese-English diacritics can be found in Appendix G. Diacritics have not been used for names, places and words commonly transliterated into English (such as raga in Hindi and *gee* in Sinhalese). In the two examples just given, raga is a well-known term and is therefore unitalicised, while *gee* is a lesser-known term and is therefore italicised. Both versions of terms in the glossary are given where necessary.

Pluralisation in Sinhalese words has been written as it is in English, in order to conform to academic precedents. For instance, the traditional descriptive song and dance form *vannam* is a plural word in Sinhala but is used as a singular word in English while the plural is written as *vannams*. The word *gee* ("songs") is one of the exceptions, as it is never written plurally as *gees* in English.

Since Sinhalese vowels are not transliterated according to strict orthographic rules in common spelling, Sinhalese names have been spelled according to each individual person's own spelling of their name, or the most common spelling of that name where an English transliteration was not available. Names in elements of Hindu mythology that have been incorporated into Sinhalese culture have been spelled according to the common orthographic rules for spelling Sinhalese names. These rules mostly affect the dental "d" and "t" consonants. The former is written as "d" in Hindi and Sinhalese transliterations, while the "t" is written as a "th" only in Sinhalese transliterations. Names of Sinhalese artistic works such as songs and films have been written in diacritics. If the diacritical transliteration differs significantly from the

common spelling (for instance, *Raṯnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* commonly written as *Rathnadeepa Janma Bhoomi*), the common spelling has been given parenthetically with other information such as the date of release. Diacritics have been omitted in Hindi, Tamil and Bengali songs, films and album names.

All translations of poetry and song lyrics in the body of the dissertation and in Appendix F are by the author. A two-line format has been used for these short translations (as well as Translation 1 in Appendix E), where an English transliteration of the Sinhala text appears with an idiomatic English translation underneath. All translations in Appendix E were written collaboratively by the author and Piyasoma Medis (former media director and cultural expert) unless otherwise specified. Translations 2–30 are presented in a 3-line format where the first line is an English transliteration of the original Sinhala lyrics, the second is a literal translation lined up with the Sinhalese words above, and the last line is an idiomatic translation. Names and places are written using common spelling in the first and third lines, while diacritics are used in the second line of the literal translation to denote the pronunciation.

A note on the Style Guide

The layout and referencing system chosen for this thesis is the American Psychology Association (APA) 6th edition style. Formatting exceptions were made to achieve consistency with the non-English words in tables, figures, examples and reference list items. It should be noted that all television programs cited have been accessed from YouTube posts. The APA style has a distinctive method for citing online multimedia. In the case of YouTube content, the person who utters a cited quote is not referenced as the author. Instead, they are mentioned in the lead-up to the quote, and the YouTube screenname is cited as the author where the author's actual name is not available. A similar method is used for interviews published in the interviewer's name.

It should also be noted that the APA guidelines stipulate that the screen name should be written exactly as it appears online, including the same capitalisation or lack thereof. This rule has been followed except where all caps was used, for accessibility reasons.

To my father Aruna Jayasuriya,

who created and nurtured

my love of Sri Lankan music

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This project would not have been possible without my uncle Mr. S. H. Sarath, the eminent artist who introduced me to a great number of musicians in Sri Lanka. I would also like to thank my uncle Mr. Lalith Jayasuriya and our driver and chaperone Mr. Mangala Peiris for their assistance with this as well. I greatly appreciate the many musicians and writers who took time out of their busy schedules to speak to me regarding my research. They include Mrs. Wimala, Mr. Ranjana and Mrs. Subhani Amaradeva, Dr. Dayarathna Ranatunga, Dr. Bridget Halpe, Mr. Edwin Ariyadasa, Mr. Edward Jayakody, Professor Kolithabanu Dissanayaka, Mr. Navarathna Gamage, Mr. Rohana Weerasinghe, Mrs. Amitha Wedisinghe, Professor K. N. O. Dharmadasa, Mr. Lakshman Wijesekara, Mr. Rathna Sri Wijesinghe, Professor Sanath and Mrs Malkanthi Nandasiri, Mr. Ivor Dennis, Mr. Sena Diwulwawa and Mr. Mahesh Denipitiya. Thank

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Lastly, I'd like to thank Pandith Amaradeva for his music, and for inviting me into his home. I never had the privilege of attending one of his concerts, but I was fortunate to hear him sing during that visit. He was an inspiration to several musicians, was cherished by many Sri Lankans and, to those ex-pats such as my parents, was a haunting reminder of their birthland.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On the 5th of November 2016, a state funeral was held in Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka, for a nationally venerated figure. The day before, a large procession of celebrities, government personnel and admirers from the general public dressed in the white garb of mourning followed a small casket driven from a funeral parlour in Borella to Independence Square in Cinnamon Gardens. The public were invited to pay their respects and many returned the following day to attend the funeral from outside the Square, while invitees gathered within. Invitees included family, close friends, celebrities in the arts field, religious figures, government officials and selected members of the army, navy and air force. This was only the sixth funeral held at the august location since Sri Lanka's Independence from British Colonial rule in 1948. The first four funerals were held for renowned politicians and the fifth for an eminent Buddhist monk. This, the sixth funeral, was held for an individual whose stature was characterised by many epithets amongst the majority Sinhalese ethnic group, including: *jāṯiyē vasṯuva* ("treasure of our people"), "icon of Sri Lanka," "soul of the nation," "voice of the nation" and, most notably, Helē Maha Gāndharvayānan ("Great Maestro of the Sinhalese").[1] As these epithets imply, this funeral was not for a political or religious leader but for an artist, a musician who lived a singularly influential and productive life. His name is Wannakuwatta Waduge Don Amaradeva, better known as Pandith Amaradeva.

President Maithripala Sirisena expressed his condolences upon hearing of Amaradeva's death and congratulated him for uncovering Sri Lanka's "indigenous

[1] While Kumara (2015) translated the Sinhala word "Gāndharvayānan" as "Maestro," The Hindi word, "Gāndharva," from which It was derived refers to skilled singers of Indian classical music or divine beings in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

character" and enriching its local music in an unprecedented manner. Similar sentiments about Amaradeva's iconic status were pronounced previously in books (Edwin Ariyadasa in Abesundara, Palihapitiya, & Hettiarachchi, 2003, p. 182; Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 45), in newspaper articles (David, 2007; Mandawala, 2002), and in a conferral speech for the honorary award of Doctor of Letters (Dharmadasa, 1998). The widespread television coverage after Amaradeva's death also began with reverential iterations of his contribution and standing within the nation.

Pandith Amaradeva was the last and arguably the most influential of three particular musicians, the other two being Ananda Samarakoon and Sunil Santha, who forged a new genre of Sinhalese popular song in the 1940s called *sarala gee* ("light songs").[2] *Sarala gee* originated in the years leading up to Sri Lanka's Independence from British colonial rule. It drew on both endogenous folk traditions as well as exogenous influences and was considered to be an authentic form of expression by Sinhalese bourgeoisie nationalists. Amaradeva was the most historically significant of the three primary musicians who forged *sarala gee* not only because of his prolificacy, but because his compositions were more attuned to the sentiments of the Buddhist revival, the subsequent movements that embraced nativist linguistic affiliations, the recovery of a perceived idyllic precolonial past and ultimately a pervasive atavistic

[2] It is difficult to distinguish between the interchangeable terms "Sinhala" and "Sinhalese" and the broader term "Sri Lankan," and defining these terms will therefore not be attempted in this study. This is because all things that are Sinhalese are technically Sri Lankan, but they are not necessarily relatable to Sri Lankans who are not of the Sinhalese ethnic group. Unravelling these terms warrants a study of its own, wherein the knowledge of the Sinhalese language in non-Sinhalese communities is assessed, and the extent to which non-Sinhalese people engage with cultural phenomena in the Sinhalese language (such as music, novels, television shows and movies) is determined. For instance, it will become evident throughout this dissertation that most Sri Lankans know and appreciate Amaradeva's music, regardless of ethnic group. Yet, the extent to which they identify this music as being "Sri Lankan" and relevant to their national identity the way Sinhalese people do could not be determined in this study. Therefore, I have decided to use the term "Sri Lankan" when discussing broader concepts such as "Sri Lankan music" and "Sri Lankan history," but have used the term "Sinhalese" when referring to specific phenomena such as "Sinhalese popular music" and "Sinhalese nationalism."

nationalism. At the same time, Amaradeva's cosmopolitan approach to composition, which included a carefully proportioned combination of endogenous, South Asian and Western musical elements, found favour with influential nationalists and simultaneously touched the lives of the broader Sri Lankan population.

1.1 Aims and Argument

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the foundations for the heightened sentiments and esteem attributed to Amaradeva by a country where music was historically considered the "Cinderella of the arts," as unworthy of a place in educational institutions and high culture (Surya Sena, 2008, pp. XIV, 62). In so doing, I will consider Amaradeva's *sarala gee* ("light songs") contribution within the context of Sri Lanka's postcolonial cultural development and, necessarily, in relation to the evolution of other genres of Sinhala popular music. I will achieve this by conducting musicological analyses of selected *sarala gee* from discernible periods of Amaradeva's career and contextualising the analytical findings within the historical contingencies that shaped Sri Lankan culture and the development of other Sinhala popular music genres. This approach demonstrates the nationalist underpinnings of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* at the same time revealing cosmopolitan and hybrid inclinations towards musical composition and production.

I argue that one of the reasons for the persistent claims about Amaradeva's incomparable role in Sri Lanka's cultural life over many decades has a lot to do with the sociohistorical and political context in which he emerged as a creative musician. A historical account will reveal a series of particular sociocultural conditions that likely provided the environment for the inception of *sarala gee*, the genre he was most known for working in. For instance, Amaradeva is said to have fulfilled a duty to his country by reviving traditional music and values through his *sarala gee* (see Herath &

Abesundara, 2012). But why was this revival significant or even necessary? Firstly, an analysis of the development of Sinhalese nationalism demonstrates that colonialism created an environment for the emergence of an Anglicised elite class who became the cultural gatekeepers of the island but who grew increasingly distant from endogenous culture and heritage. Secondly, the Sri Lankan Buddhist revival of the mid-nineteenth century brought about a cultural re-awakening that gained in strength into the twentieth century. Thirdly, interest in endogenous music, in particular village-based music, remained largely dormant at the beginning of the twentieth century and academic interest was not reflected in the production of contemporaneous Sinhala music and popular song from 1906–1930 which drew directly upon North Indian ragas and theatre melodies and Indian film tunes. The development of *sarala gee* in the mid-1940s signalled a reversal of this situation and the genre was patronised by the State following independence in 1948 in part because it reflected the government's language and rural development policies.

While the existing literature on Amaradeva comprises descriptive information regarding his life and work, it tends to lack critical commentary as well as ethnographic detail and musicological substance. I aim to fill such gaps and probe the many claims that centre on his unparalleled impact upon twentieth-century Sri Lankan music and culture, and by extension his place in the development of Sinhalese nationalism in the arts. The investigation will involve historical research, primary data collection, ethnography, interviews, musicological analysis of selected works, and close readings of song lyrics. While Amaradeva worked in a variety of musical genres in addition to *sarala gee*, such as *chitrapati gee* ("film songs") and *natya gee* ("stage drama songs"), the scope of this study and the necessity for exploring historical data requires a sharp focus on *sarala gee*. For *sarala gee* is a particularly significant genre of Sinhala music

in that it was the first popular genre to be based primarily on original music compositions and to receive state patronage.

1.2 Literature review

The motivation for the current investigation partly stems from the lack of musicological, ethnographic and ideological consideration of Amaradeva's extensive output of Sinhalese songs, specifically *sarala gee.* Some examination of *sarala gee* in a postcolonial context has been conducted in English academic publications (Donaldson, 2001; Field, 2014a, 2014b, 2015, 2017; Sykes, 2011; Toshio, 2008). However, it has not been studied as extensively as other Sinhalese genres in particular *baila* dance music which was examined in dissertations by Sheeran (1997) and de Mel (2006). I believe that a close study of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* will bridge this gap, drawing closer attention to the relationship between musical-stylistic features of Sinhalese popular music and the historical and ideological context in which it has been produced. Though ethnographic and musicological studies of Amaradeva's works are few in the literature, his compositions, popularity, and contribution to Sinhalese culture are alluded to in many of the above-mentioned publications, as well as in several other journal articles (Lekamlage & Tharupathi, 2013, pp. 6–7, 49; A. Pieris, 2010, p. 340; Robinson, 1988, p. 70; Heraliwala L. Seneviratne & Wickermeratne, 1980, p. 740; Sugunasiri, 1992, p. 67). These publications demonstrate that Amaradeva's name seldom goes unmentioned in general discussions of twentieth-century Sri Lankan culture and music and that he is a significant figure in these spheres. Journal articles that deal specifically with his *sarala gee* include a paper by Marasinghe and Richter (1987), mostly containing a few song translations mislabelled as "folk songs," and a paper by Field (2015) containing some lyric and rhythmic analysis of literary devices, poetic metre and musical rhythm within their sociopolitical context. Amaradeva's 1967 International Music Symposium

conference paper (see Ranatunga, 2013b, pp. 73–87) provides a brief history of Sinhalese music followed by some insight into his compositional approaches within a range of genres.

Musicological discussions of Amaradeva's compositional output, albeit limited in scope, have also been published in more popular forms of media. For instance Dharmadasa (2008) provides a nominal description of the rhythmic and metrical features of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* in an online article published on the BBC Sinhala website. Newspaper articles, too numerous to mention here, contain general biographical references to Amaradeva as well as references to his concerts, film music compositions and his birthday celebrations. The most informative articles containing biographical details and musical output include (Andradi, 2015), David (2007), Devapriya (2014), Mandawala (2002) and K. Perera (2016).[3] Similar content can be found in an anthology of English newspaper articles by journalist Ranatunga (2013b) as well as a transcript of Amaradeva's aforementioned conference speech. However, web and print media articles are generally hagiographic, with only two providing critical accounts of Amaradeva's music (Abeysekere, 1978; K. Perera, 2016).

Several multi-authored books in Sinhalese (also containing a few English articles) reference his cultural significance for Sri Lankans and the majority of them consist of short articles and transcripts of speeches about Amaradeva by various authors (Abesundara et al., 2003; Amaradeva Foundation, 2011; Herath & Abesundara, 2012). These books contain several articles that provide overviews of Amaradeva's contributions to the specific areas of popular song, film, ballet and theatre. In the most comprehensive book (Herath & Abesundara, 2012), some authors such as Tissa Kariyawasam and Henry Jayasena recount their memories of Amaradeva, while others

[3] See the reference list for all newspaper articles cited.

such as Sunil Ariyarathna and Gamini Fonseka pay homage to him through poetic odes. Other articles in these books reference Amaradeva's biographical details, his knowledge and use of traditional music and literature, his musical practices as well as the social, cultural and religious themes found in his songs in particular romantic love and Buddhist philosophy. Amaradeva has also written and co-authored two books, *Nāḏasiṭṭam* ("Tone Colours") (1989) and *Gee Rasa Muvaraḏa* ("The Sweet Taste of Song") (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017) which were out of print until recently and provide important glimpses into his compositional approach and the musical sources that inspired him.

The most detailed source to date, written in Sinhalese, is a comprehensive biography which also intends to be a critical study (Kumara, 2015). Nonetheless, this source also tends towards hagiography and contains the author's subjective and sometimes personal dissatisfaction with Sri Lankan politics and current state of Sinhala music. Further, the Kumara biography was published a year before Amaradeva's death and therefore does not contain details of Amaradeva's funeral or the posthumous reception of his works which will be considered in this dissertation. Nevertheless, Kumara's study provides exhaustive and valuable research on Amaradeva's life and career. It also contains an introductory chapter outlining the history of music in Sri Lanka, as well as the contributions of the two other pioneers of twentieth-century Sinhala popular music, namely, Ananda Samarakoon and Sunil Santha. And finally, it provides a list of songs complete with dates, lyricists, composers, singers, and production source. It was, however, written for a Sinhala audience and therefore lacks ethnographic details on the aspects of Sri Lankan culture that Amaradeva participated in, drew upon, and contributed to throughout his life and in his artistic endeavours. It was written for a Sinhalese audience, and one that has an extensive knowledge of the

formal language.[4] My present study relies heavily on the biographical details found in Kumara's publication. However, it aims to augment this knowledge by providing ethnographic contexts and musicological descriptions of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* that are grounded in a historiography of Sinhalese society, culture and popular music.

1.3 Methodology

Amaradeva clearly possessed a prodigious talent. However, as I argue above, a closer understanding of the impact of Amaradeva's talent and the extent and significance of his contribution to Sri Lankan culture warrant an examination of the sociopolitical circumstances in which he emerged as a creative musician. To put it another way, his singular talent notwithstanding, he was in the right place at the right time. He also possessed the sensibility, and perhaps the political acumen, to respond in musically compelling ways to the shifting and evolving Sinhala identity that coursed its way through the twentieth century. In developing my argument, I draw on Amaradeva's biography, Sri Lanka's cultural history, classifications and descriptions of Sinhala popular music genres, and the findings from my comparative musical analysis of selected compositions.

The historical overview of Sinhalese nationalism that I have composed from the secondary sources noted above firstly helps to map out the cultural landscape of Sri Lanka before colonialism and ascertain how certain sectors of Sinhalese society, to all appearances, had lost touch with their culture during the colonial period. Secondly, the historical overview is useful in identifying the sociological changes and successive cultural revivals that came about; and it illustrates how Sinhalese nationalism became a hegemonising force in the twentieth century. Secondary sources will also be used to

[4] See Chapter 2.4 for a description of the Sinhala language.

identify the societal perceptions of certain musical forms during these periods of time. These forms include folk music, theatre music, imitated songs and *sarala* gee.

A comparative examination of Sinhalese popular music genres will be revealed by way of a classification. My chosen classificatory method is relatively unconventional in musicological research as it challenges the binarism of conventional taxonomic classification. Sri Lankan culture has developed along cosmopolitan lines due to the coexistence of Sinhala and Tamil populations in premodern times, the successive rule of three colonial powers, and its historical role as an entrepôt that attracted various immigrants and traders from South Asia and the near regions, as well as those travelling from Europe to the Asia-Pacific via the Suez Canal over recent centuries (Broeze, 2013, p. 205). The level of cross-fertilisation owing to such circumstances resulted in various cultural entities, such as music genres, overlapping, intersecting and evolving over time. *Sarala gee*, though patronised by the Sri Lankan State, is no exception. To deal with these complexities, I have adopted the rhizomatic model of classification conceived by Deleuze and Guattari in their second treatise on critical theory: *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987, pp. 5–25). While taxonomies follow branching tree-root structures, the rhizomic model follows the root structures of plants such as bamboo which have multiple lateral connections. Thus, rhizomatic classifications are visual maps that accommodate representations of the multiple interconnections between musical genres as well as the changeability of musical characteristics through time.

While most genres of Sri Lankan music have identifiable characteristics, composers have distinctive approaches and styles. The biographical exploration is approached through the notion of a "topical life document", which will serve to understand Amaradeva's output of *sarala gee*. As opposed to the approach of "comprehensive life document" as exemplified by Kumara (2015), the topical life

document approach presumes that "the full flow of a life is not necessary [rather] the [topical life] document is used to throw light upon a particular topic or issue" (Plummer, 2001) pertinent to a particular aspect or moment in an individual's life. I will therefore focus on Amaradeva's musical development, the people and ideologies that shaped his compositional practice, career highlights and the veneration he received. As previously noted in the literature review, much work has already been done in documenting Amaradeva's life as it happened, albeit in a hagiographic manner. This posthumous study will draw upon and complement existing biographical narratives.

Moreover, part of this study's original research contribution lies in its in-depth musicological investigation of *sarala gee* vis-à-vis Amaradeva's life and times, and his quest to find a "Sri Lankan identity and the indigenous character" (Maithripala Sirisena, as cited in K. Perera, 2016). The investigation of Sirisena's claim has been informed by a comparative analysis model from Savage and Brown (2013). Three analytical constructs have been adapted from this model, namely, "human history," which pays particular attention to sociopolitical and cultural context, "classification" of the *sarala gee* genre and its various species, and "cultural evolution" which pays particular attention to the influence and positioning of exogenous sources. Cook (1994) suggests that "the basic technique for making [cross-cultural] comparisons is to choose some quantifiable characteristic which you believe to be significant for musical style." I have selected several criteria pertinent to musical style, including language, form, vocal technique, modality, rhythm, instrumentation and musical setting.

Summary schematisations of all data from the comparative analysis may be found in Appendix F while selected, key comparative data will fuel the discussion within the main body of the dissertation. Comparative data will include original transcriptions in Western music notation, and complete or partial translations of all

selected songs may be found in Appendix E. I have chosen to use standard Western music notation methods to represent particular, identifiable elements in the sound recordings; clearly there are shortcomings to these methods, but they nevertheless serve the immediate purposes here. Recordings of Amaradeva's songs were collected from Sri Lankan music stores, my father Aruna Jayasuriya's extensive CD collection, online databases, and social media websites such as YouTube. Close analytical listening to a selection of archival recordings was also done at the Sri Lankan Broadcasting Corporation in Colombo. In some cases, Amaradeva did very different remakes of some productions several decades after the originals were released. These recordings will be used where a period recording is not available to illustrate the evolution of his style and approach and the contexts in which they occur.

1.4 Chapter Outline

While musicological analysis is the main method of enquiry in the investigation of Amaradeva's music, a historical framework and particular details will first be presented in order to contextualise the comparative data. In Chapter 2, for example, I will briefly explore the Sinhalese "origin myth" which shaped nationalist discourses of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and provide a glimpse into precolonial Sinhalese society. I will then describe the sociopolitical effects of British colonisation and the religious, linguistic and atavistic movements that sought to remodel Sinhalese culture. Chapter 3 will explore various cultural perceptions towards music in Sri Lanka and detail the role of music within Sinhalese nationalism. Chapter 4 will begin with an investigation into various definitions of Sinhalese music followed by descriptions of existing classifications. I will then detail the eight genres of Sinhala popular music to be classified before presenting my rhizomatic schematisation. Chapter 5, the topical biography, will be brief, focusing on Amaradeva's musical and ideological

developments, and career highlights. It will also contain a brief account of his funeral (although a more detailed account can be found in Appendix D). Chapters 6 and 7 will contain the comparative analysis of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* based on the model by Savage and Brown (2013). Chapter 6 will include songs composed from the mid-1940s to 1950s which were his formative decades, and Chapter 7 will contain songs composed from the 1960s to 2010s. Collectively, these chapters will illustrate the significance of Amaradeva as a cultural icon and trace the evolution of his cosmopolitan compositional approach and its relationship to shifting sociopolitical circumstances.

Chapter 2: Recovering Sinhalese Identity: From Colonialism to Nationalism

In order to understand the significance of Amaradeva's musical presence within Sinhalese culture and society as well as the development of the *sarala gee* genre that he predominantly worked in, it is first necessary to outline the historical events that led to the rise of Sinhalese nationalism, a cause to which Amaradeva contributed through his creative output. One of the legacies of colonialism is that by the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries different ethnicities, religions and castes converged into a new class-based societal structure headed by the Anglicised Colombo elite. The Buddhist revival of the mid to late-nineteenth century was the first attempt to challenge the hegemonising effects of colonialism and to recover a sense of Sinhalese identity which was at odds with the identity of the Anglicised Colombo elite. Sentiments on what constituted an authentic Sri Lankan — or as it was then called, Ceylonese — culture were circulated by affluent members of various social groups such as the Buddhist literati and a few exceptional members of the Anglicised elite (Dharmadasa, 1992; Frost, 2002, p. 951). Central features of the emerging Sinhalese nationalism were Buddhism, classical literature, and the histories and mythologies of an ancient civilisation founded on a kingship system. The role of endogenous music as a key marker of Sinhalese cultural identity was slow to appear and only became integral to the nationalist cause after the development of the *sarala gee* genre during the mid-1940s. In the meantime, the emerging reverence for the past was key to the formative stage of Sinhalese nationalism.

2.1 From Ancient Times to European Colonisation

The nascent Sinhalese nationalism of the nineteenth century was accompanied by the view that the ancient civilisation of Sri Lanka discussed below had been overwhelmed by foreign invaders. The origin myth of the Sinhala ethnic group and their ancient civilisation has been integral to the dominant Arya-Sinhala strain of Sri Lankan nationalism. It was deployed to establish the Indo-Aryan origins of the Sinhala ethnic group and justify them as the custodians and patrons of Buddhism (DeVotta, 2007, p. 6; Dharmadasa, 2007, p. 137). During and after the development of Sinhalese nationalism, this myth was utilised to legitimise policies that furthered the hegemonisation of Sri Lankan culture; in other words, the conflation of Sinhalese culture with national identity within the emerging nation state of Sri Lanka.

According to the historical Pali epic *Mahavamsa* ("Great Chronicle"),[5] Prince Vijaya arrived in Lanka, as the island was called prior to colonial rule, in 544BC, the year that supposedly coincided with the death of Gautama Buddha (Blaze, 1938, p. 5; Kulatillake, 1991, p. 29).[6] The chronicle relates that with the blessing of the Lord Buddha, who foresaw that his religion would flourish in Lanka,[7] he and his men conquered the Yakkas (literally, "devils") of Lanka and formed a new kingdom in the region later known as Rajarata ("King's Country") (*Mahavamsa*, 1912, pp. 51–61).[8] It is argued that Prince Vijaya's grandmother was a royal descendant of the kingdoms of

[5] Though the English transliteration of the title of the great Chronicle is *Mahavamsa*, it is actually pronounced Mahavansa

[6] Though the *Mahavamsa* states that Vijaya arrived in 543BC and claims this to be the year that Gautama Buddha passed away, some more detailed historical studies have dated Buddha's death to a slightly later date (Blaze, 1938, p. 5; Kulatillake, 1991, p. 29).

[7] According to the *Mahavamsa*, the Lord Buddha requested Sakra (the lord of gods) to protect Vijaya and his retinue, and Sakra entrusted the task to the god Varna.

[8] While the *Mahavamsa* indicates that the Yakku were devils or non-humans with supernatural powers, archaeologist Raj Somadeva claimed to have discovered etymological and physical evidence which suggests that the Yakku were an indigenous tribe of iron-workers (NU1's Vlog, 2018). This indigenous population of Sri Lanka were related to the early populations of India, Southeast Asia and Australia and are called *proto-Australoids* (Peebles, 2006, pp. 14–15).

Vanga and Kalinga, present-day Bengal and Odisha, located in Eastern India (Codrington, 1995, p. 6). The basis for the Arya-Sinhala identity is founded upon Prince Vijaya's lineage. The myth also states that Vijaya's grandfather had been a cave-dwelling lion. Thus, the current name "Sinhala" was derived from the word "Sinha" (Pali) or "Simha" (Sanskrit) meaning "lion" and "lē" deriving from the word for blood (R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, 2002, pp. 46–48; Hennayake, 2006, p. 70). It should be noted however that the historical accuracy of the Sinhalese chronicles is regarded with scepticism by current historians (Kulatillake, 1991, p. 19).

The glorification of an ancient kingdom in Sinhalese cultural discourses centres on the historical advancements in language and technology, such as sanitation and hydraulic engineering, that occurred during the beginning of the Anuradhapura period (377BC–1077AD).[9] The irrigation system, for instance, enabled the establishment of a self-sufficient economy (J. B. Disanayaka, 2007, pp. 122–123), a legacy that was carried down throughout the centuries by Sinhalese agrarian society. As we shall see, the yearning for the return to this idyllic past was exemplified in the pursuits of the nationalist politicians, scholars and artists of the modern age. Written records also appeared during the third century BC, and Anuradhapura became South Asia's largest city outside of North India (Peebles, 2006, p. 17). It has been suggested that Sinhala was considered a highly prestigious language in ancient South Asia because it was used to maintain official records in Lanka while Sanskrit was always used in medieval India (Dharmadasa, 2007, p. 118). Buddhism arrived in Lanka in 236BC, during the reign of King Devanampiya Tissa of Anuradhapura. Theravada Buddhism was thenceforth patronised by the kings and in return Buddhist monks supported the kings in

[9] Periods of ancient Sri Lankan history are named after the locations of major kingdoms. The Anuradhapura kingdom was the third Sinhalese kingdom in recorded history and was the most enduring, lasting just under one and a half millennia.

maintaining their power (DeVotta, 2007, p. 13).[10] Monks would often act as royal advisors and they were also the main historians, authors and teachers of the Sinhalese. This set the foundation for their avid engagement in the political nationalist movements of the Sinhalese during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and their continuing involvement in politics (DeVotta, 2007, p. 2; Dharmadasa, 2007, p. 122; Peebles, 2006, p. 105).

From 993AD, the ancient Sinhalese kingdom suffered attacks from South Indian invaders such as the Tamil Chola Dynasty and Magha of the Kalingas,[11] and the Sinhalese gradually migrated into the southern interior of the island (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 63; Peebles, 2006, pp. 20–21; Wright, 1999, p. 39). Though the Sinhalese literati often portrayed the invading Tamils from southern India as villains, evidence also suggests that the Sinhalese maintained friendly relations with these settlers and were, to some extent, acculturated into South Indian ways (Ceylon Department of Census and Statistics, 1951, p. 3; Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 13–15; 2007, p. 123; Laade, 1993, p. 54). In addition to the early cultural influences of North and South India through the Buddhist religion and migration respectively, other cultural contacts were established through trade. Though the transition to an export economy did not occur until European colonisation in the sixteenth century, the island's location on the Silk

[10] There are several sects of Buddhism, one of which is Theravada. This is believed to be the closest form to the original teachings of the Buddha.

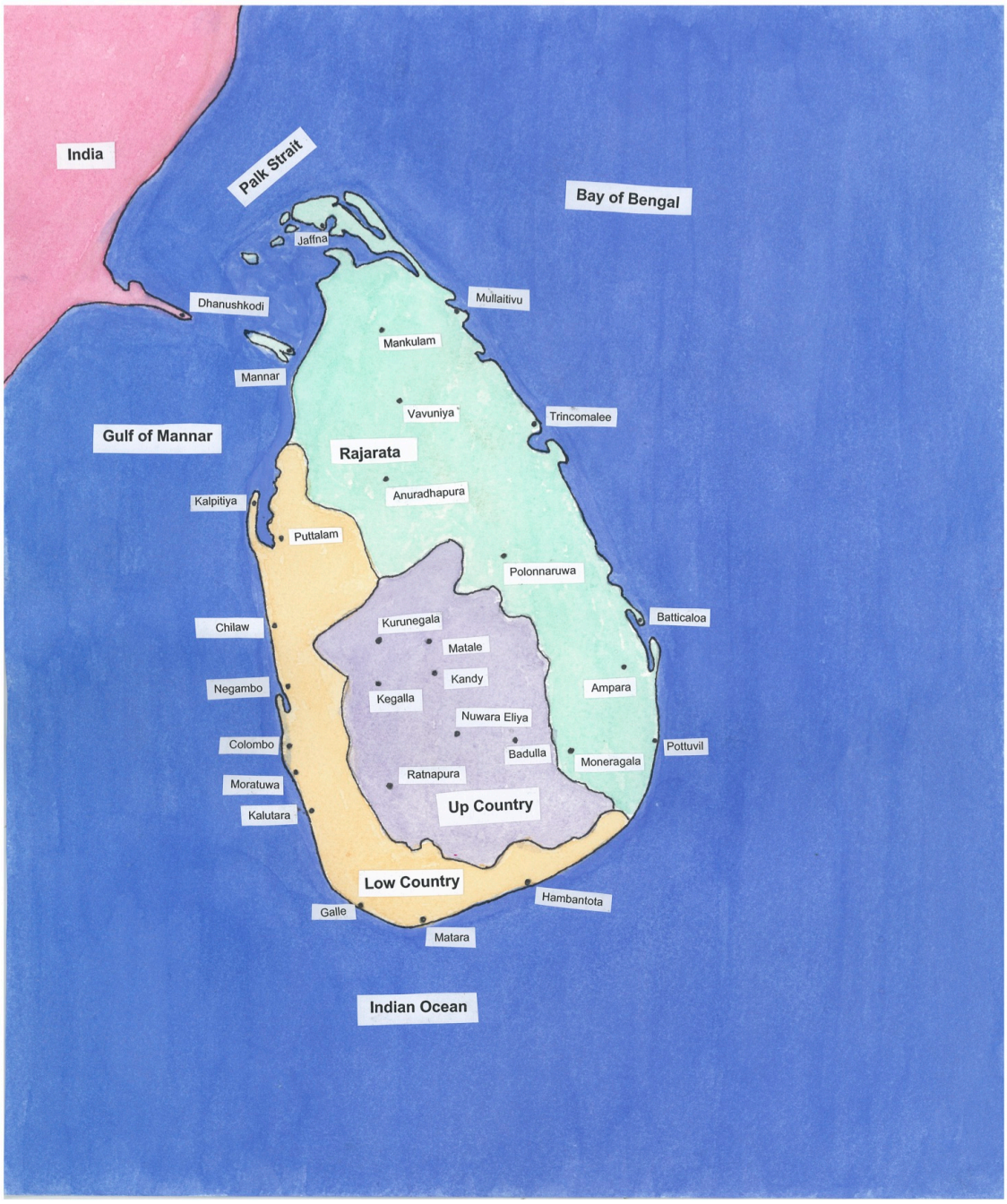
[11] The emblem of the Chola kings was a tiger and in the twentieth century this inspired the Tamil nationalist military organisation LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) to adopt the tiger as their emblem in opposition to the lion of the Sinhalese (Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 296). During Chola occupation, many wars were waged to gain control of the entire island and the south was passed back and forth between the Cholas and the Sinhalese several times. In 1070, King Vijayabahu I (1039–1110) defeated the Cholas and united the island. However, the ruler who truly attained peace was King Parakramabahu I (1153–1186). He also revived the ancient cities by restoring their architecture (Ceylon Department of Census and Statistics, 1951, p. 3; Peebles, 2006, pp. 20–21).

Road allowed it to trade with countries such as Greece, Iran, the Middle East, China and Thailand (see Bandaranayake, Dewaraja, Silva, & Wimalaratne, 1990).

Lanka's recorded history demonstrates that from the period beginning with the landing of Prince Vijaya in the sixth century BC until the sixteenth century AD, the island was ruled by a monarchy. Therefore, this era is normally referred to as the time of kings. In 1505, a new era commenced as Portuguese settlers arrived in Lanka to participate in the spice trade. They conquered the kingdoms of Kotte and Jaffna and renamed the island Ceilao. However, they were unable to penetrate the mountainous kingdom of Kandy in the island's interior region known as the Up Country (Peebles, 2006, pp. 34–36), which was largely occupied by Sinhalese. The Portuguese presence in Ceilao resulted in many cultural and sociological changes in the coastal Low Country region, such as the adoption of European lifestyles and religions (Ceylon Department of Census and Statistics, 1951, p. 5; de Mel, 2006). In fact, it is believed that "Although Portuguese power remained confined to Ceylon's southwestern coast, their mercantile presence began the process of transformation which by independence in 1948 had altered the landscape and culture of the whole island more than any part of Asia" (Broeze, 2013, p. 191). The Westernisation that spread throughout coastal areas initially led to an antagonistic relationship between the Up Country Sinhalese of the hilly interior and their Low Country counterparts; the former maintained their traditional customs even during the first few decades of British occupation and tended to sneer upon the more acculturated groups from the latter (Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 27, 112).

Figure 2.1

Map of Lanka by Y. Jayasuriya Showing the Island's Precolonial Regional Divisions[12]



The Dutch expelled the Portuguese in 1658 and controlled all regions except Kandy. The Dutch influence, though not as widespread as that of the Portuguese, is

[12] The precolonial regions of Lanka included Rajarata ("King's Country"), where the first Sinhalese kingdoms were established, Low Country (the southern coastal area) and Up Country (the hilly interior). The delineations are loosely based on descriptions of the regions given by historian Nira Wickramasinghe (2015, pp. xxv–xxvii).

evident in architecture, furniture, religion and the introduction of Roman law, according to Kariyawasam in his interview with Robinson (1988, p. 112). In 1796, the British conquered the maritime areas ruled by the Dutch and renamed the island Ceylon. They were eventually able to gain control over Kandy in 1815 through the assistance of the Kandyan chiefs Ahalepola and Molligoda (Codrington, 1995, pp. 172–173; K. M. de Silva, 1981, pp. 227–229; Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 6; Wright, 1999, pp. 64–65). Despite the 1815 Kandyan Convention, a treaty signed by Governor Sir Robert Brownrigg and the Kandyan chiefs, the British administration was allegedly insensitive to tradition (K. M. de Silva, 1981, pp. 230–232; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 30). A popular revolt led by certain aristocratic Buddhist families between 1817 and 1818 precipitated the end of government support of Buddhism and hastened its decline (Codrington, 1995, pp. 174–176; K. M. de Silva, 1981, pp. 130–135; Peebles, 2006, pp. 50–51; Wright, 1999, pp. 59–60). After peace was regained throughout the island in 1818, the British turned their efforts to the expansion and development of the small plantations established by the Dutch. Therefore, the Colombo port was developed to accommodate the growing exports to the West (Broeze, 2013, pp. 192, 205).[13] The British also sought to cultivate native subjects who would later become an inexpensive source of labour to fulfil the demands of its administrative and commercial needs. Subsequently, a multi-ethnic elite class was formed through the delegation of power and the development of entrepreneurship (Jayawardena, 2000, pp. 1–64; Peebles, 2006, pp. 56–57, 66–67).

2.2 The Creation of Colonial Subjects

Traditionally, in precolonial times, education for the Sinhalese was led by Buddhist monks from the *pirivenas* or monastic colleges. They instructed small groups

[13] The Colombo port city was located in the centre of the world trading routes that connected Europe to Asia and Australia via Suez. Therefore, ships from many different countries would often stop by Colombo to fill up on coal (Broeze, 2013, p. 205).

on subjects such as the sacred languages of Pali and Sanskrit, Sinhala literature and Buddhist philosophy. The ethnomusicologist Devar Surya Sena (2008) believes that during the precolonial era, "the art of spontaneous composition and chanting Sinhala poetry had been mastered by prince and peasant alike" due to the eminence of the *pirivena* education (p. 29). However, by the nineteenth century the devaluation of endogenous education was such that the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission,[14] appointed by the British Colonial Office, stipulated in their 1833 report that major educational reforms were in order. The move towards educational reform in the colonies was an outgrowth of European views of cultural development that were founded on three stages of human development, namely, "savagery, barbarism and [high European] civilisation" (Young, 2005, p. 32) The concept of cultural development came to mean that "savagery" and "barbarism" would ultimately be replaced by "civilisation." In addition, Liberalist views of the nineteenth century maintained that all humans had the potential for being equal and that education would inevitably lead to acculturation (Young, 2005, pp. 30–42). Regardless of the effectiveness of the *pirivenas* which had functioned for centuries, it was found to be a form of education that "scarcely merits any notice" (Colebrooke & Cameron, as cited in Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 30) and the *pirivenas* soon grew obsolete due to a lack of government patronage. The penetration of particular hegemonising values of the Enlightenment into the colonies, which seemed to accompany colonial ambition, accounts for the desire to enforce a purely English education complemented by Christian values.

However, colonial education was only available to a privileged few, thus containing the numbers of the emerging elite class and further marginalising the masses

[14] A commission led by W.M.G. Colebrooke was sent to Ceylon in 1829 to assess its administration and recommend reforms. Charles Hay Cameron also joined him the following year to evaluate the judicial system (Peebles, 2006, p. 51).9

who attended newly established vernacular schools which provided free education but had little government funding (Daniel, 1992, p. 43; Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 79–80). The working class, consisting of the upper and lower-middle class, largely had access to vernacular education while the lower socioeconomic group, sometimes referred to as the labouring class or peasantry often did not, due to the parents' disinterest in educating their children or the distance of schools from rural dwellings. Mass marginalisation was also a consequence of the plantation economy which rendered Colombo "the only 'real' city, with the entire island as its hinterland, including the other urban places (towns) as its direct satellites" (Broeze, 2013, p. 192). In both English and vernacular schools, cultural practices such as the chewing of *betel* leaves and eating with the hands were abolished. Clothing was also regulated to meet Western Christian standards (Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 44, 99). Accounts of colonial era elite schooling suggest that the study of vernacular languages was discouraged while proficiency in further European languages such as Latin and French was encouraged (Surya Sena, 1978, p. 10; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 79). Therefore, the young elite soon neglected to learn the native languages, history and folklore. It is a typical colonial irony that Europeans showed greater interest in the scholarly study of local culture than the native population. For instance, the first English translation and commentary on the *Mahavamsa* was authored by George Tumour, a high-ranking official of the Civil Service who felt it was his duty to learn the native languages of Ceylon (Wickramaratchi, 1929, pp. 80d–80e).[15]

While European scholars such as John Davy, James Emerson Tennant, Thomas Skinner and Samuel Baker were producing anthropological writings based on their

[15] Wickramaratchi (1929, pp. 80a–80h) cites the official's name as George *Turnour* , though several other sources claim him to be named George *Tumour* (Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 33; Jayawardena, 2000, pp. 34, 77, 123, 172; *Mahavamsa*, 1912, p. v; Wright, 1999, p. 13).

research and time in Ceylon,[16] the Sinhalese elite were preoccupied with continuing the British civilising mission, by their desire to enlighten the lives of their fellow countrymen through the ways of their colonial superiors and, by extension, stifle the practice of traditional customs. For instance Jeronis Pieris, an entrepreneur of the new elite class from Moratuwa who ran businesses in the Kandyan region, wrote in one of his letters,

"Look how barbarous the Kandyans are still! I wish all of them would soon turn Christians and leave off their old nasty customs" (Roberts & Pieris, 1975, pp. 28–31).[17] Thus, many endogenous practices that centred on traditional rites of passage, Buddhist customs and local medicine declined or were confined to remote villages. The cultural gatekeepers that resided in the capital of Colombo increasingly became unaware of their heritage and grew evermore alienated from the rest of the population.

2.3 The Buddhist Revival: Sinhalese Nationalist Foundations

As exemplified by the attitude in Pieris' letter noted previously, Christian values bore the essence of civility while traditional customs were considered the habit of the barbarian. Therefore, the hegemonisation of the natives involved denigrating the local religions, which normally were Hinduism for the Tamils and a combination of Buddhism and the older animistic and shamanic practices for the Sinhalese (Kulatillake, 1991, pp. 39, 51).[18] Missionaries visited towns and villages to gather converts through verbal and written propaganda that derided these religions. Government policy also

[16] For a list of writings produced in the British colonial era, see Wright (1999).

[17] It was not enough for Pieris to disrepute these customs. He and a number of other Kandyan elites sought to trick the governor into believing that the Kandyans were ashamed of these traditions and were anxious for reforms, knowing well that this was not the case. They were successful in their endeavour and in 1958, Governor Ward enacted a legal ordinance which hegemonised all marriage practices (Roberts & Pieris, 1975, pp. 28–31)

[18] The religious incorporation of Hinduistic beliefs as well as devil and deity worship into Sinhalese culture was enabled by the introduction of Mahayana Buddhism. Kulatillake states that this would not have been possible if the Theravada form of Buddhism had remained intact (Kulatillake, 1991, p. 39).

helped their cause by disabling the registration of children who were not baptised (Surya Sena, 1978, p. 6) and by favouring Christians in government employment (Perera, 1988, pp. 85–86). Most Sinhalese converts embraced their new religion while some were baptised in name only and continued to observe Buddhist practices in the home. Efforts to revitalise Buddhism, which as noted was intrinsic to the Sinhalese origin myth, were only made in the latter half of the nineteenth century and were to become the foundation for the nationalist movements that would follow in the twentieth century. As previously noted, scholars interpret the Buddhist revival as the first open retaliation against the hegemonising forces of colonial rule and, more significantly, the movement that instigated the rise of Sinhalese linguistic allegiance and a nationalist awakening (Daniel, 1992, pp. 134–135; K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 343; Dharmadasa, 1992; Frost, 2002, p. 152; Perera, 1988, p. 100).

After hearing of the oppression of Buddhism in Colombo in the 1860s, a number of *bhikkus,* or ordained monks, sought to ease the situation. The Society for the Propagation of Buddhism was established at Kotahena in 1862 and that same year Bulathgama Dhammalankara Siri Sumanatissa Thera established the first Buddhist printing press. The new press was called the Lankōpakāra Press and was partially funded by the King of Siam. Several other presses were established by *bhikkus* in the following years, which strived to counteract the "Christian literary warfare" (Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 99) that threatened to drive Buddhism from Colombo. The first successful attempts to combat the marginalisation of Buddhism were made by Migettuwatte Gunananda Thera, a monk who challenged the missionaries to public debates in the 1860s and 1870s. Endowed with a Christian education, Gunananda Thera had a sound understanding of Christian scriptures and was therefore well equipped in his rebuttals of anti-Buddhist propaganda. The literary warfare culminated in the

celebrated verbal debate between Gunananda Thera and Reverend David de Silva. Held in Panadura in 1873, this debate is often referred to as the Panadura Debate or the Panadura Controversy. Gunananda Thera was considered the victor in the debates and brought much recognition to the Buddhist religion.[19] His persuasive debating caught the attention of American theosophist Colonel Henry Steel Olcott who founded the Theosophical Society in 1875. Olcott travelled to Ceylon in 1880 with the aim of consolidating Buddhism by collecting subscriptions to fund Buddhist schools, proclaiming Buddhist philosophies and producing publications to rival the work of the missionaries (DeVotta, 2007, p. 14; Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 97–99, 106–109, 334; Manthrirathne, 2013, pp. 192–193; Perera, 1988, pp. 90–95; Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 75).

2.4 Language and Nationalist Politics

The renewed interest in Buddhism helped rescue other aspects of traditional Sinhalese culture, most notably through the revival of literary scholarship. Several Buddhist revivalists established new *pirivenas* in Colombo, such as the Vidyodaya Pirivena and the Vidyalankara Pirivena founded by Hikkaduve Sri Sumgala Thera in 1874 and Ratmalane Dhammaloka Thera in 1875, respectively. These two institutions recreated the traditional system of education and therefore admitted laymen as well as the clergy (Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 111; Frost, 2002, p. 952; Perera, 1988, p. 96). By the arrival of the twentieth century a greater number of these institutions functioned

[19] It does not appear that there was an official adjudicator at the Panadura debate, though it has been reported that the majority of the crowd called out the exultant words “Sadhu, sadhu!” (“Well said, well said!”) at the end of the debate. This evidences Gunananda Thera’s success. Further, the editor of the *Ceylon Times* newspaper arranged for Edward Perera to translate a summary of the debate. The translation was published and distributed throughout the island. It was subsequently discovered by J. M. Peebles, who published it in the United States under the name *Buddhism and Christianity Face to Face* (1878). Thus, due to this publication, the Buddhist religion was granted international recognition and received the patronage of theosophist Colonel Henry Steel Olcott.

throughout the island and were referred to as “Oriental colleges.” It was observed that, “These colleges are doing a great work, and are mainly responsible for the revival of interest in Orient scholarship which is in evidence at the present time” (Wright, 1999, p. 224). The Sinhalese language was the essence of traditional learning, and therefore the revived interest in this scholarship was in part due to the increased literacy delivered by the *pirivena* education which was accessed in tandem with government education.

During the late-nineteenth century, the Sinhalese language was practiced as two distinct forms (in technical terms, diglossia), one for literature and one for ordinary communication (Dharmadasa, 1977, p. 21). A previous religious and literary revival led by the *bhikku* Valivita Saranankara Thera during the eighteenth century, the period of Dutch occupation, had espoused the view that the literary works from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries represented an ideal form of the language. Therefore, all further writings had been standardised in accordance to the rules set down by the *Siḏaṭ Saňgarāva*, a thirteenth-century grammar of the Sinhalese language (Dharmadasa, 1977, pp. 21–22; Dissanayake, 1989, pp. 187–188). According to Dharmadasa (1977), written correspondences had remained on a par with the spoken dialect, which continued to develop independently after the eighteenth-century literary movement (p. 22). Folk songs, most of which were written prior to the twentieth century, involve a form of the language that falls in between the classical form and the spoken dialect; it is based on the “simple and intelligible” language of the Sandesha poems which are devoid of Sanskrit words (Kulatillake, 1991, pp. 61–62). This blurring of language levels reflects the current uses of Sinhala, which has three forms. The colloquial form is the basic,

informal language of everyday speech.[20] The semiformal form is that of formal speech and correspondence.[21] The formal form is used in formal written publications. The words that distinguish formal Sinhala are borrowed from the ancient Indian languages of Sanskrit and Pali.[22] All academic writing is confined to the formal form of the language, but individual publications differ in ease of comprehensibility according to the number of loan words used.

Thus, due to the loss of a vigorous vernacular education in the nineteenth century, scholarship into endogenous culture declined because historical and literary texts could not be understood by the average Sinhalese speaker. As stated earlier, the *pirivenas* remedied this situation by increasing Sinhalese literacy in the last few decades of the nineteenth century and beyond. Much of the scholarship of traditional culture was published in 'periodicals' which became the main "instruments of social mobilization" along with newspapers and later the mediums of theatre and fiction (Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 117).[23] Prior to the rise of print capitalism, knowledge of histories and rural folk traditions was limited to the *bhikkus* and ritual practitioners, while fragments of knowledge were handed down orally in rural areas (Kapferer, 2011, p. 94; Spencer,

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[20] The colloquial form of the Sinhala language has borrowed words from Portuguese, Dutch, and English. It is used in most commercials, teledramas and some films. Except in the *baila genre,* it is rarely used in popular songs unless blended with the second level of the language. It is my experience that those who have grown up hearing this basic spoken language will not be able to understand much semiformal or formal Sinhala. This is because Sinhala contains several words with the same meaning, even within the primary categories of pronouns and conjunctions.

[21] Examples of semiformal Sinhala can be seen or heard in newspapers and news broadcasts, official letters, public announcements, cricket commentary, and parliament meetings. This language is also commonly used in the songs of the Sinhala pop, *baila*, and *NewAge* genres of music. Though it is used in *Sarala gee* (the genre of song to which Pandith Amaradeva's music belongs), it mainly appears in a highly figurative and metaphorical form.

[22] The formal language can be heard in some songs of the *subawitha geetha* category of *Sarala gee,* which is characterised by lyrics with a deep literary dimension.

[23] Dharmadasa (1992, p. 117) uses the` terms "periodical" and "newspaper" separately, but does not specify what forms the periodicals took. Wickramasinghe (2015, p. 83) uses the terms in the same way. An article outlining the nature of early print media published by the *Daily News*, uses "periodical" as an umbrella term for newspapers, journals and magazines (Scott, 2012).

2002, p. 88). The process of disseminating folk history through print media is described by Kapferer as “the making of folk knowledge into common knowledge. . . [or] a popular tradition, [that was] forged in the process of nationalism” (2011, pp. 94–95).

The rivalry between the Christians and the Buddhists had resulted in an increase of Buddhist periodicals from the 1860s and 1870s. From 1880 to 1900, however, periodicals related to secular aspects of endogenous culture began to emerge. For instance, there were periodicals dedicated to the subjects of Sinhalese literature, the welfare of the Sinhalese people, traditional Sri Lankan *ayurvedic* medicine (known locally as Hela veḏakama), astrology and the Pali language. The refamiliarisation with this heritage kindled the desire to assert a `Sinhalese identity amongst both the Sinhalese working class and particular members of elite society (Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 92–95). The dissemination of the island’s ancient history also contributed to the awakening of the Sinhalese national consciousness. Still many elites held the notion that the civilising of Ceylon’s native population had been attained through English education and Christian values and was therefore an accomplishment of the British colonisers. For this reason, atavism or the tendency to revert to something ancient became integral to bolstering Sinhalese pride. For instance, the first Buddhist newspaper *Lak Mini Pahana* sought to debunk the notion of colonial accomplishment by providing evidence of the advanced civilisation that had existed during the time of kings (Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 117–119). This explains the foregrounding of ancient history in the atavistic nationalist movements of the following century as well as the continued glorification of the ancient Sinhalese kingdom and a nostalgia for the past, including the time when Buddhism flourished amongst the Sinhalese.

Another concept that was utilised to refute the idea that the civilising of the Sinhalese was an achievement of British education was the Aryan theory. According to Sheeran's account of this theory,

> During the late 18th and early 19th centuries it had been rumoured that central Asia could be the ancient cradle of both Northern Indian and European civilization. The possibility of a shared *linguistic* ancestry between Europeans and northern Indians had been suggested by the philologist Sir William Jones through his investigation of affinities between Latin and Sanskrit language families. The possibility of a shared *racial* ancestry came later, and when it did it was framed in terms that could only redound favourably upon the contemporary European civilization. This flattering conclusion suggested probably most plainly in the deployment of the term *Arya,* the Sanskrit term for noble, as in "the ancient Aryan civilization. (1997, pp. 151–152)

Scholars soon came to believe that Sinhala also shared a linguistic ancestry with the Indo-Aryan languages. The first linguist to produce this theory was B. C. Clough, who compiled the earliest Sinhala-English dictionary that was published in two instalments in 1821 and 1830. He surmised that Sinhala was a derivative of Sanskrit, thus forging a link between the Sinhalese and the Aryan identity. However, this theory was not well received until Max Muller produced an influential study in 1861 that demonstrated irrefutable linguistic similarities between the dialects of Iceland and Ceylon and the Aryan language family. The Sinhalese literati such as James de Alwis adopted the Aryan theory and coupled it with the Vijayan myth to illustrate that the Sinhalese were

descendants from North Indian settlers (R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, 2002, pp. 71–73).[24] By the early-twentieth century, the ancestral motherland was located in Bengal to correlate with the details of Prince Vijaya's lineage as recorded in the ancient chronicles (Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 73). From this assumption of an Aryan ancestry, the ethnic term "Arya-Sinhala" was formed. Returning to Enlightenment cultural-developmental theory described by Young, we recall that the final stage of cultural development was believed to be "high European civilisation" (Young, 2005, p. 43). This theory was utilised to legitimise the civilising mission of the British Empire. The Aryan theory however became a tool for Sinhalese nationalists to discredit the notion of racial inferiority, as it was asserted that the Aryan civilisations of South Asia possessed "the original, most ancient religious wisdom in the universe" (Sheeran, 1997, p. 157). For this reason, the entrenchment of the Sinhala language would become a key political factor following Independence.

While the Buddhist revival and in part the Aryan theory roused the working classes and some members of the Colombo elite to contemplate their ethnic identity, the majority of the Colombo elite remained Anglicised and worked towards the creation of a "Ceylonese" identity that would accommodate the various ethnic groups that participated in their cosmopolitan, high society (Dharmadasa, 2007, p. 131). In the early-twentieth century, the Colombo elite comprised a multiethnic community. Sharing a common understanding of British culture, they associated with each other freely and were united in their political interests (Frost, 2002, p. 950). To further their political advancement, the Ceylon National Congress (hereafter CNC) was formed in 1919 under the leadership of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam (1853–1924), a Tamil civil servant

[24] Gunawardena and Sheeran's view of the development of the Aryan theory is contentious according to K. N. O. Dharmadasa (personal communication, November 26, 2020).

and member of the Executive and Legislative Councils. Its objective was to instigate negotiations for national independence (K. M. de Silva, 1981, pp. 386–387). However, the political organisation became dominated by "conservative Low-Country Sinhalese" elites (Peebles, 2006, p. 83). These Sinhalese elites argued that territorial representation should replace racial representation in order to enhance intercommunal cohesion. Yet, they did not uphold their promise to give Tamils equal opportunities to become political representatives in regions where a Sinhalese majority resided, and forced Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam to withdraw as the candidate for Colombo in 1920 (Rajasingham, 2001).

In 1921, due to the efforts of the CNC, literacy in the vernacular languages of Sinhala and Tamil was considered as a criterion for the male right to vote. However, property and income qualifications were also put in place, thus excluding the majority of the urbanised working class (Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 219; Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 81–82, 128). In 1927, the Donoughmore Commission was set up in Ceylon to assess the current political system. They received complaints of misrepresentation from many minority groups including Kandyans, low-caste Sinhalese and Tamils, Christians and Plantation Tamils.[25] These groups were then being represented by the elite of Colombo (Peebles, 2006, pp. 86–87).[26] In 1931, the Donoughmore Constitution granted universal franchise to all citizens of Ceylon. Following this achievement, the push for

[25] Many plantation owners had imported workers from India during the nineteenth century, and they were referred to as "Plantation Tamils." They had thus far lived in the country without citizenship. Many Ceylonese were concerned that this minority group was monopolising jobs in the agricultural industry (Peebles, 2006, p. 97). They were considered an "alien" ethnic group, separate from the Ceylonese Tamils. They were also relatively poor and therefore bereft of social mobility and political engagement (Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 182).

[26] It was apparent that communal representation for all of the different groups was not feasible. Therefore, the Commission recommended various amendments such as a bill of rights, a smaller electorate, legislation preventing discrimination and nominated members to represent small communities. They also endorsed universal adult suffrage. However, people from minority communities did not have access to politics and the English-speaking elites continued to dominate the arena (Peebles, 2006, p. 87).

independence continued and in the early 1940s, Governor Caldecott negotiated with the State Council and its Board of Ministers headed by D. S. Senanayake to grant increased self-governance and, eventually, the granting of Dominion Status. Unlike the members of the Ceylon National Congress, Senanayake accepted a pluralistic polity and therefore sought to conceive a secular democratic nation that would treat all Ceylonese ethnic groups equally (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 449). The Board of Ministers drafted a new constitution which was then evaluated by the Soulbury Commission in 1944. The draft, which if put into use would ensure the independent governance of Ceylon, was highly influenced by Sir Ivor Jennings, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon and an unofficial advisor to D. S. Senanayake (Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 176). The Board of Ministers manipulated the situation by meeting privately with the Soulbury Commission and denying access to the representatives of minority communities. Nevertheless, the Soulbury Commission accepted the proposal and made some amendments to the draft which became the constitution when independence was granted in 1948 (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 456; Peebles, 2006, p. 98). The election was won by the United National Party (hereafter UNP) founded by D. S. Senanayake, who thus became the first Prime Minister of Ceylon, and was considered "a political party necessarily representative of the majority community, but at the same time acceptable to the minorities" (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 490). The UNP even held the support of the prominent Tamil politician G. G. Ponnambalam. Sinhalese-Tamil relations were cooperative at this time, even though the leaders of the UNP represented the Sinhalese Buddhist community (K. M. de Silva, 1981, pp. 489–491; Peebles, 2006, p. 100). All members of the UNP, however,

were members of the Anglicised elite class who could only speak "house-boy" Sinhala at best (Broeze, 2013, pp. 205–208).[27]

It is important to consider the use of the Sinhalese language throughout the twentieth century not only because it played a key role in the projection of a collective Sinhala identity; it was also a distinguishing factor between various genres of literature and music, and the way these genres were perceived. Though all qualifications for voting were removed under the Donoughmore Constitution of 1931 which granted universal franchise to all Ceylonese citizens irrespective of literacy, the presence of the Sinhala language in the political and cultural sphere grew in importance, as it was a means of strengthening the Sinhalese intracommunal identity and disengaging from the caste, class, regional and religious differences that had caused conflict throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 222–223). From 1901 to 1924, an average of eighteen Sinhalese periodicals and newspapers were launched per year, and in the following decade the average amounted to fifty-five. Yet it was not until the 1940s that a mass readership emerged (Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 82–83). The novel was also a popular medium in the years nearing Independence, with authors seeking to bridge the gap between the classical language and the colloquial dialect (Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 103; R. Obeyesekere, 1992a, p. 38; Peebles, 2006, p. 94). The most prominent of these authors was Martin Wickramasinghe (1891–1976), whose popularity grew even further during the 1950s. He employed a cosmopolitan approach to nationalist discourse, adopting Western literary forms and blending the richness of classical language with colloquial expression to produce stories that depicted village life (R. Obeyesekere, 1992a, p. 38; Spencer et al., 1990, p. 285). One of his most renowned

[27] House-boy Sinhala was a pigeon form of the language used by Colombo's elite to communicate to their servants.

novels written in 1944 was *Gamperaliya* ("The Changing Village"). A film adaptation of this book produced by Lester James Peries was released in 1963, with music by Pandith Amaradeva.

The writing style adopted by Wickramasinghe was favoured amongst the public, but was criticised by a few intellectuals who promoted a separate strain of Sinhalese literary nationalism that developed in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Initiated by the grammarian Munidasa Cumaratunga, it was a movement that advocated the espousal of a "pure" form of Sinhala. Cumaratunga and his followers were of the opinion that the current Sinhalese language should be filtered to eradicate all words that were borrowed not only from Western languages (mainly Portuguese and English) but also the sacred Indian languages of Pali and Sanskrit. Their obliteration of words from the latter languages resulted from their denial of the notion of an Arya-Sinhala identity. They did not believe in the Vijayan origin myth, instead proclaiming that the Sinhalese were the descendants of a group of indigenous inhabitants of the island called the Helas, a civilisation headed by mythical leaders such as King Ravana (Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 264).[28] Hence, they preferred the term Helese instead of Sinhalese (Coperahewa, 2012, p. 879; Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 261, 263; Field, 2014a, p. 4; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 96). Cumaratunga's example of "pure" and "correct" Sinhalese was drawn from ancient Sinhalese poetry of the classical era spanning approximately from the eighth century to the fifteenth century. Unlike most prose writing of this era, the use of *misra* ("mixed") Sinhala was not employed in verse (Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 266–267). Cumaratunga rejected the grammatical rules laid down in the thirteenth-century *Sidat Sangarava*, as he believed that this text imposed the rules of Sanskrit and Pali on the Sinhala language

[28] Archaeologist Raj Somadeva has surmised that the name Hela was derived from the word *hel*, meaning "mountain," and that the Helas (or Heleyo as they are called in Sinhalese), were mountain-dwelling tribes (NU1's Vlog, 2018).

rather than prescribing linguistic conventions that derived from its original form (Coperahewa, 2012, p. 872). To promote this pure language, Cumaratunga launched the *Subasa* ("Good Language") and *Heliyō* magazines and founded the Hela Havula ("Hela Fraternity"), a nationalist organisation that ran from 1939 to 1944. Coperahewa believed that "This linguistic effort to reconstruct the authentic uniqueness of the nationality—the Hela identity—inspired feelings of patriotism in the Sinhalese people and inculcated a sense that they had a 'unique' collective identity" (2012, p. 880). Cumaratunga also coined the Sinhala word "ṭanuva" for "melody" (Colombo East Group, 2004) and created a new solfège music notation system based on Hela vowels to replace the Indian *sa – ri – ga – ma* system (Sumanarathna, 1955, p. 279). Cumaratunga's solfège, however, was not commonly taught after its inception and the Indian system is still used to this day. The linguist, Dharmadasa, shares Coperahewa's view and the claims that in spite of the fact that the controversial linguistic purism of the *Hela Havula* did not reach the wider Sinhalese community, its ideologies of communal authenticity had a lasting effect on the Sinhalese people (1992, p. 261).

As previously noted, the role of religion, language and history in the construction of the Sinhalese identity reacquainted the majority of the Sinhalese with their forgotten heritage throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They became the foundations for atavistic Sinhalese nationalist ideologies. However, the force with which these ideologies were applied in the political sphere had deleterious effects on segments of the population throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. While the native populations had endured the hegemonising effects of Western culture under British colonial rule, Sinhalese politicians embraced similar hegemonic tendencies by asserting that Sinhala culture epitomised the identity of the entire nation. This caused much discontent amongst the largest ethnic group of the minorities, the Sri

Lankan Tamils. One of the most significant factors that caused a rift between the two ethnic groups was the matter of the state language after Independence. Leading up to Independence, there were competing ideas as to what the state language should be. Some politicians favoured English because it united all ethnic communities and was essential for international relations. The Sinhalese nationalists and some Muslims preferred Sinhala while the majority of Tamils and Muslims preferred either Sinhala or Tamil due to the current disadvantage of a *swabasha* or vernacular education in attaining employment and social mobility (Daniel, 1992, p. 256; Peebles, 2006, p. 93; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 154).[29] In 1943 the Sinhalese politician J. R. Jayawardene supported the bid to grant Tamil equal status to Sinhala.[30] The socialist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party both favoured this decision (Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 191–192). However, due to the mass circulation of the Tamil media in South India, other Sinhalese politicians opposed the idea claiming that this would result in the death of the Sinhala language (Peebles, 2006, pp. 97–98). Though the Sinhalese numbered three million and were the island's majority, they maintained a minority complex because of the neighbouring South Indian Tamil population of forty million and the geopolitical separation from their Indo-Aryan roots (K. M. de Silva, 1981, pp. 513–514; Dharmadasa, 2007, p. 297).

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party headed by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike had shared Jayawardene's view in 1952 but soon adopted a Sinhala-only position in order to gain political support from the majority population. The UNP belatedly followed

[29] There were also debates as to what kind of Sinhala should be used officially. As discussed previously, three forms were in use for formal writing and speech at this time: the classicised language of the Buddhist revivalists, the modern idiom adopted by contemporary authors, and the Hela or pure form of Sinhala of Munidasa Cumaratunga (Peebles, 2006, pp. 93–94).

[30] The extent of Jayawardena's proposed language policy is contentious, as (Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 191–192) states that the reforms would be national while (Peebles, 2006, pp. 97–98) claims that Tamil would only have parity with Sinhalese in Tamil-speaking areas.

Bandaranaike's lead just in time for the 1956 elections but only succeeded in losing its Tamil support (Peebles, 2006, pp. 104–105). Bandaranaike led the SLFP to victory because of the proposed language reforms. According to Buddhist belief, 1956 was the year of the Buddha Jayanthi, or the two thousand and five hundredth death anniversary of the Lord Buddha, which coincided with Prince Vijaya's founding of the Sinhalese kingdom according to the *Mahavamsa*. This was also beneficial for the SLFP who exclusively supported the needs of the Sinhalese and avowed to foreground Buddhist interests (K. M. de Silva, 1981, pp. 501–502; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 233). After the SLFP's victory, Sinhala extremists pushed Bandaranaike to keep his word and as a result he was forced to eliminate the provisions for Tamil and English which he had originally included in the "Sinhala-only" bill. Yet, Bandaranaike exercised restraint in implementing the relevant legislation and the transition was only completed by his party members in 1961. Bandaranaike himself was assassinated by a Buddhist monk in 1959 for supposedly losing sight of Sinhalese interests, as well as for the political gain of the monk who planned the attack (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 524). The song *Galā Hälunu Gaňga* was recorded that year by Pandith Amaradeva as a eulogy for his death. The remaining party members of the SLFP officially changed the state language to Sinhala on December 31st, 1960 (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 514; Peebles, 2006, pp. 111, 113).

The changing of the state language can be viewed as an attempt to disengage from the island's colonial past. This aim is also reflected in the government's foreign policy, and the establishment of a Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Britain withdrew from its Sri Lankan military and naval bases in 1957 and the next year, the Sri Lankan government signed trade agreements with Russia and borrowed money from China shortly afterwards. During the Cold War, Sri Lanka joined the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), following India's example (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 519; Peebles, 2006, p.

118). The Ministry of Cultural Affairs was established by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in 1956 and was dedicated to the revival of Sinhalese arts and literature (Field, 2015, p. 5; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 195). In 1972, the Sri Lankan government headed by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's widow Sirimavo Bandaranaike severed all remaining colonial ties, discarding the island's colonial name Ceylon in favour of Sri Lanka ("Auspicious Lanka"). While the island had received Dominion Status after Independence, a new constitution enacted in 1972 transformed Sri Lanka into a republic (Spencer, 2002, p. 1; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 165).

One of the positive outcomes of the 1956 Sinhala-only bill was that it sought to restore the primacy of the Sinhalese language which had weakened through the colonial administration's privileging of the English language. ~~for the setbacks cause by colonialism to the Sinhalese.~~ K. M. de Silva explained that

> The linguistic nationalism of the mid-1950s was a popular movement, in contrast to the elitist constitutionalism of the early years after independence. This popular quality, despite its seeming novelty at the time when it first appeared in the mid-1950s, had its roots in the recent past, especially in the temperance movement in the early twentieth century, when a similar mixture of religious fervour and commitment to national culture had captured the imagination of the Sinhalese people, especially in the rural areas of the low-country. But in the mid-1950s it was present on a wider scale, and its appeal was deeper. [This nationalist movement backed by the SLFP] gave a sense of dignity to the common people, and fortified their self-respect. (1981, p. 517)

The Sinhala-only bill and the nationalist fervour it stemmed from also enabled the Sinhalese arts to flourish, leading to increased government patronage. This will be

discussed in the following chapter. However, the language reforms adversely affected economic conditions which took a turn for the worse. In the 1970s, the election was won by the United Front; a socialist alliance between the SLFP, LSSP and CPSL. The English-speaking elite had been surprised by the victory, as they had not been aware of the adverse conditions of the lower classes who could not find employment due to their insufficient grasp of the English language. Many middle-class Sinhalese had voted for the SLFP in hopes that the predominantly Christian Anglicised elites would be displaced by a new Sinhala-speaking elite class. However, English remained in use within much of the government's administrative offices even after the "Sinhala-only" policy was put into practice. Nongovernment employers also preferred candidates proficient in English. The discontent of the Sinhalese youth, especially of those who believed they were discriminated because of their caste, resulted in the formation of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) which was a radical organisation seeking to bring about a socialist revolution that would favour the Sinhalese (Peebles, 2006, pp. 113, 120). The inequality of education outside of Colombo despite Kannangara's education policy of 1945 also led to the Tamil insurrections which later resulted in civil war (Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 322).

Sri Lankan Tamils were hit hardest in the 1960s and 1970s by the policies of the SLFP and later the UNP. After the complete implementation of the "Sinhala-only" policy in 1960 the Sinhalese language was solely used in all courts of law, even those in Tamil-majority areas where residents had not previously received a Sinhala education. The majority of the Sinhalese had faced the same dilemma during colonial rule, having been disadvantaged in court proceedings due to their lack of communication in the state language of English. It is ironic that they did not have empathy for the Tamil population in this matter. In addition, Sinhala eventually replaced English amongst members of the

government's Civil Service, and Sinhalese workers were appointed in Tamil-majority areas to ensure that the linguistic transition was executed effectively. University entrance quotas were also put into place to supposedly provide greater opportunities to those in rural areas. However, Tamils argued that the changes disadvantaged prospective Tamil students while the Sinhalese argued that Tamil students had been "disproportionately successful" in the previous system (Spencer, 2002, p. 37). Further, Tamil areas were excluded from the government's development projects, and Buddhism was given the "foremost place" within the 1972 constitution, although religious freedom was still maintained (DeVotta, 2007, p. 19; Dharmadasa, 2007, pp. 134–135; Spencer, 2002, p. 37). It became increasingly apparent that Sinhalese members of parliament were not willing to reach a compromise to accommodate Tamil interests. Therefore, all Tamil parties united to form the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) which campaigned for an autonomous Tamil state. Young Tamil revolutionaries soon formed armed groups and began to target government personnel and property, as well as Sinhalese politicians and Tamil politicians who were on good terms with the Sinhalese (Dharmadasa, 2007, p. 135; Peebles, 2006, pp. 127–128; Spencer, 2002, pp. 2, 37). The most notorious of these was the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), led by Velupillai Prabakaran (Peebles, 2006, p. 127; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 266).

It was not long before provocations by both sides caused an eruption of violence. Ethnic riots between the two competing groups had occurred previously and according to historical sources, the violence had most often been initiated by the Sinhalese (DeVotta, 2007, p. 19; Peebles, 2006, p. 111; Spencer, 2002, pp. 35–36). The riots of 1983 however were by far the worst. They were sparked by the deaths of thirteen Sinhalese soldiers who had been killed by the LTTE in the Tamil region of Jaffna. This was followed by systematic attacks by Sinhalese mobs against Tamil

civilians residing in Sinhalese-majority areas such as Colombo, Kandy and Nuwara Eliya. The horrific violence was carried out by thugs and policemen affiliated with the reigning UNP, as suggested in the delayed response by the Sri Lankan government. Many Tamils fled to neighbouring Tamil Nadu, and some were harboured by Sinhalese civilians who later brought them to the army for further protection or passage to Jaffna (DeVotta, 2007, p. 24; Dharmadasa, 2007, pp. 135–136; Peebles, 2006, pp. 135–136; Spencer, 2002, p. 38; Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 299–300). The President J. R. Jayawardena amended the constitution to illegalise the demand for a separate state by any parliamentary members or parties. This forced the TULF to withdraw from parliament. The Tamils were left without government representation, and the radical LTTE became the sole defender of their rights (Dharmadasa, 2007, p. 136; Peebles, 2006, p. 136; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 301).

While the Tamil extremists had initially consisted of only a few hundred youth, their numbers increased dramatically after the 1983 riots, as some displaced Tamils also joined the separatists and new recruits were trained in South India (Peebles, 2006, pp. 151–152). The LTTE soon began to attack civilian targets, such as monks and worshippers. Massacres of Sinhalese villagers also occurred (Dharmadasa, 2007, p. 136). Reprisal attacks were then enacted by Sinhalese forces without the consent of their senior officials (Peebles, 2006, p. 135). Later on, the LTTE also forcibly recruited child soldiers and suicide bombers, and used the Tamil population of Jaffna as a human shield (DeVotta, 2007, p. 27). Thus was the complex nature of the civil war that raged for three decades. Though the most concentrated violence against civilians occurred in 2008, an end was soon in sight with the recapturing of rebel territories in the Eastern province and disunity amongst the Tamil ranks. The Sri Lankan military continued their ruthless military assault on the small coastal region that harboured the LTTE forces

(Nalapat, 2011; Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 362–363). On Saturday 19th May, 2009, President Mahinda Rajapaksha issued a statement to declare the end of the war. He avowed that the nation should "find a homegrown solution to this conflict. That solution should be acceptable to all the communities. We have to find a solution based on the philosophy of Buddhism" (Weaver & Chamberlain, 2009).

The historical processes and events described in this chapter have illustrated the development of Sinhalese nationalism and its gradual transformation from assertions of ethnic expression to an antagonistic force that culminated in civil war. It is apparent that to sustain the peace that was gained by the destruction of the LTTE, a more pluralistic approach by the Sri Lankan government to identity politics and intercommunal cohesion would be necessary. Government attempts to rectify the oppressive effects of the Sinhala-only bill were first made in 1987, with the recognition of Tamil as an official language of the State. English was also officially recognised as a link language (Dharmadasa, 2007, p. 136). This is reflected in today's tertiary education system, in which,

> [English] is introduced as a second language at grade three. An introduction to the second national language i.e., Sinhala for Tamil speaking children and Tamil for Sinhala speaking children is also implemented from grade three onwards. This is done to promote national integration and the intention of the government is to ensure that future citizens are trilingual. ("Education first: Sri Lanka," 2013, p. 24).

The above declaration found in a pamphlet published by the Ministry of Education denotes the desire for a greater understanding and assimilation between the various ethnic groups. Yet, aspects of Sinhalese culture have remained as the pre-eminent symbols of the nation. This is evident in public events, such as official ceremonies and

periodic Buddhist parades. It is also evident in the epithets given to Pandith W. D. Amaradeva, such as “national icon” and “voice of our nation,” as well as the belief that he discovered “the national idiom of Sri Lankan music” (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). The growing reverence for Amaradeva’s music will be discussed in subsequent chapters. We shall see that key elements in the nationalist trajectory described above, particularly language use, had implications for Amaradeva’s output. But firstly, I will explore in the next chapter the rediscovery and creation of selected cultural artefacts after the Buddhist revival and their role in the making of a Sinhalese ethnic identity.

Chapter 3: Reviving Music and Culture

While the previous chapter described the negative effects of Sinhalese nationalism on the Sri Lankan population during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, it is also important to consider positive outcomes in recovering a Sinhalese identity. Thus, we now return to the nineteenth century in order to examine the developments of specific cultural practices that were concomitant with the increasing nationalistic fervour. It will be demonstrated that the rediscovery of endogenous music was belated due to the doctrines of Theravada Buddhism. Though music played a functional role in many aspects of precolonial Sinhalese society, it appears that music, especially vocal genres, had not received pride of place even during the precolonial era. In fact, as previously noted, the ethnomusicologist Devar Surya Sena once described Sinhalese song as the "Cinderella of the arts" (Surya Sena, 2008, pp. XIV, 62), an art eventually redeemed after a long period of neglect. Due to the Theravada Buddhist restrictions on musical performance, research into this field has been fairly limited and many past musical practices have remained obscure. But towards Independence in 1948, an increasing awareness of folk culture amongst bourgeoisie nationalists coincided with the emergence of a new vocal genre, *sarala gee,* in 1944. From this point the bourgeoisie began to pay increasing attention to endogenous Sinhalese music. The focus on folk music has continued through to the present day. The account of developments in Sinhalese culture that follows provides a foundation for a fuller understanding of Amaradeva's music, his embracing of Sinhalese folk music, Buddhism and Sinhalese history, as well as a variety of exogenous forms such as Hindustani ragas and *nurthi gee,* Carnatic ragas, and Western musical devices.

3.1 Music Research from the Nineteenth Century

The first paper regarding Sinhalese music by Nell (1858) was published by the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (hereafter, RAS) in 1858,[31] prior to the Buddhist revival. It reflects the Orientalist framings that derived from the era of Enlightenment described earlier and is not particularly illustrative of Sinhalese music itself. The Ceylon Branch of the RAS was formed in 1845 and has produced empirical research most of which has been published in the form of scholarly journal articles. Yet, the article in question is exceptional for its overt subjectiveness. It is entitled, "An Introductory paper on the Investigation of Singhalese music" (Nell, 1858). However, it is less of an "investigation" and more of a biased comparison of Sinhalese traditional music with Western music. The author also inflects the paper with disparaging allusions to the inferiority of the Sinhalese ethnic group. Nell opens his paper with the following premise:

> The Oriental enjoys his rude melodies, as heartily as the European, the music of the West. But the difference is so great between the barbarous and the civilized art, that the former becomes a subject of curiosity to the votary of the other. Though, Singhalese music, therefore, may be of no great intrinsic value, it is deserving of investigation as a national art, and as an illustration of the social condition of the Singhalese people. (1858, p. 200)

In other words, Nell stipulates that while the study of Sinhalese music is a fruitful anthropological exercise, the music itself is not of intrinsic value. Similar

[31] The Royal Asiatic Society (aka RAS) of Great Britain and Ireland was founded in 1823 by Sir Henry Thomas Colebrooke who was a scholar of the Sanskrit language. The purpose of the society was to promote the scholarship of the sciences, literature and arts of Asia (Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 2016).

statements follow throughout the paper which largely fails to illuminate the particular qualities of Sinhalese music. The inclusion of the names of several Sinhalese musical instruments are the only data that warrant scholarly merit. The binarism between the so-called barbarous Orientals and the civilised Europeans are a means of justifying the British Empire's civilising mission. It was demonstrated in the previous chapter that the Colombo elite were themselves engaged in the civilising mission at this time and as such, no one was willing to debunk the claims asserted in Nell's article.

Following this preliminary article, the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* would only publish one more nineteenth-century paper containing music research, in 1894. The gap between the two papers despite the proliferation of literary research after the Buddhist revival may have been due to taboos imposed by Buddhist doctrine. It was established earlier that *bhikkus* were the teachers and disseminators of Sinhalese culture, and therefore music was not taught or researched at *pirivenas*. It appears that Sinhalese music did not receive much scholarly attention at all during the nineteenth century, despite the revived interest in Sri Lanka's endogenous culture. The second musicological paper of the RAS was written by C. M. Fernando, a Sinhalese barrister of the Colombo elite. He hailed from a Roman Catholic family that had a history in the civil service, and he was a member of the Municipal Councils of Colombo and Kandy. Fernando was also a member and Councillor of the Ceylon and England branches of the Royal Asiatic Society, and a keen historiographer (Spencer, 2002, pp. 95–96; Wright, 1999, pp. 548–549). In his paper *Music of Ceylon* (1894), Fernando cites Nell's treatise in his opening sentence, but does not seek to criticise it in any way. Instead, he admits the need for further research in this area "which is yet an unexplored region to those interested in Ceylon and its people" (Fernando, 1894, p. 183), and informs the reader that he seeks to bridge this gap. His proposed topics of

research were “the vocal music in vogue among the Sinhalese at that time, their sacred music, Sinhalese musical instruments, and the ancient Sinhalese practice of music as a fine art” (1894, p. 183). It does not appear that this subsequent research was carried out or published however, as there are no other musicological publications by C. M. Fernando to be found.

Fernando’s paper involves a description of the music of a Sri Lankan ethnic group called “the Mechanics,” also known as Portuguese Burghers. This music will be described in more detail in Chapter 4.3.1.3. The paper was read to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1894, and Fernando had also organised an authentic Mechanic orchestra to demonstrate some of the melodies. Though this paper is quite a sound investigation accompanied by a thoughtful presentation, the tone of the paper still reflects the Orientalist framings instilled in the minds of Colombo’s elite society. In his critical discourse of Orientalism, Edward Said declares that “The Orient is watched, since its almost (but never quite) offensive behavior issues out of a reservoir of infinite peculiarity; the European, whose sensibility tours the Orient, is a watcher, never involved, always detached” (2003, p. 103). This often results in demeaning commentaries, as evident in Fernando’s paper. Though his aim was to produce ethnographic descriptions, he adopted the air of a detached European observer and sometimes uses belittling words that betray a sense of amusement and condescension. When demonstrating the character of the Mechanics he compares them to American “Negroes,” claiming that,

> just as the latter [“Christy Minstrel songs”] express in themselves the characteristics of the American Negro, his broad, if somewhat coarse, humour ; his simple, almost childish, pathos, and his intense love of family life—so the “Cafferina” and the “Chikothi” of the Mechanic display

> the peculiarities of the Mechanic character, improvidence, at times amounting to recklessness, and the pursuit of pleasure at all costs. (Fernando, 1894, p. 186)

Fernando does not employ the word "uncivilised" to describe either of these ethnic groups as Jeronis Pieris had done with regard to the marriage practices of the Kandyans, as noted in Chapter 2.2. And yet, Fernando's comments imply that the Portuguese-Burghers and African Americans are inferior in some way; that they are primitive and unrefined. The adjectives "childlike" and "improvident" suggest a carelessness and an inability to discipline one's actions. These descriptions, though not quite as blunt, are similar to those found in Nell's musicological paper regarding the Sinhalese published almost four decades previously. Fortunately, however, Fernando demonstrates a keen interest in the music of the Mechanics despite his generalised assumptions about the ethnic group. Further ethnomusicological work conducted in the twentieth century evidences a more genuine effort to understand the musical practices under study and the cultural beliefs that underpin them. While many of the elite still viewed their vernacular-speaking counterparts of the working middle class and the so-called lower class or disadvantaged rural population as "others," some members who felt estranged from the culture of their forebears also took an interest in ethnomusicological inquiry. In the twentieth century, a collective Sinhalese identity, forged around the musical idiom of the rural peasant, would be introduced to Colombo and appropriated to create diverse interpretations of "Sinhalese music" and a national identity.

3.2 Reinventing musical culture

As discussed earlier, the Buddhist revival and its successful re-affiliation with monastic education and scholarship in the native Sinhala language was instrumental in disseminating forgotten histories of the Sinhalese to a subjugated people. It was not

enough, however, to consolidate the Sinhalese national consciousness through literature and the print media. Revivalists also encouraged the practice of old customs and the creation of new traditions. In the introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm suggests that "Inventing traditions. . . is essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012, p. 4). This process is evident in the magnification of Ceylon's Buddhist worshipping practices of the nineteenth century, and in the renewed traditions of the twentieth century which were either direct appropriations of older traditions, or modern inventions with a symbolic and nostalgic link to the past. During the Buddhist revival however, the increasing recurrence of ritualistic activities served as a reconnection with the past. In retaliation against the hegemonisation of local religions through the practices of Christian missionaries, it is possible that the Buddhist revivalists felt the need to demonstrate the validity of their own faith through public displays of worship. Communal worship began to increase amongst the laity. Practices included the *perahäras* ("parades") of drummers and dancers that had once received patronage from the kings. In his dissertation, Sykes (2011) draws examples from the practices of the Buddhist revivalists of the nineteenth century to demonstrate that the link between national identity and music in Ceylon was a relatively modern construction. One example concerns an incident that amounted to the first documented confrontation between Buddhists and Christians. Leading up to Easter in 1883, there was a period of growing tension between the adherents to the two religions that culminated in a violent riot. The antagonism stemmed from a series of Buddhist processions and chanting ceremonies that coincided with Lent and Holy Week. They had been organised by Migettuwatte Gunananda Thera, the aforementioned debater of the temple of Kotahena. Sykes acknowledges that while it first appears that the timing

of these Buddhist celebrations were a direct provocation for the Christians, who were the majority in the area of Kotahena, the clash was inevitable because the Buddhist celebration of full moon happened to fall on Good Friday that year (Sykes, 2011, pp. 75–78); both Buddhist and Christian calendrical cycles overlapped. According to Turpie (2001), the continued positioning of Buddhist festivities in relation to the lunar calendar which had been used during the time of the Buddha signifies the grounding of contemporary practices in an age-old tradition (p. 13). Nevertheless, it has been suggested that in 1883 the drummers behaved in a manner that intentionally caused aggravation. As Sykes (2011) relates, "there is no previous record of the *berava* [caste] using their drumming to annoy others, nor is there any previous record of others complaining about *perahäras*" (p. 81). He therefore concludes that in this instance, the drumming and chanting served as a 'sonic weapon' (Sykes, 2011, pp. 80–81).

It has been argued by Sykes and Wickramasinghe that this novel aesthetic of drumming as an irritant was connected to the British concept of noise, and delineations of public and private space and the codes of behaviour within the public realm (Sykes, 2011, pp. 82–83; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 126). Though they had never been utilised as a weapon or an irritant, drumming and chanting in Theravada Buddhism had always been positioned as "noise" as opposed to "music." One of the ten precepts taken by Buddhist *bhikkus* and eight precepts taken by pious Buddhists requires them to "abstain from seeing dancing, music vocal and instrumental, and dramatic shows" (Mensching, as cited in Laade, 1993, p. 52). As a consequence, endogenous performing arts, music in particular, were hindered in their development beyond the rural, folk quotidian setting, though the aristocracy performed South Indian music. In a conference paper given at the International Symposium of Music at Manila in 1966, Amaradeva stated that after 307BC,

> Buddhism became the guiding spirit of the lives of the Sinhalese. And this aspect of the story is of profound significance, for it is not wrong, by far, to say that Theravada Buddhism acted as a definite brake on the development of music and dancing in the country. It is not, certainly, that the Buddha himself would completely ostracize those popular arts, for the *Sakka Panha Sutta* in the canonical text, *Digha Nikaya,* records an incident where the Buddha praises the dexterity of the divine musician, Pamchasikha. However that may be, the upholders of Theravada Buddhism could not be said to have taken favourably to these fine arts — at least, this is the only possible inference from history. (W. D. Amaradeva, as cited in Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 74)

Though *sarala gee* singer Dayaratna Ranatunga (personal communication, September 8, 2018) and ethnomusicologist Tony Donaldson (2001) dispute such claims by arguing Buddhist chant laid the foundations for Sinhala music, other Sinhala musicians and musicologists agree that Buddhism limited musical development (Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p. 22; Dassenaike, 2012, pp. 16–17; de Mel, 2006, pp. 6–7; Makulloluwa, 1966, p. 53; Surya Sena, 2008, p. XIV). They suggest that the "profound significance" of this abstinence from performing arts and Theravada Buddhist aesthetics are both visible in aspects of traditional Sinhalese music. They are evident, for instance, in the limited melodic range of folk music and the emphasis on rhythm in instrumental music, as evocative melody is said to evoke lust and passion (Kulatillake, 1991, p. 68). Buddhist philosophy dictates that the attainment of enlightenment or inner peace is only possible when the desire for worldly phenomena is relinquished. Therefore, the aesthetic appreciation of music is counterintuitive to the Buddhist doctrine. One might ask that if *bhikkus* were wont to abstain from music, why was drumming afforded such a place in

Buddhist processions? Buddhist musical practices of both Laos and Sri Lanka, for instance, indicate that such music must not evoke aesthetic appreciation and that its purpose is to enhance the learning of those who are early and intermediate members of the laity (Wei & Homsombat, 1976, pp. 32–33). The few advanced members who have gained a deeper understanding of Buddhist philosophy are those who have taken the Eight Precepts ("*aṭa sill*") as opposed to the Five Precepts ("*pan sill*") observed by common people (Laade, 1993, p. 52) and must therefore also abstain from engaging with music. With the use of a detailed questionnaire, Wei and Homsombat (1976) discovered that in both Laos and Sri Lanka, Buddhist music is perceived not as music, but as "sound." Similarly, the Sinhala words used to describe the musical instruments evades any reference to the term "music" (1976, p. 25).[32] The Sri Lankan interview results illustrate the types of instruments used for various proceedings, and the lack of instrumental accompaniment during chanting. Therefore, music may be understood to have played a purely ritualistic functional role in Sinhalese Buddhism.

The binding of music to functionality and the de-emphasis on its aesthetic beauty were not only confined to Buddhist clerical practices but were also imposed on the laity. For instance, Devar Surya Sena notes that while raga and *tāla* refer to melody and rhythm respectively in Indian classical music, the word raga was never used for

[32] It does not appear that Sinhalese agrarian society of the precolonial era used a term that equates to the Western notion of "music" and encompasses both singing and instrumental forms. The ethnomusicologist W. B. Makulloluwa once won an argument to demonstrate that the term "gee" ("song") was used in historic times according to Sahan Ranwala (S. L. Rupavahini, 2016), and a classification of traditional music by Ratnayake suggests that the term "wadana" (*vāḏana* "playing") was used to denote percussion music (2011, p. 82). The aristocratic class however employed the term "Sangeet," owing to their accomplishment and patronage of South Indian music (Surya Sena, 2008, p. 73). According to a Sanskrit-English dictionary, the Sanskrit word "Sangeeta" (spelled "Samgita" in this text) means "a song sung by many voices or singing accompanied by instrumental music, chorus, a concert, any song or music" (Monier-Williams, Leumann, & Cappeller, 2005, p. 1129). This word is currently used by the Sri Lankan population, but it is unclear when this practice started amongst the Sinhalese. It can possibly be traced back to the *nurthi* era (1877–1930), or during the 1930s when professional training in music was first undertaken by the Sinhalese in India.

"melody" in Sinhalese. Instead, "people used to say to singers, 'sing a tala' — 'talayak kiyapan'" (Surya Sena, 2008, p. 3). This quote raises another example of the evasion of the word "melody" in the Sinhala language. The word *kiyapan* which is a colloquialisation of the word "kiyanna" literally means "talk," "say" or "speak." In an interview I conducted with the Amaradeva family, the word was used several times. In one instance, Wimala Amaradeva said, "Api Ayiya gänaṯ kiyamuḏa?" ["Shall we talk about his brother too?"]. Ranjana Amaradeva also used the word before his mother sang a *paṯal kavi* (miner's song) for me.[33] Wimala said she could not remember all the words and Ranjana replied, "Kamak nähä. Poḍḍak kiyanna." ["It's alright, just sing a little part"]. The use of the word *kiyanna* in varied contexts of performance and speech as described above seems to be associated with the nature of traditional Sinhalese musical practices. The most "native" of these forms of music are folk songs such as the one Wimala performed for me, and they are sometimes found to have a melodic range of about three to five notes (Aravinda, 2000, p. 131) while only a few, those from coastal areas which were thus more prone to exogenous influences, have a wider melodic range of five or more notes (Surya Sena, 2008, p. 2). Chant-like music can be found in the folk plays called *kōlam*, *sokari* and *rūkaḍa*. As well as being a source of entertainment, these plays served a functional role, as they involved ritualistic invocations or were performed to keep farmers awake during the threshing season so that they could guard their crops from pests (E. Peiris, 1974, p. 28; Surya Sena, 2008, pp. 60–61). It has also been suggested that a fairly large volume of traditional Sinhalese music serves as accompaniment for dances and therefore in these forms an emphasis has been placed on metre and rhythm rather than melodic range and interest (Kulatillake, 1976, p. 15).

[33] Sinhalese people use the word "kavi," originating from Sanskrit, to either mean "song" or poem." The word "gee" can also be used interchangeably when referring to folk songs, or any other form of vocal music.

Despite the prevalence of narrow melodic contours in Sinhala music however, Kulatillake does cite some exceptions such as the Christian *pasams* of Negambo, selected *virahās* (love songs of the Kandyan courts), an old set of 21 *vannams* (a song with descriptive lyrics or accompaniment for a pantomimic dance), [34] and one invocation sung to the Kiri Amma deity in a remote village (Kulatillake, 1976, p. 16). Also, in the nineteenth century a new type of folk drama called *nāḍagam* was in vogue amongst the villagers. The songs of these plays had melodies that were more developed than those of the traditional folk dramas (C. d. S. Kulatillake, 1976, p. 10; Surya Sena, 1954, p. 11). *Nāḍagam* was an appropriation of the South Indian street drama called *terrukuttu* brought to Sri Lanka in the seventeenth century. It is believed that the first Sinhalese *nāḍagam* was produced by Pillippu Sinho in 1824 (E. Peiris, 1974, pp. 30, 35; Robinson, 1988, p. 82). The practices of traditional music as described here continued in villages during the nineteenth century, but they were relatively unknown to the residents of Colombo. In the capital, the main form of non-European entertainment relished by the vernacular-speaking working classes — those belonging to the middle and lower-middle class — was a form of stage drama called *nurthi*, derived from India (Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 85–86). The first *nurthi* production was performed in Colombo in 1877 by the Parsi Theatrical Troup of Bombay. Local playwrights such as C. Don Bastian Jayaweera Bandara, Makalandage John de Silva and in the next century Charles Dias began to stage successful Sinhalese productions. Colombo audiences were drawn to the novelties of *nurthi* productions which differed from *nāḍagams* in that they included female cast members, stage effects, indoor settings with better lighting, and short durations of a few hours as opposed to performances that spanned over five days (Rubin et al., 1998, p. 525). North Indian music was also a novel feature of these plays

[34] See Jayaweera (2004) for more information on *vannams*.

and it is quite possible that their success led to the popularisation of North Indian genres of song in Sri Lanka.[35]

Developments in the practice of Buddhist music occurred in parallel with that of music used for theatre. Communal Buddhist practices that had been created in the nineteenth century and reinforced through repetition became well established in the early-twentieth century. It was believed that festivities and singing were features of Christianity and attracted educated Sinhalese converts (Frost, 2002, p. 955). Following the Christian practices of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, American Colonel Henry Steel Olcott, who established the Buddhist Theosophical Society mentioned in Chapter 2.3, devised similar Buddhist practices such as the annual Vesak Day celebrations that were declared a public holiday from 1885 onwards. Vesak Day was said to be the date coinciding with the birth, death and enlightenment of the Lord Buddha. However, as noted previously, celebratory activities were not traditionally afforded by Buddhist doctrine as they are considered a worldly act and as such, Vesak had not been celebrated as a public holiday even in precolonial times (Turpie, 2001, p. 19). However, revivalists perceived that the alienating experience of colonialism had necessitated the need to find new expressions of communal identity and therefore the Vesak celebrations were fashioned in the style of Christmas.[36] In the twentieth century, Buddhists would decorate the streets with *ṭoran* (lit-up displays of Buddhist *jāṭaka* tales), send each other cards, make Vesak lanterns and sing Vesak carols (Frost, 2002, p. 955; Turpie, 2001, pp. 18–22; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 91). Present day Vesak celebrations are much the same with the exception of the Vesak carols or *bhakthi gee* as

[35] For more information about the songs of *nurthi* plays, see Chapter 4.3.1.1.

[36] Compared to the modern celebrations of the twentieth century, Vesak celebrations in the nineteenth century remained a modest affair. They were held at temples and involved the lighting of lamps, provision of offerings, and the observance of the Buddhist precepts (Turpie, 2001, p. 17).

they are most commonly known. Today these devotional songs bear a resemblance to the contemporary Sinhala *sarala gee,* which originated in the 1940s. During the late-nineteenth century however, this idiom had not yet been developed and there were allegedly no Sinhalese musicians skilled in composition.[37] As a result, Olcott obtained the services of Charles W. Leadbeater, a Christian minister who was sympathetic to the plight of Buddhists. An example of a hymn composed in 1893 shows a striking similarity to the Christian hymns sung at that time (Turpie, 2001, pp. 20–21). Regardless of their unoriginality, it appears that these Buddhist hymns were sung by the laity in Buddhist processions during the first few decades of the twentieth century (Frost, 2002, p. 955).

3.3 Cultural Re-Awakenings

It was established in Chapter 2 that the increased Sinhalese scholarship and authorship that was an indirect result of the Buddhist revival stimulated the expansion of the Sinhalese print media. It is evident that the nationalist discourse that was dispersed by the Buddhist literati had some impact on the lives of the Colombo bourgeoisie, who also had access to the *pirivena* education and were thereby increasing their proficiency in vernacular practices. By the early-twentieth century, the literate Sinhalese working class had begun to absorb the cultural information published in periodicals and were developing a desire to return to a more traditional lifestyle. This involved the criticism of foreign capitalists and the condemnation of Western commodities such as soap, perfume and powder, and a preference for traditional *ayurvedic* medicine. Cultural changes corresponding with these altered attitudes came

[37] While it is true that most theatre music was composed by foreigners in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Devar Surya Sena discovered some Buddhist devotional songs composed by a Sinhalese composer in the south of Sri Lanka during the early-twentieth century. These songs were based on melismatic folk music ornamentation, *nāḍagam* theatre songs, and *nurthi gee* (Surya Sena, 2008, pp. 98–99). Olcott's allegations, therefore, are false and demonstrate the perceived worthlessness of traditional Sri Lankan music at that time.

into existence in the 1920s and 1930s, coinciding with the constitutional changes described in the previous chapter which gradually led to universal franchise. For instance, the British had viewed traditional medicine as a fraudulent practice from which natives should be spared, but due to its heightened demand in the early-twentieth century, it received government patronage from 1927 (Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 104–105).

Though patriotic propaganda aimed at the masses was fostering anti-Western ideologies, resulting in the rejection of Western culture, the urban working classes continued to favour the *nurthi* theatre music from North India instead of looking to endogenous music during the early-twentieth century. Sinhalese *nurthi* songs (*nurthi gee*) were first recorded for the gramophone in 1906 (Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p. 32; Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 87). The most successful local *nurthi* playwright was John de Silva (1857–1922), a nationalist member of the Colombo elite. He staged his first theatrical production in 1886, but it is said that his dramas took on a distinctive characteristic after 1902. This coincided with his establishment of the Arya Subodha Drama Society. In 1903, he acquired the services of a Hindustani musician called Vishvanath Lawjee to assist him in composing original melodies for his dramas. Their first collaboration was *Sirisangabo*, which depicts the character of a heroic king and was immensely popular (Ariyarathna, 2008, p. 19; Field, 2014b, p. 1046). One of its songs, *Danno Buddunge*, is still present in Sri Lanka's popular music canon and was also recorded by Pandith Amaradeva. The name of John de Silva's drama company along with his adaptation of stories from the historical chronicles such as the *Mahavamsa* demonstrate his belief in the Arya-Sinhala identity. Further, the ethnomusicologist Garrett Field cites a passage from the preface to the play *Sirisangabo* wherein de Silva claims that the poetic metres of classical Sinhala poetry were derived

from the *tāla* or rhythmic cycles of Hindustani classical music and therefore concludes that this music was practiced during Lanka's ancient period.[38] Other researchers have contested however that South Indian music was present in the Sinhalese courts (C. d. S. Kulatillake, 1976, p. 4; Makulloluwa, 1966, p. 51). Returning to the precolonial history outlined in Chapter 2.1, we recall that there was often a peaceful coexistence between the Tamil and Sinhalese aristocracy and much acculturation took place as a result. Thus, the presence of South Indian music is likely. Yet, John de Silva believed that North Indian music was "an authentic expression of the Arya-Sinhala cultural ethos" (Field, 2014b, p. 1046). The success of John de Silva's plays and their original melodies resulted in the popularisation of North Indian music, both light and classical, in Sri Lanka. Exposure to John de Silva's plays prompted many Sinhalese to study Hindustani classical music under Indian musicians (Ariyarathna, 2014, p. 75; E. Jayakody, personal communication, August 19, 2018; Kumara, 2015, p. 298; W. D. Amaradeva (1967), as cited in Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 78). Though many of these musicians contributed to the emerging genre of light music based on Indian melodies, called *aluth sindu* ("new songs") (Field, 2017, p. 31), original compositions by Sinhalese musicians did not appear until the advent of *sarala gee* in the 1940s.

Like the other literati of the early-twentieth century, John de Silva was an advocate of Sinhala nationalism. One of his main goals was to reacquaint the Sinhalese youth with their heritage and history as told in the ancient chronicles. Also, as mentioned previously, the Buddhist revival had brought about a resistance towards Western capitalism and certain consumer products. John de Silva criticised women for supposedly wasting their husbands' hard-earned money buying caps and gowns to wear and his plays

[38] John de Silva does not specify the dates that constitute the ancient period, but it can be assumed that he was referring to the Anuradhapura period which prevailed from 377BC–1077AD (see Peebles, 2006, pp. 1, 13–26).

promoted the display of the modest national dress called the *osariya*. This garment, originating from Kandy, is a *saree* adorned with a frilly sash around the waist. De Silva claimed that more women were wearing it as a result of his plays. Another Buddhist virtue that was portrayed in his dramas was abstinence from smoking and drinking. These aims had been shared by the nationalist Anagarika Dharmapala (1864–1933), who had once been a member of the Buddhist Theosophical Society. However, the poet and essayist Gunadasa Amarasekara surmises one significant distinction between the two intellectuals. John de Silva did not perceive folk culture as an authentic expression of Sinhala identity, and he sought to enable the elite and upper middle class to achieve empowerment and political agency by imploring them to draw strength from their historical, religious and cultural heritage. Anagarika Dharmapala however believed that the disadvantaged rural population were the segment of society whose social and cultural life were most in need of support (Ariyarathna, 2008, pp. 15–16). Dharmapala addressed a letter to the Maha Bodhi Society in 1906 relating the hardships of this disadvantaged group:

> Every village industry is now being killed by articles made in Germany, and the villagers who are agriculturists suffer when their harvests fail from inundations. In the wilds of Hiniduma where I was a fortnight ago the illiterate villagers complained to me that their only source of livelihood depend upon chena cultivation,[39] and fields they have very few or none. Aliens are taking away the wealth of the country and the sons of the soil where are they to go? The immigrants who come here have other places to go to, the Sinhalese has no place to go to. (1965, p. 528)

[39] Chena cultivation involves harvesting crops on a permanent plot of land using shifting slash-and-burn techniques, i.e. clearing away vegetation and burning the land to plant crops (Woost, 1993, p. 508).

Such opinions were a precursor for later Sinhalese politicians who regarded their ethnic group as an endangered minority, even when they were a clear statistical majority. In light of the situation described above, Dharmapala In his essay *A Message to the Young Men of Ceylon* exhorted the Sinhalese people to "Stand up for your rights, and learn to love your starving, poor, neglected Sinhalese brother, the village *goiya* ["farmer"], for after all, it is the agricultural and the labouring class that form the backbone of the Sinhalese nation" (1965, p. 512). Anagarika Dharmapala's form of nationalist activism would take effect in the 1940s and play a key role in the second wave of atavistic Sinhalese nationalism during and after the pivotal 1956 government elections.[40]

Nevertheless, the Sinhalese nationalist consciousness continued to grow amongst the middle classes, especially after the Donoughmore Constitution granted universal suffrage in 1931. For the Sinhalese, the importance of national dress grew after this point. Authentic national dress had initially been propagated by Anagarika Dharmapala. He suggested that Sinhalese men should trade their Western clothes for a white, formalised version of the *sarong* (called *sarama* in Sinhalese) and the banian (long-sleeved shirt) that was still worn by farmers. Some working class people did adopt this dress but their actions were seen as a rebellion against colonial rule and they were either ridiculed or punished (Wickramasinghe, 2003, pp. 12–15). After 1931 however, national dress became a marker of an empowered identity and a means of resistance against the British. At first the formal national dress for men was that previously prescribed by Dharmapala but the garment was marginally altered to add an element of local authenticity. After some time, a slightly different lower garment called "the cloth," first introduced by Ananda College principal P. de S. Kularatne in the early

[40] In the early-twentieth century however, the struggle for political power was fought by the elite class and therefore the politicisation of peasants was not a common goal.

1920s, was eventually adopted by the politicians and the working classes and was chosen as the winner at the national dress parade held in 1941.[41] The ideal dress for women was the Kandyan *osariya*, as it was a modest dress covering the entire torso and legs and therefore symbolised chastity.

Figure 3.1

Wedding Photograph of Prime Ministers S. W. R. D. and Sirimavo Bandaranaike Wearing National Costumes in 1940 (SirimavoBandaranaike.org, n.d.)

Most people in Colombo, however did not wear the national dress (Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 100–101, 103, 106). Aside from the emphasis placed on national dress, cultural activists also adopted Kandyan symbols as emblems of the State. From the mid-1930s to the era of independence, the government re-acquired valuable historical artefacts that had been taken overseas, many of which were Kandyan. One of the items was the cranium of Keppetipola, a Kandyan Chief who had taken part leadership during

[41] Neither of the sources by Nira Wickramasinghe (2003, 2015) provide the Sinhalese term for "the cloth." I have deduced that it may have been called the *wettiya*, which was worn by Amaradeva after his return from India (Kumara, 2015, p. 42). I asked Amaradeva's daughter about this and she told me that the lower garment he wore at this time, the *wettiya*, was not a sarong; it was a cloth (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018).

the rebellion of 1818 against the British (Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 109, 115). By then, as mentioned previously, the ancient city of Anuradhapura, the island's capital from 377BC–1077AD and which had boasted significant advancements in religion, language and irrigation, had also been revived through "historical, archaeological, and aesthetic practices" such as the restoration of ancient buildings, and was transformed into a modern site of pilgrimage (2015, p. 92).

3.4 Sri Lankan Music Education and Scholarship

Though new mediums for the expression of Sinhalese culture such as the novel and the stage drama had begun to take shape in the first decade of the twentieth century, musicians did not seem ready to engage in the creation of new and distinct genres of Sinhalese music that aligned with growing nationalist sentiments. This may be due to the lack of music education in Sri Lanka, and the fact that the hereditary *berava* caste of musicians sat low on the social strata. This is likely owing to the complex relationship between Theravada Buddhism and the arts, as the former's doctrine permitted individual arts such as painting and sculpting while condemning communal arts, such as music, drama and poetic recitation (E. R. Sarachchandra, 1966, pp. 8–9).[42] In elite society, musicianship was deemed an inappropriate profession for males while females were often encouraged to learn Western classical music from a young age in order to comply with Victorian ideals of womanhood (Jayawardena, 2000, pp. 280–281). The gramophone was introduced to Sri Lanka in 1900 and in the first decade were primarily

[42] Theravada Buddhists believe that singing, dancing and drama evoked the "pleasure of the senses;" which detracts from the noble path of the laity (E. R. Sarachchandra, 1966, p. 9). According to Sarachchandra, the reason for the major role of these arts in pre-Colonial Sinhalese culture is that Theravada Buddhist doctrine was only concerned with an individualistic path to salvation. The religion therefore did not interfere with the laylife or the necessities of material existence, and the folk religion of deity worship and demon exorcism from which congregational rituals emerged filled in this gap. It is also noted that the congregational Buddhist *pirit* ceremony was likely introduced to Sri Lanka through Mahayana Buddhism (E. R. Sarachchandra, 1966, pp. 1–2, 4).

owned by the Anglicised elite. Historical records do not specify what music they consumed, but judging by the taste of Anglicised elites in India it is likely that they listened to Western classical music, marching band music, comic songs and church music (Wickramasinghe, 2014, pp. 81–88). The first Sinhalese recordings were produced during the Gramophone Company's recording tour to Ceylon in 1905 (Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p. 139). From 1906, the recording of *nurthi* theatre music catered to the tastes of the working classes who congregated in communal areas to listen to recordings and watch stage plays (Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p. 32; Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 88). Wickramasinghe (2014) noted that all Eastern music records sold in Ceylon during the first decade of the twentieth century were produced in the Gramophone Company's factory in Sealdah, Calcutta (p. 85). Alawathukotuwa (2015) reports that the International Talking Machine Company was another early producer of Ceylonese records (p. 140). An online database of Sri Lankan records suggests that by the 1930s, the Colombia Record Company and the Gramophone Company (then under the label His Master's Voice or HMV) were the most prolific record producers in the industry.[43]

The early-twentieth century also saw further musicological publications in the RAS. This research was markedly different from the papers previously discussed, no doubt in response to the growing nationalist movement. Ananda Coomaraswamy put forward *A Plea for the Teaching of Indian Music in Ceylon* (1906), published in the *Journal of the Colombo University Association*. Coomaraswamy was of Sri Lankan Tamil and English descent, and formed the Ceylon Reform Society in 1905 to unite the Ceylonese ethnic groups and promote a collective national identity. Similar to the

[43] The online database of Sri Lankan gramophone records can be accessed here: http://www.srilankanrecords.com/gramophone.html.

Buddhist revivalists of the nineteenth century, the Society hosted speeches and published articles describing aspects of traditional Sri Lankan culture and criticising the unthinking imitation of foreign cultures (Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 204–206; Donaldson, 2001, pp. 10–11). Several English-educated Sinhalese Buddhists who had been involved in the Buddhist revival also joined the Ceylon Reform Society (Dharmadasa, 1992, p. 205). One of these men was W. A. de Silva, whose research on Sinhalese ritual music will be discussed further on. Coomaraswamy was of the opinion that India should be hailed as Ceylon's motherland, as it was being subjected to the same processes of imperial subjugation and Westernisation (Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 73). However, he has been criticised somewhat with claims that he framed Ceylonese culture as subordinate to that of India, thus depriving the Sinhalese people of their uniqueness (Donaldson, 2001, p. 12). This is evident in the aforementioned publication regarding the establishment of Indian music education in all of Ceylon's schools. Early in his speech, Coomaraswamy states that,

> The Sinhalese have a right to the heritage of Indian music no less than to every other aspect of Indian culture, for historically speaking, they are perhaps more Indian than the Indians themselves and the undoubted fact that music has been more neglected by them than by Tamils need not deter them from seeking new inspiration in India, itself; as the Tamils also must do. (1906, p. 143)

When dealing with Amaradeva's music later on in this thesis, it will become clear that it was indeed inevitable for him to gather musical inspiration from India. However, in claiming that the Sinhalese are "perhaps more Indian than the Indians themselves," Coomaraswamy candidly dismisses the presence of a unique Sinhalese culture that possesses its own customs, beliefs and forms of art which undeniably draw from Indian

and other exogenous cultures but which are distinct to the Sinhalese people in specific ways. It is possible that in the above statement, Coomaraswamy was referring to the neglect of the musical practices of the aristocratic families, who had played and listened to South Indian musical instruments for leisure (Bandar, 1908, p. 130; Laade, 1993, p. 54). Coomaraswamy regretted that intimate Indian classical music performances were no longer in vogue and also lamented the introduction of machinery, which was resulting in the decline of work songs (1906, pp. 143–144). The work songs in reference are the folk songs of the Sinhalese peasants. This suggests that Coomaraswamy had a knowledge of traditional Sinhalese culture, though it was at this point relatively obscure to the residents of Colombo. Yet when he reinforced the importance of the study of music by local and European students alike at the Colombo university (which was under planning and had not yet been established), he did not suggest the study of traditional Sri Lankan music. This may be due to an ongoing debate that comes to light in this article; a debate that involves the comparison of Western music and Indian music in order to demonstrate which system deserves superior status. In the majority of the article, he quotes criticisms of both Indian and Western music and addresses the criticisms of Indian music to argue that it should be taught in Ceylon due to its greater flexibility as evidenced by quarter tones and an endless number of modes (1906, pp. 145–148). Coomaraswamy also argues that instead of the piano, the violin should be studied as it is an affordable instrument that has the ability to replicate the intricate tones of Indian music (1906, p. 147). The affordability of the violin was an important factor and it did become a common instrument taught in schools after Indian music was introduced to the school curriculum in the 1930s (Abesundara, 2012, p. 22; Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 79; R. Weerasinghe, 2010, p. 24). However, traditional Sinhalese music was not taught in schools until the early 1960s (Makulloluwa, 1966, p. 58).

It is possible that the only form of traditional Sinhalese music heard in the cultural centre of Ceylon in the early-twentieth century was temple drumming. Folk music remained in the confines of specific rural areas and village ritual music declined due to a 'pure' form of Buddhism promoted by Olcott and the other theosophists, and which renounced animistic and shamanistic practices (Bond, 1992, p. 52; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 90). However, scholarly attention to traditional Sinhalese music was beginning to increase slightly due to the cultural resurgence that had occurred in the wake of the nineteenth-century Buddhist revival, as evident in the second research article published by the RAS (Fernando, 1894) noted previously. Moving beyond the nineteenth century, the first RAS article of the twentieth century on music was written by a descendant of the Kandyan aristocracy called Mahawalatenne Bandar (1908). It is an interesting article in the nostalgia it expresses as it laments the decline of Kandyan music. This study differs from other research because it also describes musical practices of the precolonial elite — the Kandyan aristocracy — rather than the common folk. We are informed that the nobles kept private bands of musicians and also considered the ability to perform music an accomplishment (Bandar, 1908, p. 130). Though the author does not describe the nature of the music they enjoyed, this article is important because it provides contextual information regarding the place of music in upper-class society, and the paradoxical decline of music as a profession nearing the dawn of Sinhala popular music.

This was followed by two research papers describing ritual music. One of these (W. A. de Silva, 1920) describes ceremonial songs performed for guardian spirits. Cultural and religious contexts and beliefs regarding spirits are discussed, however the focus of this article is the literary aspects of these songs and no musical features are described. A precursor to this article was also produced by W. A. de Silva and cowritten

by A. M. Gunasekara. In both articles, the authors consult books containing transcripts of verses from historical manuscripts of palm leaves which were preserved in villages (W. A. de Silva, 1920, p. 14). The music of the ritualistic ceremonies called *bali* are depicted in the first article published (W. A. de Silva & Gunasekara, 1911). The nature of the ceremonies and the types of verses which are sung are described in detail. It is important to note here that the Sinhalese often interchange the words "singing" and recitation." C. de S. Kulatillake points out that there was indeed a "strong link between recitation and singing" (Kulatillake, 1976, p. 15). This poses a problem when attempting to classify traditional forms of Sinhala music, as some people include recited verse while others do not.

One of the significant contributions to Sri Lankan ethnomusicology also occurred during the 1920s by Devar Surya Sena (1899–1981) who was a member of the Anglicised elite. He grew up in a cosmopolitan household. His family maintained European lifestyles but also upheld some Sinhalese customs because his grandmother practiced the Buddhist faith (Surya Sena, 1978, pp. 1–13). He obtained his elementary and tertiary education in England. Though he studied law in Cambridge, he left this profession in 1927 to commence a singing career (Surya Sena, 1978, pp. 14–50, 57–61). He returned to London from Colombo to acquire further training, specialising in German *lieder* (art songs), but eventually he gave up being, as he put it, "a poor imitation of an Englishman" (Surya Sena, 2008, p. IX) and pursued traditional Sinhalese music (Surya Sena, 1978, pp. 62–63). When Surya Sena returned to Ceylon in 1929 he sought to discover its hidden musical traditions. Initially the task seemed very difficult. The Sinhalese *gurus* he visited for assistance believed that "Sinhala music. . . was dead. Four hundred years of foreign occupation had destroyed much of our culture" (Surya Sena, 1978, p. 64). But Surya Sena persisted. He travelled throughout the island

collecting field notes and compiling transcriptions in Western music notation. He was accompanied by a *guru* who noted down the Sinhala verses (Surya Sena, 1978, pp. 64–65). Presumably Surya Sena could not read or write Sinhala, though his autobiography suggests he did speak some of the language when he was very young to communicate with his Sinhalese nanny (Surya Sena, 1978, p. 7). Due to the state of linguistic diglossia described in Chapter 2.4, the poetic literary language used in the folk songs would have differed greatly from Surya Sena's spoken dialect.

Unfortunately, however, Surya Sena was unable to consolidate these notes before his death in 1981. The Devar Surya Sena Trust took the initiative to publish the research and entrusted the task of editing and consolidating the notes to Marina Ismail. Sena is attributed as the book's author, though he is referred to in the third person throughout. The preface of the book presents him as an "ardent nationalist, in spite of being educated in England" because he had left the "respectable" occupation as a lawyer to become a full-time singer. An aspect mentioned here which is of cultural significance is that "a singing career was unheard of among the upper classes" (Surya Sena, 2008, p. IX). But with his voice, Sena was able to expose Sinhala traditional music to a local and international audience through performance and research such as that contained in this publication. His posthumous publication is important not only because it describes bygone Sinhalese musical practices but because it describes music of other ethnic groups such as the Tamils, Muslims, Burghers and the indigenous Väddas. The book consists of several chapters, the first of which grapples with the thorny question of what constitutes Sri Lankan music. An overview of various Sinhalese folk music categories was also presented through Surya Sena's fieldwork. In addition, the publication includes descriptions of instruments, their classification and

other Sinhalese music such as *viriňḏu*, *virahā* and *nurthi* songs and music from the regions of Kandy and Ruhuna.

Surya Sena's publication serves as an anthology to the traditional forms of Sri Lankan music. His contribution to the traditional arts was not confined to print, however. He completed his field work in 1929 and organised his first Colombo recital consisting of Western classical vocal music and Sinhala folk songs. This was the first time traditional Sinhala music had been performed in a formal setting in Colombo and by all accounts the audience was very receptive. The recital was held at the Royal College Hall and Surya Sena (1978) wrote that "It was a large and distinguished audience that gathered for the Recital. The Chief Justice was there. So were many of Dad's political colleagues and top Civil Servants.[44] The audience, Ceylonese and European, thoroughly enjoyed the programme. . . . Next day I hit the headlines" (p. 66). Though he was successful in drawing endogenous music in from the periphery and creating an awareness of it amongst the Colombo cultural elites he neglected to disseminate it beyond the more cosmopolitan confines of the capital. To begin with, most ordinary people could not afford to attend such prestigious events. Perhaps more significantly the stylistic elements of Surya Sena's vocal presentations were most likely at odds with local, traditional ones. As demonstrated by recordings of his folk songs, Surya Sena retained the Western classical bel canto style of singing despite his studies at Rabindranath Tagore's Santiniketan in Western Bengal, India during the 1930s (Surya Sena, 2008, pp. 75–78). It appears that the twenty-two recordings, which were produced by H.M.V., were not widely popular in Ceylon.

[44] Devar Surya Sena's father was James Peiris, a renowned Barrister who advocated for the island's self-governance and the abolition of peasant taxes (Cooray, 1993). He later received a knighthood for his efforts and also became the President of the Ceylon National Congress (Rajasingham, 2001).

The sale of H.M.V. records in Ceylon was entrusted to a man reportedly called G. G. who according to Surya Sena knew very little about music. A proposal set forth by Mr. G. G. suggests that he had a greater interest in the tides of mass culture. He approached Surya Sena, commending him for his "very fine voice," (Surya Sena, 1978, p. 185) and asked him to establish his fame by recording the melodies of the great Indian singer K. L. Saigal using Sinhala lyrics. This suggests that the style of Surya Sena's voice may not have been as large a drawback as the content of the music he had recorded. Though G. G. assured Surya Sena that there was no copyright in place to protect gramophone songs, Devar Surya Sena deemed the idea "most improper," and that was the end of that (Surya Sena, 1978). Fortunately, Surya Sena had been in possession of the sample recordings, and a CD containing five of the folk songs accompanies the book comprising his research. Three are sung acapella, one is sung to the accompaniment of a *rabana* (frame drum) and *ṯālampaṭa* (hand cymbals) and the remaining two are accompanied by an "Oriental harp" (Surya Sena, 1978, p. 184) providing harmonisation through strummed and arpeggiated chords. One of these latter recordings also has violin interludes. This orchestration signifies the cosmopolitan style that would later be the basis of Sinhala popular music.

3.5 Radio Ceylon and Sinhalese Nationalism

Radio Ceylon was a significant organisation that exerted influence on the localisation of music production towards the era of independence. After a successful broadcasting experiment by E. Harper and other supporting engineers in Colombo during February, 1924, radio broadcasting was inaugurated by Governor Manning in June that same year. Ceylon was the first South Asian country to introduce broadcasting (Karunanayake, 1990, p. 87). The Secretary of State of the British colonies declared that "Broadcasting will be under the State control though not necessarily operated by the

State" (Thomas (1924), as cited in Pujitha-Gunawardana, 1990, p. 15). Early programming mainly consisted of commercial gramophone records loaned or purchased from record companies until the radio station started producing its own records in the late 1930s (Karunanayake, 1990, p. 286; Pujitha-Gunawardana, 1990, p. 52). Karunanayake claimed that during the first stage of radio broadcasting in the 1920s, "there was no established popular music tradition in the country. There were no Sinhala or Tamil records nor were there many established artistes. In the absence of any distinct music tradition the station had to start with popular tastes" such as British orchestral music (Karunanayake, 1990, p. 285). Therefore, English programs and Western music such as Classical music, brass band, jazz, orchestral dances and "gramophone records" constituted the majority of airtime (Times of Ceylon, 1926, 1927, 1928). In comparison, only 10 percent of programs were dedicated to South Asian music, both Sinhalese and Carnatic. The Sinhala records may have consisted of *nurthi* theatre music. An increase of Sinhala recording artists grew in the 1930s, though there were still not many original compositions. The standard practice was to write lyrics and set them to existing Indian popular songs. Some musicians such as H. W. Rupasinghe, A. R. M. Ibrahim, Lakshmi Bai and Alan Ratnayake sang songs with nationalist themes in the 1930s (Karunanayake, 1990, pp. 285–286), but it would appear that there was nothing "Sinhala" about the music. For example, the instant hit *Siri Buddhagaya Vihare* by Rukmani Devi and H. W. Rupasinghe in 1938 was a direct copy of a Hindi song with altered lyrics that implored the people to take a pilgrimage to the place of the Lord Buddha's enlightenment. This song was also remade by Amaradeva and Devi in the *sarala gee* idiom in 1977 (see Chapter 7.3 for more details). In the 1930s, a radio questionnaire created by Radio Ceylon to determine the population's musical preferences illustrated that roughly two-thirds of the people who participated in the

survey preferred English programs, while about half of those who preferred oriental programs had a liking for the Sinhala programs (Karunanayake, 1990, p. 288).[45] It should be noted, however, that most radio owners lived in urban areas and were of the Anglicised elite class. Other listeners often gathered around radios owned by affluent members of the village such as shopkeepers and therefore their listening preferences would likely not have been included in the survey results (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, November 26, 2020).

In 1937, full-time Sinhala and Tamil announcers were hired to replace the technical officer and clerical staff member who had previously been performing vernacular announcements. The chosen candidates were S. Nadarasa and D. M. Colombage (Pujitha-Gunawardana, 1990, p. 54). *Sarala gee* musician Dayaratna Ranatunga related one of Colombage's early broadcasting experiences to me:

> I happened to be the nephew of Mr. D.M. Colombage. So in those days what they did was, there was no news bulletin actually. He had to say what he saw on the road and say what he experienced as the news bulletin. So he used to say "Mama däṅ enakoṭa Nawala pārē, mehama planes giyā. Ēvā bōmba geniyanäṯi. Api okkoma tunneleka äṯule gihin hiṭiyā. Mama avillā ḏäṅ broadcasting paṭangannavā" ["When I was coming along Nawala road just now, planes went like this. They must have been carrying bombs. We all went and hid in the tunnels and waited. Now I have come to start broadcasting"]. That's the way they did it in those days. . . . So that's the way they started. And he was the first

[45] Out of the participants of the radio questionnaire, 47 percent were European or Burgher while the rest were 26 percent Sinhalese, 10 percent Tamil and 7 percent Muslim (Karunanayake, 1990, p. 288).

one who announced as “Mama Kolambin kaṭākaranavā” [“I’m speaking from Colombo” (Personal communication, September 8, 2018)

As well as improvising their announcements, these presenters were also initially charged with choosing records from the gramophone companies (Karunanayake, 1990, p. 286; Pujitha-Gunawardana, 1990, p. 54).[46] However, the radio station purchased its own recording equipment in 1936 and started producing records in 1937. The station commenced auditions for resident artists that same year and introduced a ranking system. They also started recording a few Sinhala folk songs at the studio and made arrangements for the procurement of more portable recording equipment that could be transported to rural villages to record authentic performances. However, with the outbreak of the Second World War, these efforts were halted. After the war, in 1946, the project was resumed in Kandy, where a few *vannams* and other folk songs were recorded and aired to wide acclaim (Pujitha-Gunawardana, 1990, pp. 53, 148–149).

Some awareness of endogenous folk music was being created by the radio and as independence neared, a select few of the Sinhalese musicians such as Ananda Samarakoon and Sunil Santha who studied at Rabindranath Tagore’s institution in India were beginning to explore a new direction in popular music (Karunanayake, 1990, p. 289). Tagore, the influential Bengali poet, composer and Nobel laureate, had appreciated the work of Sinhalese nationalist Anagarika Dharmapala, who also contributed to the revival of Buddhism in India. Tagore had a fascination with Buddhism and he contributed verses to be performed at Buddhist celebrations in Sri Lanka. He was also aware of the belief in the Vijaya legend and the fact that the Sinhalese looked to Bengal as their motherland. He was therefore more than obliged to

[46] The local companies that sold records were Messrs Cargills, Millers, Porolis Fernando, Musical Stores, Siedles and Don Carolis (Karunanayake, 1990, p. 286).

receive Ceylon as a daughter and visited the island several times. According to Dharmadasa his most influential visits took place in 1922, 1928 and 1934. He gave lectures concerning the availability and benefits of university education in India and staged dramas such as *Saapmochan* which would have a profound impact on Sri Lankan artists (Dharmadasa, 2011, pp. 1–4). As with the *nurthi* dramas of John de Silva, Tagore's influence inspired Sinhalese musicians to study at the Bengali Santiniketan, an institution of aesthetic studies based on the forest hermitages of ancient India (Gupta, 2016, p. 6). Pandith Amaradeva emerged as a violinist during this time, and therefore gained much influence from these musicians. The most senior of them was Ananda Samarakoon (1911–1962), closely followed by Sunil Santha (1915–1981). Their compositions incorporated Sinhalese folk music, Indian music and Western music and were immensely popular amongst the Sinhalese (K. Dissanayaka, personal communication, August 20, 2018; Field, 2014a, pp. 8–19; Sheeran, 1997, pp. 196–199). In his book *Sunil Haňḍa* ("Voice of Sunil," 1947), Sunil Santha expresses the cultural significance of his musical success:

> They are ashamed to talk in our mother tongue. Apart from singing an English song in an English vocal style, there is no music of Sri Lanka they like. Some of them jokingly say 'This is Sinhalese music" and start singing *pal kavi, karatta kavi, sipada,* and *vannam* [Sinhalese folk songs]. Except for flippantly singing folk song, I find our current situation quite upsetting. . . . Those who gagged from distaste of the Sinhala language and gave prominence to English are now happily singing these lyrics [of Santha's new songs]. (Santha (1947), as cited in Field, 2014a, p. 9)

This suggests that despite the exposure given to folk music by Radio Ceylon, the elite class still scorned it. To cater to Western tastes, Santha used a simpler vocal style that

was devoid of the ornamentation found in Hindustani classical music (Donaldson, 2001, p. 22; Ariyarathna (2002), as cited in Field, 2014a, pp. 18–19), though the use of ornamental slides characteristic of Sri Lankan church music can still be heard in his early songs. Despite the innovations and popularity of these composers, however, the majority of music played in Sinhala programs were still Hindi copies.

After the Sri Lanka Freedom Party's Sinhala-only policy that was enacted in 1960 however, the State perceived the necessity of folk music in Sri Lankan culture. The significance of rural culture within the construction of an authentic Sinhala identity not only influenced the objectives of Radio Ceylon, but was also manifested within other fields of the arts as a reflection of the blossoming collective nationalist consciousness of the Sinhalese people. Distinctive works included the novel *Virāgaya* by Martin Wickramasinghe, the stage play *Maname* by E. R. Sarachchandra and the film *Rēkāva* directed by Lester James Peries. *Rēkāva* is accredited as the first attempt to create a Sinhalese film independent of the stereotype of South Indian cinema (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 516). It was innovative not only in its village setting but also in its songs which were composed by Sunil Santha (Jeyaraj, 2016). More details can be found in Chapter 4.3.1.8. Another notable project from the latter part of the 1950s was the groundbreaking radio program *Jana Gāyanā*, with music by Pandith Amaradeva and lyrics by Madawela S. Ratnayake. Ratnayake and Amaradeva sought to reintroduce folk music to the general public by appropriating it into the popular song genre of *sarala gee* (Field, 2015, p. 9). We will return to the *Jana Gāyanā* radio program in Chapters 5.5 and 6.2. According to the historian K. M. de Silva, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs did not directly support the projects just mentioned. However, "the argument that the breakthrough they marked could be only stabilised and consolidated by active state support for the arts and literature became part of the conventional wisdom of the day"

(K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 516). Another breakthrough in the field of arts was the introduction of folk music into the school curriculum in 1962. W. B. Makulolluwa created a unified theoretical system used to codify the metres and time measures found in folk music (Kulatillake, 1991, p. 41). The implementation of this music theory was seen as a validation and pedagogical pathway to the Sinhalese folk tradition. The trend of portraying village life in prose film and song, especially *sarala gee,* continued throughout the 1960s, and beyond. Government policy was also focused on the rehabilitation and development of rural areas. This will be discussed in relation to some of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* in Chapter 7.

In February 1970 a Sinhala Music Research Unit was inaugurated at Radio Ceylon which had been renamed the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC) in 1967 when the government was in the process of severing all ties to its colonial past (Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation, 2016). The former announcer D. M. Colombage (1980) stated that the aim of this unit was to research, record and preserve folk melodies and instrumental music (p. 132). Its members strove to create a music library, which could be accessed by musicians who might be inspired by this material to produce new experimental compositions. Amaradeva was himself a researcher at the Unit and coordinated it from 1976 to 1980 (S. Amaradeva, n.d.). During the 1970s, various researchers appointed by the Research Unit travelled to eighty locations around the country, taking recordings of rare performances of singing and instrument playing. Though these recordings mainly encompassed traditional forms of Sinhala music, they also included Tamil folk songs which were reportedly collected from ten locations, as well as old Portuguese and African songs originating from the port culture developed during the colonial era, and Greek songs. The SLBC also appointed a producer to the Research Unit with the ambition of creating radio programs that would reflect this

research by presenting the recordings to the general public and promoting experimental music programs, as Colombage describes them in Sinhala (1980, p. 131). They also appointed a five-piece orchestra of local drummers to participate in these programs according to Colombage (1980, p. 131) and Tillekaratne in his preface (Kulatillake, 1976). Approximately two hundred experimental folk music programs were produced throughout the 1970s, and forty-two of them were broadcast in English. The SLBC also produced some commercial records, the first being based on Sinhala folk melodies. In addition, the Research Unit produced four publications on various forms of traditional music, most of which were in Sinhala (Colombage, 1980, p. 131). Unfortunately, the names of these publications are not listed.

The SLBC's Sinhala Music Research Unit was initially headed by C. de S. Kulatillake, whose work has previously been cited. Kulatillake's first treatise *Metre, Melody, and Rhythm in Sinhala Music* (*1*976), the second publication of the Research Unit, lists the aforementioned radio programs and provides a sound theoretical framework for the understanding and analysis of traditional Sinhalese music. This framework was consulted when exploring the traditional sources of music in Amaradeva's compositions. The Research Unit did not function after 1980, but Kulatillake continued his research independently and produced further texts (C. d. S. Kulatillake, 1976; Kulatillake, 1984, 1991). As is most often the case with discussions concerning "Sri Lankan" culture and history, his discussions mostly pertain to the Sinhalese. Though it was previously established that the Sinhala Music Research unit of the SLBC did collect recordings of non-Sinhala music, none of these forms are described in Kulatillake's publications. This is likely due to the hegemonising effects of the 1956 Sinhala-only bill discussed in Chapter 2.4 and the subsequent lack of government patronage for music of other ethnic groups. Yet, Kulatillake's discourse in

a small booklet entitled *A Background to Sinhala Traditional Music of Sri Lanka* (1976) emulates a more progressive outlook of Sinhala music evident in the focus on the influence of other civilisations including South Indian Tamils, and the gradual assimilation of Mahayana Buddhist practices. This denotes an acceptance of the eclectic nature of Sri Lankan culture, an aspect that is often portrayed in Amaradeva's music.

3.6 Revival of the Arts After Civil War

During the second Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) insurrections of the late 1980s and the Sri Lankan civil war, the government's patronage of the arts had been neglected for several decades. This explains the brevity of the Sinhalese Music Research Unit's function. Having exhausted much revenue on its military, it was difficult for the government to allocate funds towards cultural endeavours. This was to change after the cessation of war in 2009. An administrative report issued by the Ministry of Culture and Arts in 2011 suggests that there was a renewed government interest in promoting cultural development. The report states that the Ministry was in the process of establishing Cultural Centres in every Divisional Secretariat area of the country. It is mentioned that the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the Arts Council, the Tower Hall Theatre Foundation and the Public Performance Board are in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Arts (now known as the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Wayamba Development) to complete this task. One of the main objectives of these Cultural Centres is to provide free education and skill development to the youth. Areas of training include traditional and folk dance, traditional drumming, Eastern and Western music, drama and performing arts, painting and sculpture, handicrafts, and language skills in Sinhala, Tamil, Pali, Sanskrit and English. The Centres also host events such as the National Independence Day Festival, the Vesak Devotional Songs Programme, cultural processions and the performance of rituals and folk dramas. Other

services offered by the Centres include mobile libraries and appreciation programs in which speakers explain aspects of folk culture and music of the folk, classical and popular traditions (Secretary of the Ministry of Culture and the Arts, 2011, pp. 11–15). The report issued by the Ministry of Culture and Arts also listed other projects, including a Folk Music Conservation Library. The objectives of this project are to gather material from all parts of the country in order to digitise it, store it in the library and disseminate it amongst the public (Secretary of the Ministry of Culture and the Arts, 2011, p. 19).

It is apparent that the activities of cultural revivalism that were required to build an authentic Sinhala identity during the pre and postIndependence eras are still deemed necessary and continue to fuel the desire for local research. As we saw in this chapter, music was first used to disseminate precolonial history, though the research of ritual music, court music, rural music and folk culture soon became important to the formation of a Sinhala identity and was patronised by state institutions following Independence. The research of popular Sinhalese music genres and their social implications has been more prevalent in recent times. The international scholarship of Sri Lankan music has also recently increased within the past three decades, even during the years of the civil war.

The present study will contribute to the ongoing research into Sri Lankan music by providing an in-depth case study of Pandith Amaradeva and his role in the revival of Sinhalese culture. Before we can do this, however, it is necessary to understand how Sri Lankan scholars and critics have positioned various musical genres within the broader project of identity building. One approach to this task is to examine the several classification systems of Sri Lankan music that emerged in the years following the founding of the Republic of Sri Lanka in 1972. For what is included as well as what is

excluded in such classifications tells us much about how music categories and elements of style are implicated in competing discourses on what is regarded as Sri Lankan. In so doing, it has been necessary to propose a new classification of Sinhalese popular music that takes account of the complexity and interconnectedness of the many genres, old and new, and their place within these discourses on identity. Moreover, by comparing and contrasting these genres in terms of style and cultural associations we are in a better position to further illustrate the cultural significance of the *sarala gee* genre and its place in an emergent Sinhalese identity.

Chapter 4: Towards a Classification of Sinhala Music

This chapter examines existing classifications of Sri Lankan music and proposes a new classification of popular Sri Lankan music. The objectives are to examine various definitions of "Sri Lankan music" and the way they relate to notions of Sinhalese identity, to further an understanding of the development and interrelationships between the various categories of popular music and, therefore, locate *sarala gee* and Amaradeva's works in a broader socio-musical context. *Sarala gee* was an early-twentieth century form of popular song created as a response to the perceived lack of "Sri Lankan" music (Sheeran, 1997, p. 30). Therefore, it is necessary to locate it in relation to the music that preceded and succeeded it using a classification method best suited to representing the multiple connections across categories. This approach is intended to reveal cross-fertilisation between genres.

Typically, the process of classification involves grouping categories into classes on the basis of their similarities and differences and is most commonly based on two approaches. The classification of types or characteristics is a typology while empirical entities, such as genres of music, are generally classified in a taxonomy (Bailey, 1994, pp. 3–6). However, there is more than one method of classifying empirical entities. The first is the downward, sequential division of entities according to singular taxa. The second also comprises a tree structure, but clusters of oppositions or contrasting attributes are used to divide data. The third, a paradigmatic approach, requires the grouping of entities according to horizontal and vertical delineations on a two-dimensional plane (Frake & Conklin, 1962, pp. 128–134; Kartomi, 2001, pp. 286, 306–307). The first two methods of taxonomic classification are hierarchical and are not

applicable to Sinhala popular music genres because most do not have subgenres with clear mutually exclusive attributes. The above methods are also all unsuitable because they cannot be used to represent lateral connections between genres and therefore patterns of cross-fertilisation cannot be taken into account if such methods are used. An alternative method to taxonomic classification was conceptualised by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) wherein a rhizomic structure is used instead of the traditional tree diagram or two-dimensional plane. Rather than seeking out dichotomies and oppositions, entities are treated as a group of heterogeneous multiplicities, that is, they are an assemblage of individual entities that can nonetheless feed off one another. Deleuze and Guattari state that any entity can and should be connected to the others, there is no unity to serve as a pivot or division of entities, and that a break or rupture can occur within the rhizome (1987, pp. 7–9). I will apply this method of rhizomatic classification in relation to Sinhala popular music because it will aptly represent the cyclic patterns of cross-fertilisation between the genres.

First, however, I will elucidate the difficulties of defining Sri Lankan music that stem from the island's complex history, varying nationalistic and social alliances, and the polarised perception of traditional genres considered to be the most endogenous form of Sri Lankan music, in comparison to those that are a hybridisation of traditional forms and exogenous musical sources from India, Europe, Latin-America and Africa. Thus, I will consider existing labelling of certain forms of Sinhalese music as "Sri Lankan" and their associated sociopolitical ideologies. Second, I will examine existing classifications compiled by scholars. It will be evident that existing classifications approach traditional forms comprehensively while approaches to popular music are selective. Further, most of the classifications of music to date a are taxonomic which are generally suitable for traditional forms as they are normally mutually exclusive

categories differentiated by function and social context. However, such classifications do not provide a clear picture of the cross-fertilisation inherent in contemporary Sinhalese popular music. Therefore, my classification is informed by the rhizomatic model that I first encountered in a musicological study of Mediterranean cultures by Jonathan Holt Shannon (2015). Like musical forms found in the Mediterranean, Sinhala popular music genres are not static. Though in practice they are regarded as separate entities, they evolve and accumulate musical attributes from exogenous sources and from each other. The rhizomatic classification of Sri Lankan music presented here will illustrate the complex interconnections between various genres. It will also reveal the ironies behind the patterns of patronage which reinforce the ideological conundrum in defining Sri Lankan music.

4.1 What is Sri Lankan Music?

This seemingly simple question prompts diverse answers depending on the person asked. The task of defining and classifying Sri Lankan music is therefore a challenging one. I discussed my research project with my Sinhala relatives in both Sri Lanka and in Australia and some of them responded thus: "But Amaradeva's music isn't Sri Lankan music. He used Indian music. If you want to study Sri Lankan music, you should look at folk music." One relative's friend, a music teacher in Sri Lanka, responded likewise. This response was noted by another researcher who aimed to devise a classification of Sinhala music for digital archiving purposes. His informants — a musician and other members in the arts field — claimed that *sarala gee* should not be classified as a form of Sinhala music because it borrows from other musical paradigms (S. P. Ratnayake, 2011, pp. 170–172). Such beliefs suggest that Sri Lankans do not consider any form of contemporary music "Sri Lankan." However, this is a minority

response, perhaps owing to the ideological influence of nativist schools of musical composition described below.

The polarised definitions of Sri Lankan music partly stem from a failure to differentiate replication and appropriation. The latter involves assimilating exogenous forms with elements of Sri Lankan musical culture. Musicologist Surya Sena (2008) calls this "the process of Sinhalising." When this "Sinhalising" process initially occurred during the pre-Independence period, there were heated debates concerning compositional method. By the 1960s, two distinct schools of musical composition and performance had developed: one which Weerasena Gunathilaka refers to as the Hindustani Gurukula (S. L. Rupavahini, 2016) and the other which I will call the Makulolluwa Gurukula. Those from the Hindustani Gurukula *(*"Hindustani School") believed that Sri Lankan music should adhere solely to the conventions of Hindustani classical music, presumably to extend the Arya-Sinhala identity to the musical realm. Advocates of the Vijayan origin myth sought to strengthen Sri Lanka's ties to North India in order to consolidate the Aryan heritage. This ideology caused a rejection of pre-contemporary endogenous music. One of the Hindustani Gurukula's leaders was Lionel Edirisinghe (1913–1988); the first principal of the Institute of Aesthetic Studies in Colombo (now the University of Visual and Performing Arts). He opposed endogenous traditional music so vehemently he physically separated the departments of music and dance with a chicken-wire fence (Donaldson, 2001, p. 21). Further, "Sinhala music is taught within the curriculum of the Dance Department, while the Music Department curriculum is largely based on Hindustani music" (2001, p. 21). Some practitioners, such as the *berava* caste of drummers, did classify themselves as dancers rather than musicians (Dassenaike, 2012, p. 25), and this perhaps contributed to the marginalisation of traditional musical forms. However, in opposition to this stance, W. B. Makulolluwa

(1922–1984) believed that traditional music should take precedence and advocated this view from 1955. He was not opposed to Hindustani classical music but believed its Sinhalese practitioners were not encouraging their students to innovate in their compositions. He claimed that endogenous traditional music was the best source for innovation and therefore appealed to dance and music teachers and organised conferences that trained them to disseminate his new folk music syllabus in schools (S. L. Rupavahini, 2016). His acts were controversial and debates soon ensued (Wallis & Malm, 1984).

*f*Gunathilaka noted that some debates were aired over certain episodes of Radio Ceylon programmes such as *Jathika Probodhaya* (S. L. Rupavahini, 2016) and *Kalpana* (Sunanda Mahendra, 2016). Pandith Amaradeva participated in both of these programs and often debated privately with Makulloluwa as well, though they never saw eye to eye (Kumara, 2015, pp. 491–492). His music illustrates that he chose to take a middle path, using both forms of music to create a unique idiom. The 1966 International Music Symposium held at Manila was themed "the musics of Asia." Amaradeva read a paper entitled *Sinhalese music throughout the ages and its modern trends*. He provided a brief history of Sri Lankan music from ancient times to the present and identified some compositional approaches he adopted to create an "indigenous" form of music. His remark on Sri Lanka's music scene demonstrates an open-minded attitude towards foreign influences and reflects Surya Sena's view of what Sinhala music should be:

> I have set before you various examples in support of my thesis. I believe that they all revealed activity going on in Ceylon today to create a truly indigenous music. I have tried to delineate to you the historical strand of Sinhala music dating from distant centuries. The present age in Ceylon may be described as one where effort is made to found a modern music

> which is both national and international with moorings in Sinhala folk music. Of course, there may be exceptions to this trend. As mentioned earlier, Indian as well as European techniques of music are inevitable components in this new activity. I believe that work along these lines has [not] reached its end. In fact, I believe that it has just begun. (W. D. Amaradeva (1967), as cited in Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 87)

For some time however, other musicians remained rigid in their approach, either following Hindustani classical music or folk material. The polarised perceptions of what Sri Lankan music is can thus be attributed to the manifestation of the two schools.

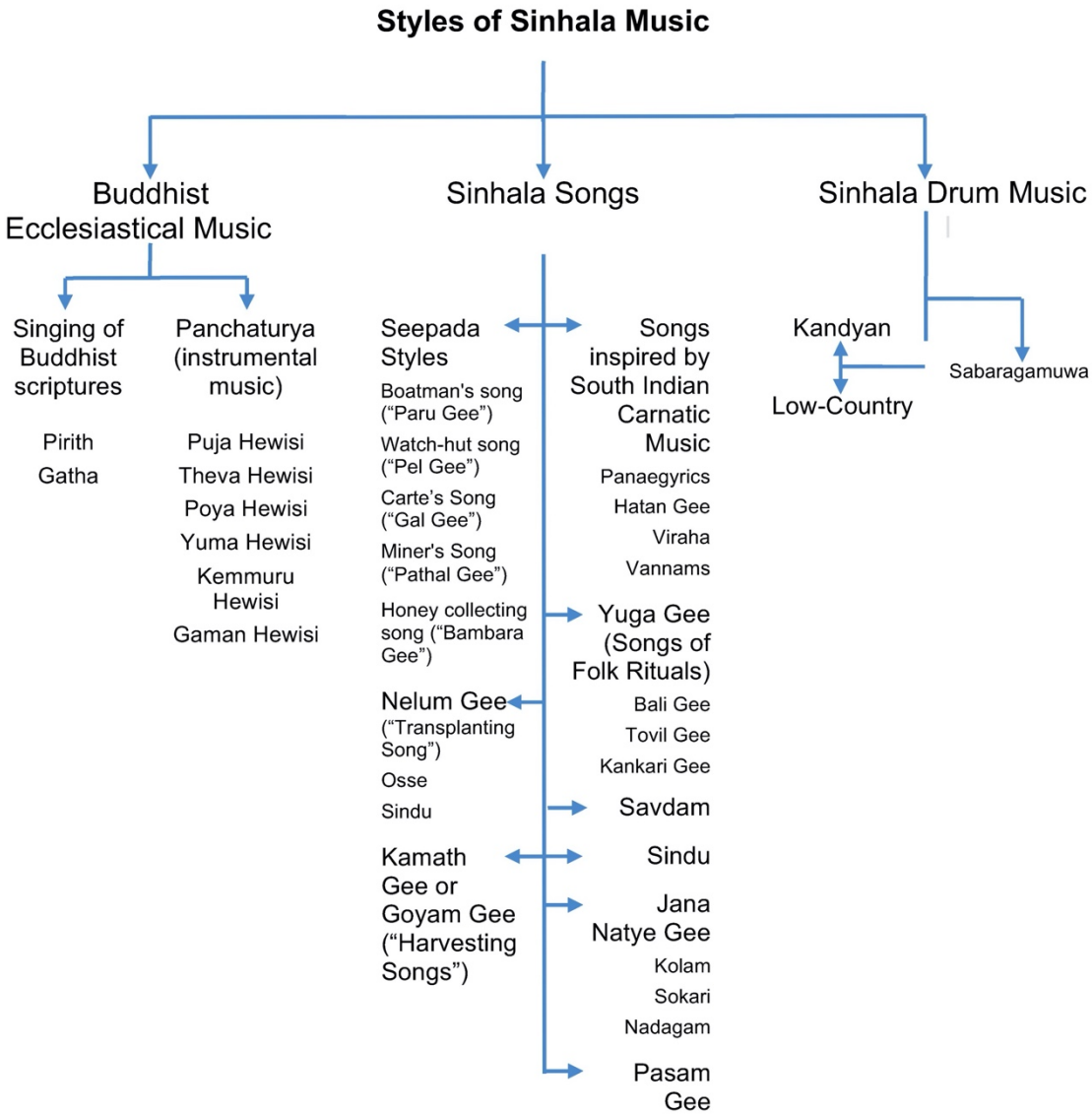
The response S. P. Ratnayake (2011) and I encountered demonstrates that some members of today's society align with the Makulloluwa Gurukula and dispute the "Sri Lankanness" of contemporary genres. They claim that contemporary music derived solely from traditional forms is the only "Sri Lankan" music because folk music is perceived to be untouched by South Indian, North Indian, and Western influences. Yet, this music is not known or relatable to all. Many people disregard the intrinsic Sri Lankan idioms present within all forms of Sinhalese music such as vocal style, themes, rhythms and instrumentation, whether endogenous or exogenous in origin. Due to their port culture and ancient trade routes, the Sinhalese have developed a flair for eclecticism and this is evident not only in their music but also in their cuisine. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, cultural contacts between Sri Lankans and other nationalities had occurred throughout the ages as a result of religious and migratory ties to India, Sri Lanka's position on the silk road and, most significantly, Western colonisation and Colombo's subsequent transformation into a port city. The convergence of Sinhalese traditions with selected aspects from a variety of exogenous cultures was inevitable and is reflected in the island's musical culture.

4.2 Existing Classifications of Sinhala Music

Various attempts at classifying Sinhalese music have been made. The three most comprehensive of these deal with traditional forms only (Dassenaike, 2012; C. d. S. Kulatillake, 1976; S. P. Ratnayake, 2011). These classifications are based on taxonomic approaches but are not identical. The first, devised in 1976 by C. de S. Kulatillake, has three second-level categories while the classifications of Dassenaike and Ratnayake have only two second-level categories. The additional category allows Kulatillake to include Buddhist temple music (instrumental and chant) which cannot be defined as a "song" within any context as it is perceived to be "sound" rather than music (Wei & Homsombat, 1976, p. 25). Kulatillake's discussion of mutually exclusive categories is represented in paragraphs of text with subheadings. I have extrapolated the data and schematised it in the diagram below.

Figure 4.1

A Schematisation of the "Styles" of Sinhalese Music as Classified by C. de S. Kulatillake (1976, pp. 9–17)



When Kulatillake coordinated the SLBC's Sinhala Music Research Unit, he received an opportunity to study ethnomusicology at the Musicology Institute of Koln University under Dr Josef Kuckertz in 1974 (Kulatillake, 1991, p. 42). In the 1970s, Western societies had a narrow concept of the definition of music and ethnomusicologists sought to challenge this notion. Indeed, Nettl (2005) claims that "the widely held view of music as merely a kind of sound is a basis of operations too narrow for acceptance by

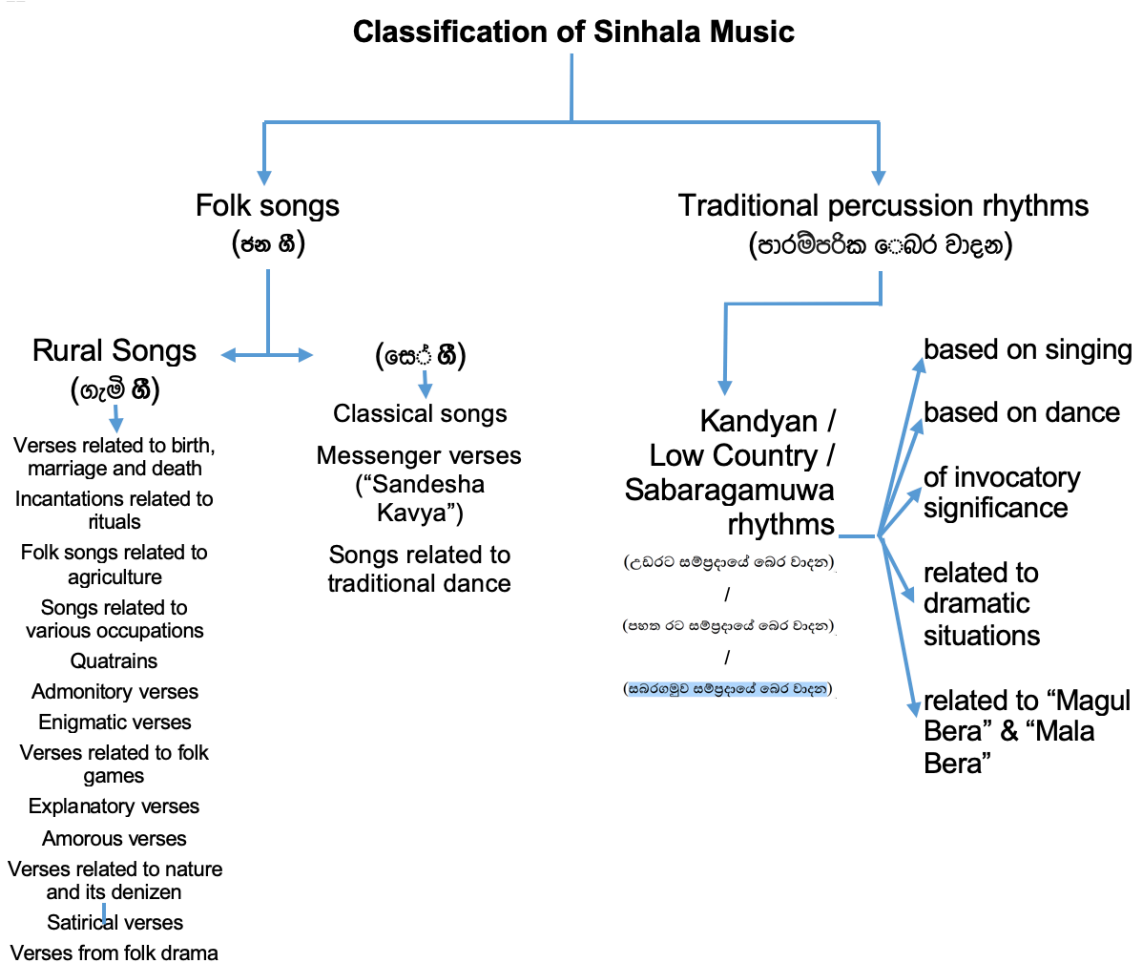
ethnomusicologists" (p. 23). This explains Kulatillake's acceptance of Buddhist chant as "music" despite the Sri Lankan laity's recognition of temple music as "sounds" serving a practical purpose (Wei & Homsombat, 1976, p. 25). The heightened nationalism and search for meaning and identity within traditional musical practices in the 1970s was likely another reason for Kulatillake's decision.

Kulatillake's three main categories are Buddhist ecclesiastical music (containing Buddhist temple music), Sinhala songs (mostly containing folk music but also music played at the royal courts and Christian hymns), and Sinhala drum music. The latter two contain secular and non-secular music. Conversely, the exclusively religious "Buddhist ecclesiastical music" category is broken down into vocal and instrumental music. This enables the inclusion of temple music within the classification whilst distinguishing it from other religious music. The "Sinhala folk songs" category is less hierarchical than the other classifications, though it has some subcategories such as *sĪpaḏa* (folk songs with quatrains) and *yāga gee* (songs of folk rituals). Ritualistic songs can be labelled "Gee" because they belong to the "folk subreligion," influenced by Buddhism but not subject to the same musical taboos (Kulatillake, 1991, pp. 51–52). Similarly, Christian *Pasam Gee* is also included in the "Sinhala folk songs" category and is present in Dassenaike's classification but not Ratnayake's, perhaps because it is derived from Western hymns and Carnatic melodies. This exemplifies the conflicting ideas regarding the labelling of music as "Sinhala" despite its prevalence and longevity.

The most comprehensive classification scheme is by S. P. Ratnayake (2011). Again, I have created a visual representation based on the data he provided in his thesis.

Figure 4.2

A Schematisation of the Classification Scheme of Sinhala Music Devised by S. P. Ratnayake (2011, pp. 82–94)



The taxonomic scheme is divided into "folk songs" (ජන ගී "Jana Gee") and "traditional percussion rhythms" (පාරම්පරික බෙර වාදන *pāramparika bera ̄vāḍana* "hereditary drum playing"). All categories contain English labels followed by Sinhala labels, which sometimes differ. Similar to most academic discourses, the "folk song" category contains all traditional forms of vocal rendition. Aravinda noted the expansion of the term "folk music" to include prose recitation and Buddhist chant (Aravinda, 2000, p.

133).[47] I observed that professional musicians and musicologists adopt this view, while the general public confine the term to verses sung by rural labourers. Aravinda however noticed that members of agrarian society call these verses ("kavi") rather than songs ("gee"). The fine line between poetic recitation and singing within Sinhalese culture accounts for the varied opinion.

Ratnayake's classification of vocal forms demonstrates an adept understanding of this, as it includes vocal Incantations and recited poetry as well as the forms that are often considered "songs." The comprehensive classification of "folk songs" is broken down into two large subcategories: "Rural songs" (ගැමි ගී "gämi gee"), composed by the peasants and "Literate Songs" (සෙ ගී "Se Gee"), composed by court poets. The contrast between the two pertain to the composer's social class and possibly the mode of transmission, either oral or written. "Rural songs" consists of third-level categories delineated according to function (e.g., ritualistic verses) or content (e.g., satirical verses). The quatrain, however, is instead characterised by form. "Literate songs" includes classical songs, messenger verses ("Sandesha Kaviya") and songs related to dance (which are divided into the Kandyan, Low Country and Sabaragamuwa traditions). In comparison to the "folk songs" category, the classification of percussion rhythms is not fleshed out. It is broken down into three subcategories according to locality (Kandy, Low Country and Sabaragamuwa). Each category consists of third-level categories which are rhythms for singing, dance, invocation, dramas, and the *Magul Bera* ("Ceremonial Drumming") and *Mala Bera* ("Funeral drumming"). Ratnayake may have omitted fourth and fifth level categories to avoid overlap between

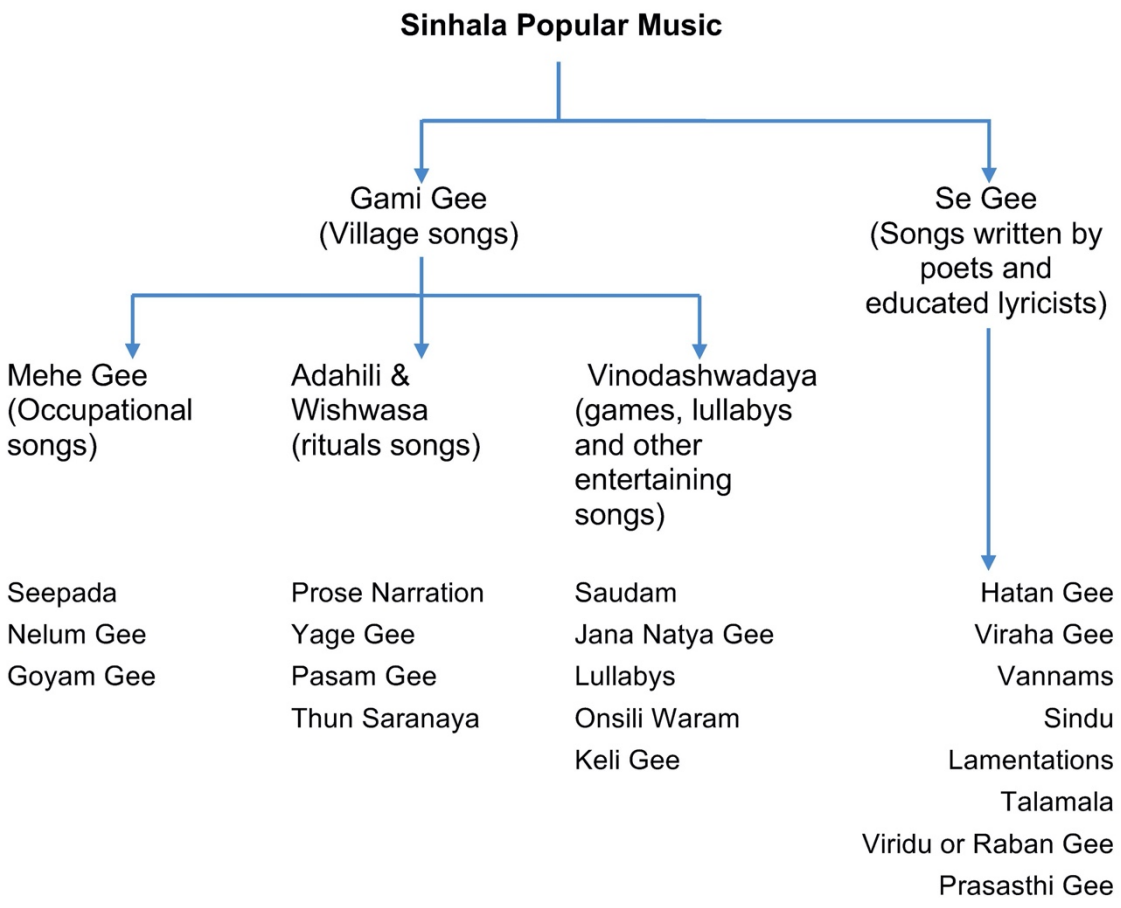
[47] Poetic recitation was traditionally chanted within a range of three to four tones (Surya Sena, 2008, p. 2). However, Pandith Amaradeva introduced a new style of recitation with a wider melodic range in 1950 (Samaranayake, 1999).

the two main categories. Kulatillake's classification of percussion rhythms was similar. Though vocal forms are clearly the majority, a better method of classification may exist.

The final classification (Dassenaike, 2012) is comprised of vocal forms only. Dassenaike claimed that "Sinhala folk music is scarcely practiced yet holds the key to the nation's musical identity" (Dassenaike, 2012, p. iii). Thus, she adopts the views of nationalist musicologists and, like Kulatillake, includes Buddhist music in her classification. However its divisions are similar to Ratnayake's, with categories of *gämi gee* and *Se Gee* ("village songs" and "songs written by poets and educated lyricists"). She represented this classification in a diagram which I recreated with the addition of translated upper-category names.

Figure 4.3

Visual Representation of Nilusha Dassenaike's Classification (2012, p. 38), with the Addition of Translations Given in Her Discussion



Gämi gee is divided into three subcategories based on function: "mehe gee" ("occupational songs"), "äḏähili & viśvāsa" (pertaining to beliefs) and "vinōḏaśvāḏya" ("games, lullabies and other entertaining songs"). The second subcategory includes Buddhist narration (such as the *ḏorakaḍa asne*), but not Buddhist chant. The reason for this may be because of the two main category names. They both end with "Gee" ("song") which cannot be used to describe Buddhist music because it is never to be admired or appreciated for its aesthetic beauty (Wei & Homsombat, 1976, p. 33). Yet, it

is evident that each of these scholars approach the classification of Buddhist music differently.

Though the classification of contemporary genres is unaffected by the division between song and recitation, the ideology of endogenous music and music that "is not ours" (S. P. Ratnayake, 2011, p. 54) greatly complicates the task, due to the assimilation of Indian, European, Latin-American and African music. An inclusive classification of contemporary Sinhala music has not yet been compiled. The most informed classification (Sheeran, 1997) only includes five contemporary genres: *baila* and *kaffringha*, *sarala gee*, Sinhala pop, and a form of music unofficially referred to as "normal music." The latter category is not clearly defined, and *kaffringha* is not a genre of Sinhalese music but is relevant to Sheeran's overall study of *baila*. Comparative discussions of the genres and their musicological, sociological and historical contexts are made. I will adopt a similar approach as it will benefit the study of Amaradeva's music and illuminate its status, ideology and significance within Sri Lankan culture.

A more recent classification has emerged (R. Peiris & Jayaratne, 2016), but is also incomplete. Compiled to test an automated genre-recognition program, the classification consists of genres from the "Golden-age" (1960s–1990s). Recent genres were omitted because it is difficult to classify them due to the high degree of cross-fertilisation within them. As the authors put it, "all the music styles and categories have been fused by Sri Lankan people and hence, there are no standards visible, like there are in western music. . . . According to the music experts in Sri Lanka" (R. Peiris & Jayaratne, 2016, p. 77). Thus, the genres they chose were *Ragadhari*, Classical, Western, *Baila* and *Calypso*. Several issues are immediately apparent, such as the inclusion of *Ragadhari* music (*Ragadhari* being the Sinhala name for Hindustani classical music), which has not gone through the "Sinhalising" process. Further, the

"Classical" and "Western" are ambiguous, though the authors' background to Sinhalese music suggests that they are in fact referring to *sarala gee* (also known as "*light* classical") and Sinhala pop respectively. Therefore, this classification also does not present a clear snapshot of contemporary Sinhala music and a new one is warranted.

4.3 A Proposed New Classification of Sinhala Music

The classification scheme proposed in this section encompasses forms of Sinhala music practiced throughout the twentieth century up to the present. It does not include all forms practiced during this time but rather considers the most common genres of music that are practiced, in varying degrees, to the present day.[48] Because of the magnitude of cross-fertilisation between many Sinhalese musical practices, taxonomic classification is unsuitable. Rhizomatic method, by contrast, allows for many, nonhierarchical associations between the data and its representation and interpretation. Thus, my rhizomatic classification schematises the levels of cross-fertilisation between the genres. This schematisation does not represent immutable relationships but is intended to serve as a basis for further testing and research into these genres. Levels of cross-fertilisation were estimated through the compilation of genre descriptions detailing origins, musical characteristics, social aspects and evolution in conjunction with close listening to songs from the genres as well as my own exposure to Sri Lankan music over many years. The key features of each genre were extracted from these genre descriptions. I then examined a sample set of fifty songs from each of the eight genres and used a set of criteria to determine the approximate degree of cross-

[48] Common genres were determined by consulting interview transcripts from my field trips, academic research and online archives and playlists browsing the Nugegoda Torana Music Box store's CD collection, listening to various radio stations and watching footage of concerts, musical programs, and music channels.

fertilisation. The criteria and sample set of songs can be found in Appendix B. Below are the genre descriptions.

4.3.1 The genres of Sinhala popular music

4.3.1.1 *Nurthi gee* ("*nurthi* songs")

Songs of the *nurthi* theatre were the first to be recorded on gramophone in 1906, marking the beginning of Sri Lanka's commercial music recording industry (Ariyarathna, 2014, p. 76). The genre originated from Bombay in the mid-nineteenth century particularly within The Parsi Theatre (Rubin et al., 1998, p. 178).[49] The Hindustani Dramatic Company was the first that came to Sri Lanka, in 1877. Localised productions emerged that same year, most notably *Rolina* by C. Don Bastian Jayaweera Bandara (1852–1921). Other playwrights including John de Silva (1857–1933) and Charles Dias (1878–1944) took up the genre and named it *nurthi* after *nritya* the Sanskrit word for drama (Field, 2017, p. 23; Rubin et al., 1998, p. 525). *Nurthi* plays became the main form of entertainment for Colombo's working classes, who retained their village roots (Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 128–129; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 86).[50] While the *nurthi gee* genre's function was accompaniment for stage dramas, songs retained in the popular music canon throughout the twentieth century hailed from nationalist plays relating stories of precolonial history to project the glory of the ancient Sinhala civilisation. Thus, *nurthi gee* can presently be defined as an atavistic nationalist genre.

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[49] The Parsi Theatre was established and funded by Parsis (followers of the Zoroastrian religion), though all actors and production staff were Hindu and Muslim (Rubin et al., 1998, p. 178).

[50] John de Silva's diary suggests that his beneficiaries were members of the upper working class ranging from "Mudaliyars to advocates and proctors, jewellers and shopkeepers, timber and plumbago merchants, arrack renters and newspaper editors, among others. Interestingly they were not all Buddhists, Christians too supported de Silva's productions" (Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 86).

Studies of the original music of Sinhala *nurthi plays*, or indeed the Parsi Theatre, is scarce (Clayton & Zon, 2007, p. 330). In the nineteenth century, melodies of the Parsi Theatre were plagiarised in *nurthi* plays (Field, 2017, p. 23). However, John de Silva desired original melodies in the same style after the turn of the century and hired North Indian musician Vishvanath Laugi to compose them.[51] They collaborated from 1903 to 1909, and the majority of songs that remained popular were from this period (Ariyarathna, 2008, p. 19; Field, 2017, p. 24). After 1909, he collaborated with Abdul Aziz, Amir Khan, Mohamed Ghouse, K. D. George and Kaanji Maharag (Ariyarathna, 2008, p. 19). Parsi theatre productions "emphasized music and acting at the expense of dialogue" (Arnold, 1991, p. 62) and it is evident that Sinhala *nurthi* dramas followed this trend. Discographies and reports convey the following statistics:

Table 4.1

Number of Songs in Select *Nurthi* Plays (Boange, 2017; Tower Hall Theatre Foundation, 2012)

Nurthi play	Playwright	No. of songs
Ramayana (1904)	John de Silva	54
Sirisangabo (1903)	John de Silva	48
Vidura (n.d.)	Charles Dias	21
Wessanthara (1916)	John de Silva	41

Table 4.1 suggests that *nurthi* plays likely spanned several hours and consisted of more songs than dialogue. This length is short, however, compared to the *nāḍagam* or folk play in vogue earlier in the nineteenth century. Common instrumentation in *nurthi*

[51] John de Silva and Vishvanath Laugi first met at a Christmas party hosted by Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, father of the assassinated Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (Boange, 2017).

songs included the violin, *ḍhol* and *tablas* (percussion instruments), and the harmonium, known locally as the *seraphina* (Kulatillake, 1991, p. 76). Recent recordings of *nurthi* songs also include other instruments such as the sitar, mandolin and flute. Though original melodies were composed from 1903, the vocal and melodic style remained similar to Parsi theatre music. Hindustani classical ragas and metrical cycles were used (Ariyarathna, 2008, pp. 11–12; 2014, p. 75).[52]

4.3.1.2 *Sarala gee* ("light songs")

Sarala gee or "light songs" is a genre believed to be the first to represent a truly Sinhala idiom because its composers drew from Sinhala folk music. Between 1906 and 1930, almost all Sinhala gramophone songs were *nurthi gee*. This changed after *nurthi* plays declined in India and Sri Lanka following the advent of the Hindi "talkie" in 1931 (Manuel, 1988, p. 162). In the 1930s and 1940s, Sri Lankan gramophone companies instructed musicians to dub Hindi and Tamil film songs with Sinhala lyrics. Field discovered that this genre was termed *aluth sindu* meaning "new songs" (2017, p. 31), though they are now often referred to as *pärani geetha* ("old songs"). Like *nurthi* gee, these songs catered to the middle class and their lyrics contained Buddhist, didactic and patriotic themes (Field, 2014a, p. 14).[53]

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[52] *Nurthi* songs mostly begin with a short instrumental introduction, while some contain a lengthier *ālāp* section played on the harmonium with rapid ornamentation. The singer rarely joins in this section. The harmonium's introductions and interludes are mainly monophonic, with a sustained chord closing certain phrases. The structure is often as follows: introduction, chorus (ABA form), interlude (often the same as the introduction unless an *ālāp* section was played), verse, chorus (A section), interlude, verse, and full chorus. Melodies were fixed but singers were permitted to improvise ornamentation (K. Dissanayaka, personal communication, August 20, 2018). Often, the harmonium is played in unison with the singer, though the type and placement of ornamentation differs. Vocal lines are usually melodious, though some songs have a recitative style. The original gramophone recordings of *nurthi gee* were performed by theatre actors, who were not trained singers (Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p. 32). Old gramophone recordings show that they sang with a lowered nasal cavity and small space in the throat and thus had a raw tone, as did singers of the traditional *nāḍagam* plays. Modern singers that perform *nurthi gee* use a very forward placement, though some use a slightly more rounded tone characteristic of *sarala gee*.

[53] Popular recording artists of plagiarised *aluth sindu* included Rukmani Devi, Jamuna Rani, H. W. Rupasinghe (also a prominent arranger with a few original compositions), A. M. U. Raj, A. J. Kareem, Hubert Rajapaksha and Kokila Devi.

The name *sarala gee* was an adoption of the English term "light music" created in 1953 by B. V. Keskar for All India Radio (AIR). This state-led radio station implemented several nationalistic policies that greatly influenced Radio Ceylon (Field, 2015, p. 6; 2017, pp. 100–101; Sheeran, 1997, p. 182). Keskar's "light music" label was possibly derived from the BBC, as many of its members became directors at Radio Ceylon and AIR before the 1950s (Karunanayake, 1990, p. 198; Sheeran, 1997, pp. 181–182; D. Ranatunga, personal communication, September 8, 2018).[54] Though the term *sarala gee* did not become widely used until the mid-1950s, the actual music style was popular throughout the decade preceding this. Ananda Samarakoon (1911–1962), who studied at Santiniketan in India, was the first Sinhalese musician to challenge the practice of copying Indian tunes. He was also the first to incorporate romantic themes into his songs, beginning with his first original *Ennaḏa Mänikē* (1944). Samarakoon was greatly influenced by Tagore's genre of song *Rabindra Saṅgīt* and he incorporated folk music and themes with this style to give it a distinctive Sri Lankan flavour. The next musician with a similar approach was Sunil Santha (1915–1981). Santha also had an inclination towards Western music and was inspired by Christian hymns (K. Dissanayaka, personal communication, August 19, 2018; Field, 2014a, pp. 8–19; Sheeran, 1997, pp. 196–199). Unlike the musicians that preceded him, Sunil Santha pronounced his lyrics very precisely (Sunil Ariyarathna, as cited in Field, 2014a, p. 19) and set them to music using the system of *laghu-guru* ("long and short") syllables (Donaldson, 2001, p. 22; 2015). This was inspired by the *Hela Havula* pure Sinhala language movement of Kumaratunga Munidasa. Santha was also the first to create a

[54] Programming records of Radio Ceylon from the 1930s and 1940s found in the *Times of Ceylon* newspapers illustrate that programs of Western music called "Light Variety (Records)" were aired daily during the 1930s and a little less frequently throughout the 1940s. Sinhalese songs were aired on programs called "Oriental Music" which most likely included Tamil music as well, and from the late 1930s in "Sinhalese Music" programs.

"Sinhala" form of music based on Western styles. It can be surmised that for the first time, the elite class began to pay attention to Sinhalese music due to Sunil Santha's efforts.

Pandith Amaradeva (1927–2016) followed the course of these two musicians, but according to Sunil Ariyarathna (buzzniz, 2014) differed because he used Hindustani classical music as the base of his compositions and Sinhala folk songs as a secondary source. To a lesser degree, he also drew from Western and Carnatic music, as well as other Sri Lankan music genres.[55] This mixture of Hindustani classical music and folk music became the adopted approach of the *sarala gee* musicians that followed Amaradeva from the mid-twentieth century.[56] While it has been suggested that the turn towards North Indian music in the early-twentieth century resulted from John de Silva's *nurthi gee*, linguistic and geopolitical influences also occurred. The Aryan theory reinforced the might of the ancient Sinhalese civilisation and established that the Sinhalese were descended from Bengal. Thus, the adoption of North Indian music fostered a semiotic reinforcement of the Arya-Sinhala identity. While this most likely did not consciously affect Amaradeva's compositional approach, it is evident that the Aryan theory contributed to the primacy of the Hindustani Gurukula and the surge of North Indian musical practices after the 1930s.

As mentioned in Chapter 2.4, the Sinhala language became an integral component of the collective Sinhala identity. This is also reflected in *sarala gee*. Like the other two nationalist genres of *nurthi gee* and *natya gee* (stage drama songs), it does not mix languages, excepting loan words from Pali and Sanskrit. A novel feature of

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[55] See Chapters 6 and 7 for more details.

[56] Prominent *sarala gee* musicians include the singers Nanda Malini, Victor Ratnayake, Sanath Nandasiri, Dayaratna and Amara Ranatunga, Edward Jayakody, Neela Wickramasinghe, Malini Bulathsinhala, Gunadasa Kapuge, Lakshman Wijesekara, and the composer Rohana Weerasinghe.

Amaradeva's compositions that took precedent in this genre was dense, highly metaphorical and Sanskritised Sinhala lyrics. This allusion to the literary aesthetics of the revered precolonial Sinhalese civilisation was an initiative of the state radio. The station "quickly evolved into a medium of national character, which led to the "Radio Service" being organized as a separate department of the government of Ceylon" (Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation, 2016). At this time, "national character" was exemplified by Sinhalese literature. The pivotal 1956 government elections that brought forth the notion of a "Sinhala-only" linguistic policy heightened the importance of the Sinhala language. Thus, Radio Ceylon hired highly skilled lyricists to write *sarala gee* (Field, 2017, p. 100). Songs harbouring complex language are called *subhāviṯa gīṯa* (R. Weerasinghe, personal communication, August 24, 2018).[57] While romantic themes became prevalent, Buddhism remained a key marker of the Sinhala identity due to the Revival and therefore religious themes were also woven into many *sarala gee*. The combination of North Indian classical music, patriotic themes, allusion to Sinhala tradition and conventions from Sanskrit and classical Sinhalese literature gave *sarala gee* a high status that was not attained by any other genre. It is often referred to as "light classical" music or as "art songs," for instance in the oratory preface to Amaradeva's CD *Svarna Vimānaya* (Amaradeva, ca. 1999).[58] The *Grove Dictionary of American Music* defines an art song as "A short vocal piece of serious artistic purpose" (Peter, Hitchcock, & Keith, 2017). The same is true of *sarala gee*. They are songs of a serious nature created to promote an aesthetic appreciation of music and poetry.

[57] Prominent *sarala gee* lyricists include Madawala S. Ratnayake, Mahagama Sekara, Sri Chandraratna Manawasinghe, Dolton Alwis, Ajantha Ranasinghe, Sunil Sarath Perera, Kularatna Ariyawansa and Rathna Sri Wijesinghe.

[58] The Sinhala version of the preface to the *Svarna Vimānaya* (*Swarna Wimanaya*) CD uses the term "Sinhala subhāviṯa gīṯa" for "art song."

Due to the lyrical density of Amaradeva's songs (and most songs of the genre), Sunil Ariyarathna (2014) suggested that the audience of *sarala gee* generally consisted of the educated Buddhist elites who hailed from the rising upper-middle class (p. 77). They likely studied at *pirivenas* and therefore possessed a comprehensive knowledge of Sinhala and Sanskrit. This could not be gained from elementary education alone. Listener preferences have changed, however. In her study of *baila*, Sheeran interviewed several people regarding their musical tastes. Some people from lower socioeconomic groups also listened to *sarala gee*. In an instance where a servant professed this preference, Sheeran assumed it a gesture of "saving face" (Sheeran, 1997, p. 233). In the case of two young garment factory workers however, listening to music with such a high status appeared to provide the hope of social mobility and a sense of security not afforded by their socioeconomic background (Sheeran, 1997, pp. 294–295).

Like the ideological connection between North Indian music and the Arya-Sinhala identity, folk tradition was also a hallmark of the atavistic Sinhalese national consciousness. Though it is not featured in all *sarala gee*, its presence in the genre is significant because it came to represent Sinhalese nationalist expression. The music of the peasantry was treated as something almost sacred. In my interview with the Amaradeva family, Amaradeva's son Ranjana commented on the compositional use of folk music:

> Folk music is separate. It doesn't evolve — it stays as folk. . . . Folk music is there, but it has its limitations. But you can't compare it with anything else also, because it's so genuine, conveying the feelings of people, and it contains the sorrow and hardships and everything. Someone needs to come with a structure and expand it into another level. . . . *It's a very difficult operation. When you touch folk, it's so*

sensitive. If you do something not right, you will destroy it. You have to do it subtly, and it's a fragile thing. (Personal communication, September 9, 2018)

If the early-twentieth century writings of Anagarika Dharmapala are anything to go by, Colombo's residents seemed relatively unaware of the hardships of agrarian life. Though Dharmapala sought upliftment for Sinhalese "sons of the soil" during the early twentieth century, this only began to occur after Sri Lankan nationalism took a turn to favour the Sinhalese.[59] The references to rural hardships in *sarala gee* written after 1956 brought wider attention to the exigencies of rural life. "Couplings of past and present" became essential in promoting Sinhalese nationalist ideologies (Woost, 2002, p. 178). Nationalists believed that their ancient civilisation's legacy was carried down throughout the centuries by the Sinhalese peasantry for whom the hydraulic system was built during the early Anuradhapura period (377BC–1077AD) and the following centuries. This accounts for the measures taken to ensure the welfare of the rural community, and to educate Colombo's urban population of the agrarian lifestyle through forms of art such as *sarala gee*.

Sarala gee, imbued with the nationalist sentiments of the twentieth century, received government patronage. In a sense, it became a product of the state and was musically censored. It was suggested that the Hindustani Gurukula's members, headed by Lionel Edirisinghe, felt threatened by the success of Sunil Santha and other musicians that followed his Western compositional style. They maintained that "Sri Lankan" music should draw upon North Indian music only. They hegemonised

[59] Initial efforts to uplift the peasantry included rural adult education programs in the late 1930s (Ceylon Department of Census and Statistics, 1951, p. 74), which coincided with Colombo Radio's first folk song recordings. After independence, the minister C. Sittampalam distributed radio sets to villages (Brady, 2005, p. 8), and Radio Ceylon began airing rural programs. This occurred sometime between 1947 and 1952 as illustrated by selections of radio programming records found in *Times of Ceylon* newspapers.

compositional practices by enforcing policies at Radio Ceylon to ban Western instruments and techniques such as harmony and countermelodies. They legitimised these policies by hiring Professor S. N. Ratanjankar of the Bhatkhande Music Institute in Lucknow, India, to audition and grade the resident artists of Radio Ceylon. Enraged by the decision to impose North Indian standards upon Sri Lankan music, Sunil Santha refused to participate in the 1952 auditions and was forced to leave Radio Ceylon (Abeysekara, 2007; Donaldson, 2015; Field, 2014a, pp. 20–21; 2017, pp. 54–55).[60] Santha's early compositions remain in the popular music canon and he did return to Radio Ceylon after its administration changed in 1967 (Donaldson, 2015). But without the juncture in his musical career, he might have been as prolific and successful as Amaradeva.

In the 1954 *Administrative Report on Broadcasting*, P. Dunston de Silva claimed that "Since my appointment in June 1954 as Music Assistant and Head of Music Unit, I started a campaign against artistes singing westernised music and completely annihilated it" (Abeysekara, 2007). This "annihilation" had a profound effect upon *sarala gee* instrumentation. Pianos, brass and guitars, used previously, were banned throughout the 1950s (D. Ranatunga, personal communication, September 8, 2018). The harmonium, described as "a cancerous growth in the body of Hindu music" (Dane Rudhyar, as cited in Farrell, 1999, p. 54), was considered an 'imperialist dictator' of an instrument due to its lack of quarter tones. It was banned from All India Radio in 1940 and Radio Ceylon followed suit (Abels, 2010, p. 56; Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p.

[60] Though several musicians such as Amaradeva, P. L. A. Somapala, Chithra Somapala, C. T. Fernando and Susil Premarathna supported Sunil Santha in 1952 (Waidyasekera, 2007), they did not participate in the boycott. In an interview, *sarala gee* singer and actor Lakshman Wijesekara (personal communication, February 22, 2018) informed me that the most efficient method of becoming a singer then was through Radio Ceylon. This explains the other musicians' reluctance to risk their careers.

33; Sheeran, 1997, p. 160).[61] This accounts for Radio Ceylon's prohibition of the piano, a common instrument in elite households. Curiously, violins, flutes, oboes and clarinets were not prohibited. I asked the *sarala gee* singer Edward Jayakody about this discrepancy. His response was as follows:

> In the beginning, they wouldn't let us play brass instruments. Those people thought brass instruments were the Western instruments. Well that was their level of understanding.
>
> When you look at the violin it's also Western. Used for Eastern and Western. And then they thought the double bass was a bigger version of the violin. So they allowed the double bass. But they prohibited Western musical instruments. But at a later time on they allowed trumpets, saxophones, oboes. They allowed the oboe a little [before] because it sounded like our *horanāva*.

When I interjected to mention I also heard the clarinet in old recordings, he explained:

> Yes those people thought the clarinet wasn't part of Western music. They allowed the clarinet. It's like this — the clarinet is quite soft. Now when you play the trumpet, the whole studio is finished. Because of that they say don't bring Western instruments. But because the clarinet is played softly they don't think it's Western.[62] (E. Jayakody, personal communication, August 19, 2018)

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[61] Intriguingly, All India Radio's ban of the harmonium was enforced by the British Director of the Western Music Department, John Foulds. Though he previously experimented with fusion music, he feared the decline of Hindustani classical music due to cheap popular music. Thus, he banned the harmonium, deeming it an "un-Indian and unmusical" instrument (Abels, 2010, p. 57; Sheeran, 1997, p. 160).

[62] Another possible reason for the clarinet's acceptance at Radio Ceylon besides its soft dynamics is its ability to produce microtonal inflections. Sri Lankan players likely used the Albert system of keywork and fingering to achieve this (J. Napier, personal communication, January 17, 2020).

The “level of understanding” of Radio Ceylon’s directors presumably stemmed from prevalent Western music practices of that time. Advertisements in selected *Ceylon Times* newspapers from 1926 to 1952 suggest the most frequent form of live musical entertainment was open air performances of Western music by the Ceylon Police Band ("Moonlight music," 1928). Radio Ceylon occasionally aired these concerts (Times of Ceylon, 1934) and also gave airtime to Latin-tinged swing bands during the 1930s and 1950s (de Mel, 2006, p. 8). Even though the majority of European music played on Radio Ceylon was Western classical music, the stereotype of “Western music” was influenced by the increasingly popular public performances by brass bands. Thus, brass instruments were banned while reeds were not.

Aside from the violin, flute, clarinet and oboe, *sarala gee* orchestration is comprised of Indian instruments including the *sitar*, *svaramandal*, *tānpurā* and *esrāj*. These instruments were introduced to Sri Lanka by Lionel Edirisinghe (R. Weerasinghe, 2010, p. 24). Sri Lankan percussion instruments were also used in conjunction with the imported *tabla* and *ḍholak*. In the 1960s however, Radio Ceylon (now the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation or SLBC) lifted the restriction incrementally (D. Ranatunga, personal communication, September 8, 2018).[63] The structure of *sarala gee* is standard across all forms of popular Sinhala music except *nurthi gee* and *natya gee* (“stage drama songs”). *Sarala gee* usually contain a melodic introduction, chorus, instrumental interlude (often identical to the introduction), verse, chorus, interlude, second verse, and final chorus. An outro sometimes brings the song to a close. There are small melodic figures between some vocal phrases.[64]

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[63] After Radio Ceylon’s instrument ban was lifted, *sarala gee* musicians began to use the acoustic and electric guitar, saxophone, keyboards, and sometimes the trumpet. While the *tabla* and *ḍholak* remained the main percussion instruments, the Western drum kit was also added.
[64] In *sarala* gee, an *ālāp* section preceding the introduction sometimes occurs where the vocalist or violinist introduces the raga.

Though *sarala gee* singers are trained in Hindustani classical music, the vocal production involves a seamless combination of head voice and chest voice. Some songs have a large range. This is reflexive of Hindustani vocal training, which encourages pupils to expand their vocal range to encompass the middle octave or *saptak* (middle C to C4), and half an octave above and below (Upasani, 2013). Another impact of the Hindustani tradition is the performer's stillness. They usually sing sitting down, move their head slightly and trace the contours of the melody in the air. Their dress alludes to the Arya-Sinhala identity — in fact the Sri Lankan male national dress is named the "Arya-Sinhala" and consists of a long shirt and a cloth pleated around the waist. Though the Kandyan *osariya* was the chosen national female dress (Wickramasinghe, 2003, p. 124; 2015, p. 98), female *sarala gee* singers wear Indian sarees, again alluding to the Arya-Sinhala identity. Due to its elevated status, *sarala gee* performances are usually staged in formal venues such as the BMICH or the Ran Pokuna Theatre.[65]

4.3.1.3 *Baila*

Baila, meaning "dance" in Portuguese, is a traditionally derived dance genre that became commercially successful in the late-twentieth century. But it did not enjoy the elevated status of *sarala gee* because of its association with the consumption of alcohol, bawdy lyrics, and the lower social status of its noncommercial performers. Moreover, the hybridity evident in *baila* was scorned by European colonial elites and Arya-Sinhala traditionalists alike. In essence, contemporary *baila* is a confluence of European, African and Asian musical styles (de Mel, 2006, pp. 6, 100; Malm & Wallis, 1985, pp. 280, 284). Its traditional form originated during the Portuguese colonial era (1505–1658). Portuguese settlers married Sri Lankan natives and created the Burgher ethnic

[65] Sheeran observed that "*Sarala gi* also plays a generally muted role in the open air all night musical shows that occur around the Colombo metropolitan area and throughout the country" (Sheeran, 1997, p. 273). This trend has recently changed, with *sarala gee* artists being guests at open air concerts organised by bands such as Flashback.

group, and in the Dutch period African soldiers called Caffirs also mixed with other ethnic groups and influenced Burgher culture and music. From these ethnic groups, three forms of music were created: *manja* (of the Caffirs), *kaffringha* and *chikothi*. *Manja* and *kaffringha* both have a 6/8 rhythm (de Mel, 2006, pp. 100–101, 104; Fernando, 1894, pp. 184–186; Malm & Wallis, 1985, pp. 278–280; Surya Sena, 2008, pp. 110–111). One of the main differences between the music of the Portuguese-Burghers, also called the Mechanics, and the Caffirs is instrumentation. The Mechanics played Iberian instruments such as the violin, *viaule* (a tenor violin), and the *banderina* (mandolin). Percussion instruments include the *rabāna* (a tambourine without jingles) and triangle (de Mel, 2006, p. 6). In comparison, de Mel notes that the Caffirs mainly used percussion instruments (de Mel, 2006, p. 105).[66]

Eventually, a confluence of *kaffringha*, *chikothi* and *manja* styles resulted in Sinhalese contemporary *baila*. Its first form was *vāḏe baila* ("debate *baila*") which later evolved into chorus *baila*; a staple genre of the popular music canon. Debate *baila* was performed amongst the Sinhalese lower and middle classes of maritime areas. Though its date of origin is unknown (Malm & Wallis, 1985, p. 115), I was informed during an interview that Amaradeva himself participated in *baila* performances during his youth (circa 1930s) in the coastal region of Moratuwa (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018). As its name suggests, debate *baila* was performed in a competitive setting.[67] A major influence of the *manja* music on contemporary *baila* is

[66] The term *baila* is not used to refer to *chikothi*, *manja* and *kaffringha* in the early ethnomusicological study by Fernando (1894). In research conducted after the mid-twentieth century, these musical categories are referred to as "traditional *baila*" as opposed to "*baila,*" "contemporary *baila*" or "Sinhala *baila*" (de Mel, 2006; Malm & Wallis, 1985; Sheeran, 1997; Surya Sena, 2008, pp. 113–114).

[67] In *vāḏe baila* ("debate *baila*"), participants employed their wit to argue for or against a topic chosen by the competition's judges. Topics were chosen from current events in the newspaper, and often the *baila* was a means of communicating social injustices. As well as an acute knowledge of current affairs, a certain level of theatricality was necessary in order to engage the audience, who would either laugh or "roar with approval" (de Mel, 2006, p. 251).

the hemiolas resulting from 3 against 2 cross-rhythms in 6/8 time (de Mel, 2006, p. 165). A song sung by a *baila* musician that is not in 6/8 time would thus be classified as a Sinhala pop song. While the *baila* rhythm was derived from *manja*, early instrumentation was similar to that of the Mechanics. This is evident in the original recording of *Irine Jospin Rosalin* by the Burgher *baila* singer Wally Bastiansz (1913–1985), a policeman of the Ceylon Police Band. He embraced the novel "chorus *baila"* thought to have originated in 1936 (Sheeran, 1997, pp. 115–116) and popularised it amongst the Sinhalese in the late 1940s (Veerasingam, 2014). It conformed to the structural dictates of popular music of that period. Thus, unlike its predecessor (debate *baila*) which was in strophic form, chorus *baila* consists of the chorus-verse-chorus-verse-chorus structure (Fernandes, 2002, p. 9).

Though debate *baila* performances continued throughout the twentieth century, the popularity of chorus *baila* surpassed it rapidly with the opening of Radio Ceylon's commercial service and the burgeoning cassette industry (Malm & Wallis, 1985, p. 186; Sheeran, 1997, pp. 130–131). According to Sheeran, M. S. Fernando (1936–1994) was the first to attain true commercial success in the 1960s. His music has a slightly Western cross-over style, with electronic instruments and multilingual lyrics of English, Sinhalese and Tamil (Sheeran, 1997, p. 134). Others followed suit, for instance Desmond de Silva in the song *Ĉūḍa Mānikē Balāla*. Another prominent act was The Gypsies. These brothers, headed by vocalist Sunil Perera (1952–), released the first *baila* nonstop cassette (Candappa, 2012). This trend was thereafter followed by other *baila* singers.[68]

[68] *Other baila* singers that produced nonstop cassettes included Desmond de Silva, Anton Jones, Nihal Nelson, Paul Fernando, Mariazelle Gunathilaka, and Dalreen.

Though lower socioeconomic groups favoured these nonstop cassettes, they were reportedly played in middle- and upper-class parties upon rare occasions (Malm & Wallis, 1985, p. 286). *Baila* was also played during impromptu comedic dances in Vesak and New Years festivals (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, November 26, 2020).[69] Yet, *baila* was marginalised throughout the twentieth century. Members of "Western Rock/Pop 'beat groups'" as de Mel calls them, felt threatened by the unequivocal popularity of *baila* musicians in the 1970s–1980s and ridiculed them. Connoisseurs of *sarala gee* also despised *baila,* believing it vilified traditionalist Arya-Sinhala values because of the perceived frivolity, debasement, immodesty of clothing, and vulgar language associated with the genre (de Mel, 2006, pp. 288–291). Thus, it is often disdainfully called *thuppahi* music, *thuppahi* meaning "rootless, low and degenerate Western ways" (Roberts, Ismeth Raheem, & Colin-Thome, 1989, p. 17). Therefore, *baila* was barred from the national service until 1981, when the SLBC was forced to change their broadcasting policies due to public demand. They maintained stringent censorship policies however, and rejected songs deemed unfit for broadcasting (Malm & Wallis, 1985, p. 288). Currently, it appears that a wider acceptance of *baila* has occurred both amongst the State and the people.[70]

The purpose of *baila* is not just to provide syncopated dance music, it is also a communicative form. It has been used by artists such as Anton Jones to deliver news (Weerakkody, n.d.). Like *kaffringha* and *chikothi*, contemporary *baila* remained cynical

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[69] These comedic dancers were called *olu bakko*, as they wore large masks covering their heads (Y. Jayasuriya, personal communication, December 8, 2020; A. Jayasuriya, personal communication, December 10, 2020).

[70] For example, a *baila* tune was played at a Buddhist *perahara* ("parade") I witnessed in Sri Lanka in 2016. Further, the 2010 annual administrative report of the SLBC stated that "Efforts have been made to revive 'Baila' music, a genre that has been distanced gradually from society" (Samarasinghe, 2011, p. 112). The distancing of *baila* from society, however, remains to be seen. By the mid-2000s, chorus *baila* became the staple repertoire of *papara* bands ("brass bands") that play at Sri Lankan national and international sporting events. Today, no Sinhalese party or wedding is complete without a climactic "*baila* session" to end the night, with guests often belting out lyrics as they dance.

and satirical (de Mel, 2006, p. 295) and reflects colloquial speech. This, in part, also contributed to its popularity. Malm and Wallis (1985) state that "the improvisation and up-to-dateness in lyrics are traditional properties of *baila,* the creators and performers of *baila* are capable of producing new songs at a high rate" (p. 287). An example of "up-to-dateness" is present not only in lyrics, but in the way *bailas* are reinterpreted to suit different occurrences. This is exemplified in the two music videos of *Singore* by The Gypsies released in 1998 and 2014.[71] This video projects a satirical enactment of the exaggerated self-praise of the previous government by resuscitating a musical hit released two decades previously to communicate current political criticisms. In this respect too, *baila* differs significantly from *sarala gee*, which is firmly rooted in the past.

4.3.1.4 Natya gee ("drama songs")

Natya gee or songs of stage dramas, is another form of Sinhalese music grounded in the past. There is barely any academic research of music in early contemporary Sinhalese dramas, and it is unclear whether they had songs or not. Theatrical productions that followed the *nurthi* era (1877–1930) lacked originality, as renowned playwright Ediriweera Sarachchandra (1914–1996) insinuates in his recollection that no original Sinhalese plays were produced following Independence, and,

> there was practically nothing that could be called a Sinhala theater, in the sense of an urban theater, and all there was were some sporadic

[71] In the first version of *Singore* (1998) Sunil Perera acts as a corrupt politician who complains after losing the poll (Samath, 1998). The second video succeeded the 2015 election wherein Mahinda Rajapaksha lost the presidency. Perera acts as Rajapaksha and tells a foreign ambassador that he was responsible for several national achievements such as the creation of the natural Sigiriya rock fortress once inhabited by ancient kings.

> productions here and there of adaptations of western plays.[72] (1987, p. 69)

Ediriweera Sarachchandra created a new Sinhalese theatrical idiom in the 1950s that prevails today and was the first playwright to cut across class barriers. His "experimental" dramas combined aspects of traditional folk dramas and rituals with Western theatre techniques (R. Obeyesekere, 1992b, p. 129). Like *sarala gee*, these plays had a very high literary standard, with an integrity of linguistic style lacking in John de Silva's *nurthi* plays (A. J. Gunawardana, n.d.). Sarachchandra's first play *Maname* (1956) was a stylistic reproduction of the *nāḍagam* folk-opera imported from South India in the seventeenth century. After a repertoire of *nāḍagam* melodies was built up in Sri Lanka, new lyrics were fitted to them and they soon grew "threadbare by recurrent use," leading to the decline of *nāḍagam* (W. D. Amaradeva, as cited in Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 77). For *Maname*, Sarachchandra carefully selected songs from this repertoire and Jayantha Aravinda arranged music for them (A. de Silva, 2000; Sachitra Mahendra, 2015).[73] *Sinhabahu* (1961) was the second play produced in this style, and Sarachchandra commissioned new melodies in addition to those chosen from the existing repertoire (A. J. Gunawardana, n.d.). Afterwards, he collaborated with other

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[72] The Ranga Sabba was the first innovative drama company, established in 1945 under the patronage of students and affiliates of the Colombo University College. They produced amateur dramas and collaborated with foreign playwrights in the 1950s (E. Sarachchandra, 1987, pp. 69–70). Sarachchandra describes one such play called *Veḏa Haṭana* and states that the producer Newman Jubal "made the scene changes take place in full view of the audience to the accompaniment of Indian instrumental music" (E. Sarachchandra, 1987, p. 70). Unfortunately, the music is not described further. If conventions of *nurthi* dramas continued however, Hindustani ragas were presumably used.

[73] Sarachchandra was assisted in the collection of melodies by an ex-*nāḍagam* actor, Charles de Silva Gurunanse of Ampe (A. de Silva, 2000). A novel feature of the instrumentation of his debut play *Maname* was the featuring of the *maddala* or *ḏamila beraya* ("Tamil drum") previously used in nāḍagam plays. The success of *Maname* led to the drum's usage in other stage plays and *sarala gee*. Perhaps due to his openness and eclecticism, Sarachchandra was highly regarded by the Tamil artistic community and was conferred the honorary Doctor of Letters awardfrom the University of Jaffna. He was the only Sinhalese person to receive such an honour (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, November 26, 2020).

musicians and experimented with dramatic styles such as *nurthi*, folk dramas, and rituals such as *sokari* and *thovil* (N. Gamage, personal communication, August 23, 2018; A. J. Gunawardana, n.d.). These musicians included Edwin Samaradivakara, Dayananda Silva, H. H. Bandara and Pandith Amaradeva (A. de Silva, 2000). Other playwrights also adopted this method, but the limitations of folk theatre caused them to favour an eclectic style with elements from various traditional sources. This eclectic folk idiom is still present in theatre music today (A. J. Gunawardana, n.d.). The *natya gee* that grew popular through digital reproduction mostly originate from the 1960s to 1980s.[74]

The ethnomusicologist W. B. Makulloluwa also advanced *natya gee*. His training programs and amended school syllabus nurtured talented musicians that were able to impart their knowledge of folk music and dance onto the theatre stage.[75] Due to his rejection of external musical forms, however, controversy continued throughout his career (S. L. Rupavahini, 2016). Unlike Sarachchandra's *natya gee* which were preserved through commercial recordings, Makulloluwa's songs have faded into obscurity, though some of his disciples were more fortunate. Lionel Ranwala (1939–

[74] The vocal style used on the stage has been retained, and varies due to the eclectic nature of the genre. In an interview, composer Navarathna Gamage (personal communication, August 23, 2018) demonstrated some of these styles; high notes with Western vibrato, low notes in the Hindustani style, and an ornamental style of *nāḍagams* called *uruṭṭuva* in Sinhala. In Carnatic music, it is called *kampitha gamaka* (Appreciating Carnatic Music, 2015). Some singers also assume the timbre of Sinhala folk songs; a nasal tone produced by lowering the soft palette. Nawarathna Gamage stated that a small orchestra is generally used, with instruments such as traditional percussion, flute, violin, *tānpurā*, mandolin, and oboe. However, the orchestration has been altered in commercial recordings to meet popular tastes. Bass guitar and synthesised drums were the first to be introduced. Some songs of the appropriate metrical convention have also been fitted with the 6/8 *baila* rhythm and additional brass. Within these new arrangements, the folk-singing vocal style and ornamentation has been retained. Thus, *natya gee* is an intriguing genre as it evolved continually, absorbing elements from traditional and current musical styles.

[75] Makulloluwa produced his own dramas, such as *Sakhaya Ditti* and *Depaano*. He also produced a ballet called *Pahanen Pahanata* for the opening ceremony of the Bandaranaike International Memorial Hall (BMICH) in 1973. The BMICH is currently one of Colombo's most prestigious performance venues. Though Makulloluwa's musical approach was identical to Ediriweera Sarachchandra's, he was heavily criticised for this production (S. L. Rupavahini, 2016).

2002) and Rohana Baddage (1935–) were two of the most prominent musicians from the Makulloluwa Gurukula (Gunaratne, 2008). Both musicians in turn inspired Sinhalese youth to continue collecting folk songs in the field, and to reintroduce them to urban audiences through stage dramas and variety shows (Handunnetti, 2002; Thilakarathna, 2015).

4.3.1.5 Calypso

The next genre that evolved was influenced by Latin-American songs sung in Spanish, but was named "Calypso." De Mel suggests that Hispanic culture and music was introduced to Sri Lanka through Latin-themed films and comics from the 1940s onwards. Inspired by these media, several musical acts sprung up in Sri Lanka. They performed covers of songs in Spanish and English. The first of these bands was the Fernando Trio formed in the late 1950s. They were familiar with the use of vocal harmony through the church choir and also added this into their renditions. They did not have visual aids to learn the techniques used in Paraguayan and Mariachi repertoire, but listened to this music repetitively through LP recordings and imitated its sounds. Their instruments consisted of acoustic guitar, accordion, castanets, and a homemade *cabasa* constructed from rosaries wrapped around a dried gourd, called a *labu geḍiya* in Sinhala (de Mel, 2006, pp. 206–210). These vocal and instrumentation features became a hallmark of Sri Lankan calypso.

Members of early cover bands generally wore Hispanic or cowboy outfits, as displayed in Western films. De Mel believes this was an act of defiance against the residual legacy of British colonials, who portrayed native males as effeminate beings (de Mel, 2006, pp. 209, 211). A few acts sought to indigenise their dress. The pioneers of this movement were the La Ceylonians headed by Noel Brian Ranasinghe. Initially,

they were ill-received by their audiences. It was reported that the band was ridiculed when they first took to the stage on May 9th 1963:

> Dressed in sarongs, waistbands, garlands, short sleeved batik shirts, straw hats and barefoot, there were shouts of "ado Taxi Karayas, Rasthiyadu Karayas, Malu Karayas", ["Hey taxi drivers, rowdy fellows, fishermen"] recalls Noel Brian Ranasinghe, founder and mentor of the band.
>
> "Yanda yanda gedara yanda," ["Go, go, go home"] said Noel, laughingly describing the catcalls that accompanied their first moments on a public platform in what was seen as a 'ridiculous' outfit. (Samath, 2013)

Though traditional dress was adopted by several political leaders and members of the working class after the mid-1930s (Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 100–101, 103, 106), the above statement suggests that the colourful *batik* shirts and sarongs were still confined to the villages. [76] Yet, the jeers and catcalls did not deter the La Ceylonians and they continued to embrace this style. So too did other bands such as the La Bambas according to band member Priya Peiris (Samath, 2013).

The style of music played by these bands did not resemble the Trinidadian genre of calypso. De Mel discovered that calypso musicians were ashamed of it for this very reason. Priya Peiris of the La Bambas retorted, "Now what will the other people [tourists] think? People who know what real Calypsos are must be laughing their guts out!" (de Mel, 2006, p. 225). The term was coined by a hotelier who evidently had very little knowledge of music but required a means of differentiating the hitherto-called

[76] *Batik* cloth is made by using a special dying technique to add colourful patterns to plain cloth. It was introduced from Java during the Dutch era and was revived after Independence. It became a popular attraction amongst tourists (S. Obeyesekere, 2016).

"Spanish bands" from the "Western beat groups" (2006, pp. 223–225).[77] A popular Tamil version was also created in 1968 by Nithi Kanagaratnam, but is known as *Tamil Baila* because of its 6/8 rhythms (Chaturvedi, 2017).

As in *sarala gee*, Sinhala calypso singers also sang of village life in addition to the favoured theme of romantic love.[78] They also adapted folk songs occasionally.[79] Yet, these bands were disliked by some members of Radio Ceylon. As with *baila*, some branded calypso with the derogatory term *thuppahi*, meaning "low-brow, hybrid Western/foreign [and] debased" (de Mel, 2006, p. 298). Though the prohibition of Western musical instruments was gradually lifted in the 1960s, it is evident that a tolerance towards Western music in general was not so forthcoming as groups who sang harmonies were reportedly banned from the airwaves. The cousins Vijaya, Sangabo and Vernon Corea were instrumental in introducing calypso, *baila* and Sinhala pop to Radio Ceylon. The process began in 1968 when Vijaya allowed the Amigos Romanticas to

[77] The term "calypso" had already been introduced to Sri Lanka in a cricket match against the West Indies and was popularly associated with island cultures by the West (de Mel, 2006, pp. 223–225). Today, "calypso" has a dual meaning, either referring to the style of music that was influenced by Hispanic musicians, or acoustic bands that perform not only at hotel restaurants, but also at weddings and private functions at homes. The latter play a range of songs across multiple genres, mainly *baila*, Sinhala pop and New Age and generally use instruments such as the acoustic guitar, accordion, and congo drums. The use of the term in this current classification denotes the former definition.

[78] An example of a *calypso* song with a rural theme is the La Ceylonians debut track *Hōiya Hōiyā* which depicted the life of fishermen. The natural beauty of Sri Lanka was venerated in songs such as *Kaňḏukarē* ("Mountains," Dharmaratne Brothers), *Sigiri Komaliyō* ("Sigiri Ladies," Los Flamencos) and *Samudra Devi* (Los Caballeros).

[79] Examples of folk song adaptations in *calypso* include *Erankaleyā* ("Clay Water Pot") (Los Flamencos) and *Ambalamē Pinā* ("The Poor man from the Rest Area," La Companeros).

audition for the light music programs (C. Weerasinghe, 2003), and continued with the inclusion of Sinhalese music in the English service (I. Corea, 2012; Samath, 2013).[80]

4.3.1.6 Sinhala pop

The general consensus is that Clarence Wijewardena, a prolific composer, guitarist and singer, created the Sinhala pop genre that dominated the 1970s music scene. Wijewardena founded the first Sinhala pop group called the Moonstones in Ratnapura in 1966 with lead vocalist Annesley Malawana (S. S. Corea, 2006). Their first EP *Musical Gems of Ceylon* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 007) bears influences of Calypso such as vocal harmonies, similar rhythms, and use of the piano. The crucial difference, however, is that Wijewardena was the first to introduce electric musical instruments, particularly the electric guitar, to Sinhala music, inspired by a performance by The Beacons at a wedding (Soorya Records, 2016b). From that time on, catchy melodies and countermelodies played on the electric guitar during introductions, interludes and between vocal phrases became a hallmark of Sinhala pop.[81] This trend

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[80] The majority of calypso songs that retained their popularity over the decades conform to a standard idiom, while some compositions differ with nonmetric introductions and short improvisatory guitar sections (for example *Hōiyā Hōiyā* by the la Ceylonians). The standardised idiom is epitomised by the song *Flor de Pilar* by the Los Paraguayos, who inspired many Sri Lankan calypso bands. In place of the rhythmic harp played by the Los Paraguayos, Sri Lankan calypso bands used a piano. The 6/8 pattern with hemiolas heard in *Flor de Pilar* is characteristic of most Sri Lankan calypso songs. It is very likely that this rhythmic pattern resonated well with Sri Lankan musicians because it resembles *baila*, prevalent throughout the maritime regions. 4/4 rhythms are also used in calypso, often with a 3+3+2 denomination. These rhythms were played on strummed guitar and guiro. Other innovative percussion instruments were also used, including maracas (powder tins filled with sand, mung beans or *maḏaṭi* seeds), castanets made of two spoons, and a tea chest (Samath, 2013). The Dharmaratne Brothers also introduced the *rabāna* (Soorya Records, 2017a). As with other Sinhala music genres, original recordings of calypso demonstrate that instrumentation was expanded gradually to include saxophone, clarinet, and strings. Though it is commonly accepted that Sinhala calypso is exclusively acoustic, synthesizers were also used during the 1970s. Some later songs such as *Vähiḏāka Gaňganōḏarē* (Dharmaratne Brothers) and *Suḏu Pāṭa Gavume* (Amigos Romanticas) are more similar to Sinhala pop than the original calypso style. They are possibly classified under the Calypso label in accordance with previous compositions of their performers. The separate classification of calypso musicians despite their crossing over into the Sinhala pop style is demonstrated in advertisements of Sinhala pop concerts ("Calypso carnival and Sinhala pop at Nelum Pokuna," 2013; Weerasuriya, 2016).

[81] Since Clarence Wijewardana is said to be the first to have used electric instruments in Sinhala music, The Beacons was likely one of the Western rock/pop cover bands de Mel calls “Beat Groups” (de Mel, 2006, p. 270)

was also adopted in other genres, especially *sarala gee* and *baila*. Thus, Clarence Wijewardena and the Moonstones revolutionised Sinhala music and caused musicians trained in South Asian music to be more open to Western musical aspects. The confluence of South Asian and Western styles worked both ways, as evident in the following excerpt from the first review of the Moonstones in the *Ceylon Daily News*:

> The Moonstones are very much enamoured of the world of Latin American rhythmic designs. The Samba, the Ramba, Conga, Cha Cha, the Merengue, and the Bossa Nova have had a strong influence on their rhythm work. On the oriental side they are keen and devoted admirers of Amaradeva. More recently their lead singer came into close musical contact with Devar Surya Sena, and the impact has undoubtedly enchanced [sic] Annesly Malawana's appreciation and musical sense. The Shepherd's Song or (Gopalu Geeya) — is a very good example of their prowess in the oriental sphere. (V. Corea, 1967)

Vernon Corea noted that the Moonstones hired a sitarist for their first EP,[82] thus establishing links with the "oriental sphere."[83] The Moonstones released their second EP in 1969 with the guest female singer Indrani Perera and the "Sinhalisation" of

[82] "EP" stands for "extended play" and refers to short albums which contain more songs than a single, but fewer songs than an album. The term was originally used to refer to short vinyl records, as opposed to LPs or "long plays."

[83] Though it would appear that The Moonstones' decision to hire a sitarist was influenced by *sarala gee*, it was reportedly inspired by The Beatles, who first used the instrument in the song *Norwegian Wood* from the 1965 album *Rubber Soul* (Devapriya, 2016b; Shand, 2017).

Sinhala pop occurred from this point onwards with slightly increased vocal ornamentation.[84]

Ornamentation in Sinhala pop predated the Moonstones however, as did the genesis of the Sinhala pop style itself. C. T. Fernando was one of the first musicians to embrace a Western style, during the dawn of *sarala gee*.[85] His first song *Pinsiňḏu Vannē* became a hit (Devapriya, 2016a; Soorya Records, 2016a). In the 1940s and 1950s, his songs were similar to the early Western-inflected songs of Sunil Santha and the composer B. S. Perera who arranged several songs for Fernando and Amaradeva.[86] Fernando's accompaniment was more mellow than that of *aluth sindu*, but this did not deter Radio Ceylon's directors from banning all instruments they deemed "Western." For this reason perhaps, C. T. Fernando became a commercial artist from 1952, signing with record labels such as HMV and Lewis Brown (Devapriya, 2016a; Soorya Records, 2016a).

The emergence of electronic instruments impacted C. T. Fernando's music and coincided with his collaboration with the versatile composer and arranger Patrick Denipitiya. Denipitiya initially studied music under Sunil Santha (Uvais, 2013) and has also worked for *sarala gee* musicians, most notably Sunil Santha and Susil

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[84] The second EP by The Moonstones featuring Indrani Perera (1969) saw an increase in ornamentation consisting of mordents (called *khatkas* in Indian classical music). They are common in *sarala gee*, *natya gee* and to a lesser extent in *nurthi gee*, *chithrapati gee* and New Age. The vocal style of The Moonstones (later the Golden Chimes and the Super Golden Chimes) and other Sinhala pop acts such as Three Sisters (which included Indrani Perera), Mariazelle Goonathilake, Anil Bharathi, Priya Sooriyasena, Milton Mallawarachchi, and Shyami Fonseka further evolved, though ornamentation remained simple and less frequent than in other genres. It mainly consists of mordents, minute trills, turns, grace notes, and short Western pop style melismas.

[85] After launching his career in the 1940s, C. T. Fernando soon joined the Grant Cabaret to entertain WWII troops and joined Radio Ceylon in 1946 (Devapriya, 2016a; Soorya Records, 2016a).

[86] Accompaniment to Fernando's songs was mostly provided by Western instruments such as the piano, saxophone, muted trumpet, and mandolin, also used in the *aluth sindu* genre that preceded *sarala gee*.

Premarathna.[87] He was also efficient in both styles of composition, and the songs he wrote for Sinhala pop musicians such as C. T. Fernando and Milton Mallawarachchi are markedly different from Clarence Wijewardena's compositions. Denipitiya tended to use instruments found in *sarala gee* such as the sitar, violin and flute.[88] Another prominent composer who produced music of a similar style was Stanley Peiris. Like Denipitiya, Peiris also composed music for *sarala gee* singers, including Amaradeva, and as such was able to maintain a combination of South Asian and Western idioms within his Sinhala pop compositions. A critic described these songs as "the music of the middle" (Devapriya, 2017b).[89]

C. T. Fernando and Stanley Peiris influenced many Sinhala pop musicians such as Rookantha Gunathilaka who emerged in the 1980s (Attygalle, 2011). Rookantha also left a great impression upon the landscape of Sri Lankan music, drawing from the idioms of Western disco, rock and pop.[90] The pop and disco elements of this style were adopted by other musicians in the 1980s and 1990s.[91] The history of the Sinhala pop genre, which was the first to have a Western name, illuminates its versatility. This suggests that in Sri Lanka, contemporary categories are less stable than traditional ones.

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[87] Patrick Denipitiya was the first Sri Lankan musician to use the electric Hawaiian slide guitar and "is considered the fastest notation writer in Sri Lanka, having written music scores without using an instrument in both Eastern and Western notation" (Soorya Records, 2016c).

[88] Though Denipitiya did not incorporate much part singing into his arrangements, he did favour the keyboards and electric guitar, and like C. T. Fernando his compositions featured brass interludes, mostly played on the saxophone. He also favoured Latin rhythms, as evident in the song *Āne Ḍiṅgak Innakō* by C. T. Fernando, based on a tango (de Mel, 2006, p. 269).

[89] Other Sinhala pop musicians that sang songs of the middle were Sydney Attygalla, Greshan Ananda and Keerthi Pasquel.

[90] The stylistic features of Rookantha Gunathilaka's music include drum loops emphasising beats 2 and 4, as in rock and pop music (while some songs include introductions with the "four to the floor" bass drum pattern of 1970s disco), repetitive bass notes played on quaver beats (also characteristic of disco), muted, percussive riffs and solos on electric guitar and a heavy use of synthesised sounds.

[91] Sinhala pop musicians from the 1980s and 1990s include Athula Adikari, Piyal Perera (formerly of the *baila* band the Gypsies), Samitha Mudunkotuwa, Mariazelle Gunathilake, and Athma Liyanage. Their style involved a convergence of the disco and pop elements of Rookantha Gunathilake, the Latin rhythms introduced by The Moonstones, and the brass of C. T. Fernando and the composers Stanley Peiris and Patrick Denipitiya.

4.3.1.7 “New Age”

Sinhala “New Age” music is the most recent and diverse category of popular song. The quotation marks around the term here, indicates that unlike older genres, there is a lack of consensus regarding its stylistic boundaries. In the first academic study of this genre, the author gathered the following data from interviews and media sources to gain and understanding of the terms used for its classification:

> “New age Sinhalese pop music” (Chinthy Fernando: interview: 2009) “ethnic fusion music” (BNS: website) “Sinhala hip-hop” (Fill-T: interview: 22.12.08) “Sri Lankan contemporary hip-hop” (Santhush Weeraman of BNS: interview: 9.02.09) “R&B, pop/ethnic, southern hip-hop, dirty south, crunk, hip-hop soul, etc” (about Yashan: The Island Newspaper: 31.07.07) “ethnic R&B and Sri Lankan pop with a little bit of rap as well” (Amila Paranamanage: interview: 2009) “pop, commercial hip-hop, its not really hip-hop (Krishan Maheson: interview: 2009) “Asian Sri Lankan hip-hop” (Iraj Weeraratne: interview: 2009) are some definitions assigned to 98+LSLPS by its artists. (Ekanayaka, 2011, pp. 49–50)

Many items listed above are “definitions” as opposed to categorical names. The most common label is hip-hop, but this genre does not encompass all songs included in this category of music, or even all songs by the artists that coined the term “hip-hop” in the above quote. Ekanayake termed the genre with the acronym 98+LSLPS which refers to “leading Sri Lankan popular songs” released in the idiom of the duo BnS from 1998 to the present (Ekanayaka, 2011, p. 47). Many artists of this genre do not adhere to one of these subcategories. Thus, to differentiate this genre from twentieth-century Sinhala pop

and to employ a label befitting all styles, I have instead opted to adopt the label "New Age."[92]

Though Sinhala pop was revolutionised by musicians such as Clarence Wijewardena and Rookantha Gunathilaka, the aforementioned duo BnS brought about greater changes that warranted the classification of this music within a separate genre. BnS, a collaboration between Bathiya Jayakody (1976–) and Santhush Weeraman (1977–), abandoned the structural dictates of Sinhala pop and produced multilingual songs appealing to a wider Sri Lankan audience. This latter feature was not novel but became common in New Age (Ekanayaka, 2011, p. 47).[93] Thus New Age was created from local and international musical styles, with the intention of entering the global music market.[94] BnS were successful, being the first Sri Lankan artists to sign international recording contracts with Sony BMG and Universal Music Publishing, Hong Kong in 2002 (BNS Music, n.d.; Kadry, 2009). Some other artists were equally successful.[95] While some artists adhere to a specific genre such as rock or hip-hop, many early New Age artists adopted the diverse stylistic palette of BnS. These artists, including Randhir, Chinthy and Centigradz, produced songs ranging from RnB to rap to

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[92] At present, this latest genre is simply referred to as "Sinhala pop" by its listeners, and the labels hip-pop, RnB and rap accompany specific songs (P. S. P. Punchi Hettiarachchige, personal communication, August 1, 2018).

[93] Though the term "New Age" is presently uncommon, it appeared in social media during the 2000s and is also present in Ekanayake's list of definitions above.

[94] BnS experimented with a broad range of musical sources in their first album *Vasaṇṭayē* (Vasanthaye, 1998). Bach's *Air from Suite No. 3 in D Major, BWV 1068* was appropriated in the title track (Ekanayaka, 2011, p. 50), while the song *Magē Ḍiviya* involved the styles of reggae and Trinidadian steelpan. This song also featured the guttural style of Sinhala rap pioneered by Bathiya Jayakody. In an interview (Aus News Lanka, 2014), Weeraman explained that they continued to explore various musical realms in their subsequent albums, including Western pop styles such as rap, hip-hop and RnB in *Life* (2000), Sinhala folk music in *Ṭārunyayē* (Tharunyaye, 2002), and Indian songs and *bhangra* dance music in *Nēṭṭarā* (Neththara, 2006), though a general blend of Western and Sinhala pop prevails throughout.

[95] Other artists that were successful in breaking into the international music market include Ashanthi, first female singer signed with Sony BMG (C. Weerasinghe, 2006), Ranidu Lankage, first artist aired on BBC Radio and TV channels such as MTV (FM Derana, 2017), and IRAJ, rapper and composer who collaborated with Sean Kingston.

mainstream pop but maintained their individuality. All New Age subgenres generally have lyrics similar to Sinhala pop. Some songs, especially rap, use the spoken dialect.[96]

Like *baila*, New Age has received much criticism. Some Sinhala pop artists such as Indrani Perera received negative feedback during their formative years, but this faded as their popularity grew rapidly (Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p. 172). In comparison, the duo BnS instantly grew popular with Sri Lankan youth, but local critics chided them until they received international acclaim (Kurian, 2003). Regarding the criticism, the two musicians stated in an interview that,

> The biggest challenge we faced was the rejection we had at the start by the traditional circuit and extremists who at that time had a widespread influence over the common people. Constant attacks on print and visual media were a norm during the early days. (Hopman, 2009)

Hopman claimed that the older generations started to appreciate the music of BnS after some time, but it is evident that this acceptance is not shared by all critics. This casts doubt over the widespread approval of older listeners. In Pandith Amaradeva's recent biography, the author assesses the state of current Sinhala music and thoroughly chastises BnS and IRAJ for their introduction of rap (Kumara, 2015, p. 542). Yet, the general distaste of New Age encompasses all subgenres, whether they involve rap or

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[96] Rap songs generally relate gangster themes while rap lyrics in love songs are often sexual. Songs of other subgenres are almost exclusively about love, and songs about broken love are particularly popular according to Sinhala pop musician Athula Adhikari (Sri TV, 2015a). Songs about broken or unrequited love are called *virahā gīta*. This is not to be confused with the *virahā gee* of the Kandyan courts, which were also love songs. While vocal styles of subgenres such as RnB and rock remain fixed, the mainstream vocal style varies. It is either akin to contemporary Western popular music, or similar in tone to previous Sinhala genres with varying amounts of Western vocal inflections and melismas of both styles. Instrumentation generally consists of mellow synthesised sounds and acoustic and electric guitar, piano, and flute and violin often playing South Asian-style melismas. Percussion often includes a combination of drum loops or drum kit with South Asian percussion such as the *tabla.* Select stylistic features from a range of genres such as electronica, alternative rock, reggae, baila and Sinhala pop often occur. Predominant mainstream artists include Kasun Kalhara, the sisters Umariya and Umara Sinhawansa, Romesh Sugathapala, Raini and Sasika Nisansala. A few Sinhala pop artists such as Athula Adikari, Samitha Mudunkotuwa and Namal Udugama also crossed over into New Age in the new millennium.

not. As affirmed in a statement by Annesley Malawana, this criticism partly stems from the creation of overnight stars through television reality shows such as Sirasa Superstar and Derana Dream Star (Sirimanna, 2016).[97] The more pressing issue with New Age according to Sinhala pop musicians Annesley Malawana and Mariazelle Gunathilaka, is its overcommercialisation and the artists' over-reliance on technology (Sirimanna, 2016; C. Weerasinghe, 2008).[98] It is generally perceived that artists who emerged prior to the 1990s were more talented than contemporary artists.[99] The debate continued, and reached controversy when New Age musician Lahiru Perera (1984–) claimed that in terms of vocal ability, "Nanda Malini can't sing as well as Umariya. . . Sanuka is more proficient than Amaradeva" (Gossip Lanka, 2014). This remark not only outraged the older generations but elicited scathing responses on social media from Sinhalese youth who were ardent fans of New Age. This denotes the level of respect that is still afforded to singers of the *sarala gee* genre and the significance of its compositions.

Though patriotism is relatively uncommon in New Age, allusions to patriotic themes and uses of traditional music have occurred. For instance, BnS engaged in the nationalist discourses threaded within works of the arts throughout the twentieth century in their 2000 remix of the song *Siri Sangabodhi Maligawedi*, a *nurthi gee* from John de

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[97] While many reality contest winners do not remain in the spotlight for long, some mainstream artists such as Shihan Mihiranga, Pradeep Rangana, Dasun Madushan and Sanka Dineth have launched successful careers.

[98] The effect of overcommercialisation is that artists with the greater financial resources have a greater chance of success, regardless of their inherent talent. Funds are needed for studio recordings, music videos and airtime. Some current artists rely heavily upon digital technology by utilising loops and samples, possibly to cut back on the costs of hiring composers and instrumentalists.

[99] An interviewer stated the assumption that artists who emerged prior to the 1990s were more talented than contemporary artists to the cross-over musician Athula Adhikari and he interrupted, stating there were both talented and untalented musicians then and now (Sri TV, 2015b). Adikari's response suggests that this is not a blanket assumption.

Silva's drama *Siri Sangabo*.[100] Despite BnS' efforts to reiterate this message to a youthful audience, this song attracted outrage from critics, as well as some musicians. For instance, a reporter claimed,

> Veteran Musician Victor Ratnayake once said that two youngsters who rapped the song 'Siri Sanghabo' had said that the people knew about King Siri Sanghabo only after the song was rapped. In that case, Victor quipped, if someone rapped 'Danno Budunge' by Pundit Amaradeva it would be told that the people knew about Lord Buddha only after that song was rapped. (Gunewardene, 2001)

Nevertheless, BnS remained unperturbed and continued to recreate old hits and traditional music. In another successful remake called *Ḍenna Ḍenā Nā* (2002), they adopted the *thovil* exorcism ceremony chant. This song is often performed at their concerts, accompanied by dancers wearing traditional devil masks. Another example of the utilisation of traditional music in New Age is the 2006 song *Sandawathiye (Ṯāna Ṯanā)* by Centigradz, which features the mnemonic syllables and first verse of a *kulu nāṭum gee* ("winnowing basket-dance song") traditionally performed during the April new year. The utilisation of traditional music has been rare in recent years, though some lesser-known remakes have been created, such as *Nāna Vilē* produced by Miran Tharindu in 2014. The continual use of traditional musical sources in New Age demonstrates that the precedent set by Ananda Samarakoon, Sunil Santha and Pandith Amaradeva is a compositional technique that has remained current through its use in contemporary genres. Borrowing from traditional music endorses the expression of the Sinhalese identity, just as when this identity was first brought to life in *sarala gee*.

[100] The BnS remake has voiceovers mocking British colonisers, some rock orchestration, RnB-style backup vocals and an added English rap section. Also added was a verse in English, advising people to keep sight of their history. This reflects the message John de Silva projected during the colonial era.

4.3.1.8 *Chithrapati gee* ("film songs")

While New Age has some sense of unity owing to the period of time that contains it and the use of Western vocal styles, no matter how subtle, the *chithrapati gee* genre has no stylistic affinity whatsoever and the only shared characteristic of its songs is their use in films. Stylistically, songs are commonly akin to *sarala gee*, Bollywood music, and to the Sinhala pop and New Age genres to a lesser extent. *Chithrapati gee* emerged in 1947 with the first Sinhalese talkie *Kaḍavuṇu Poronḏuva (Kadawunu Poronduwa* / "Broken Promise") produced by South Indian entrepreneur S. M. Nayagam.[101] Its songs lacked originality, plagiarised from Indian film songs (Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p. 35). The plagiarism of Indian film melodies continued in the Sinhala film industry long after it ceased in the composition of radio songs following the advent of *sarala gee*. *Kaḍavuṇu Poronḏuva* was closely followed by *Asokamala* that same year, with music direction by Mohamad Ghouse (1910–1953) and Pandith Amaradeva (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001; Weragama, 2012, pp. 203, 209). Though the film had original songs which became popular, they were more similar to the *aluth sindu* genre of plagiarised songs than *sarala gee*.

Traditional music and the *sarala gee* style were first used in the landmark film *Rēkāva* ("Line of Destiny," 1956) directed by Lester James Peries. Unlike the first two feature films which had 12 and 10 songs respectively, *Rēkāva* only had six songs, composed by Sunil Santha (Info Lanka, n.d.-b; Jeyaraj, 2016; Ranatunga, 2013a, 2013b).[102] The most popular of these songs was *Ōlu Neḷum Neriya Raňgālā* sung by Sisira Senarathna. Starting from his debut as music director in the first Sinhala colour

[101] Though the first Sinhala language film *Kaḍavuṇu Poronḏuva* was based on a Sinhala play, it was stylistically equivalent to the films of South India (Ranatunga, 2017) and was therefore criticised heavily by the nationalist literati advocating the projection of a Sinhala identity within all forms of art (Jeyaraj, 2017).

[102] One of the songs in *Rēkāva,* Anurapura *Polonnaruwa* sung by Ivor Dennis, replicates a traditional performance of *viriňḏu* (impromptu verse in 6/8 rhythm accompanied by the *rabana*).

film *Ranmuṯu Ḏūva (*Ranmuthu Duwa / "Island of Treasures," 1962), Pandith Amaradeva's film songs also drew from *sarala gee* and Sri Lankan traditional music. In addition, he borrowed from other Sinhala popular music genres such as *baila* and calypso. For this reason, he is revered for widening the creative scope of Sinhala film songs and for inspiring later music directors to do the same (K. Dissanayaka, personal communication, August 20, 2018). Another instrumental film composer was Premasiri Khemadasa, who combined Indian ragas, Western classical music and Sinhala folk music ("Premasiri Khemadasa," 2010).[103] He was greatly influenced by Western classical music and also composed Sinhala operas, symphonies and Buddhist cantatas (A. Weerasinghe, 2016). While his film songs are similar to *sarala gee*, he also incorporates stylistic features that reflect Western classical music.[104] Many film composers have since emerged, each diversifying the genre.[105]

The majority of dedicated playback singers also sang a few *sarala gee* songs but were predominately playback singers. H. R. Jothipala was not associated with the *sarala gee* genre however, all songs he sang independently of film were classified as Sinhala pop. Jothipala was the most prolific playback singer, having lent his voice to over a hundred Sinhala films. Though he was often criticised for singing plagiarised

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[103] Premasiri Khemadasa was raised in a poor, rural background and was self-taught in these three forms ("Premasiri Khemadasa," 2010).

[104] Khemadasa adopted techniques from Western classical music and his compositions included features such as short melodies sung on vowels in an open voice and SATB voicing. This latter feature is most prominent in the film *Bambaru Aviṯ* (Bambaru Awith / "The Bees Have Come," 1978) directed by Dharmasena Pathiraja. He also used vocal registers to contrast various timbres, as evident in the theme song of Jayantha Chandrasiri's *Agniḏāhaya* ("Fire," 2007) where a folk chant is juxtaposed against baritone voices.

[105] Other renowned twentieth-century film composers include R. Muttusamy, M. K. Rocksamy, P. L. A. Somapala, P. V. Nandasiri, Sarath Dassanayake, Somadasa Elvitigala and Rohana Weerasinghe, who is still active. Popular playback singers of the past century were Rukmani Devi, Mohideen Baig, G. S. B. Rani Perera, Haroon Lanthra, Anjaline Gunathilake, Milton Perera, Narada Dissasekara, Latha and Dharmadasa Walpola, Sujatha Athanayaka and H. R. Jothipala. Some *sarala gee* singers such as Pandith Amaradeva, Nanda Malini, Sanath Nandasiri, T. M. Jayarathna and Neela Wickramasinghe and Sinhala pop singers such as C. T. Fernando and Milton Malawarachchi also engaged in playback singing.

melodies, he was one of the most popular singers amongst lower socioeconomic groups (Ariyarathna, 2014, p. 77; Soorya Records, 2017b). A reason for his immense popularity may be the simplicity of the language in his songs which is similar to that of calypso, Sinhala pop and New Age and is common throughout all *chithrapati gee*, originals or not, except those written in the *sarala gee* idiom. It was speculated that Jothipala was able to "eclipse" all other playback singers because they may have been reluctant to record plagiarised songs while he was not (Akmeemana, 2015). The plagiarism of Hindi film songs continued even after *Rēkāva* and was no less prevalent within the popular music canon.[106] Jothipala was in fact not the only singer who performed plagiarised songs, as most playback singers were required to do so.

Many original *chithrapati gee* of varying styles are also present in the popular music canon. Though film songs composed for *sarala gee* singers reflect their style, those composed for playback singers, comprising the majority of this genre, are similar to Bollywood songs in their vocal and instrumental style.[107] This similarity in style accounts for the reason why Sinhalese listeners were oblivious to the unoriginality of plagiarised *chithrapati gee*. Despite the demand for the Bollywood style, the influence of traditional music remained present in some original *chithrapati gee*. Examples

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[106] Examples include *Ō Rāṭriyē Mē Yāmē* (O Rathriye Me Yame, *Ahiṅsaka Prayōgaya*, 1959) based on the song *O Raat Ke Musafir* from the film *Miss Mary* (1957) and *Rā̆ Ḏaval* (Ra Dawal) from Adare *Hithenawa Dakkama* (1972) based on *Zindagi Ek Sawar Hai Suhana* from the film *Andaz* (1971). The plagiarism of Tamil songs was far less common but also led to a few Sinhala classics such as *Ĉanḏrā Mē Rā̆ Pāyā Āvā* (*Chandra Me Ra Paya Awa*) from *Saṭa Panahā* (Satha Panaha, 1965) based on *Poopola Poopola* from *Naanum Oru Penn* (1963). The first of these songs was sung by Latha Walpola and Mohidieen Baig and the latter two were sung by Jothipala with Anjaline Gunathilake and Sujatha.

[107] *Chitrapati gee* written in the style of Bollywood songs have comparable arrangements with similar percussion rhythms, rapid runs, strings and mandolin played in high registers, and the use of the accordion and harmonica, not commonly heard in *sarala gee*. Examples of such songs include *Mā Prārṭanā* (Ma Prarthana) composed by Khemadasa and sung by H. R. Jothipala and Anjaline Gunathilaka in Lasanda (1974) and *Ron Soyā* composed by Sarath Dassanayake and sung by Latha Walpola in *Āvā Soyā Āḏarē* (Awa Soya Adare, 1975). It appears that this trend has continued into the twenty-first century in songs such as *Pāyanā Ira* composed by Rohana Weerasinghe and sung by Uresha Ravihari in *Anjalika* (2006) and *Sihina Manamāli* composed by Madhuva Hawawasam and Lassana Jayasekara and sung by Suresh Gamage in *Sweet Angel* (2011).

include Vinōḏa Venna (Winoda Wenna) composed by R. Muttusamy and sung by Milton Perera and Malika Kahavita in the film *Yatagiya Ḏavasa* (Yatagiya Dawasa, 1965), *Savibala Yakaḍa Vagē* (Sawibala Yakada Wage) composed by Somadasa Elvitigala in *Sudō Sudū* (1965) and Ran Ḏevolin Bäsa (Ran Dewolin Besa) composed by Rohana Weerasinghe and sung by Sunil Edirisinghe, Ivor Dennis and Damayanthi Jayasuriya in *Āḏara Hasuna* (1986).[108]

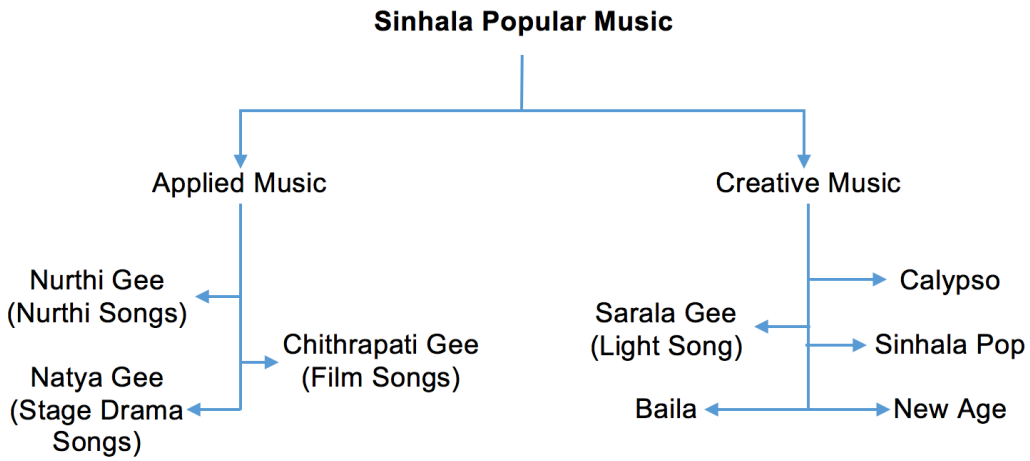
4.3.2 A classification

The descriptions above demonstrate that Sinhala popular music consists of a heterogeneous multiplicity of genres; an assemblage of independent forms that trade musical characteristics. None of these genres were derived solely from any other Sri Lankan genre, nor is any genre devoid of characteristics from other genres. Therefore, a linear taxonomy would not define their relationships adequately. In my field research, I discovered that some musicians use a functional dichotomy to differentiate the genres. The binary of "creative music" and "applied music" are used respectively to describe autonomous music composed for the sake of creating music and compositions written to complement another form of media such as a film, drama, or advertisement (R. Weerasinghe, personal communication, August 24, 2018). A top-down taxonomic classification according to these categories would be as follows:

[108] Some emulations of the Sinhala pop style also occurred in films, for instance in *Lokē Jīvaṭ Vannaṭa* (Loke Jeewath Wanata) composed by Khemadasa and sung by Clarence Wijewardena and Latha Walpola in *Jana Saha Manju* (1978). Recently, the number of songs in films has dwindled with a larger emphasis placed on background scores. Leading twenty-first century film composers include Nawarathna Gamage, Dinesh Subasinghe, Lakshman Joseph de Saram and Harsha Makalanda. Popular artists of the New Age genre such as BnS, Kasun Kalhara and Centigradz have occasionally collaborated with film composers to further diversify the *chithrapati gee* genre, which remains the most versatile.

Figure 4.4

A Taxonomic Classification of the Genres of Popular Sinhala Song



Key:

Nurthi Gee = Songs from *nurthi* plays

Natya Gee = Songs from modern stage plays

Chithrapati Gee = Film songs

Sarala Gee = "Light songs"; semi classical

Baila = Dance songs influenced by Portuguese, Caffir and Sinhalese music

Sinhala "Calypso" = songs influenced by Spanish and Latin-American music

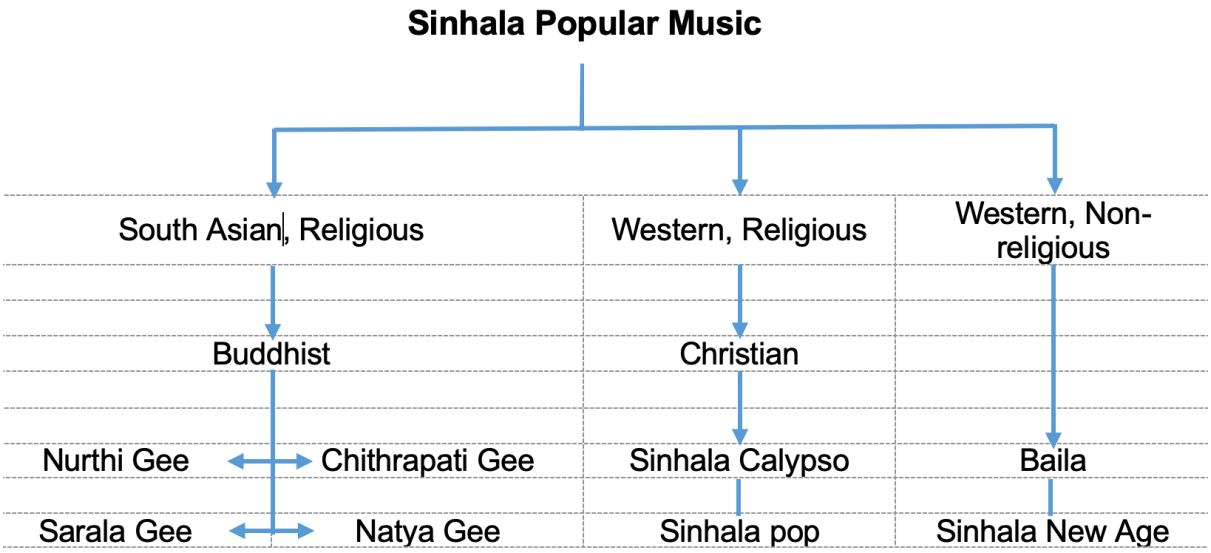
Sinhala Pop = Mainstream popular music with brass, keyboards and electric guitar

Sinhala "New Age" = Contemporary pop with RnB, hip-hop/rap or mainstream style (Western and South Asian vocal tone)

However, I could not identify the origin and prevalence of these terms. Further, these dichotomies do not relate to the social perception of the genres or their lateral interconnections. The descriptions in the previous section also illustrate a different binarism that was for the most part upheld by critics and certain members of the state-led radio station. These individuals labelled genres "Eastern" or "Western." This dichotomy was used to expel certain types of music from Radio Ceylon in the mid-twentieth century. A classification of this calibre emits some sociopolitical meaning if a bifold cluster of oppositional dichotomies are used, as in the below diagram.

Figure 4.5

Classification of Sinhala Popular Music According to Musical Systems Used and Affiliated Religion



Note. This classification was based on the lyric content of the sample set of songs in Appendix B.

Figure 4.5 indicates that for Sinhala musicians, Eastern music and Buddhism are inextricably linked. This is owing to the Arya-Sinhala ideology. However, it does not account for the biographical backgrounds of certain musicians or the convergence of musical styles. For instance, this classification is impractical when considering *sarala gee* and Sunil Santha; a patriotic Christian musician who embraced a "Western" idiom within an "Eastern" or authentically Sri Lankan genre. Though some genres were created under a rigid stylistic formula, all genres evolved to encompass a synthesis of elements from South Asian and Western musical systems, as illustrated in Table 4.2 below. The taxonomy in Figure 4.5 also ignores patriotism within opposing genres. As seen in Chapters 1 and 2, Arya-Sinhala traditionalists believed that Christianity and Western culture were destroying Buddhist social order and values. These anti-Western

and anti-Christian sentiments affected the music industry. Any type of music associated with Western culture was criticised, marginalised and denied patronage by the state-led radio station. Radical nationalists discredited the thematic similarities between "Western" and "Eastern" genres such as depictions of village life and praise for the motherland. Evidence of such patriotism within all genres was demonstrated in the previous section and a summary is given in Figure 4.6. This unifying attribute cannot be conceived in a taxonomic classification based on opposition.

Table 4.2

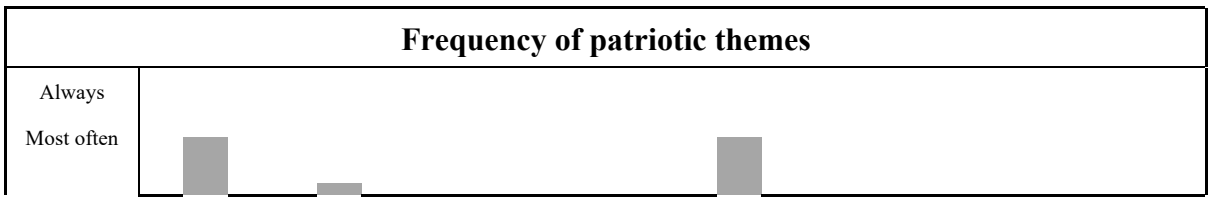
Approximated Proportion of Elements from Three Main Musical Systems Used by Sinhala Musicians

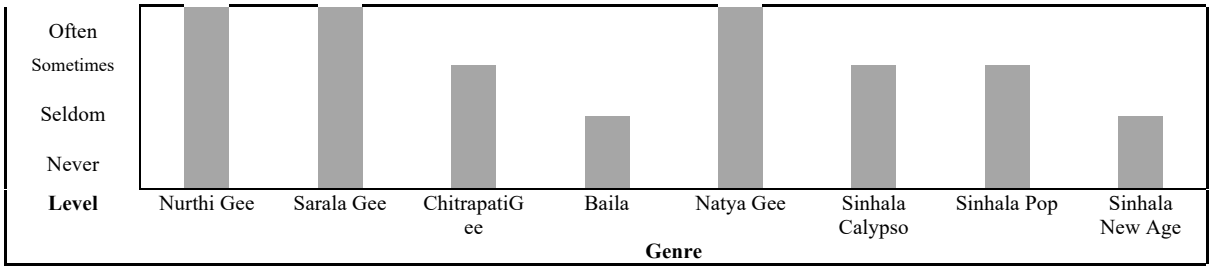
Genres and date of mediatisation	Nurthi Gee (1906)	Sarala Gee (1944)	Baila (1940s)	Chithrapati Gee (1947)	Natya Gee (1956)	Sinhala Calypso (1963)	Sinhala Pop (1968)	Sinhala New Age 1998
North Indian	High	High		High	High			Medium
Traditional Sri Lankan		Medium		Low	Medium	Low		Low
Western		Low	High	Medium	Low	High	High	High
Music system	(Date of genre's mediatisation)							

Note. Values were estimated according to field research, media articles and sample set of songs in Appendix B.

Figure 4.6

Chart Showing Approximate Frequency of Patriotic Themes in the Eight Sinhala Popular Music Genres



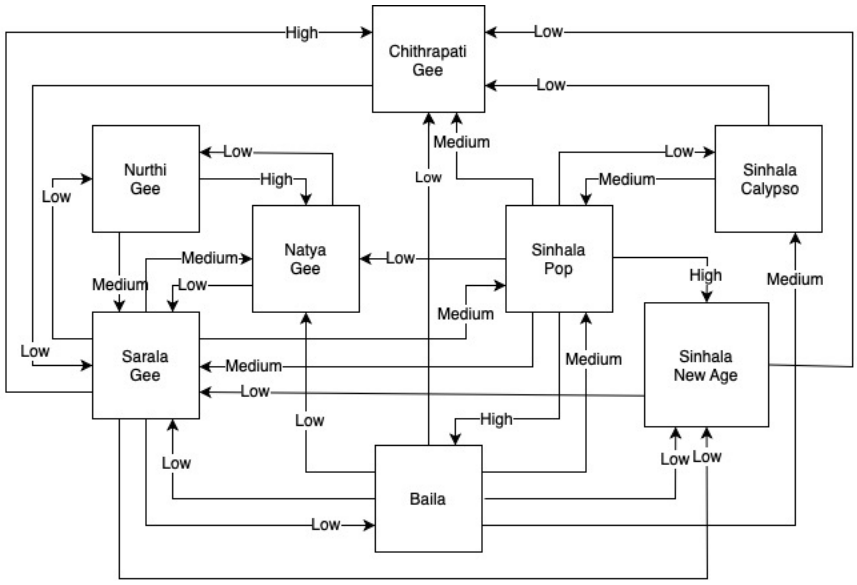


Note. Estimations were based on the sample set of songs in Appendix B.

A rhizomatic model can, in contrast, be used to compare these genres as a totality. It can simultaneously compare and contrast each musical entity without binary opposition, thus accommodating the complexity of the subjects being classified. The rhizome "always has multiple entryways" and "variation, expansion, conquest, capture, [and] offshoots" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 12, 21). It can also have entities similar to weeds which "fill the waste spaces left by cultivated areas" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 19). It is therefore also applicable to Sri Lanka's layered history which transitioned from tribal leaders to shifting kingdoms (some of which coexisted) to three colonial powers to modern governance, each with its own networks of trade that impacted Sri Lankan culture and music. Rhizomes can be represented by a map or plane of consistency, often with a "middle" from which other entities grow (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 12, 21). In such a representation of Sinhala popular music, *nurthi gee* would be placed in the middle because it triggered the commercial music industry. As the rhizome has multiple entryways, *nurthi gee* need only be linked to the genres that share its stylistic features. However, the stylistic interconnection between the genres is so great, it is necessary to group genres with the most similarities together so that lines of flow can be easily followed. This is represented below.

Figure 4.7

Rhizomatic Classification of Sinhala Popular Music Genres, Showing Levels of Cross-Fertilisation



Note. Estimated levels were based on the sample set of songs in Appendix B.

Like Deleuze and Guattari's definition of the rhizomatic model, the above classification has lines of connection that are mostly cyclic but also horizontal and vertical, as any point in the rhizome can be connected to another (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 6–7). Since the genres have been mapped out on a "flat" plane of consistency (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 9), it is possible to chart all connections that occurred across time. A good example of this is *baila*. Derived from a source external to the rhizome, its early songs had instrumentation similar to *kaffringha* and *chikothi*, but also included instruments from early *sarala gee* such as the clarinet. However, significant changes occurred in the 1970s due to Clarence Wijewardena's electronic revolution of Sinhala pop. A bifold transmission between genres is also represented here. Consider *nurthi gee*, which influenced *natya gee* and early *sarala gee* but was reproduced decades later with instrumentation particular to *natya gee* and vocal styles similar to *sarala gee*. An example of this can be heard in Kolithabhanu Dissanayake's 2011 recording of *Mithurinda Rāja Māligā* from the *nurthi Vidura* by Charles Dias. The same is evident in Sinhala calypso. It greatly influenced the preliminary compositions of Clarence Wijewardena of the Moonstones in the late 1960s. In the following decade, some

calypso musicians also used electronic instruments. Their songs are classified as "calypso" even though calypso is generally defined as having acoustic instrumentation. Thus, the lack of binary opposition in the rhizomatic model allows for the growth and variation of entities and deviations in defining characteristics because causal relationships are shown.

It also renders ideological incongruities unproblematic. Returning to Figure 4.5., we recall that the genres were taxonomically delineated according to the musical system used and affiliated religion. Following the nationalist resurgence of the 1950s, it is evident that South Asian culture and Buddhism were attributed with prestige. It could thus be surmised that all music conforming to these categorisations were also prestigious. This is not always the case. Some *chitrapati gee* such as *Rā Ḏaval* from *Āḏarē Hiṯenavā Ḏäkkama* (1972) were not prestigious because they were plagiarisms of Bollywood melodies. Similarly, the *natya gee* of W. B. Makulloluwa was disparaged because of his conflict with the Hindustani Gurukula, the school of music composition that promoted Hindustani classical music. These discrepancies do not affect the rhizomatic model because genres are treated as an assemblage of individual entities that may have fragmentations or "supplementary dimensions" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 6).

Fragmentation is often manifested through a rupture of the rhizome. This occurs when an entity takes a "line of flight" and regrows on existing or new lines (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 10). This is not to be confused with "the weed" which is comparable to the short-lived *aluth sindu* ("new songs") which emerged in the wake of *nurthi gee* and filled a void that was replenished by *sarala gee* in the latter half of the 1940s. The rupture is representative of C. T. Fernando's Sinhala pop, also originating in the 1940s. Fernando used minimal ornamentation like Sunil Santha and employed folk music

elements, traditional Sri Lankan percussion instruments, and patriotic and local themes as most *sarala gee* musicians did. Nevertheless, his music was never classified as *sarala gee* because he used simple language, Western scales and brass instruments. These are features of Sinhala pop songs, but this label was only used after the Moonstones appeared in 1966. Therefore, the ruptured segment experienced growth on a new line in this case.

* * *

The rhizome is an effective representation of Sinhala popular music and its cross-fertilisation and transformation across time. At the beginning of this chapter, it was made apparent that the definition of Sri Lankan music depends on an individual's opinion, taste and sociopolitical allegiances. The multitude of connections within the rhizomatic classification above however demonstrates that if one of these genres is considered "Sri Lankan," they must all be. Even *nurthi gee*, once an exogenous form that is rarely performed today, bequeathed its influence on other genres. Amaradeva himself was inspired by *nurthi gee*, and by every other genre present in the rhizome. In Chapters 6 and 7, the extent of the cross-fertilisation within the prestigious *sarala gee* genre will become increasingly apparent when examining the stylistic features of his music. First, however, a biographical background to Amaradeva will follow in which I will trace his musical development, the ideologies and people that shaped his compositional practice, and the veneration he received for his musical output.

Chapter 5: Pandith Amaradeva: A life of Musical Invention

5.1 The Prodigy of Moratuwa

When Pandith W. D. Amaradeva was born on the 5th of December, 1927, Sri Lanka had not yet reached independence, though this goal was on the agenda of Colombo's Anglicised elite politicians. Amaradeva's birthplace was a small coastal village in Moratuwa called Koralawella, meaning "seashore of shells or corals" (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). Since it consisted of villages as well as a large town, the Moratuwa region harboured some Sinhalese customs no longer present in Colombo, though it was no less cosmopolitan. It is famous for its *baila* (Devapriya, 2017a), a genre of dance music in 6/8 time and was the birthplace of many eminent Sinhalese musical performers from various genres, including The Golden Chimes, La Bambas, Rukmani Devi, C. T. Fernando, and M. S. Fernando. Like other coastal areas in the Western Province such as Negambo and Colombo, Moratuwa was greatly influenced by Portuguese culture and Christianity (de Mel, 2006, p. 208). Because of this cultural and historical background perhaps, many of its residents practice music in the home and Amaradeva's family was no exception.

Amaradeva was the youngest of six children. His parents were Wannakuwatta Waduge Don Ginoris Perera and Balappuwawaduge Maggie Wesliana Mendis. At birth, Amaradeva was given the name Wannakuwattu Waduge Don Albert Perera, abbreviated to W. D. Albert Perera. This is quite a complex name that denotes the cosmopolitan nature of Amaradeva's upbringing. It bears influences of the various cultural forces that contributed to the formation of a modern Sinhala identity. Amaradeva's given name was Albert and is indicative of Christian influence and the assimilation of coastal residents

— even those from villages — into British culture. The name Amaradeva ("Immortal God") was bestowed on him by playwright Ediriweera Sarachchandra soon after he launched his music career in 1945.[109] Thus, until we reach that point in this biographical narrative, he will be referred to as Albert in order to mark the change in social and artistic status. The name Don, a title, and the family name Perera bear the lasting influence of Portuguese colonisation. The adoption of such names was common amongst Christian converts, though it is likely that some Buddhists deemed low ranking in the traditional social system maintained the appearance of a Christian faith to attain upward social mobility (de Mel, 2006, pp. 137–138; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 24). The first component of Albert's name, Wannakuwatta Waduge, is a family name that traditionally precedes given names. It signifies the remnants of the caste system that governed the precolonial Sinhalese kingdoms. These names are referred to as "*gē* names" and are particular to the various castes.[110] Albert's *gē* name, for instance, is unique to the *karāva* caste that traditionally occupied coastal areas.[111] Wannakuwatta is a locality and Waduge pertains to the hereditary occupation and means "house of carpenters." There'fore, Albert's family name translates to "house of carpenters of the land Wannakuwatta" (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, November 26, 2020; Raghavan, 1961, p. 108).

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[109] The origins of this name may reside in Buddhist history which mentions an Amaradeva, a member of King Vikramaditya's court. In the second century AD he built the temple at Buddha Gaya in the place Lord Buddha received Enlightenment (Müller, 1883, p. 327; Prasad & Sinha, 2000, pp. 102, 105; Sinha, 2000, p. 17). Perhaps Sarachchandra believed W. D. Albert Perera would create timeless musical monuments that would venerate Sri Lanka just as the great Buddha statue and temple venerated the Lord Buddha. However, this connection has not been mentioned in the literature and it is equally possible Sarachchandra chose this name because of its Sinhalese meaning rather than its Buddhist connotations.

[110] In Sinhala, *gē* is a suffix that either means "belonging to" or "house of." The latter is the appropriate translation when concerning these family names.

[111] The *karāva* caste is often referred to as the "fishing caste" though they are not all fishermen (Ryan, 1953, pp. 103, 108), as evident in the various *ge* names such as Wannakuwatta Waduge.

Albert's father maintained the occupation of his ancestors. He was an expert carpenter and became renowned for violin repairs according to B. T. Mendis in an interview (buzzniz, 2014) and others (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 29, 2018; Dharmadasa, n.d., p. 27; Kumara, 2015, p. 25; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). He had no formal training in violin performance but taught himself to play *nurthi gee* by ear (Peries, 2001; Rajakarunanayake, 1977). The violin was popular not only amongst musicians but also "trainee teachers" (Kumara, 2015, p. 31), that is, early school leavers who received further education in primary school instruction at teachers' training colleges and taught a wide range of subjects including music. Therefore there was a high demand for violin repairs and his father had many violins in his workshop (Ranatunga, 2016b).[112] When Albert was very young he familiarised himself with the instrument and later taught himself to play, initially plucking the strings rather than using a bow (Dharmadasa, n.d., p. 27; Kumara, 2015, pp. 26, 31; W. D. Amaradeva, as cited in Mihindukula, 2016).

Albert was also introduced to various modes of vocal rendition early on. His mother, of the Methodist religion, reputedly had a "sweet and melodious voice" and sang Sinhalese church hymns at home (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). Conversely, his father was Buddhist. Marriages between Christians and Buddhists of the *karāva* caste were more widely accepted than marriages between *karāva* Buddhists and Buddhists of other castes, according to Christoph Von Fiirer-Haimendorf in his forward (Raghavan, 1961, p. xii). Therefore, such marriages were quite common throughout coastal areas and resulted in the multireligious, cosmopolitan lifestyle Albert experienced in his youth. While his mother took him to her family's church in the

[112] The workshop was situated beyond their house on their property, located on Janapriya ("Popular") Lane.

neighbouring village of Indibedda where he sang with the congregation and later the church choir, his father also took him to the village temple. Here, he heard religious chants (*gatha*), poetic recitations (*kavi*), and later performed Vesak carols (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018; Amaradeva, 1989, p. 9; Kumara, 2015, pp. 26–27; Silva, 2015b).

Albert experienced secular music during his early childhood as well. His maternal uncle acted in *nāḍagam* folk plays (Kumara, 2015, p. 26) and Albert likely witnessed these performances during visits to Indibedda, his mother's village. South Asian popular music in vogue amongst Radio Ceylon's broadcasters and gramophone distributers during the 1930s comprised of Tamil and Hindustani songs and plagiarised Sinhala *aluth sindu* ("new songs") (Field, 2017, p. 31; Karunanayake, 1990, p. 290; Times of Ceylon, 1936a; Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 87). Normally carpenters were from the lower-middle class (Panibharatha, 2012; Raghavan, 1961, p. 106), and generally could not afford a gramophone or radio set. Therefore, Albert visited his few affluent neighbours in Koralawella to listen to recorded music. Since he could not do this in his own home, he fashioned himself a model gramophone out of a wooden box taken from his father's workshop. He placed half a coconut shell on top of the box to represent the gramophone's horn, and the stem of a coconut leaf for the stylus. The record was fashioned out of a leaf from the *sūriya* tree. He memorised the songs he heard at his neighbour's houses and sang them while turning the *sūriya*-leaf record (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21; Kumara, 2015, p. 27). His friend Wijedasa recalled that, on occasion, he also recruited his sister to sing Hindi film songs (Kumara, 2015, p. 733; Ranatunga, 2016b). This attests to his inventiveness, resourcefulness and the development of skilled memory as well as his close attachment to music.

When Albert turned seven, his father made a violin for him (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018; Dharmadasa, n.d., p. 27; Kumara, 2015, p. 25; Silva, 2015b). He initially strummed chords on the violin while his mother sang hymns (Sachitra Mahendra, 2009; K. K. S. Perera, 2016). His elder brother Charles was then taking violin lessons at a music school in Maradana, Colombo, run by M. G. Perera. Perera was one of the first formal music tutors of Hindustani classical music in Sri Lanka. To help his younger brother, Charles began to share his knowledge (Abesundara, 2012, p. 20; W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018; Peries, 2001; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). Charles first taught Albert to play ragas such as Khamāj and Yaman (Kumara, 2015, p. 27). He held Albert to a strict practice regime, encouraging him to practice very late into the night regardless of his complaints of tiredness according to B. T. Mendis (buzzniz, 2014). This provided the foundation for the development of Albert's virtuosic skill, as those formative hours of violin practice, though reluctant, soon grew into a lifelong habit. In fact, Amaradeva informed his biographer that his family soon found it difficult to stop him playing during bedtime. They told him an old wives' tale regarding a ghost called Mohini who supposedly visited active violinists after midnight and forced them to play until dawn (Kumara, 2015, p. 32). Though Albert was not able to dedicate this many hours to his violin practice after he became a full-time singer and composer, he still maintained regular hours of practice throughout his active musical career (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018).

Albert's schooling commenced when he was six or seven at Koralawella Walukaramaya, the village temple (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018). Buddhist children traditionally received a formal introduction to the alphabet through the *akuru kiyavīma* ("letter-reading") ceremony, usually undertaken at three or

four years of age. It involved *pirith* chanting, lamp-lighting and food offerings, and was conducted by a *bhikku* (monk) at an auspicious time, calculated using the child's horoscope to ensure fortune in the task at hand. The *bhikku* would open the alphabet book and point to each large-print letter as he read them. The child would repeat after him (Wickremeratne, 2006, pp. 77–78). Rather than choosing an auspicious time, Albert's father deferred his training and ceremony (Kumara, 2015, p. 28) perhaps because he wished Albert to receive a preliminary education similar to that given at *pirivenas* (Buddhist colleges). Therefore, Albert's tutelage at the village temple continued until he started school. The head *bhikku* taught him Buddhist philosophy and the recitation of Buddhist texts such as the *Buddha Gajjaya* and *Nāmāṣṭa Śaṭakaya* (Kumara, 2015, p. 28). This enhanced Albert's understanding and diction of Sinhala as well as Sanskrit and Pali, which are sometimes intermingled with Sinhala in *sarala gee* lyrics, the song genre for which he made a lasting contribution.

When Albert was eight his parents enrolled him in Sri Saddharmodaya Buddhist Mixed [gender] School in Koralawella. Its principal was well versed in English, Sinhala, Pali and Sanskrit, and later encouraged Albert to learn these languages (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). During school lessons, Albert was in the habit of singing verses while tapping rhythms on his desk (Kumara, 2015, p. 33).[113] His first teacher, Grace Peries, developed an attachment to him because of his rare talent and encouraged him to take part in all school concerts and competitions. His debut school singing performance occurred in 1935 when he was eight years old. The principal immediately

[113] The group practice of singing and drumming in unattended classrooms later became especially common amongst male students from the mid-twentieth century to the present, and most teachers chastise their students after returning to the classroom (Aruna Jayasuriya, personal communication, May 29, 2018; P. S. P. Punchi Hettiarachchige, personal communication, June 3, 2018). Albert's teacher, however, did not.

noticed him and subsequently granted him with a scholarship for access to free education (Kumara, 2015, p. 33).

Albert began performing publicly in his village at the same age. He first played the Khamāj raga on the violin at the Vaag Vardhana Hall (Kumara, 2015, p. 27; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001), then entered competitions for singing, poetry recitation and violin performance (RanOne FM, 2015), and played the *seraphina* (harmonium) at weddings (Kumara, 2015, p. 27). After establishing a reputation for singing, he was invited to render the *ḏorakaḍa asna* from memory at the temple (Kumara, 2015, p. 27; RanOne FM, 2015). This is a type of Buddhist prose narration; an appeal to deities for recompense. It has a metrical layout of five *matras* (metrical units) clustered in groups of ten (Kulatillake, 1976, pp. 11–12).[114] Similar to other forms of Buddhist recitation, it involves much intricate vocal ornamentation, particularly at the end of each phrase. The fact that Albert was chosen for this task, which is often performed by *bhikkus*, attests to his prodigious skill.

Albert's elder brother took responsibility for developing the younger brother's musical talent and for monitoring his behaviour. Subhani Amaradeva informed me that her uncle Charles was serious in character and disliked Albert participating in certain activities. For instance, at one time in his youth Albert's whereabouts were unknown and he could not be found in the house or the workshop. Nor could he be seen on the family property, or the beach beyond. Charles finally located him amongst a *perahära* ("parade") travelling through the streets, dressed like a monkey. He took Albert home and thoroughly chastised him. On another occasion, when Albert was a teenager, he was caught taking part in a *vāḏya baila* ("debate *baila*") competition. Charles liked this even

[114] The term *māṯra* (also known as mora) is derived from Sanskrit prosody and refers to individual units or beats that comprise poetic metre. In Sinhala, syllables can have either a short or long time value. Therefore, one syllable can either be equal to one or two *māṯras*.

less, and shaved his brother's hair to deter him from further participation (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018). Traditionally, performances at public festivals such as *perahäras* were conducted by the *berava* caste of drummers, who were of a lower caste (Ryan, 1953, pp. 124–125). *Baila*, as seen in Chapter 4.3.1.3, was derived from the music of the Mechanics, a disenfranchised Portuguese-Burgher ethnic group. Thus, these modes of performance were not considered respectable, unlike the pursuit of Hindustani music; highly esteemed as a classical tradition harbouring a connection to the Arya-Sinhala identity as noted in Chapters 3 and 4. It can be assumed that Charles' desire to keep his brother away from such activities was to ensure his upward social mobility and to preserve the good reputation of the family. He likely deemed performances at *perahäras* and *baila* competitions unfit for a young boy whose family believed his musical talents destined him for greatness. Albert, however, was not dissuaded against his liking of *baila*. Though he did not discuss his own experiences of *baila* in his many interviews, he has acknowledged the influence of the genre in some compositions (K. Dissanayaka, personal communication, August 20, 2018; N. Gamage, personal communication, August 23, 2018; Kodagoda, 2015; R. Weerasinghe, personal communication, August 24, 2018).

Despite his fondness for *baila*, Albert concentrated on developing his skills in other forms of music. He thus greatly benefited from music teacher W. J. Fernando being permanently instated at Sri Saddharmodaya Buddhist Mixed School. *Sarala gee* singer Sanath Nandasiri (personal communication, February 28, 2019) claimed that when he himself attended school in the 1940s and 1950s, there were only 24 people qualified to teach music in Sri Lanka and that they were instated at larger schools. Thus, Albert was fortunate to have this support at his small school. Prior to Fernando's arrival, he recalled that the violin was taught by trainee teachers, though they did not even know

how to hold the instrument properly (Kumara, 2015, p. 31). At certain times, music lessons were also given by Albert's brother Charles and the principal, Ku Jo Perera. Albert sometimes conducted the lessons if there was no teacher available and continued to do so if W. J. Fernando was absent. Fernando dedicated himself to Albert both within and outside of the classroom. He trained him in preparation for interschool poetry-recital competitions, in which Albert always won first place. He also took Albert with him to Kingsley Theatre, located in Kotahena, and one of Sri Lanka's oldest cinemas. It later held the viewing of the first Sinhala feature film Kaḍavunu Poronḏuva (Kadawunu Poronduwa) in 1947 (Ranatunga, 2017). Since the Sinhala "talkie" had not yet been produced, Albert and his teacher watched Hindi films at the cinema.[115] Fernando used to take his English mandolin, and Albert would memorise the Hindi song melodies and play them on Fernando's mandolin at the cinema or on the train journey home (Kumara, 2015, p. 33).

The school principal, Ku Jo Perera,[116] nurtured Albert's talents in a similar manner, also involving him in extracurricular activities. Perera was closely affiliated with the grammarian Munidasa Cumaratunga who founded the Hela Havula pure Sinhala language movement described in Chapter 2.4. Hela Havula teachings were adopted into the school syllabus under the principal's guidance. The *Subasa* magazine was particularly useful in prescribing correct rules of grammar and had a long-lasting influence on Albert's writing, as he noted in a television interview (Rupavahini, 2016b). The principal frequently attended Hela Havula meetings held at Cumaratunga's residence which was named Hevana ("Shade").

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[115] A "talkie" is another term for a sound film (having synchronized speech), as opposed to a silent film.

[116] Like many followers of the Hela Havula, Albert's principal spelled his initials according to the pronunciation of Sinhala letters, consisting of a consonant and a vowel (Coperahewa, 2012, p. 881). Thus, K. J. Perera became Ku Jo Perera.

From 1940 on, he encouraged the 13-year-old Albert to attend. To get there they needed to travel by rowboat across Panadura River. The meetings provided an avenue for the discussion of Sinhala writing, the recitation of classical works, and a supportive platform for the showcasing of creative works, mostly literary. The discussion often took the form of scholarly debates. These debates enhanced Albert's understanding of Sinhalese grammar, depth of meaning and writing style. Various members gave recitations of classical Sinhala literature and original compositions. This no doubt heightened Albert's sensitivity to pronunciation and prosody. He was sometimes invited to perform recitations at the meetings and at a few dramas organised by Cumaratunga. Though the Hela Havula was focused on language reform, its ideologies also advocated the necessity for innovation, creativity and enterprise. Cumaratunga once declared:

> Dangerous are the times for Sri Lanka. If the importing of rice stops, we would have nothing to eat. If importing of materials stops from abroad, we would have nothing to wear. If it was not for the vehicles imported from other countries, we would have no means of travelling. In essence, without the accommodation from abroad, we will not be able to do anything. (Cumaratunga, as cited in "Kumaratunga Munidasa," 2018)

This frame of thought extended to Sri Lankan culture and, as already mentioned in the second and fourth chapters of this thesis, led to the expulsion of loanwords from the Sinhala language by Hela Havula followers and Sunil Santha's refusal to conform to the Hindustani Gurukula. While Albert would never reject North Indian music in the future, he was prompted to pursue his own composition both by the Hela Havula ideology and by Cumaratunga's encouragement. Thus, during his time with the Hela Havula, he composed melodies for classical verses and for Cumaratunga's poems (Abesundara, 2012, p. 27; W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018; Dharmadasa,

n.d., p. 28; Kumara, 2015, p. 28; Rajakarunanayake, 1977; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). The influence of the Hela Havula impacted Amaradeva's compositions and choice of lyrics throughout his career. He also recorded some of Cumaratunga's songs and collaborated with Arisen Ahubudu, another writer of the Hela Havula.

5.2 Formative Years in Colombo

Albert changed schools several times in the 1940s because he sought to continual tutelage from Fernando who was given various transfers. Albert also received scholarships from principals who heard his performances and in those cases, Fernando was able to follow him by transferring to the new school. Albert successively attended Sri Sumangala Vidyalaya in Panadura, Moratuwa Vidyalaya, Kaluthara Vidyalaya and Siddhartha Vidyalaya in Balapitiya (Kumara, 2015, pp. 34–35). The dates of these transfers have not been recorded.

Figure 5.1

Photograph of Albert Perera in His Twenties (Sachitra Mahendra, 2009)

Albert decided to leave school after completing his Junior School Certificate (JSC) to further his musical training. His family did not have any objections (Kumara, 2015, p. 35). He thus commuted to Colombo at age 18 to engross himself in the creative

environment then blossoming in the capital city. Some of Colombo's youth, who had no doubt been impressed by nationalist sentiments disseminated by the literati, developed an interest in reviving the arts during the 1940s and 1950s. To compensate for the lack of formal institutions for artistic education, they created a nurturing and collaborative environment by forming various arts centres and youth groups (Kumara, 2015, p. 37). The brief account provided by Kumara illustrates that some of these groups were multidisciplinary while others were area-specific. They held meetings similar to that of Munidasa Cumaratunga, with accommodation for debate, discussion, and the showcasing of works to exact critical evaluation from peers. Amaradeva attended meetings with various groups and enlisted in their competitions, mainly for performance and occasionally literature. After becoming known to the youth group leaders, he was invited to play at some of their meetings (Kumara, 2015, pp. 37–38).

In 1945, he met Danister Thomas Fernando, brother of his first music teacher. D. T. Fernando was writing some school plays and recruited Albert to compose their music. Whilst working on these projects, Albert met musician Vincent Somapala who then assisted him in preparation of his *gāndharva* examination in violin performance (Kumara, 2015, p. 39).[117] Albert sat for the first of the North Indian *gāndharva* examinations conducted by the Lanka Gandharva Sabha in 1945 and impressed the panel of adjudicators (Rajakarunanayake, 1977; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). The Lanka Gandharva Sabha was an early youth group established in 1936 by followers and graduates of Rabindranath Tagore and his institution. These Santiniketan graduates

[117] Gāndharva examinations are regulated by the Akhil Bharatiya Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Mandal (ABGMV). This organisation runs examinations and also supplies guidelines, forms and examinations to music teachers of particular institutions so that the examinations can be conducted externally. The examinations and their curricula were devised by Vishnu Digambar Paluskar who created a system of music notation in 1898 and opened a school called Gandharva Mahavidyalaya in order to standardise and revive classical music education (Bakhle, 2005, pp. 140–145, 168).

included Ediriweera Sarachchandra, Ananda Samarakoon, Sunil Santha, Chitrasena and Edwin Samaradiwakara. The organisation was particularly instrumental in the fields of music and dance. It collaborated closely with the Ministry of Education and campaigned for the inclusion of North Indian classical music into the school curriculum, which occurred in 1944. They also held examinations that were recognised by the Ministry ("He envisaged a mind sans fear," 2017; K. Pieris, 2016; Robinson, 1988).

Albert continued frequenting the youth groups after passing his *gāndharva* examination. One such group was Shanthi Kalayathanaya, founded by the dancer Shanthi Kumar and situated in Bambalapitiya, Colombo. Here, he met another violinist called Gerard J. Pieris who had also grown up in Moratuwa. The violinist worked under Indian music director Mohamad Ghouse and believed that Albert would also be able to find employment with him (K. K. S. Perera, 2016).[118] Ghouse was the head of the Shanthi Kalayathanaya and the violinist most likely made the introduction at one of the meetings (Abesundara, 2012, p. 26). After hearing Albert play, Ghouse recruited him into his Colombia Recording Orchestra (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). As Albert became increasingly occupied by his role in Ghouse's orchestra, it was no longer feasible to commute from Koralawella. Therefore, he moved to Colombo and resided temporarily with Mohamed Ghouse (Kumara, 2015, p. 40).

One song the orchestra recorded that year was Rasayi Kiri (Rasai Kiri "Tasty Milk"). It was based on a Bengali melody fitted with Sinhala lyrics (see Chapter 6.1 for more details) (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018). It was a duet being performed by Srimathi Perera and A. J. Kareem. Kareem made continual mistakes, soon agitating the British recording engineer. To rectify the situation, Ghouse

[118] The musician Mohamad Ghouse (1910–1953) was born in Bangalore, South India. He migrated to Sri Lanka in the early 1930s to establish his career there (Kumara, 2015, p. 39).

turned to Albert and asked him to try the male vocal part. With this change, the song was recorded on the next take. This fortuitous opportunity launched Albert's singing career (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9 ,2018; Hemantha, 2009; Kumara, 2015, p. 40; Rajakarunanayake, 1977; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001).[119]

Albert released several songs throughout the remainder of the decade. He recalled, "Of course at that time, the influence of India on us was enormous. What I broadcast around that time were mostly Bengali songs with Sinhala lyrics" (M. Disanayaka, 1996). This may have been due to Tagore's influence. As mentioned in Chapter 3.5, he had visited Sri Lanka several times in the 1920s and 1930s and staged dramas there such as *Shap Mochan* (Dharmadasa, 2011, pp. 1–4). Albert produce several original songs during the mid-to-late 1940s as well, such as his first two hits *Pīnamukō Kalu Gangē* (Peenamuko Kalu Gange written when he was attending Kaluthara Vidyalaya) and *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* (Handapane Valithala, see Chapter 6.1) which were frequently requested by listeners on Radio Ceylon (Madiwela, 2016).[120] The first *sarala gee* musician, Ananda Samarakoon, also wrote many lyrics for Albert during this decade.

Wijedasa recalled that Albert was assigned a monthly concert at Radio Ceylon in which he sang and played the violin (Ranatunga, 2016b). He also played the violin for other prominent musicians at Radio Ceylon, starting with Sunil Santha in 1946 (Abesundara, 2012, p. 26). Sunil Santha created further opportunities for Albert by affiliating him with the Chitrasena Kalayathanaya ("Chitrasena Arts Centre"), also

[119] Unfortunately, the fee of 80 rupees Albert received for his very first recording with Columbia was stolen by a pickpocket on his way home, but he recalled that Ghouse was kind enough to reimburse him with more than half the original fee (Kumara, 2015, p. 40; Mirror Citizen, 2016).
[120] The latter song was written in the company of a few friends as they relaxed on the boats anchored at Koralawella beach (Ranatunga, 2016b). The lyrics were based on a poem by Munidasa Kumaratunga called *Nälavilla* ("Those well-loved stories of childhood," 2003).

known as Chitrasena Studios. During an interview with a journalist late in his life, Amaradeva reflected on how he met Sunil Santha;

> I met him at a music concert and he was quite famous at that time. Sunil Santha invited me to face an audition at Chitrasena Studios and there, I played in front of Sunil Santha, Chitrasena and A. J. Ranasinghe. They were quite impressed by my performance. Thereafter we became good friends and [we met at] Chitrasena's Studio in Kollupitiya which later became our common meeting place; a sort of a cultural ashram. (Kodagoda, 2015)

Chitrasena (1921–2005) was a choreographer who pioneered a modern form of dance by reviving traditional Sri Lankan dance forms and combining them with elements of Indian classical *kathak* dance and Western dance. This approach was inspired by Tagore's 1934 lectures held in Sri Lanka. Tagore proposed that an understanding of native culture was essential for the effective application of exogenous sources (Jayawardhana, 2016). Chitrasena Studios provided the same benefits as other youth groups (including discussion sessions and networking opportunities).[121] However, this "cultural ashram," as Albert described it, was unique. In an interview, Chitrasena described the arts centre in the following way:

> I had lots of students coming in and we were holding classes. The school built itself up into a fantastic centre. There was a renewed interest in the traditional arts and a revival marking a transition from traditional to contemporary. I allowed musicians, artists and dramatists to use my place very freely for rehearsal and I didn't charge. . . . Of course it

[121] Chitrasena established his Dance Company in 1943 and founded the Chitrasena Arts Centre in 1944 (Peebles, 2015). The premises, a large house with a garden, was donated by the philanthropist E. P. A. Fernando (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001).

> became a meeting place for artistes because there was no other place where the artistes could go in Colombo. . . . There were a lot of rooms and my mother used to feed all these people. Some of them would never tell her they were not coming and the food was thrown away the next morning. . . . Soon the school became highly recognised and the country accepted that place as the cultural centre of Sri Lanka. People came and went, it was like a temple. (Durga, 2005)

Guests were also welcome to join the residents at mealtime, and there was a constant interaction between artists around the clock (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001).[122] Thus, the Chitrasena Arts Centre provided more support to talented artists than any other organisation of that period. This presumably accounts for its exclusivity and audition requirements. The Arts Centre was invaluable to Albert who also lodged there and gained the opportunity to collaborate on creative projects directed by Chitrasena, Premakumar Epitawala and Sesha Palihakkara, who all dwelled at the house at some time (Chandrarathne, 2011b; Durga, 2005; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001).

In October 1946, Albert left the Chitrasena Arts Centre briefly to join Mohamed Ghouse and his orchestra on a journey to India. Shanthi Kumar had recruited Ghouse to direct music for a film called *Asōkamālā* (Asokamala) which would become the second feature film in the Sinhala language, released in April 1947 (Tampoe-Hautin, 2017).[123] Albert caught a train from Fort Station to Talaimannar in the North of the island. From here, he joined Ghouse and the crew and they caught a ferry to Dhanushkodi in South

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[122] The word "artist" is used here to refer to people engaging in a range of artistic endeavors such as music, dance, drama, filmmaking and painting.

[123] By this time, Sunil Santha had become very dependent upon Albert's violin-playing and refused to record a song without him. On the day he was to travel to India, Albert received a message from Sunil Santha pleading with him to participate in a recording before his departure. With bags packed and violin in hand, he went to Bower House at Borella, where Radio Ceylon was then located. He played with the orchestra for the song *Āḏara Naḏiyē*, before heading to Fort Station.

India. The final part of their journey involved a transit to Coimbatore in South India. They were to make the film there, in the Central Studios (Kumara, 2015, p. 42; RanOne FM, 2015).

Albert initially believed his main task was to play the violin, but Ghouse invited him to be a playback singer in the songs *Bhavē Bīḏa* (Bhave Beetha),[124] and *Äyi Kalē Yamek Ālē* (Ai Kale Yamek Ale).[125] Albert also helped Ghouse compose introductions and interludes for all songs (Rajakarunanayake, 1977; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). For the first time, Ghouse had decided to compose new melodies using ragas rather than copying existing songs (Kumara, 2015, p. 44). When the crew watched the finished film, Albert saw that his name appeared in the credits under the title of "Assistant Music Director" (Abesundara, 2012, p. 26; Amaranayake, 2010; Kumara, 2015, pp. 43–45; Mirror Citizen, 2016; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001; Silva, 2015b). At that time, it was rare that a nineteen-year-old could be given such a title (Dharmadasa, n.d., p. 29; Kumara, 2015, p. 43). Albert had assisted Ghouse without expecting any formal recognition in return, and was therefore pleasantly surprised (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018).

5.3 Independence and the Pageant of Lanka

Almost one year after the release of *Asōkamālā*, a major political change occurred in Sri Lanka. Independence was granted in 1948 and celebrations were being prepared. This initial Independence Day celebration was proposed by ethnomusicologist Devar Surya

[124] Albert recalled that he was asked to play the supporting role of a hermit that sings this song. He was chosen to play the hermit because of his small stature, an attribute that brought about the nickname "punchi sāḏu" ("little monk") from singer and fellow crew-member Mohiddieen Baig (RanOne FM, 2015). When he returned home, he saw that he had been featured in newspapers under the name "Kōralavälleyi Ṯāpasayā," a phrase that equates to "Koralawellian Hermit." He found this quite amusing (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018). In addition, most of the minimal film crew, including Albert, were asked to dance.

[125] Playback singers record vocals for songs in films so that the actors can mime to them. This is especially common in South Asian cinema.

Sena. Albert was also involved. It was called the Pageant of Lanka (Surya Sena, 1978, p. 186), a name which ironically brought back the echoes of precolonial rule. However, an examination of the Pageant illustrates the attempts made to restore national pride. For instance, the organiser G. P. Malalasekera who was a prominent scholar of Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhala, stated that the costumes should be as authentically national as possible:

> Care has also been taken that, in the designing of costumes for instance, they should, as far as possible, be authentic, in keeping with the evidence available from frescoes, literary records etc. (Malalasekera, as cited in Surya Sena, 1978, pp. 187–188)

This demonstrates the importance of the arts in nationalist expression. Indeed, Surya Sena's envisaged purpose for the Pageant was to dramatise key historical and mythical events. The performances were described as,

> scenes with dialogue, music, dance and song, some of the most stirring episodes of our history which would inspire all Ceylonese to use the gift of Independence to build a Lanka that could be a pattern for Asia. (Surya Sena, 1978, p. 186)

The chosen historical scenes were mostly from recorded history (Surya Sena, 1978, pp. 189–194). Evidently, the efforts of late-nineteenth and twentieth-century nationalist scholars was having an effect on the construction of a national identity and the promotion of endogenous culture. Two scenes depicted through ballet were the legend of King Ravana, which appears in the Indian epic *Rāmāyana* and is also retold in Sri Lankan folk culture, and the landing of Prince Vijaya, described in Chapter 2.1. These ballets were produced by Chitrasena (Surya Sena, 1978, p. 190) with music by Albert (Kumara, 2015, p. 68; Nurnberger, 1998, p. 219). A newspaper program cited by

Nurnberger (1998, pp. 218–219) indicates that songs accompanied the ballet. A description of the music was not recorded.

Nationalist sentiments affected Radio Ceylon's broadcasting policies within a year of Independence. As we saw in Chapter 4.3.1.2, its directors, from the Hindustani Gurukula, began their campaign to hegemonise *sarala gee* and instated Pandith S. N. Ratanjankar to audition their musicians in 1949 (Abeysekara, 2007; Donaldson, 2015; Field, 2014a, pp. 20–21; 2017, pp. 54–55; Kumara, 2015, p. 74).[126] Albert attended the auditions for vocal and violin performance and was granted A and B grades respectively. In his first audition in 1946, he had received a C for singing. Abesundara believes his significant improvement was likely through self-coaching and diligence. In the examinations held in 1952, Ratanjankar awarded Albert the Super Grade (Abesundara, 2012, p. 28; Kumara, 2015, p. 74). Kokila Devi and he were the only two musicians to receive this grade (Amaranayake, 2010; Kumara, 2015, p. 74; Peries, 2001). Following the audition, Ratanjankar commented on both the musical improvement and the lack of cultural authenticity:

> I am glad to report that in the rendering of Sinhalese classical and Sinhalese light music I found some improvement from what they were three years ago. Of course, these songs were all Hindustani music, ghazals and quowalis [sic], theatrical songs, film songs, modern Bengali music, with Sinhalese words substituted for the original ones. (Karunanayake, 1990, p. 292)

Evidently, *sarala gee* had not yet become a substantial genre and appropriated melodies remained the norm. However, Ratanjankar believed there were many musicians of merit

[126] Ratanjankar was chosen for the task because he had similar experience at All India Radio (Sheeran, 1997, p. 182).

who could develop a form of Sri Lankan song. He gave a lecture entitled *The place of folk songs in the development of music* to the Royal Asiatic Society that same year. (Abesundara, 2012, p. 28; Kumara, 2015, p. 74). As the title indicates, he aimed to provide instructions for the composition of Sri Lankan music or "*deśi sangīt"* ("music of the people") as he termed it (Ratanjankar, 1952, p. 119). He demonstrated that Indian folk songs were the prototypes of classical ragas and noted that a "crude form" of these melodies appeared in Sinhalese folk songs (Ratanjankar, 1952, p. 115). His proposal was to create an independent, national form of music built from traditional Sinhala music such as *vannams*, *sīpaḏa* and religious *sṯōṯra, aśṭaka* and *pirith*, complemented by ragas that resemble these melodies (Ratanjankar, 1952, p. 119). Albert attended this lecture and subsequently experimented with this compositional method (Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p. 38; Field, 2015, p. 10; 2017, p. 102; Karunanayake, 1990, pp. 292–293).

During his stay Ratanjankar also received an invitation from the Chitrasena Arts Centre. On occasion, established artists were invited to art society meetings to give lectures or demonstrations and to fuel discussions with their knowledge. On this occasion, Albert was asked to play a violin solo. Ratanjankar was so impressed he made note of the young musician in his diary (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018). Ratanjankar advised Albert to attend Bhatkhande Music Institute in Lucknow, India, where he was the principal. However, Albert did not have the funds to pay for further education.

5.4 An Artist of the People

During the early 1950s, Albert earned a small living at Radio Ceylon. Therefore, Sunil Santha allowed him to teach two of the music classes he conducted at Panadura (Anthony, 2017). Albert also provided his services to dramatists and choreographers.

Some dramas he participated in were *Ḏugī Haňḏa* (1950) produced by Henry Peiris (Abesundara, 2012, p. 53), *Säňgavuna Mänikē* (1951) produced by Cyril Hettige (Hettige, 2012), *Elova Gihin Melova Āvā* (Kumara, 2015, p. 80) and *Pabāvaṭi* (1952) produced by Sarachchandra (Dharmadasa, 2008; n.d., pp. 29–30; Ranatunga, 2002; 2013b, p. 58) and *Suneṯra* produced by the University of Colombo's Mela Society,[127] to which Albert was also a musical advisor (Kumara, 2015, p. 64; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). He composed a song called *Śānṯa Mē Rä Yāmē* (Shantha Me Ra Yame "This Serene Night") for the latter production, a Vesak drama (see Chapter 6.2 for more details).[128] This song became a classic and he recalled that it was often performed by cover groups (buzzniz, 2014). Other drama songs he composed were similar to *nurthi gee* and songs of traditional Sri Lankan dramas learned during his travels with Ediriweera Sarachchandra (Amaranayake, 2010; Kumara, 2015, p. 80; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). He also performed in Sesha Palihakkara's first ballet *Puṣpa Śṛungāra* (Pushpa Shrungara 1953) alongside Latha Fernando (later Latha Walpola) at the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) (Kumara, 2015, p. 71). The most pivotal performance of this period was his poetry recitation in the ballet *Sälalihini Sandeshaya* produced by Premakumar Epitawala in 1950. Epitawala produced the ballet to raise funds for Anula Vidyalaya, a new school founded by educationalist E. W. Adikaram (Udugama, 2006). The ballet was based on a fifteenth-century classical Sandesha poem of the same title written by Ven. Thotagamuwe Sri

[127] The University of Colombo's Mela Society (*mēlā* meaning "get-together" in Hindi), was inaugurated by G. P. Malalasekera in 1942 in response to the dominance of Western culture on campus according to Dharmadasa (Lanka, 2018). It was moved to the University of Peradeniya in 1952 by playwright Ediriweera Sarachchandra, who renamed it Ghandharva Sabha, meaning "Society of Musicians" (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, November 26, 2020)
[128] Vesak is the commemoration of the Lord Buddha's birth, death and enlightenment.

Rahula (Kumara, 2015, p. 69; Vitharana, 2004).[129] Regarding the difficulty of casting, Epitawala informed a journalist;

> "There was only one University, the Colombo University and we had to find students from there. Finding the performers was difficult at that time. Thahir, a Muslim boy from the University was chosen to be Saman deiyo and Tamil and Sinhala boys to take part in the ballet. Mohamed Ghouse composed the music. To recite the 'Kavi' (verses) I found Albert Perera from Koralawella, Moratuwa, who had a beautiful voice. He is now famously known as Amaradeva, the great artiste," he smiles. (Udugama, 2006)

Epitawala sought to create an expression of "native" Sri Lankan culture using a Sinhala classical text (Vitharana, 2004) but assembled people from various ethnic groups to collaborate in the production. Such harmony and cooperation did not prevail after the SLFP's Sinhala-only bill was proposed in 1956.

Though Ghouse was accredited as the music director, it is believed that Albert assisted him (Peries, 2001; A. Pieris, 2010, p. 340). Albert's main role however was to recite poetry throughout the ballet. The premiere was held at Anula Vidyalaya (Abesundara, 2012, p. 29) and was attended by D. B. Danapala (editor of the *Lankadeepa* newspaper) and playwright Ediriweera Sarachchandra. Albert recalled that when he reached the *samudraghosha* section of the poem,[130] the Samanola mountain was displayed in the background and the audience stood in rapture and said "sāḏu, sāḏu," the Buddhist salutation (buzzniz, 2014; Kumara, 2015, p. 70; Vitharana, 2004).

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[129] Sandesha poems have no plot, main characters or complications, but depict the journey of messenger birds as they travel across the island. In the *Sälalihini Sandeshaya*, the flight of the native Sälalihini (Starling) is described (A. Pieris, 2010, p. 340; "A survey of Sinhalese poetry," ; Vitharana, 2004).

[130] *Samudraghosha* is a poetic metre with 18 *mäṯras* (morae) (Kulatillake, 1976, p. 9).

Albert's performance entailed a novel style of poetic recitation (Samaranayake, 1999) that resembled singing rather than chant. Danapala and Sarachchandra then understood the promise of Albert's talents and discussed the possibility of further training. In our interview, Wimala Amaradeva explained Sarachchandra's thinking as follows;

> *if this boy can sing kavi so nicely, how much nicer could he sing if we send him to India to learn music?* He thought he should assist Amaradeva to go to India so that he could learn Indian classical music and combine that with Sri Lankan folk songs. It's like putting lemon juice in kiri hodhi [coconut milk gravy]. If you put salt, it's not enough. He added lemon and mixed it and gave it back to the people. [Author translation] (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018)

The initiative to further Albert's education was only taken after Ratanjankar awarded him the Super Grade in 1952. Following this, D. P. Danapala opened a public scholarship fund and advertised it in the *Lankadeepa* (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9 ,2018; Dharmadasa, n.d., p. 30; Mandawala, 2002; Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 58). Albert organised concerts to raise funds and many artists contributed, including S. Panibharatha and Sri Jayana's dance groups and the flutist P. Dunston de Silva, who often performed for no fee. Sri Chandraratne Manawasinghe and W. D. S. Perera organised an arts festival at Sri Saddharmodaya, Albert's first school in Koralawella. In accordance with tradition, a garland of flowers was hung around Albert's neck by a female dancer called Wimala Gunaratne (Abesundara, 2012, pp. 30, 54).[131] Premakumar Epitawala also assisted, staging his drama *Ṭiṭṭa Baṭa* (Thitha Batha

[131] The custom of garlanding is done to warmly welcome guests or to mark an honoured attendee at an event (P. S. P. Punchi Hettiarachchige, personal communication, May 28, 2018).

“Bitter Rice”) in 1953 and donating the proceeds to Albert’s fund. Albert had composed the score to the drama; a narrative depicting the hardship of farmers (Udugama, 2006; Vitharana, 2004).

The accumulation of performance revenue provided sufficient funding in conjunction with the *Lankadeepa* scholarship fund and Premakumar Epitawala contacted Bhatkhande Music Institute in Lucknow, India to organise Albert’s admission (Kumara, 2015, p. 75). People from all areas of the country had sent in money — even farmers from remote areas contributed at least five rupees (M. Disanayaka, 1996). Albert recalled that he was now able to cover the cost of 200 rupees a month over four years (Mihindukula, 2016). For this reason, he would always call himself an artist of the people. Sarachchandra believed Albert should conform to the ideals of the Sinhalese people who were greatly influenced by nationalist intellectuals such as Anagarika Dharmapala. He advised Albert thus: “A name goes a long way in this country. Change yours” (M. Disanayaka, 1996). Albert accepted the name Sarachchandra offered and from then on became known as Amaradeva (*amara* — “immortal” and *deva* — “god”) (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018; Dharmadasa, n.d., p. 30; Kumara, 2015, p. 77; Mandawala, 2002; Panibharatha, 2012, p. 143; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001).

5.5 Bhatkhande Music Institute, Lucknow

At the end of October 1953 at 26 years of age, Amaradeva flew to India from Rathmalana Airport (Abesundara, 2012, p. 30). After arriving in Lucknow, he headed to

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Flower garlands are also placed around pictures of the deceased at funerals or commemorative events.

Bhatkhande Music Institute to meet Ratanjankar, who was the principal.[132] Initially called Marris College, the Institute was founded by Rai Umanath Bali, Nawah Ali and Pandith Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande in 1926. Bhatkhande (1860–1936) sought to nationalise Hindustani classical music through its theorisation, historiography and institutionalisation. The college was posthumously renamed in his honour (Bakhle, 2005, pp. 97–98, 129, 135). Upon Amaradeva's arrival, Ratanjankar authorised him to commence the degree as a third-year student. He also advised Amaradeva to visit Pandith Vishnu Govind Jog and request private violin lessons from him (Kumara, 2015, p. 84). Amaradeva told Jog of Ratanjankar's instructions and passed him a letter written by Sri Lankan flutist P. Dunston de Silva, a student of Ratanjankar and friend of Jog. The flutist had written ardently of Amaradeva's talent, and Jog obliged in Amaradeva's request (Abesundara, 2012, p. 31; Kumara, 2015, p. 85).

Students at Bhatkhande were required to learn certain ragas each year of their Viśāraḏa degrees (Kumara, 2015, p. 88). Amaradeva's commencement as a third-year student was justified as he likely knew most of the ragas taught in the first two years through the rigorous training his brother had given him. At Bhatkhande, his vocal tutors were S. N. Ratanjankar, Kadambari Ranga Rao, Usman Khan, Maksud Ali Khan, Dinkar Kaikini, Vinayak Maksud Lele and G. N. Natu. His violin teachers were V. G. Jog and Davji Goswami (Abesundara, 2012, p. 32; R. Amaradeva, personal communication, July 20, 2018; Kumara, 2015, p. 85; Heraliwala. L. Seneviratne, 2003). These renowned musicians enabled him to further develop his technique. Subhani Amaradeva believes her father significantly strengthened the tone of his voice in India

[132] Seeing a slim man standing inconspicuously in the college entranceway, Amaradeva assumed he was an ordinary worker and asked him where the principal was. The man was in fact Ratanjankar, and Amaradeva had not recognized him (Mihindukula, 2016). With a broad smile and a greeting, Pandith Ratanjankar led Amaradeva to his office and read the note he had written in his diary at the Chitrasena Arts Centre where they had previously met.

and that this is evident when comparing recordings predating 1952 with those that followed. His vocal range also increased, and later spanned from G2 F4 (R. Weerasinghe, personal communication, August 24, 2018). Subhani Amaradeva herself studied music in India within the Kirana *gharānā*. Initially, her teacher reproached her for singing with a "thin voice" and instructed her to sing low notes (Subhani demonstrated with an E below middle C during our meeting) which gradually thickened her voice. She stated that her father must have done similar exercises (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 26, 2018). Amaradeva's tutors also taught him the calm demeanour that Hindustani classical musicians maintain (Abesundara, 2012, p. 32).

Students observed this quality at off-campus concerts. Upon invitation, they received experience accompanying their gurus at public performances or private events at homes (Abesundara, 2012, p. 31). Amaradeva quickly became Jog's favourite pupil and often joined him on stage (Amaranayake, 2010). The Sinhalese flautist reported that,

> Occasionally, through youthful exuberance and lack of patience, he almost disturbed his master's planned exposition of the raga by flashes from the violin, but Jog Sahab, the great maestro that he was, tranquilized Amaradeva by replying in the same vein and brought the situation under control.[133] (P. Dunston de Silva, as cited in Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001)

Amaradeva participated in an All India violin competition under Jog's tutelage in 1955 and came first, receiving a gold medal (Abesundara, 2012, p. 33; W. Amaradeva,

[133] Nevertheless, Jog remained enamored with Amaradeva's talents and later named his first grandson Vijaya Amaradeva Jog in his honour (Abesundara, 2012, p. 31; Amaranayake, 2010; Kumara, 2015, p. 85).

personal communication, September 9, 2018; Dharmadasa, 1998; Kumara, 2015; Peries, 2001; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). Amaradeva also excelled within Bhatkhande, obtaining first place in the merit list of students from all colleges affiliated with the institution and First Division Honours in his intermediate violin examinations (S. Amaradeva, n.d.; Dharmadasa, 1998, p. 88; Kumara, 2015). An international music conference was held in India around that same year and Ratanjankar composed a song on behalf of Bhatkhande Music Institute. Several students sang the chorus and Amaradeva obtained the lead vocal role (Kumara, 2015, p. 91). Bhatkhande students attended many workshops and music conferences (Abesundara, 2012, p. 31). These conferences strengthened Amaradeva's knowledge of Asian music, particularly folk music (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018).

Amaradeva's busy schedule only permitted him to return to Sri Lanka during summer. He visited his family and worked on various projects during these holidays. He composed songs such as *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* ("Chando, my Son") for P. Dunston de Silva's radio program *Rasaḏārā*, *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* (Sinhala Avurudu Awa "The Sinhala New Year Has Come" for a YMBA concert, *Nil Mānel Mal Pipunā* ("Blue Lilies are Blooming," lyrics by Madawala S. Ratnayake), *Poson Uḏāvayi Mihinṯalāvayi* (Poson Udawai Mihinthalawai) and *Väliṯala Aṯar*ē (Valithala Athare), both with lyrics by Sri Chandrarathna Manawasinghe. The latter song accompanied a performance at an international dance festival in Moscow and was highly acclaimed (Abeysekara, 2007, p. 33).[134] Out of these five songs, the first two are based on folk music, the third has a romantic theme and the latter two have Buddhist themes. Literary academic Ranjini Boedecker suggested that early Sinhalese novelists emphasised the presence of didactic

[134] The song *Väliṯala Aṯarē* (Valithala Athare) commonly played during Buddhist festivals, was written in veneration of the first Sri Lankan bōdhi tree planted in 288BC (Forlong, 2008, p. 90). It still stands and is a common pilgrimage site.

themes in their works in order to legitimise and demonstrate the seriousness of their writing in the wake of the nineteenth-century Buddhist revival (R. Obeyesekere, 1992a, p. 37). It is possible then that the seriousness of Amaradeva's music and his overshadowing of contemporaries Ananda Samarakoon and Sunil Santha stemmed from his adoption of Buddhist themes and ideologies.

The following year of 1956 was the 2500th Buddha Jayanthi, or anniversary of the Lord Buddha's death. As mentioned in Chapter 2.4, it saw the upliftment of the Sinhala nationalist consciousness and Buddhist-religious fervour, and the empowerment of Bandaranayake's SLFP government owing to its pledge to protect related interests (K. M. de Silva, 1981, pp. 501–502; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 233). Amaradeva and lyricist Sri Chandraratna Manawasinghe wrote three songs for the celebrations. They were *Äňgili Ţuḍayi Gal Kaṭuvayi* (Angili Thudai Gal Katuwai "Chiselling Stone with the Strength of his Fingers"), *Pāţurahōsī* (Pathurahosi "He Appeared," a song in the sacred Pali language) and *Dedahas Pansīya Buddha Jayanthiya* ("The 2500th Buddha Jayanthi"). The first of these was recorded at Bhatkhande for the BBC program *Sandesha* aired on the Vesak Poya and was later used in the stage drama *Sel Pilimaya* (Abesundara, 2012, p. 35).[135]

In 1957, Chitrasena was commissioned to choreograph a ballet for the sixth World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow. The ballet, *Sāma Vijaya* ("Triumph of Peace") was the first Sri Lankan ballet performed overseas. Amaradeva composed its music (S. Amaradeva, n.d.) and attended the festival with Chitrasena and the Panibharatha and Wasantha Kumara dance groups. He also performed the title song with lyrics by Mahagama Sekara. The ballet was also performed elsewhere in the

[135] The Vesak Poya ("Vesak full-moon") is the most important date on the Buddhist calendar, celebrated in the month of May.

USSR, but Amaradeva returned to India early due to a severe bout of hay fever (Kumara, 2015). That same year Amaradeva collaborated with Madawala S. Ratnayake in their landmark radio program *Jana Gāyanā* ("Songs of the People"). Ratnayake premiered the program a few years previously but had terminated it due to claims by the press that it was "destroying" folk music (Field, 2015, p. 9). He revived the program with Amaradeva to critical acclaim. The pair conducted field studies to collect folk songs. As stated in Chapter 3.2, a fairly large volume of traditional Sinhalese music was dance accompaniment (Kulatillake, 1976, p. 15). Thus, they also consulted dancers of the Kandyan tradition such as S. Pani Bharatha, Kiriganitha, Gunamala, Ukkuva and Suramba (Heraliwala. L. Seneviratne, 2003). Amaradeva had read *The Enjoyment of Listening* (1955) by Joseph Machlis who believed that melodic contours should follow the inflections and speech patterns of a nation's people (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). Thus, they employed language that was similar to the original folk texts. There were also varying degrees of intertextuality in their compositions as Ratnayake's lyrics alluded to the text of the original source (Field, 2015, p. 11). Ratanjankar (1952) in his address to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1952 had claimed that a "crude form" of India's popular ragas appear in Sinhalese folk songs (p. 115). Therefore in the *Jana Gāyanā* songs, Amaradeva bypassed the melodic limitations of the original folk songs by developing them with an appropriate raga (Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p. 38; Heraliwala. L. Seneviratne, 2003).

Amaradeva's final examinations were scheduled in 1958. As the date approached, his father passed away suddenly. To avoid giving him a shock that would adversely affect his performance, his family sent a letter to the place where he lodged with instructions to deliver it to him after his examinations were complete (Kumara, 2015, pp. 87–88). He was unable to attend his father's funeral for this reason. This

unwitting sacrifice is perhaps why scholars and journalists claim that he executed a duty to his people. More so was his return to Sri Lanka shortly after he was awarded the Gāyan ("vocal," "Gāyanā" in Sinhala) and Vādan ("instrumental," "Vadya" in Sinhala) Viśāraḏa degrees in 1958 (Dharmadasa, 1998; Peries, 2001; Ranatunga, 2000, 2014). Following this, Ratanjankar advised him to move to the state of Nagpur in India to earn money teaching music. However, Amaradeva declined. He believed his family needed support and that he was indebted to his benefactors; the people of Sri Lanka (Kumara, 2015, p. 91; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001; Heraliwala. L. Seneviratne, 2003). Therefore, he returned home in mid-1959 (Abesundara, 2012, p. 35) and continued working on his project of producing a national form of music that had begun with the *Jana Gāyanā* program.

5.6 The Middle Path

Having grown up in a cosmopolitan coastal village in Moratuwa, Amaradeva was accustomed to wearing shorts in his youth and trousers in India. Upon his return, Sunil Santha convinced him to transform his image by adopting the *wettiya* (Kumara, 2015, pp. 42, 91). Amaradeva's daughter explained to me that her father wore the garment, essentially a long piece of cloth, by folding it, holding one end against his stomach, pleating the remaining length as he wrapped it around his waist and tucking the end of the cloth inside (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018). He wore this with the long-sleeved tunic, as this was the male "national dress" in vogue at that time (Wickramasinghe, 2015, pp. 100–101, 103, 106).

Figure 5.2

Image from Amaradeva's 1980 London Concert (paradise1711, 2015)

Though Amaradeva was wearing a brightly coloured outfit when I visited his residence in 2016, he always wore neutral colours in public appearances. This choice was likely informed by the relationship between *sarala gee* and Buddhism, as Buddhist doctrine dictates modesty of dress and the Sinhalese often believe that wearing flashy colours is immodest (Laade, 1993, p. 51).

Amaradeva's first appointment following higher education was as Head of Orchestra at Radio Ceylon. He stayed in this position for one year (S. Amaradeva, n.d.; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). An American musician came to appraise the radio station at this time.[136] He deemed the orchestra average but declared that Amaradeva had one of the fastest musical minds in the world (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9 ,2018). He believed it was a shame that Amaradeva resided in a part of the world where there was nothing to challenge his intellect (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). Amaradeva was, however, challenged in his search for a compositional method that would embrace the contemporary and historical Sinhala identity. This challenge was realised shortly after his return home.

[136] This story was narrated during my interview with Wimala Amaradeva who did not mention the musician's name. His identity has not been mentioned elsewhere in the literature and is unknown at this stage.

In 1959 the Sri Lankan government sent an Official Cultural Delegation to India and appointed Amaradeva, at the young age of 32, Composer of Music (S. Amaradeva, n.d.; Dharmadasa, 1998, n.d.). India sent a similar delegation of musicians and dancers to Southeast Asia in 1956 (SarDesai, 1968, p. 151) and continued to promote cultural exchange throughout the twentieth century to construct its global image "as a society that is truly contemporary, which is forging an original synthesis between cultural tradition and modernity" (Isar, 2017, pp. 706, 715). Sri Lanka's new Ministry of Cultural Affairs followed suit, recruiting exponents of traditional music and dance for its first cultural delegation. M. Disanayaka (1996) reports that Amaradeva's field work for the *Jana Gāyanā* radio program helped him prepare for his performances in India. We can therefore surmise that he performed folk songs rather than popular forms of music. He was also reacquainted with Wimala Gunaratne, a Sri Lankan performer of folk songs and dance who had participated in one of his scholarship fundraisers. They later married in 1963 and she provided much inspiration for Amaradeva's *sarala gee* (Abesundara, 2012, pp. 53, 55; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). See Chapter 7.1 or Table F11 in Appendix F for an example. In the latter half of the 1950s, Amaradeva borrowed greatly from Sri Lankan folk sources in his compositions and diversified his approach in the following decade by drawing upon North Indian and Western practices of music.

Historian Nicholas Tarling (1999) claims that Japan's "self-strengthening movement. . . [which] borrowed from abroad to defend indigenous practices" in the early twentieth century inspired nationalist activists in Asia (p. 252). This explains Radio Ceylon's interest in preserving folk culture from the 1930s, as described in Chapter 3.5, and that of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs formed by the 1956–1959 Bandaranaike government (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 516). Tarling (1999) also mentions

three strains of postcolonial political reformers: modernists, traditionalists and millenarian opponents of colonial rule. Modernists were those who accepted change and the assimilation of certain colonial practices (pp. 250, 252). While the Ministry of Cultural Affairs protected Sinhala and Buddhist interests (Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 195) and Radio Ceylon barred patronage to music influenced by the West (Abeysekara, 2007; Donaldson, 2015; E. Jayakody, personal communication, August 19, 2018), some artists experimented with Western forms.

For instance, Amaradeva collaborated with P. Dunston de Silva to compose music for the 1960 Independence Day celebrations (Abesundara, 2012, p. 41; D. Ranatunga, personal communication, September 8. 2018). The song *Dharma Ḏīpani Lanka Dharani* performed by Dayaratna and Amara Ranatunga deployed vocal harmonisation of the melody, then tabooed by Radio Ceylon (Donaldson, 2015). In 1962, Amaradeva composed music for *Ran Muṯu Duva* (Ran Muthu Duwa "Island of Treasures") directed by Mike Wilson. Produced in Sri Lanka, it was the first colour feature and saw Amaradeva's first role as music director (Abesundara, 2012, p. 47; N. Fernando, 2016). The introduction of the devotional song *Paramiṯā Bala Pūriṯa Pūjiṯa* (Paramitha Bala Puritha Pujitha "Looking to Attain Perfection to become a Buddha") has a Buddhist chant with a contrapuntal, canonic setting. In 1963, he composed music for Lester James Peries' pioneering film, *Gamperaliya* ("Transformation of a Village"). This film was unconventional because its score did not include any songs (Ranatunga, 2013b, pp. 10, 62). Both films received awards for their music at the first Sarasaviya film festival in 1964 (Abesundara, 2012, p. 47; "A fitting tribute to the maestro," 1998; Ranatunga, 1999b, 2010, 2013c). Amaradeva also composed the festival's theme song *Jagan Mōhini* with Sanskrit lyrics by Sri Chandraratne Manawasinghe (Ranatunga, 2000; 2013b, p. 22; 2014). The film festival and its theme song were dedicated to

Saraswathi, the Hindu goddess of art, wisdom and learning (Jayawardana, 2016). These particular compositional choices were informed by Western music and Indian music rather than endogenous Sri Lankan practices alone. Therefore, Amaradeva was akin to a modernist political reformer rather than a traditionalist as he adopted a cosmopolitan outlook and did not reject external cultural influences. He also tried to do the same with other projects, most of which had nationalist themes. This will be discussed further in relation to his *sarala* gee output in Chapters 6 and 7.

Amaradeva's compositional approach was linked to a concept in Buddhist philosophy called the "middle path" (also known as the "middle way"). As explained in the writings of Sinhalese nationalist Anagarika Dharmapala, the middle path is a way of life; a means of reaching Enlightenment. The Buddha in his teachings condemned sensualism but also advised against extreme asceticism (Dharmapala, 1965, pp. 5–6). In Mahayana Buddhism, this concept is represented by a chordophone, which cannot be played well if its strings are tuned too tight or too loose (Wei & Homsombat, 1976, p. 30). Amaradeva iterated this metaphor in a media interview and added, "In life, you can achieve the desired results if you make a well-balanced endeavour following the concept of the middle path" (Mirror Citizen, 2016). Thus, he did not conform to the Hindustani Gurukula or the Makulloluwa Gurukula and similarly did not favour or desist in the use of Western music. In the following chapter I will conduct stylistic and comparative analyses upon Amaradeva's *sarala gee* with references to other endogenous and exogenous music that influenced him. This will reveal his course along this middle path and whether he veered more closely towards particular styles at given periods of time.

Amaradeva demonstrated the effects of a synthesised approach at the International Music Symposium held in Manila in 1967, organised by UNESCO.

Throughout his paper he presented auditory examples of past Sri Lankan music and his own compositions. He concluded,

> it is also my conviction that a national music could be created with folk music as the base. Influences from Indian and even Western musical forms in this process may be appreciated provided the national identity is unharmed. (W. D. Amaradeva (1967), as cited in Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 82)

At this stage in Amaradeva's career, it is clear that building up a "national" music based on traditional forms as prescribed by Pandith Ratanjankar in 1952, was his priority. While he departed from this approach in the *Madhuvaṇṭi* radio program somewhat, it was revisited in *Rasa Miyuru*. Both programs aired in the 1960s. Amaradeva also encouraged others to adopt the approach used for *Rasa Miyuru*. Drama music composer Navarathna Gamage witnessed Amaradeva's workshops at the French Embassy. Here he provided practical demonstrations of Buddhist recitation, embellishing folk melodies with Hindustani ragas and composing melodies for traditional Sri Lankan poetry (N. Gamage, personal communication, August 23, 2018).

In the 1970s and 1980s however, Amaradeva's style became increasingly cosmopolitan as he began to collaborate with other musicians and as other Sinhala popular music genres came to be accepted at the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (see Chapter 7.2 and 7.3 for more details). Amaradeva's cosmopolitan outlook was also influenced by the following frame of thought;

> Mine is not a religion of the prison-house. I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible, but I refuse

> to be blown off my feet by any. (Mahatma Gandhi (1921), as cited in Patel & Sykes, 1987, p. 39)

He taught this ideology to his students when lecturing at the Government College of Fine Arts in the early 1970s (E. Jayakody, personal communication, August 19, 2018). The Government College of Fine Arts (currently the University of Visual and Performing Arts), was the first institution in Sri Lanka to offer degrees in music.[137] Amaradeva became a lecturer at this college in the 1960s and was appointed head of the music department in the 1970s (Abesundara, 2012, p. 41; R. Amaradeva, personal communication, July 28, 2018; S. Amaradeva, n.d.; E. Jayakody, personal communication, August 19, 2018). *Sarala gee* singer Edward Jayakody recalled Amaradeva's advice to his pupils;

> Whichever system of music — Western, North Indian, South Indian, Chinese, Gamelan, Arabic — take anything from any of these styles. But don't use it raw. Take something and create a new production for the people. . . . He also says — if you take something from any music system or tradition, we shouldn't give the same thing back — we should pay back with interest. (Personal communication, August 19, 2018)

A physical manifestation of this is evident in the *mandoharp*, an innovative musical instrument conceptualised by Amaradeva in 1978. It was largely inspired by the following couplet by language activist Munidasa Cumaratunga:

> Aluṯ aluṯ ḏē noṯanana jāṯiya lova nonägē
> Hiňgā käma bäri una ṯäna lagī gayā mara gī

[137] Early students of the Government College of Fine Arts such as visual artist S. H. Sarath and musicians Edward Jayakody, Lakshman Wijesekara and Rohana Weerasinghe refer to the institute as Heywood College as Heywood was the name of its premises (see Chandrajeewa, 2018).

A nation that doesn't promote innovation cannot rise on its own;
And when we can beg no more, we will lie down and sing our death song.

This couplet prompted him to create an innovative instrument for his 1970s live concert series entitled *Śravana Ramani* (Shrawana Ramani). It was a combination of the violin, mandolin and swarmandal, also referred to as the Indian harp (R. Weerasinghe, 2010). Once again, Amaradeva sought hybridisation in his music and this instrument serves as a physical representation of the middle path. Amaradeva desired an instrument with a violin's shape, a mellow sound and the flexibility to play quarter tones through its scalloped frets (R. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018; M. Mora, personal communication, May 4, 2016).

Figure 5.3

Photograph of the *Mandoharp* taken during my visit to the Amaradeva residence in September, 2018

Figure 5.4

Image of Amaradeva Singing and Playing the *Mandoharp* at a 1999 Auckland Concert (cwvideopro, 2012)

In a short documentary about the instrument, Wimala Amaradeva stated that Amaradeva shared this idea with artist Somabandu Vidyapathi and asked him to draw a sketch. They took it to Peter Fernando, who made an initial prototype. Amaradeva then made some changes and recruited instrument maker Tennyson Fernando to create the final version (R. Weerasinghe, 2010). He used this instrument in most of his concerts.

5.7 A Penchant for Music and Tranquillity

Informants claim that most of Amaradeva's songs were composed in one sitting. Edward Jayakody recalled that Amaradeva chose him and other vocal students from The Government College of Fine Arts to accompany him at the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC). "He would hold the lyrics in front of him, play a chord on the harmonium, write down part of a melody, and sing it" (E. Jayakody, personal communication, August 19, 2018). He also composed at home, and inspiration often struck late in the night.[138] He kept his compositional space very neat and was always accompanied by his *mandoharp*, used to play each newly-composed phrase (S.

[138] When Subhani Amaradeva recalled her father's nightly compositional routine, she added that he would make a mess preparing cold tea due to his incompetence in the kitchen, waking his pet cats. Absent-mindedly, he would feed them biscuits on his family member's plates before heading to his composition space.

Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018). At other times, he composed in a collaborative setting with lyricist such as Mahagama Sekara (1929–1976). The Sekara-Amaradeva partnership was revered and they were dubbed *Gee Poḏayi Mīviḏayi* (Gee Pothai Meewithai "Poetry Book and Sweet Wine"), following their song of the same title (M. Seneviratne, 2012). They also composed phrase by phrase, with Sekara providing some words, Amaradeva setting a melody and tweaking the words, and Sekara altering the melody in turn (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001).

Amaradeva shared a similar creative relationship with playwright Ediriweera Sarachchandra. Sarachchandra influenced Amaradeva's approach, for instance instructing him to rework a drama song in the *nurthi* style, and allowed Amaradeva to make alterations to his lyrics (N. Gamage, personal communication, August 23, 2018). The pair sometimes dined together to discuss culture and the arts.[139] They also travelled with friends and held *paḏuru parties* during these short vacations. A *paḏuru party* is a get-together involving a sing-along. Originally, participants sat on woven mats (*paḏuru*) and played instruments such as the *seraphina* and *tabla* (R. Weerasinghe, personal communication, August 24, 2018).[140] Amaradeva was very pleased if someone sang one of his compositions and often encouraged participants to do so (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018). During other travels, Amaradeva and Sarachchandra collected traditional theatre songs (Amaranayake, 2010; Kumara, 2015, p. 80; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). They often worked on Sarachchandra's

[139] Ranjana Amaradeva recalled that, at one such occasion, they were so immersed in a conversation they circled the dining table and served themselves the same curry three times, neglecting the other dishes Sarachchandra's wife had prepared (RanOne FM, 2017).
[140] A *bajavuw* is a similar type of get-together where no instruments are used. Instead, participants clap, whistle or play rhythms on cups and kitchen utensils.

plays at Peradeniya University, located several hours away from Colombo in the mountainous region of Kandy.[141]`

A journalist observed, "Many of his contemporaries say that Amaradeva remembers only music and forgets everything else" (David, 2007). Subhani Amaradeva concurs. During a conversation with me she stated,

> Some days he would go to work at Radio Ceylon in the car and come home by bus because he forgot that he took the car. He was that forgetful. Because he's in another world. He was a genius. Honestly — he would sometimes leave his slippers behind at the radio station. Or he would wear his clothes inside out. . . . Sometimes he would see us at bus halts. But he wouldn't really see us. He'd see us but wouldn't recognise us. So he'd just look at us and drive by. Because he was in another world. (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018)

He was preoccupied prior to a performance as well, setting himself apart from the others and only allowing a toothy grin to those that crossed his path. In preparation for a concert, he chanted *slōkas* (prayers) to the Hindu goddess Saraswathi. He then sang ragas and songs under his breath, setting his fingers in a beak-like shape to trace melodic contours in the air (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018). This suggests he immersed himself deeply in the cultural practices of Hindustani musicians during his time in India and continued these practices after returning to Sri Lanka. When performing, he concentrated intensely upon the rendering of a melody according to his mood. Therefore, ornamentation types and placement often varied between performances and recordings (E. Jayakody, personal communication, August

[141] Though they aimed to spend a few days there, Amaradeva sometimes left the morning after their arrival, having forgotten a radio program scheduled for that day. Sarachchandra would drop him off at the train station and later called him Amarudeva ("Difficult-deva,") a play on the words "amāru" and "deva" (Amaranayake, 2010).

23, 2018). He sometimes arranged the songs to allow for improvisatory sections, as can be heard in the *Amaradeva Prasangaya* ("Amaradeva Concert") performed and aired at the SLBC in 1976 (see Jayaweerage, 2016). Sometimes he spontaneously altered the structure of a song according to his whim, skipping a repeat in the middle of a performance (E. Jayakody, personal communication, August 23, 2018).[142]

Film director Lester James Peries wrote the following "snap shot" of Amaradeva's personality:

> He would sit quietly in a corner watching you and listening to you with intense concentration. You as the Director would discuss the story of your film, expatiate on its theme and characters, give indications of where you felt music would help most. There he would sit a gentle smile on his face, the flicker of irony lighting up the eyes, but the gaze would be focussed somewhere slightly off you - as though he was looking at something else, wrapped up in his own private dream, concentrating on an inner vision to which you had no access, hearing melodies and patterns of sound which he was, at least for the moment, unwilling to share. . . .
>
> Different films needed different talents and he was big enough to accept the premise. This is one of the most endearing traits of Amaradeva - his great, unflappable, unruffled equanimity, serene almost to a point where you begin to wonder whether he quite belongs to our other more mundane world of petty squabbles over fees, contracts, deadlines, recording schedules etc. True, an occasional detractor will say

[142] Edward Jayakody was in the chorus at one such time. Describing the incident he said, "Api holmang," literally "we are ghosts;" a colloquial expression meaning "we are lost/confused".

> - but he is disorganized, impractical, unpunctual, a dreamer. But of course he is all these things. It is a part of his make-up, part of the serenity of his character. It would not be Amaradeva, the maestro, if he worked like a computer. We have found him endearing, despite his little foibles, indeed because of them. (Peries, 2000)

As indicated above, Amaradeva relished the freedom to do things when he pleased. He was therefore unable to tie himself down to roles that inhibited his time for creative processes.[143] Reportedly, he required freedom of mind above all else[144] and never felt hatred, greed or jealousy and quickly forgot upsetting occurrences. Ranjana Amaradeva stated the common belief that this cleanliness of mind contributed to his good health (Sirasa Originals, 2016). Amaradeva's outlook is reflective of a Buddhist way of life. It is believed that "Only if the mind is free of wounds and scars can it. . . give rise to undistorted discernment" and thus easily follow the Five Precepts to attain Enlightenment (Ven. Thanissaro, as cited in Wickremeratne, 2006, p. 45). Allusions to this philosophy are reflected in films such as *Sāraviṭa* (1965), for which Amaradeva composed music.

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[143] He joined the Institute of Aesthetic Studies (also known as Keywood College) as a lecturer in 1963, departed shortly after, and returned as Principal of the music faculty in 1974 for a short period. Though both his departures were due to late attendance, political divides between the staff in the 1960s resulted in a court case for which Amaradeva was called as a witness and ridiculed, thus causing discontentment with his role at the institution. He was not immune to politics at the SLBC either. He became controller of its Sinhala Music Research Unit in 1976 but was suspended after signing a petition to stop the incumbent Prime Minister J. R. Jayawardene from rescinding then Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike's civic rights in 1980 (R. Amaradeva, personal communication, July 1, 2018, K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, November 26, 2020). However, he was unhampered by these occurrences.

[144] Amaradeva's favourite pastime was to travel to the beach every weekend, most commonly to Wellawatte or Polhena during a longer vacation. Ranjana Amaradeva remembered that his father often swam deep into the ocean and floated on his back, savouring the feeling of freedom that accompanies weightlessness (Lanka, 2018).

5.8 Identity Politics and Ethnic Conflict

During my visit to Amaradeva's residence in 2016, I noted that Amaradeva was observant, contemplative and calm. He did not appear to mind people speaking on his behalf, though he did sometimes interject in a soft voice. He did not seem to be the type of person that would cause a stir. However, his daughter recalled that he once antagonised some *bhikkus* at the Dalada Maligawa (Temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic). The Sri Lankan Civil War (1983–2009) was ongoing and some Buddhist monks were inciting racial hatred against the Tamils during their preaching. Amaradeva was shocked by the violence of the war and spoke up against this. He was heavily chastised by the *bhikkus,* and they commanded the congregation not to listen to his songs. However, this is not a well-known fact and there has not been any documentation of Amaradeva's collaboration with Tamil artists or what Tamil people perceive of his music. The following statement demonstrates that some Tamils were appreciative of his music:

> Many years ago, I chanced on a random comment from a Tamil in an e-mail news/discussion group called "soc-culture.srilanka". This had degenerated by that time to being virtually a forum for rabid racists from both sides to vilify each other, their history, culture and human fallibility. The contributor, whose name I have forgotten, addressed his Tamil brethren thus: "How can we make gross generalisations about the Sinhalese and say that they are uncultured when they produced an artist like Amaradeva?" (Peries, 2001)

Nevertheless, the significance of Amaradeva's music to the Sri Lankan Tamil population is uncertain. A Sinhalese journalist referred to this issue shortly after Amaradeva's death:

> His voice lent a Sinhala flavour to all the songs he sang. His melodies touched a chord in the Sinhala urban and rural middle class that allowed them to feel "Sinhala" in their musical taste. Thus, the importance of Pundit Amaradeva is that he copioneered a soul-searching musical life the Sinhala people lacked from their ancestry. A void the Sinhala people now feel have been filled by Amaradeva. But to call him the Sri Lankan identity in music with an indigenous character and that he brought fame to our nation for which the whole country is indebted to him is beyond Tamil perception. It is also unfair to ask them to accept Amaradeva in such context, even if they enjoy Amaradeva songs. For the Tamil and the Tamil speaking people in this country was not in the process in which Amaradeva grew to be the icon of Sinhala music and there was nothing inclusive in it. (K. Perera, 2016)

Undeniably, many of Amaradeva's patriotic songs address the Sinhalese directly. They mention landmarks that are significant in Sinhalese history and culture, and the ancient and victorious standing of the Sinhala ethnic group. The latter is likely a subtle reference to historical triumphs mentioned in Chapter 2.1, mainly the Vijaya myth which attests that the Sinhalese colonised and developed the island, and kingly battles against South Indian invaders. Whether these songs were meant to orate Sinhala superiority or condemn other Sri Lankan ethnic groups is questionable, although the Sinhalese are certainly able to use them to this end. An ethnomusicologist reported an incident where his Tamil acquaintance endured a very uncomfortable bus ride with mainly Sinhalese occupants. They were singing the song *Mē Sinhala Apage Ratayi* ("This is the Land of We Sinhalese") repeatedly. The acquaintance professed, "Whenever they were singing this song out loud, I was overcome by an unbearable

feeling and I buried myself in my seat, silent and lonely" (Toshio, 2008, pp. 19–20). The song hailed from the film *Saravita* (1965) and was sung by Nanda Malini, with music by Amaradeva and lyrics by Mahagama Sekara. As noted by Toshio, songs such as these had the potential to harm ethnic relations.

It is likely that these songs were purposed to boost Sinhalese morale and to incite their appreciation for their culture rather than to demoralise other ethnic groups. In Chapter 2.2, I discussed the effects of European Enlightenment and British colonialist thought on the negative perception of endogenous cultural practices. This resulted in Western ideals becoming assimilated by Colombo's colonial subjects who became the cultural gatekeepers of the island but who deemed endogenous cultural practices as barbaric and uncivilised. The rest of the island was effectively a hinterland which received less and less patronage for traditional arts and culture. Chapter 3 demonstrated that a musical nationalist movement was inspired by the nineteenth-century Buddhist revival, but this did not entail the use of folk music from the hinterland until the 1930s. However, minimal State radio patronage was not enough to incite a widespread interest in folk music which was believed to be a preserve of the precolonial lifestyle. In Chapter 4.3.1.2, we saw that *sarala gee* was first created by Ananda Samarakoon and Sunil Santha to reconcile folk music with the popular demand for North Indian music that stemmed from theatre songs and film music, and the elite's taste for Western music respectively. Amaradeva also undertook this challenge, claiming,

> It is here that our roots lie and we must go back to our roots, to the village and the hamlet, in search of evolving songs and music in keeping with our culture and our ethos. (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001)

Amaradeva was best able to realise the challenge of reconciling folk music and popular demand through experimentation. This resulted in his decision to use a smaller proportion of folk music and Western music in comparison with Hindustani music. Through many of his songs he interpreted the thoughts and feelings of village folk at labour and in love. He also gave gentle reminders of the feats of kings and triumphs of the Sinhalese, as will be described in Chapter 7. This could be interpreted as an attempt to uplift endogenous Sinhalese culture and to help Sinhalese people tap into an identity many felt was disappearing due to the powerful influence of Western and Indian culture. The reasoning behind this interpretation is Amaradeva's open condemnation of ethnic conflict mentioned above. Further, he discusses the rejection of racial division in Buddhist doctrine in one of his songs. He notes that the Lord Buddha deemed ethnicity, locality and similar aspects trivial, though they are often the basis of wars (Heraliwala. L. Seneviratne, 2003). In a concert performed in 1999, Amaradeva concluded with a plea for harmony and the song *Raṉnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* (Rathnadeepa Janma Bhoomi "Our Birthplace is a Land of Gems") which, ironically, venerates the Sinhalese (Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 19). See Chapter 7.2 for more details.

We may now view such songs as chauvinistic or ethnically insensitive following the injustices to Sri Lankan Tamils that led to the civil war and the horrors that resulted. However, these songs were composed before the war and, like music of any kind, people were able to use them for their own political means, contrary to what the original composers intended. At the time these songs were written, the Sinhalese literati believed that Sri Lankan Tamils had binding cultural links to South India which gave them access to an abundance of publications, films and radio broadcasts that could not be paralleled by the Sinhalese (Peebles, 2006, p. 98). These beliefs were strengthened by the pro-Sinhala political activity of the day, such as the "Sinhala-only" policy of 1956.

Many such detrimental political decisions of the mid-twentieth century resulted from a Sinhalese minority complex due to the proximity of South India, the rise of the Indian Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam who advocated for the creation of a Tamil state encompassing Tamil Nadu and the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka, and the assumption that Tamils, particularly those that had migrated to work on British plantations, had allegiances to South India rather than Sri Lanka (Dharmadasa, 1992, pp. 246, 292–293, 310). In the wake of the political defence of all things Sinhala and the resistance to the cultural hegemonisation by India and the West, we see the emergence of ethnonationalist songs imploring the Sinhalese to be united, to be proud of their country, their language and their village roots.

5.9 International Relations and Accolades

Amaradeva not only sought to promote Sinhalese culture within Sri Lanka; he also participated in several cultural delegations and tours. For instance, he had accompanied the Chitrasena Dance Company on their 1963 Australian tour as he had composed music for the ballets they performed. One of these was *Karaḏiya* ("Salt Water") which depicts the hardships of Sinhalese village fisherman. The tour generated international publicity for Amaradeva's compositional talents. He was therefore invited to compose the Maldivian National Anthem in 1971 (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). He also attended many conferences to give papers detailing aspects of Sinhalese music. Unfortunately, many of these papers have not been preserved, although the conferences have been listed in several sources.[145]

Further to this activity, Amaradeva was also invited to several countries to receive various awards. For instance in 1991, he was the first Sri Lankan artist to be conferred the title of "Pandit" by the Bhatkhande Music Institute. Amongst the most

[145] A list of Amaradeva's international endeavours is detailed in Table C1 of Appendix C.

prestigious awards Amaradeva received was the Ramon Magsaysay Award in 2001. He was interviewed by a Sri Lankan radio station shortly after and declared,

> When I was awarded the Magsaysay prize, I had the following feeling. It doesn't belong to me. Firstly, it belongs to my people, and also the teachers that taught me the alphabet; my family, and all the artists that were involved in my cultural journey; to my fans. I received the award on behalf of all these people and they're the ones that brought me to this position. I'd like to take this opportunity to acknowledge myself as an artist of the people and to express my affection towards them because it was them that gave me money and sent me to India. [Author translation] (Lanka, 2018)

A commemoration ceremony was arranged for Amaradeva when he arrived home from Manila with the Magsaysay Award. He was paraded to the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall (BMICH) by "an elaborate procession with elephants, drummers and dancers" ("Amaradeva to be feted," 2001). Hundreds of musicians and dancers participated in the ceremony, with Rohana Weerasinghe providing musical arrangements. Most performances were instrumental renditions of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* compositions accompanied by contemporary Sinhalese dancers. Some vocal renditions by choruses and solo singers such as Nanda Malini were also performed along with a traditional Sinhalese *seth sānthi* (a ritual blessing performed by percussionists) by Piyasara Shilpadhipathi and his Dance Group. The main speeches were given by Sunil Ariyarathna and Amaradeva (see Rupavahini, 2016a). In the subsequent years, Amaradeva received two more State awards: the Officer of the Order of Arts and Letters in France and the Padma Shri Award in India.[146]

[146] A list of all international awards is summarised in Table C2 of Appendix C.

The parties most grateful for Amaradeva's success in the music sphere were, understandably, Sri Lankan. Amaradeva received local awards consistently throughout his career, starting from a small violin competition held in Moratuwa in 1945 and thus far ending with the posthumous title Sri Lankabhimanya ("Pride of Sri Lanka"). This is the highest national honour awarded by the Sri Lankan Government and can only be held by five people simultaneously ("Sri Lankabhimanya award," 2007). Despite the great titles conferred on him by the Sri Lankan Government during his lifetime, Amaradeva declared that he was most moved by his third honorary degree. Newspaper editor Ajith Samaranayake attended the graduation ceremony and later wrote,

> Among [the graduates] was W. D. Amaradeva, the nation's leading musician who wrapped in an ermine cloak lit the oil lamp to inaugurate the festivities. Later after dinner at the Vice Chancellor's Lodge the hills of Hantane resounded and resonated to his songs as the dons and their spouses gave voice to his melodies while the maestro watched in silent wonder. . . . Amaradeva confesses to being most greatly touched with this degree of Doctor of Letters (Honoris Causa) since coming from Sri Lanka's first and still leading university it seals his place not merely as Sri Lanka's leading composer and vocalist but also recognises the intellectual richness and depth of his musical knowledge and how deftly he has applied this to produce a vast corpus of semi-classical light music which has been outstandingly popular without ever being vulgar [or] meretricious. (Samaranayake, 1999)

Sunil Ariyarathna claimed that Amaradeva was conferred honorary doctoral degrees by five different Sri Lankan universities and is so far the only Sri Lankan to have achieved such merits (Rupavahini, 2016c). Amaradeva also received the Jatika Samagiye Maha

Sammanaya ("Great Award of National Unity") for his efforts in promoting harmony and reconciliation within Sri Lanka. However, the nature of these efforts has not been documented.[147]

5.10 Propagating Pure Music

Following the receipt of his third honorary degree at the age of 71, Pandith Amaradeva organised several concerts. The first was entitled *Amara Sara* ("Eternal Voice") and included various songs and three violin compositions (Ranatunga, 1999a). One of these instrumental pieces was inspired by the *Sālalihini Sandeshaya*; the classical text Amaradeva recited for the Premakumar Epitawala ballet of the same name in 1950. Amaradeva possibly turned his attention to instrumental music because he felt he had fulfilled the challenge of promoting a Sinhala musical idiom in popular song. Reportedly, he lamented his anonymity as a violinist and the general disregard for instrumental music in Sri Lanka (M. Disanayaka, 1996).

[147] See this and all other local awards summarised in Table C3 of Appendix C.

Figure 5.5

Image from a Recording of Amaradeva's 1999 Violin Solo, Accompanied by Ranjana Amaradeva, in Auckland (BrisVegaSL, 2012)

His observations were affirmed by journalist D. C. Ranatunga's reminiscences of the early 1950s:

> We didn't really appreciate [Amaradeva's] violin playing but when we heard his 'Peenamuko Kalu Gange', 'Shanta Me Re Yame' and 'Handapane Welithala', we soon learnt the words. Even though our favourites were 'Hai Hooi Babi Achchige Bicycle Eka' and 'Uda Rata Sita Menike Kenek Ava Varsity', at university outings, we never failed to sing a Sunil Shantha number or an Amaradeva song, often annoying those who insisted on singing 'Moratuwe baila'. (Ranatunga, 2000)

Certain Radio Ceylon programs were dedicated to Hindustani classical music in the 1950s (S. Nandasiri, personal communication, February 28, 2019), but this clearly did not have a widespread effect on listeners' tastes. Amaradeva sought to enlighten the public by performing some instrumental pieces in his 1977 *Śravana Ramani* concert series commemorating his fiftieth birthday (Abeysekere, 1978). Live concerts called *Māsika Raňguma* were also held at the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (SLBC) in

the 1980s with alternating programs of *sarala gee* and Indian classical music. Musicians were sometimes invited from overseas through public request. The audience mainly consisted of young students and their parents and greatly contributed to the increased demand for classical music education in schools (D. Ranatunga, personal communication, September 8, 2018). Despite these efforts however, Amaradeva believes that,

> Vocal music dominates in Sri Lanka. This could be because we do not have a strong tradition of instrumental music in this country. Personally, I am of the opinion that instrumental music is the pure form. Songs would always be the applied or mixed form a mixture of literature and music. . . . It is not that songs are an inferior manifestation. A good song, with compatible words and music, could be eternal, as I think all good music should be. It too can create an emotion a particular nuance of feeling, that can be created by pure music. But instrumental music does not run the danger of being popular simply by being topical. Songs do. I feel that instrumental music is really the more sophisticated form. (M. Disanayaka, 1996)

Thus, in the twenty-first century, Amaradeva took further initiative to promote classical music education. He collaborated with the Old Anandians' Sports Club to create the Amaradeva Trust; a fund that would provide higher education to one music student each year. A concert titled *Amara Uvasara* was conducted to raise funds for the scholarships (Ranatunga, 2000). Later that year, this task was taken up by the Amaradeva Foundation, established with assistance from the Sri Lankan Government (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). In addition to preserving his music before and after his death, the aims of the Foundation were to periodically support a music student by

offering grants, scholarships, musical instruments or other required facilities, and to conduct other activities to further the music profession in Sri Lanka (Amaradeva Foundation, 2012). The foundation later collaborated with the Indian Cultural Centre to organise an annual scholarship for one student to attend Bhatkhande Music Institute. They raised funds by holding annual *sarala gee* concerts at large venues such as the BMICH. The concerts were named after Amaradeva's classic song *Sasara Vasana Ṯuru* (Sasara Wasana Thuru "Throughout Every Rebirth") with lyrics by Dalton Alwis expressing his desire to be born in the fortunate, golden land of the Helas in every reincarnation.[148] The first concert held in 2011 was attended by Indian sarangi player Farooque Lateef Khan and tablist Parthasarathi Mukherjee (Ranatunga, 2011). In 2015 the initial sarala gee concert was followed by a "classical resonance concert" by Indian tablist Pandit Anindo Chatterjee and sitarist Shri Purbayan Chatterjee in collaboration with various Sri Lankan musicians. The guest musicians also conducted two workshops at the Indian Cultural Centre (Kodagoda, 2015; Silva, 2015a, 2015b). When commencing these activities, Amaradeva declared,

> I thought of rebuilding my image as a musician, mainly as a violinist. What I want to do is to guide the younger generation (to have) better taste. To guide them from the known to the unknown. Pure music is something unknown to our society. As a humanist, I think I can guide them from known songs to the unknown pure music. (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001)

Yet the majority of Amaradeva's music preserved on CD, DVD and online platforms is vocal, suggesting he was not successful in rebuilding his image as a violinist. The

[148] Hela or Helese is another term for the Sinhalese commonly used by those that do not believe in the Vijaya origin myth but rather claim that the Sinhalese were indigenous to Sri Lanka.

Sannāliyanē tribute concert also attests to this fact. It was organised by the Sri Lankan Army to raise funds for Abimansala; a series of care resorts for disabled war veterans. Like its theme song *Sannāliyanē*, the concert combined dance and song to portray the cycle of birth, life, death and rebirth (Mahahewage, 2014). Unlike a ballet, the performance did not consist of instrumental music. In his own final public appearance, Amaradeva too gave a brief vocal delivery. The event, held on the 30th of October 2016, was a commemoration ceremony for the *bhikku* and lyricist Ven. Rambhukkana Siddhartha Thera. Amaradeva rendered a four-line verse he composed in homage to the monk (K. K. S. Perera, 2016). This performance was a fitting end to his career, as his early vocal performances consisted of poetic chant.

5.11 "As the Evening Sun Sets, I Bid You Farewell"

At the age of 88, Pandith Amaradeva suffered a heart attack and passed away at the Sri Jayawardenapura Hospital on the 3rd of November 2016 (Asian Tribune, 2016; Dias, 2016). The previous night, he sought a novel request from his daughter Priyanwada. He desired three flowers to worship the Lord Buddha. Each flower represents one stone of the Triple Gem, comprised of the Lord Buddha, the Enlightened One; Dhamma, his teachings; and Sanga, his monastic community (Turpie, 2001, pp. 8, 45). Amaradeva left these flowers on his pillow when he departed for the hospital (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018). President Maithripala Sirisena declared one week of mourning and requested the public to raise a white flag, the symbol of mourning, outside their homes (Sirasa Originals, 2016). Amaradeva's remains were held in a private funeral parlour in Borella before being paraded to the Independence Square in Cinnamon Gardens. Prominent members in the arts field accompanied the staff and students of the University of Visual and Performing Arts within the procession. When the procession finished its course, Amaradeva's

contemporaries and President Maithripala Sirisena carried the casket into the Independence Square. For the first time, the public were invited to the Square to pay their last respects (T. Fernando, 2016; Kaviratne, 2016). The casket was left open for the viewing in keeping with Sinhala tradition. The body of a deceased person is also not to be left alone (Ratnasinghe, n.d.). Thus, even after the crowd dispersed, a group of Amaradeva's family members and friends remained at the Square overnight.

Sections of the parade were televised, as was the entire funeral, held on the 5th of November. Many watched the proceedings from their homes and members of the Sri Lankan diaspora, including my family in Sydney, streamed the state Rupavahini network from abroad. Invitees attended the funeral at the Independence Square while Amaradeva's fans filled the surrounding streets. Invitees included the President, Prime Minister, Cabinet of Ministers, foreign and local dignitaries, the armed forces, who gave the casket a guard of honour, and prominent artists from many fields ("Pandit Amaradeva funeral," 2016). The closed casket was positioned on the red-carpeted dais. A host of *bhikkus* were to conduct the religious proceedings, and religious leaders from the Hindu, Christian and Islamic faiths were also present.

After the opening announcements, *bhikku* Ven. Dr. Iththapane Dhammalankara Mahanayaka Thero gave a welcoming speech in Sinhala and praised Amaradeva by saying,

> Though there are so many rocks in the earth, gems are very valuable. Though there are many clams in the sea, those that harbour pearls are very valuable. Though there are so many trees in the forest, the *saňḏun*, *buruṭa* and kaluvara trees are very valuable. Though there are many elephants in the wild, those with tusks are very valuable. Though many Sri Lankan artists live in our society, it is rare that an artist of

> Amaradeva's calibre is born. Therefore we wish him *niwan suwa* [Enlightenment]. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

He then led the Buddhist funeral rites. While the funeral lasted two hours, the rites were limited to twenty minutes to accommodate for the many eulogies that had been written. Blessings were also bestowed by priests of the Catholic, Hindu and Islamic faiths. This was followed by eulogies given by artists such as Sunil Ariyarathna, politicians such as the Trincomalee opposition leader, national opposition leader and the President, and Ranjana Amaradeva.[149]

Actor Ravindra Randeniya called Amaradeva the "brightest icon in the cultural firmament of Sri Lanka" and stated, "we salute the Sri Lankan Government" for taking "the unprecedented step: a tribute that has never been accorded to any artist in the annals of Sri Lanka's history" (Rupavahini, 2016c). This suggests that Amaradeva's efforts in enriching the Sri Lankan music industry brought heightened status and recognition to all artists. Sunil Ariyarathna followed with his eulogy. His introduction and conclusion went as follows:

> We have great warriors in our country today because of the great warriors of ancient times. Our country produced great poets because of the Ven. Thotagamuwe Sri Rahula and Waththawe Vidharma. We have great prose writers today because of Gurulugomi and Vidya Chakravathy. Yet until the early-twentieth century, there were no great musicians; not one single name of a musician had been recorded in history. . . .

[149] See Appendix D for a detailed account of the funeral.

> Selfishly, we pray that he'll come and live with us one more time in his next life before receiving *nirvana* [Enlightenment] thereafter. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

The President gave the following moving anecdote:

> 25 years ago, I invited Amaradeva to visit a rural area such as Polonnaruwa. I told him to share his knowledge and his voice with the school children there. With a great smile and without any demands, he accepted my request. He visited the Polonnaruwa region from time to time to run the program for school children. During these times, he sat with me on a rock bordering Parakrama Lake in the moonlight and talked with me for hours. He talked about the lake; about Sri Lankan temples and *ḏāgäb* [monumental, curved temple structures]. He explained how art is related to and enriched by the lives of farmers and their paddy fields and cultivation areas, and how an artist views this. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

Since several speakers had already extolled Amaradeva's merits extensively, Ranjana Amaradeva simply gave thanks in the final eulogy. He then stated, "My father rendered some words, Sajjana Sangame ("Virtuous Society"), to describe those artists that were most compassionate towards him" [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c). Many of these artists, mostly *sarala gee* singers, joined together to sing Amaradeva's song *Sasara Vasana Ṯuru* ("Throughout Every Rebirth") as a tribute and farewell to Amaradeva. After this the casket was lit and the audience watched the rising smoke. Amaradeva's *Mala Hiru Basinā Säṇḏā Yāmē* ("As the Evening Sun Dies, I Bid You Farewell") was played alternatively with his *Mā Mala Pasu* ("Following My Death") until the casket was consumed by fire.

Figure 5.6

Image from Amaradeva's Televised Funeral (Rupavahini, 2016c)

* * *

With pageantry, religious ceremony and national mourning, a life of discovery and immense accomplishment was put to rest. This chapter contained an outline of the musical influences that shaped Amaradeva's music throughout his childhood and the early stages of his career. I have also described the people and ideologies that affected his way of life and his attitude towards composition. The significance of his presence in Sri Lanka's culture and music scene have been conveyed through descriptions of his career highlights, a summary of his national and international accolades and through the description of his state funeral. In the next chapter I will aim to demonstrate how his music both reflected and shaped Sri Lankan culture and music over the latter part of the twentieth century. I will also draw upon the previously mentioned ideologies to illuminate the cosmopolitan nature of his style and his course through the "middle path," so called. In doing this I will trace the evolution of his *sarala gee* and map the various changes that occurred during the many stages of his career. The next chapter

will contain an investigation into the early developmental stages, namely his formative period and the subsequent period of his Bhatkhande education.

Chapter 6: Creating a Sinhala Music

As seen in the previous chapter, Amaradeva's musical career was an immense one that spanned seven decades; from 1945 to 2016. In this chapter, I will explore his output of *sarala gee* ("light songs") produced from 1945 to 1959. *Sarala gee* comprise the majority of Amaradeva's works and, as noted in Chapter 4.3.1.2*,* is an early genre of Sinhalese popular music dating back to 1944, a year before Amaradeva's career commenced. The genre was created in response to the perceived lack of "Sri Lankan" music (Sheeran, 1997, p. 30), thus, early *sarala gee* composers sought to produce songs that projected a sense of national cultural identity. Indeed, in a conference paper given at the International Symposium of Music at Manila in 1966, Amaradeva stated that he had attempted several musical "experiments" with the aim of "evolving a national music serving the needs of Ceylon and reflecting the genius of the land while at the same time remaining sensitive to modern musical trends" (W. D. Amaradeva, as cited in Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 74). This chapter aims to explore how aspects of Sinhala identity were woven into Amaradeva's early songs and to identify the various musical sources and trends he drew inspiration from.

The stylistic influences and evolution of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* will be determined through comparative analysis. Comparative analysis involves searching for a "measurable stylistic criterion" (Cook, 1994, p. 189) in a sample of works. These criteria can be used to answer an array of questions such as: how are Sinhala nationalist ideals evident in these works? which musical sources influenced his compositions? and, what stylistic changes can be ascertained over the course of his musical life? Savage and Brown (2013) produced a multifaceted methodological framework for comparative musical analysis that focuses on classification (comparison and coding according to a set of criteria), cultural evolution (musical changes), human history (musical

associations or dissociations with markers of human history such as genes, language, physical artefacts and historical documents), and universals (similarities between regional or global cultures and biological evolution). I have been selective in adopting parts of this methodology that are particularly relevant to the task at hand, namely: classification, cultural evolution, and human history. The latter aspect of the methodology, human history, is especially relevant because it highlights the correlations between the sociopolitical history of Sri Lanka discussed in Chapter 2 and Amaradeva's biography outlined in Chapter 5. Savage and Brown propose that "In the case of comparative analyses, the sample will usually include songs from two or more cultures" (p. 5). However, Amaradeva's musical output exemplifies what Savage and Brown term "within-culture diversity," largely because of the cosmopolitan and eclectic nature of Sri Lankan culture and the various cultural contacts that resulted from its complex history. The comparative analysis therefore focuses on Amaradeva's works aiming to foreground the stylistic similarities and differences in his vast output over time.

Savage and Brown (2013) claim "sample sizes of approximately thirty per group are generally sufficient to identify statistically significant patterns if such patterns are reasonably strong" (p. 6). While Amaradeva's style is diverse, this chapter deals with songs from a single genre, *sarala gee,* using a sampling of thirty songs selected from five delineated periods of his musical output. These periods mark key biographical and stylistic stages of his life and work, and they will serve to structure this chapter and the next. These periods are; the early career stage between 1945 and 1953, followed by his years of study at the Bhatkhande Music Institute, Lucknow between 1953 and 1958, then the decade after his return from Bhatkhande between 1959 and 1969, to the middle period from 1970 to 1989, and finally the period that defines his senior years between 1990 and 2016.

This chapter explores songs from the first two periods of Amaradeva's career: the early career stage between 1945 and 1953, and the years surrounding his education at the Bhatkhande Music Institute, Lucknow, from 1953 to 1959. The criteria of vocal style (technique, ornamentation, microtones), lyrics (language form and meaning), instrumentation, melody, texture, harmony and rhythm will be used to compare the selected songs. A summary schematisation of the results of the comparison of all thirty songs are presented in Appendix F. Further, complete or partial translations of all thirty song lyrics are contained in Appendix E. The sources of recordings used for this analysis include the CD album *Väli Ṭala Aṭarē* (Vali Thala Athare) (Amaradeva, 2002), various CDs purchased in Sri Lanka at the SLBC store in Colombo, YouTube posts, and Sri Lankan music databases such as Miyuru Gee and SriLankan Records.

6.1 Finding a voice in a milieu of plagiarised melody (1945–1953)

One of the components adapted from the comparative analysis model described above concerns human history which I will outline in relation to the historical, cultural and sociopolitical context in which Amaradeva's music emerged. Amaradeva's early career commenced in the 1940s when Sinhalese nationalism was steadily rising due to the Buddhist revival, activities of the print media, *nurthi* theatrical productions and local scholarship, as noted in Chapters 2 and 3. Yet, nationalist fervour mainly stemmed from certain occupational groups in the lower middle class such as *muḍalālis* (money-lending shopkeepers), teachers, traditional *ayurvedic* doctors and Buddhist monks (Farmer, 1965, p. 435; E. R. Sarachchandra, 1982, p. 213).[150] Patriotism was not widespread amongst all factions of society as exemplified, for instance, by the sarcastic reference to

[150] There is not much consensus regarding colonial Sri Lankan class structure as historian Nira Wickramasinghe (2015) classes many of these groups as the upper-middle class (p. 86). Farmer (1965) prefers to call them the "new village leadership."

Ediriweera Sarachchandra as "Tagore" by the former's students. Though Sarachchandra thought it a compliment, his students found his patriotism amusing (Goonetilleke, 2005, p. 11). At this time, the patriotic but plagiarised *aluth sindu* genre described in Chapter 4.3.1.2 dominated the commercial music industry and most original songs were composed in the same idiom, based completely on Hindustani ragas (Alawathukotuwa, 2015, p. 32), while the *sarala gee* genre was in its fledgling stages. Amaradeva's notable contributions from 1945–1953 will be studied in this section. The specific songs are *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* (Handapane Valithala, 1950s), *Śānṭa Mē Rä Yāmē* (Shantha Me Ra Yame, 1940s), and *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa Sākya Siṅha* (Vandimu Sugatha Sakya Sinha), 1940s). The original recording of the first song (by H.M.V.) was sourced from the SriLankan Records website and the latter three were sourced from the Miyuru Gee online database.

However, before examining the three early *sarala gee* productions I will now outline Amaradeva's compositional precursors, in particular his first recorded song, *Rasayi Kiri* (Rasai Kiri "Tasty Milk," 1945). This song belongs to the *aluth sindu* genre and while it does not figure in today's popular musical canon it gives us a sense of the pre-*sarala gee* popular music characteristics that Amaradeva was exposed to. This song featured a duet with the female singer Srimathi Perera,[151] and was based on a Bengali melody with music direction by Mohamed Ghouse,[152] and lyrics by U. D. Perera. All three figures worked in the *aluth sindu* genre. Amaradeva used a distinctive vocal tone in the 1940s and early 1950s that results from placing the vocal resonance in the nasal

[151] Srimathi Perera is a lesser-known singer who worked in diverse genres including Aluth Sindu ("New Songs") and Sinhala Calypso. Most of her preserved works are *bailas* recorded in collaboration with B. S. Perera (Info Lanka, n.d.-d).

[152] The term "music direction" is used instead of "composer" in the Sinhala music industry. The music director either transcribes existing music that will be set to a Sinhalese text, composes an original melody or arranges an original melody composed by someone else. Their other responsibilities are to teach the music to recording artists and to coordinate the orchestra.

passage which produces a sharp, more focused sound, and which resembled folk singing at the time. Perera also sang in 'folk' voice but in contrast to Amaradeva she deploys a speak-singing technique where a minimal amount of air is used to sing and with minimal slides and ornamentation. This song is about a romance between a milkmaid and her customer, a theme shared with Ananda Samarakoon's *Punĉi Suḏā Kirikätiyā* (Punchi Suda Kirikatiya / "Petite, Darling Baby" 1940s). Both songs are written in the colloquial language of the day rather than poetic language (see Translation 1 in Appendix E) and they feature changing metrical cycles. The introduction and interlude are in 4/4 while the verses are in 6/8. However, their forms are dissimilar and neither resemble the usual structure of Sinhala popular music, including *sarala gee*, which will be discussed further on. As in many *aluth sindu* songs, the setting of lyrics to an existing Bengali melody results in the slight mispronunciation of some words.[153] As noted previously, language use became vital in the post-Independence Sinhalese nationalist movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Linguistic integrity was adhered to by most musicians during and after this period.[154] This song example represents the historical moment when language use was not a nationalist preoccupation and was, therefore, not a consideration of the music industry.

Amaradeva recorded a few other *aluth sindus* and several original songs during his early period. Composition was not a new process to him, as Munidasa Cumaratunga

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[153] For example, a mispronunciation occurs in the word "dhiyaaru" in bars 28 and 32 because the second syllable ("yā") is placed on a quaver beat and is therefore sung as a short "a" rather than a long "ā".

[154] Scholars claim Sunil Santha was the first Sinhalese musician to treat pronunciation carefully in the 1940s. This decision was influenced by the pure language activist and *Hela Havula* founder Munidasa Cumaratunga (Field, 2014a, pp. 12–13). Santha set his lyrics according to the *laghu guru system* (Donaldson, 2001, p. 22; 2015). *Laghu* refers to short syllables and *guru* refers to long syllables. The short syllables are equal to one *matra* or syllabic instants "a beat equal to a finger click (Donaldson, 2001, p. 257). The long syllables are equal to two *matras*. Therefore, Santha uses short notes for the *laghu* syllables and longer notes for the *guru* syllables. Santha soon influenced the way Amaradeva set lyrics, thus allowing him to enhance his pronunciation when singing (Abesundara, 2012, p. 27).

had encouraged him to compose melodies to both classical and newly composed poetry during his student days. Amaradeva had also assisted in creating music for several school plays during his schooling and early career. The application of various criterion in the examination of Amaradeva's early original *sarala gee* in this section reveals differences in vocal and lyric style and instrumentation in comparison with songs from his later career periods. Such comparisons will serve to highlight another aspect of Savage and Brown's model, specifically the cultural evolution of Amaradeva's songs which will be addressed in this chapter and the next. His biographer suggested that Amaradeva was influenced by the simplicity of Ananda Samarakoon and Sunil Santha's music during this early period (Kumara, 2015, pp. 50, 53, 64). Samarakoon and Santha were the only two prominent *sarala gee* musicians that preceded Amaradeva, and he became closely acquainted with them. They exhibited a certain influence of Western music and other intercultural tendencies in their compositions, presumably owing to their Christian upbringing, their study at Tagore's Santiniketan, their familiarisation with the *Rabindra Saṅgīt* which also draws from Western music (K. Dissanayaka, personal communication, August 20, 2018),[155] and their exposure to music broadcasting through the British-led state radio. Some of Amaradeva's early music bears similar influences.

Following Savage and Brown (2013), I turn to the criteria of lyric style and content, which often correlates with the classification of Amaradeva's *sarala gee*. Amaradeva composed music and lyrics for all three songs to be analysed from this period. *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* ("On a Sandy, Moonlit Plain," 1950s) was based upon the lullaby, *Näḷävilla*, written by Cumaratunga himself (Kumara, 2015, p. 330; "Those

[155] *Rabindra Saṅgīt*, also known as Tagore songs, were written by Bengali poet and composer Rabindranath Tagore.

well-loved stories of childhood," 2003).[156] The lullaby and the song depict princess-deities dancing and spreading floral scents to lull their infant deities to sleep, consoling the surrounding trees, simultaneously. Amaradeva claimed that the repertoire of Sri Lankan songs is not complete without lullabies (cwvideopro, 2014b). They are indeed a category of Sinhalese folk music which would later become a pillar of the Sinhala identity owing to Amaradeva's efforts as well as other musicians and ethnomusicologists. *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* contains slight accent changes inspired by Munidasa's "pure language" described in Chapter 2.4. Thus, the second "a" vowel usually pronounced like the "a" in "about" is changed to an "ä" sound as in "cat" in words such as "näläveṭī." *Śānṭa Mē Rä Yāmē* ("This Serene Night," 1940s) has the same accent changes and both songs thus exemplify a unique phonetic feature of the language, another key aspect of Sinhala identity. *Śānṭa Mē Rä Yāmē* was written for the stage drama *Sunēṭra* produced by the Colombo University's Mela Society, a group that sought to revive local performance arts (Kumara, 2015, p. 64; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). It became known as a *sarala gee* composition because according to Amaradeva, he and other music groups regularly performed it separately from the play (buzzniz, 2014).

Both *Śānṭa Mē Rä Yāmē* and *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* have simple lyrics. The introduction to this thesis contains a short description of the three distinct and hierarchical forms of the Sinhala language. In the songs *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* and *Śānṭa Mē Rä Yāmē*, like many of Samarakoon and Santha's songs, there are a few colloquial words such as *mē* ("this"), *rā̄* ("night") and *sīṭala* ("cold"). However, word usage that belongs to the semiformal form of the Sinhala language predominates and can thus only

[156] See Table F1.3 in Appendix F for the original poem.

be fully comprehended by those with a sound knowledge of the language.[157] The lyrics of *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa Sākya Siṅha* ("Worship the Well-Faring One, the Lion of clan Sakya," 1940s) portray the subject's worship and the hope of attaining Enlightenment. The lyrics contain words in all three forms of Sinhala; colloquial, semiformal and formal. My parents recall it was a favourite of Radio Ceylon broadcasters and adult Buddhist Vesak carollers during their childhood in the 1950s–1960s (A. Jayasuriya & Y. Jayasuriya, personal communication, November 8, 2018). It is an early example of a Sinhala popular song with Sanskrit and Pali words, such as, *Sugaṭa* (Pali: "Well-Fairing One"), an epithet for the Buddha, and *mōkṣē* (Sanskrit), which refers to the Buddha's Liberation from worldly attachments. Another word specific to Buddhist philosophy is *sasara* (Sinhala), referring to the mundane cycle of existence (birth, death and rebirth (Rev. B. Clough, 1892, pp. 646, 712; Rhys Davids & Stede, 1921, pp. 596, 787). The choice of using non-Sinhala words here demonstrates Amaradeva's openminded compositional approach and his refusal to conform solely with the Hela Havula "pure Sinahala" movement noted in Chapter 2.4, which fostered beliefs of communal authenticity and a unique ethnic identity amongst the Sinhalese. Linguist K. N. O. Dharmadasa (personal communication, November 26, 2020) also suggested that Amaradeva's choice of words was based on the phonetic and syllabic content of the words, rather than their affinity with a particular nationalist ideology.[158] The three songs just discussed have a poetic beauty that is lacking in the *aluth sindu* composition *Rasayi Kiri* discussed above. Though the cultural revival of the late nineteenth and early-twentieth century had involved the study of Sinhala language features and classical texts and the proliferation of new Sinhala art mediums such as stage plays and

[157] See all translations in Appendix E.

[158] The examples K. N. O. Dharmadasa cited in this instance were the Sanskrit and Pali words "Sākya Sinha" and "mǣnḏāra" and their pure Sinhala counterparts "Sǣsi" and "maḏāra."

novels, literary sophistication had not been sought in Sinhala music until the advent of *sarala gee*. The linguistic refinement common to *sarala gee* arguably led to the genre's elevated status and increasingly dense and metaphorical lyrics sometimes exhibiting features of formal Sinhala, particularly in the aftermath of the watershed 1956 elections when the state language was changed from English to Sinhala.

Śānṯa Mē like *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa* has Buddhist themes but is predominantly a love song. The Buddhist revival of the nineteenth century had been the catalyst for the resurrection of Sinhalese cultural practices and featured heavily in nationalist discourses of the twentieth century. It was also integral to the lifestyles of many Sinhalese people from birth to death, as evident in Amaradeva's biography and the songs he produced. Buddhist references are confined to the third verse wherein the Buddha's Enlightenment is depicted, which is coupled with depictions of nature and romantic sentiments. This was a relatively rare combination in the 1940s. A combination of the latter two themes are common in the *sarala gee* genre, originating as early as the mid-1940s in songs such as *Ennaḏa Mänikē* by Ananda Samarakoon and Ōl*u Pipīlā* (Olu Pipeela) by Sunil Santha which featured village settings (Field, 2014a, p. 14). This is likely an allusion to an imagined idyllic past in precolonial times where the island was considered uncontaminated by materialism, capitalism and commercialism.

These three concomitants ascribed to colonialism were seen as "morally corrosive" (Sheeran, 1997, p. 228), which threatened the Buddhist way of life that ideally demanded detachment from the material world (de Mel, 2006, p. 47). Though the Lord Buddha accentuated the vitality of *metha* ("loving kindness"), romantic love was marginalised by many traditions of Buddhism because it was perceived as "filled with projections, desires and various unresolved needs" (Titmuss, 2016, p. 38). However, philosopher and Buddhist scholar Wautischer (1994, pp. 2, 5) claims there are

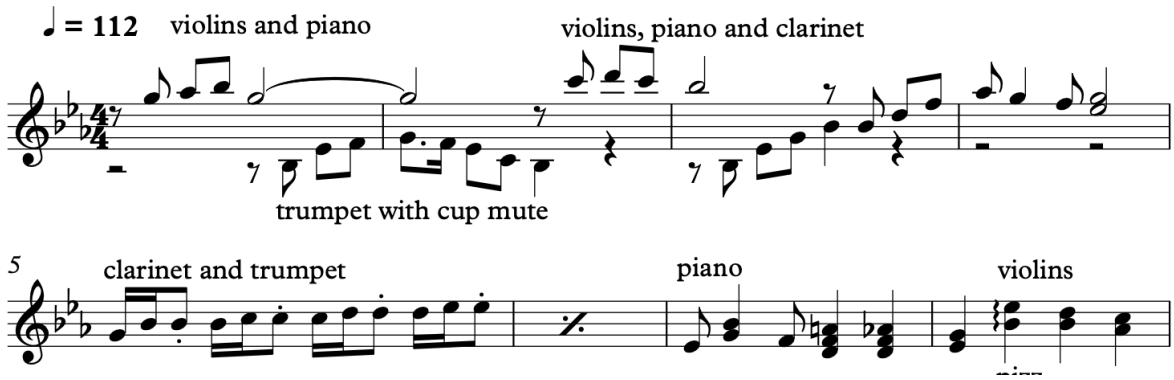
humanists who believe in personal responsibility for the attainment of Enlightenment, inner peace and the good life without the need for divine intervention and, moreover, that romantic love serves as a means to transcendence because it entails a degree of self-awareness. Indeed, Amaradeva called himself a humanist in an interview (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001) and wrote the following humanistic remarks in his book *Gee Sara Muvaraḏa*:

> I do not know if the cultivation of mind and heart was something I consciously attempted. Nor do I know when that striving really began. What I do know, is that in the beginning I saw music and engaged with it as a means of soothing my mind.
>
> You are the first audience of your own work. Later I realized that others were enjoying what I was doing and so I wanted to create for the world outside of "self".
>
> While there is no doubt an element of seeking recognition and wanting to be popular, these things are transient and in the long run they hamper the search for self and they are impediments in the quest to cultivate heart and mind. What is more important is the feeling of compassion for others. Love, kindness, devotion and especially compassion; are these not after all "the highest and best feelings to which man is risen"?
>
> I believe that the discovery of the "self" that is made of heart and mind naturally gives one insights into the human condition and man's communion with man as well as man's communion with nature. What I have said above are fundamental to the matter of bringing to full fruition

> any communicative proposition, but especially so, when it comes to the medium called music. (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 44)

Amaradeva indicates that "the search for self" can enlighten us about the human condition. Amaradeva also mentions the "communion of man and man" and while he does not specify the nature of this communion, he gives significance to love and we can therefore surmise the centrality of love in its various forms to the human condition. Thus it is unsurprising that themes of Buddhism, a religion that advocates self-awareness and humanist frames of thought (Gier, 2002, p. 176), are coupled with the communion of humans and nature and the communion of humans through romantic love in Amaradeva's songs.

The findings from the analysis of instrumentation and orchestration indicate a closer connection with the sociological and historical context rather than genre classification. Amaradeva's career commenced while Sri Lanka was still under colonial rule and the two period recordings were clearly influenced by a hybrid culture as a result. While Amaradeva arranged the early renditions of *Haňḏapānē Väliṯalā* and *Vaňḏimu Sugaṯa* himself, the period recording of *Śānṯa Mē* was arranged by B. S. Perera and is similar to the orchestral British light music regularly aired over Radio Ceylon (Times of Ceylon, 1934, 1936c-b). Consider, for example, the introduction which I have transcribed in Example 6.1 below.



Example 6.1. Introduction from *Śāṇṭa Mē Rä Yāmē* (1940s recording)[159]

As in British light music the main melody of the introduction and interludes of *Śāṇṭa Mē* are played in the high register of the violins and are often loosely doubled with woodwinds or piano. There are also woodwind interjections that close phrases in vocal sections (e.g., bar 24). Some call and response settings between the violins and woodwinds also occur (e.g., bars 1–4). *Śāṇṭa Mē* also contains chromatic passing tones (e.g., bar 7 above and the second note in the chorus). These are also features of British light music such as *A Canadian in Mayfare* by Angela Morley and *High Heels* (1950) by Trevor Duncan (Ball, 2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b). Musician and YouTuber Alex Ball (2018b) demonstrates that, though complex harmony is integral to British light music, space was always made in the orchestration to foreground the melody. This feature which likely influenced the instrumental sections of *aluth sindu*, *filmi gīt* (Bollywood songs) and *sarala* gee, all based on Indian music which, like most South Asian music styles, emphasise melody over harmony. The difference between these South Asian genres and British light music is that the former sometimes have a string of short phrases rather than one main melody with short countermelodies. This is exemplified in the introduction of *Śāṇṭa Mē* transcribed above. Thus, since the song draws upon the universal theme of love, it also draws upon both European and North

[159] All examples have been transcribed by the author.

Indian musical cultures to create a style that catered to the cosmopolitan middle- and upper-class society of Sri Lanka.

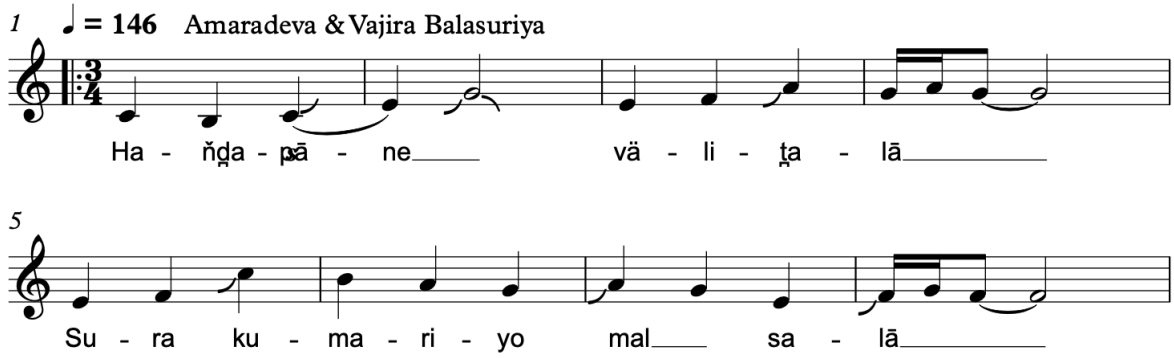
Amaradeva was also influenced by other European music broadcast over Radio Ceylon, particularly, waltzes (Times of Ceylon, 1926, 1936c-a, 1947) as well as other programs of British and European "dance music" (Times of Ceylon, 1927, 1934, 1936b, 1936c-a, 1943).[160] Indeed, *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* has a waltz rhythm, emphasised by the piano accordion and the *gejji* — anklets with bells worn by traditional Sinhalese dancers which were sometimes played by hand in musical recordings (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019). In striking contrast to the crisp notes of the piano accordion is the *esrāj* (a North Indian bowed lute) which plays a melody with many microtonal inflections of the pitches that exemplify a notable South Asian characteristic (John Napier & David Courtney, personal communication, November 23, 2018). Other instruments include the *tabla* and violin, also used in *nurthi gee*, and the double bass. A cosmopolitan style is thus evidenced again, this time with the addition of a Sri Lankan percussion instrument that alludes to folk culture.

The violin, present in all three songs, adds to the heterophonic texture by playing the vocal melody with slight variations especially in the placement and type of ornamentation (e.g., scalic runs and turns). The double bass is present in *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* and *Śānṭa Mē*, providing an emphatic ii – V^7 – I progression at the end of each chorus and verse of *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* and a I – V – I progression in the instrumental sections of *Śānṭa Mē*. Both songs therefore exhibit features of tonality and are in major scales. However, in *Shantha Me* the tonal inclinations are combined with sudden shifts from homophonic to heterophonic textures in the instrumental and vocal sections,

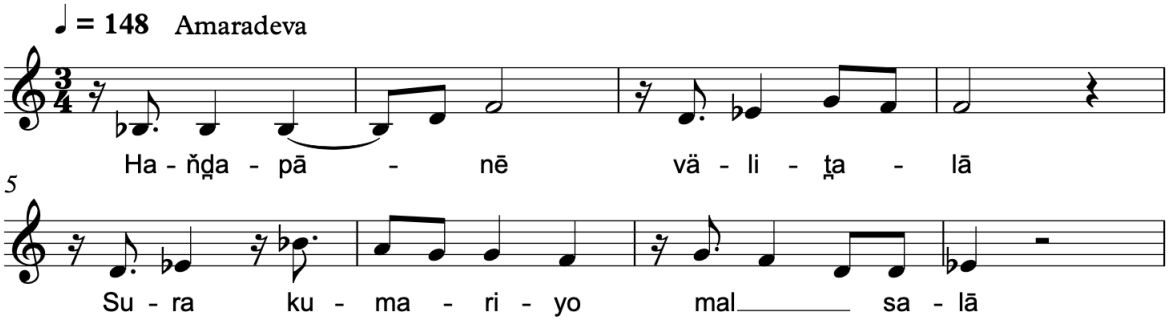
[160] The select Radio Ceylon programming records I accessed in the *Times of Ceylon* newspapers often did not specify the name or composer of the waltzes aired. Strauss was attributed in one instance (Times of Ceylon, 1936c-a).

respectively. This suggests the arranger's desire to sonically allude to European and South Asian musical cultures, as they were received and appreciated by different sectors of Sri Lankan society (see Chapter 3). In contrast, the earliest surviving recording of *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa,* likely from the1970s judging from Amaradeva's vocal tone, is completely heterophonic, it uses the *tānpurā* drone and has no harmony. Though it has a pitch inventory similar to B flat major, it is a modal composition.

The phrasing and metrical schemes of the period recordings, like their orchestration, also reveal European musical influences. Both *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* and *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa* feature consistent four-bar phrases, which reflects European melodic phrase constructions, in particular folk songs from the British Isles (Howes, 2016). *Śāṇṭa Mē* on the other hand reflects South Asian music as it has varying phrase-lengths of two, four and six bars. The vocal timing in the two period recordings (*Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* and *Śāṇṭa Mē*) have very strict vocal timing, unlike the early recording of *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa* and most of Amaradeva's recordings from the 1950s onwards. For instance, consider the first two lines of *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* in their original and remade form.



Example 6.2. Excerpt from chorus of *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* (1950s recording)



Example 6.3. Excerpt from the chorus of *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā* (2002 recording)

In Example 6.3, the mimicry and authentic expression of formal speech is achieved by starting phrases slightly off the beat and leaving rests between some words. Such rhythmic displacement later became a characteristic of *sarala gee*, though different musicians use varying degrees of the technique. *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā and Śānṭa Mē* were originally duets sung with Vajira Balasuriya and Mallika Kahavita, respectively. As devotional *sarala gee* are rarely sung as duets, *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa* was sung with a mixed chorus. As mentioned previously, Amaradeva used a distinctive vocal tone in recordings of the 1940s and early 1950s which features a resonance in the nasal passage that produces a sharper, more focused sound. This tone is commonly used in Sinhala folk music. Unlike folk singers however, his tone was also quite thin, which his daughter Subhani informed me may be attributed to a lack of formal training and which changed after his studies at Bhatkhande Music Institute, Lucknow from 1953 to 1959 (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018). Thus, Amaradeva's vocal tone in the earliest available recording of *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa*, circa 1970s, is much thicker and characterised by the use of a forward placement, that is, where the singer feels the resonance in the front of their mouth near the teeth, and sometimes creates a rich, chesty tone produced by spreading the ribs (C. Angel, personal communication, October 16, 2019). He uses microtonal pitch inflections in all three songs, which is a characteristic of Hindustani classical music rather than traditional Sri Lankan music (Makulloluwa,

1966, p. 59). He also uses short ornamentations such as mordents, trills and turns, common in Sinhalese folk music.

The findings in the analysis of the final criterion, vocal tone, mainly reflects South Asian rather than traditional Sri Lankan musical styles. The reason for Amaradeva adopting a North Indian vocal tone rather than retaining a tone closer to Sinhalese folk music may again be due to popular tastes being rooted in North Indian film songs. More importantly for nationalist expression, North Indian styles of music exemplified an association with the purported refined heritage of the Sinhala people, that is, the Aryan civilisation that is considered to be found in similarities between Sinhalese, Sanskrit and certain European languages. While Amaradeva would begin to use a Hindustani classical music vocal tone in the next stage of his career, he also introduced extended ornamentation to emulate the style of Sinhala folk music and thus produce a hybrid vocal expression that alluded to village culture, a feature that would become increasingly important in Sinhalese nationalist discourses and artistic expression. The next phase in Amaradeva's career also harboured a sudden stylistic shift owing to particular sociopolitical factors that will be described below.

6.2 New Compositional Directions (1953–1959)

So far, there has been some evidence of Amaradeva's engagement with nationalism, including his foregrounding of Buddhist lore and ideologies and his conformity to key aspects of Munidasa Cumaratunga's "pure language." There were also considerable diverse stylistic influences in the songs previously discussed, ranging from *nurthi gee* to British light music to *filmi gīt* and to Tagore's Bengali music. While the early songs did not contain many references to folklore or imitations of folk music, this was to change after S. N. Ratanjankar's 1952 oration, described in Chapter 5.3. Ratanjankar believed that a *deśi sangīt* ("music of the people") could be created by

combining Sinhalese folk music with Indian ragas. His exhortation prompted Amaradeva to find new sources of inspiration in his years of study at the Bhatkhande Music Institute, Lucknow.

In terms of human history, Amaradeva's sudden stylistic shift occurring in this period can also be attributed to the political developments of the 1950s. The emergent Sri Lanka Freedom Party (1956–1977) led a strong campaign vowing to protect Sinhalese culture, religion and language, culminating in their first victory in the 1956 elections. Though several revivals of Sinhalese religion, literature and culture had previously occurred, the English-speaking media still had no interest in such matters in the 1950s, according to journalist D. C. Ranatunga (personal communication, November 28, 2019). The aggressive Sinhalese nationalist movement inspired Radio Ceylon's directors to introduce hegemonising music regulations that were perhaps the underlying cause for the dismissal of artists such as Sunil Santha and C. T. Fernando who had previously introduced Western music elements to Sinhalese popular music listeners and who refused to confine themselves to South Asian musical practices.[161] Amaradeva, who began to be mentored by members of the Sinhalese literati such as playwright Ediriweera Sarachchandra, changed his style according to the new policies. This entailed borrowing from folk rhythms and melodies and combining this material with Hindustani classical music, a signifier of the Arya-Sinhala heritage which conferred upon the Sinhalese an exalted ancestry, according to the literati. Thus, harmonies, European rhythms and instruments (such as the trumpet and piano) the radio directors deemed "Western" are absent from period recordings of the Bhatkhande years. Countermelodies were also banned during this period. Amaradeva turned his attention

[161] It has also been noted by K. N. O. Dharmadasa (personal communication, November 26, 2020) that Sunil Santha's unwillingness to conform to the audition and grading requirements disqualified him from employment with Radio Ceylon.'

to experimenting with the textural layering of rhythmic material. The songs to be analysed from this period are *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* (Chando Ma Bilinde, 1954), *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* (1956), *Väliṭala Aṭarē (Valithala Athare,* 1955) and *Ṭikiri Liyā* (1955). I selected *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* and *Väliṭala Aṭarē* because they are two of Amaradeva's most popular songs, as evident in frequent air play, scholarly and journalistic references, concert recordings and recent album re-releases. *Ṭikiri Liyā* was written for the landmark radio program *Jana Gāyanā* but was unpopular during its time (Field, 2015, p. 102) and afterwards. *Sinhala Avuruḏu* was revived in a recent live performance and this new rendition continues to be broadcast in Sinhala New Year playlists. These latter two songs also warrant study because they exemplify further developments in Amaradeva's compositional style.

There is again a correlation between song classification and the criterion of lyric style and content, as seen in the previous section. The four *sarala gee* from the Bhatkhande period are classified under four different established categories of songs that can be present within any genre of Sinhala popular music. However, they are all anchored in particular aspects of Sinhala traditions such as Buddhism, folklore, and quotidian village life along nationalist ideological lines noted previously. They also illustrate the kind of classificatory cross currents summarised in the rhizomic schema in Chapter 4.3.2. For example, *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* ("The Sinhala New Year has Come") is a Sinhala New Year song (*avuruḏu gee*). It not only represents traditional Sinhalese New Year celebratory customs but also village harmony and the collective spirit which were other key aspects of the Sinhala identity formation. *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* ("Chando, My Son," 1954) is a lullaby ("*ḏaru nälävili gee")* which, as previously mentioned, is also a category of Sinhalese folk music. Both songs involve adaptions of folk lyrics; the former a Sinhala New Year game song called *Oliňḏa Keliya* ("Oliňḏa Game") with an

added verse by lyricist Mahagama Sekara; the latter a lullaby supposedly sung by an indigenous queen (*Väḏi bisō*) married to a Sinhala king according to Amaradeva and others (cwvideopro, 2014b; K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, March 8, 2019; R. S. Wijesinghe, personal communication, March 6, 2019). *Ṭikiri Liyā* ("Petite Damsel," 1955), the least popular of the four songs, has lyrics by Madawala S. Ratnayaka and is a love story within a village setting. *Väliṯala Aṯarē* ("Amidst the Sandy Plains," 1955) is a Buddhist devotional song ("bakthi gee") with lyrics by Sri Chandrarathna Manawasinghe. It is often played over loudspeakers in main towns and cities along with other devotional songs during important days in the Buddhist calendar. It is also known as the *Maha Bō Vannama* ("Vannam of the Great Bō Tree") because it represents the motion of a natural object, as traditional *vannams* do, such as the *Gajagā Vannama* ("Vannnam of the Elephant"). In this case the representation of motion relates to the extant Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi tree (*ficus religiosa)* (Kurukularatne, 2004; Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 35). Since this is a devotional song, it has a combination of semiformal and formal Sinhala with Sanskrit and Pali words. *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* and *Ṭikiri Liyā* both have village settings and lyrics combining colloquial and semiformal Sinhala. The folk lullaby *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* has a mixture of Sinhala and Väḏi (the indigenous language). It was written during the Kandyan period and therefore also contains elements of *prasasthi gee* (court panegyrics) such as repeated syllables in the section starting "Paṯara balāṯi siri kunḏa viḏārana" (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, May 8, 2019, R. S. Wijesinghe, personal communication, May 6, 2019). Though Kandyan culture was not featured heavily in *sarala gee*, it was important to the Sinhalese cultural awakening following the nineteenth-century Buddhist revival because the Kandyan kingdom was the last to be brought down by a colonial power and

Kandyan culture was thus considered the most authentic and untainted remnant of Sinhalese culture.

Another notable criterion for comparison in this section concerns musical form. Amaradeva experiments with form in these songs to reflect the characteristics of folk music and therefore complement the lyric content. Strophic form is common in Sinhala folk songs and *vannams* and is therefore used in *Väliṭala Aṭarē* (also known as *Maha Bō Vannama*). Conversely, Amaradeva does not mimic the form of the folk song adapted for *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* which he composed in ternary form with an *ālāp*, as it is called in Sri Lanka. In Hindustani classical music, the *ālāp* presents the ascending and descending modes of a raga, first in free rhythm and then in metred rhythm (Roychaudhuri, 2013, pp. 6–7). *Ālāp* influences are present in several of Amaradeva's songs in the form of introductions in free, unmetered rhythm (E. Jayakody, personal communication, August 23, 2018) and represents the intertwining of Sinhalese and Hindustani classical music-derived forms as endorsed by Pandit S. N. Ratanjankar and which also alludes to the Arya-Sinhala heritage.

Another common form used for folk songs can be found in *Ṭikiri Liyā* which has the sections A, B, C, B^1 and D. This form can be described as through composed. However, it is possible that the unpopularity of *Ṭikiri Liyā* was due to the complexity created by unrelated sections, two of which were a cappella, strung together. This song was composed for the SLBC *Jana Gāyanā* radio ("Folk Singing") program mentioned in Chapter 3.5 and 5.5, where the synthesis of folk music and popular music was initially promulgated. *Ranvan Karal Säleyi* (Ran Wan Karal Salei / "The Golden Paddy Sways"), the most famous song in the program, was analysed by ethnomusicologist Garett Field (2015, p. 9; 2016, p. 102). It was based on the rhythm and melody of the

Ḏuraňgā Vannama (Thuranga Vannama / "Vannam of the Horse"). Field mentions a song called *Ṭikiri Liyā* prior to his analysis and informs us that,

> In 1955, the Sinhala press criticized *Jana Gāyanā* for 'destroying' folk music and so [lyricist Madawala S.] Ratnayake stopped the program (Ratnayake 1977: 9–10). Ratnayake teamed up with composer W.D. Amaradeva in 1957 to restart the show. It met with critical acclaim (Ratnayake 1977: 10). Arguably, the populist shift in politics in 1956 created favorable conditions for the positive reception of Ratnayake's attempt to 'preserve the values of the village and rural life.' (Field, 2015, p. 9; 2016, p. 102)

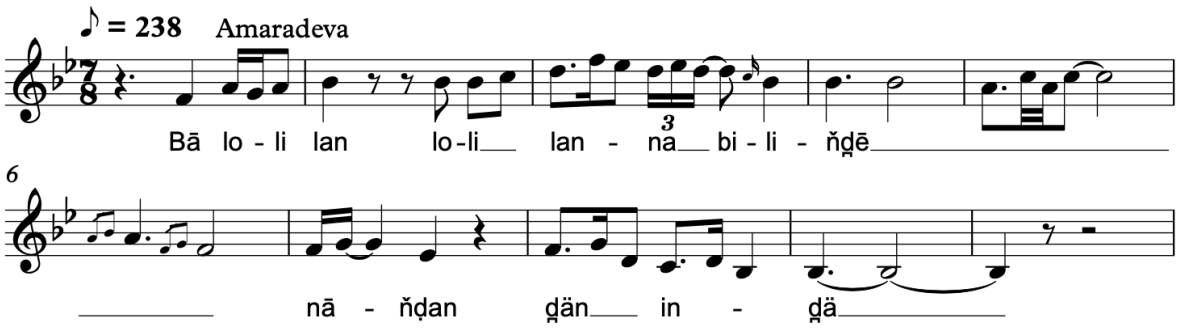
The above quote suggests that Amaradeva's collaboration combined with expressions of sentiments tied to Sinhalese political nationalism led to the success of the program in 1957. However, it appears that Amaradeva was also the composer of *Ṭikiri Liyā*. The list of songs provided in the biography by Kumara (2015) has an entry called *Ṭikiri Liyā* dated in the 1950s with lyrics by Madawala S. Ratnayaka but no program attribution. A period recording of this song recently resurfaced on YouTube and its uploader confirmed its origin from the *Jana Gāyanā* program, which suggests that the nationalist political movement led by the Bandaranaike government greatly impacted on the nationalistic fervour of the Sinhala population, Amaradeva's career and the *sarala gee* genre.

An examination of vocal technique in all songs discussed in this chapter demonstrates that Amaradeva's tone is considerably thicker in the two period recordings (*Väliḏala Aḏarē* and *Ṭikiri Liyā*) than in period recordings from 1944 to 1952. A forward placement is used, that is, where the singer feels the resonance in the front of their mouth. A rich, chesty tone achieved by spreading the ribs (C. Angel, personal

communication, October 16, 2019) is used in *Ṭikiri Liyā* and demonstrates the effects of formal Hindustani classical training. This tone later became common in Amaradeva's Buddhist devotional songs, as evident when comparing the 2002 recording of *Chando Mā Biliňḏē*, a duet with versatile female singer Samitha Mudunkotuwa from the Amaradeva album *Väli Ṭala Aṭarē* and another duet by the pair, *Siri Buddhagaya Vihare* ("Siri Buddhagaya Temple") recorded three years prior for the *Svarna* Vimānaya (Swarna Vimanaya) album (Amaradeva, ca. 1999). Mudunkotuwa's voice is slightly thinner in *Chando Mā* with an extremely forward placement and lowered soft palette that imitates the tone of Sinhalese folk singers. Amaradeva makes consistent use of the head voice when singing the first and last choruses. Head voice technique is created through an excess use of air resulting in a soft, aspirate tone (C. Angel, personal communication, April 17, 2019). This eliminates crescendos during high notes, allowing him to maintain the same volume throughout to suit the lullaby. It is not used in Sri Lankan traditional or Indian classical music and Amaradeva likely learned it when he sang in the church choir during his childhood. In comparison he allows his voice to open up in the high notes of the verses in *Siri Buddhagaya* to the rich, chesty tone also indicative of Hindustani classical training. It is tempting to speculate that as both Hindustani music and the Lord Buddha relate to Indo Aryan roots, Amaradeva's decision to use the Hindustani vocal tone in most of his Buddhist devotional songs such as *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa Sākya Siṅha*, is not coincidental. However, this particular tone is sparingly used in *Väliṭala Aṭarē* in connection with the Hindustani classical ornamentations in tessitura and low range.

A comparison of ornamentation styles illustrates influences of both Sinhala folk music and Hindustani classical music, though the two are used to varying degrees in individual songs. Sinhala folk ornamentation is heard in all recordings and is

characterised by intricate dotted rhythms that are represented in my transcriptions as grace notes. These ornamentations lend a syncopated effect to the overall sound. By using this technique, Amaradeva subtly introduces the nuances of Sinhalese folk music into popular song. Consider, for example, bars 5 and 8 of this excerpt from *Chando Mā Biliňḏē*.



Example 6.4. Section Be of *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* (1977 recording)

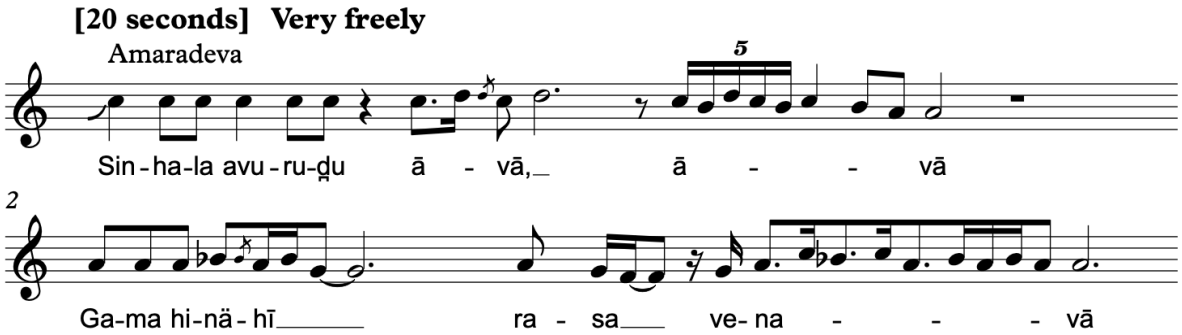
This transcription was based on the recording from the 1977 vinyl record, Decouvrez Ceylan (93020) by the French label, Barclay.

Figure 6.1

Vinyl Cover of *Decouvrez Ceylan*

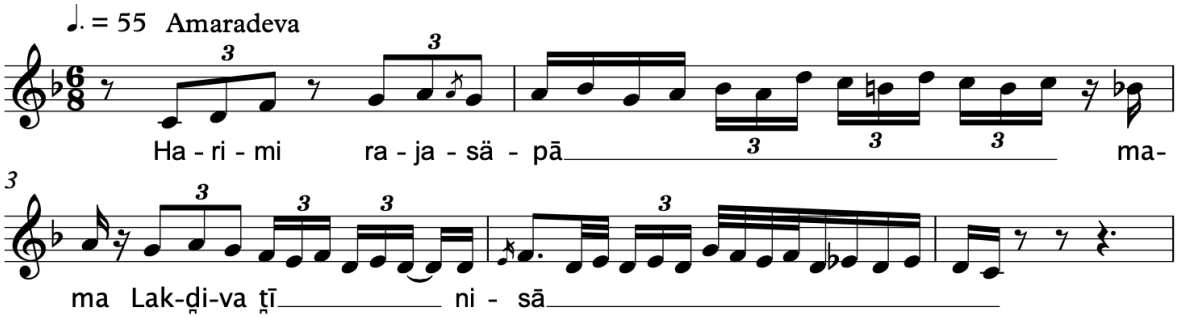
The vinyl record contains traditional village music such as a reaping song, a honey-collecting song and a ritual song. The iconography of the record cover represents various facets of Sinhalese culture such as Buddhism, gemstones and traditional percussion, dancing poses and masks. Both the images on the vinyl cover and the ornamentation Amaradeva uses represent village life, a core element in the efforts to

propagate a Sinhala identity. A similar ornamentation pattern to Example 6.4 occurs in bar 3 of the *Oliňḏa Keliya* game song transcription in Example 6.5 below. A more typical example of the intricate dotted rhythmic ornamentation is present in the last half of bar 2.



Example 6.5. Excerpt from the opening of a rendition of the *Oliňḏa Keliya* by unknown performers

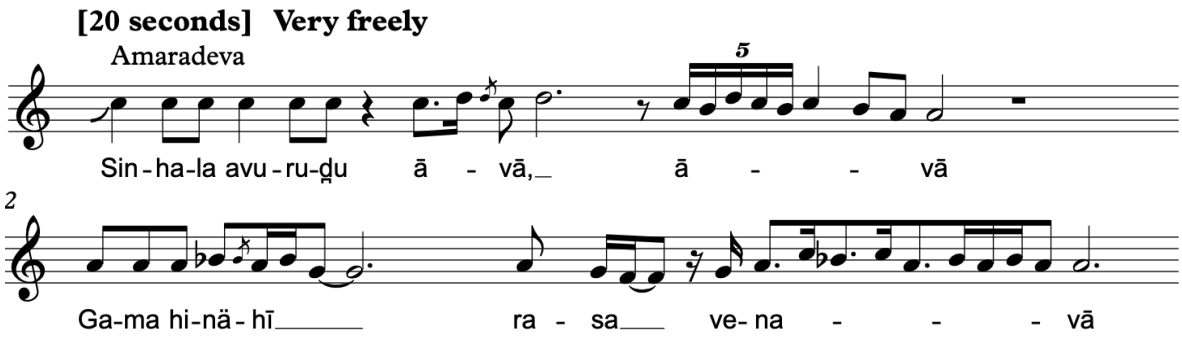
In comparison, the excerpt below from Amaradeva's rendition of *Harimi Raja Säpā* does not have such ornamentation and is stylistically similar to the *nurthi* songs that were based on North Indian styles of music. This type of ornamentation involves the equal division of larger note values and resembles a rapid melisma (called *tāns*) while the dotted folk ornamentation can be described as a vocal oscillation.



Example 6.6. Excerpt from the opening of *Harimi Raja Säpā* as performed by Amaradeva, from Charles Dias' *nurthi* play *Siwamma Dhanapala* with music by Nawak Khan

Väliṯala Aṯarē and the *ālāp* in *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* have a combination of Hindustani classical and Sinhala folk ornamentation styles. A period recording of *Sinhala Avuruḏu*

Āvā was not preserved so the below transcription of the *aalap* is based on a live recording (circa 1990s).



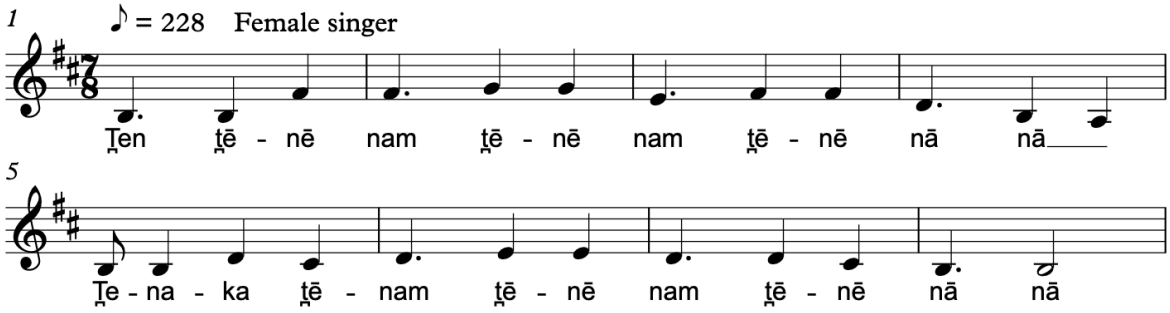
Example 6.7. Excerpt from the *ālāp* of *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* (circa 1990s recording)

This example shows a combination of both ornamentation styles previously discussed. It reconciles folk culture that was considered to represent Sinhalese nationalist ideals and styles of Indian music familiar to segments of the Sinhalese public. These styles of Indian music included Hindustani classical music, *ghazals*, *qawwalis*, theatre songs and film songs (Ratanjankar (1952), as cited in Karunanayake, 1990, p. 292; Makulloluwa, 1966, pp. 55, 57; Ratanjankar, 1952, p. 112).

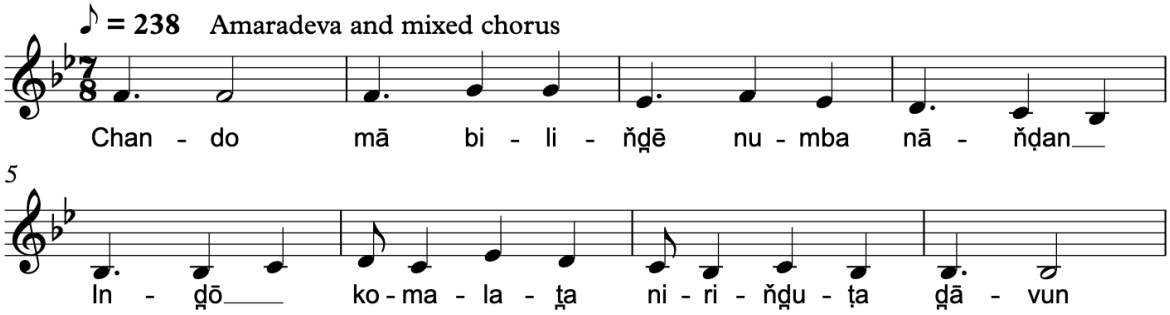
The criterion of mode alludes to various musical influences while vocal phrasing points to a Hindustani musical style. The pitch inventories of Hindustani ragas can be heard in songs of this period, for instance *Väliṯala Aṯarē* bears semblance to the Khamāj *thāt* which has a flat seventh (see Table F7.5 in Appendix F for more details). Amaradeva, however, does not follow the exact rules of ragas (see Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017) and thus also uses a natural seventh in *Väliṯala Aṯarē*. He also mimics the pitch inventories and melodic contours of traditional Sri Lankan music, for instance, the *Oliňḏa Keliya* in *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āv**ā*** and *vannams*, Buddhist *gatha* (chant) and a paddy harvesting song called *Bōgambara Api* in *Ṭikiri Liyā. Chando Mā Biliňḏē* shares the pitch inventory of the B flat major scale and is modal in the 1977 recording (but not the 2002 recording). Since the use of harmony was banned at the

radio station in 1954, none of the two period recordings or the two earliest surviving – recordings have harmony, except for the suggestion of triadic movement in the *sitar* and harmonium in *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā*. Irregular phrase lengths are a general characteristic of Indian music and are found throughout *Väliṯala Aṯarē* and *Ṭikiri Liyā* and in the *prasasthi* section of *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* and the *ālāp* of *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā*. The remaining vocal sections of the latter two songs have regular four-bar phrases, similar to songs in the previous stage of Amaradeva's career. Since he does not conform to one particular style of phrasing but does confine himself to heterophonic rather than homophonic textures, the latter was likely a necessity due to nationalist policies at the SLBC rather than an artistic choice.

Further comparisons demonstrate that emphasis has been placed on rhythm and texture in the absence of harmony. Tempo changes occur in *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* and *Ṭikiri Liyā* and are likely influenced by Sinhalese folk music as the *Oliňḏa Keliya* game song also has tempo changes from one section to another. *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* and the final section of *Ṭikiri Liyā* both have a seven-beat time cycle with a 3+2+2 beat division that is common in Sinhala folk music according to Subhani Amaradeva (personal communication, August 26, 2018) who mentioned this in a singing lesson I had with her. The rhythm of the vocal melody in the chorus was loosely based on the *Nayiyaḍi Vannama* (Naiyadi Vannama) (Kumara, 2015, p. 485). The similarity in both rhythm and melodic contour is demonstrated in the following transcriptions.



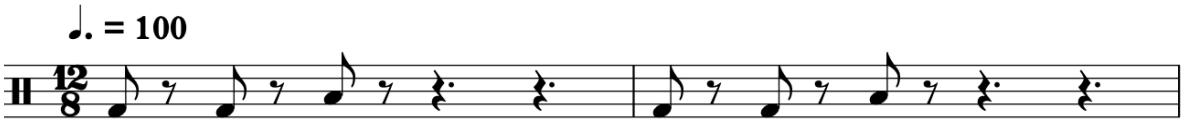
Example 6.8. Basic melody from the opening of the *Nayiyaḍi Vannama* by an unknown performer (Top Sinhala MP3, n.d.)



Example 6.9. Basic melody from part of *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* chorus

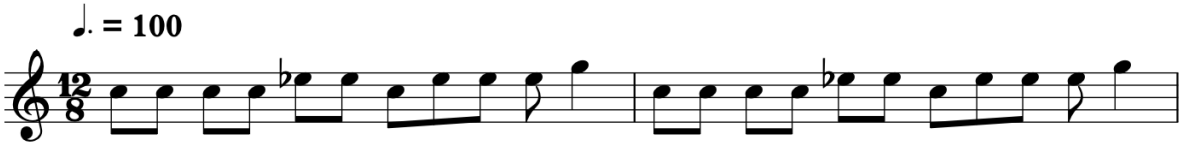
The *Nayiyaḍi Vannama* transcribed in Example 6.9 is a pantomimic Kandyan court dance portraying a mythic princely cobra (Pathmanathan, n.d.). It is tempting to speculate that the 3+2+2 time cycle common in traditional Sinhala music was derived from South Indian music. Pathmanathan (n.d.). claims that the Sinhalese *vannams* evidence that the Tamil and Sinhalese ethnic groups of precolonial times were "interrelated with one another with peace and harmony," as this musical category consists of elements from both cultures (see Table F4.6 in Appendix F for more details). Amaradeva's choice of incorporating *vannams* in his *sarala gee* is perhaps a mark of the continuation of this mutually productive coexistence during the early 1950s. While the *gäṭa bera* is used in *vannams*, the seven-beat time cycle is outlined in the 1977 recording of *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* by the *uḍäkkiya,* another traditional Sri Lankan drum of the Up Country region. It has tuning ropes on either side, which the drummer manipulates while striking the drum and producing a unique resonance (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019).

The period recording of *Väliṯala Aṯarē* is the most rhythmic and texturally complex of the four songs. The *bō* tree is thought to be lively and playful in character (NT Government, 2016), which is reflected in the song's tempo that is much quicker than Amaradeva's other Buddhist devotional songs. The introduction of the period recording is very rhythmic, with several repetitive patterns layered together and the *tabla* maintaining a twelve-beat cycle (3+3+3+3). Its *ḍaggā* (left drum with bass tones) plays the following cross-rhythm which Amaradeva heard at a Kandy *perahara* ("parade").



Example 6.10. *Ḍaggā* rhythm in *Väliṯala Aṯarē* (1956 recording)

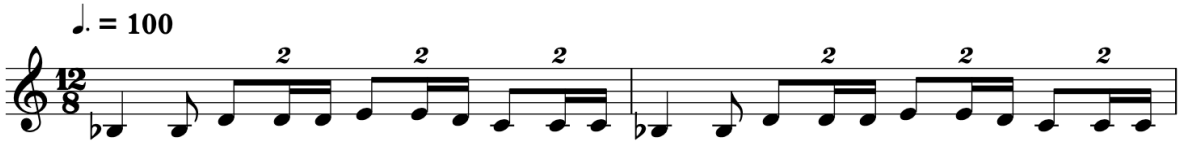
A chiming instrument called the *jalaṯarangam* plays semi quavers like the *tabla*. Originating from Carnatic music, this instrument consists of a set of ceramic bowls of different sizes tuned to various pitches with different levels of water. They are set in a semicircle around the player and struck with wooden sticks ("Cupfuls of melody: Jalatharangam," 2008). It plays the following melodic ostinato throughout the song, though the sound of the pattern recedes after the first two bars. It gives the song an ethereal quality because of its tone colour and use of E flat which is not part of the tonal scheme.



Example 6.11. Percussive ostinato played on the *jalaṯarangam* in *Väliṯala Aṯarē* (1956 recording)

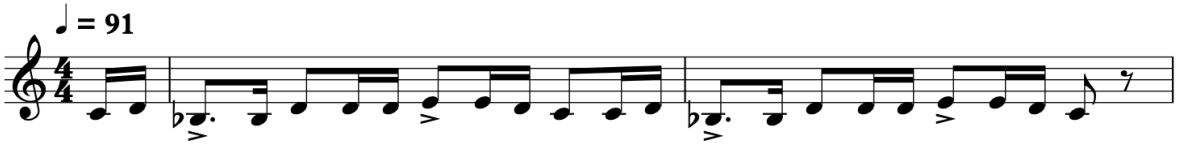
The above ostinato reinforces the 2 against 3 hemiola rhythm shown in Example 6.10 because the pitch rises on the fifth quaver of the bar where the syncopated *ḍaggā* beat

falls in Example 6.10. A similar high note occurs in the second half of the bar, though the *ḍaggā* pattern is absent. The first two notes in the drum rhythm are reinforced by the following main ostinato played on the violin in all interludes together with the chiming pattern. Consider the first two notes, the lowest of the sequence, which coincide with the first two *ḍaggā* strokes. The rest of the pattern is played in tuplets, creating a subtle polyrhythm.



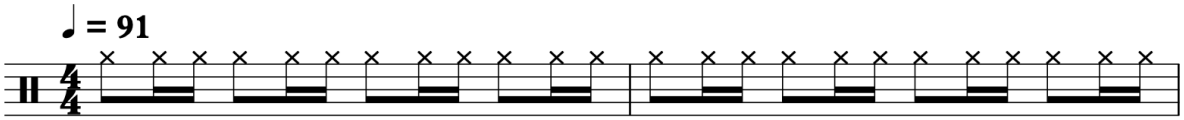
Example 6.12. Violin ostinato in *Väliṭala Aṭarē* (1956 recording)

Though these layered rhythmic patterns are very effective, the song was later rearranged in a four-beat time cycle in the 2002 recording from the album *Väli Ṭala Aṭarē*. Here, the violin ostinato, interspersed with some melodic content, is played by the sitar. Accent marks indicate the notes that have microtonal inflections to enforce the rhythmic drive.



Example 6.13. *Sitar* ostinato from *Väliṭala Aṭarē* (2002 recording)

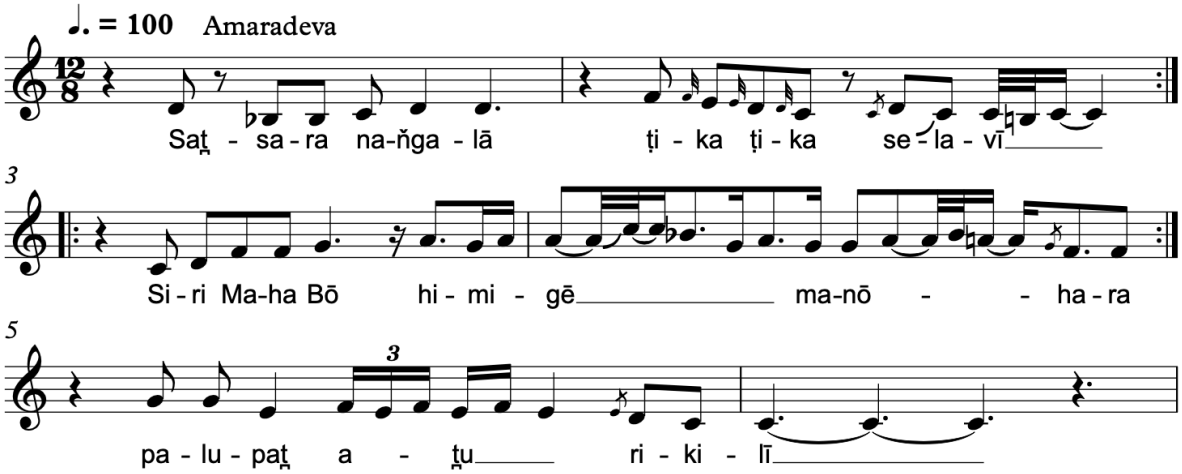
This version has two interlocking rhythms and the more prominent of the two is the following hi-hat rhythm.



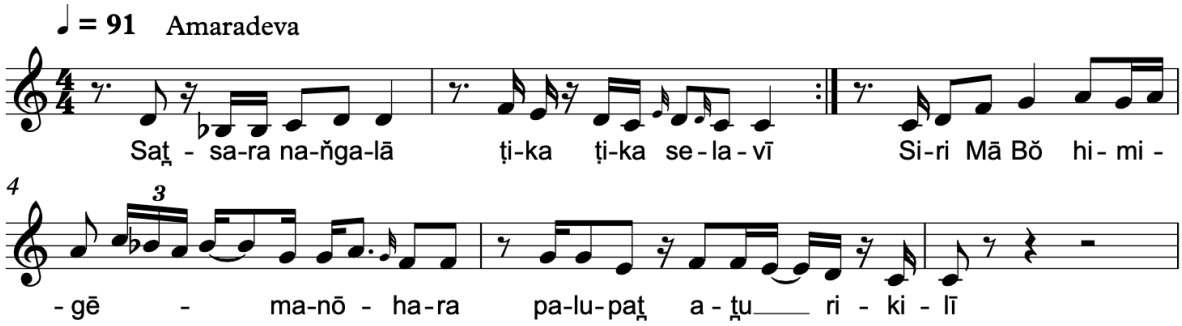
Example 6.14. Hi-hat rhythm from *Väliṭala Aṭarē* (2002 recording)

The decision to change the metre in the new version may be due to Amaradeva's desire to sing the words exactly as they are spoken. His ability to do so was rare and owing to his association with the Hela Havula movement and practice of poetic recitation (N.

Gamage, personal communication, August 23, 2018). However, the mastery of exact pronunciation in song ensued in the next stage of his career. Though it was demonstrated in the previous section that rhythmic flexibility enhanced pronunciation in the new recording of *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā*, the opposite occurred with *Väliṭala Aṭarē*. There is some rhythmic displacement in the period recording of *Väliṭala Aṭarē*, (e.g., bars 2-3 of Example 6.15) but some minute pronunciation changes occur to suit the rhythm. Consider the following excerpts from the third verse of the original and new version of the song.



Example 6.15. Excerpt from third verse of *Väliṭala Aṭarē* (1956 recording)



Example 6.16. Excerpt from third verse of *Väliṭala Aṭarē* (2002 recording)

A notable difference between the two versions concerns the word "palupaṭ" in bar 5. Both A's should be pronounced like the "u" in "such." Since the second half of the word is spread over a crotchet in the period recording, the A vowel becomes slightly elongated, so the word sounds like "palupāṭ." This occurred frequently in *aluth sindu*

but rarely in Amaradeva's early songs. As with *Väliṭala Aṭarē*, changes are made in the newer versions. The 4/4 time and hi-hat rhythm shown in Example 6.14 allows Amaradeva to begin the phrase off the beat and to punctuate certain words such as "palupaṭ" to achieve the exact pronunciation. The first note of the word "rikilī" in bar 4 of Example 6.16 is also punctuated because a glottal stop is used when the word is spoken. This attention to linguistic detail is why Amaradeva is so revered as a patron of Sinhalese language and culture. In fact, when I asked interviewees why they believed Amaradeva had a "Sri Lankan" voice, one replied that Amaradeva's voice was authentic because of his "precise Sinhala pronunciation" (R. S. Wijesinghe, personal communication, March 6, 2019). Clearly, language figured very highly in the formation of an emerging national identity.

* * *

Though all songs discussed above express aspects of an 'authentic' Sinhala identity, this is achieved by drawing on diverse musical sources. This is particularly true of the first career period from 1945 to 1952. Though all three songs discussed in the first section of this chapter were composed in the same period, the two period recordings of *Haňḍapānē Väliṭalā* and *Śānṭa Mē* differed significantly from *Vaňḍimu Sugaṭa*, of which the earliest recording dates from the 1970s. The period recordings both have a particular cosmopolitan style likely influenced by colonial culture. They combine elements of British light music and European waltzes with Sri Lankan and North Indian singing styles and ornamentation. The instrumentation also reflects Amaradeva's cosmopolitan impulses. Both recordings have harmony while *Vaňḍimu Sugaṭa* does not. The instrumentation and vocal style in *Vaňḍimu Sugaṭa* lean further towards North Indian styles of music in the way a rich chesty tone, heterophonic violin-playing and drone accompaniment are used. Another key difference is the rhythm of

Amaradeva's vocal rendering, which is very rigid in the period recordings and freer in the *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa* recording. This suggests that, while he had learned a great deal about Sinhalese pronunciation at the Hela Havula meetings and was by all accounts adept at prose recitation (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, September 9, 2018; Kumara, 2015, p. 70; Vitharana, 2004), the practice of precise pronunciation in his *sarala* gee did not occur until later on in his career and possibly coincided with his mastery of appropriating folk elements.

The four songs described in the second section, during the next period of Amaradeva's career from 1953 to 1959, illustrated the increased interest in folk songs and court music following Pandit S. N. Ratanjankar's 1952 oration in Sri Lanka and the vigorous nationalist resurgence spurred by the Sri Lankan Freedom Party. Two of the songs, *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* and *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā*, were set to folk lyrics. *Väliṭala Aṭarē* was initially inspired by a traditional drum rhythm and a unique seven-beat rhythm is used in *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* and *Ṭikiri Liyā*. Folk melodies, pitch inventories and extended folk ornamentation have been incorporated into *Chando Mā Biliňḏē*, *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* and *Ṭikiri Liyā*. The strophic and through-composed forms, more common in Sinhalese folk music than Sinhalese popular music, are used in the songs *Väliṭala Aṭarē* and *Ṭikiri Liyā*. All of these elements equate to representations of village culture upon which the modern Sinhala identity was partly based. The addition of unique instrumentation choices such as the *uḍäkkiya* (traditional Sinhalese drum) in the 1977 recording of *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* also create both musical interest and local character in the songs. This local character is inclusive of both Sinhala and Tamil culture because of the use of the South Indian *jalatharangam* (cups of water) in the period recording of *Väliṭala Aṭarē* and the South Indian-derived Sinhala *vannam* rhythm used in *Chando Mā Biliňḏē*. Some Hindustani musical elements are also present such as

the *ālāp* section in Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā and the short ornamentation and Khamāj *thāt* pitch inventory in *Väliṭala Aṭarē* which are associated with the Arya-Sinhala heritage. The main difference between the period recordings from the early pre-Bhatkhande stage of Amaradeva's career (1945–1953) and those from the Bhatkhande years of study and immediately following (1953–1958) is that all traces of Western music such as harmonisation, counter melodies and instruments such as the piano and trumpet, are absent in recordings of the latter period due to policy changes that were not repealed until the mid-1960s.

In the next chapter, I will examine the remaining three periods of Amaradeva's career. These are the two most prolific periods from 1960 to 1969 and 1970 to 1979, and the final decades from 1980 to 2016 in which his musical output decreased steadily. This chapter evidenced the ways Amaradeva moulded folk materials and Hindustani raga pitch inventories to create unique compositions that did not conform fully to any particular musical tradition. He would develop these ideas further in the next stage of his career, starting from the 1960s, though a focus on South Asian styles would be maintained throughout that decade.

Chapter 7: The Voice of the Nation

In the previous chapter, I outlined the formation of Amaradeva's compositional style, his incorporation of Sinhala identity markers and his conformity to current musical trends. As noted in Chapter 4.1, the various discourses on national identity were taking place in the mid-twentieth century, which resounded through the debates regarding the definition and creation of Sri Lankan music in the 1950s and 1960s. Some musicians with particular compositional approaches were marginalised as a result of these debates on the character of Sinhala popular song, which either argued for the sole use of Sinhala folk music, on the one hand, or Hindustani classical music, on the other. W. B. Makulloluwa, did not conform to the ideologies associated with the Arya-Sinhala identity which, as described in Chapter 2.4, reinforced the Arya heritage through links to North India. Though recent literature (S. P. Ratnayake, 2011, pp. 170–172) demonstrates that some individuals questioned the Sri Lankanness of Amaradeva's music he nevertheless received patronage from the state radio and was granted many prestigious honours by the various governments of the late-twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The reference to Amaradeva as "The voice of the nation" by journalists (Devapriya, 2014; M. Seneviratne, 2012) epitomises his status as a Sri Lankan cultural icon. While Amaradeva did not produce much new music in the twenty-first century, he did produce remakes of his most popular songs. Many of his most popular songs originated from the 1960s and 1970s and will be discussed in this chapter. Evidently his work resonated with the dominant, atavistic nationalist ideals of the time, which espoused historical, literary and religious foundations. These ideals included the notion of originality that embraced novel creation as well as a Sri Lankan authenticity, musical allusions to the Arya-Sinhala identity, an affinity with the Buddhist religion and re-

imaginings of idyllic village life. The latter two aspects came to be regarded as a legacy of precolonial society which was eroded after the demise of the Sri Lankan kings.

The main aim of this chapter is to examine how these ideals are manifested in Amaradeva's *sarala gee* output in the periods following his return from the renowned Bhathkande Music Institute in Lucknow to the end of his career. As suggested in the previous two chapters Amaradeva's musical life and output amounts to more than a perfunctory representation of nationalist ideals. His formative musical experiences as a youth, which included singing Methodist hymns in a church choir and listening to vernacular *baila* dance music both of which have European origins, also impacted on his musical output as did other musical experiences during his long career. According to Savage and Brown (2013), variance in music can occur through random processes of mutation (for instance, during oral transmission) or, as in Amaradeva's case, through direct "processes of *innovation* and creativity" (p. 10). Such cases involve interventions that ''introduce completely new variants that were not present in previous generations" (Savage & Brown, 2013, p. 10), typically by modifying previous styles and cross-cultural borrowing. These processes began in the early stages of Amaradeva's career and continued throughout his working life.

This brings us to our second aim, namely, to show that Amaradeva's *sarala gee* music is a complex integration of elements considered basic to Sinhalese identity, influences from Western classical and popular music, and genres of Sinhalese music that were not considered an expression of nationalist ideals. The examination of Amaradeva's nationalist expressions and stylistic diversity underpins the third aim of this chapter: to trace the musical stylistic development of Amaradeva's output in the *sarala gee* genre from 1960 to 2016. This diachronic analysis will also illustrate in detail the rhizomic interconnections between *sarala gee* and other musical forms

summarised in the classification provided in Chapter 4.3.2. Finally, this investigation will reveal the relationship between these stylistic shifts and the sociopolitical, musical and biographical trajectories found in the previous chapters of this dissertation.

This chapter will be structured according to three periods of Amaradeva's later career, beginning with the decade after his return from Bhatkhande between 1960 and1969, to the middle period from 1970 to 1979, and finally the period that defines his late career between 1980 and 2016. I have used various combinations of the following criteria for selecting Amaradeva's works for analysis, including: their position in the Sri Lankan music canon; their capacity to emotionally affect several generations of listeners and therefore their significance in Sri Lankan culture; their expression of Sinhala nationalist ideals; and their strong relationship to key moments in Sri Lankan history as well as their illustration of Amaradeva's personal creativity which is often shaped by cosmopolitan and eclectic impulses. Most of the selections come from the post-Bhatkhande and middle periods as these were Amaradeva's most prolific years according to the index of songs compiled by his biographer, Nuwan Nayanajith Kumara (2015). A smaller selection of songs come from Amaradeva's senior period when his musical output began to wane. The sources of recordings include my father Aruna Jayasuriya's extensive CD collection, CDs purchased in Sri Lanka at the Torana retail outlets and the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation (hereafter SLBC) stores in Colombo, YouTube posts, and online Sri Lankan music databases such as Miyuru Gee and SriLankan Records. In some cases, the original recordings of songs that specifically express nationalist ideals were not available and I have, therefore, used more recent versions. Translations from all or part of the twenty-three songs examined in this chapter are given in Appendix E.

7.1 The Golden Age of Patronised Nationalism (1960–1969)

The 1960s was one of the two most prolific periods in Amaradeva's career. He later reproduced and performed many of the *sarala gee* and film songs he wrote in this decade. Increased state patronage of musicians, particularly those who produced *sarala gee*, also occurred in the 1960s. Then Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike supported the increased social standing for such musicians and also encouraged them to produce patriotic songs (P. Medis, personal communication, November 13, 2019). According to Sri Lankan musician and motivational speaker Charles Thomas, the SLBC began airing morning song programs called *Uḏā Gīṭa*. Most songs were patriotic and some Buddhist and the purpose of the programs was to instil patriotic thoughts in the public so that they would work passionately with the conviction that they were completing vital tasks for the benefit of the country rather than for their own personal gain (Kithunu Gee hymns, 2017). The notion of working for the greater good is common in political discourses and idyllic representations of precolonial Buddhist society which stressed the importance of sharing labour and its yield (Woost, 1993, pp. 505–506). Such discourses influenced development politics which led to the inception of the Mahavali Development Project in the late 1960s (Tennekoon, 1988, p. 295).[162] Water had been diverted from the Mahavali River to irrigate agricultural land during premodern times (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 29) and the Mahavali project "takes inspiration from both empirical reality and historical consciousness" (Rambukwella, 2018, p. 89). Similarly, a group of modernist writers who sought to imbue contemporary ideologies with the essence of the past emerged (Rambukwella, 2018, p. 192). It can be argued that Amaradeva and the

[162] The Mahavali Development Project was inaugurated in 1969 by the UNP government led by Dudley Senanayake. It was continued by the SLFP government led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike from 1970 to 1977. When J. R. Jayawardene of the UNP became president in 1977, he renamed the project the "Accelerated Mahavali Development Project" and completed it within his term (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, November 26, 2020).

lyricists he worked with are modernist in this sense. Many of the songs produced in the 1960s contain visions for the country's future as well as atavistic references to an idyllic ancient past.

The governing Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) sought to localise the style and production of the arts and, for instance, banned the production of Sinhala films in Madras and the dubbing of Hindi films into Sinhala (Tampoe-Hautin, 2017, p. 26). Though Indian music was promoted amongst Radio Ceylon's musicians, an anonymous source (personal communication, August 31, 2019) informed me that Amaradeva was criticised by a traditional drummer for favouring Hindustani classical music over Sinhala folk music. However, the analytical trajectory given below demonstrates that he did not favour one musical tradition over the other but rather maintained a cosmopolitan approach to music composition and performance. Eight songs from this period will be examined, all of which are very popular within the Sinhala music canon. None except *Raṯnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* (Rathnadeepa Janma Bhoomi, 1964) have specific dates but are attributed to the 1960s by Amaradeva's biographer, Kumara (2015). Many of them also do not have a radio program attribution in Kumara's index. These factors are likely due to the songs having been composed for one particular radio program but aired in all of them (P. Medis, personal communication, April 16, 2019). These programs of the 1960s included the patriotic *Vijaya Gīṯa* (Vijaya Geetha / "Victorious Songs") and *Madhuvanṯi* (Maduwanthi), named after an Indian raga and containing ragas with Sinhala folk materials (Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 88).

Mahagama Sekara and Amaradeva formed a productive partnership during this dacade, and the former wrote five of the eight *sarala gee* that will be discussed here. *Irata Muvāven* (Irata Muwawen / "Sheltered from the Sun") is a romantic song written

in honour of the Hindu goddess Saraswathi,[163] while *Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biṅḏu Biṅḏu* (“Golden Droplets of Sweat”) written by Dolton Alwis is romantic and patriotic. Other patriotic songs include *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam* (“If There’s Narrowmindedness”), *Raṯnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* (“Our Birthplace is a Land of Gems”), *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa* (Dathe Karagata / “Callouses on Hands”) and *Muni Siripā Simbiminnē* (“Embracing the Feet of the Buddha”) written by Tibetan monk S. Mahinda Thero. The latter two are also lullabies. The next two songs do not fit into any established category of song. *Karaḏara PoḏI Bäňḏa* (“Having Bundled our Sorrows”) written by Udayasiri Pathirana is an occupational song and *Sannāliyanē* (“The Weaver,” 1960s) is a song about the cycle of life.

As in the previous chapter, lyric analysis is important because it reveals the aspects of national identity projected in the songs. Three of the songs, *Raṯnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi*, *Karaḏara PoḏI Bäňḏa* and *Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biṅḏu Biṅḏu,* are based on Sinhala folk songs. *Raṯnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* reflects the pattern of a Bō tree worship verse (Kumara, 2015, p. 381). See Table F13.3 in appendix F for more details. The other two songs adapt folk song meanings. Udayasiri Pathirana’s lyrics in *Karaḏara PoḏI Bäňḏa* were likely inspired by the following *karaṯṯa kavi* (“carter’s song”) recorded in Devar Surya Sena’s treatise *Music of Sri Lanka* (Surya Sena, 2008, p. 44).

Ṯanḍalē ḏennā ḏepolē — ḏakkanavā

Two cows are hitched to a cart — they are spurred on

[163] Saraswathi is the Hindu goddess of knowledge, music, art, wisdom, and learning. Amaradeva became one of her devotees during his stay in India and often sang *slōkas* (Pali verses) to invoke her blessing before a performance (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018).

Katu kälē — gāle nolihā vaḏaḏenavā

Through a thorny forest — we trouble them in the thicket, not untying them

Haputale kanḏa ḏäkalā — baḍa ḏanavā

In seeing Haputale mountain — the stomach burns with fear

Pavukala gonō — äḏapan Hapuṭal yanavā

You bulls who committed sins in a past life — keep pulling, we're going to Haputale

According to Surya Sena, in this song a carter sings, directing his compassion towards himself and his bulls who bear a heavy load while journeying over the steep Haputale Pass overnight. Yet instead of iterating pity he attributes their fate to sins committed in their past lives (*karma*). Thus, the Buddhist concept of *ḏuka* (inevitable "suffering" caused by one's entrapment in *sasara* (*sansāra* in Sanskrit), the cycle of life, death and rebirth) is embodied in this folk lyric and in Udayasiri Pathirana's lyrics found in Amaradeva's *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa*. In fact, the theme of suffering, particularly amongst the peasantry, was often portrayed in post-independence art, film and literature. The concept was also a likely factor in the renouncement of materialism and by extension, Western culture, which was briefly described in Chapter 3.3.

Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biṅḏu Biṅḏu with lyrics by Dolton Alwis conveys the meaning of *neḷum gee*, another category of vernacular occupational songs, but is also highly cosmopolitan and progressive for its time as it has a "strong baila streak" according to Amaradeva (Kodagoda, 2015). In the chorus, like a *neḷum* gee, everyone is encouraged to reap from their labour in the paddy fields. Amaradeva idolises the female cultivators and describes them as a blessing to his country. Their sweat is symbolic of their

exertions and likened to a necklace of golden beads. The lyrics then become playfully romantic like a *baila* in the second verse where Amaradeva refers to the cultivator's beauty. According to cultural critic Piyasoma Medis (personal communication, April 16, 2019), Amaradeva's appraisal of the woman is "innocent and not lustful." Composer Rohana Weerasinghe (personal communication, August 24, 2018) believes that the beauty of *sarala gee* lies in the subtly of the lyrics, as exemplified in this second verse. When Amaradeva sings "Mana bäňḏunā pabalu välē" ("My mind was transfixed on her thin necklace"), he is actually referring to her bosom where the loop of the necklace lay. Such sentiments create depth within the overarching nationalist theme and allow a wider audience to relate to the song. *Irata Muvāven* is another romantic song produced by Sekara and Amaradeva during this decade. The song is about Saraswathi, the Hindu goddess of love, music and knowledge (Andradi, 2015). It conveys an almost romantic affection towards her and describes her descent to the earth. There are many depictions of nature, specifically, how its various elements react to her arrival. The lyrics may have been inspired by the poetry and songs of Rabindranath Tagore, who also wrote about romantic love and religious devotion synonymously, in reflection of Indian tradition, in particular ancient poetry (Som, 2017, "Jeevan Devata" section). In *Irata Muvāven*, this subtle representation of romantic sentiments aimed at a deity rather than an actual woman presumably alludes to the conservative nature of society in the 1960s when Buddhism received special patronage by the SLFP government. Theravada Buddhism, as stated in the analysis of *Śāṇṭa Mē Rä Yāmē*, renounces love and worldly attachments. However, such sentiments are more acceptable in *Ran Ḏahaḏiya* because it is imbued within a nationalist theme.

Nationalist themes are also plentiful in the lullabies, *Ḏäṭē Karagäṭa* and *Muni Siripā Simbiminnē*. The theme of paddy cultivation recurs in *Ḏäṭē Karagäṭa* and the

sweat of the farmers is likened to pearls (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, March 8, 2019). Then President Maithripala Sirisena relayed an anecdote in his speech at Amaradeva's funeral that the venerated figure had once spoken to him about the village environment:

> He talked [to him] about the lake [Parakrama, a man-made reservoir]; about Sri Lankan temples [*ḏāgäb*]. He explained how art is related to and enriched by the lives of farmers and their paddy fields and cultivation areas, and how an artist views this. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

According to Woost (1993), the water reservoirs, *ḏāgäb* (temple structures) and paddy fields Amaradeva mentioned to Sirisena became "a dominant triad of nationalist development rhetoric about Sri Lanka's past, a past that is used as a model for the future" in the twentieth century (p. 504). *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa* contains the same atavistic ideologies. Its lyrics claim that the builders of the great reservoirs have been reborn in Sri Lanka following the "newfound freedom," that is, from European colonial rule, and expresses the hope that the son for whom the lullaby is sung will rule the country in an era of liberation, fearlessness and financial solvency. I surmise that this song was written to persuade its listeners to raise patriotic children that may one day serve the country as rulers and restore the elusive and revered glory associated with the ancient civilisation that was thwarted by colonialism. While this view still peppers today's political discourses, a review of Amaradeva's 1978 *Śravana Ramani* concert contains rare criticisms of Amaradeva's work. The author praises Amaradeva highly, but summarises the sentiments echoed in the songs described in this chapter section in a critical manner:

> It is also necessary to look with a critical eye at the lyrics at whose service the skills of the composer and the singer are placed. These lyrics still seem to be frozen in a past that has dissappeared [sic]. They are redolent of a kind of patriotism based on a very simplistic vision of past glories, of a yearning for a pastoral form of life — waving paddy fields, tanks and dagabas, peasants happily at their work, the only pain they feel being the pain of separation from a loved one — a reliance on the age-old redeeming powers of the Buddhist religion. These are the symbols round which emotional responses to foreign domination were clustered; they were the hallmarks of the patriotism of a certain period.
>
> We have outgrown this period, but a large part of Sinhala literature including most of the lyrics seems frozen in the postures and attitudes of the period. I have no doubt that this idiom satisfies the nostalgic craving for the past, a simple past that many of them have never known, that pervades a large, section of the Sinhala petty-bourgeoisie which makes up the audience for Amaradeva. But these lyrics, their themes and their language are now no more than demagogic symbols of our own backwardness, the false consciousness of an ill-remembered [sic] feudal past, of a failure to understand the present, of a reluctance to look ahead. (Abeysekere, 1978)

Though this review suggests that the atavistic references in Amaradeva's songs are irrelevant to 1970s society, the derogatory term "petty-bourgeoisie" demonstrates the class divisions described in Chapter 2. It will be noted in the following section that songs with village themes were slightly less abundant in the 1970s. However, the songs that gained popularity in the 1960s have remained "perennial favourites," as

Abeysekere himself called them, to the time this dissertation was written. Further, Abeysekere's review undermines the fact that Amaradeva's music was also enjoyed by the Sinhala Buddhist literati. Further evidence of sociopolitical allegiances influencing musical and cultural taste is the claim that "Marxists and modernists" are those that accuse Amaradeva of "invoking a dead village" (Samaranayake, 1999).

The immensely popular patriotic song *Raṯnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* which Amaradeva claims is Sri Lanka's unofficial national anthem (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 43) challenges Abeysekere's statement as it contains similar imagery to *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa*. For instance, it describes the reservoirs which are still filled with sacred lotus flowers, whose scent is wafted by a breeze made by the breath of heroes. The "gems" referred to in the chorus and first verse are said to have been created from the blood of these heroes which enriched the soil (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 43; K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, March 8, 2019). Though trade did not constitute a large part of Sri Lanka's premodern economy, gems were one of its commonly traded goods and were sought after by South India and Rome (K. M. de Silva, 1981, p. 43). Like paddy cultivation, gems became a cultural marker of the island's precolonial prosperity during the twentieth century and are therefore often mentioned in patriotic songs. The other lullaby *Muni Siripā* also references ancient heroes. The child is lulled to sleep by a sacred breeze that comes from Mount Samanola, a pilgrimage site where the Buddha is believed to have left his footprint. Chorus singers depict the fighting and the sacrificing of one's life for their country and the main singers reply with a depiction of the divine reward for such a hero. The male chorus urges the child to defend their country with the strength of Keppetipola, a noteworthy Kandyan Chief who fought against colonial rule and became a martyr in the Uva Rebellion (1817–1818) against the British (Chithra, 2004; Saldin,

n.d.; Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 30). Thus, couplings of the present and future are again presented.

The songs *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam* and *Sannāliyanē* do not contain such imagery as the above songs because they are based on Indian poems. *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam* ("If There's Narrowmindedness" 1960s) draws from Sekara's Sinhala translation of a patriotic Bengali work, the thirty-fifth poem from Rabindranath Tagore's collection *Gitanjali* (1904) which Tagore translated in his 1912 English volume, *Song Offerings*. Tagore's poem in free verse offers advice to nations emerging from the grasp of colonialism, stating that a nation should strive for progress but be devoid of fear, narrowmindedness and "the dreary desert sand of dead habit" (Tagore, 1920, p. 31). Sekara conveyed these ideas in song form and added rhetorical questions to further rouse the listener's positive response. The final line of Tagore's poem, a plea for the nation to awaken to the "heaven of freedom," is uttered as a refrain at the end of every verse and chorus in *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam*. *Sannāliyanē* was based on another Mahagama Sekara translation this time of the English poem *Indian Weavers* (Naidu, 1905) by poet and independence activist Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949) (Abesundara, 2012, p. 25; Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 126; Rajakarunanayaka, n.d.-a). In each quatrain of Naidu's poem, the weavers respond to the question of why they weave. Though they weave for different people in different stages of life (birth, marriage and death), Sekara's lyric refers to the same person, thus solidifying the concept of the cycle of life integral to Hinduism and Buddhism. Sekara makes some other minor alterations. For instance, the wedding cloth is a golden colour because only neutral colours such as beige are worn by Sinhalese brides. He also describes the white funeral cloth as the colour of the *kanakok* (stork) wing. The *kanakok* is a greyish white bird whose appearance is believed by the Sinhalese to be followed by sorrowful news (K. Medis,

personal communication, April 16, 2019). In this way Sekara adapts the poem by incorporating aspects of Sri Lankan culture.

A comparison of the lyrics show that the language form used for each song was carefully chosen according to its themes and meaning.[164] For example, the song *Sannāliyanē* is conversational so there are quite a few colloquial words mixed with the semiformal Sinhala. Almost all other songs described above have a few colloquial words and mostly semiformal Sinhala. The exception is *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam* which has a combination of semiformal and formal Sinhala. The other exception is *Raṯnaḏīpa.* K. N. O. Dharmadasa (personal communication, March 8, 2019) claims its lyrics, particularly in the chorus, are highly Sanskritised and that its basic meaning may be understood by speakers of Hindi as well as Sinhalese. One might ask whether a Sinhalese listener could easily understand the entire song. According to journalist D. C. Ranatunga's response to this quandary,

> Most Sri Lankan music fans listen to their favourite singers for their voice and the melody of the song. They get a broad idea of what the song says, but they do not go in depth to the meaning of the words. Patriotic songs can be easily identified by the music/tune and they enjoy listening to it but may not be that interested in the words. (Personal communication, June 13, 2019)

While this view may be contentious and, judging by Amaradeva's success, does not apply to all listeners, other acquaintances have corroborated it. Ranatunga's comment brings to mind an observation by another journalist:

> At a time when trends change and change fast, his is the voice of sanity that prevails. I've talked with friends of all races, of all religions, be they

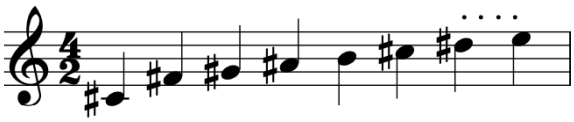
[164] See footnote in Chapter 2.4 for a description of the Sinhala language levels.

> Muslim, Tamil, or Burgher. They all love him. They have made it a point to sing one of his songs whenever chance permits, the most popular being "Ratna Deepa Janma Bhumi" (for some reason). They have all committed his lyrics to memory, probably more so than those of any other artist dead or alive. I can't think of any other singer who has inspired my countrymen this much. Maybe Sunil Santha, or even C. T. Fernando. I don't know. (Devapriya, 2014)

This observation explains Amaradeva's labelling of the song as Sri Lanka's unofficial national anthem, despite the song venerating the ancient Sinhalese. It also explains why he chose to perform the song after his plea for peace during the civil war (see Chapter 5.8). While the lyrics of *Raṯnaḏīpa* may be quite moving for the literati, the general listener's patriotic thoughts, once implanted by the general import of the lyrics, could be aroused by the cheerful, uplifting melody and lilting rhythm of the song. The significance of Sanskritised lyrics is their prosodic quality, which "adds beauty" to the composition (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, November 26, 2020; Sunil Sarath Perera, personal communication, July 11, 2021). Sunil Sarath Perera emphasised that Sanskritised lyrics evoke the aesthetics of the poetic literary tradition that was central to Sinhalese culture in the precolonial era.

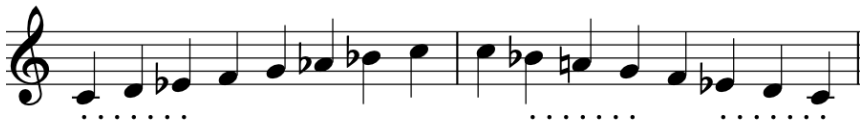
A comparison of melodic content reveals a continued grounding in South Asian musical forms. There are nuances of folk melodies in two of the three songs that indicate a village theme. For instance, *Karaḏara PoḏI Bäňḏa, Muni Siripā* and *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa* are loosely based on folk materials while the other songs are loosely based on *raga* pitch inventories. Most ragas used are Hindustani classical ragas (see Table F10.5, F13.5 and F14.5 in Appendix F), but the song *sannāliyané* is based on the South Indian raga Chārkeśi (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 126). The carter's song on which

Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa was presumably based is called *Ṯanḍalē* (Thandale*)*. It was recorded by the Lasanthi Ensemble (2016). Its melodic notes are comprised of the following tonal scheme:



Example 7.1. Mode used in the *karaṯṯa kavi Ṯanḍalē* and other songs of toil

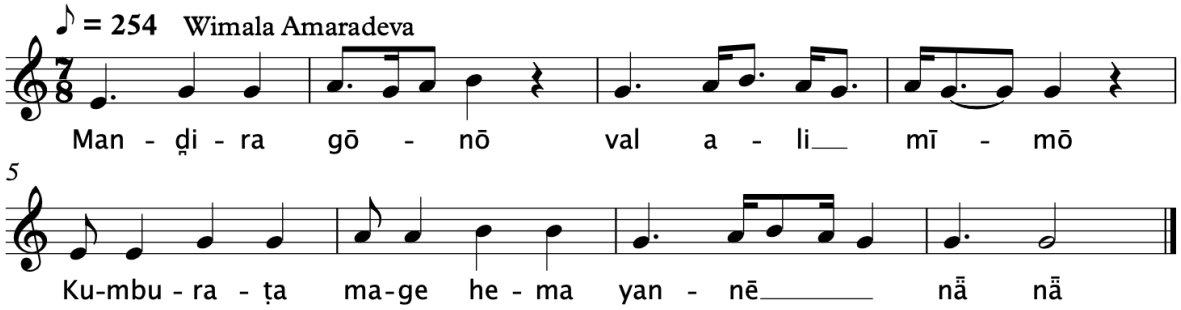
The dashes in the carter's song verse transcribed in the beginning of the above section where lyric content is compared indicate where the extended ornamentation falls. This ornamentation, which also covers the top D sharp, and E indicated by elipses in Example 7.1 in addition to the major pentatonic mode gives the song its melancholic, minor-scale feel. The melody in *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa* is completely different from the carter's song. Yet, the mode in Example 7.2 below contains several of the same minor tone-semitone configurations as the ornamentation in the carter's song, thus evoking a similar melancholic sound.



Example 7.2. Mode used in *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa*

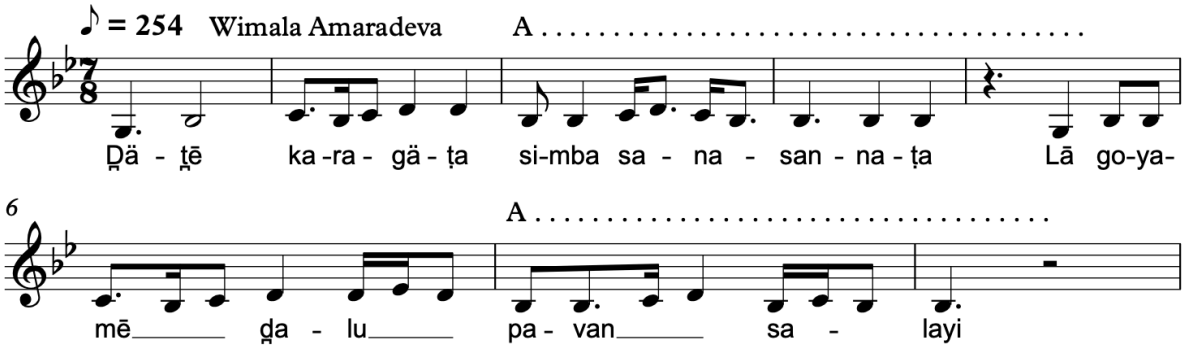
This tone-semitone configuration can also be found in *Iraṭa Muvāven*, inspired by *a bali* kavi ("ritual verse") and *Ran Ḏahaḏiya*, inspired by a *neḷum gee*. Amaradeva's wife Wimala Amaradeva assisted in composing the melody for *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa*. A few years after lyricist Mahagama Sekara's death, Amaradeva discovered one of his lyrics in a collection of papers. He showed it to Wimala and asked her how she would sing it. They reminded her of a *jana kavi* ("folk poem") she had seen in a children's book and subsequently recited at a performance. She sang the first stanza during an interview

with me (W. Amaradeva, personal communication, March 10, 2019) which I've transcribed below.



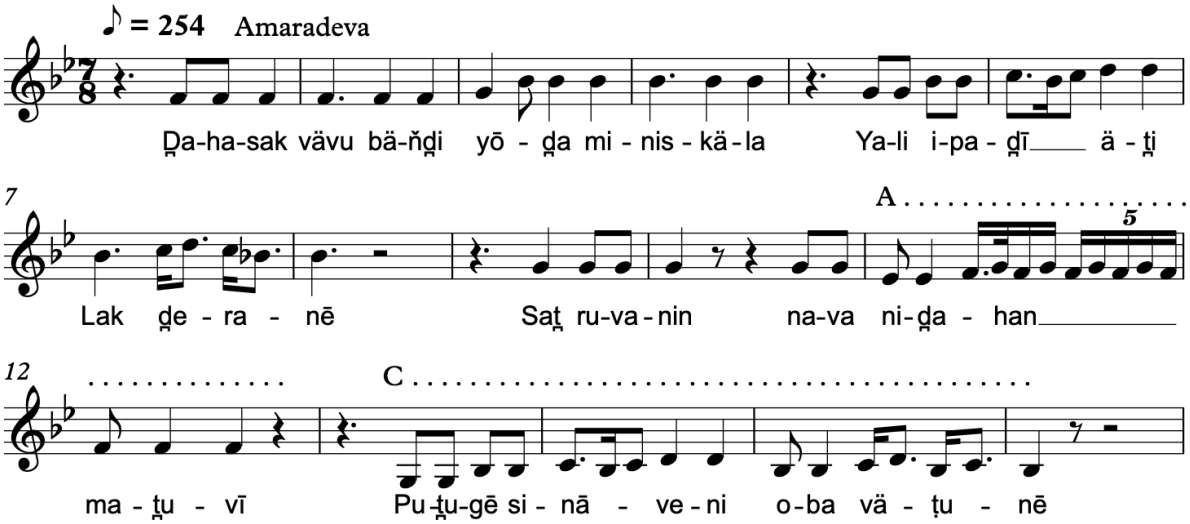
Example 7.3: *Jana kavi* sung by Wimala Amaradeva

The melody comprises five notes only, ranging a perfect fifth. Amaradeva set this melody to the A sections of Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa with minor changes, as I have shown below.



Example 7.4. Excerpt of first verse of *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa* (2002 recording), sung by Wimala Amaradeva

The B sections, sung by Amaradeva, have a variation of this melody.



Example 7.5. Third verse of *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa* (2002 recording), sung by Amaradeva

Bars 5 and 6 of Example 7.5 convey Wimala Amaradeva's melody. The second half of Wimala's melody (bars 3–4 and 7–8 of Example 7.4, marked A) is varied in bars 11 and 12 of Amaradeva's sections (marked B in Example 7.5) and he finishes with Wimala's entire melody in his lower register (marked C in Example 7.5). Thus, he uses the same melodic motif that constitutes the folk element of the song, but creates interest by variation an extension of the melodic range. The song *Muni Siripā* sung with *Nanda Malini* and a male chorus was also based on a folk song from Wimala Amaradeva's repertoire (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 72). Other songs are loosely based on the pitch inventories of ragas, including *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam* based on raga Kedar Chandi (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 136) and *Raṯnaḏīpa* based on the Gaud Sārang raga (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 54; Kumara, 2015, p. 381).

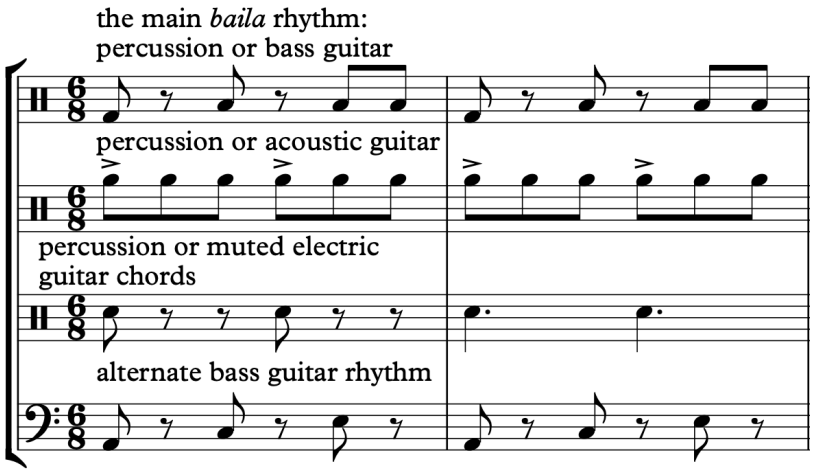
The recordings studied here also have diverse orchestration since they originate from different decades and their comparison depicts Amaradeva's stylistic evolution. There are period recordings of four songs, namely *Sannāliyanē*, *Raṯnaḏīpa Paṭu Aḏahas Nam and Iraṭa Muvāven,* and one early recording (circa 1970s) of *Karaḏara PoḏI Bäňḏa*. All of these recordings have sparse ornamentation in comparison to contemporary *sarala gee* recordings and reflect a "rustic simplicity," an ascribed characteristic of village life (Rambukwella, 2018, p. 88). All recordings feature the violin playing heterophonically along with the voice and one or two accompanying instruments, either the clarinet, bamboo flute (called *baṭa nalāva* in Sinhala), *oud*, *sarod* or, in the 1970s recording of *Karaḏara PoḏI Bäňḏa*, a viola. A Western *pizzicato* technique novel to violin-playing in 1960s *sarala gee* is used in the introduction of *Sannāliyanē*. Instrumentation comparisons show a correlation between lyric themes and the percussion used. The first three songs listed above are based on North Indian literature and language and Amaradeva thus uses the *tabla* as the sole percussion

instrument. The *tabla* has a distinctive sound in *Sannāliyanē* because a copper-coloured one-cent coin is being used to strike it. This technique was unique to Sri Lankan players of that period (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication March 13, 2019). The songs *Iraṭa Muvāven* and *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa* are based on folk materials and therefore utilise traditional drums. Respectively, these are the *ṭālampaṭa* (hand cymbals) and *yak bera* ("devil drum") used in *thovil* rituals, and the *uḍäkkiya* (a drum with ropes held taut by the player while they strike the head). The recordings of *Ḏäṭē Karagäṭa*, *Muni Siripā* and *Ran Ḏahaḏiya* were recorded from 1999 to 2002 and therefore have contemporary *sarala gee* orchestration with mostly Western popular and North Indian instruments. These songs were arranged by other musicians for Amaradeva's new albums.[165] *Ran Ḏahaḏiya* has unique instrumentation due to its *baila* influence. Its instrumentation includes the mandolin playing in tremolos similar to pre-electronic *baila* as well as the *rabāna,* a Sri Lankan drum similar to a tambourine without jingles (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019). The *rabāna* is used in *baila* (de Mel, 2006, p. 6) and *viriňḏu*, a type of folk song with improvised verses set to a six-beat (3+3) rhythm (Surya Sena, 2008, p. 65).

In addition to the use of these two instruments, *Ran Ḏahaḏiya* also contains the 6/8 *baila* rhythms which differ from other Amaradeva songs also in 6/8. As described in Chapter 4.3.1.3, *baila* is a genre of Sinhalese music derived from the Portuguese-Burgher *kaffringha* and *chikothi* and the African *manja* music. *Baila* was often regarded as a debased form of music due to its creole roots, and its performance context associated with frivolity. We may recall that Amaradeva had a great fondness for the genre though his brother Charles discouraged him from performing it. Yet, its

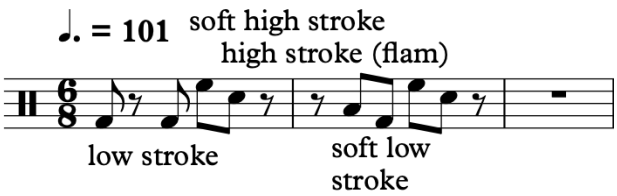
[165] The arrangers (called music directors) for Amaradeva's later albums are not identified except on the album *Väli Ṭala Aṭarē* arranged by Stanley Peiris. A conversation between Ranjana Amaradeva and myself revealed that Rohana Weerasinghe also arranged some of the albums.

characteristic 6/8 rhythm appears in a few of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* and film songs. *Baila* often has two or more rhythms layered together to create hemiola patterns, often as follows.



Example 7.6. Common *baila* rhythms

It is evident from the discussion thus far that Amaradeva did not use borrowed material in its original form during this stage of his career. Rather, he adapted sources to his approach or created a sound that alluded to them. Thus, the percussion rhythm in *Ran Ḏahaḏiya* is not identical to the main *baila* rhythm I transcribed in the first staff above and is instead played as follows:

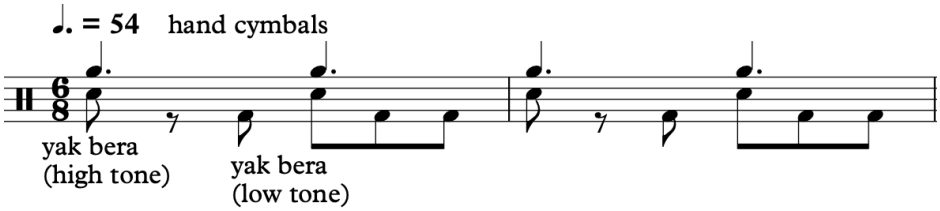


Example 7.7. *Rabāna* rhythm in *Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biṅḏu Biṅḏu* (1999 recording)

This rhythm is played on the *rabāna*, the frame drum described above. The constant quavers notated in Example 7.6 are played by a keyboard playing arpeggios with a marimba-like sound. The acoustic guitar also doubles it at times. The third rhythm in Example 7.6 which juxtaposes the two-in-a-bar feel is played on the *gejji* (anklets with

bells). There is no bass guitar in *Ran Ḏahaḏiya* and the fourth rhythmic pattern from Example 7.6 is therefore absent.

Folk rhythms have also been utilised in some of these songs. Consider, for instance, the changing metrical cycles and free rhythmic section in the song *Muni Siripā* (see Table F12.6 in Appendix F for more details). The following rhythm from *Iraṭa Muvāven* is another example.



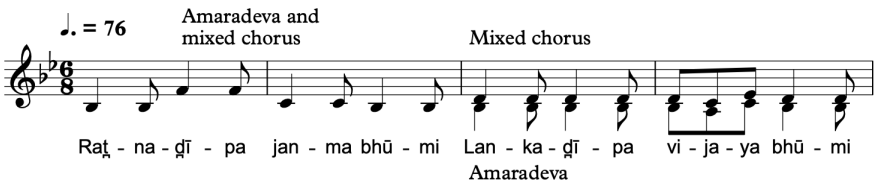
Example 7.8. Basic *yak bera* drum rhythm in *Iraṭa Muvāven*. It is sometimes played with variations.

According to Piyasoma Medis (personal communication, April 16, 2019), a former media director and Sinhalese cultural expert, this rhythm is reminiscent of the *gam maḍuva* which has a slower tempo than other ritual performances. The *gam maḍuva* ("village hut" ceremony, also known as a *devi shanthikarma*) is a type of ritual in which blessings of prosperity are invoked from the deities Devol, Pattini and Vāhala (Kottegoda, 2018, p. 5). The songs *Ḏäṭē Karagäṭa* and *Karaḏara Poḏi Bäňḏa* use the seven-beat time cycle with a 3+2+2 subdivision often found in Sinhala folk music. While *Sannāliyanē*, *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam* and *Ran Ḏahaḏiya* are sung in strict rhythm, the other songs are sung more freely.

Though comparisons do not illustrate correlations between themes and musical form, Sinhala folk music forms were used more than Sinhala popular song form in the eight songs discussed in this section. *Muni Siripā* has a symmetrical form that is through-composed with a refrain. This is unusual in Sinhala popular songs but characteristic of some folk songs such as the *neḷum gee Bōgambara Api*. *Karaḏara Poḏi Bäňḏa*, *Sannāliyanē* and *Ḏäṭē Karagäṭa* are strophic, though two melodies are used in

the latter. All songs except *Muni Siripā* and *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam* have regular four-bar phrases, a small number of phrases however can be counted as having five-bars because their extended ornamentation results in them running into the next phrase. Despite this, the regular phrasing implies a return to a stylistic aspect of Amaradeva's early career as noted in Chapter 6.1.

An examination of harmony, however, reveals that it is largely absent from the four period recordings but is subtly used in *Sannāliyanē* and *Raṭnaḏīpa*. Its use is more conspicuous in *Sannāliyanē*, consisting of two instrumental melodic phrases played three tones apart. It was therefore likely composed after 1965 since the Western music practice restrictions were lifted gradually between 1965 and 1970 (D. Ranatunga, personal communication, September 8, 2018). *Raṭnaḏīpa* was composed prior to this in 1964 and harmony is thus used rather sparingly. Amaradeva does some subtle part-singing in half a phrase of the choruses. This melody, transcribed below, is repeated four times in the outro.

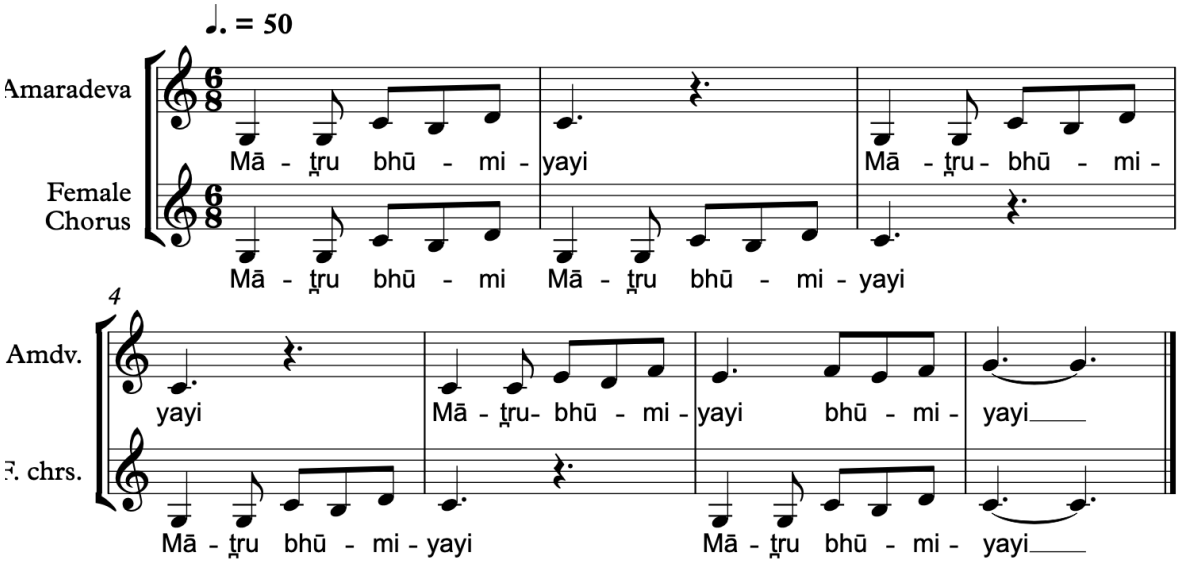


Example 7.9. Melody with part-singing in *Raṭnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* (1964 recording)[166]

The pitched instruments solely provide melodic content, making this the only harmonic material in the entire recording, and indeed the only vocal harmonisation in the commercial recordings of *sarala gee* discussed in this dissertation. Thus the part singing may seem out of place, though it is likely little noticed by most listeners. A short version of the song was performed at one of Radio Ceylon's fortnightly concerts in

[166] Amaradeva and the male chorus singers are singing an octave below the female singers, but I transcribed them all in the same octave for efficiency.

1976 (see Jayaweerage, 2016). The part singing occurs in a more obvious form in the outro where the following canonic setting occurs:



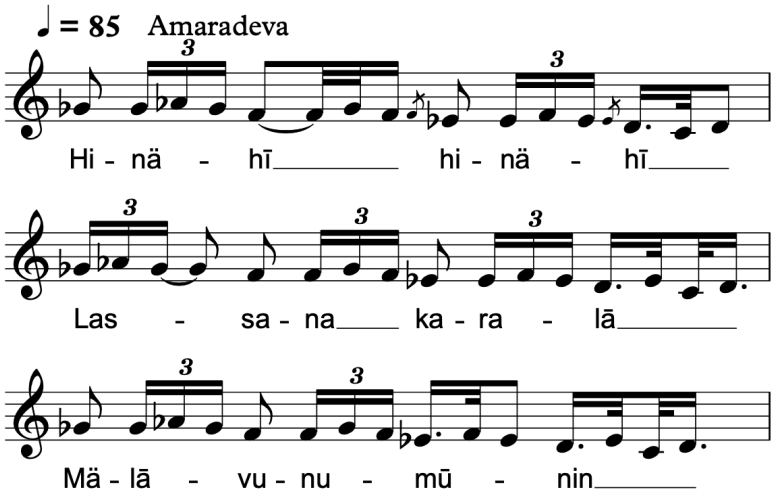
Example 7.10. Outro of *Raṭnaḍīpa Janma Bhūmi* as performed at a 1976 Radio Ceylon concert[167]

The above arrangement of *Raṭnaḍīpa* bears the influence of Western classical music practices as indicated by the harmonisation and overlapping voices. Evidently, Amaradeva exercised much more creative license with the arrangement as this concert was held quite a few years after all the bans were lifted. One can only speculate whether his compositional approach would have been different if those restrictions had not been in place. Intriguingly, part singing is not a feature in Amaradeva's *sarala gee* after the 1970s, though he did use the technique in his film songs from his first film *Ranmuṭu Ḍūva* (Ranmuthu Duwa, 1962). Perhaps this is because the bans occurred during the period when the *sarala gee* genre was defined, and the nationalist ideologies associated with it demanded greater affiliations with Sinhalese folk music and North Indian Hindustani classical music which was thought to represent the Arya-Sinhala identity.

[167] Amaradeva is actually singing an octave below the chorus but I have transcribed it in the same octave for efficiency.

Thus, while Amaradeva's *sarala gee* were diverse, the 1960s form of the genre itself did not have the scope to be truly inclusive of all cultures practiced in Sri Lanka.

Comparisons between Amaradeva's vocal tone and lyric themes also do not show conclusive correlations, unlike the comparison of lyric themes and carefully selected ornamentation. Rather, vocal tone varies in accordance with the time in which a recording was produced. Amaradeva retains the thick, forward-placed tone in all four period recordings. Following this decade, he retained the same placement but used more air, producing a softer, aspirate sound in the high notes more suitable for contemporary singing. Extended ornamentation is used in *Iraṭa Muvāven* and *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa*, similar to the folk songs they were based upon. Wimala Amaradeva accompanies Amaradeva in *Ḏäṭē Karagäṭa*. Being a folk singer, her voice is very thick and she places the notes in the nasal passage. Her ornamentation is very simple, consisting of mordents and short melismas (see Example 7.3). Like other Sri Lankan folk singers, she does not use any microtonal inflections and neither does Amaradeva, who mimics her ornamentation style. Amaradeva uses ornamentation most effectively in *Sannāliyanē*. Though each verse pertains to a different life stage (birth, marriage and death), Amaradeva noted that he considered the song as a whole while composing the melody rather than considering individual verses (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 126). *Sarala gee* singer Edward Jayakody (personal communication, August 23, 2018) believes the beauty of the song lies in the way Amaradeva portrays disparate emotions through the same melody. There are slight variations in the ornamentation upon close inspection and this likely contributes to the nuanced emotions. Consider, for example, the three excerpts transcribed from the second line of each verse.



Example 7.11. Ornamentation variations in *Sannāliyanē* (1960s recording), last bar of phrase b in each verse

Amaradeva uses grace notes in the repeat of "hinähī" ("smiling") to imitate the sound of laughter in the first verse, a mordent with a held last note to emphasise the word "lassana" ("beautiful") in the second verse and two mordents to emphasise the word "mälävunu" (meaning "sorrowful," or more literally, "wilted") in the final verse. Thus, this song conveys the literal transformation of words into sound, as often occurs in *sarala* gee. Amaradeva is also selective in his application of ornamentation in *Ran Ḏahaḏiya*, using only mordents which are present not only in Sinhala folk music but in some *baila* songs as well. The same is true of Indian-derived microtonal pitch inflections which he only uses in *Raṭnaḏīpa* and *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam*, the two patriotic songs that draw from North Indian language and literature. A similar attention to detail is evident in songs composed during the next career phase, in addition to the diversification of orchestration styles.

7.2 Nationalism and Compositional Freedom (1970–1979)

Government politics continued to be driven by atavistic Sinhalese nationalism in the 1970s, much the same as in the previous decade. While the State language was officially changed from English to Sinhala in 1956, Buddhism was accredited the

“foremost place” in the 1972 constitution (DeVotta, 2007, p. 19; Dharmadasa, 2007, p. 135; Spencer, 2002, p. 37). The irrigation project implemented in 1978 was accelerated by the new United National Party (UNP) government and thus became the Accelerated Mahavali Development Project (Tennekoon, 1988, pp. 295–296). Despite this and the other pro-Sinhala policies adopted after 1945, the Sinhalese youth had grown discontented with the Government’s focus on rural welfare because employers still preferred candidates with proficient English skills. Thus, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) attempted to force social change through an unsuccessful armed insurrection in 1971 and thereafter continued to oppose the SLFP and UNP Government politically (K. M. de Silva, 1981, pp. 541–543; Peebles, 2006, pp. 113, 120). The dissatisfaction with the government’s focus on rural development projects and their perceived irrelevance to modern society is echoed in the concert review discussed in the previous section (Abeysekere, 1978).

Change was also initiated in the music industry with the growing popularity of Sinhala popular music genres such as calypso and Sinhala pop influenced by non-South Asian musical forms. While these genres were initially banned from the SLBC’s Sinhala national service, broadcaster Vernon Corea introduced them to the commercial English service in 1968 (I. Corea, 2012; Samath, 2013). It is unclear when these genres were aired over the national service, but it is clear that they influenced the stylistic development of genres such as *chitrapati gee* (“film songs”) and *sarala gee*. Amaradeva sang many songs composed by others during this time, which exhibit further stylistic shifts from the Sinhala pop genre originating in the previous decade. Four out of the nine songs that will be discussed in this section were composed by other composers. These include *Kumariyaka Pā Salamba Sälunā* and *Niḏahas Lanka* which have no specific dates and were composed by the *sarala gee* singers Victor Ratnayaka (1942–)

and Ananda Samarakoon (1911–1962), respectively. The other two songs are *Anoṯaṯṯa Vila* (Anothatha Vila, 1973) by Victor Dalugama and *Pāvenā Nil Valāvē (Pawena Nil Walawe*, 1977) by Sarath Dassenayaka (1942–1999) who are most prominent in the film song genre. The song *Siri Buddhagaya Vihare* was an *aluth sindu* composition rearranged for Amaradeva and Rukmani Devi by Sinhala pop musician Clarence Wijewardena (1943–1996). Amaradeva composed the remaining four songs himself. These are *Biṅḏu Biṅḏu Ran* which has no specific date, *Aḍavan Vū* ("Adawan Wu," 1970), *Pera Ḏinayaka* `(1975) and *Sasara Vasana Ṯuru* (Sasara Wasana Thuru, 1975).

These songs have complex lyrics and are harder to fit into the established categories used to classify song themes (e.g., devotional songs "bakthi gee") used thus far. While borrowings from Sinhalese folk literature and depictions of village life were abundant in Amaradeva's popular repertoire of the 1960s, comparative analysis shows that this characteristic is less obvious in the 1970s. For example, *Biṅḏu Biṅḏu Ran* ("Golden Droplets") is the only song from my selection that displays both characteristics. The lyricist Madawala S. Ratnayaka based the lyrics on a folk poem about a man who fears his lover has feelings for another (P. Medis, personal communication, November 13, 2019). Since this is a *subhāviṯa gīṯa* ("song with literary merit"), his fear is expressed indirectly in a warning to his lover about potential dangers in the village. Medis also noted that the introductory verse follows the structure of *sīpaḏa* (a form of folk poetry which has quatrains each ending with the same syllable) and all verses are written to Sinhala poetic metres (see Table F16.3 in Appendix F for more details). *Anoṯaṯṯa Vila* ("Anothatha Lake") with lyrics by Sunil Sarath Perera and sung with Amitha Wedisinghe is another song inspired by precolonial literature, namely a Buddhist *jāṯaka* story which describes one of the Lord Buddha's final ten incarnations

(S. S. Perera, personal communication, March 18, 2019). It depicts a female deity who descends to Earth from Naga Lowa (the "World of Snakes").

Pāvenā Nil Valāvē ("Floating on a Blue Cloud") with lyrics by Kularathna Ariyawansa is about a lonely female deity inhabiting a reservoir. Like *Iraṭa Muvāven* this song may be an indirect representation of romantic love in a conservative society. More explicit expressions of love are present in the song *Pera Ḏinayaka* ("On a Previous Day") with lyrics also by Sunil Sarath Perera, about a man who envisages an older lover and fancies he can hear her from afar singing a lullaby based on one of his melodies. Her love is now replaced with compassion, a sentiment that is integral to Buddhism. It was established previously that Amaradeva subscribed to humanist philosophies of Buddhism in which the self-awareness of romantic love and sexual desire were a necessity. The inevitability of sexual desire is illustrated in the song *Kumariyaka Pā Salamba Sälunā* ("A Young Lady Shook her Anklet Bells") with lyrics by K. D. K. Dharmawardana in which an ascetic's meditation is disturbed by a woman wearing a sheer cloth and jingling anklets.

Buddhist devotional songs also became popular during the 1970s. They included Amaradeva and Rukmani Devi's remake of the *aluth sindu Siri Buddhagaya Vihare* ("Siri Bodh Gaya Temple"). It had lyrics by Marceline Albert and Gilbert Weerasekara which invites the listener to worship at the Maha Bodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya, India. This temple marks the location where the Lord Buddha is believed to have defeated the temptations of the demon Mara and attained Enlightenment. *Aḍavan Vū i*s another devotional song in which lyricist W. A. Abeysinghe describes the noble qualities emulating from the Samadhi Buddha statue, an ancient granite monument of the Anuradhapura period located in the Mahamavnā Garden. While most of the songs discussed contain semiformal Sinhala in their lyrics, these two devotional songs have a

combination of semiformal and formal Sinhala. *Sasara Vasana Ḏuru* ("Throughout Every Rebirth") is a patriotic song with Buddhist themes with lyrics by Dolton Alwis, written for the nationalist radio program *Vijaya Gīṯa* ("Victory Songs"). It expresses the hope of being reborn in Sri Lanka in every birth that precedes Enlightenment. He also lists the places, such as Seegiri Fortress, that are his "heritage," coinciding with the highest points in the melody. These places have a significance in Buddhism and premodern Sinhalese history. The second patriotic song is *Niḏahas Lanka* ("Free Lanka") with music and lyrics by Ananda Samarakoon. It has not retained its place in the Sinhala popular music canon but was popular during its time (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019). This is unfortunate because it is ethnically inclusive unlike most other patriotic *sarala gee*. Though the nation's victorious past and ancient civilisation are mentioned, the lyrics do not address the Sinhalese specifically and instead endorse unity and encourage its listeners to serve the country and assist in the welfare of all, especially the helpless.

The musical composition of Amaradeva's songs of this period match the diversity of their lyrics as their musical characteristics are drawn from varying sources, including Western popular music. For instance, musical as well as social inclusivity are both evident in the composition and lyrics of *Niḏahas Lanka* and the Sri Lankan national anthem originally named *Namō Namō Maṯā* (Namo Namo Matha,1946), also composed by Samarakoon. There are similarities between the two period recordings. For example, a country-western style guitar pattern plays in both. The 'boom-chuck boom-chuck' rhythm produced with alternating bass notes and chords gives the songs a 2/4 feel (M. Mora, personal communication, June 11, 2019). This homophonic accompaniment is layered underneath the vocal sections where heterophony occurs between the voice and instruments such as the flute, violin and, in *Niḏahas Lanka* only,

sitar. Heterophony and instrument blending occur in the interludes of these two examples as in Amaradeva's other songs.

Siri Buddhagaya also has homophonic accompaniment. Its instrumentation selected by Clarence Wijewardena was novel in *sarala gee*, and included a saxophone, keyboard and two electric guitars in addition to the typical *sitar*, *svaramandal*, *tabla* and *ṭālampaṭa* (hand cymbals). Electric guitar chords emphasise the second and fourth beat of each bar, therefore outlining a quasi-*skengay* rhythm found in reggae (M. Mora, personal communication, June 11, 2019). The other instruments enter inconspicuously within the vocal sections and there are also phrases where the voices are accompanied only by percussion (see Table F24.8 in Appendix F for more details). Though there is polyphony and a wide variety of instruments used, the texture sounds sparse throughout to reflect the feeling of meditation while the unwavering and solitary strength of the voices reflect the Buddha's resolution. Since this song was originally an *aluth sindu* based on a Hindi film song, its phrasing is irregular unlike the other Amaradeva songs discussed from this decade. The song also has instrumental solos, a novel feature not often found in Sinhala popular music. The introductory solo is played by renowned composer and saxophonist Stanley Peiris (1941–2002). The electric guitar and *sitar* improvise over the chorus.

Afro-Latin rhythms were first introduced to the Sri Lankan music industry by Sinhala pop artist C. T. Fernando and later popularised by Clarence Wijewardena of the Moonstones in the late 1960s (see Chapter 4.3.1.6). *Sarala gee* composers were also influenced by this change, especially in the percussion sections of contemporary recordings. However, such rhythms were used as early as the 1970s in songs such as *Kumariyaka Pā* composed for Amaradeva by Victor Ratnayaka. The acoustic guitar provides a strummed homophonic accompaniment which includes a quasi-habanera

rhythm in the interludes. Other influences of Sinhala pop include the use of a western scale and counter melodies played on the violin and viola during verses rather than heterophonic doubling (see Table F17.8 in Appendix F for more details).

Clarence Wijewardena's electronic revolution of Sinhala pop also found its way into some *sarala gee* of the 1970s such as *Pāvenā Nil Valāvē*. Sarath Dassanayaka's composition includes a homophonic texture provided throughout by the electric keyboard with reverb and acoustic guitar playing lilting arpeggios in a 6/8 metre. They each occupy the foreground at different times, blending in and out of each other seamlessly and symbolising the flow of water. A lot of reverb is used on the keyboard as well as Amaradeva's voice to emulate the sensation of floating. This sensation is also mimicked by Amaradeva's increased vibrato and his sustained notes on the words "pāvenā" ("floating") and "valāvē" ("cloud"). As noted previously, the literal representation of words through sound is common in *sarala gee* and was also endorsed by Amaradeva who claimed that "words can go a certain distance. Music can bring the words further — it can overtake" according to Edward Jayakody (personal communication, August 19, 2018). This technique is also present in *Kumariyaka Pā* where the *gejji* (anklets with bells) are struck a few times repeatedly in instrumental sections to represent the woman who distracts the ascetic.

Harmony is used in all recordings from this period except the live recording of *Pera Ḏinayaka*. This illustrates the dwindling antipathy towards Western culture and perhaps a social recovery from the effects of colonialism. Though most songs are based on ragas, many have ordinary major or minor scale chord progressions while two have borrowed chords such as a flat seventh (see Tables F20.7, F24.7, F26.7, F27.7 and F28.7 in Appendix F for specific examples). In *Anoṯaṯṯa Vila* there is a bassline and a melody played in thirds. Instrumental sections have a thick texture and a string of short

melodies similar to *Śāṇṭa Mē Rä Yāmē* (1940s). The bamboo flute plays a counter melody under the vocals; a syncopated oscillation between two notes reminiscent of a bird call. Journalist Sirimanna (2013) has suggested that the imitation of sounds in nature represents a Buddhist aesthetic. While this statement requires further investigation, it is a point worth noting. Indeed, acts of musical mimesis are found in many musical cultures even in cases related to religious traditions. The bamboo flute in the patriotic *Sasara Vasana Ṭuru* has a lot of reverb and thus creates an ethereal sound along with the vibraphone, a new addition to the SLBC in 1975 (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019). It also has harmonised melodies played in the violin and viola which play contrastingly in the lower register. The violin also plays plucked arpeggios in the introduction.

Biṅḏu Biṅḏu Ran, composed by Amaradeva, is also stylistically diverse. It has harmonisation in the violin melody under the voice in one phrase, but it is barely discernible. This is the only song out of the selection based on folk music and lyrics. The tonal scheme contains the tone-semitone pattern seen in Amaradeva's previous folk-inspired compositions. The period recording has an *ālāp* (vocal introduction) where Amaradeva renders the *sīpaḏa* verse (rhyming quatrain) in an unmetered rhythm with extended ornamentation in the Sinhala folk singing style. There are flute melodies interspersed between the vocal phrases. The complex, layered texture comprises two ostinatos on *sitar* and *sarod* and two rhythms on *rabāna* (frame drum) and *uḍäkkiya* (drum with ropes) (see Table F16.8 in Appendix F). This section is significantly reduced in the 2002 recording (fifty-one seconds compared to the original's two minutes and three seconds) which illustrates how folk culture was highly foregrounded in the mid-twentieth century to solidify the country's national identity. This song also contains a mixed chorus who sing with Amaradeva in a call-and-response style in the

strophic verses following the *ālāp*. Unison choruses also represent a rural aesthetic in Sinhalese music (E. Jayakody, personal communication, August 19, 2018). Amaradeva sings a countermelody against the chorus in the outro, reflecting the freedom of the abolished compositional restrictions. The verses are set to a twelve-beat time cycle similar to 12/8, sometimes found in Sinhala folk songs. The main verses are not heterophonic but have interjections on the *sitar* and *sarod*, reflecting the *sarala gee* idiom inspired by Hindi *filmi gīt*.

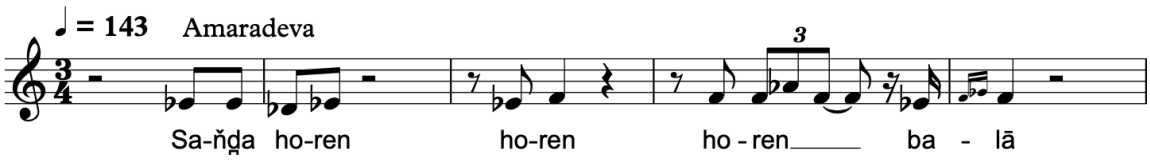
The instrumentation of 1970s recordings demonstrates that the influence of North Indian music was not abandoned even though Western techniques were used more abundantly. The earliest live recordings of *Aḍavan Vū* and *Pera Ḏinayaka* from 1976 evidence this influence. While Amaradeva uses the head voice in the high notes of the other songs and no microtonal pitch inflections except one in *Biṅḏu Biṅḏu Ran*, he uses a heavy, chesty tone reminiscent of Hindustani classical music in the live recordings. *Aḍavan Vū*, a Buddhist devotional song, has an *ālāp* in which this tone is projected through scalic ornamentation also used in the last line of the song along with some microtonal pitch inflections. The forward, heavy but focused tone is maintained throughout to convey his fervent admiration for the Samadhi Buddha monument and what it represents. Heterophony is also present following the *aalap*, and throughout the other live recording of *Pera Ḏinayaka*. Extended ornamentation and microtonal pitch inflections derived from Hindustani classical music are also used in *Pera Ḏinayaka*. A similar balance between Western and North Indian musical characteristics can be heard in the repertoire of Amaradeva's senior career, discussed in the following section.

7.3 *Sarala Gee* in the Era of Civil Unrest and Beyond (1980–2016)

Amaradeva's production of new *sarala gee* declined considerably in the final three and a half decades of his career, particularly after the 1980s. Instead he composed and sang songs for films, as well as a few stage dramas and teledramas, according to the index of songs compiled by Amaradeva's biographer (Kumara, 2015). A survey of his LPs and CDs released during this period demonstrate that his musical output also consisted greatly of remakes of his previous hits from the 1940s to 1970s. Only a couple of the few new *sarala gee* were patriotic songs and none of these gained great popularity. Amaradeva's decreased interest in creating patriotic songs may have been due to the outbreak of civil war between the Sinhalese and Tamil LTTE terrorist group in 1983. The ethnic tensions had developed out of the steady onset of pro-Sinhala policies since 1956. Ethnic tensions escalated during the war and, as mentioned in Chapter 5.8, one of Amaradeva's film songs was misused by Sinhalese civilians in public to assert dominance over Tamil civilians (Toshio, 2008, pp. 19–20). Amaradeva was unaware of this incident and had spoken up against chauvinism on one occasion (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 31, 2018) and also did "not believe that a song should enter the sphere of politics" (Carlo Fonseka, as cited in Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001). Thus, most of the *sarala gee* he produced between 1980 and 2016 were Buddhist songs and romantic songs, as well as two songs about how he had aged and Colombo had not. The latter were very popular and particularly resonant with the fans close to his age, such as my grandfather Lionel Jayawickrama and his contemporaries. The six songs that will be discussed here however are the Buddhist devotional song *Sanarāmara Himi* (1981), *Suḏu Neḷuma Kō* (1989) about a village incident, and four romantic songs. These are *Saňḏa Horen Horen* (from the 1980s),

Ṭaru Arundathi (Tharu Arundathi, date unknown), *Ṭāṭṭā Unaṭ (*Thatha Unath, 1981) and *Hanthana Sihinē* (2014), sung with Umariya Sinhawansa (1991–).

The comparison of these four songs reveals congruencies between lyric content and musical features such as melody or phrase structure. Though explicit nationalist sentiments are not given in the lyrics of the songs analysed in this section, all songs convey the lyric content in a literal manner through musical elements such as melody and phrasing. This reinforces the importance of Sinhala language in song. For instance, *Saňḍa Horen Horen* ("The Moon Sneakily, Sneakily") with lyrics by Kularathna Ariyawansa depicts a couple talking romantically in the night. As with other romantic *sarala gee* there are allusions to nature, in this case the moon. It is personified and shyly observes the couple, shedding tears of joy for their love. Thus, the melody for the opening line "Sandha horen horen horen balā" ("The moon looks sneakily, sneakily, sneakily") has the following melody.



Example 7.12. Opening vocal melody of *Saňḍa Horen Horen* (1980s recording)

Note how the melody rises during the three repeated words, tone-painting the movement of the moon slowly rising while edging past the cloud cover and receding again. Amaradeva uses a light tone with head voice and short ornamentation and melismas to convey the intimate story.

He uses a slightly heavier tone with some head voice in *Sanarāmara Himi* ("The Enlightened One") with lyrics by Arisen Ahubudu. This devotional song retells the occurrence of the Lord Buddha's first sermon in the deer park of Isipathana. The sermon was called *Dhammachakra Sūṭra* "setting in motion the wheel of the good law." The wheel's eight spokes symbolise the eight-fold path that leads to liberation from

worldly attachments (Wickremeratne, 2006, pp. 107, 276). *Sanarāmara Himi* describes the effects of the sermon and the reaction of its audience, the five hermits. Amaradeva does not use any ornamentation but sings one melisma in the chorus on the word *ḏesuvē* ("turned"), imitating the motion of the symbolic wheel. The lyricist was a member of the Hela Havula pure Sinhala movement and has therefore replaced some Sanskrit words with equivalents in Elu, the ancient and supposedly pure form of the Sinhala language. For example, the Elu word "ḏamsak" is used instead of the Sanskrit word *dharmachakra* ("wheel of dharma").[168] The use of such words and the overall aim of the Hela Havula were to promulgate a strain of Sinhala nationalism based on unique cultural traits, far removed from the Arya-Sinhala ideology that treated North India as a mother country. For this reason perhaps, Amaradeva has chosen not to use Indian-derived microtonal inflections in this song. The comparison of vocal tone in *Sanarāmara Himi* compared to that of Buddhist devotional songs previously discussed demonstrates that Amaradeva judiciously adopted varying tones to reflect lyric content and attributes rather than the classification of the songs themselves.

It is already evident that Amaradeva represented both ideologies in his work, and this trend continued into the final stage of his career. For instance, the song *Ṭaru Arundathi* is a romantic song about lost love with references to Hindu beliefs. A man's lover is likened to the Arundathi star, which according to the Hindu religion is the embodiment of Arundathi, goddess of the night sky and stars, who represents chastity and a model wife. It is not clear how such religious influences occurred in *sarala gee*, since Hinduism is practiced in North and South India. North Indian cultural appropriations contributing to the Arya-Sinhala identity may have been the cause.

[168] While it can be argued that the Elu word was used instead of the Sanskrit because it better suits the metrical cycle, it is also true that the rest of the song is written in the style of Hela Havula members, of which the lyricist was one.

However, cultural contacts with Sri Lanka's Tamil population through intermarriage with the precolonial Sinhalese aristocracy rendered the worship of individual Hindu deities commonplace amongst the Sinhalese, even to the present time. Similar to Sri Lanka's multireligious activities, Amaradeva uses cosmopolitan vocal styles. While he uses his contemporary tone with forward placement and head voice in new recordings such as *Hanthane Sihine*, he additionally adopts the chesty tone to add melancholic colouring to *Ḏaru Arundathi*. He also uses microtonal inflections to complement the text.

The duet *Hanthana Sihinē* is also about lost love. Its subject is not mirrored by vocal tone or melody but rather by vocal phrase structure. Though the phrases are technically four or six bars in length, they are fragmented with pauses between every two or three words. This represents the broken dream of a Hanthana romance between a university student and her lecturer. He is aware but unreceptive towards her affection, having recently been estranged from his wife who he still loves. The Hanthana Mountain Range provides a scenic backdrop to the University of Peradeniya in Kandy. It is an iconic location in which several films, songs and novels have been set, and as such is associated with feelings of nostalgia, romance and lost love according to Braine (2019).

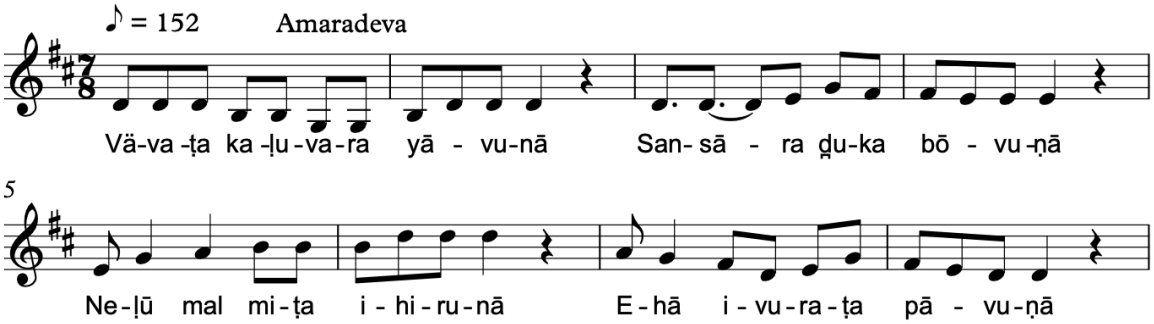
Suḏu Neḷuma Kō ("Where is the White Lotus") also has an interconnection between melodic content and lyrics. It is one of Amaradeva's most moving songs and a particular favourite of his during his final years (S. Amaradeva, personal communication, August 21, 2018). It was based on an incident known to the song's lyricist Rathna Sri Wijesinghe. He was a schoolteacher in the Okkampitiya village, Monaragala, Uva Province in 1981. The remote school only had one building and no bathrooms. One of his brightest students was an eleven-year-old girl in the seventh

grade. She often visited the local dam after school and picked white lotuses to sell at the local temple. She would then buy a few things for herself and give her remaining earnings to her family. Wijesinghe inquired after her one day when she did not attend class and learned she had drowned in the dam due to recent rain that caused flooding. When her body was found the next day, she was still clutching two white lotuses in her hand. Wijesinghe attended her funeral and found her family's house was too small even to contain the coffin, and her family had previously known so much grief that not one member could shed a tear (Radio Eka, 2016; R. S. Wijesinghe, personal communication, March 6, 2019).

This incident weighed heavily on Wijesinghe's mind until he wrote of it in this song for Amaradeva's *Madhuvaṇṭi* program. Wijesinghe chose to set the song in well-known Sorabora Wewa, Mahiyangane, also in the Uva Province. Amaradeva retold the story and performed *Suḏu Neḷuma Kō* at a 1994 performance at Tower Hall, bringing many audience members to tears. This released Wijesinghe's emotional burden because he felt she had finally been mourned properly. Wijesinghe visited the Okkampitiya temple in 2018 and learned people still inquire about the incident because of *Suḏu Neḷuma Kō* (R. S. Wijesinghe, personal communication, March 6, 2019). It can be surmised that this song was highly resonant with Sri Lankan audiences because the girl's poor quality of life and tragic death were congruent with the atavistic twentieth-century political and artistic nationalist discourses featuring the suffering of villagers.

The song is set to the seven-beat time cycle with a 3+2+2 division particular to Sinhala folk music since it has a village setting. The overall melodies in the choruses and verses have an arching formation with the climax occurring in the third phrase, thus representing how the girl's body washed away with the flood and then floated back the

next day to the place she drowned. See a transcription of the first verse in Example 7.13 below.



Example 7.13. Basic melody in first verse of *Suḏu Neḷuma Kō* (2002 recording)

The variation of melodic material in both the instrumental and vocal sections alludes to the cyclic nature of man's suffering as described in Buddhist philosophy. There are also textual references to the Buddhist concepts of *sansāra* (the mundane cycle of existence) and *ḏuka* (suffering). The language used has some colloquial words mixed with semiformal Sinhala but is highly metaphorical. The girl is not explicitly mentioned but is symbolised by the lotus flowers, for instance in the song's title and opening line "Suḏu neḷuma kō" "Where is the white lotus." White lotuses represent purity in Sinhalese culture and thus in this song they allude to the young girl's innocence.

The songs discussed in this section are spread out over several decades and the comparison of their orchestration reveals that Amaradeva's *sarala gee* continued to evolve even during the latter decades of his career, and as other musicians arranged his songs they tend to have varying instrumentation. *Sanarāmara Himi* and *Saňḏa Horen Horen* are the only period recordings from the 1980s and both have sparse instrumentation containing a blend of South Asian and European instruments such as the cello, acoustic guitar, sitar and bamboo flute. *Saňḏa Horen Horen* was composed by Premasiri Khemadasa who had studied Western classical music. Thus, ostinatos and motivic development feature in the instrumental sections. Amaradeva had used a waltz rhythm in some of his previous songs and also arranges a *boom-chuck-chuck* rhythm for

the acoustic guitar in *Sanarāmara Himi*. Both songs have arpeggiated accompaniment also played on acoustic guitars. Heterophonic doubling between the violin and voice is not used in either song and this textural shift was likely influenced by Sinhala pop.

Neither of the three songs *Suḏu Neḷuma Kō*, *Ḏaru Arundathi* and *Ḏāṯṯā Unaṭ* have period recordings available. New versions were recorded between 1999 and 2002 and contemporary *sarala gee* instrumentation also reflecting Sinhala pop with electric bass lines, harmonic keyboard accompaniment and strings playing harmonised melodic lines or counter melodies are present. The convergence of *sarala gee* and Sinhala pop orchestration styles and efforts by the State radio to preserve *baila* music (Samarasinghe, 2011, p. 112) suggest a sociological acceptance of Sri Lanka's cosmopolitan culture and a dismissal of the Eastern-Western binarism that was present throughout much of the twentieth century.

Hanthana Sihinē composed by Aruna Genawardena is one of the last songs Amaradeva released. It is a duet sung with Sinhala New Age singer Umariya Sinhawansa (1991–) and thus contains similar orchestration to mainstream New Age songs. Instrumentation is sparse with the cello and violin playing the melodic parts, including some countermelodies against each other and the vocalists. The texture is otherwise homophonic with constant strummed guitar accompaniment throughout and arpeggiated keyboard accompaniment in vocal sections. There is also a contemporary bassline though it is buried in the mix, similar to other *sarala gee*. Synthesised Latin-American percussion instruments are also used. The acoustic equivalents were originally used in Calypso music of the mid-twentieth century and the trend of synthesised Latin and Western popular music percussion manifested itself in Sinhala pop. The latter is often used in contemporary *sarala gee* in combination with the *tabla*. Such interweavings of Western and South Asian instruments in contemporary *sarala*

gee allude to its cosmopolitan nature despite the nationalist and hegemonising discourses and policies that sought to frame the genre in previous decades.

* * *

The comparative analysis in this chapter illustrates the transformative nature of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* output. The previous chapter describing his formative years illuminated a shift from a cosmopolitan to a hegemonic style and this chapter shows the gradual reversal of that process over many decades. The sense of cultural authenticity, however, was never lost. A semblance of both nationalism and a subtle cosmopolitan impulse are most evident in the eight songs discussed from Amaradeva's post-Bhathkande period (1960–1969). Imagery of rural lifestyles, paddy cultivation and premodern heroes embedded in the arts and political discourses of the 1960s are strewn throughout many of the lyrics. However, the themes also include romantic love and Buddhist philosophy. The lyrics draw from Sinhala folk songs in *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa*, *Raṯnaḏīpa* and *Iraṭa Muvāven* and Indian poetry in *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam* and *Sannāliyanē*. Rhythms and melodic patterns from Sinhala folk music were incorporated into the songs *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa*, *Iraṭa Muvāven*, *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa* and *Muni Siripā* thus sonically conveying their rural and patriotic themes. The rhythm of the perceived low-brow *baila* was also found in one of the songs, *Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biňḏu Biňḏu*. Overall, ornamentation was carefully chosen to suit the meaning of the song or the material from which it was inspired. Instrumentation was also chosen with the same consideration and included traditional Sri Lankan percussion or the mandolin used in *baila* combined with instruments more commonly used in *sarala gee*. Heterophonic textures were still the norm and Western instruments (excepting those such as the violin and clarinet, perceived to be Eastern by the SLBC's directors) are still absent in the period

recordings though Amaradeva allows a hint of harmonisation in *Raṭnaḍīpa* and *Sannāliyanē*.

The next decade brought about a relaxation of the restrictive policies and thus greater creative license for *sarala gee* artists. The songs analysed from the 1970s demonstrate a return to Amaradeva's cosmopolitan style which was previously most evident in the 1940s and early 1950s. Though musical style was hegemonized by nationalist policies of the SLBC from 1954 these policies were gradually repealed in the mid to late 1960s. Perhaps not coincidentally, this occurred alongside the popularisation of Sinhala pop through record labels such as Sooriya Records and the commercial English service of the SLBC. This resulted in the convergence of Sinhala pop characteristics with the existing *sarala gee* idiom. For instance, the heterophonic texture gave way to a homophonic texture in the songs *Pāvenā Nil Valāvē, Niḍahas Lanka, Kumariyaka Pā*, *Siri Buddhagaya Vihare* and *Sasara Vasana Ṭuru*. Vocal and instrumental counter melodies and electronic effects were used to some extent, and the head voice and regular phrasing are much more common. Some Western instruments such as the acoustic and electric guitar, keyboard and saxophone were also used in addition to the regular *sarala gee* instruments derived from Hindustani classical music in *Pāvenā Nil Valāvē, Niḍahas Lanka, Kumariyaka Pā* and *Siri Buddhagaya Vihare* and, in the latter two songs, Sri Lankan percussion. 1970s politics continued to promote Sinhalese patriotism and religion, themes which were also emulated in Amaradeva's songs of this decade such as *Sasara Vasana Ṭuru* and *Niḍahas Lanka*. However, representations of village life were present to a lesser extent in Amaradeva's *sarala gee* output though the Government accelerated key rural development projects. This suggests that though *sarala gee* was given State patronage, Amaradeva and *sarala gee*

composers and lyricists were not drawn into Government propaganda and created music that reflected the attitudes of society and particular sociopolitical changes.

The songs discussed from Amaradeva's senior career, which coincided with Sri Lanka's civil war, convey facets of the Sinhala identity in more subtle ways. For instance, *Suḏu Neḷuma Kō* retells the tragedy that befell a village family who lived a subsistence lifestyle. Such lifestyles were thought by modern Sinhala nationalists to be prevalent in precolonial times and the ability to be content with nonmaterial pleasures and to overcome inevitable sorrows was integral to the Buddhist ethos. Buddhist themes are also present in the song *Sanarāmara Himi*, but they are not conveyed in the Sanskritised language of the precolonial literary tradition, but rather the Hela language to which an autonomous Sinhala identity was ascribed. The deep connection between musical elements and language which elevates the status of *sarala gee* is present in all six songs. This inclusion of endogenous elements, however, does not extend to instrumentation. It is interesting to note that traditional percussion instruments were not commonly used during this period, which could be due to the absence of village agricultural themes in these songs. More likely factors, however, are the decline of traditional musical forms or the convergence with Sinhala pop, New Age and *sarala gee* orchestration styles at the turn of the twenty-first century. The discussion of song lyrics in this section illustrates that the majority of the most popular songs of Amaradeva's senior period mainly consisted of romantic songs such *as Saňḏa Horen Horen, Ṯaru Arundathi*, possibly illustrative of prolonged cultural mixing between the Sinhalese and Tamils, and *Hanthana Sihinē*. These songs do not have connections with atavistic themes particular to the Sinhalese. This lyric content and the absence of popular patriotic songs implies a societal realisation of the need for cultural coexistence rather than a hegemonic Sinhalese culture.

Chapter 8: Pandith Amaradeva, an Artist who Inspired

As we have seen, Pandith Amaradeva was a significant and influential artist whose music roused many Sri Lankans and brought unwaning critical acclaim during his lifetime and beyond. He was posthumously awarded the highest civil honour Sri Lankabhimanya ("Pride of Sri Lanka") by the Sri Lankan government in 2017; his songs are still listened to by Sri Lankans across the globe and are still aired on popular radio stations such as Sithu FM; and singers of all age groups frequently perform his songs on nationally broadcast, Sinhalese television programs like *Mä Novana Mama*. Upon receiving news of Amaradeva's death in 2016, the then President of Sri Lanka, Maithripala Sirisena, broadcast the following condolence:

> Maestro Amaradeva belonged to the generation of pioneers, whose quest was the Sri Lankan identity and the indigenous character. The country is indebted to him for the exceptional service he rendered to us by exploring the roots of local music to enrich it to an unprecedented high. Maestro Amaradeva reached the pinnacle of Sinhala music and brought fame to our nation. (Maithripala Sirisena, as cited in K. Perera, 2016)[169]

This dissertation investigated the claims, as exemplified by President Sirisena's eulogy, that Pandith W. D. Amaradeva made an unparalleled impact on Sri Lankan music and culture. I argued that the sociopolitical context in which he emerged as a creative artist was inextricably intertwined with his widespread success, and that his popularity also

[169] Similar sentiments were echoed previously in books (Edwin Ariyadasa in Abesundara et al., 2003, p. 182; Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 45), in newspaper articles (David, 2007; Mandawala, 2002), and in a conferral speech (Dharmadasa, 1998).

hinged upon his compositional and stylistic diversity. His music not only demonstrated his ability to weave various musical styles together that engaged a wide audience but also his ability to respond productively to the social and political forces that shaped the local music industry during his life. Several methods were deployed to support these arguments, including historical research, rhizomatic music classification, biographical reconstruction, and comparative musicological analysis.

Amaradeva was perceived to have done a duty to his nation by reviving elements of a local culture (rendered dormant during British colonial rule) while at the same time foregrounding originality in a commercial music industry that had tended to rely on melodies from exogenous sources. In the second chapter, I outlined the consequences of colonialism on Sri Lankan society and the development of Sinhala nationalism which created an environment for the inception of *sarala gee*. The British had created an Anglicised elite class by initially providing British education to a privileged few in Colombo who subsequently became the cultural gatekeepers of the island. Their education and socioeconomic standing provided incentives for them to continue with the British civilising mission, and a growing number of Sri Lankans therefore came to look upon the endogenous cultural past as primitive. As a consequence, traditional learning institutions were abandoned.

Disagreement between Buddhist and Christian literary cognoscenti on the philosophical soundness of their religions led to the establishment of the Sinhala print media, and public debates eventually helped the proponents of the Buddhist perspective gain ground in nationwide recognition and policy-making. Buddhist learning institutions reopened, and Sri Lankans took an interest in researching Sinhalese history. Certain mythological and historical occurrences noted in the Sinhalese chronicles became ingrained within the emerging Sinhala nationalist discourses that continued well

into the twentieth century. These included the Vijaya origin myth which, together with European linguistic research, tied Sinhalese ancestry to North India and an Aryan heritage. Language became an important pillar of both Sinhala identity and music, and North Indian classical music began to exert influence on the production of local music. The state language changed from English to Sinhala in 1956, creating a myriad of socioeconomic problems and ethnic conflict between the minority Tamils and the majority Sinhalese. Attention also turned to the ancient chronicles that documented the feats of the Sinhalese kingdoms in warfare as well as ancient technologies such as hydraulic engineering projects that sustained agriculture, both of which are referenced in Amaradeva's songs as well as in political discourse.

Chapter 3 discussed the revitalisation of musical culture, which was concomitant with a renewed interest in Sinhalese culture. At the same time, there is merit in the view that the slow emergence of ethnomusicological research in Sri Lanka was likely due to Theravada Buddhist doctrines that centred on music's unwelcome power to arouse sensual desire.[170] Therefore, to legitimize the growth of the popular music industry, the thematic content of the first Sri Lankan commercial music productions taken from the *nurthi* stage plays was often Buddhist, historical or didactic and the melodic content was ostensibly based on North Indian classical ragas. A new genre, *aluth sindu*, that emerged after the decline of *nurthi* plays had similar content but lacked originality as its output largely imitated Indian film songs.

Devar Surya Sena created some awareness of Sinhala folk music amongst the elites in Colombo society in the 1920s through his ethnomusicological research and

[170] This view was held by some Sri Lankan musicologists and artists, including Amaradeva, because abstinence from forms of entertainment such as music is one of the eight precepts that Buddhist monks must follow. These musicians believed that it accounted for the minute number of Sinhalese pitched instruments compared to their great number of percussion instruments, and the limited melodic scope of many folk songs. Other musicologists, however, disputed this viewpoint and claimed that Buddhist chant was the basis for Sinhalese folk music.

musical recitals of folk materials. It was Sunil Santha, however, who created greater awareness of the cultural integrity of folk music. He discouraged Colombo elites from "flippantly singing folk tunes" in the 1940s and remoulded folk songs into a style of popular music that contained Western instrumental harmonisation. This new genre, cofounded by Ananda Samarakoon and Amaradeva, was termed *sarala gee* ("light song"). It was later patronised by the state-run Radio Ceylon which imposed hegemonistic regulations on the genre in the 1950s and 1960s.

The classification of *sarala gee* and other popular Sinhala music genres, in the fourth chapter, began with an inquiry into the contentious issue of what constitutes Sri Lankan music. My findings show that Sri Lankan music is extremely diverse and that opinions on its definition and scope varied according to an individual's sociopolitical allegiances. The diversity of Sri Lankan music likely stemmed from the island's former position as a cultural entrepot and a checkered history culture contact that brought about extensive cross-fertilisation. The issue of defining Sri Lankan music also developed from the emergence of two competing schools of music composition in the 1960s. One espoused an Arya-Sinhala identity that promoted links to North India and that deemed the study of traditional Sri Lankan music unworthy in institutions of learning; and the other espoused nativist affiliations and believed that the study of Hindustani classical music hampered originality and Sri Lankan authenticity. The comparative analysis later demonstrated that Amaradeva did not subscribe exclusively to either of these schools. There were, nonetheless, some isolated views of his music as not being "Sri Lankan" because of his use of Indian ragas.

These polarised perceptions of Sinhala music were also apparent in existing popular music classifications, which were partial, in both senses of the term, and in some cases contradictory. The complex realities of Sinhala music warranted an

interrogation of these classifications and the construction of an alternative one that was more inclusive, embracing all eight main genres of Sinhala popular music.[171] The adoption of the rhizomatic classification method for these genres was based on a conceptual model proposed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). As I have demonstrated, (see Figure 3) all genres are inextricably linked to one another due to intensive cross-fertilisation that has occurred over a long period of time.

While Chapters 2 to 4 contextualised Amaradeva's music in historical, cultural, political and classificatory terms, the remaining chapters examined how these contextual dimensions, as manifested throughout Amaradeva's life, impacted on his compositional approach. Chapter 5 revealed that though Amaradeva was born into a middle-class family he was exposed to rural folk music (such as occupational songs) and was trained in Buddhist religious and poetic recitation. Moreover, growing up in a cosmopolitan village that displayed religious pluralism meant that he also sang at Christian churches and became familiar with their hymnody. In addition, he participated in vernacular *baila* competitions, though he trained in Hindustani classical music. His nationalistic awareness was enhanced early on by Cumaratunga Munidasa, founder of the Hela Havula or pure Sinhala movement described in Chapter 2.4. Thus, in a certain sense Amaradeva's formative musical life embodies the complex historical and cultural profile of Sri Lanka, more generally.

After moving to Colombo in the mid-1940s, Amaradeva became immersed in Colombo's artistic youth groups, most notably the Chitrasena Centre where artists from varying fields could lodge and interact in artistic and social ways. Amaradeva

[171] These genres include *nurthi gee* (North Indian-inspired *nurthi* stage play songs), *baila* (dance music based on Portuguese-Burgher and Caffir music) *sarala gee* (the nationalist genre of music Amaradeva widely worked in), *chithrapati gee* (film songs), *natya gee* (stage drama songs), Sinhala pop (the first genre to incorporate Latin rhythms and electronic instruments) and Sinhala New Age (songs created after 1998).

collaborated with many members of the centre, such as choreographer Chitrasena and film producer Lester James Peiris, who produced ballets and films that echoed the nationalist sentiments of the twentieth century by depicting rural life, its hardships and its demise due to the advent of a European modernity. Amaradeva also collaborated with playwright Ediriweera Sarachchandra in his plays depicting Buddhist *jāḏaka* stories and historical events in premodern Sinhalese kingdoms. He drew from his own cultural experiences and fieldwork when composing music, and took great inspiration from his wife Wimala Amaradeva who was a folk singer and dancer. Amaradeva's long tenure in the music field partly stemmed from his drive to innovate, which was inspired by the linguist, Cumaratunga, and by his observance of the "middle path," a Buddhist philosophy that eschews extremes. In Amaradeva's case, this led to a continually evolving and highly cosmopolitan musical output that challenged the polarized attitudes that plagued Sinhala popular music for much of the twentieth century.

In Chapters 6 and 7, I demonstrated correlations between sociopolitical events and the evolutionary trajectory of Amaradeva's *sarala gee*. This trajectory is somewhat circular, as the following summary indicates. Amaradeva's career commenced when the island was still under colonial rule. Though cultural tastes were divided amongst the various classes, society was highly cosmopolitan in regions such as the southern coast and the capital Colombo. Amaradeva's early music produced between 1945 and 1952 adhered to some of the precedents, such as melodic doubling, set down by the Indian-inspired *nurthi gee* and the short-lived *aluth sindu* genres. It was also highly original, incorporating British light music orchestration and novel textures created through a blend of South Asian and European instruments, reflecting the nature of colonial society. Song themes were varied and lyrics were fairly simple encompassing, on the

one hand, nativist Hela Havula linguistic formations, and on the other, Sanskritised linguistic formations ascribed to the precolonial literary tradition.

The next period from 1952 to 1959, during which Amaradeva changed his cosmopolitan birthname noted in Chapter 4.1 to one more attuned to the Sinhalese identity, was characterized by a large musical shift that foregrounded a more South Asian sound, and which owes to two factors. The first was North Indian musician S. N. Ratanjankar's exhortation to create a "music of the people" by combining Sinhalese folk music with Indian ragas, and which Amaradeva attempted during this period, and the second was the growing Sinhalese nationalist sentiments spurred on by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party that won the 1956 elections with the promise of implementing a Sinhala-only language policy. The latter injunction led to new restrictions on Western musical techniques by Radio Ceylon. As such, Amaradeva turned to experimentation with texture and polyrhythmic instrumental layering. At this time, instruments were mostly North Indian but also included a percussion instrument from South `India. Further, his vocal technique developed dramatically after he received formal training at Bhatkhande Music Institute, and he began to sing with more microtonal pitch inflections. The song lyrics drew from folk songs and often featured quotidian village life.

The tendency toward patriotic *sarala gee* productions increased in the 1960s at the behest of the government, which funded rural development projects to revive agricultural practices that purportedly harked back to precolonial times. In accordance with these developments, Amaradeva's patriotic *sarala gee* contained allusions to Sinhalese rural life, Buddhist and historical themes, and Indian cultural references.[172]

[172] As noted in Chapter 7.3, It is tempting to speculate that the latter was perhaps due differentially to the propagation of the Arya-Sinhala identity and its links to North India, to Amaradeva's acculturation in Lucknow, or the long-standing cultural relations between Sri Lankan Tamils and Sinhalese.

Instrumentation, mostly North Indian with some Sri Lankan percussion, was sparse. Musical materials included occupational songs, North Indian ragas, ritual music, and *baila*, the ostensibly low-brow popular genre. This implies Amaradeva's unwillingness to completely let go of the cosmopolitan approach that was grounded in a diverse social and musical background.

While patriotic *sarala gee* were still produced abundantly in the 1970s, songs with rural themes were fewer despite the continuation of government-led rural development projects. This may have been due to youth discontentment with growing economic pressures in urban areas caused by the Sinhala-only Bill of the previous decade. There was a slight increase in romantic songs and Buddhist devotional songs, which were sung with Hindustani classical pitch inflections. In other songs however, Amaradeva adopted a vocal style akin to Western popular music, using the head voice and singing without pitch inflections. This is likely due to the easing of compositional restrictions at Radio Ceylon, and the influence of Sinhala pop. Sinhala pop characteristics such as homophonic accompaniment and Latin rhythms were present, as well as the use of electronic instruments such as the keyboard and electric guitar, and vocal effects. These changes were seen in the songs composed by others, while the songs Amaradeva composed himself featured harmonisation and counter melodies.

Since civil war broke out between the Sinhalese and Tamils in the 1980s, it is understandable that the production of patriotic songs decreased in Amaradeva's final career phase. While atavistic tendencies in the arts and in government policy was purposed to boost the Sinhalese morale, certain policies had dire repercussions for Sri Lankan minority groups. *Sarala gee* then seemed to take a step back from any semblance of a hegemonic cultural mould. Out of the sample of songs chosen, one featured a rural setting describing a real-life tragedy, another Buddhist devotional

sentiments, and the remaining ones romantic sentiments, signalling a shift away from Sinhalese-specific cultural references.[173]

The "indigenous character" Sirisena alluded to in the eulogy presented at the beginning of this chapter is projected through the markers of Sinhala identity evident in Amaradeva's *sarala gee*, namely, the classical poetic metres in the lyrics, the ritual rhythms in the music, the use of traditional instruments and the adaptation of folk melodies. Thematically, Sinhala identity markers include the references to traditional practices such as animist deity worship, and April New Year's games; the representation of love and sexual arousal and the complications that arise from the Buddhist taboo on desire; the reference to Buddhist symbols such as lotuses, sacred places such as Siripada, monuments such as the Samadhi Buddha Statue, and the philosophies of suffering, impermanence, and the cycle of life; and the descriptions of communalism and the fruits of labour. It is important to note that while these Sinhalese identity markers are agreeable to the Sinhala Buddhist literati, the melodic lyricism and cosmopolitan tendencies in Amaradeva's songs have made them popular amongst Sri Lankans of various ages and ethnicities.

My research into Amaradeva's life and music and their connection to Sinhalese nationalism have contributed to a deeper understanding of his iconic status in three ways. Firstly, the research draws together historical and musicological evidence that helps explain the evolution and diversity of his musical style in *sarala gee*. It unpacks the influences of colonial society, the Buddhist and various literary revivals, atavistic ideologies, patriotism, and notions of ethnic authenticity on his creative output. These

[173] The latter songs had references to family life, to a Hindu goddess and to a romantic Sri Lankan location. Musically too, there was more inclusivity, though the drive to elevate language by reflecting its meaning musically was still evident.

influences contributed to his development as an open-minded, cosmopolitan, creative individual, at the same time an individual firmly grounded in his Sinhalese identity.

Secondly, many Sri Lankans praise Amaradeva's achievements in music but, as much of the literature shows, they do not attempt to critique these achievements in the light of the cultural resources he drew upon and his inventiveness in reshaping those resources into new creations. My study reveals how he strived to render the Sinhalese language so precisely, how he incorporated rhythms of Sinhalese poetry, folk music and religious chant, and how he was able to project in a multitude of ways particular aspects of a perceived authentic Sinhala identity. My study also illustrates his journey of musical discovery over several decades; a journey shared with fellow travellers, and the many lyricists and musicians that he collaborated with. Indeed, as we have seen collaboration was key to Amaradeva's creative modus operandi.

Thirdly, my research challenges the notion that *sarala gee* is positioned as an opposite to other genres of Sinhala popular music, which borrow more heavily from Western popular music than traditional Sinhalese music. I have discussed various instances where *baila*, Sinhala pop and Sinhala New Age characteristics have been incorporated into *sarala gee* productions, and numerous other examples can be found in Amaradeva's repertoire. While other genres may be differentiated to some extent by their cultural and social, even ideological, values this research demonstrates that all Sinhala popular music genres are interrelated through a myriad of cross-fertilisations and interconnections, revealing similarities and differences that stem from Sri Lanka's historical and geographical intersectionality.

While this study has sought to bridge the various gaps in the research on *sarala gee*, there is more to do.[174] There are still many artists associated with this genre whose music has not been systematically examined. It would be instructive to compare how their lives and sociocultural circumstances impact on their compositions and musical productions. While the pioneering works of Sunil Santha have been partly explored, those of Ananda Samarakoon, the other founder of *sarala gee*, have not. It has already been shown that Samarakoon's lyrics were ethnically inclusive, but the patriotic ideologies he ascribed to remain unexamined. Conversely, a study of the works of the *sarala gee* musicians who were influenced by Amaradeva and who emerged alongside the rising popularity of Sinhala pop musicians, would also serve to augment our understanding of the cross-fertilisations between these two genres.

Another important aspect that is not systematically examined here is an investigation of how Indian ragas are used in Sinhalese popular music genres such as *sarala gee*, *natya* gee and *chithrapati gee*. While I have sought to identify the pitch inventories used in Amaradeva's music and, where applicable, relate them to ragas, I currently lack the expertise in Indian classical music forms, both Hindustani and Carnatic, to pursue this subject in any systematic way. Further investigation may reveal: the complex process of redeploying Indian musical elements for a Sri Lankan audience; the perceived correlation between emotions and raga pitch inventories and hierarchies in

[174] The scope of my study was limited to Amaradeva's *sarala gee*, and his compositions for ballet, films and stage dramas are widely unexplored in the existing scholarly literature. In my close listening of his *sarala gee* and film songs, I noted that the evolutionary trajectories of both genres were somewhat different. For instance, vocal countermelodies were used earlier and more frequently in film songs. A close study of *chitrapati gee* focusing on why film composers had more creative freedom than *sarala* gee composers may yield some answers to the differences in evolution of style and social factors that impacted on that development. While my classification of Sinhala popular music genres provides an opening for such inquiry, a larger sampling of the various genre species may lead to a revision of our understanding of the degree of cross-fertilisation.

the Sri Lankan context; and the extramusical associations of Indian ragas as understood by Sinhalese musicians.

My study references moments where Amaradeva's music was deployed by others to ease or provoke ethnic tensions between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Though it seems evident that his songs are known to many Sri Lankans, not only Sinhalese, I was unable to fully gauge the nature of Tamil responses to his music. A study of the reception of Amaradeva's music, and *sarala gee* more generally, by Sri Lankan Tamils could possibly contribute to peace and conflict studies on the island, unearthing the common values as well as the different values held by Sri Lankan Sinhalese and Sri Lankan Tamils.[175]

The veneration for Amaradeva and his place in Sri Lankan culture did not decline in his senior years or indeed after his death. While it might seem that certain Buddhist and Sinhalese aspects of his music may only be recognised by particular sectors of Sri Lankan society, the following quote from the major daily English newspaper, *The Island,* suggests that Sri Lankans of all ages have appreciated Amaradeva's music and his contribution to Sri Lankan culture. Muslim Sri Lankan journalist Zanita Careem writes,

> On the constantly changing pop and classical music scene, Amaradeva has loomed high for a number of decades and his popularity is still on the rise. We may have seen him on TV, caught a lucky glimpse of him on one of his rare appearances on stage, but his voice on radio, his haunting melodies will be always remembered by the young and old.

[175] Additionally, the relatively small amount of research on Sri Lankan music compared to other nations of South Asia does not include any investigation into Sri Lankan Tamil music or musical identity, except a subchapter in Devar Surya Sena's treatise (2008, pp. 106–108). This is an area that deserves much more attention.

> Today he is hailed as the creator of an idiom of music that is characteristically Sri Lankan. He has given an identity of individuality to the local music scene. (2001)

The issue of the scope and broad appeal of his music brings to mind the thinking of philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah in his book *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. Here, Appiah discusses the global appreciation of art works and cultural artefacts by societies to which they do not ordinarily belong:

> One connection—the one neglected in talk of cultural patrimony—is the connection not *through* identity but *despite* difference. We can respond to art that is not ours; indeed, we can fully respond to "our" art only if we move beyond thinking of it as ours and start to respond to it as art. But equally important is the human connection. My people—human beings—made the Great Wall of China, the Chrysler Building, the Sistine Chapel: these things were made by creatures like me, through the exercise of skill and imagination. I do not have those skills, and my imagination spins different dreams. Nevertheless, that potential is also in me. (Appiah, 2006, "Whose Culture is it Anway? section")

Appiah's thinking helps to put in perspective artistic appreciation in the complex multi-ethnic and multireligious world that is Sri Lanka. Just as humans all over the globe are able to respect the creations of those from different places because of our common human condition, different ethnic groups in Sri Lanka are able to respect Amaradeva's music because of a common connection between the sharing of a homeland and of aspirations to create a purposeful future within it. In Sri Lanka, there is a shared appreciation of aesthetic beauty and of the urge to create something novel and enduring. In a small country that was dominated by foreign powers and that was inveigled into

imitating foreign cultures from Europe and South Asia, its people have often struggled to express who they are and where they have come from. For this reason, Amaradeva's original music inspires pride in being Sri Lankan.

Yet, it cannot be denied that songs, such as, *Raṯnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* embody notions of an exclusive authentic Sinhala identity. This is a song about Sinhalese heroism in antiquity, which Amaradeva sang after his exhortations on peace during the civil war. Though this song was written over fifty years ago, it is reportedly known by heart by many non-Sinhalese today as attested by journalist Uditha Devapriya (2014). The song persists to this day just as atavistic notions persist to this day in Sri Lanka. Atavism, on the one hand, may foster an unhealthy and dangerous form of nationalism where hegemonic forces and the irrational fear of "outsiders" can precipitate ethnic conflict. Atavism, on the other hand, may encourage the oppressed to recover their dignity and rejuvenate a local culture diminished by colonial rule and to promote a deeper attachment to country.

The negative consequences of atavism are still clearly present in Sri Lanka, as evidenced by the political campaigns of the 2019 presidential election where Sinhalese candidates remonstrated on the 2,500-year-old history of the Sinhalese civilisation and promised to keep the island free from invasion, as the precolonial Sinhalese kings are said to have done. The election results were extremely divided on ethnic lines. Despite the division, Amaradeva's music remains compelling amongst a wide cross-section of Sri Lankans not only because of the allure of its artistry but because it is aspirational in its embrace of peaceful and productive coexistence, in its extolling of the simple things in life shared by all, and most importantly perhaps, in its celebration of Sri Lanka's specialness, and in its self-reliance and sovereignty.

Appendix A: Sinhala transliteration and pronunciation

The Sinhalese script is defined as a syllabary, which means each character denotes one syllabic instance. Each character either consists of a vowel, a vowel attached to a consonant, or, in some cases, a single consonant. Syllables are either short (consisting of one character) or long (consisting of two characters or a character with a long vowel). The primary form of each consonant has an inherent "a" vowel attached, equivalent to the *schwa* vowel in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).[176] Diacritics (called *pilla*) are used to denote a different vowel or a long vowel. The *al* diacritic is used to omit the inherent vowel in consonants.

Letter names start with the phonetic sound, followed by the suffix "yanna." Many letters also have a prefix based on their categorical grouping (e.g., *sanyaka* characters). There are two sets of characters, called *suddha* ("pure") Sinhala, used in colloquial writing, and *miśra* ("mixed") Sinhala, used in formal writing. The latter, which includes the aspirate sounds represented by the *mahaprāna* characters that had disappeared from spoken Sinhala, was derived from Sanskrit and were first used for Pali and Sanskrit loan words. Other *miśra* letters, however, are pronounced exactly the same as their *suddha* Sinhala counterparts, although the characters are assigned to certain words and cannot be used interchangeably (Wijaythilake & Parrila, 2019, p. 199).

The standard Sinhala-English diacritics used in this dissertation were based on the scheme set down by Garrett Field (2017, p. xii). I have used some additional diacritics from the IPA, namely the bridge diacritic to denote dental consonants. The purpose of this is to visually highlight the different forms of the language in the song lyrics, as the hard retroflex consonants occur more often in colloquial speech than in semiformal or formal speech. Colloquial speech was influenced by Dravidian languages, as well as Portuguese, Dutch and English to a lesser extent (Wijaythilake & Parrila, 2019, p. 196). The abundance of soft dental consonants and other soft consonants such as "n" and "l" in all forms of Sinhala is a feature of the language common to Indo-Aryan languages (R. Weerasinghe, personal communication, August 24, 2018). Some characters in the miscellaneous category such as the *biṇḍuva* character diacritic were also added for clarity. The two Sinhala vowels that are not distinguished by diacritics are the open "a" sound and the mid-central *schwa* (similar to the "a" in *above*), both denoted by an a. Note that all pronunciations below are based on Australian and British English.

Table A1

Sinhala-English Transliteration Chart

Long vowels				
ආ āyanna = Ā ā (e.g., ආරක්ෂාව ārakṣāva "safety")	ඒ ēyanna = Ē ē (e.g., ඒක ëka "that one") Pronounced like "bear"	ඊ īyanna = Ī ī (e.g., ඊයේ īye "yesterday") Pronounced like "see"	ඕ ōyanna = Ō ō (e.g., ඕලු ōlu "waterlilies") Pronounced like "oar"	ඌ ūyanna = Ū ū (e.g., ඌරා ūrā "pig") Pronounced like "school"

[176] Thank you Chloe Angel for your assistance finding this technical accent term.

Pronounced like "car"				
Sinhala umlaut				
Short form: ඇ äyanna = Ä ä (e.g., ඇය äya "she") Pronounced like "cat"	Long form: ඇ ā̈yanna = Ā ā̈ (ඇත ā̈ṯa "distant") Pronounced like "drag"			
Dental consonants (Where the tongue touches the back of the front teeth.)				
ද ḏayanna = Ḏ ḏ (e.g., දත ḏaṯa "tooth") Pronounced like "there"	ත ṯayanna = Ṯ ṯ (e.g., තාත්තා ṯāṯṯā "father") Pronounced like "thunder"			
"Mahāprāna" letters are *misra* ("mixed") Sinhala letters and are therefore derived from Sanskrit. They are often pronounced identically to their *suddha* Sinhala counterparts above but are aspirated when spoken in formal Sinhala or in Buddhist sermons.				
ධ mahāprāna dhayanna = dh (e.g., බුද්ධ Buddha)	ථ mahāprāna thayanna = th (e.g., ථේරවාද Thëravāḏa	භ mahāprāna bhayanna = bh (e.g., භූමිය bhūmiya)	ඛ mahāprāna khayanna = kh (e.g., ඛනිජ khanija "mineral")	ඝ mahāprāna ghayanna = gh (e.g., ඝනයි ghanayi "thick")
Pre-nasalised consonants (The first letter of the transliterated characters below resonates in the nasal passage. No English equivalents.)				
ඳ sanyaka ḏayanna = ňḏ (e.g., සඳ saňḏa "moon")	ඬ sanyaka ḍayanna = ňḍ (e.g., අඬනවා aňḍanavā "crying")	ඟ sanyaka gayanna = ňg (e.g., ගඟ gaňga "river") Pronounced slightly like "fungus"	ඹ amba bayanna = mb (e.g., අඹ amba "mango")	
Retroflex consonants (slightly similar pronunciation to the transliterated letters but the tongue touches the roof of the mouth. No equivalents in English.)				
ඩ ḍayanna = Ḍ ḍ (e.g., බඩ baḍa "belly")	ට ṭayanna = Ṭ ṭ (e.g., මට maṭa "for me")			
"Mūrdhaja" letters, part of the *misra* Sinhala character set, are also retroflex (All are pronounced identically to their "ḏantaja" counterparts which are not written with diacritics when transliterated into English, excepting *ḏanṯaja śayanna*.)				
ළ mūrdhaja ḷayanna = Ḷ ḷ (e.g., ළදරුවා ḷaḏaruvā "infant")	ණ mūrdhaja ṇayanna = Ṇ ṇ (e.g., ණය ṇaya "debt")	ෂ mūrdhaja ṣayanna = Ṣ ṣ (e.g., ආරක්ෂාව ārakṣāva "safety") Pronounced like "sheep"		
Miscellaneous				

“Gäṭapilla” is a diacritic added to consonants. It can have two different forms and pronunciations. No English equivalents.		ශ ḏanṯaja śayanna = Ś ś (e.g., ශාන්ත śānṯa “serene”) Pronounced like “sheep”	ච ĉayanna = Ĉ ĉ (e.g., චලනය ĉalanaya “trembling”) Pronounced like “charm”	අං binḏuva (“dot” diacritic) = Ṅ ṅ (e.g., සිංහල Sinhala) Pronounced like “sing”
ගෘ = ṛu (e.g., ගෘහභාණ්ඩ gruhabāňḍa “furniture”)	ගෞ = Gau (e.g ගෞතම Gauṯama)	ඥ ṯalūja sanyōga nasikaya = gn (e.g., ඥානය gnanaya “knowledge”) Pronounced “ny” and is nasalised, like “gnocchi”	ත්‍ය yansaya = ya (e.g., සත්‍යය Saṯyaya “truth”)	

Appendix B: Methodology for classification of Sinhala popular music and sample song list

The following paragraphs and tables demonstrate the steps I took to devise the classification charts in Chapter 4.3 (figures 5–9). Below this is a list of 50 sample songs from each of the eight genres of Sinhala popular music. These were used for the aural examination and description of the genres.

1. Wrote descriptions of the genres based on academic/media articles, interviews and aural analysis. Descriptions included origins of the genre, socio-political context and a description of their evolution.

2. The description of their evolution allowed me to isolate the musical characteristics that were inherent to the genre during its conception and those that were accumulated at a later date.

3. Wrote bullet lists of the inherent characteristics of each genre based on these descriptions. Characteristics were classified as unique or shared, with unique characteristics having more causal weight.

Table B1

Summary of Characteristics in Sinhala Popular Music Genres

Genre	Characteristics
Nurthi Gee	Unique • Instrumentation: harmonium • Tonal inflections similar to Hindustani classical music • *Ālāp* (introduction) section • Rapid, extended ornamentation • Recitative vocal style Shared • Instrumentation: violin • Metric cycles characteristic of Hindustani classical music (e.g., 5-beat or 7-beat cycle) • Use of ragas
Sarala Gee	Unique • Instrumentation: flute, oboe, clarinet, *sitar*, *svaramandal*, *tānpurā*, *esrāj* Shared • Instrumentation: violin, *tabla*, traditional Sri Lankan percussion • Use of ragas

	• Ornamentation (*alankāra*) • Metric cycles characteristic of Hindustani classical music or traditional Sri Lankan music (e.g., 5/8 or 7/8)
Baila	Unique • 6/8 rhythm with hemiolas • Violin played in country-Western style • Strummed mandolin Shared • Major and minor scales
Chithrapati Gee	Unique • Tonal inflections similar to Bollywood music • Slides between notes (vocal and violin) • Rapid instrumental runs • Mandolin and violin played on high registers • Bollywood percussion rhythms
Natya Gee	Unique • Instruments: harmonium, mandolin, banjo, *maḍḍala* • Vocal technique: *uruṭṭuva* (Sinhala), called *kampitha gamaka* in Carnatic music Shared • Instruments: Sinhalese percussion • Use of ragas • Metric cycles characteristic of Hindustani classical music or traditional Sri Lankan music (e.g., 5/8 or 7/8)
Sinhala Calypso	Unique • Acoustic instruments: guitar, piano, homemade percussion • Rhythmic strummed guitar • Rhythms: 4/4 (3+3+2) Shared • Major and minor scales • 6/8 rhythm • Vocal harmony
Sinhala pop	Unique • Minimal ornamentation • Instrumentation: electric guitar, keyboard, synthesised sounds, saxophone, trumpet • Latin rhythms • Guitar riffs/melodies Shared • Major and minor scales • Vocal harmony
Sinhala New Age	Unique

	• Instrumentation: cello • Vocal ornamentation reflexive of South Asian and Western styles • Rap/hip hop and RnB vocal styles (did not influence any other genre) Shared • Instrumentation: piano, acoustic guitar, synthesised sounds • Major and minor scales

4. Listened closely to a sample set of 50 songs from each genre listed further down in this appendix.

5. Compiled tentative classifications (figures 6 and 7) based on the following criterion. Elements in this criterion are based on historical perceptions of music and musical practices rather than factual data regarding the musical systems. For example, the violin, oboe, clarinet and flute are European instruments introduced to Sri Lanka and India during the colonial era. In the below table however, these instruments are listed under the Eastern systems of music because they were widely used in genres such as *sarala gee* (as some of them had endogenous counterparts) but not *baila* and Sinhala pop which were widely influenced by Western musical forms.

Table B2

Criterion for Determining Music Systems Used in Sinhala Popular Music Genres

Characteristic	**System**		
	Eastern		Western
	Traditional Sri Lankan	North Indian	
Instrumentation	Sri Lankan percussion	*Seraphina* (harmonium), *tabla*, *sitar*, *svaramandal*, *tānpurā*, *esrāj*, flute and violin (with South-Asian playing style)	Piano, keyboard, guitar, drum kit, mandolin, violin, trumpet, saxophone
Tonal structure	Modes found in folk music	Ragas	Major and minor scales
Vocal style	Straight; no slides	Inflected as in Hindustani classical music	Slightly inflected as in pop/contemporary music

Vocal ornamentation	Extended ornamentation at the end of a phrase as found in Sinhala folk music	That found in Hindustani classical music or Bollywood	Pop/contemporary melismas
Texture	Monophonic, homophonic		Heterophonic, polyphonic
Metric cycle	Cycles based on clustered *mātras* (syllabic instances). E.g., 3+3 (6 beats), 3+2+2 (7 beats), 2+2+3+2+2 (10 beats)	*Tālā* cycles found in Hindustani classical music (e.g., 4, 5, 7, 8, 16-beat cycles)	Regular time signatures found in contemporary pop (e.g., 3/4, 4/4, 6/8)
Lyric content	Village life, Buddhist themes	Hinduistic themes	Christian themes

6. Used the following criterion to determine levels of cross-fertilisation depicted in the rhizomatic classification (Figure 9):

Table B3
Criterion for Determining Levels of Cross-Fertilisation in Sinhala Popular Music Genres

		Number of characteristics		
	Number of songs	*1-2 (at least 1 unique characteristic)*	*3-4 (at least 2 unique characteristics)*	*5-6 (at least 3 unique characteristics)*
Criterion for more static genres (nurthi gee, sarala gee, baila and Sinhala calypso)	*1-10 songs*	*Low*	*Low*	*Medium*
	11-25 songs	*Medium*	*High*	*Very high*
	26-50 songs	*High*	*Very high*	*Extremely high*
Criterion for more static genres (chithrapati gee, Sinhala pop and Sinhala New Age)	*1-5 songs*	*Low*	*Low*	*Medium*
	6-20 songs	*Medium*	*High*	*Very high*
	21-50 songs	*High*	*Very high*	*Extremely high*

- If only one or two criteria were present in some of the songs, the level was deemed low

  E.g., the influence of *sarala gee* on *baila* was deemed low because Wally Bastiansz's early *baila* recordings included instruments characteristic of *sarala gee* (clarinet and oboe) but no other *baila* songs on the sample list did
- If one or two criteria were present in the majority of songs, the level was deemed high

  E.g., *baila* was influenced by only one aspect of Sinhala pop: its instrumentation. Sinhala pop instrumentation featured in most *baila* songs from the 1970s to the present.
- If three or four characteristics appear in at least half the songs in a sample set of an extremely diverse genre (i.e., *chitrapati gee*, Sinhala pop and Sinhala New Age), the effect is considered high

  E.g., Sinhala pop highly influenced New Age because most mainstream New Age songs use major/minor scales, have vocal harmonies, guitar melodies and the use of keyboards/synthesised sounds. Some of these also have minimal ornamentation, as in Sinhala pop

Sample set of songs from each genre:

<u>*Nurthi Gee* (Songs of *Nurthi* dramas)</u>

C. Don Bastian Jayaweera Bandara

1. Kāpiriyek Ā Bāla Aran (Kaapiriyek Aa Bola Aran) – from *Romlyn*

John de Silva [Playwright] and Vishvanath Laugi [Composer]

2. Ananda Vē Mā Haḏē (Ananda We Maa Hade) – from *Sri Sangabo Charithaya* (1903)
3. Baṇḏā Mā – from *Ramayana* (1904)
4. Bohoma Ḏōsā – from *Wessanthara* (1916)
5. Ḏanna Van Hun (Danna Wan Hun) – from *Sri Wickrama* (1906)
6. Mā Ḷaňḏavaṭa Ṭārapaṭī (Ma Landawatha Tharapathi) – from *Rathnawali* (1906)
7. Magē Maṇḏrī – from *Wessanthara* (1916)
8. Māge Sri Lanka Bārī (Maage Sri Lanka Baari) – from *Sri Wickrama* (1906)
9. Mema Gimhāna – from *Wessanthara* (1916)
10. Paṭmēki Pena Mūṇā – from Ramayanaya (1904)
11. Piyumi Lōlā (Piyumi Lolaa) – from *Sakunthala* (1904)
12. Punyavanṭa (Punyawantha) – from *Sri Wickrama* (1906)

13. Rakinū Īśvarā (Rakinu Ishvara) – from *Ramayana* (1904)
14. Siri Sangabodhi Māligāveḏī (Siri Sangabodhi Maligawedi) – from *Sirisangabo Charithaya* (1903)
15. Śrīyā Manamaṯ Vī (Shriya Manamath Vi) – from *Ramayana* (1904)
16. Suvaňḏa Paḏma Ōlu Āḏi (Suwanda Pathma Olu Adi) – from *Dutugamunu*
17. Uṯum Sasnē Ḏilenā – from *Surasonda Prakaranaya* (1916)
18. Vāsanā Ḏinēki (Wasana Dineki) – from *Sri Wickrama* (1906)

Charles Dias [Playwright]

19. Ā Kāsē Purā (Ae Kaasee Pure) – from *Bhuridatta*
20. Aganā Baḍōya Mēvā (Agana Badooya Mewa) – from *Padmawathee*
21. Araganṭa Yamī (Araganta Yamee) – from *Vidura*
22. Baňḏinemi Dāṯa Ūgē (Bandinemi Detha Uge) – from *Siwamma Dhanapala* (Music by Nawak Khan)
23. Bhāṯru Rajā Rōgen (Bhathru Raja Rogen) – from *Siwamma Dhanapala* (Music by Nawak Khan)
24. Chandra Saḏisi Kō – from *Chandra*
25. Ḏalaḏā Muni Sākya Sinha – from *Hemamali*
26. Harimi Raja Säpā – from Siwamma Dhanapala *(mus*ic by Nawak Khan)
27. Maṭa Enṭa Kiyā – from *Bramport*
28. Mithurinda Rāja Māligā – from *Vidura*
29. Neṯa Hariyannē Oya Kārī (Netha Hariyanne Oya Kaari) – from *Dharmashoka*
30. Simbinemi Prēmi Magē – from *Sivamma Dhanapala* (Music by Nawak Khan)
31. Yaṭā Yamunā Naḏiyē – from *Bhuridatta*

D. J. W. Gunathilaka [Playwright]

32. Buddha Dhamma Sanga – from *Sri Sangabodhi* (Sri Sangaboḏī)
33. Ḏīpē Ṯeḏā Bhūgaṯī (Deepe Theda Bhugathee) – from *Sri Sangabodhi*
34. Gasālā Roḏa Prīṯi (Gasala Ronda Preethi) – from *Lanka Maatha* (Lanka Māṯā)
35. Lankavē Innavū – from *Lanka Māṯā*
36. Mama Yannē – from *Lanka Māṯā*
37. Mūṇa Pirisiňḏu Kara (Moona Pirisidu Kara) – from *Lanka Māṯā*
38. Prēmi Magē – from *Lanka Māṯā*
39. Priya Sunḏariyē – from *Ashokamala*
40. Sansāra Sāgaren (Sansara Saagaren) – from *Lanka Māṯā*
41. Sansārayen Ḏōsē – from *Lanka Māṯā*
42. Ṯun Siṯa Pahaḏā (Thun Sitha Pahada) – from *Lanka Māṯā*
43. Janma Bhāśaḏī – from *Lanka Māṯā*

R. John Perera [Playwright]

44. Äṯiremi Ḏēsē (Athive Me Dase) – from *Aladin Saha Puḏuma Pahana*
45. Mavuni Sunḏara (Mauni Sundara) – from *Aladin Saha Puḏuma Pahana*

Sirisena Wimalaweera [Playwright]

46. Ākāsa Jala Vāyu (Aakaasa Jala Vayu) – from *Piṭisara Kella*
47. Ālē Kalemuṯ Panaṭa (Aale Kalemuth Panata) – from *Piṭisara Kella*
48. Buddha Sāsanē (Buddha Saasane) – from *Sinhala Vīrayā* (Sinhala Weeraya)

Unknown

49. Pemvaṯa Ṯarahā (Pemwatha Tharaha)
50. Uṯṯama Van Lova Patalā (Uththama Van Lowa Pathala)

Sarala Gee

W. D. Amaradeva:

1. Āḏarayaḏa Mē (2012, Composer: Aruna Gunawardena, Lyricist: Janaka Siriwardena)
2. Biṇḏu Biṇḏu Ran (1970s, Composer, Self: Lyricist: Madawala S. Ratnayake, *Svarna Varna* (*Swarna Warna*), radio program)
3. Ḏāṯē Ellī (1970s, Composer: Self, Lyrics: Swarna Sri Bandara, *Svarna Varna*, radio program)
4. Obē Namin (1960s, Composer: Self, Lyricist: Mahagama Sekara, *Maḏuvanṯi* (Maduwanthi) radio program)
5. Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biṇḏu Biṇḏu (1960s, Composer: Self, Lyricist: Dolton Alwis, *Vijaya Geetha,* radio program)
6. Raṯnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi (Ratnadeepa Janma Bhoomi 1964, Composer, Self, Lyricist: Mahagama Sekara, *Maduwanthi,* radio program)
7. Śānṯa Mē Rā Yāmē (Shantha Me Ra Yame, 1940s, Composer and Lyricist: Self)

Rohana Bogoda

8. Neṯin Neṯa Bālalā (Nethin Netha Balala, 1980s, Composer: Stanley Peiris, Lyricist: Daya de Alwis)

Ivor Dennis

9. Abhimānanīya Vu Navōḏayē (Abhimananeeya Wu Nawodaye, Composer: Self, Lyricist Lesley Botheju)

Karunarathne Divulgane

10. Bäbalīma Vagēma (Babaleema Wagema, Composer: Self, Lyrics: Yamuna Malani Perera)
11. Pōyaṭa Avilena (Poyata Awilena, Composer: Unknown, Lyrics: Sunil Dayananda Konara)

Sunil Edirisinghe

12. Bānen Bäňḏa (Baanen Banda, Unknown)
13. Epā Yali Hamuvanna (Epa Yali Hamuwanne, Composer: Karunaratne Wijewardena, Lyrics: Dishan Nanayakkara)
14. Kaňḏuḷu Ḏenna Maṭa Haňḍanna (Unknown)

Edward Jayakody

15. Karaḏiya Gämbarē (Composer: Rohana Weerasinghe, Lyricist: Premakumara Jayawardena)
16. Mārambarī (Composer: Rohana Weerasinghe, Lyricist: Kumaradasa Saputhanthri)

Somathilaka Jayamaha

17. Säňḏā Aňḏura Lova (Sanda Andura Lowa, Composer and Lyricist: Self)

T. M. Jayarathna

18. Mē Ayurin (Composer: Premasiri Khemadasa, Lyricist: Ajantha Ranasinghe)
19. Pāvī Pāvī Mā Ennē (Pawee Pawee Ma Enne, Composer: Premasiri Khemadasa, Lyrics: Maithri Panagoda)

Gunadasa Kapuge

20. Dā̆sa Nilupul (1973, Composer: Sanath Nandasiri, Lyricist: Priyananda Wijesundara)

Punya Kathriarachchi

21. Dā̆sa Vasāgami (Desa Wasagami, 1970s, Composer: Gunadasa Kapuge, Lyricist: Daya de Alwis)

Nanda Malini

22. Ĉanḏra Maňḍulu Yata (Chandra Madulu Yata, 1970s, Lyrics: Mahinda Algama)
23. Magē Neṯ (Mage Neth, Composer: Sena Weerasinghe, Lyrics: Kularatne Ariyawansa)
24. Nisansala Rā̆ (Composer: Pandith W. D. Amaradeva, Lyrics: Dolton Alwis)
25. Obayi Ramya (Obai Ramya, Composer: H. M. Jayawardana, Lyrics: Sunil Ariyarathna)
26. Raṭa Karavanna Nam (Rata Karawanna Nam, Composer: Rohana Weerasinghe, Lyricists: Sunil Ariyarathna)

Sanath Nandasiri

27. Samiňḏuni Oba Sevanällē (Saminduni Oba Sewanelle, 1970s, Unknown)
28. Numbē Suvaňḏa Pirunu Punĉi Kāmarē (Nube Suwanda Pirunu Punchi Kamare, Composer: Self, Lyricist: Praneeth Abesundara)

Deepike Priyadarshani

29. Magē Ḏēśaya (Composer: Rohana Weerasinghe, Lyricist: Sunil Ariyarathna)

Dayaratna Ranatunga

30. Mal Pipilā (1970s, Unknown)
31. Uḏumbarā (Composer: Sarath Dassanayake, Lyricist: Upali Danawalavithana)

Victor Ratnayaka

32. Āḏarayē Ulpaṯa Vū Ammā (Adaraye Ulpatha Wu Amma, Composer: Self, Lyrics: Premakeerthi de Alwis)
33. Amma Näṯi Maṭa (Amma Nathi Mata, Composer: Self, Lyricist: Lucian Bulathsinghala)

34. Mal Pokuru Pokuru (Composer: Stanley Peiris, Lyrics: Ajantha Ranasinghe)
35. Pavē Valā (Pawe Wala, Composer: Mervyn Perera, Lyrics: Meegoda Wilson)
36. Ruvan Niḏana Heḷa Bimayi (Ruwan Nidana Hela Bimai, 1970s, Composer: Self, Lyricist: K. C. Pagnyapala)
37. Sihil Suḷaṅ Rällē (Composer: Self, Lyrics: Sena Weerasekkara)
38. Ṯani Ṯaruvē (Thani Tharuwe, Composer: Self, Lyrics: Prema Keerthi de Alwis)
39. Ṯoṭupola Ayinē (Thotupola Ayne, Composer: Self, Lyrics: Sunil Ariyarathna)

Sunil Santha

40. Kokilayangē (Composer: Self, Lyricist: Hubert Dissanayake)
41. Lanka, Lanka, Pembara Lanka (1940s, Composer: Self, Lyricist: Arisen Ahubudu)
42. Mihikaṯa Naḷavālā (Mihikatha Nalawala, 1950s, Composer: Self, Lyrics: Hubert Dissanayake)
43. Ōlu Pipīlā (Olu Pipeela, 1946, Composer and Lyricist: Self)

Ananda Samarakoon

44. Ennaḏa Mänikē (1944, Composer and Lyricist: Self)
45. Bäsa Sīṯala Gaňgulē (Besa Seethala Gangule, 1940s, Composer and Lyricist: Self)

Chandrika Siriwardena

46. Raṯṯaranin Ran Mālā (Raththaranin Ran Mala, 1970s, Unknown)
47. Uk Ḏaňḏu Ḏunnen (1970s, Unknown)

Neela Wickramasingha

48. Ḏāṯaṭa Vaḷaḷu (Dathata Walalu, Composer and Lyricist: C. de S. Kulatillake)
49. Magē Lovaṭa Oba Vaḍina Ṯurā (Mage Lowata Oba Wadina Thura, 1970s, Composer: Premasiri Khemadasa, Lyricist: Ajantha Ranasinghe)

Lakshman Wijesekara with Nirmala Ranatunga

50. Pavēḏō (Pawedo, 1978, Composer: Victor Ratnayake, Lyricist: Camilus Perera)

Baila

Corine Almeda

1. Mage Konḍa Näṯaṯ (Mage Konda Nathath)

Wally Bastiansz

2. Hāyi Hūyi Babi Āĉĉi (Haai Hooi Babi Achchi, 1945, EP record, based on the Repasz Band March)

3. Irine Jospin Rosalin / Violey - *Hits of Wally Bastians* (1969, Phillips: JVPC 1033, EP record)
4. Lakḏiva Goviyā (Phillips BSP008, Gramophone record**)**
5. Muhuḏē Yamu Masun Maranna
6. Nurse Nōna (1962, EP record)
7. Vaḏaka Bhāriyā
8. Vaṭṭi Amma (Watti Amma, Phillips BSP008, Gramophone record**)**
9. Vīriyen Soyā (Weeriyen Soya)

Dalreen Suby

10. Prāna Haṯak Ḏenevā Kiyalā (Prana Hathak Denewa)
11. Ṭikki Ṭikiri

Desmond de Silva

12. Āyā, Magē Āyā (Aaya, Mage)
13. Ĉūḍa Mānikē Balāla (Chooda Manike Balala) – *Sweet Voice of Desmond de Silva* (1975, EP record)
14. Kollupitiya Junction
15. Mamma Nō, Pappa Nō – *Mohamed Ali* (1975, Gemtone: OME 97, EP record)
16. Maṯakayi Ammē (Mathekai Amme) – *Piyā (*1977, Sooriya: CHB 057, EP record, Originally sung by Wally Bastiansz)
17. Neḷum Malē (with Mariazelle Gunthilaka)
18. Polkaṭu Hänḏe Miṭa vagē (Polkatu Hande Mita Wage) – *Mohamed Ali* (1975, Gemtone: OME 97, EP record)
19. Yaman Bando Vesak Balanna (Yaman Bando Wesak Balanna) – *Victory Super-Set* (1977, EP record Originally sung and composed by Wally Bastiansz)

Saman de Silva

20. Niyarē Piyanagalā
21. Dompe Āyā (Originally sung by W. M. Bernard Perera and Angeline in 1945)

M. S. Fernando

22. Asōka Mal (Phillips: 1005, EP record)
23. Lassana Amba Gasak – *Baila Hits of M. S. Volume 1* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1004, EP record)
24. Lassana Rōsa Malak – *Hits of M. S. Vol. 2* (1968, EP record)
25. Mama Taxi Kareyā – *Baila Hits of M. S. Volume 1* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1004, EP record)

Mariazelle Gunthilaka

26. Kandy Lamissi – *Kandy Lamissi*, (1976, Composer: M. K. Rocksamy, Lyricist: Self, Gemtone: OME 1010, EP record)

The Gypsies

27. I Don't Know Why – *I Don't Know Why* (2004, CD album)
28. Kiyanne Goṯalā (Kiyanne Gothala) – *I Don't Know Why* (2004, CD album)
29. Lankavē – *I Don't Know Why* (2004, CD album)

30. Piṭi Koṭapan – *Siṅyōrē* (1998, CD album)
31. Siṅyōrē – *Siṅyōrē* (1998, CD album)
32. Ṯāṯṯā Maṭa (Thaththa Mata) – *Singyore* (1998, CD album)

Anton Jones

33. Āsayi Bayayi (Asai Bayai)
34. Baby Play the Rumba
35. Giyā Api Haňḏaṭa (Phillips: EXVEE JVPC 1013, Gramophone record)
36. Kanṯōruva (Kanthoruwa) – *Baila Hits of 1968* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1008, EP record)
37. Kiṅkini Nāḏē (Phillips: EXVEE JVPC 1012, Gramophone record)
38. Komala Papā
39. Magē Bāla Kālē (Phillips: EXVEE JVPC 1013, Gramophone record)
40. Mavunē (Mawune, Phillips: EXVEE JVPC 1012, Gramophone record)
41. Mini Gavuma (Mini Gauma) – *Baila Hits of 1968* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1008, EP record)
42. Poḍi Wije (1980s)
43. Premawathi Manamperi (1971)
44. Rukmani Devi – *Anton Jones* (1978, Gemtone: OME 2041, LP record)
45. Sigiri Giri Sikaraya

Maxwell Mendis

46. Mage Suraṯal Poḍi Ḏuva (Mage Surathal Podi Duwa)
1. Mama Bohoma Baya Vuṇā (Mama Bohoma Baya Wuna)
2. Raṭak Vaṭinavā (Ratak Watinawa)

Nihal Nelson

3. Lassanaṭa Pipunu

Dhanapala Udawatta

4. Ā Nīla Varala Pīralā (Ae Neela Warala Peerala)

<u>*Chithrapati Gee*</u>

Abhirahasa (Abirahasa, 1971, Director: Lenin Moraes, Music Director, P. L. A. Sompala, Lyricist: Karunaratna Abesekara)

1. Susuḏu Rälla (Susudu Rella) – H. R. Jothipala and Angeline Gunatilake (Hindi melody)

Āḏara Hasuna (1986, Director; H. D. Premaratne, Music Director: Rohana Weerasinghe)

2. Ran Ḏevolin Bäsa (Ran Dewolin Besa) – Sunil Edirisinghe, Ivor Dennis and Damayanthi Jayasuriya

Āḏarē Hiṯenavā Ḏäkkama (Adare Hithenawa Dakkama, 1972: Director: Neil Rupasinghe, P. L. A. Somapala: Lyricist: Karunaratna Abesekara)

3. Rā̄ Ḏaval (Ra Dawal) – H. R. Jothipala and Anjaline Gunathilake (Hindi melody)

Āḏaranīya Kaṭāvak (Adaraneeya Kathawak, 2016, Director: Priyantha Colombage, Music Director: Udara Samaraweera)

4. *Āḏara* – Kasun Kalhara and Kushani Sandareka
5. Ahasin Ehā – Kasun Kalhara and Uresha Ravihari (Lyricist: Nilar N. Cassim)

Ägē Vayiraya (Age Vairaya, 1995, Director: Louis Vanderstraaten, Music Director: J. A. Dodamvala, Lyricist: Leelananda Gunawardena)

6. Māge Maṭakē Obē Ruva Äňḏē (Mage Mathake Obe Ruwa Ande) – Sujatha Athanayaka and H. R. Jothipala

Ahiṅsaka Prayōgaya (1959, dubbed from the Hindi film *Miss Mary* (1957) directed by L. V. Prasad)

7. Ō Rāṭriyē Mē Yāmē (O Rathriye Me Yame) – Latha Walpola and Mohidieen Baig

Anjalika (2006, Director: Channa Perera, Music Director: Rohana Weerasinghe, Lyricist: Sunil Ariyarathna)

8. Pāyanā Ira – Uresha Ravihari

Apēkśa (Apeksha, 1978, Director: H. D. Premaratne, Music Director: Clarence Wijewardena, Lyricist: George Leslie Ranatinghe)

9. Saňḏa Ṭanivelā Ahasē (Sanda Thaniwela Ahase) – Anjaline Gunathilaka and Milton Mallawarachchi
10. Saňḏakeliyē – Clarence Wijewardena

Ārādhanā (1981, Director: Vijaya Dharma Sri, Music Director: Rohana Weerasinghe, Lyricist: Kularatne Ariyawansa)

11. *Ārādhanā* – W. D. Amaradeva
12. Sīṭa Aranē (Seetha Arane) – Milton Mallawarachchi and Malini Bulathsinghala

Āsayi Piyāmbanna (Asai Piyambanna, 2007, Director: Udayakantha Warnasuriya, Music Director: Rohana Weerasinghe)

13. Pähäsara Obe Āḏarē – Centigradz
14. Päṭū Pem Päṭum (Pathu Pem Pathum)– Bathiya and Santhush ft. Umaria

Asokamala (1947, Directors: Shanti Kumar Senevirathna and T. R. Gopu, Music Directors: Mohamad Ghouse and W. D. Albert Perera (Amaradeva, assistant), Lyricist: D. T. Fernando

15. Ayi Kalē Yamek Ālē (Ai Kale Yamek Ale) – W. D. Albert Perera (Amaradeva)
16. Prīṭi, Prīṭi (Preethi, Preethi) – Bhagyarathi

Āvā Soyā Āḏarē (Awa Soya Adare, 1975, Director: Lenin Moraes, Music Director: Sarath Dassanayake, Karunaratna Abesekara)

17. *Āvā Soyā Āḏarē* – H. R. Jothipala and Anjaline Gunathilaka
18. Ron Soyā – Latha Walpola

Bambaru Aviṭ (Bambaru Awith, 1978, Director: Dharmasena Pathiraja, Music Director: Premasiri Khemadasa, Lyricist: Dharmasena Pathiraja)

19. Haňḏunāgaṭoṭ Oba Mā (Handunagathoth Oba Ma) – T. M. Jayarathna, Ivor Dennis and Sunila Abeysekera

20. Uḏumbarā – T. M. Jayarathna, Ivor Dennis and Sunila Abeysekera

Ḏelovak Aṭara (Delovak Athara, Director: Lester James Peries, Music Director: W. D. Amaradeva, Lyricist: Mahagama Sekara)

21. Gayana Gäyum – Neville Fernando and the Los Caballeros (arranged by Neville Fernando)

Ḏiyamanṭi (Diyamanthi, 1976, Director: Vasantha Obeysekara, Music Director: D. R. Peries, Lyricist: Sunil Ariyarathna)

22. Gigiri Gīṭa Rāvē (Gigiri Geetha Rawe) – Victor Ratnayaka
23. Yovun Vasanṭayē (Yowun Wasanthaye) – Nanda Malini

Ā̆ṭin Ā̆ṭaṭa (Ethin Ethata, 1984, Director: Sena Samarasinghe, Music Director: Sarath Dassanayake, Lyricist: Ajantha Ranasinghe)

24. Bōdhiyē Vaṭē (Bodhiye Wate) – Neela Wickramasingha

Kavuḏa Hari (Kauda Hari, 1961, Director: Titus Thotawatte, Music Director: Sisira Senaratne)

25. Mī Vaḏayakī Jīviṭē (Mee Wadayaki Jeevithe) – C. T. Fernando

Duleeka (1974, Director: K. A. W. Perera, Music Director: Premasiri Khemadasa, Lyricist: Dharmasiri Gamage)

26. Āḏara Mal Pavanē (Adara Mal Pawane) – H. R. Jothipala
27. Duleeka – Sanath Nandasiri

Jana Saha Manju (1978, Director: K. A. W. Perera, Music Director: Premasiri Khemadasa, Lyricist: Dharmasiri Gamage)

28. Lokē Jīvaṭ Vannaṭa (Loke Jeewath Wanata) – Clarence Wijewardena and Latha Walpola

Kaḍavuṇu Poronḏuva (Kadawunu Poronduwa, 1947, Director: Jyotish Singh, Music Director: Narayana Aiyar)

29. Jīviṭayē Sāmē (Jeevithaye Saame) – Rukmani Devi
30. Sri Jaya Vijaya – Minerva Singing Group

Lasanda (1974, Director: K. A. W. Perera, Music Director: Premasiri Khemadasa, Lyricist: Dharmasiri Gamage

31. Mā Prārṭanā (Ma Prarthana) – H. R. Jothipala and Anjaline Gunathilaka

Mathalan (1955, Directors: Clarice de Silva and Sesha Palihakkara, Music Director: R. Muttusamy, Lyricist: W. B. Fernando)

32. Ranvan Ḏul Karalin (Ranwan Dul Karalin) – Latha Walpola

Mihiḏum Sihina (1982, Director Daya Wimalaweera, Music Director: Sarath Dassanayake, Lyricist: Kularatne Ariyawansa)

33. Sarā Saňḏē – H. R. Jothipala

Monarathenna (1979, Director: Yasapalitha Nanayakkara, Music Director: Premasiri Khemdasa, Lyricist: Sri Nihal Jayasinghe)

34. Sevaṇē Kumbuk Sevaṇē (Sewane Kumbuk Sewane) – T. M. Jayarathna and Anjaline Gunathilake

Paththini (2016, Director: Sunil Ariyarathna, Music Director: Rohana Weerasinghe, Lyricists: Sunil Ariyarathna and Praneeth Abesundara)

35. Punĉi Samanali (Punchi Samanali) – Nirosha Virajini (Lyricist: Sunil Ariyarathna)

36. Suḏō Suḏū – Kasun Kalhara and (Lyricist: Sunil Ariyarathna)

Ranmuṯu Ḏūva (Ranmuthu Duwa, 1962, Director: Mike Wilson, Music Director: W. D. Amaradeva, Lyrics: Sri Chandraratna Manawasinghe)

37. Pāramiṯā Bala Pūriṯa Pūjiṯa (Paramitha Bala Puritha Pujitha) – W. D. Amaradeva and Nanda Malini

Raṯṯaran Ammā (1975, Director: Dharma Sri Kaldere, Music Director: P. L. A. Somapala)

38. Haḏa Sal Gasē – H. R. Jothipala and Sujatha Athanayaka

Rēkāva (1956, Director: Lester James Peries, Music Directors: Sunil Santha (songs) and B. S. Perera (background score), Lyricist: Fr. Marciline Jayakody)

39. Anurapura Polonnaruwa – Ivor Dennis

40. Ōlu Neḷum Neriya Raňgālā – Sisira Senarathna

41. Vesak Käkulu (Wesak Kekulu) – Indrani Wijebandara

Sahanaya (1972: Director: Music Director: W. D. Amaradeva (songs) and M. K. Rocksamy (background score), Lyricist: Dharmasiri Gamage)

42. Sihina Neḷum Mala – W. D. Amaradeva

Sēḏa Suḷaṅ (Seda Sulang, 1955, Music Director: Susarla Dakshinamurthi, Lyricists: Ananda Samarakoon, Sirisena Wimalaweera and D. T. Fernando)

43. Pem Kakula Pipī – Jamuna Rani and A. M. Raja (lyricist: Ananda Samarakoon)

Sāraviṭa (1965, Director: Tissa Liyanasooriya, Music Director: W. D. Amaradeva, Lyricist: Mahagama Sekara)

44. Lakśa Ganan (Laksha Ganan) – J. A. Milton Perera, C. T. Fernando, Anton Rodrigo and others

Saṯa Panahā (Satha Panaha, 1965, Director, M. S. Anandan, Music Director: R. Muttusamy, Lyrics: Hubert M. Senenviratne)

45. Ĉanḏrā Mē Rā̈ Pāyā Āvā (Chandra Me Ra Paya Awa) – H. R. Jothipala and Sujatha Athanayaka

Sigiri Kashyapa (1966, Director: Bandu Gunasekara, Music Director: T. F. Latiff, Lyricist: Benedict Fernando)

46. Pirunā Haḏa Sanṭānē – Haroon Lanthra and Sujatha Athanayaka

Suḏō Suḏū (1965, Director: Robin Tampoe, Music Director: Somadasa Elvitigala)

47. Savibala Yakaḍa Vagē (Sawibala Yakada Wage) – Narada Disasekara

Sweet Angel (2011, Director: Nishantha Weerasinghe, Music Directors: Madhuva Hawawasam and Lassana Jayasekara)

48. Sihina Manamālī – Suresh Gamage

Vasanṯayē Ḏavasak (Wasanthaye Dawasak, 1976, Director: T. Arjuna, Music Director: Premasiri Khemadasa, Lyricist: Ajantha Ranasinghe)

49. Ḏēḏunen Ena – Sanath Nandasiri and Latha Walpola

Yatagiya Ḏavasa (*Yatagiya* Dawasa, 1965, Director: W. M. S. Mahendran, Music Director: R. Muttusamy)

50. Vinōḏa Venna (Winoda Wenna)– J. A. Milton Perera and Malika Kahavita

Natya Gee (Songs of Stage Dramas)

1. Aḏa Wessanthara Rāja Puṯā (Ada Wessanthara Raja Putha) – from *Wessanthara* (Playwright: Ediriweera Sarachchandra)
2. Ähäla Mal Gas Pirilā (Ehela Mal Gas Pirila)
3. Āle Bänḏa Māgē Ramyavan (Ale Benda Mage Ramyawan)
4. Aluṯa Genā Manamālī (Alutha Gena Manamali, recorded with Neela Wickramasinghe, original recorded in 1976)
5. Anḏakāren Ḏura Aṯiṯē (Andakaren Dura Athithe)
6. Api Gamaṭa Yamu
7. Aṯuru Miṯuru (Athuru Mithuru, recorded by Rodney Warnakulasuriya)
8. Āyubōvan (Ayubowan)
9. Bambara Kōkila Nāḏa Sapiri (Bambara Kokila Naada Sapiri, recorded by Kolithabhanu Dissanayake)
10. Bārī Ṯērī (Bari Theri)
11. Ĉūn Ĉān (Choon Chaan, recorded by Rodney Warnakulasuriya)?
12. Ḏasaman Malak Vagē (Dasaman Malak Wage) / Magē Raṯṯaran Helena (Playwright, composer and singer: Rohana Baddage)
13. Ḏīkiri Ḏīkiri Genāvā Ḏīkiri (Dikiri Dikiri Genawa Dikiri, Playwright: Lucian Bulathsinghala, Music Director: Austin Munasinghe)
14. Eka Ḏeka Kara Kiyana Lōkē
15. Gal Lena Biňḏalā – from Sinhabahu (Playwright: Ediriweera Sarachchandra)
16. Gāmbira
17. Geḏara Yanna Bā̆ (Geddara Yanna Ba)
18. Hā Hā Laňḏē – Rodney Warnakulasuriya, from *Bisō* (Composer: Austin Munasinghe, Lyricist: Hector Wijesiri)
19. Hanika Varevu Kollanē (Hanika Warew Kollane, recorded by Rodney Warnakulasuriya) – from Bera-Handa (Playwright: Bandula Jayawardena)
20. Hanthanaṭa Pāyana – from *Wal Seeyage Sandwaniya* (Playwright and Music Director: Ananda Seniviratne)
21. Hiṭa Pallā
22. Kaḏā Vaḷalu (Kada Walalu) – from *Kaḏā Valaḷu* (Playwright: Ediriweera Sarachchandra, Music Director: W. D. Amaradeva)
23. Kanna Ḏenavā Nam (Kanna Denawa Nam)
24. Kanṯōruva (Kanthoruwa)
25. Kōĉĉiyak Enavā (Kochchiyak Enawaa)
26. Kumakḏō Akkanḍiyē
27. Kumaṭaḏa Sobaniyē – from *Naribā̆na* (Naribena, 1960, Playwright: Dayananda Gunawardena)
28. Lankavē (Lankawe)
29. Lapa Noma Van Saňḏa (Lapa Noma Wan Sanda) – from *Maname* (1956, Playwright: Ediriweera Sarachchandra)

30. Maḍē Lagina Ṯārāvan (Made Lagina Tharakawan) – from *Ṯārāvō Igileṯi* (Tharawo Igilethi, 1981, Playwright: Lucian Bulathsinghala, Music Director: Gunadasa Kapuge)
31. Mage Suḏu Bā̈nanḍiṭa (Mage Sudu Benandita, with Bandula Wijeweera) – from *Mami Benai* (1981)
32. Maha Bambā Keṭū (with Bandula Wijeweera)
33. Mala Kolaṅ
34. Moroṭṭugammana Suruṭṭu Uramina
35. Muhuḏu Paṯula Yaṭa Inḏalā (Mudu Pathula Yata Indala) – from *Muhuḏu Puṯṯu* (Muhudu Puththu, 1962, Gunasena Galappathi, Composer: W. D. Amaradeva, Lyricist: Mahagama Sekkara)
36. Näṯa Hariyannē Oya Kārī (Netha Hariyanne Oya Kari)
37. Nayinagē Sūḏuva (Nainage Suduwa) – from *Maňḏura Javanikā (*Madura Jawanika*, 19*83, Playwright: Dayananda Gunawardena, based on poem by H. A. Piyadasa, Music Director: Bandula Wijeweera)
38. Palanĉiyē Ḏeviyō (Palanchiye Dewiyo)
39. Paṯana Kala (Pathana Kala) – from *Geḏara Giyoṯ* (Gedara Giyoth, Playwright and Musical Director: Ananda Seniviratne)
40. Poṯ Liyannā (Poth Liyanna)
41. Prēmeyen Mana – from *Maname* (1956, Playwright: Ediriweera Sarachchandra)
42. Pura Saňḏa Pāyā
43. Raṯaňḏara Siriyā Paraḏana (Rathadara Siriya Paradana)
44. Santha Johngē Vī ḏiyē Kaḍē (Santha Johnge Veediye Kade)
45. Saṯ Siyak Kapu Pili Viyana Mama (Sath Siyak Kapu Pili Viyana Mama) – from *Kuveni* (1963, Playwright: Henry Jayasena, Music Director: H. H. Bandara)
46. Sōbāva Ḏē (Sobawa De) – from *Ṯārāvō Igileṯi* (1981, Playwright: Lucian Bulathsinghala, Music Director: Gunadasa Kapuge)
47. Suvaňḏa Saban (Suwanda Saban) – from *Rāja Kapuru* (1988, Playwright: Sirisena Premalal)
48. Yāluvō Māluvō (Yaluwo Maluwo, recorded by Rodney Warnakulasuriya)
49. Yasa Isuru – from *Rathu Hattakari* (1981, Playwright: Lucian Bulathsinghala, Music Director: Austin Munasinghe)
50. Yuḏḏeṭa Maṅ Giyā Gā̈ni Geḏara Ṯiyā (Yuddeta Man Giya Gani Gedara Thiya) – from *Hunuvaṭayē Kaṯāva* (Hunuwataye Kathawa, 1967, Playwright: Henry Jayasena, Music Director: Shelton Premarathna)

Calypso

Amigos Romanticas

1. Hiripoḏa Vässē Muṯu Kuḍen Yanne Nagō (Siripoda Wasse Muthu Kuden Yanne Nago)

2. Suḏu Pāṭa Gavume (Sudu Pata Gaume)

Dharmaratne Brothers

3. Kalakaṭa Pera Ē Bethlehem (Kalakata Pera A Bethleheme) [Hark Now Hear the Angels Sing] (Phillips: JVPC 1041, EP record)
4. Kaňḏukarē – *Folk Songs of Ceylon Vol. 2* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1009, EP record)
5. Vāsiṭi Kollō (Varsity Kollo) – *The Family Jewels of the Dharmaratne* (1969, Sooriya: CHB 004, EP record)
6. Vässē (Wasse) – *Folk Songs of Ceylon Vol. 2* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1009, EP record)
7. Vähiḏāka Gaňganōḏarē (Wehidaaka Gaganodaray)

La Bambas

8. Cock A Doodle Do – *Cock A Doodle Do* (1971, Sooriya: CHB 106, EP record)
9. Lak Naḏī (Lak Nadee) – *Cock A Doodle Do* (1971, Sooriya: CHB 106, EP record)
10. Moratuwa
11. Nuwara Mänikelā / Kalē Ukula Ṯiyālā (Kale Ukula Thiyala) – *Cock A Doodle Do* (1971, Sooriya: CHB 106, EP record)
12. Piyakaru Mala – *Cock A Doodle Do* (1971, Sooriya: CHB 106, EP record)
13. Samanmalee

La Ceylonians

14. Boru Kiyanna Epā
15. Ḏaha Ḏuka Viňḏalā (with Milton Mallawarachchi) – *Ḏaha Ḏuka Viňḏalā* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1002, EP record)
16. Hiru Nägī (Hiru Nagee)
17. Hōiyā Hōiyā – *Ḏaha Ḏuka Viňḏalā* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1002, EP record)
18. Näḷavilla (Nelawilla)
19. Malee / Ruwanmali – *La Ceylonians* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1003, EP record)
20. Saňḏa Pāyanne (Sanda Paayanne)
21. Suḏu Naṅgi
22. Suvaňḏa Mal (Suwanda Mal) – *Noel and the La Ceylonians* (1979, Arion: FARN 1085, LP record)
23. Ṯaruna Jīviṯē Apē Vinōḏayen (Tharuna Jeevithe Ape Vinodayen) – *Ḏaha Ḏuka Viňḏalā* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1002, EP record)
24. Vinōḏa Gamana – *La Ceylonians* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1003, EP record)

La Lavinians

25. Perahära Mē Ennē (Perahera Me Enne) / Mal Perahära (Phillips: JVPC 1045, EP record)

La Companeros

26. Ambalamē Pinā (Phillips: JVPC 1050, EP record)

Los Flamencos / Flamengos

27. Bolaňḏa Kaṯa Kiyalā (Bolanda Katha Kiyala) – *Silky Caressing Voices* (1973, Sooriya: CHB 029, EP record)
28. Erankaleyā
29. Kaḷu Kellē – *Golden Hits of Los Flamengos* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1020, EP record)
30. Sigiri Komaliyō

Los Muchachos

31. Āḏariya Ran Mänikagē (Ran Menikage) – *Songs of Lanka Vol. 3* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1011, EP record)
32. Mīmässō (Meemesso) – *Songs of Lanka Vol. 3* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1011, EP record)
33. Kumudumalee
34. Sinahā Velā Iňgi Pālā (Sinaha Wela Ingi Pala)
35. Sōbhamāna Guvan Sēvikā (Sobhamana Guwan Sevika)

Neville Fernando and the Los Caballeros

36. Galana Gaňgē Ḏiya Pārē Soyannam (1970s)
37. Malbara Himiḏiriyē (with Rukmani Devi) – *Los Caballeros with Rukmani Devi* (Phillips: JVPC 1037)
38. Nurā Bälum (Nura Belum)
39. Samuduru Devi
40. Saňḏak Nagī Saňḏak Gilē – *Los Caballeros with Rukmani Devi* (Phillips: JVPC 1037
41. Sīnu Haňḍin (Seenu Handin)

Meemesso (Joe B. Perera)

42. Chiquita Linda
43. Māla Giravī (1968, Phillips, JVPC 1047, EP record)
44. Mīgomu Mīmässō Api (Meegomu Meemesso Api, 1968, Phillips, JVPC 1047, EP record)
45. Tikirimalee
46. Yakaḍa Ṯanālā (Yakada Thanala, 1968, Phillips, EP record)

Mendis Foursome

47. Uḍaraṭa Kaňḏukaraye / Swarna – *The Mendis Foursome* (1972, Sooriya: CHB021)

Samanalayo

48. Guvan Kumāri (Guwan Kumari) – *The Classic Harmony of Samanalayo* (1969, Sooriya: CHB 007, EP record, 1969)
49. Näḷavena Mavu Ukulē (Nalavena Maw Ukule) – *Nälavena Mavu Ukulē* (1967, Phillips: JVPC 1001, EP record)
50. Näṭum Guruvarī (Natum Guruwari) – *Nälavena Mavu Ukulē* (1967, Phillips: JVPC 1001, EP record)

<u>Sinhala Pop</u>

Athula Adhikari

1. Haḏa Haňḍalā – *Ron Poḏak* (1980s, Label: Tharanga: SPSK1023, CD album)
2. Maḏura Vasanṯē (Madura Wasanthe) – with Samitha Mudunkotuwa
3. Oba Malak Vagē Hinähīlā (Oba Malak Wage HInaheela) – *Ron Poḏak* (1980s, Composer: Stanley Peiris, Label: Tharanga:, SPSK1023, CD album)
4. Pārāḏīsē (Paradeese) – *Ron Poḏak* (1980s, Composer and Lyricist: Self, Label: Tharanga, SPSK1023, CD album)
5. Sänasen Nalavenna Suḏō (Sanasen Nalawenna Sudo) – *Ron Poḏak* (1980s, Composer: Athula Adhikari, Lyricist: Ariyadasa Adhikari, Tharanga: SPSK1023, CD album)

Greshan Ananda

6. Havasaṭa Pāyā (Hawasata Paya, Stanley Peiris cover, Composer: Stanley Peiris Lyricist: K. D. K. Dharmawardena)
7. Saňḏa Laňga Ḏaňga Kala (Sanda Laga Danga Kala)

Maurice Dahanayake

8. Suḏō Poḍḍak Aňḍanna (Sudo Podak Adanna, Composer: Patrick Denipitiya, Lyricist: Cyril A. Seelawimala)

C. D. Fonseka

9. Sisil Suḷaṅ Pāvī (Sisil Sulan Paawee) – with Patrick and Bertram Denipitiya

C. T. Fernando

10. Āne Ḍiṅgak Innakō – *The Golden Voice of CT Fernando* (1978, Composers: C. T. Fernando and Patrick Denipitiya, Lyricist: D. C. Jayasinghe, Sooriya: CHB LP13, LP record)
11. Api Äviḏimu Haňḏapānē – *Mal Loke Rani* (1974, Composer: C. T. Fernando Lyricist: K. Francis, Tharanga: S-33ESX, LP record)
12. Heḷa Jāṯika Abhimānē (Hela Jathika Abhimanne) – *The Golden Voice of CT Fernando* (1978, Composer: C. T. Fernando and Patrick Denipitiya, Lyricist: Karunaratne Abeysekara, Sooriya: CHB LP13, LP record)
13. Mā Bāla Kālē (Composer: Self, Lyricist: Malani Wijeweera, Lewis Brown: LB1, EP record)
14. Magē Suḏu Māmē – *Mal Loke Rani* (1974, Composer: C. T. Fernando, Lyricist: Susil Senadeera, Tharanga: S-33ESX, LP record)
15. Pinsiňḏu Vannē (Pinsidu Wanne, 1946, WMV: WN70, EP record)
16. Punsaňḏa Hinähennē – with Rukmani Devi – *The Golden Voice of CT Fernando* (1978, Composers: C. T. Fernando and Patrick Denipitiya, Lyricist: Wimaladasa Perera, Sooriya: CHB LP13, LP record)
17. Sigiri Sukumāliyē – *Sigiri Sukumāliyē* (1978, Composers: C. T. Fernando and Claude Fernando, Lyricist: Karunaratne Abeysekara, Sooriya: CHB065, EP record)
18. Vanabambarō (Vanabambaroo) / Piyu Mehi Päni Boṯi (Piyu Mehi Pani Bothi) – *The Golden Voice of CT Fernando* (1978, Composers: C. T.

Fernando and Patrick Denipitiya, Lyricist: Karunaratne Abeysekara, Sooriya: CHB LP13, LP record)

Golden Chimes (1971–1972) / Super Golden Chimes (Composer and Lyricist: Clarence Wijewardena)

19. Kimaḏa Nāvē (Kimada Nawe) – Priyanthi Senaratne and Clarence Wijewardena – *The Dynamic New Sound of the Golden Chimes* (1971, Sooriya: CHB014, EP record)
20. Kaňḏasuriňḏuni – Clarence Wijewardena – *The Super Golden Chimes At Kataragama* (1973, Sooriya: CHB032, EP record)
21. Magē Siṯē Äṯi (Mage Sithe Athi) – Annesley Malawana – *Saňḏak Nägī* (Sandak Nagee, 1974, Gemtone: OME75, EP record)
22. Pena Bubulayi (Pena Bubulai) – Annesley Malawana – *The Super Golden Chimes at Kataragama* (1973, Sooriya: CHB032, EP record)
23. Sänakeliyē – Indrani Perera
24. Saňḏayi Ṯaruyi (Sandai Tharui) – Anil Bharathi and Lankika Perera – *The Dynamic New Sound of the Golden Chimes Vol. 2* (1972, Sooriya: CHB 022, EP record)
25. Saṯuta Sänasuma (Sathuta Senasuma) – Annesley Malawana – *The Super Golden Chimes at Kataragama* (1973, Sooriya: CHB032, EP record)
26. Sihin Sināvayi (Sihin Sinawai) – Clarence Wijewardena – *The Dynamic New Sound of the Golden Chimes* (1971, Sooriya: CHB014, EP record)
27. Sihina Lovak (Sihina Lowak) – Clarence Wijewardena – *Super Golden Chimes with Clarence Wijewardena and Annesley Malewana* (1975, Victory: VC01, EP record)
28. Sihina Päṯum Vimanē (Sihina Pathum Wimane) – Annesley Malawana – *Sihina Päṯum* (1974, Sooriya: CHB0035)

Mariazelle Gunathilake

29. Āḏarē Oba Māhaṭa Aṯiḏa Kiyā – with Piyal Perera

Rookantha Gunathilaka

30. Bambara Pahasa – *Bambara Pahasa* (1988, Composer and Lyricist: Self, Cassette)
31. Iňḏunil Gaňguläl / Magē Mavubima Lanka (Maga Mawbima Lanka) – *Bambara Pahasa* (1988, Composer: Self, Lyricist: Ajantha Ranasinghe, Cassette)
32. Mē Ḏiganṯayē (Me Diganthaye) – *Diganthaye* (1992)
33. Rēṇu Rēṇu / Ḏavasak Ḏā (Dawasak Daa) – *Bambara Pahasa* (1988, Composer and Lyricist: Self, Cassette)
34. Saňḏa Piniḏiyē – *Māyimē Iňḏan* (Maime Indan, 2005, Composer and Lyricist: Self, CD)
35. Siṯin Sinā Sisī (Sithin Sina Sisi) – with Chandraleka Gunathilaka – *Bambara Pahasa* (1988, Composer: Self, Lyricist: Ajantha Ranasinghe, Cassette)

Athma Liyanage

36. Liyaṯambarā (Liyathambara, Composer: Self, Lyricist: Rohana Jayasinghe)

Milton Mallawarachchi

37. Ivuru Ţalā (Iwuru Thala, Composer: Patrick Denipitiya, Lyricist: K. D. K. Dharmawardena, Shans 1101, EP record)
38. Mā Hā Eḏā – *Hits of Milton Malawarachchi* (Composer: Patrick Denipitiya, Lyricist: Karunaratne Abeysekara, Label: Shans, LP record)
39. Mā Nisā Oba – *Mā Nisā Oba* (1975, Composer: Patrick Denipitiya, Lyricist: Premakeerthi de Alwis, Label: Shans: 1107, EP record)
40. Ran Eṯanō Mal Eṯanō (Ran Ethano Mal Ethano) – *Ma Nisa Oba* (1975, Composer: Patrick Denipitiya, Lyricist: K. D. K. Dharmawardena, Label: Shans: 1107, EP record)
41. Sihinen Oba (Gemtone: OME 12, EP record)
42. Ţanivi Siṭinnayi Mā (Thanivi Sitinnai Ma, Composer and Lyricist: Clarence Wijewardena)

The Moonstones (Lead vocalist: Annesley Malawana, Composer and Lyricist: Clarence Wijewardena from 1966–1970)

43. Dileepa – *Dileepa* (1968, Lyricist: Karunaratne Abeysekara, Phillips: EXVEE: RSG 1001, EP record)
44. Dilhani – Indrani Perera – *Dilhani* (1969, Sooriya: CHB 1005, EP record)
45. Dunhinda Manamālī – *Fabulous Moonstones* (1972, Sooriya: CHB 023, EP record)
46. Gonvassā (Gonwassa) – with Indrani Perera – *Dilhani* (1969, Sooriya: CHB 1005, EP record)
47. Goyam Kapanavā (Goyam Kapanawa) – *More Hits of the Moonstones* (1968, Sooriya: CHB 001, EP record)
48. Kaḷu Mamē – *More Hits of the Moonstones* (1968, Sooriya: CHB 001, EP record)
49. Kusumalatha – *Dilhani* (1969, Sooriya: CHB 1005, EP record)
50. Mango Nänḏa – *Musical Gems of Ceylon* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1007, EP record)
51. Pem Kaṯāva (Pem Kathawa) / Mama Eḏā Gosin – with Indrani Perera – *Sigiriya* (1969, Decca Records: DRE-C-4030, EP record)
52. Rālahamī (Ralahamie) – *Sigiriya* (1969, Decca Records: DRE-C-4030, EP record)
53. Rōsa Malē – *More Hits of the Moonstones* (1968, Sooriya: CHB 001, EP record)
54. Ruwan Puraya – *Musical Gems of Ceylon* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1007, EP record)
55. Sīṯa Uḏē Pipī (Seetha Ude Pipi) – *Musical Gems of Ceylon* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1007, EP record)
56. Suḏu Mänikē – *Musical Gems of Ceylon* (1968, Phillips: JVPC 1007, EP record)

57. Wana Ḏevuliya Ṯurulē (Wana Dewliya Thurule) / Sigiriya – Indrani Perera – *Sigiriya* (1969, Decca Records: DRE-C-4030, EP record)

Keerthi Pasquel

58. Kaňḏuḷa Iṯin Samāveyan (Kandula Ithin Samaweyan) – *Kaňḏula* (2004, Composer: Suresh de Silva, Lyricist: Lakmaali Kariyawassam, CD album)
59. Ranṯaru Pāyana (Rantharu Paayana, Composer and Lyricist: Stanley Peiris)
60. Saňḏa Laṯā (Sanda Latha) – *Kandula* (2004, Composer: Sarath de Alwis, Lyricist: Ajantha Ranasinghe, CD album)
61. Sinhala Raja Kālē – with Rajini Sewanayagam and Sarath Dassanayake (Composer: Stanley Peiris)
62. Siṯuvillak Silasin (Sithuwillak Silasin, 1987, Composers: Fr. Paul Perera and Rookantha Gunathilaka, Lyricist: Fr. Paul Perera)

Piyal Perera (The Gypsies)

63. Sal Mal Väl (Sal Mal Wel) – with Chandani Hettiarachchi

Priya Suriyasena

64. Ā̆ṯa Ran Viman (Etha Ran Viman) – *Rā̆ṭa Ṯaru Ganan* (Reita Tharu Ganan, 1976, Composer and Lyricist: Clarence Wijewardena, Gemtone: OME 1034, EP record)

The Three Sisters (Lead Singer: Indrani Perera)

65. Āḏarē Kiyanna Ḏanne Nā̆ – *The Three Sisters in Harmony* (1969, Sooriya: CHB008, EP record)
66. Ḏāsē Sinā (Daasei Sina)
67. Kaḷu Kella Mamayi (Kalu Kella Mamai) – *The Three Sisters in Harmony* (1969, Composer: Victor Dalugama, Sooriya: CHB008, EP record)
68. Saňḏā̆ Velā (Sandaa Wela)

Sinhala New Age

44 Kalliya

1. 4 x 11 (2017, Lyricists: YK x K-Mac x Izzy x Chey Nyn)
2. Ḏevivaru (Dewiwaru) – *Ḏevivaru: Single* (2016)

Ashanthi [de Alwis]

3. Paparē – ft. Krishan – *Paparē: Single* (2012, Composer: Billy Fernando, Lyricist: Shehan Galahitiyawa)
4. Saňḏavaṯuren (Sandawathuren) – *Saňḏavaṯuren* (2006, Lebel: Universal Music)

Athula Adhikari

5. Bohō Kalak Oyā – *Bohō Kalak Oyā: Single* (2013, Composer: Viraj Perera, Lyrics: Sathsara Kasun Pathirana)
6. Hiṯa Assaṭa (Hitha Assata, 2013, Composer: Malka Mallawa, Lyricist: Aradhana Ekanayake)
7. Magē Kiyā (2013, Composer: Radeesh Vandabona, Lyricist: Aradhana Ekanayake)

BnS / Bathiya and Santhush

8. Āyubōvan (Ayubowan) – Life (2000, Label: Torana Music)
9. Ḍenna Ḍenā Nā – *Ṯārunyayē* (Tharunayaye, 2002, Label: SonyBMG)
10. Ethnic Woman – *Ṯārunyayē* (2002, Composers and Lyricists: Self, Label: SonyBMG)
11. Haḏavaṯe Pavuru (Hadawathe Pawuru) – *Vasanṯayē* (*Vasanthaye*) – *A New Beginning* (1998, Label: Torana Music)
12. Kiri Kōḍu – ft. Nirosha Virajini – *Nēṯṯarā* (Ne*ththara)* – *Project 4* (Music: Shyamalangan Sri Ranganathan, Lyricists: Nilar N. Casim and Sajini, Label: SonyBMG)
13. Magē Ḏiviya (Love Can Make You Feel) – *Vasanṯayē – A New Beginning* (1998, Label: Torana Music)
14. Pālu Manḍiyē – *Nēṯṯarā – Project 4* (2006, Label: SonyBMG)
15. Ran Kurahan Mala – *Ṯārunyayē* (2002, Composers and Lyricists: Self, Label: Label: SonyBMG)
16. Siri Sangabodhi Māligāveḏī [Siri Sangabodhi Maligawedi, *nurthi* cover] – Life (2000, Label: Torana Music)
17. Vasanṯayē – *Vasanṯayē – A New Beginning* (1998, Label: Torana Music)

Centigradz

18. Nagē – ft. Bathiya Jayakody and Ashanthi (2006)
19. Sandawathiye / Ṯāna Ṯanā (Thana Thana) – *Heritage (Urumaya)* (2006, Composer: Thusith Niroshana, Lyricist: Sajith Dilpahan, Label: Maharaja Entertainment)

Raini Charuka

20. Ĉanĉala Ḏāsē (Chanchala Dase) – ft. Raj – *Ĉanĉala Ḏāsē: Single* (2014, Composer: Raj, Lyricist: Himali N. Liyanage)
21. Nobalā – *Nobalā: Single* (2016, Composer: Kapilan, Lyricist: Sajith V. Fernando)

Chinthy

22. Kaḍappuli – *Kaḍappuli* (2012)
23. Nārī (Naaree) – *Rising from the East* (2006, Composer and Lyricist: Self, Label: Maharaja Entertainment)
24. Sokari – *Rising from the East* (2006)

Ruwan Hettiarachchi

25. Sīṯa Māruṯē (Seetha Maruthe, 2013, Composers: Ruwan Hettiarachchi and Amith Guru, Lyricist: Nilar N. Cassim)

IRAJ [Weeraratne]

26. Hiṯumaṯē (Hithumathe) – ft. Romesh and Nilukshi – *Aloke Chapter 2* (2006, Composer: IRAJ, Lyricist: Wasantha Dukgannarala & Analen)
27. Rāgini – Lil Hassi ft. Bone Killer, Izzy and Killer Bee) – *Rāgini: Single* (2017, Lyricist: Sajith Akmeemana)
28. Sāvī (Saavi) - ft. Malindu & Romaine Willis (2017, Composer: IRAJ, Lyricist: Sajith Akmeemana)

Kasun Kalhara

29. Kavulu Piyanpaṯ (Kaulu Piyanpath) – *Hariṯa Nimnayē* (Haritha Nimnaye, 2001)
30. Maṯ Mal Sēnā (Math Mal Sena) – *Maṯ Mal Sēnā: Single* (2012)
31. Mēlā (Melaa, 2017, Composer: Anuk Dilshan, Lyricist: Achala Solomons)

Kaizer Kaiz & Genevieve

32. Kaṯanḏarē (Kathandare) – ft. IRAJ (2016, Composer: IRAJ, Lyricist: Achala Solomons)

La Signore (Lahiru Perera)

33. Moṭṭu – (2013, Composer: Self, Lyricist: Manuranga Wijesekara)
34. Rāmbarī (2013, Composers: DADDY and Lahiru Perera, Lyricist: Manuranga Wijesekara)

Dasun Madushan

35. Magē Äs Valin (Mage As Walin) – *Magē Äs Valin: Single* (2014, Composer: Radeesh Vandabona, Lyricist: Sajith V. Chathuranga)

Randhir (Yasena Withana]

36. Mama Ḏannē – ft. Umara (2009)
37. Sihivaṭana (Sihiwatana, 2016, Composer: Dilum Thejana, Lyricist: Manuranga Wijesekara, Label: Maharaja Entertainment)

Ranidu Lankage

38. Hinähennē Maṅ (HInahenne Mung, 2009, Composer and Lyricist: Self)

Shihan Mihiranga

39. Sewwandiye – *Dreamz of Shihan* (2006, Composer and Lyricist: Self)

Samitha Mudukotuwa

40. Āyemaṯ Āḏaren (Ayemath Adaren, 2017, Composer: Thilina Ruhunage, Lyricist: Rachithaa Wakista, female version of *Penena Nopenena* by Athma Liyanage)
41. Lā Saňḏa Āyē (Laa Sanda Aaye, 2013, Composer: Bhagesri Fonseka, Lyricist: Asangi Wijesooriya)

Sasika Nisansala

42. Oba Mā Hamuvunaḏā (Oba Ma Hamuwunada) – *Oba Mā Hamuvunaḏā* (2015, Composer: Priyantha Nawalage, Lyricist: Shehan Galahitiyawa)

Sanuka [Wickramasinghe]

43. Peravaḏanak Vī (Perawadanak Vi, 2017, Composers: Sanuka and Sangeeth Wickramasinghe, Lyricist: Uma Aseni)
44. Sarāgayē - (2016, Composer: Self, Lyricist: Manuranga Wijesekara)

Smokio

45. Muḍukkuven Eliyaṭa (Mudukkuwen Eliyata) – ft. IRAJ (2016, Composer: GOA, Lyricist: Smokio)

Romesh Sugathapala

46. Manḏākini (2017, Composer: Gayan Randy Perera, Sajith Akmeemana)

Miran Tharindu

47. Nāna Vilē (Nana Vile) [Sri Lankan folk song] – ft. Danushka Dilhan and Chalinda Sriyan (2014)

Namal Udugama

48. Ṯāmaṯ Oyā (Thamath Oya, 2015, Composer: Thilina Ruhunage, Lyricist: Rachithaa Wakista)

Umara [Sinhawansa]

49. Vassānayaṭa Aṯa Vanalā (Wassanayata Atha Wanala) – *Wassanayata* (2011, Composer: Amila Dilhan, Lyricist: S. Madhava)

Umaria [Sinhawansa]

50. Ḏenuvan Piyā (Denuwan Piya, 2013, Composers: Bathiya Jayakody and Chrishan E., Lyricist: Sampath Fernandopulle)

Table B4

Online Sources of Recordings (Playlists, Databases and Television Programs)

Genre	Source
Nurthi Gee	"Nurthi Gee" – Meemesso [music database] http://meemessasinhalasongs.com/free-sinhala-mp3/artist/download-nurthi-gee-sinhala-mp3-songs.html "List of Nurthi Songs" [music database] http://nurthigee.com/Song_List.htm "Noorthi Gee" – *Hiru Unplugged*, Episode 25 – Hiru TV, 2016 [television program] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z6PpbuQH8m4
Sarala Gee	"Parani Sarala Gee (Old Sinhala Songs)" [playlist] https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLqeLkhCQHXpYKdec1_REzBpXu4F35r2qv "Sinhala Sarala Gee" [playlist] https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLv0RmanxtioNY30QzKeGmqrmN3iS-mjBD "Victor Ratnayake" – *Hiru Unplugged*, Episode 1 – Hiru TV, 2016 [television program] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=10NUFiSlNBY "Neela Wickramasinghe" – *Sandagiri Muduna*, Episode 3 – Hiru TV, 2015 – Hiru TV [television program] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8WxQePalGI8 "Edward Jayakodi" – *Hiru Unplugged*, Episode 27 – Hiru TV, 2016 [television program] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VvHIehUgR_U
(and Sinhala Pop)	"Deshiabhimani Gee" – *Hiru Unplugged*, Episode 6 – Hiru TV, 2016 [television program] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VMifxsnnLJ4&t=3927s
Baila	"Sinhala Baila Playlist" [playlist] https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLAuMVfKA-mreIMLq76811ahimo4lY-tvq Sri Lankan Gramophone Records [Wally Bastiansz and Anton Jones – music database] http://www.srilankanrecords.com/gramophone.html "Sri Lankan LP Records" – "Solo and Duo Albums" [Anton Jones – music database] http://www.srilankanrecords.com/lp-records.html
Chithrapati Gee	"Famous Old Sinhala Movie Songs" [Playlist] https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL2tNRsxmVKhcdMpTkMfhKqldnNHSWmWsK "Bhagyarathi" – Miyuru Gee [music database] http://www.infolanka.com/miyuru_gee/art/bhagyawathi.html
Natya Gee	"Sinhala Stage Drama Songs" [music database] https://archive.org/details/Sinhala-Stage/AdaWessantharaRajaPutha.mp3 "Sinhala Stage Drama Songs (wedika natya gi)" [playlist] https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLFj2mEhmPPGh3D5GSVKBDqR_N_LgnXGtY "Rohana Beddage" – Meemesso [music database]

	http://meemessasinhalasongs.com/free-sinhala-mp3/artist/download-rohana-beddage-sinhala-mp3-songs.html
Sinhala Calypso	"Los Cabiralos" – Miyuru Gee [music database] http://www.infolanka.com/miyuru_gee/art/los_cabiralos.html "La Ceylonians" – Miyuru Gee [music database] http://www.infolanka.com/miyuru_gee/art/la_ceylonians.html "La Bambas" – Miyuru Gee [music database] http://www.infolanka.com/miyuru_gee/art/labambas.html "Dharmaratne Brothers" – Miyuru Gee [music database] http://www.infolanka.com/miyuru_gee/art/dharmaratne_bro.html "Los Muchachos" – Miyuru Gee [music database] http://www.infolanka.com/miyuru_gee/art/los_muchachos.html
Sinhala Pop (and Sinhala Calypso)	"Old Sinhala Groups & Songs" [playlist] https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL0wAYtJysUQ0jfyJexqk1QrpqH_-T_4ll
Sinhala Pop	"Sri Lankan LP Records" – "Solo and Duo Albums" [C. T. Fernando, Milton Mallawarachchi, Three Sisters – music database] http://www.srilankanrecords.com/lp-records.html "Sri Lankan EP Records" – "Solo and Duo Albums" [C. T. Fernando, Milton Mallawarachchi, Golden Chimes, Three Sisters – music database] http://www.srilankanrecords.com/ep-records.html "Rookantha Gunathilaka – *Hiru Unplugged*, Episode 16 – Hiru TV, 2016 [television program] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ljqhEbL6i6U "Mariyasel Gunathilaka and Keerthi Paskuwel" – *Hiru Unplugged*, Episode 38 – Hiru TV, 2016 [television program] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZpWX27bnk5E
Sinhala New Age	"Sinhala New Age" https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL654BA878A508A31B "Sinhala Rap & Hip-Hop Music Playlist" [playlist] https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLlYKDqBVDxX1mMz5joYfNi5Yo5FlJ5qbF

Table B5.

Sources for Credits and Album Details

"Srilankan records"	http://www.srilankanrecords.com
"HD Lyrics"	http://sinhalageethaekathuwa.blogspot.com.au
"Rate Your Music"	https://rateyourmusic.com
"ගී පැදුර"	http://geepadura.blogspot.com.au
"LK Lyrics"	https://www.lklyrics.com
"Discogs"	https://www.discogs.com
"The Music of the Nurti"	http://www.harshamakalande.com/music_of_sri_lanka.htm
"Chapter 11: Amaradeva Gee Nirmāna Nāmāvaliya"	(Kumara, 2015, pp. 762–803)

Appendix C: International presence and accolades

Table C1

List of International Events Pandith Amaradeva Participated in Throughout His Career

Event	Location	Date	Role
Peace Delegation	USSR	1957	Composer for the ballet *Triumph of Peace*
Sri Lanka's First Cultural Delegation	India	1959	
UNESCO International Music Symposium	Manila, Philippines	1967	Delivered the conference paper *Sinhalese Music Through the Ages and its Modern Trends*
Visit upon invitation	Maldives	1971	Composer for the Maldivian National Anthem
International Music and Drama Festival	Berlin	1973	
Annual International festival of Film Music	Poona, India	1973	
Seminar of the Broadcasting Organization of Non-Aligned Countries	New Delhi, India	1980	Delivered a paper at the conferenced themed "Creative Music for Developmental Broadcasting"
Seminar of the Asian Cultural Center for UNESCO (ACCU)	Islamabad, Pakistan	1982	
Main concert tours	England, Germany, Italy, France, Switzerland, China, Canada, USA, Australia	1990–1998	Lead singer, instrumentalist
	New Zealand (Auckland, Wellington, Christ Church), Scandinavia (Sweden, Norway, Denmark), Italy	1999	

	(Rome, Milano, Venice)		

(S. Amaradeva, n.d.; Dharmadasa, 1998; n.d., p. 27)

Table C2

List of International Awards Received by Pandith Amaradeva

Award	Given by	Date	Awarded for
First place in merit list	Bhatkhande Music Institute	1956	Violin performance
Award for first place	Organisers of All India Violin Playing Contest	1956	Violin performance
Cultural Tour to visit places of cultural value throughout India	ICCR (Indian Council for Cultural Relations)	1990	
Conferment of the title "Pandith"	Bhatkhande University of Music	1991	Outstanding contribution made towards the development of Sri Lankan creative music
Artist Ambassador Award	Artist Ambassadors International	1993	Distinguished service furthering intercultural understanding
Bunka Award	Japan-Sri Lanka Friendship Cultural Fund	1998	
Ramon Magsaysay Award (widely considered Asia's Nobel Prize)	Government of the Philippines	2001	A *life of dazzling creativity in expression of the rich heritage and protean vitality of Sri Lankan music*
Padma Shri Award	Government of India	2002	*Distinguished contribution to the Arts*
Officier of the Odre des Arts et des Lettres (Officer of the Order of Arts and Letters)	Government of France	2003	Significant contributions to the arts

(S. Amaradeva, n.d.; Dharmadasa, 1998, n.d.; Kodagoda, 2015; Sachitra Mahendra, 2009; Ranatunga, 1999a, 2016a).

Table C3

List of Sri Lankan Awards Received by Pandith Amaradeva

Award	Given by	Date	Awarded for

Gold Medal	Jana Kala Mandalaya	1945	Violin performance in a music competition
Sarasaviya Award – Best Music Director	*Sarasaviya* weekly newspaper and the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd. (Lake House)	1964	Best Music Director – *Gamperaliya* (1964)
Sarasaviya Award – Best Playback Singer	See above	1965	*Gäṭavarayō* (Getawarayo, 1964)
		1967	*Sänasuma Koṯanaḏa* (Sanasuma Kothanada, 1965)
		1968	*Saṯ Samuḏura* (*Sath Samudura,* 1967)
		1970	*Binaramali (1969)*
		1980	*Muwan Palessa* (1979)
		1981	*Siribo Aiya* (1980)
		1982	*Ārādhanā* (1981)
Kalasuri ("Master of the Arts") [title]	Government of Sri Lanka	1984	Special contributions to the development of the arts"
Kala Keerthi ("Esteemed Artist") [title]	Government of Sri Lanka	1986	Extraordinary achievements and contributions in arts, culture and drama
Honorary Degree – Doctor of Philosophy (Fine Arts) Honoris Causa	University of Kelaniya	1991	
Honorary Degree – Doctor of Letters, Honoris Causa	University of Ruhuna	1993	
Sarasaviya Award – Best Playback Singer	See above	1995	*Ahas Māligā* (1994)
National Award	Sarvodaya Trust Fund	1995	Advancement of Humanity, Development and Peace through Music and Art
Honorary Degree – Doctor of Letters	University of Peradeniya	1998	Extraordinary inborn talent, a capacity of selfless effort, intense commitment and charming humility
Deshamanya ("Pride of the Nation") [title]	Government of Sri Lanka	1998	Highly meritorious service
SLIM – Nielsen People's Award, Best Artist of the Year	Sri Lanka Institute of Marketing (SLIM) and the Nielsen Company Lanka (Pvt.) Ltd.	2005–2015	Most popular artist as voted by the public.
Kala Lowe Nava Nipayum Kirula ("Award for New Invention in the Arts")	Sri Lanka Inventors Commission (SLIC)	2010	Inventing the *mandoharp*
Jatika Samagiye Maha Sammanaya ("Great Peace Award of the People")	Ministry of National	2014	His contribution and invaluable service to promote unity, brotherhood, peaceful

	Languages and Social Integration		living, coexistence, reconciliation and national integration
Sri Lankabhimanya (“Pride of Sri Lanka”) [title], highest national honour	President and Government of Sri Lanka	2017 (posthumous)	Exceptionally outstanding and most distinguished service to the nation
Honorary Degree – Doctor of Letters	*University of Sri Jayewardenepura*	Date unknown	
Honorary Degree – Doctor of Letters	Wayamba University of Sri Lanka	Date unknown	

(S. Amaradeva, n.d.; "Awards for new inventions in arts," 2010; Careem, 2001; Dharmadasa, 1998; Howling Pixel, n.d.; Kodagoda, 2015; Sachitra Mahendra, 2009; National Film Corporation, 2018; K. K. S. Perera, 2016; Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001; Ranatunga, 1999a, 2013c, 2014, 2016a; Rupavahini, 2016c).

Appendix D: A detailed account of Amaradeva's funeral

Pandith Amaradeva's funeral commenced on the 5th of November 2016 with introductory announcements given in Sinhala by Saman Athawudahetti, Tamil by S. Vishvanadan, and English by Ravindra Randeniya. Though the Sinhala Master of Ceremony had the main role, the Tamil and English announcers translated a few of his orations. The Sinhala Master of Ceremony's untranslated orations drew from Amaradeva's lyrics and other related articles. He thanked those he quoted after the eulogies. They included Sri Chandraratne Manawasinghe, Mahagama Sekara, Mahinda Algama, W. A. Abeysinghe, and Heshan. As the Masters of Ceremony read their welcoming address, four members of the Army in costumes of red and black marched to the dais. They were the first to provide Amaradeva's guard of honour, each positioned in a corner of the casket. The guard was changed periodically, alternating between the Army, the Navy in white, and the Air Force in dark green. The casket was never left unguarded. Before each change was to occur, the next group of four marched to the dais and positioned themselves on each side of the casket, moving to the corners as the previous guard took its leave.

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The Buddhist funeral rites were led by the *bhikku* Ven. Dr. Iththapane Dhammalankara Mahanayaka Thero. He gave an opening speech in Sinhala, welcoming the various groups of attendees, as did everyone else that gave eulogies. He then apologised to the other esteemed *bhikkus* who were not able to speak on the occasion as the funeral committee only allocated 10-12 minutes to the Buddhist proceedings. He finally iterated Amaradeva's praises and stated,

> Though there are so many rocks in the earth, gems are very valuable. Though there are many clams in the sea, those that harbour pearls are very valuable. Though there are so many trees in the forest, the *saňḏun*, *buruṭa* and *kaluvara* trees are very valuable. Though there are many elephants in the wild, those with tusks are very valuable. Though many Sri Lankan artists live in our society, it is rare that an artist of Amaradeva's calibre is born. Therefore we wish him *nivan suva* [pleasant Enlightenment]. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

Following this, he asked everyone to stand and began the religious rites *(pānsakūlē)*. He chanted the five precepts (*pan sil*) in Pali and the audience repeated them, placing their hands together and raising them toward their chins. They were then allowed to sit and the *bhikku* invited Amaradeva's close family seated on the carpeted ground before him to partake in the *maṭakavasṭra pūjā*. Here they were required to contemplate the good characteristics of the deceased and touch items to be offered to the *bhikkus* while the lead *bhikku* chanted. Offerings often include towels, robes (*sivuru*) and bowls (*pāṭṭara*). A *gatha* (Pali Canonic verse) was then chanted by all *bhikkus*. The family was then asked to offer water while the chanting continued. They poured it together from a clean teapot into a cup inside a bowl until the cup overflowed. This is done to pass on good merit (*pin*) to the deceased and to people who had previously passed away in the family. Amaradeva's family were allowed to take their seats following the offering, while the lead *bhikku* gave a speech about Amaradeva's achievements.

Next, the Catholic priest Maxwell Silva was invited to read a speech written by Cardinal Malcolm Ranjith. The Cardinal stressed the loss that Amaradeva's death had brought about and provided a short biographical summary. He finished by giving condolences to the Amaradeva family on behalf of Sri Lanka's Christian community and offered Christ's blessing. The next blessing, read by S. Vishvanadan in Tamil was given by the Hindu priest Shivasri K. V. I. Widyaiswara Kurukkal, who also praised Amaradeva for dedicating his entire life to music. The oration was then summarised in Sinhala. The Islamic representative Deshabandu Alhaj Farien Faisal Hasan Maulawi gave the final blessing. He too orated Amaradeva's praises, stating,

> Pandith Amaradeva uncovered Sri Lanka's folk music and for this he will reside in people's minds for a long time to come. There will never be another artist of his calibre. He was born to us because of the luck of our people. [Quotes *Sasara Vasana Ṭuru*] In his poetry, he stated that it was fortunate for him also to be born in our country. He also sang songs to help us discover our inner purity. We know that all have been touched by his music, from the school child to the general public. Similarly, he spread love for his country. He will not be forgotten. I give condolences to Amaradeva's family on behalf of Sri Lanka's Muslim community and pray that more people of Amaradeva's calibre will be born in Sri Lanka. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

Three more speeches were given by the Masters of Ceremony in Tamil and English, and the Minister of Home Affairs Vajira Abeywardena, who claimed that Amaradeva had been a light to all other Sri Lankan artists. The speakers praised Amaradeva once again

and thanked all involved with the organisation of the funeral. The English speech by Ravindra Randeniya is transcribed below:

> This is the moment the nation bids its final farewell to its brightest icon in the cultural firmament of Sri Lanka. Mahaguru ("Great Teacher") Amaradeva touched the soul of our nation, giving it an internationally recognised cultural identity with his musical genius. A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people. The greatest son of Mother Lanka in the domain of culture, Mahaguru Amaradeva, touched the soul and lived in the hearts of our nation like no other artist has ever done… In recognition of his incomparable colossal service to the nation, the Government of Sri Lanka takes the unprecedented step: a tribute that has never been accorded to any artist in the annals of Sri Lanka's history, paying the final salutation of the nation of Dr Pandith Amaradeva with full State honours, the highest State honour to a citizen by the State. For this great recognition and tribute to an artist we salute the Sri Lankan Government. Here we, the entire artist fraternity of Sri Lanka, place on record our gratitude and appreciation to his Excellency the President, the Honourable Prime Minister, and the Sri Lankan Government. A special note of thanks is definitely due to the Honourable Minister and the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs for their relentless effort in organisation which was really a labour of love. Our Thanks also go to all other government institutions, the armed forces and the police, and the printed and electronic media. It's the nation's final farewell befitting a king, for Dr Amaradeva is the undisputed King of the sri Lankan cultural Landscape. May he attain *nibbana* [Enlightenment]. Thank you. (Rupavahini, 2016c)

Professor Sunil Ariyarathna followed with a eulogy in Sinhala:

> We have great warriors in our country today because of the great warriors of ancient times. Our country produced great poets because of the Ven. Thotagamuwe Sri Rahula and Waathawe Vidharma. We have great prose writers today because of Gurulugomi and Vidya Chakravathy. Yet until the early 20th century, there were no great musicians; not one single name of a musician had been recorded in history. Therefore, the rise of Amaradeva was a miracle. Ananda Samarakoon and Sunil Santha were the two giants of Sinhala music. The next person to reach their level was Amaradeva. A great weight fell on his shoulders because he was tasked with finding a music just for us. He dedicated his whole life to this task. He faced this challenge in every medium – stage dramas, ballets, cinema and radio. He also expressed his ideas in books and articles. Martin Wickramasinghe searched for Sinhala aspects in literature. Ediriweera Sarachchandra search for Sinhala aspects in drama. Geoffrey Bawa searched for Sinhala aspects in architecture. Amaradeva searched for Sinhala aspects in music. All musicians that emerged after him were influenced by the framework he

created. Therefore, they are all his children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Because he developed *prabuddha gee* [nationalistic songs] and *subāviṭa gee* [songs with a high literary standard], today's musicians are able to soar. He was a great innovator in the field of Sinhala music and the country has therefore felt a lot of respect for him and have given him many awards… [Lists several awards] He was also chancellor of the University of Visual and Performance Arts and the Wayamba University of Sri Lanka. This is the first time a musician has been accorded such an honour in Sri Lanka's history. He is our only musician to have attained foreign awards from Western and Eastern countries… [Lists several awards]. We have not had such a reputedmusician in the past and are not likely to see another in the future. No matter how many crowns he received, he always remained the same; light in spirit and humble. He never gloated about his accomplishments – he only remembered if someone prompted him. If he witnessed an emerging singer or lyricist with good talent, he always praised them greatly and kindly encouraged them. He never sang songs to promote racial or religious division. Therefore, Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim, Buddhist, Christian, Hindu and Islamic people always surrounded him. Fans from all of these groups have come to pay their respects at this funeral.

I have some final words to say. We are sad for the generations that were born before Amaradeva. Similarly, we are sad for those who have not yet been born. This is because they have not seen Amaradeva in person. Because of our good merit (*punyavanṭayan*) and good fortune (*bhāgyavanṭayan*), we were able to live during the time he lived; to see him in the flesh; to hear his musical voice. I have been fortunate to give speeches about him from 1983 to 2015. I have also suffered the misfortune to give a speech before his lifeless body. Selfishly, we pray that he'll come and live with us one more time in his next life before receiving *nirvāna* [Enlightenment] thereafter. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

This was followed by a message by the Tamil politician Rajavarothiam Sampanthan, Leader of Opposition from the Trincomalee District. It was read by S. Vishvanadan and translated into Sinhala. Sampanthan stated,

Amaradeva's death caused sadness for the whole country because he did such a great service in developing Sri Lanka's music industry. He completed this duty as a singer, violinist and composer. He enriched our film industry and won national and international awards, giving our country recognition. He has thousands of followers and has now left a void that cannot be filled. I send my condolences to his family and pray that he attains *nirvana* [Enlightenment]. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

National Opposition Leader Ranil Wickramasinghe, who had studied music from Amaradeva in his youth, was then invited to give his eulogy:

> Sunil Ariyarathna has already said almost all there is to say about Amaradeva, and there have been words shared via newspapers within these past few days. Therefore, I will not say much. I will tell you how I met him. At Royal College, Colombo, our principal H. D. Sugathapala first decided we needed teachers for music and dance. He invited W. D. Amaradeva, Aylin Sarachchandra and Basil Mihiripanna to teach at our school. That day, we didn't know who Sir Amaradeva was. They told us that the singer from Radio Ceylon had come to teach us. Me, my fellow member of parliament Dinesh Gunawardena and Mr Anura Bandaranayake went to his class. In truth, teaching us was one of the most unsuccessful experiences in Amaradeva's life. Yet, I learned what the basis of Sinhala music was. I next met him in the 1960s, in a Sinhalese cultural organisation to which my mother had given much support. Other artists in the organisation included Ediriweera Sarachchandra, Dayananda Gunawardena and Gunasena Galappaththi. So I asked him whether he remembered teaching us music. I also met him at Sarasaviya Film Festival because he directed music for films.
>
> I regard W. D. Amaradeva as a great giant who initiated a new era in the Sri Lankan arts. Mr Devar Surya Sena was at the starting point of this activity and there are many more that contributed. People who assisted Amaradeva in joining the music industry were Mr Chitrasena, Mr Sunil Santha and the politician Mr A. J. Ranasinghe. The way I see it, he didn't only modernise Sinhala music – he also brought folk music to the forefront. I especially respect this achievement. By the time I joined parliament in the 1970s, he had achieved fame through concerts and at Radio Ceylon. Yet, I remember him as a musician who gained popularity through modern media. He first began singing at Radio Ceylon. So we knew him as "the singer from the radio." He then produced cassettes. And when we launched Rupavahini [the television network], there was great demand for him. So while we were only able to hear his voice previously, we could then also see him. Technology continued to improve and we had the CD, so he released CDs. And then there was the internet. Because of the internet, we were able to watch him on YouTube. Two months ago, after I had finished all my work at around 11pm, I listened to his music on my iPad. He moved forward with technology and created a path for new artists. He not only modernised our music – he also partook in the modern dissemination of this music. Out of our Sri Lankan musicians, he is especially liked on YouTube. Therefore he is not confined to Sri Lanka – he can be heard all over the world, at any time. This was a great service to us… He was one of the great giants who developed our culture during a difficult time, similar to Devar Suriya Sena and Ananda Coomaraswamy who uncovered the

Sinhala arts. We have now lost another giant from this era. Therefore, we are sad for his death. He was a treasure of our nation; he gave us strength during difficult times. He also helped other singers through these difficult times. We have lost him but, remembering his great service, I pray that he reaches *nirvana*. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

The President Maithri Sirisena, who was said to be Amaradeva's greatest fan, was then invited to speak. He declared,

Today, our whole country has been moved to great sadness by this event. Two days prior, Sri Lankans here and abroad were aggrieved by news of his death. Many musicians, learned people and fans around the world, especially in India, were saddened by his death. Our people were awakened by this great figure. Professor Sunil Ariyarathna confessed that there is no other comparable artist in this country. I believe we all accept this truth. Through his singing, playing and composition, he talked about people's birth, people's life and people's death; about our mother country; about the nation's uniqueness; about how we should live as people. He took his leave from us two days ago. With his death, his voice and good qualities were reborn to us. He is immortal and I believe his voice and image are still living amongst us. 25 years ago, I invited Amaradeva to visit a rural area such as Polonnaruwa. I told him to share his knowledge and his voice with the school children there. With a great smile and without any demands, he accepted my request. He visited the Polonnaruwa region from time to time to run the program for school children. During these times, he sat with me on a rock bordering Parakrama Lake in the moonlight and talked with me for hours. He talked about the lake; about Sri Lankan temples and *ḏāgäb* [monumental, curved temple structures]. He explained how art is related to and enriched by the lives of farmers and their paddy fields and cultivation areas, and how an artist views this. As a great artist, he won national and international awards. His voice and knowledge were known to the whole country – its scholars, artists, politicians, government servants, school children and the general public. The pleasure all of these people felt when listening to his music rendered him a great artist. Therefore, I can say that we regard him as a treasure worthy of worship [*pūjanīya vasṯuvak*]. We decided to declare one week of mourning and to hold his funeral in the Independence Square because this was the greatest respect and regard we could give this great artist as a nation. Similarly, he shared with us his vision and his pathway, and I believe it is the duty of scholars and prominent musicians to share it with the new generation. We will most likely assist with this task by building a special arts centre in Amaradeva's name. We ask our beloved artists to provide advice for this task. To Mrs Wimala, her children, and all of their relatives, I pass on the condolences of all parliamentary members. I pray that Amaradeva attains *nivan* [Enlightenment] and, as Professor Sunil Ariyrrathna already

> mentioned, that he is born in our motherland again prior. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

Ranjana Amaradeva gave the final eulogy. Since the aforementioned speakers had already illustrated Amaradeva's achievements, merits and good characteristics extensively, Ranjana Amaradeva simply gave thanks. He started by respectfully thanking the President for allowing them to hold a funeral that was truly a historic event. He then thanked *bhikkus*, other religious members, the Prime Minister, the parliamentary ministers and the ambassadors. He finished with more thanks:

> My father rendered some words, Sajjana Sangame (Virtuous Society), to describe those artists that were most compassionate towards him. Thanks to all of you, especially Professor Sunil Ariyrathna. Thanks to the funeral committee, the triple armed forces [the Army, Navy and Air Force], the police, the media – especially Rupavahini and the SLBC – for the compassion displayed by the announcers and journalists in the past few days, the Ministries of Home Affairs and Cultural Affairs… [Lists several other government departments, politicians and societies] and the University of Visual and Performance Arts. Thanks to all the medical specialists who took care of my father Pandith Amaradeva throughout his life, and the Sri Jayawardenapura Hospital staff. Thanks to the Jayarathna funeral company, and everyone who sent condolences. Our family has great respect for my father's fans: he lived because of you and you were his strength. He wrote all of his compositions on behalf of you. Thanks to those that came to the viewing in sunshine and rain, and those that couldn't be here. Thanks again to everyone on the funeral committee – I give you all my respect. [Author translation] (Rupavahini, 2016c)

A teary chorus of Sri Lankan artists then stood to sing *Sasara Vasana Ṯuru* as a tribute and farewell to Amaradeva. They were mostly *sarala gee* artists. After this, the army cleared away the flowers from the casket. Amaradeva's family and friends then assembled around the dais and a number of them lifted the casket onto their shoulders to carry it to the pyre. This was a tiered structure made out of wood covered in white cotton cloth. When they had all gathered near the pyre, the army gave seventeen blasts of their canons. Then, two of Amaradeva's relatives prepared to set fire to the casket. They did this by circling the pyre three times, one walking clockwise and the other walking anticlockwise. They held the long torches behind their backs and their heads were covered with a white cloth. I have been informed that this task is traditionally given to a distant male relative, usually son-in-laws or nephews. Custom forbids relatives from looking at the pyre while setting fire to it. Therefore, two other men assisted Amaradeva's relatives by leading them backwards to the openings of the pyre until the firewood surrounding the casket was lit. As the casket burned, people watched the smoke rise from the pyre. Amaradeva's song *Mala Hiru Basinā Sänḏā Yāmē* ("As the Evening Sun Dies, I Bid You Farewell") was played alternatively with his *Mā Mala Pasu* ("Following My Death") until the casket was consumed.

Appendix E: Song translations

This appendix contains full or partial translations of 29 of the 30 of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* analysed in Chapters 6 and 7. The song *Ṭikiri Liyā* was omitted because the recording was not clear enough to gage all the words. The first translation is an extra translation of Amaradeva's first song (an *aluth sindu*), conducted for the purpose of comparison.

Translation 1: Rasai Kiri ("Tasty Milk," 1945), Section A and B

Srimathi Perera

Rasayi kiri nā̈ ḏiyārú
Tasty milk is not runny,

Gaṯai siṯai pinā
It brings happiness to body and mind.

Ḏemī āvoṯ magë kiri, Suḏō!
If you come I'll give you some milk, Dear!

Ḏemī āvoṯ magë kiri
If you come I'll give you some milk,

Ganim huňgak ḏenā, Suḏō, ganim huňgak ḏenā
Lots of people buy it, Dear, lots of people buy it

Amaradeva

Gīṯ kīyaṯ vaḏē kiri päni ṯibē
In a song, she says there's milk and honey

Mē laňḏē enū, enū
Come, come to me, Lady

Mē näṯē ḏänī laňḏē kimak āvē
I did not know this feeling of love before,

Kiri vagē suḏai suḏā
You are white like milk, Fair Dear

Raṭak vaṭī numbē kiri
Your milk is worth a nation

Nagō, noven kōpā
Sister, don't be angry

Magē nagō, noven kōpā
My sister, don't be angry

Translated by the author

Translation 2: Haňḏapānē Väliṯalā (Handapane Valithala / "On a Sandy, Moonlit Plain" 1950s), Chorus and Verse 1

Haňḏapānē väliṯalā
Moon sandy plain
On a sandy, moonlit plain,

Sura kumariyo mal salā
God princesses flowers scattering
Godly-princesses scatter flowers,

Mihiri laliṯa gī gayā
Sweet/harmonious delightful/sweet songs singing
Singing harmonious, delightful songs,

Naṭaṯi mē räyē
Dancing this night.
And dancing this night.

Kumuḏu saman peḷa säḏī
White waterlilies jasmine line placing
White waterlilies and jasmine are placed in a row,

Sīṯala saňḏa räsa väḏī
Cold moon rays being hit
And the moonbeams hit these flowers.

Kōmaḷa sinā pā leḷaḏē
Soft/lovely smile feet wavering/shake/to move
With a lovely smile, they shake their feet

Suvaňḏa vihiḏuvā
Scent diffuse
And diffuse the scent.

Translated by the author

Translation 3: Śānṯa Mē Rä Yāmē (Shantha Me Ra Yame / "This Serene Night," 1940s)

Śānṯa	mē	rä	yāmē	ḏē
Tranquil	this	night	part of a day	give

This tranquil night is given

Kumuḏu	malē	siriyā
Waterlilies	flower	blessing

Blessings by waterlilies

Saňḏa	kānṯiyenī[177]	savumyā
Moon	rays	gentle/tender

Hit by tender moonbeams.

Eyi	nägī	prēma	ṯarangā
Comes	rising,	love	wave/contest

Love is rising in waves,

Eyi	nägī	haḏa	prēma	ṯarangā
Comes	rising	heart	love	wave/contest

Love is rising to our hearts in waves,

Mē	amā	ḏaharē
This	new moon	young/new

While the youthful new moon

Neka	ṯuruliya		näḷävennē
Many		trees	sooth/appease

And the many trees are soothed

Mē	sīṯala	maḏa	pavanē
This	cold	moderate	gentle wind

By this cool, gentle wind.

Hā	äsē	vana	kōkila	gīṯē
With	hear	forest	Indian cuckoo	song

With the sound of the Indian Cuckoo's song in the forest

Sōkayā	visiňḏīlā	soňḏuru	siriyā	pālā[178]
Sorrow	dissolved	delightful	blessing	occurs

Sorrow was dissolved through the delightful blessing

[177] In the 2002 recording of *Śānṯa Mē Rä Yāmē*, he sings "kānṯi väḏī" ("rays are hitting") instead of "kānṯlyenī."

[178] There *are also* different lyrics in the second half of this line: "vesaňga mē pun pōḏā"

Māhimi ḏinu mē pōḏā[179]
Magnanimous Lord won this Pōya Day
As the Lord Buddha was victorious this Pōya Day

Mē räyē gīṭa gayālā
This night songs are singing
We sing songs this night,

Sunḏara raňgapālā
Beautiful dancing
And we dance beautifully,

Aṭi sōbana mē uyanē
Exceedingly beautiful/shining this garden
This garden is exceedingly beautiful,

Api näḷävemu pem ḏaharē
Let's be soothed love young/new
Let's find consolation in our young love

Translated by the author

Translation 4: Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa Sākya Siṅha (Vandimu Sugatha Sakya Sinha / "Worship the Well-Fairing One, the Lion of clan Sakya," 1940s)

Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa Sākya[180] Siṅha
Bow/worship Well-fairing One Sākya [clan] Lion
Let's bow to the Well-Fairing One, the Lion of clan Saakya;

Sasara ḏinū Buḏupiyā
Cycle of existence won Buddha, the father
The Lord Buddha] who conquered the cycle of existence.

Ramanī manḏāra kusum
Beautiful Divine lotus
I offer beautiful, Divine lotuses,

Karamina pūjā
Doing worship
When doing my worship

[179] Further, the last two words of the next line are altered in the new version and read "Māhimi ḏinu ṭayilōnā"
[180] Generally, the word "sākya" is pronounced "śākya" as it is spelled with a *ḏanṭaja sayanna* which gives a "sh" sound. However, Amaradeva uses an "s" sound in this song, most likely for an assonant effect. He does the same with the word "sānṭl" in the second verse. It should be noted that he also pronounced the former word as "sākya" in other songs.

Bäṭiyena	mē	gī	gayā
With devotion/faithfulness	this	song	sing.

And show my devotion by singing this song.

Mōkṣē	säpa	sānṭl	säḏū
Liberation	pleasure/happiness	tranquillity	made

He who was Liberated and made the path to tranquilt happiness

Mohaňḏura	lovehī	ḏuralū[181]
Delusion	from this world	made free

And defeated this world's delusions,

Sambuḏu	māgē	Samiňḏā
Enlightened One	mine	Venerable

My Vernerable Enlightened One

Sihikara	sämaḏā
Remembering daily	always

I remember always

Karami	mā	prārṭanā
By doing	I	hoping/aspiring/wish

And I worship with the hope

Sunḏara	nivanā
Serene	*nirvana*

Of happy and tranquil Freedom;

Parama	amā	sampaṭā
Divine/ultimate	sweet	wealth/riches

And sweet, divine riches

Translated by Tissa Weerasuriya

Translation 5: Chanḏō Mā Biliňḏē (Chando Ma Bilinde / "Chando, My Son," 1954)

Paṭara	baḷäṭi	siri	kunḏa
Diffusive substance/love	powerful	prosperity/beauty	type of jasmine

vidhārana

tearing/rupturing/gift

Receive the strong and beautiful scent of jasmine flowers wafting

[181] In the 2002 recording of *Vaňḏimu Sugaṭa*, the word "biňḏalū" ("break") is used instead of "ḏuralū."

Viṯara baḷäṯi siridhara panĉaṯālena
Breadth/extent powerful blessed/learned panĉaṯūrya
And hear the rich and auspicious sound of the panĉaṯūrya ensemble

Chando mā biliňḏē numba nāňḍan
Chando my son you happy
Be happy Chando, my son

Inḏō komalaṯa niriňḏuṭa
Present to induce affection/become soft for the king/chief
ḏāvun
sire
The king sired you to me and you give me affection
Bāloli lan loli lanna biliňḏē
[Nonsense syllables] Son
Bāloli lan, loli lanna, Son
Nāňḍan ḏän enḏā̆
Joy/gladness now become
Be happy now

Ḏän ḏeviňḏun maṭa ḏun ḏaru rūpā
Now gods for me given child image
Now the gods have given me an image of a child

Ĉanḏana kuṅkumayen säḏi rūpā
Sandalwood from saffron was created image
The image was created from sandalwood and saffron

Rangira'gin pāyayi mulu ḏīpā
Golden rock rise the whole island
The sun will rise over our island

Maṅvaḏa ḏän ḏaru suňḏara rūpā
And linger now child handsome image
Revealing the image of my handsome child

Päna päna aṯu ḏiga soňḏa
Jumping jumping branches length good/delightful
ḏalu kannā
leaves eating
Leaping along the branches to eat tender leaves

Iňgi biňgi karamin bäma naṭavannā
Wink/hint flirting doing eyebrows dancing
Winking and moving their eyebrows mischievously

Vaṭa	siṭi	päṭavun	laňga	käňḏavannā
Round	staying	baby animals	close	invite/call

Their mother calls them to come close to her

Onna	biliňḏu	rilavun	päna
There	son	toque macaque monkeys	jumping

yannā
going
See there, son, the monkeys bounding away

Avaravenna	pera	gasaṭa	naginnā
Evening falls	before	to the tree	climbing

They climb back onto their tree before evening falls

Uḏāvenna	paḷamuva	haňḍalannā
Dawn	first	voice sounding/crying

The next day dawns with the sound of animal calls

Saḏā	päṭavu	vaṭa	sārā	kannā
Forever	animal babies	round	tender	eat

The baby monkeys gather around to eat tender leaves

Onna	biliňḏu	sävuliňḏu	haňḍalannā
There	son	rooster	voice sounding

There, son, are the cries of the rooster

Translation 6: Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā (Sinhala Avurudu Awa / "The Sinhala New Year has Come", 1955)

Sinhala	avuruḏu	āvā	āvā
Sinhala	year	come	come

The Sinhala New Year has come, has come

Gama	hinähī	rasa	venavā
Village	smiling	tasteful	becomes

The village becomes happy and festive

Yauvaniyō	pēḷī	säḏīlā
Damsels	lines	forming

Damsels will form a line

Naṭaṯi gayaṯi vinōḏeni
Dancing singing in happiness
Dancing and singing in happiness

Ḏoḍam kapālā ämbul ṯanālā nānna yana
Oranges having cut pickle made/done bath go
säṭi balan Kaḷū[182]
how look dark/black
See how Kalu cut and pickled oranges and is going to have a bath

Sēlē äňḏalā neriya ṯiyālā
Cloth having worn ends of cloth tucked into the waist put
Having worn the cloth, having fastened it by tucking the ends into the waistline

Miḏulē sakman karayi Kaḷū
Courtyard walking will do Kalu
Kalu will walk in the courtyard

Ḏahasak ḏīlā vaḷalu ṯanālā
Thousand having given bangles get done
Having paid a thousand to purchase bangles

Däṯē aṯalā balayi Kaḷū
Hand wearingon arm will look Kalu
Kalu will look at her wrist

Dunukē malasē, dunukē
Pandanus (scree pine) tree like a flower pandanus tree
malasē
like a flower
Like a flower of the pandanus tree

Uḷugeyi äňḏapiṭa oḷiňḏa kelliya säṭi
Tiled house armchair liquorice game of seeds how
Balan Kalū
Watching Kalu
Kalu is watching the liquorice-seed game, seated on the arim of a chair inside her tiled house

[182] "Kalū" is often used as an affectionate nickname for dark-skinned Sinhalese people.

Translation 7: Väliṯala Aṯarē (Valithala Athare / "Amidst the Sandy Plains, 1955")[183]

Väliṯala aṯarē, hemihiṭa basinā
Sandy plane among slowly flowing
Slowly flowing among the sandy planes

Nēranjana naḏiyē Gayā hisa —
Reranjana river Gaya head/summit/to
Is Neranjana River, near the summit of Gaya

Väḍa siṭa Buḏuvuṇa ḏā
By sitting became Enlightened the day
Ṯilōhimi —
the Three Worlds[184]
He sat here and was Enlightenned, becoming Lord of the Three Worlds

Moksuva laḏa mohoṯē samāḏī bhāvanā
Happiness attained moment concentration meditation
In this moment he attained divine happiness through concentrated medition

Hima kaňḏu väṭiyē — sīṯala sevaṇē
Snowy mountain range cold shade
On the snowy, cold and shady mountain range

Ĉandana ṯuru pīrā häpī[185]
Sandalwood trees through combing/filtering touching
ena —
coming
Making its way, sifting through and nudging the Sandalwood trees

Mal muvaraḏa rasinē
Flowers pollen of flowers scent
Is the scent of pollenated flowers

Suvaňḏa musu — kōmala maḏa pavanē —
With mixed delicate slow-moving wind
Mingling with the slow, delicate wind

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[183] These lyrics have been transcribed from the period recording of *Väliṯala Aṯarē*. Some slight word changes have been made in the 2002 recording such as "sevaṇē" changed to "hevaṇē" and "Suvaňḏa" changed to "Samaňga" in the second verse and "naňgalā" to "nagalā" and "Siri Maha" to "Siri Mā" in the third verse. In these instances, these words have the same meaning, but original words belong to semi-formal Sinhala.

[184] The Three Worlds ("Ṯilōhimi") in Buddhism are the human world, divine world and purgatory.

[185] He also sings "ädī" ("pulling") instead of "häpī."

gäṭīlā	pāvenā
touching	floating

As it touches it and floats along with it

Saṯsara	naňgalā	ṭika	ṭika	selavī
Seven sounds	raising	little	little	shaking

The Seven sounds rise into the air and cause a slight trembling

Siri Maha	Bō	himigē	—	manōhara
Glorious/virtuous and great	Bodhi tree	Venerable		captivating

In the Vernerable and captivating Sri Mahabodhi Tree

Palupaṯ	aṯu	rikilī.	—	naṭā	giya	—
Leaves	branches	forks		dance	went	

Whose leaves and forked branches danced

Tālehi	rasa	näňguṇā	—	sarāgī	jīvanā
Rhythm	flavour	rose		passionate/lively	life

And rose to passionate life to the evocative rhythm

Saňgamiṯ	Meheṇī	—	ḏakuṇē	sākā
Sangamitha	Theri [female monk]		right	branch

The right branch of the Tree with Sangamitha Theri

Sirilaka	gena	ā	ḏā	—	siṭama	ṯava	—
Sri Lanka	bought	came	the day		onwards	still	

Was brought to Sri Lanka and from that day onwards

Mahamevunā	Uyanē	naṭayikoḷa	—
Maha Mewuenaa	Garden	dance leaves	

Its leaves dance in the Maha Mewuna Garden

Vannama	lesa	Mahabō	sumīrī	nāḏenā
Vannama [dance]	like	Mahabodhi Tree	pleasant	sound

As if to the pleasant sound of a Mahabodhi Vannam

Translated by Tissa Weerasuriya and the author

Translation 8: Karaḏara PoḏI Bäňḏa (Karadara Podi Banda / "Having Bundled up our Worries," 1960s)[186]

Karaḏara	poḏi	bäňḏa	gäla	piṭa	paṭavā
Troubles/worries	bundle	bound	cart	onto	loaded

Having bundled up our worries and loaded them onto a cart

[186] This translation is based on lyrics from the earliest available recording of *Karaḏara PoḏI Bäňḏa*, circa 1970s. There are some word changes in the 2002 version which include "vita" changed to "saňḏa" ("moon") (second verse) and "haḏē" changed to "hiṯē" ("mind") (third verse).

Karumaye	kaḷu	gonu	peraṭuve	bäňḏagena
Karma	black	bull	cart	bound

Having bound a black bull of karma to the cart

Mē	jīvana	maňga	apa	yanavā
This	life	journey	we	going

We are going on this journey of life

Ē	gamanē	ḏuk	ḏāhē	nivālana
That	journey	sorrow/suffering	heat	extinguish

To extinguish the painful sorrow of this journey

Sīpaḏa	muvagin	piṭavenavā
Quatrains	from mouths	leave

Poetry is emitted from our mouths effortlessly

Apa	yana	mē	maňga	kaḷugal	maṯuvī
We	going	this	journey/way	black granite	created

This road we are taking is made from black granite

Paya	raṯvīlā	bubuḷu	näňgena	saňḏa
Feet	heated	blisters	rise	moon

It makes our feet heat up and blister like the surface of the moon

Ḏāsin	kaňḏuḷäli	piṭa	venavā
äom eyes	tears	leave	occurs

Tears leave our eyes unpreventably

Ē	gamanē	ḏuk	ḏāhē	nivālana
That	journey	sorrow/suffering	heat	extinguish

To extinguish the painful sorrow of this journey

Sīpaḏa	muvagin	piṭavenavā
Quatrains	from mouths	leave

Poetry is emitted from our mouths effortlessly

Kirigalpoṯṯē	kanḏa	naňgina	viṭa
In Kirigalpoththa	mountain	climbing	when

When climbing Kiripoththa Mountain

Gama	siṭinā	oba	haḏē	äňḏenavā
Village	stays	you	heart	is being drawn

A vision of you who lives in the village enters my heart

Ēken	gamanaṭa	hiṯa	ḏenavā
From that	for the journey	mind/resolution	gives

That gives me the courage to go on

Ē	gamanē	ḏuk	ḏāhē	nivālana
That	journey	sorrow/suffering	heat	extinguish

To extinguish the painful sorrow of this journey

Sīpaḏa	muvagin	piṭavenavā
Quatrains	from mouths	leave

Poetry is emitted from our mouths effortlessly

Translation 9: Iraṭa Muvāven (Irata Muwaven "Sheltered from the Sun," 1960s), Chorus and Verse 1

Iraṭa	muvāven	iňḏagena	hisa	pīranavā
For the sun	sheltered	sitting	hair	combing

Sitting, sheltered from the sun, she combs her hair

Saňḏaṭa	muvāven	iňḏagena	saḷu	palaňdinavā
For the moon	sheltered	sitting	cloth	draping

Sitting, sheltered from the moon, she drapes her cloth

Ḏīpa	ĉanḏra	rēkhaven	mūṇa	balanavā
Ray	moon	rays	face	looking

She looks at my face with a radiance resembling the moon's rays

Valākuḷen	ahasṯalen	bimaṭa	vaḍinavā[187]
Through clouds	through sky	ground	coming

And descends to earth through the sky, on a cloud

Pāyana	ṯaru	äs	äralā	balā	siṭinavā
Floating	stars	eyes	open	watching	continuously

The rising stars watch with eyes wide open

Pīḏena	mal	peṯl	viḏahā	mukuḷukaranavā
Blooming	flowers	petals	spreading	giggle

Flowers giggle as they bloom, spreading their petals

Suḷaṅ	roḏin	äḏī	äviṯ	äňgē	velenavā
Wind	gusts	pulling	coming	body	embracing

Gusts of wind touch and pull at her body

Gala koḷa	selevena	ṯālen[188]	rahas	kīyanavā	
Trees leaves	shaking	rhythm	secrets	saying	

Trees and leaves murmur secrets to the rhythm of their swaying

Mēgha	mäḏin	viḏuliyamen	naṭā	ḏivenavā
Clouds	middle	like lightning	dance	runs

Like lightning you dash between the clouds

[187] The word "vaḍinavā" is only used for godly beings.

[188] In the 2000 recording of *Iraṭa Muvāven*, he sings "ṯāleṭa" instead of "ṯālen."

Āsiri	väsi[189]	varusāven	kusum	salanavā
Cold	drizzle	rain	flowers	shake

As a cold drizzle makes the flowers tremble

Âḷa	ḏoḷa	gaṅ	äḏahälilā	giman
Rivers	canals	rivers	falling down	heat

nivenavā
cool/extinguish
The flowing rivers and canals extinguish the heat

Magē	haḏaṭa	saḏā	saṭuṭa	oben	läbenavā
My	for heart	forms	pleasure	from you	gain

And you bring happiness to my heart

Translation 10: Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biṅḏu Biṅḏu (Ran Dahadiya Bindu Bindu / "Golden Droplets of Sweat," 1960s)

Ran	ḏahaḏiya	biṅḏu	biṅḏu
Golden	sweat	droplets	droplets

Droplets of golden sweat

Isuru	suvaňḏa	ränḏu	ränḏu
Prosperity	scent	holding	holding

Have the scent of prosperity

Gaṭini	halā	gayamu	ran	goyamē	
From the body	dropping	let's sing	golden	harvest	
sinḏu	sinḏu				
songs	songs				

Let's sing songs of the golden harvest as sweat drips from our bodies

Ran	goyamē	sinḏu	sinḏu
Golden	harvest	songs	songs

Songs of the golden harvest

Ḏäṭē	ran	vaḷalu	ḏaňgē
In hands	golden	bangles	moving/hyperactively

Gold bangles on both hands bounce mischievously

Gela	bäňḏi	ran	māla	agē
Neck	bound	gold	necklace	value/treasure

And a gold necklace is fastened around her neck

Ran	goyamē	neḷana	naňgē
Golden	paddy	picking/gathering	little sister/young lady

This young lady harvesting the golden paddy

[189] He also sings "Sīṭala poḏa" instead of "Äsiri väsi."

Siriyāvayi raṭaṭa magē
Blessing/prosperity for country my
Brings blessings and prosperity to my country

Nelumkeṯē ḷanḏu ḷanḏu
Lotus in field young women young women
Young women are in a field of lotuses

Soňḏuru kiňḏuru ḷanḏu ḷanḏu
Delightful celestial musician young women young wome
Delightful, celestial young women

Ḏevi pihiṭen gayamu ran goyamē
Gods with blessings let's sing golden paddy
sinḏu sinḏu
songs songs
With the blessing of gods, let's sing songs of the golden paddy

Ran goyamē sinḏu sinḏu
Golden paddy song songs
Songs of the golden paddy

Bulaṯē raṯa ḏuṭimi ṯolē
Of betel leaves red I saw lips
I saw the redness of betel leaves on her lips

Maṭa noveḍō mukuḷu kaḷē
Me didn't you giggle/flirt did
Her flirtatious giggle was doubtless aimed at me

Ran goyamē neḷana kalē
Golden paddy plucking/gathering doing
While harvesting the golden paddy

Mana bäňḏuṇā pabaḷu välē
Mind was bound necklace of coral string
My mind was transfixed on her thin necklace

Translation 11: Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa (Dathe Karagata / "Callouses on Hands," 1960s)

Ḏäṯē karagäṭa simba sanasannaṭa
Hands corns embrace to comfort
To embrace and comfort calloused hands

Ḷā goyamē ḏaḷu pavan salayi
Tender harvest leaves wind shake
The tender leaves of the harvest sway, fanning the wind

Ḏahaḏiya	muṯukäṭa	mal	varusāvī
Sweat	pearls	flower	rain

Sweat droplets like pearls turn into a rain of flowers

Karal	barin	pīḏī	vägireyi
Pod-bunches	with their weight	well-matured	falls

And pod-punches grow heavy and mature and hang

Aḍa	saňḏa	mōrana	mäḏiyam	ahasin
Half	moon	matures	midnight	sky

When the half-moon matures in the midnight sky

Biliňḏu	haḏaṭa	kiri	ḏiyara	galayi
Son/baby	to the heart	milk	water	will flow

Milk will flow continuously into my baby's heart

Heṭa	iḏivena	nava	lōkaya	ḏäka	ḏäka
Tomorrow	create	new	world	seeing	seeing

In seeing the new world being built for tomorrow

Punĉi	puṯā	hīnen	hinäheyi
Little	son	in a dream	will smile

My little son will smile while he dreams

Ḏahasak	vävu	bäňḏi	yōḏa	miniskäḷa
Thousands	tanks	built	strong large	number of people

Thousands of tanks were constructed by many people of great strength

Yaḷi	ipaḏī	äṭi	Lak	ḏeraṇē
Again	born	have	Lanka	earth

They have been reborn in the land of Lanka

Saṯ	ruvanin	nava	niḏahan
Seven	precious metals and gems	new	treasures
maṯuvī			
emerge			

Seven treasured precious metals and gems have appeared

Puṯugē	sināveni	oba	väṭunē
Son's	because of smile	you	fell

They fell because of my son's smile

Ḏäsē	kaňḏuläli	pisaḏā	balanemi
In eyes	tears	wiping	will look

After wiping tears from my eyes, let me see

Heṭa	hiru	eliyaṭa	vaḍina	ḏinē
Tomorrow	sun	light	proceeding	day

The rising sun of tomorrow

Ṇaya	näṯi	biya	näṯi	nivahal	yugayaka
Debt	without	fear	without	free	era

A debt-free, fearless, liberated era

Punĉi	puṯā	raja	karanu	peneyi
Little	son	rule	doing	will see

In which I see my little son rule

Mā	gaṯa	vehesaṭa	āḍarayen	ḍiya
I	took	tiredness	with love	gave

For the tiredness I endured with love

Ulpaṯa	pāḏana	punĉi	puṯun
Spring/fountain/cascade	give refreshment	little	son

My little son gives me refreshment

Ē	gaṯa	vehesama	saṯuṭak	veyi	maṭa
That	took	tiredness	joy/delight	will be	for me

That tiredness I experienced will seem a delight for me

Oba	sihivana	viṭa	punĉi	puṯun
You	think of	when	little	son

When I think of you, my little son

Ḏeḏahas	pansīya	vasarak	ṯissē	
Two thousand	five hundred	years	since	

For two-thousand five-hundred years

Mā	ḏuṭu	sihinaya	punĉi	puṯun
I	saw	a dream	little	son

I saw a dream of my little son

Oba	haṭa	lōkaya	iḏikara	ḏī	misa
You	for	world	building	give	unless

Without building this world for you

Yā	nohäkiya	maṭa	punĉi	puṯun
Go	cannot	for me	little	son

I cannot depart, my son

Translation 12: Muni Siripā Simbiminnē (Muni Siripa Simbiminne / "Embracing the Feet of the Buddha," 1950s), first half

Muni	Siripā	simbiminnē
The Buddha	illustrious feet	embracing

Embracing the feet of the Buddha

Samanoḷa giri peḏesinnē
Samanola mountain from the locality
At the mountain peaks of Samanola

Maňḏa suḷaňgayi mē ennē
Gentle wind here coming
Is a gentle breeze that comes hither

Magē puṯā näḷävennē
My son being lulled/soothed
And lulls my son into a comfortable sleep

Jāṯika raṇa ḏeraṇa maṯē
The nation Defend ground upon
If, upon your decision to protect your country of birth

Gäṭī väṭī maḷa mohoṯē
Hit fall death moment
The moment you are struck and fall to your death

Sunḏara surambungē aṯē
Beautiful celestial nymph hands
The hands of beautiful goddesses

Näḷävena bava siṯanu puṯē
Lull/soothe being think son
Will soothe you, son, just remember that

Niḏahas hiru devi enavā
Freedom/liberty sun god coming
The sun-god of freedom is on his way

Ḏābäṯi mal pibidenavā
Patriotic flowers blooming
Love of the nation blooms

Siri Lak mava hinähenavā
Sri Lanka mother smiling/laughing
Mother Lanka is smiling

Magē puṯā näḷävenavā
My son being lulled/soothed
And my son is lulled into a comfortable sleep

Translation 13: Raṯnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi (Rathnadeepa Jamna Bhoomi / "Our Birthplace is a Land of Gems," 1964)

Raṯnaḏīpa	janma	bhūmi
Land of gems	birth	ground/land

Our birthplace is a land of gems

Lankaḏīpa	vijaya	bhūmi
Island of Lanka	victorious	ground/land

This victorious land, the Island of Lanka

Mē	apē	uḏāra	vū	māṯru	bhūmiyayi,	māṯru
This	our	proud	is	mother	is a land,	mother

bhūmiyayi
is a land

This is our noble motherland, our noble motherland

Āḏi	Sinhalē	vīra	mī
Anciet	the Sinhalese	courageous	from the

earth/pollen/honey

muṯun	leyin
ancestors	from blood

The ancient Sinhalese gave their sweet, courageous blood

Sāra	vū	uḏāra	vū	māṯru	bhūmiyayi,	māṯru
Enriched	is	noble	is	mother	is a land,	mother

bhūmiyayi
Is a land

And enriched this noble motherland, this noble motherland

Māṇikya	sē	poḷō	gäbē	nidhānavī
Gems	like	ground	cavity	are treasures

Treasured gems are buried beneath the

Äṯṯe	ē	abhīṯa	ḏū	puṯun
Must be	those	proud	daughters	sons

Which are doubtless the remains of former proud sons and daughters

Jāṯiyē	nāmayen	sangrāma	bhūmiyē
Nation in the	name of	arena	in the land

Who, in the name of our nation, on the battlefield

Jīviṯē	puḏā	helū	lē	kaňḏayi
Lives	offered	shed	blood	body of a man

Sacrificed their lives as the blood left their bodies

Sinḏupamāna	vävu	ṯalā	maṯin
Like oceans	tanks	land/ground/place/firm spot	over
äḏī			
drawn			

Drawn across the surface of tanks like oceans

Paḏma	rēṇuyen	sugandha	vī
Lotus	through pollen	perfume	will

Is the pollen of lotus flowers which will perfume the air

Ran	karal	namā	hamā	siṯ
Golden	pods/paddy	bend	happiness	mind
Prabōdhayen			purā	
expanding/opening/blowing			throughout	

The breeze that blows over the swaying paddy brings happiness to our minds

Enne	un	heḷū	prāṇa	vāyuvayi
Coming	they	shed	breath	life

Comes the breath of life that was emptied

Gangā	ṯaranga	rāva	ḏī	riḏī	vanin
Rivers	waves/ripples	sound	give	silver	in colour

The ripples in rivers, sounding, give off a silver sheen

Mal	pipī	kuḷin	kuḷē	häpī
Flowers	bloom	peaks	mountains	touch

Flowers bloom on the peaks of mountains, nudging each other

Gāyanā	karannē	ākāśayē	näňgī
Sing	doing	skies	will rise

We continue to sing and the sound will rise to the skies

Vīrayinge	ē	yaśō	gīṯayayi
Of heroes	that	greatness	the song

That is the song of the greatness of our heroes

Translation 14: Paṭu Aḏahas Nam (Patu Adahas Nam / "If There's Narrowmindedness" 1960s), Chorus and Verse 1

Paṭu	aḏahas	nam	pavurin	lōkaya
Narrow	views	if	fence/boundary	world

If the narrow-mindedness that creates divisions in the world

Käbeli[190]	valaṭa	nobeḏī	gnānaya	nivahal vī	
Pieces	into	not divide	knowledge	free	will be

Does not break it into pieces, knowledge will bring freedom

Biyen	ṯorava	hisa	keḷin	ṯabāgena
Fear	without	head	straight	holding

If we keep our heads held straight without fear

Siṭinaṭa	häki	kohiḏō
To stay/sit	able	where

In what kind of world are we able to live?

Ē	vū	niḏahasē	svarga	råjayaṭa
That	which would	that freedom	divine	kingdom

If from freedom a divine kingdom could ensue

Māge	ḍēśaya	avaḏl	karanu	mäna	Piyaṇanē
My	country	awakened	to do	occurring	Father

Awaken my country to it, Father

Saṯyaya	paṯulin	galanā	pirisiḏu
Truth	bottom	flowin	clean/pure

The depth of truth flows pure

Vaĉana	kohiḏa	äṯṯē
Words	where	are they

Where are the words that come from hence?

Gaṯānu	gaṯikava	pävaṯena	siriṯē
Traditional	tradition	exist/continue	customs

Customs hailing from traditions of time immemorial

Marukaṯaraṭa	väḏilā
Sandy desert	hit

Have stranded us in the desert

Nirmala	jala	ḏārāva	ṯarkayē
Pure	water	streamdownpour	logic

The downpour of pure logic

Siňḏī	gilī	nogiyē
Drowned	swallowed	still not gone

Has not yet swallowed us

Ē	vū	niḏahasē	svarga	rājayaṭa
That	which would	that freedom	divine	kingdom

If from that freedom a divine kingdom could ensue

[190] In the 1999 recording of *Paṭu Aḏahas Nam*, Amaradeva and Sunil Edirisinghe sing “Käbäli” instead of “Käbeli.”

Māgē	ḏeśaya	avaḏi	karanu	mäna	Piyaṇanē
My	country	to awaken	to do	occurring	Father

Awaken my country to it, Father

Translation 15: Sannāliyanē (Sannaliyane / "The Weaver," 1960s)[191]

Sannāliyanē,	Sannāliyanē,	mē	himiḏiri	uḏayē
Weaver,	Weaver,	this	twilight	morning

Weaver, weaver, in the morning twilight

Saṇṭosen	oba	hinähī,		hinähī
Happiness	you	smile/laugh,	smile/laugh	

You smile so happily

Kāṭaḏa	äňḏuma	viyannē
For whom	dress	weaving

For whom are you weaving this dress?

Kāṭaḏa	äňḏuma	viyannē
For whom	dress	weaving

For whom are you weaving this dress?

Mālagirā	ṭaṭu	sēma	ruvinyuṭu
Ring-neck parrot	wings	as/like	image/beauty/colour

Like the vibrant beauty of the ring-neck parrot's wings

Nilvan	äňḏuma	viyannē
Blue colour	dress	weaving

A dress coloured blue you weave

Kāṭaḏa	äňḏuma	viyannē
For whom	dress	weaving

For whom are you weaving this dress?

Mālagirā	ṭaṭu	sēma		ruvinyuṭu
Ring-neck parrot	wings	as/like	image/beauty	multitude

Like the vibrant beauty of the ring-neck parrot's wings

Nilvan	äňḏuma	viyannē
Blue coloured	dress	weave

A dress coloured blue I weave

[191] These lyrics have been transcribed from the original recording of *Sannāliyanē*. There are quite a few lines swapped and words pronounced differently in new recordings and live performances.

īyē ipaḏuṇu kuluňḏul ḏūṭayi
Yesterday born first-born for daughter
For my first-born daughter who came into the world yesterday

Mē poḍi äňḏuma viyannē
This small dress weaving
I weave this small dress

Sannāliyanē, Sannāliyanē, mē häňḏä yāmē
Weaver, Weaver this evening going
Weaver, weaver, as dusk falls

Häḍavāḍa ḏamalā lassana karalā
Beautiful work put beautiful do/make
You attach beautiful worked designs

Kāṭaḏa äňḏuma viyannē
For whom dress weaving
For whom are you weaving this dress?

Kāṭaḏa äňḏuma viyannē
For whom dress weaving
For whom are you weaving this dress?

Hänḏä ahasē ranvan pāṭin
Evening sky golden colour
Like the golden colour of the evening sky

Ḏilihena äňḏuma viyannē
Glittering dress weaving
A glistening dress you weave

Kāṭaḏa äňḏuma viyannē
For whom dress weaving
For whom are you weaving this dress?

Hänḏä ahasē ranvan pāṭin
Evening sky golden colour
Like the golden colour of the evening sky

Ḏilihena äňḏuma viyannē
Glittering dress weaving
This glistening dress I weave

Ē kuluňḏul ḏuva ḏīgeka
That first-born/eldest daughter give for marriage
ḏennayi
give
To give that eldest daughter away in marriage

Maňgala äňḏuma viyannē
Wedding dress weaving
I weave a wedding dress

Sannāliyanē, Sannāliyanē, hīṯala haňḏa eḷiyē
Weaver, Weaver, cold moon light
Weaver, Weaver, in the cold moonlight

Vevulana ḏäṯin mälävunu mūṇin
Shaking hands withered face
With shaking hands and saddened face

Käṭaḏa äňḏuma viyannē
For whom dress weaving
For whom are you weaving this dress?

Käṭaḏa äňḏuma viyannē
For whom dress weaving
For whom are you weaving this dress?

Kaṇakok ṯaṭuvē suḏumäli pāṭin
Stork of the wings white colour
Coloured yellowish-white like the wings of a stork

Hīṯala saluva viyannē
Cold dress weaving
This cold dress you weave

Kāṭaḏa saluva viyannē
For whom dress weaving
For whom are you weaving this dress?

Kaṇakok ṯaṭuvē suḏumäli pāṭin
Stork of the wings white colour
Coloured yellowish white like the wings of a stork

Sīṭala saluva viyannē
Cold dress weaving
This cold dress I weave

Miyagiya äyagē miniya vahannayi
Died her dead body cover
To cover the body of she who has died

Hīṯala saluva viyannē
Cold dress weaving
I weave this cold dress

Translation 16: Biṅḏu Biṅḏu Ran (Bindu Bindu Ran / "Golden Droplets", 1970s)[192]

Huru	näṯi	maňgaka	gos	ugulaka	väṭenu
Familiar	not	route/direction	by	trap	fall
epā					
don't					

Don't fall into a trap by taking unfamiliar routes

Karuvala[193]	galaḏḏī	ṯani	maňga	äḏenu	epā
Dark	flowing	alone	direction	be pulled	don't

Don't be persuaded to walk alone when night is falling

Sirikaṯa	säḏū[194]	siri	ḏenayana	makanu
Lakshmi	created	beauty/Lakshmi	eyes	expunge
epā				
don't				

Don't destroy your beautiful eyes crafted by the Goddess Lakshmi

Pirivara	soyā	mā	ṯanikara	yanna	epā
Retinue/friends	search	me	leave alone	go	don't

Don't isolate me in your search for friends

Biṅḏu	biṅḏu	ran	gōmara	mālā
Droplet	droplet	gold	bead	necklace

Speckles like a gold beaded necklace

Banḏā	gela	vaṭa	omari	laṯāvaṭa
Tied	neck	around	flirting/giggling	style

Are tied around her neck in a flirtatious manner

Kanḏen	pāvī	lanḏaṭa	basinā
From the mountain	floating	low bush-land	descend

Descending from the mountain to the low bushland

Ranvan	ranvan	mage	ran	kikiḷī
Gold coloured	gold coloured	my	gold	hen

Is my golden, golden, golden hen

[192] The verses are sung in a different order in the 2000 version of *Biṅḏu Biṅḏu Ran*.
[193] He also sings "Karuvara" instead of "Karuvala."
[194] In the same verse, he sings "mävū" instead of "säḏū."

Ranvan	ranvan	ran	kikiḷī
Gold coloured	gold coloured	gold	hen

Golden, golden, golden hen

Kuṇḍa saman	peṭl	suvaňḍa	helālana
Jasmine	petals	scent	dripping/spreading

The scent of jasmine petals is diffused

Ran	hirurās	keňḍi	ḍeraṇa	simbinaviṭa
Golden	rays of sun	fibres	earth	embracing

Fine, golden rays of sunlight embrace the earth

Manḍäyi	ṭavamaṭ	lanḍaṭa	nāvē
Why	still	low bush-land	didn't come

Why hasn't she come to the low bushland yet?

Ranvan	ranvan	mage	ran	kikiḷī
Gold coloured	gold coloured	my	gold	hen

Golden golden, my golden hen

Ranvan	ranvan	ran	kikiḷī
Gold coloured	gold coloured	gold	hen

Golden, golden, golden hen

Translation 17: Kumariyaka Pā Salamba Sälunā (Kumariyaka Pa Salamba Saluna / "A Young Lady Shook her Anklet Bells," 1970s)

Kumariyaka	pā	salamba	säluṇā
Young lady	feet	anklets	trembled/shook

A young lady shook the bells on her anklets

Vasā	siṭi	neṭu	piyan	äruṇā
Closed	were	eyes	lids	opened

My closed eyelids opened

Kumara	bambasara	asapuvē	mā
Prince	ascetic	monastery	I

I, an ascetic at a monastery,

Sama	väḍī	un	ḍähän	biňḍuṇā
Tranquillity	in	they	meditation	broke

Found my tranquil meditation shattered

Kumariyaka	pā	salamba	sälunā
Young lady	feet	anklets	trembled/shook

A young lady shook the bells on her anklets

Ukuḷa	lämahasa	malavi	karaḷiya
Hip	breast	mind	openned

My mind was enslaved by her hips and breasts

Muvā	kaḷa	äge	ḏuhul	saḷu	ṭira
Covered	was	her	silk/thin cloth	dress	veil/hanging

Covered by her thin, silky dress

Vivara	keruvā	manas	salelun
Open	did	mind	younger men

The minds of younger men were opened [to desire]

Umaṭu	vū	ḏenuvan	rähän	äḏa
Insanity	is	eyes	rope/string/line	into

My eyes led me to insanity

Mā	abiyasa	mäveṇa[195]	ṭusiṭaya
I	proximate	created	in Thusitha[196]

I fancied I was in the divine world of Thusitha

Suran	näḷavū	suyāmaya
Goddesses	soothed/lulled	of heavenly origin

Where all are pacified by heavenly goddesses

Nisala	jīvana	ṭapōvana	mäḏa
Rock/firm	life	forest of hermits	middle

Existence was steadfast in the midst of the forest of hermits

Häňgum	gajasen	yaḏam	biňḏa
Emotions	like an elephant	chains/fetters	break/shatter
väḏa			
get rid of			

Until emotions went wild like an elephant had broken its chains

Ṭaḷā	siňḏa	kampanaya	karavayi
Crush	cutting	trembling/agitation/unsteadiness	will do

Agitation will be caused by the sensation of crushing and separation

Ḷapalu	ṭuruväl	käkuḷu	mal	peṭi
Bud/shoot	creeping plant	flower bud	flower	petals

Lost in the mass of tender trees and leaves, creepers and flower petals

[195] He sings “mävuṇu” instead of “mäveṇa” in the 1999 recording of *Kumariyaka Pā*.
[196] Thusitha is one of the heavenly realms of Buddhism.

Mā	haňḍavayi	biňḏuṇu	Ṯusiṯaya
I	will cry	broken/shattered	Thusitha

I will cry out for the shattered hope of reaching Thusitha

Suran	näḷavū	suyāmaya
Goddesses	soothed/lulled	of heavenly origin

Where all are pacified by heavenly goddesses

Translation 18: Pera Ḏinayaka (Pera Dinayaka / "On a Previous Day," 1975), Chorus and Verse 1

Pera	ḏinayaka	mā	pemkaḷa	yuvaṯiya
Previous	day	I	loved	young lady

The young lady I loved some time back

Siya	puṯu	naḷavanavā
Her	son	lulling/soothing

Is lulling her son to sleep

Magēma	gīyak	näḷävili	svarayen
My own	song	lullaby	music notes

My own composition in the melody of a lullaby

Ā̆ṯin	maṯu	venavā
From afar	raised	happening

Can be heard from afar

Nurāva	venuvaṭa	iňḏunil	ḏenuvana
Lust	instead of	dark blue	eyes

Instead of lust from the dark blue eyes

Ḏayāva	vā̆henavā
Compassion	flowing

Compassion flows

Sināsuṇemi	mama	avihinsaka	äya
With a smile	me	innocent	her

I had a smile and she, innocently,

Kōla	bälum	heḷuvā
Teasing	look	shed

Gave a teasing smile with hidden thoughts

Translation 19: Anoṯaṯṯa Vila (Anothatha Vila / "Lake Anothatha," 1973), Chorus and Verse 1

Anoṯaṯṯa	Vila	neluma	neḷālā
Anothatha	lake/reservoir	lotuses	picked

Having picked lotus flowers from Lake Anothatha

Pīrā	varalasa	mal	gavasālā
Combed	hair	flowers	arranged

Having combed her tresses and adorned them with flowers

Nāga	lovin	bäsa	nāliya
Cobras	from world	descended/gone down	effeminate
gamanin			
journey/movement			

From the world of cobras, with an effeminate walk

Varaňgana	pirivarinā
Handmaids	ongregation/followers

With a retinue of handmaids

Eranḏaṭiya	enavā
Erandathi	coming

Erandathiya is coming

Siṯaka	upan	ḏoḷa	saṅsiňḏavālā[197]
Mind	birth	desires	appeased

Fulfilling new thoughts of desire

Maṯaka	sināven	muva	sarasālā
Memory	from smile	face	make beautiful

With a smile of remembrance making her face beautiful

Iraṭa	muvāven	saňḏaṭa	muvāven
From sun	sheltered	from moon	sheltered

Sheltered from the sun and the moon

Hiṯaṭa[198]	ṯurulu	venavā
To the mind	embrace	occurring

Embracing the mind

[197] In the new recording of *Anoṯaṯṯa Vila*, Amitha Wedisinghe sings "saṅsiňḏuvālā" instead of "saṅsiňḏavālā."
[198] She also sings "Siṯaṭa" instead of "Hiṯaṭa."

Eranḏaṭiya enavā
Erandathi coming
Erandathi is coming

Kōmala gamanin kōla häňgum
Soft/things producing love journey/movement flirtatious emotions
hala
drop
With an effeminate walk, having released flirtatious thoughts

Kāla giren situvili sēnā gena
Time mountain thoughts retinue bringing
With a mountain of thoughts, accompanied by the retinue at sunrise

Varaňgana pirivarinā
Handmaids congregation/followers
With a retinue of handmaids

Eranḏaṭiya enavā
Erandathi coming
Erandathiya is coming

Translation 20: Pāvenā Nil Valāvē (Pawena Nil Walawe / "Floating on a Blue Cloud," 1977), Chorus and Verse 1

Pāvenā nil vaḷāvē
Floating blue cloud
Floating on a blue cloud

Naḏī ṭalāvē riḏī jalāsē
River ground/firm spot silver reservoir
On the river surface, in the silvery water of the reservoir

Ägē sināvē käḷum säňgavunāḏō
Her smile beam hid oneself
Did not her smile with brightness hide

Pāvenā nil vaḷāvē
Floating blue cloud
Floating on a blue cloud

Ḏiyamba sälena ṭarunu peḷaka
Water shake/tremble young/fresh in a row /line
aṭaramanvelā
become abandoned/forsaken/helpless
Lost and abandoned in the oncoming ripples

Pāḷu	nil	ḏiyē	ṭanivelā
Isolated	blue	water	left alone

Alone in the desolate blue water

Soyana	ruva	obe,	apsarāviyē
Searching	image/beauty	your	celestial nymph

I'm searching for your beauteous image, celestial nymph

Translation 21: Niḏahas Lanka (Nidahas Lanka / "Free Lanka," 1970s)

Niḏahas	Lanka apa	māṭā
Free	Lanka our	mother

Our Mother Lanka is free

Ramani	manōhara	suvinīṭā
Beautiful	captivating	well-behaved

Beautiful, captivating, well-behaved

Peramuna	gena	yamu	ā̈	haṭa	sēvē
Front	take	go	her	hand	serve

Take the leadership to serve her

Karanaṭa	ḏina	ḏina	asiri	paṭā
To act	day	day	surprise	way

And bring her blessings day by day

Nomaňḏa	prēmenī	ekamuṭukameni
Not little/much	love	together with/united

Linking hands with much love and friendship

Isimaga	mānē	ḏora	äralā
Jealousy	proud	door	open

Let us keep the doors open without jealousy or pride

Yamu	yamu	ā̈	saḷu	keṭak	kerumaṭā
Go	go	her	dress	abode/field	to do

Let's go and make her a prosperous land of paddy

Äya	haṭa	sēvaya	kara	sämaḏā
Her	hand	serve	do	every day

Give your hand to serve her everyday

Asaranunṭa	äyagē	ṭurulēhi
Helpless	her	embrace

Let's embrace her helpless people

Sänasiṭinṭā	salasvamū
Happiness	to cause

And make them happy

Nisaru	ägē	keṯ	vaṯu	pipī	ramanī
Empty	her	fields	gardens	bloom	beautiful

Her empty gardens and fields will bloom beautifully

Sarukoṭa	sämaṭama	seṯa	saḏamū
Rich/self-sufiicient	everyone	comfort	create

Let us work for the welfare and self-sufficiency of all

Pärani	vū	ägē	śiśṭāĉārē
Ancient	is	her	civilisation

Her civilisation is ancient

Maṯukara	pāmin	nisilesinā
Bring it out	floating	proper

Raise it up again

Äya	ḏinu	niḏahasa	saḏākalma	api
Her	won	freedom	with	us

We have gained freedom again

Surakimu	eya	näṯi	noma	kara	ḏā
Protect	that	without	much	do	day

Let us protect it every day

Translation 22: Sasara Vasana Ṯuru (Sasara Wasana Thuru / "Throughout Every Rebirth," 1975)

Sasara	vasana	ṯuru
Cycle of life	throughout	journey

Until I complete my journey through the cycle of life

Nivan	ḏakina	ṯuru
Enlightenment	see	journey

The journey by which I hope to attain Enlightenment

Pinkeṯa	Heḷa	ran	ḏeraṇē	yali	upaḏinnaṭa
Meritorious field	Lanka	gold	earth	again	to be born

To be born again in this fortunate and golden land of Lanka

Hēṯu	vāsanā	vēvā	,	hēṯu	vāsanā
For that	fortune	may it be,		for that	fortune

May I be so fortunate, for that may I be fortunate

Raṯnamāli	sǟ	kiraṇayi
Rathnamali	temple *ḏāgäb*/pagoda	ray

The glittering Rathnamali temple pagoda

Maha Bō	sevaṇayi
Great Bodhi tree	shade

And the shade of the Mahabodhi Tree

Ṯisā Vâvayi	Sīgiriyayi
Thissatank/reservoir	and Sigiriya (ancient rock fortress)

Thissa Wewa and the Sigiriya fortress

Magē	urumayayi
My	heritage

Are my heritage

Translation 23: Aḍavan Vū (Adawan Wu / "From Half-Closed Eyes," 1970)

Aḍavan	vū	ḏeneṯin	galanā
Half-closed	to be	from eyes	flowing

Flowing from half-closed eyes

Meṯ	muḏiṯā	karuṇā	dhārā
Loving-kindness	kindness	compassion	streams

Are streams of love, compassion and kindness

Ṯemā	ṯemā	haḏa	gala	gala	yana
Wetting	wetting	heart	flowing	flowing	going

Soaking the heart, flowing outward

Sambuḏu[199]	guṇa	mahimē
Buddha/enlightened	quality	glory

Is the great quality of the Exalted One

Mahamevunā	Uyanē
In Mahamevuna	Garden

Which, in the Mahamevuna Garden

[199] The word "lovuthuru" is used instead of "sambudhu" in the 2000 recording of *Aḍavan Vū*.

Samādhi Buḏu piḷimē
Seated Buddha statue
Is expressed in the statue of the Buddha, seated

Pirī iṯirī yana maha vaṯurak sē
Filling overflowing that go great body of water like
Like a reservoir filling and overflowing

Galā hälena sihiläl gaňgulak sē
Flowing falling shapely waterfall like
Like a waterfall flowing and tumbling

Giman nivālana mē bhava
Heat extinguishing this being
kaṯarē
unfrequented and bad road
It pacifies us during our journey through the cycle of existence

Nivan saḏālana buḏu guṇa
Enlightenment which helps of the Buddha quality
mahimē
glory
And helps us achieve Enlightenment with the support of the Buddha's great qualities

Mahamevunā Uyanē
In Mahamevuna Garden
Which, in the Mahamevuna Garden

Samādhi Buḏu piḷimē
Seated Buddha statue
Is expressed in the statue of the Buddha, seated

Translation 24: Siri Buddhagaya Vihare (Siri Buddhagaya Vihare / "Sacred Bodh Gaya Temple," 1978), Chorus and Verse 1

Siri Buddhagaya Vihare vaňḏinēmu
Sacred Bodh Gaya at the temple let's worship
Mōkṣa paṯālā
emancipation with expectation
Let's worship at the sacred Bodh Gaya Temple in the hope of attaining emancipation

Sākya	ṯilōnā[200]	väḍa	siṭi	eḏinā
Clan/race	Three Worlds		lived	were day

On the day the races of the Three Worlds lived

Māranganan	paraḏālā
Mara's daughters	were defeated

Mara's daughters [who tried to entice the Buddha] were defeated

Buddhagaya	Siri	Buddhagaya	Vihare
Buddhagaya,	Sacred	Buddhagaya	at the temple let's
vaňḏinēmu	mōkṣa	paṯālā	
worship	emancipation	with expectation	

Let's worship at the sacred Bodh Gaya Temple in the hope of attaining emancipation

Sri	Maha	Bōdhi	veṯa	säḏi	ē
Sacred	great	bodhi tree	towards	moved	the
Viḏurasunē		ḏI	Muni	Rājā	
well-learned		who was	saintly	king	

The Well-Learned and Exalted One walked towards the foot of the sacred Bodhi Tree

Ā	ḏasa	bimbara	Māra	sēnā
The	ten	multitudes	Mara's	forces

Mara's army consisting of ten multitudes

Perum	balen	paraḏālā
Endeavour	with force	defeated

Were defeated and expelled with force

Buddhagaya	Siri	Buddhagaya	Vihare
Buddhagaya,	Sacred	Buddhagaya	at the temple let's
vaňḏinēmu	mōkṣa	paṯālā	
worship	emancipation	with expectation	

Let's worship at the sacred Bodh Gaya Temple in the hope of attaining emancipation

Translation 25: Sanarāmara Himi (Sanaramara Himi / "The Enlightened One,"1981)[201]

Sanarāmara	Himi	<u>ḏamsak</u>	ḏesuvē
Enlightened	lord/master	Wheel of Dharma	turned

The Enlightened One who turned the Wheel of Dharma

[200] The three worlds in Buddhism are divine, human and demon.

[201] Elu (pure Sinhala") words are underlined.

Isipaṯanē migaḏāvana aranē
In Isipathana deer forest
At the deer park of Isipathana

Pasvaga mahanun hamuvē
Five hermits in presence of
There were five hermits to give ears to him

Sivu sas ḏahamaki ḏesuvē
Four truths noble truths preached
As he preached the four noble truths

Surambun parasaṯu säluvē
Gods/deities *parasathu* flowers /dropped down
Deities scattered *parasathu* flowers

Sāḏu , sāḏu haňḍa näňguvē
Well said, well said, voice rose
And the chorus of “Well said, well said!” arose

Sāḏu, Sāḏu, Sāḏu
Well said, well said, well said
Well said, well said, well said!

Sasara kaṯara
Mortal world of mundane existence unfrequented and bad road
ḏuk siňḏunē
unsatisfactoriness/suffering diminished
The suffering of mundane human existence was diminished

Saṯara apāgini nivunē
Four flames of the unholy world extinguished
And from the four worlds*, the flames of the unholy world were extinguished

Saḏaham väsi ḏiya väṭunē
Doctrines of Buddha rain water fell
A rain of words containing the noble truths fell

Ḏamsak pävaṯuma ḏesunē
Wheel of Dhamma existence preached
In his first sermon on the Wheel of Dhamma

Sāḏu, Sāḏu, Sāḏu
Well said, well said, well said
Well said, well said, well said!

Keles malin lova miḏunē
Unwholesome thoughts world loose/separated
The world escaped from unwholesome thoughts

Nivan	ḏoraṭa	maṅ	ärunē
Enlightenment	door	path	opened

When the pathway to the door of Enlightenment was opened

Aviňḏu	aňḍura
Ignorance of the four noble truths	darkness

ḏurukerunē
put at a distance
We were distanced from the darkness of ignorance

Muniňḏu	nänin	lova	ḏilunē
A Buddha	intelligence/wisdom	world	shine/blight

The Buddha's wisdom made the world bright

Sāḏu,	Sāḏu,	Sāḏu
Well said,	well said,	well said

Well said, well said, well said!

Translation 26: Saňḏa Horen Horen (Sanda Horen Horen / "The Moon Sneakily, Sneakily," 1980s), Chorus and Verse 1

Saňḏa	horen	horen	horen	balā
Moon	secretl	secretly	secretly	looks

The moon looks sneakily, sneakily, sneakily

Valā	roḏaka	säňgavilā
Clouds	cluster	hiding

Taking cover amidst a cluster of clouds

Apē	miyuru	pem	kaṯā
Our	sweet	love	talk

To our sweet words of love

Asā	siṭinavā,	asā	siṭinavā
Listens	is/sits still,	listen	is/sits still

It listens, it listens

Kaňḏuḷu	biňḏu	galā	saňḏē	ṯuru	laṯā	purā
Tears	drops	flow	in the moon	gladness	heart	throughout

Teardrops flow from the moon's eyes as gladness spreads in its heart

Siyolaňgama	sälī	magē	nohim
All close by	tremble/shake/animate	my	unbearable

sīṯalē
in the cold
All around me trembles and I too shiver unbearably in the cold

Obē neṯa yaḏī
Your eyes begging
Begging your eyes

Mahaḏa viyaruven
Flowers/nectar in madness/insanity
The flowers have fallen into insanity

Translation 27: Ṯaru Arundathi (Tharu Arundathi / "The Arundathi Star," date unknown), Chorus and Verse 1

Ṯaru Arunḏaṯi[202] neṯu pahan nivā
Star Arundathi eyes light extinguishes
The Arundathi star extinguishes the light of her eyes

Ḏura nisolmanē hiňḏinā
Far without sound being placed/seated
And stays in silence, far away

Maňga vanaspaṯi liya ḷaḏallakin
Dead banyan tree dwelling/creeper/woman from a tender leaf
The lifeless banyan tree with its tender leaves

Pini poḏak semen salanā
Dew drop slowly drops/scatters
Gently sheds a dew drop

Oba sämarum räňḏi kavuḷuva mānē
You day stopping/remaining door mind
The door in my mind leads to your memories

Kaňḏuḷaka pällam iri âňḏunā
A tear mark line was drawn
A teardrop formed a blotted line

Aluṯ malin piri vanōḏyānē
New flower filling/swelling/surrounding forest
In a forest park filled with blooming flowers

Säňḏā̄ bol huḷaňgē
In the evening thick/solid wind
A dull wind blows in the evening

[202] According to the Hindu religion, Arundathi is married to the sage Vashistha. She is embodied in a star and represents chastity and a model wife.

Maṭa	ṯaniyak	ḏânuṇā
For me	loneliness	felt

I felt loneliness

Translation 28: Suḏu Neḷuma Kō (Sudu Neluma Ko / "Where is the White Lotus," 1989)

Suḏu	neḷuma	kō
White	lotus	where

Where is the white lotus

Suḏu	neḷuma	kō	Sorabora Vävē
White	lotus	where	Sorabora tank/reservoir

Where is the white lotus in Tank Sorabora Wewa

Mal	suvaňḏa	ḏun	Mahiyangaṇē
Flowers	scent	gave/omitted	Mahiyangane

The flowers which emanated their fragrance in Mahiyangane

Pun	pōyaḏā	pāḷosvakē
Complete moon	full moon day	full moon

On the sacred full moon day

Mal	neḷā	vikuṇū	pansalē
Flowers	picked	sold	temple

At the temple where the picked flowers were sold

Vävaṭa	kaḷuvara	yāvuṇā
To the tank	darkness	embraced

Darkness embraced the tank

Sansāra	ḏuka	bōvuṇā
Cycle of life	suffering/sadness/unsatisfactoriness	grew/increased

The suffering of the cycle of life was spread to

Neḷū	mal	miṭa	ihirunā
Picked	flowers	bunch	scattered

The bunch of picked flowers which scattered

Ehā	ivuraṭa	pāvuṇā
Far	bank	floated

And floated to the far bank

Sihin	siripoḏa	vähuṇā
Small/fine/delicate	drizzle	rained

A fine drizzle was falling

Ivuru	ḏekopula	sēḏuṇā
Banks	cheeks	washed

Water washed the two cheeks and banks of the tank

Suḏu	neḷum	mala	ḏ̆ā̆sa	piyavī
White	lotus	flower	eyes	closed

The white lotus flower with closed eyes

Mehā	ivuraṭa	pāvuṇā
This side	bank	floated

Floated back to this bank

Translation 29: Ṯāṯṯā Unaṯ (Thatha Unath / "Though I am the Father," 1983), Chorus and Verse 1

Ṯāṯṯā	uṇaṯ	mā	baṯa	sarikarana
Father	though it is	I	rice	earn

Though I am the father and the breadwinner

Ammā	numbayi	mage	ḏaru	ḏäriyan
Mother	it is you	my	children	female children

rakina
security

My sons and daughters are given security by you, their mother

Maṭa	pera	uruma	ālaya	ḏaru
Me	before	possession/inheritance	affection	children

Kälaṭa	ḏemin
Bunch	given

You possessed a great affection before you met me and now you extend this to our children

Rā̆	ḏāval	ḏekē	vehesena	viṭaḏi	nomin
Night	day	both	work/tiredness	applying	free/without

You work both night and day without tiring

Oba	ḏuṭu	mul	ḏinēvaṯ	haḏa	nonäňgi
You	looked	first	even the day	heart	not rise

pemin
with love

Though love did not rise fully in my heart on the first day I saw you

Uṯurayi	masiṯa	ṯava	numba	veṯa	ṯurulu
Will overflow	my mind	more	you	to	bosom

vemin
in
Love now overflows in my mind as I hold you to my bosom

Translation 30: Hanthana Sihinē (Hanthana Sihine / "The Dream of Hanthana," 2014), Chorus and Verse 1

Balā	välapemi
Looking	lamenting

Staring in lamentation

Neḷāganu	bäri
Be picked	cannot

Though it cannot be reaped

Hanṯāna	sihinē
Hanthana [mountain range]	dream

This dream of Hanthana

Ḏarā	neṯ	aga
Bear	eyes	end

Your eyes contain all emotion

Ḏovā	siṯ	mala
Dampen	mind	flower

Bringing compassion to my mind

Goṯana	mäna	ḷaňḏunē
Weaving	know/understand	lady

I know you create, lady,

Sansāra	sihinē
Cycle of life	dreams

Dreams of our future rebirths

Vähi	pabaḷu	yaṭa
Rain	pebbles	under

Underneath the rain drops that fall like pebbles

Raňgmaḍala	mäḏa
Stage/theatre	middle

In the middle of the stage

Obē	ḏäṯe	ṯurulu	vennaṭa
Your	hands	bosom/embrace	to be

To be embraced in your arms

Bisō	hara	giya
Queen	to take	left

My queen left, making

Lasō	raňgahala
Empty	stage/theatre

The theatre empty

Amāvaka	aňḏurē
Moonless	dark

In the dark of a moonless sky

Noyanu	mäna	ḷaňḏunē
Not going	will occur	lady

You must not go, lady

Appendix F: Schematisation of analysis from Chapter 6 and 7

Table F1

Analysis of *Haňḏapānē Väliṯalā* ("On a Sandy Moonlit Plain"), 1960s

1. Attributes
   - Common spelling: Handapane Valithala
   - Composition and lyrics: Amaradeva
   - Supporting singer: Vajira Balasuriya (period recording)
   - Various recordings
     - Period recording from the gramophone record *W.D Albert Perera*, HMV113 (accessed at SriLankan Records, n.d.-b)
     - 2002 recording from the album *Väli Ṯala Aṯarē* (Vali Thala Athare) (Amaradeva, 2002)
2. Classification
   - Lullaby (*ḏaru nälävili gee*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 2 in Appendix E)
   - Lyrics based upon the following lullaby *Näḷävilla* written by grammarian and Hela Havula leader Cumaratunga (Kumara, 2015, p. 330; "Those well-loved stories of childhood," 2003)[203]

Saňḏapānē väli	ṯalā
Sura kumariyo mal	salā
Naṭaṭi me ḏesa bala	balā
Gigiri vaḷalu payä	nolā
Sura kumaruvo peḷa	säḏī
Aṯin hisin raňgä	yeḏī
Haňgavaṯī ṯālaya bäňḏī	
Vīṇä bera naḏa	noḏī
Sura biḷiňḏō saňḏa	kälum
Ṯaḷaṯa saman mal	no him
Bihiri veṯäyi kana	siyum

[203] This poem originally appeared in Munidasa's book *Kumara Gee* (date unknown). The above transliteration was done by the author, based on the Sinhala text in *Kumaratunga Munidasa* (Sumanarathna, 1955, pp. 62–63). Although Munidasa sought to eradicate all influences of Pali and Sanskrit from his writings, the poem as written in Sumanarathna's book includes the Sinhala characters mūrdhaja ḷayanna and mūrdhaja ṇayanna which are transliterated in English with a dot below. These characters originate from the Sanskrit set of Sinhala characters (see Appendix G for more details). It is unknown whether Munidasa's original text included these characters.

	Navaṯaṯi ḏī aṯ	kusum

- Both texts depict princess-deities dancing and spreading floral scents to lull their infant deities to sleep, consoling the surrounding trees simultaneously
- Combination of colloquial Sinhala (e.g., words “mē” and “sīṯala”) and semiformal Sinhala
- Poetic beauty lacking in *Rasayi Kiri* (the *aluth sindu* previously mentioned)
  - The linguistic refinement common to all *sarala gee* arguably led to the genre’s elevated status and increasingly dense lyrics with formal Sinhala in the aftermath of the 1956 elections after which the state language was changed from English to Sinhala.
- Hela Havula “pure Sinhala” pronunciation of some words[204]

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular song form (chorus, verse, chorus)[205]

Y	A	B	A	Z	C	A
Bars 1–11 Introduction	Bars 12–43 abcd Chorus	Bars 44–67 efg^{cd}g^{cd} Verse	Bar 68–83 abcd	Bar 84–99 Interlude	Bar 100–131 Hihijj Verse	Bar 132–147 abcd

- Vocal phrase length: consistent, 4-bars (uncommon in South Asian music) derived from European music, in particular songs from the British Isles (Howes, 2016)

5. Vocal style and melody

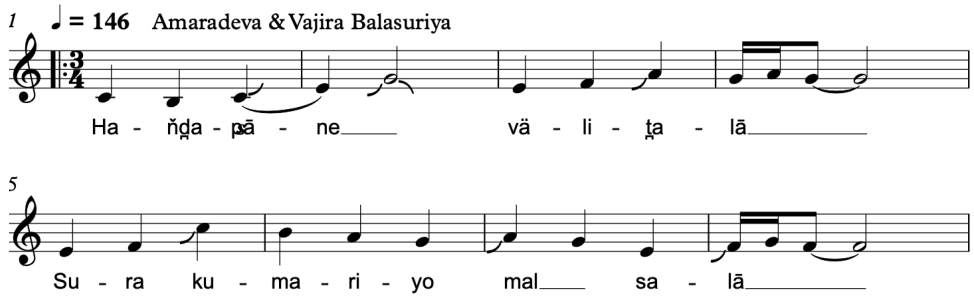
- Voice placed in the throat, lowered soft palette and possibly a raised tongue giving a slight nasal tonality (C. Angel, personal communication, October 16, 2019)
- A pattern of minimal ornamentation as in some forms of Sinhalese folk music
  - Phrases a, b and c (Chorus) and e and f (Verse 1) end with low notes with mordents

[204] Ethnomusicologist Garrett Field stated one of the characteristics of the Hela Havula language was the increased use of the “ä” sound as in “cat” because this vowel is absent from other South Asian languages (Field, 2014a, p. 3). Sunil Santha employed this aspect in his songs (Field, 2014a, p. 18; Kumara, 2015, p. 55) as did Amaradeva in *Haňḏapānē Väliṯalā* and *Śānṯa Mē*. In Sunil Santha’s *Haňḏapānē* (1947) the pronunciation of *bäbalena*, where the “a” in the second vowel usually sounds like the “a” in “about,” is changed to *bä**bä**lena*. This word is pronounced the exact same way in another Amaradeva song from the 1940s called *Pīnamukō Kalu Gange* (“Let’s Swim in Black River”). Similar examples include *näläveṯī (*“are being soothed” *Haňḏapānē Väliṯalā*, 2nd verse) and *näläveṇnē* (“are being soothed” 1st and 3rd verses of *Śānṯa Mē*).

[205] In comparison to South Asian genres broadcast in Sri Lanka in the 1940s such as nurthi gee, *Rabindra Saṅgīt*, Tamil film songs and *filmi gīt* (Bollywood songs), it is evident that the structure of *Haňḏapānē Väliṯalā* originated from the latter genre. The structure outlined in Chapter 4.3.1.2 has variations in *filmi gīt* and Sinhala popular music such as an extra interlude, verse and chorus before the outro, omitted outro or omitted interludes. *Haňḏapānē Väliṯalā* for instance has no outro or interlude between the first chorus and verse. Yet, it is evident that the general structure of Sinhala popular music and *filmi gīt* is present here.

- Mordents on the highest notes (bars 2 and 3 of section g^{cd} (Verse 1) and bars 2 and 4 of section I (Verse 2))

- Microtonal pitch inflections: some, e.g., last syllable of the first word "Haňḏapānē"), as evidence in my below transcription



Example F14. (6.2) Excerpt from chorus of Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā (1950s recording)

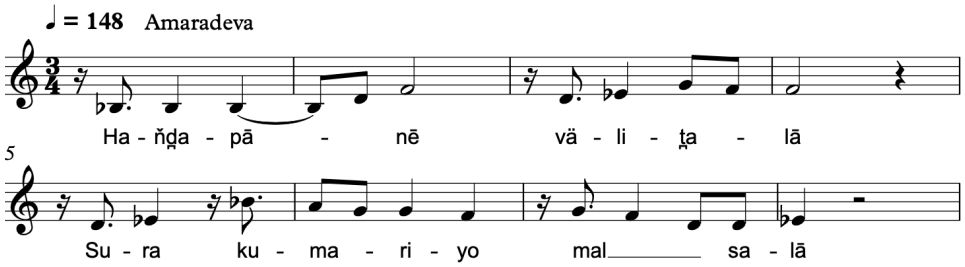
- Melody in C major, does not resemble usage in the Hindustani raga Bilāval which contains the same notes as the former (J. Napier, personal communication, September 17, 2018)
  - Amaradeva's use of Western scales is not mentioned in the literature except in a few transcriptions Susil Amarasinghe in Amaradeva's biography (Kumara, 2015, pp. 805–817)

6. Rhythm

- 3/4 waltz rhythm
  - Waltzes (Times of Ceylon, 1926, 1936c-a, 1947) and other programs of British and European "dance music" (Times of Ceylon, 1927, 1934, 1936b, 1936c-a, 1943) were regularly aired over Radio Ceylon after its inauguration[206]

Vocal timing

- Original version: strict singing
- 2002 recording: free singing (see below transcript and compare with Example F14)
  - Mimicry of natural speech by starting phrases slightly off the beat and leaving rests between some words



Example F15. (6.3) Excerpt from the chorus of Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā (2002 recording)

[206] The select Radio Ceylon programming records I accessed in the *Times of Ceylon* newspapers often did not specify the name or composer of the waltzes aired. Strauss was attributed in one instance (Times of Ceylon, 1936c-a).

7. Harmony
• Original version: bass provides semblance of harmonic movement - ii – V^7 – I progression at end of choruses and verses, indicating a perfect cadence • New version: clear harmonic outline provided by contemporary electric bass and strummed acoustic guitar
8. Orchestration and texture
• Waltz rhythm emphasised by piano accordion (sound similar to the harmonium common in *nurthi gee*) and *gejji*, anklets with bells worn by traditional Sinhalese dancers which were sometimes played by hand in musical recordings (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019) • Other percussion: *tabla* • Harmonic colouration (double bass) • Heterophonic texture (← *nurthi gee* and Indian forms such as *filmigit*) — violin and *esrāj* (an Indian bowed lute) double the singers and each other 6 • throughout, with independent microtonal pitch inflections and ornamentation[207]

Table F2

Analysis of *Śānṭa Mē Rä Yāmē* ("This Serene Night"), 1940s

1. Attributes
• Common spelling: Shantha Me Ra Yame • Composition and lyrics: Amaradeva, arrangement: B. S. Perera • Supporting singer: Mallika Kahavita (later a prominent playback singer) • Composed for the stage drama *Sunēṭra* (produced by the University of Colombo's Mela Society) • Period recording rereleased in the album *Gramaphone Gee*, SLBC (Various Artists, n.d.-a)
2. Classification
• Romantic song (*āḍara gīṭaya*)[208]

The song became known as a *sarala gee* composition because according to Amaradeva, he and other music groups regularly performed it separately from the play (buzzniz, 2014). It is so well known, Amaradeva calls it a "household song of Sri Lanka" (R. B. Ratnayake,

[207] Thank you John Napier and David Courtney for affirming my assumption.

[208] The context of the scene where the song *Śānṭa Mē Rä Yāmē* appears in the play is unknown but in a concert Amaradeva mentioned it was set on a Vesak night and was sung by the moon and stars (Rupavahini, 2015). Yet, the male-female duet version originally recorded for Radio Ceylon and the lyric translation in Appendix E support my interpretation of the composition as a love song.

2007). While the high status of *sarala gee* normally means that concertgoers listen and clap politely between songs *Śāṇṭa Mē Rä Yāmē* is one of a handful of songs where Amaradeva invites his audience to clap and sing along to.[209]

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 3)

- Simple lyrics
- Hela Havula-inspired pronunciation (see **Table F1**, analysis of *Haňḏapānē Väliṭalā*)
- Allusions to Buddhist themes though predominantly a love song

Buddhist references are confined to the third verse wherein the Buddha's Enlightenment is depicted, which is coupled with depictions of nature and romantic sentiments. This was a relatively rare combination in the 1940s. A combination of the latter two themes are common in the *sarala gee genre*, originating as early as the mid-1940s In songs such as *Ennaḏa Mänikē* by Ananda Samarakoon and *Ōlu Pipīlā* (Olu Pipeela) by Sunil Santha which had village settings (Field, 2014a, p. 14). This is likely an allusion to the idyllic past preceding colonialism where the island was considered untouched by materialism, capitalism and commercialism. These three concomitants ascribed to colonialism were seen as "morally corrosive" (Sheeran, 1997, p. 228) which threatened the Buddhist way of life that ideally demanded detachment from the material world (de Mel, 2006, p. 47).

Though the Lord Buddha accentuated the vitality of *metha* ("loving kindness"), romantic love was marginalised by many traditions of Buddhism because it was perceived as "filled with projections, desires and various unresolved needs" (Titmuss, 2016, p. 38). However, Wautischer (1994) claims there are humanists throughout the world who believe we are responsible for our attainment of Enlightenment, inner peace or good life without divine intervention and claim that romantic love is a means to transcendence because it creates self-awareness (pp. 2, 5). Indeed, Amaradeva called himself a humanist in an interview (Ramon Magsaysay Foundation, 2001) and wrote the following humanistic comments in his book *Gee Sara Muvarada*:

> I do not know if the cultivation of mind and heart was something I consciously attempted. Nor do I know when that striving really began. What I do know, is that in the beginning I saw music and engaged with it as a means of soothing my mind.
>
> You are the first audience of your own work. Later I realized that others were enjoying what I was doing and so I wanted to create for the world outside of "self".
>
> While there is no doubt an element of seeking recognition and wanting to be popular, these things are transient and in the long run they hamper the search for self and they arc impediments in the quest to cultivate heart and mind. What is more important is the feeling of compassion for others.

[209] Amaradeva also encourages his audience to participate similarly when he performs *Pīnamukō Kaḷu Gaňgē* (Peenamuko Kalu Gange), *Raṭnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* and *Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biṅḏu Biṅḏu*.

> Love, kindness, devotion and especially compassion; are these not after all "the highest and best feelings to which man is risen"?
>
> I believe that the discovery of the "self" that is made of heart and mind naturally gives one insights into the human condition and man's communion with man as well as man's communion with nature. What I have said above are fundamental to the matter of bringing to full fruition any communicative proposition, but especially so, when it comes to the medium called music. (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 44)

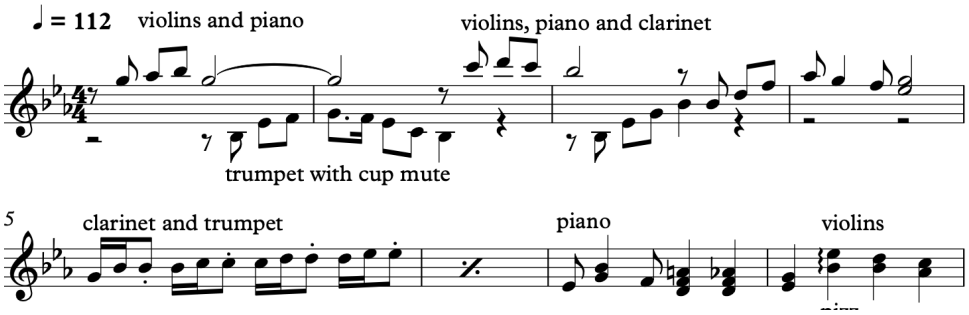
Amaradeva indicates that "the search for self" can enlighten us about the human condition. Amaradeva also mentions the "communion of man and man" and while he does not specify the nature of this communion, he gives significance to love and we can therefore surmise the centrality of love in its various forms to the human condition. Thus it is unsurprising that themes of Buddhism, a religion that advocates self-awareness and humanist frames of thought (Gier, 2002, p. 176), are coupled with the communion of humans and nature and the communion of humans through romantic love in Amaradeva's songs.

4. Form
   - General Sinhala popular song form (chorus, verse, chorus)
   - Vocal phrase length: Irregular

X	A	B	A	Y	C	A	Z	D	A
Introduction	abab Chorus	$cc^{1}dd^{1}e^{a}f^{b}$ Verse	a	Interlude	gghi Verse	a	Interlude	$jj^{1}kl^{c}$ Verse	a

5. Vocal style and melody
   - Extremely forward placement
   - Short ornamentation
   - Microtonal pitch inflections
   - Melody in C major with a few chromatic notes
6. Rhythm
   - 4-beat time cycle (similar to 4/4)
   - Vocal timing: strict
7. Harmony
   - Instrumental sections: present (I – V – I pattern outlined on double bass and chordal piano melodies)
   - Vocal sections: absent
8. Orchestration and texture
   - Similar to British light music aired on Radio Ceylon (Times of Ceylon, 1934, 1936c-b)

     E.g., see introduction in Example F16 below



Example F16. (6.1) Introduction from Śāṇṭa Mē Rä Yāmē (1940s recording)[210]

Shared characteristics with British light music such as *A Canadian in Mayfare* by Angela Morley and *High Heels* (1950) by Trevor Duncan (Ball, 2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b)

- Main melody on violins (high register) woodwinds or piano loosely doubled, heterophonically
- Woodwind interjections to close phrases (e.g., bar 24)
- Call-and-response between violins and woodwinds (e.g., bars 1–4)
- Borrowed chords (e.g., bar 7) & chromatic passing notes (e.g., 2nd note in chorus)
- Greater emphasis on melody, synonymous with many South Asian music styles

Unlike British light music:

- String of short phrases present in other *sarala gee*, derived from Indian *filmi gīt*, replicated in Sri Lankan plagiarised *aluth sindu*

Table F3

Analysis of *Vaṅḏimu Sugaṯa Sākya Siṅha* ("Worship the Well-Fairing One, the Lion of Clan Sākya"), 1940s

1.	Attributes
	• Common spelling: Vandimu Sugatha Sakya Sinha • Composition and lyrics: Amaradeva • Supporting singers: Mixed chorus • Earliest recording (circa 1970s judging by Amaradeva's vocal tone) rereleased on the album *Pāramiṯā* (Paramitha), SLBC (Various Artists, n.d.-c)
2.	Classification

[210] All examples have been transcribed by the author.

- Buddhist devotional song (*bakthi gee*)[211]

My parents recall it was a favourite of Radio Ceylon broadcasters during their childhood (1950s–1960s). It was also sung by adult Vesak carollers dressed in white sarees and Arya-Sinhala costumes (the latter was similar to Amaradeva's performance attire), who performed in open-back trucks decked with wooden benches rumbling from town to town.

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 4)

- Portrays a person's worship and their hope of attaining Enlightenment
- Colloquial, semiformal and formal Sinhala
- An early *sarala gee* with Sanskrit and Pali words (demonstrating Amaradeva's refusal to conform solely with the Hela Havula "pure Sinhala" movement.):
  - *Sugaṯa* (Pali: "Well-Fairing One"); an epithet for the Buddha,) and *mōkṣē* (Sanskrit); the Buddha's Liberation from worldly attachments. Another word specific to Buddhist philosophy is *sasara* (Sinhala), referring to the mundane cycle of existence (birth, death and rebirth (Rev. B. Clough, 1892, pp. 646, 712; Rhys Davids & Stede, 1921, pp. 596, 787)

4. Form

- Ternary form
- Vocal phrase length: consistent, 4 bars

Z	A	B	A
Introduction	$aa^1b^aa^1$	$ccdef^{Ba}$	a^1a^1

5. Vocal style and melody

- Backward placement and rich, guttural tone resulting from training at Bhatkhande, Lucknow
- Short ornamentation
- Pronounced microtonal pitch inflections
- Melody in B flat major

6. Rhythm

- 6-beat time cycle (similar 6/8)
- Vocal timing:
  - Sections with chorus singers: strict

[211] It was stated in Chapter 4.3.1.2 that patriotic, didactic and Buddhist themes were common in *aluth sindu* (Field, 2014a, p. 14). Many Buddhist songs were sung by non-Buddhist musicians such as Rukmani Devi and Mohideen Baig. It was previously suggested that such themes gave legitimacy and credence to Sinhala popular music genres as in the literary field (R. Obeyesekere, 1992a, p. 37). Sunil Santha reported that this was a time when parents felt ashamed if their child became a musician (SinhalaGee, 1977), thus indicating the low social status associated with the profession. Amaradeva's parents however approved of his career choice (Kumara, 2015, p. 35) and he appeared to be a very devout person. It is therefore entirely possible his many Buddhist *sarala gee* were created in earnest devotion.

- Amaradeva's solos: free
7. Harmony
• None
8. Orchestration and texture
Typical of mid-20th century *sarala gee* (not yet influenced by Sinhala pop) • *Tānpurā* drone: tonic or dominant • Percussion: *tabla* • Violin and flute: main melody and heterophonic doubling of vocal melody (with ornamental variations) • Sitar joins in last bar of introduction, afterwards indiscernible until it plays heterophonically in final refrain

Table F4

Analysis of *Chando Mā Biliňḏē* ("Chando, My Son"), 1954

1. Attributes
• Common spelling: Chando Ma Bilinde • Composition: Amaradeva • Lyrics: Ambawela Nilame (a Kandyan chief) • Composed for the SLBC program *Rasaḏārā* produce by Dunston de Silva • Various recordings and supporting singers: - Period recording: Suchitra Mitra (Bengali singer) - 1977 version found on vinyl record *Decouvrez Ceylan*, Barclay 93020 (accessed at SriLankan Records, n.d.-a): mixed chorus

Figure F2 (6.1)

Vinyl Cover of *Decouvrez Ceylan*[212]

- 2002 version from album *Väliṭala Aṭarē* (Amaradeva, 2002): Samitha Mudunkotuwa (1973–)[213]

2. Classification

- Lullaby (*ḏaru nälävili gee*)

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 5)

- Folklore states the folk song was sung by an indigenous queen ("Väḏi bisō") married to a Sinhala king and depicts forest animals, as noted by Amaradeva (cwvideopro, 2014b) and K. N. O. Dharmadasa (personal communication, March 8, 2019)[214]
- Based on an old poem published in a collection of folk songs in the *Sanskruṭi* (*Sanskruthi*) magazine by writer Kirihami Mohottala (M. Seneviratne, 2001)
  - Also set to new music by actor/playwright Henry Jayasena (M. Seneviratne, 2001)
  - Appears on the CD accompanying Devar Surya Sena's book, *Music of Sri Lanka,* as it was part of the collection of folksongs he

[212] The vinyl contains traditional music such as a reaping song, honey-collecting song and ritual song. Its cover represents many facets of Sinhalese culture. The front and back covers of *Decouvrez Ceylan* mainly represent Buddhism. They feature temple structures (called *ḏāgäb*), a monk, a Buddhist statue, elephants (which are commonly raised on temple grounds and made to participate in Buddhist parades), The back cover also depicts a Kandyan dancer, devil masks used for exorcisms and folk theatre performances, gems and cutting tools, and a selection of drums.

[213] Samitha Mudunkotuwa is a versatile singer whose parents were also musicians. She learned folk singing when she attended school (MyEvents LK, 2016) and completed her Visharada exams when she was sixteen (TV Derana, 2016). She began her career with playback singing and has mainly worked in the Sinhala pop and Sinhala New Age genres, though she has also produced some *sarala gee* and covers of *aluth sindu*.

[214] The name of the king who married the indigenous Väḏḏa lady is unascertainable. Amaradeva claimed he was King Parakrarmabahu VI (cwvideopro, 2014b), but he was a king of Kotte and indigenous tribes did not reside in the coastal region. The song also has elements of *prasasthi* music from Kandy, the hilly interior. Further, Sri Wijesinghe (personal communication, March 6, 2019) believes she was married to Veera Parakrama Narendra Sinha. J. B. Disanayaka (2007) described the latter as a "play-boy king" who had several wives (pp. 214–215). Therefore, it is likely that it was King Sri Veera Parakrama Narendra Sinha.

recorded under the H.M.V. label in 1946 (Surya Sena, 1978, p. 184)[215]

- Lyrics contain:
  - Mixture of Indigenous Väḏi and Sinhala
  - Elements of *prasasṭi gee* (Kandyan court panegyrics), e.g., repetitive syllables in section starting "Paṭara balätḷ siri kuṇḍa vidhārana" (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, March 8, 2019; R. S. Wijesinghe, personal communication, March 6, 2019)

Indigenous Väḏḏa music and culture were not mentioned in the sources consulted in the cultural historiography in Chapter 3, excepting Surya Sena's treatise on Sri Lankan music. This suggests its revival was not considered during the cultural reawakening that followed the Buddhist revival and spanned the twentieth century. Amaradeva's choice of this material for a *sarala gee* was therefore innovative.

4. Form

- New version: Sinhala popular song form (with extended chorus)
- Vocal phrase length: consistent, 4 bars (except *prasasṭi* section)

Z	A	B	C	B	C	B	C	B
Intro	ab Prechorus	cdc^1d^1e Chorus	fghi Verse	cdc^1d^1	fghi	$cdcd^1e$	fghi	cdc^1d^{1e}

- 2002 recording: Differs from the above form of the 1977 recording as it has instrumental interludes between vocal sections and a short outro. The prechorus is also sung after phrases c and d of the first chorus so the structure conforms more to the general Sinhala popular song form

5. Vocal style and melody[216]

- Amaradeva's vocal tone: more rounded, slightly forward in both recordings

[215] Most of the lyrics differ between Amaradeva's and Devar Surya Sena's versions of *Chando Mā Bilinde*, for instance the *prasasthi* section is missing from Surya Sena's version and the last two verses are quite different. The latter suggests that Kirihami Mohottala rewrote the last two Väḏi verses in Sinhala before publishing the song in his collection.

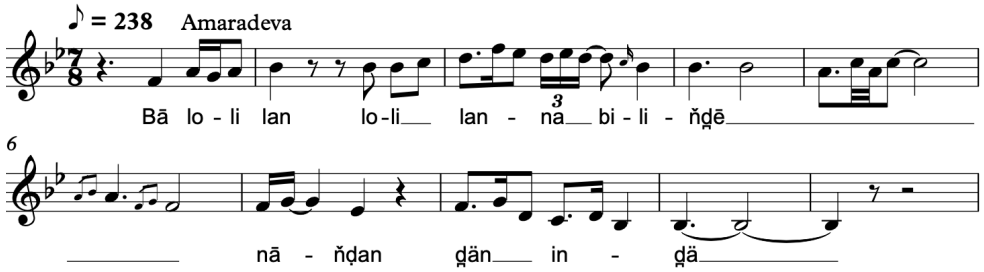
[216] One source claimed that Amaradeva's rendition of *Chando Mā* was "based on a Rabindranath Tagore creation he had sung with the Indian singer in the mid-1950s" (Ranatunga, 2011). This is difficult to believe not only because there is no other mention of Amaradeva's collaboration with Tagore but because of the song's 3+2+2 time cycle, equating to a 7/8 time signature in Western music notation. I was told that this time cycle is common in folk music in my singing lesson with Subhani Amaradeva (personal communication, August 26, 2018). To investigate this further I listened to excerpts from 107 *Rabindra Saṅgīt* found on the albums *Tagore Songs by Hemanta Mukhopadhyay* (2013) by Hemanta Mukherjee, *Kanna Hasir Dol-Dolano*, Vol 1–3 (2018) by Suchitra Mitra, *Songs of Rabindranath* (1977) by Sumitra Sen and Kanika Banerjee and *Rare Gems Tagore* (1968) by Chinmoy Chattopadhyay. Though there were songs with a 7-beat cycle (e.g., *Emni Korei Jai Jadi* by Mukherjee and *Sei Toh Ami Chai* by Mitra), they resemble Amaradeva's *Āṭa Kaňḏukara Himavu Aranē* (Atha Kandukara Himaw Arane) rather than *Chando Mā* because their time cycles equate to 7/4 time in Western music notation. The 3+2+2 time cycle can, however, be found in Hindi *filmi gīt.*

Comparison of vocal tone to another Amaradeva-Mudunkotuwa duet, *Siri Buddhagaya Vihare* ("Sacred Bodh Gaya Temple") recorded three years prior for the *Svarna Vimānaya (*Swarna Vimanaya) album (Amaradeva, ca. 1999).[217]

- Chando Mā
  - Mudunkotuwa: thinner voice, extremely forward tone likely mimicking Sinhalese folk singers
  - Amaradeva: head voice in high notes of chorus (according to vocal coach Chloe Angel (personal communication, April 17, 2019), "head voice" is achieved by using more air to create a softer, aspirate sound). This eliminates crescendos and helps maintain the same volume to suit the lullaby
- Siri Buddhagaya
  - Mudunkotuwa: backward placement
  - Amaradeva: backward placement, uses rich, guttural tone indicative of Hindustani classical training in high notes (similar to other devotional songs)

Ornamentation

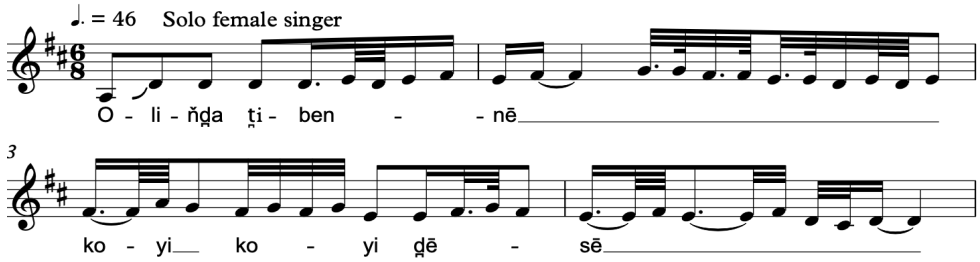
- Extended ornamentation to introduce nuances of Sinhala folk music
  - Sounds syncopated because of Intricate dotted rhythms (could be transcribed as grace notes), e.g., bars 5 and 8 of this excerpt



Example F17. (6.4) Section Be of Chando Mā Biliňḏē (1977 recording)

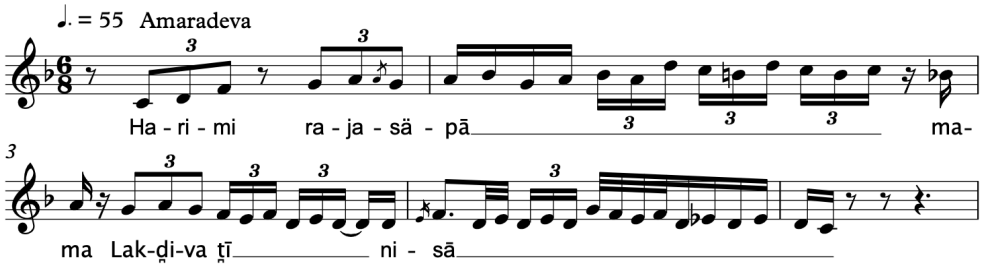
- Compare with the following excerpt from the *Oliňḏa Keliya* (Sinhala New Year game song)
  - Similar pattern in bars 3–4, more typical ornamentation in bar 2

[217] This album does not have a date but the introduction track claims its songs are being offered by Amaradeva "at the threshold of the new millennium." This suggests it was released during the transition to the new millennium, thus the end of 1999.



Example F18. (6.5) Excerpt from the opening of a rendition of the Oliňḏa Keliya by unknown performers (Samarakkody, 2013)

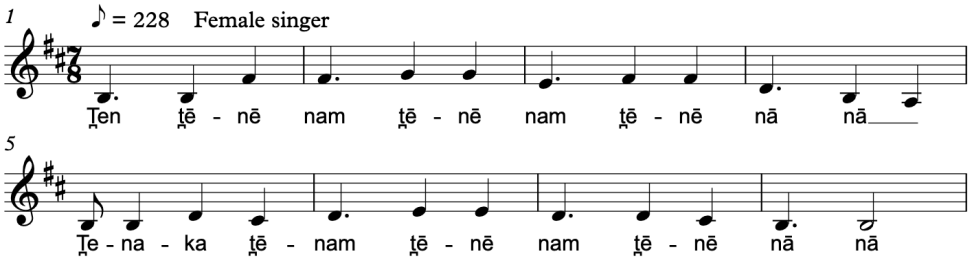
- Compare with the *nurthi gee Harimi Raja* Säpā, (based on North Indian music forms)
  - Only has melismas (division of larger note values) vs. vocal oscillation (above excerpts)



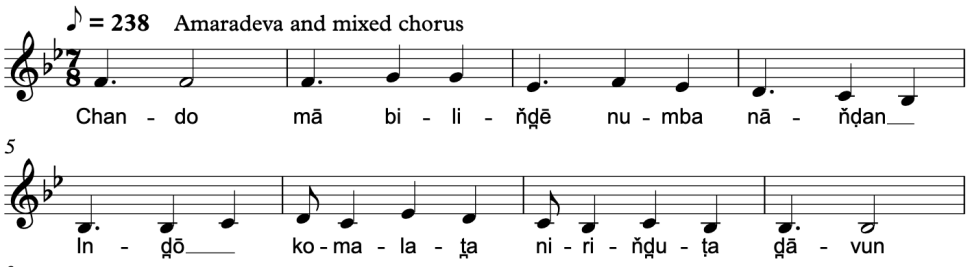
Example F19. (6.6) Excerpt from the opening of Harimi Raja Säpā as performed by Amaradeva, from Charles Dias' nurthi play Siwamma Dhanapala with music by Nawak Khan

6. Rhythm

- 3+2+2 time cycle similar to 7/8 — common in Sinhala folk music according to Subhani Amaradeva in our singing lesson
- The rhythm of the vocal melody was inspired by the *Nayiyaḍi Vannam* (Naiyadi Vannam), a pantomimic Kandyan court dance portraying a princely snake charmer (Kumara, 2015, p. 485; Pathmanathan, n.d.). The melodic contour is also very similar, although the Vannam has the tonality of a natural minor scale without the sixth.



Example F20. (6.8) Basic melody from the opening of the Nayiyaḍi Vannama by an unknown performer (Top Sinhala MP3, n.d.)



Example F21. (6.9) Basic melody from part of Chando Mā Biliňḏē chorus (1977 recording)

C. de S. Kulatillake traced the origins of Kandyan vannams in his investigation for the SLBC's Sinhala Music Research Unit and informed us that,

> As in the case of most other types that appeared in the courts the Vannam too is an idea from South India which gradually came to be interpreted in different styles some of which are expressed in local indegenous melodies. It is also presumed that the Kandyan Vannams in vogue today were composed by a Bhikku of the Malwatta chapter on tunes set by a Kerala musician in Jaffna by the name of Ganithalankara. (Kulatillake, 1976)

According to Pathmanathan, the Sinhalese *vannams* evidence the peaceful coexistence of the Tamil and Sinhalese ethnic groups of precolonial times because they consist of elements from both cultures. Their relations are described as follows:

> It is a truth that the Tamils and Sinhalese live together on this Island for centuries. Both these communities are linked together by religion, language and culture. They are interrelated with one another with peace and harmony. Each community respects each other's culture, traditions, religion, and the arts. . . .
>
> Normally many Buddhists visit Hindu Temples and worship the Hindu deities. They worship with total devotion and dedication. Such attitudes bring communal harmony, religious harmony, and mutual understanding between the two main ethnic communities. The longstanding relationship between the two communities naturally influences one another's rational and cultural relationship. (Pathmanathan, n.d.)

Amaradeva's choice of incorporating *vannams* in his *sarala gee* perhaps alludes to the continuation of this peaceful coexistence during the early 1950s.

- Rhythmic freedom (more in 1977 version)

7. Harmony

- 1977 version: none
- New version: most prominently stated by the bass guitar and faintly echoed by the acoustic guitar and keyboard

- Chord progressions: Chorus (Bab): I – V – I – IV – V – I and verses (D): repeated IV – I – V – I

8. Orchestration and texture

The 1977 recording has minimal orchestration consisting of the sitar, flute, *tampura* and an *uḍäkkiya*. The uḍäkkiya is a traditional Sri Lankan drum with ropes on either side. The player weaves their fingers through them and tightens them as they strike the drum. This gives the drum a certain resonance (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019). During precolonial times, the drum was used when requesting favours from the gods, particularly in the Rajarata region where the first Sinhalese kingdom was established (Sena Divulwawa, personal communication, March 17, 2019). This drum is suitable for Chando Mā because folklore states the Vaddha queen could not conceive and appealed to the Kataragama god (R. S. Wijesinghe, personal communication, March 6, 2019). This is mentioned in the first verse. The sitar and flute only play in the introduction of the song, leaving the drum and tampura drone to accompany Amaradeva and the chorus singing the refrain in heterophony.

The 2002 duet version has fuller, mainstream orchestration consisting of the sitar, violin, flute, acoustic guitar, electric bass, tabla and synthesised drums. The technique of layering synthesised violin sounds with the acoustic violin to produce a fuller orchestral sound, as in Indian film music, also occurs here (M. Mora, personal communication, October 4, 2018). This instrumental palette is common in contemporary *sarala gee* including Amaradeva's remakes of the senior period (1990–2016).

Table F5

Analysis of *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* ("The Sinhala New Year has Come"), 1955

1. Attributes
   - Common spelling: Sinhala Avurudu Awa
   - Composition: Amaradeva
   - Lyrics: Mahagama Sekara
   - Composed for the Borella Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) concert (Abesundara, 2012, p. 33)
   - New recording from a live performance, circa 1990s judging by Amaradeva's vocal tone (accessed at Info Lanka, n.d.-a)
2. Classification
   - Sinhala New Year song (*avuruḏu gee*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 6)
   - Contains lyrics from the *Oliňḏa Keliya* ("Olinda game song"), middle section
     - Mahagama Sekara added an introductory quatrain

- About the Sinhala New Year (in April), and a dark-skinned village girl dressing up for the celebrations and watching the games
- Combination of colloquial and semiformal Sinhala

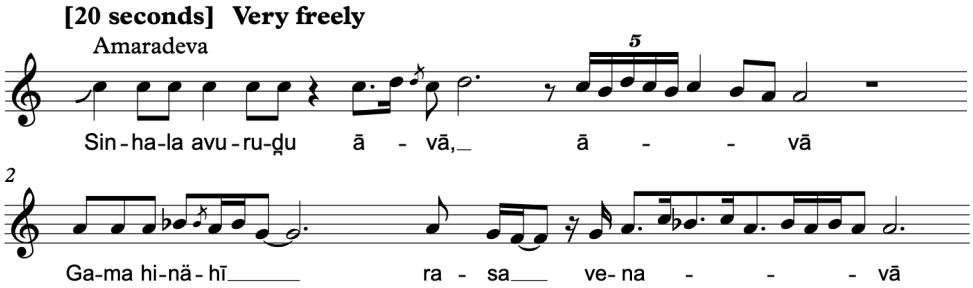
4. Form

- Ternary with ālāp
  - Differs from the through-composed *Oliňḏa Keliya*
  - In Hindustani music, the *ālāp* presents the concept of a raga first in free rhythm and then in metred rhythm (Roychaudhuri, 2013, pp. 6–7)
  - They are also common in Amaradeva's music where they provide a slow, free-tempo vocal introduction (E. Jayakody, personal communication, August 23, 2018)
- Vocal phrase length: irregular, 1, 2 or 4 bars (except ā*lāp* and outro)

Z	Z	B	Y	C	B^1	D^A
abcd Ālāp	Short interlude	eeffgee Refrain	Interlude	$hhih^1hij^ej^e$ Verse	eee Refrain	Instrumental and vocal outro

5. Vocal style and melody

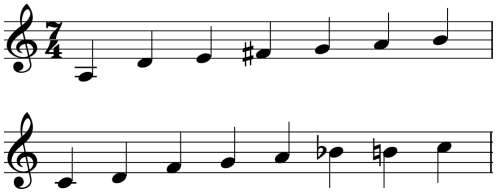
- Backward placement, slightly forward on some higher phrases
- It is a reconciling of folk culture (thought to represent Sinhalese nationalist ideals) and styles of Indian popular music familiar to the Sinhalese public, (including Hindustani classical music, *ghazals*, *qawwalis*, theatre songs and film songs (S. N. Ratanjankar, as cited in Karunanayake, 1990, p. 292; Makulloluwa, 1966, pp. 55, 57; Ratanjankar, 1952, p. 112))
- Some pronounced microtonal pitch inflections
- Short ornamentation, combination of styles demonstrated in Example F18 (folk song) and Example F19 (*nurthi gee*)



Example F22. (6.7) Excerpt from the ālāp of Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā (circa 1990s recording)

- Though this adaption of the *Oliňḏa Keliya* differs greatly from the original folk song, there are similarities in the melodic structure.
- Pitch sets used in the two songs (transcribed below) have the same intervallic proportions, excepting the D and B flat in *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā*

- The tonal centre in *Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā* is C and the extra D therefore serves to mimic the single tone intervallic descent to the tonal centre which closes phrases in the *Oliňḏa Keliya*
- The added B natural provides a Hindustani raga colouration



Example F23. Pitch sets used in the Oliňḏa Keliya (oliňḏa game song) and Sinhala Avuruḏu Āvā, respectively

6. Rhythm
   - 4-beat time cycle (excepting unmetered *ālāp*)
   - Vocal timing: free
7. Harmony
   - Discernible only in *ālāp*
     - *Seraphina* (harmonium) drone: A and C, A and C, F and A, E and G and *sitar* finally transitions to next section on G and C
8. Orchestration and texture
   - *Ālap* switches between homophonic and heterophonic texture (*Seraphina* drone and slow sitar tremolos interspersed with melodic doubling, derived from *nurthi gee* and Indian music forms)
   - Other instruments: violin (with many microtonal pitch inflections), *tabla* and *ṭālampaṭa* (Sri Lankan hand cymbals)

Table F6

Analysis of *Väliṭala Aṭarē* ("Amidst the Sandy Plains"), 1955

1. Attributes
   - Common spelling: Valithala Athare
   - Composition: Amaradeva
   - Lyrics: Sri Chandrarathna Manawasinghe
   - Various recordings discussed:
     - Period recording rereleased on the album *Sri Chandrarathne Manawasinghe Gee Saṅkalpanā* (Chandrarathne Manawasinghe Gee Sungkalpana), SLBC (Various Artists, n.d.-e)
     - 2002 recording from the alum *Väli Ṭala Aṭarē* (Amaradeva, 2002)
2. Classification
   - Buddhist devotional song (*bakthi gee*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 7)

- Also known as the *Maha Bō Vannama* ("Vannam of the Great Bō Tree") because it represents the motion of a natural object, as traditional *vannams* do, such as the *Gajagā Vannam* ("Vannnam of the Elephant")
- In this case the representation of motion relates to the extant Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi tree (*ficus religiosa)* (Kurukularatne, 2004; Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 35)[218]
- A *bō* tree's leaves "hang from long, flexible petioles which rustle in the slightest breeze" (Wickremeratne, 2006, p. 157). This slight shaking is described in the lyrics of the third verse
- When lyricist Sri Chandrarathna Manawasinghe was working at the *Times* newspaper, he looked out of a window on the third story of his work building and saw a *bō* tree moving in the early morning summer breeze. The leaves' movements evoked the following rhythm in his mind in the form of Sinhalese drum bols (mnemonic syllables heard in *vannams*, *saudams* and various folk music forms):

  Ṭana ṭana ṭanenā — Ṭana ṭana ṭanenā — ṭānena ṭana ṭanenā —
  ṭanena ṭana — ṭana ṭana ṭana ṭanenā — ṭanena ṭana —
  ṭānena ṭana ṭanenā — ṭanānā — ṭānenā

  The tree reminded him of the Buddha's enlightenment and the first *bō* tree sapling's journey to Sri Lanka (which was planted in Anuradhapura and named the Sri Maha Bodhi). He wrote of these occurrences in the song lyrics for *Väliṭala Aṭarē* and loosely based them on the drum bol rhythm (Kumara, 2015, p. 321).
- Many rhythms inherent in the melodies and lyrics of *sarala gee* have been inspired by the movements of plants swaying in the wind, such as waterlilies, paddy crops, *bō* trees. Each type of plant has different movements and the understanding of this demonstrates a deep affinity between Sinhalese artists and nature.
- Combination of semiformal and formal Sinhala (words deriving from Sanskrit and Pali)
- Archaic language, e.g., the word "sarāgī" is used here for its original meaning "passionate" or "lively" while it refers to sexual arousal in modern Sinhala (P. Medis, personal communication, April 16, 2019)

4. Form

- Strophic, derived from Sinhalese folk songs

[218] Buddhist lore states that Gautama Buddha attained Enlightenment (*bodhi*) under a fig tree called *ficus religiosa*. The species was later renamed the Bodhi or *bō* tree. Emperor Asoka's daughter Theri Sangamitta brought a sapling believed to originate from this very tree to Sri Lanka. It was planted in Anuradhapura in 288BC (De Thabrew, 2013, p. 57). *Väliṭala Aṭarē* retells these occurrences and depicts this tree, the Jaya Sri Maha Bodhi (see Translation in Appendix E). Bodhi trees have become a religious symbol in Sri Lanka. There is one in every temple and offerings called *Bodhi pūjās* are often made to them.

- Vocal phrase length: irregular, 3–5 bars, derived from Indian music forms

X	A	Y^X	A^1	Y^X
Introduction	$aabbcc^1dd^1$ Verse	Interlude	$ee^1e^1ff^1cc^1dd^1$	

A^2	Y^X	A^3	Y^X	A	Z^X
$aabbcc^1dd^1$		$ee^1e^1ff^1cc^1dd^1$			Outro

5. Vocal style and melody

- Period recording: Forward placement, thicker tone compared to older period recordings
- Short and extended ornamentation in both Sinhala folk and North Indian styles
- Microtonal pitch inflections
  - Period recording: some
  - 2002 recording: none, sung as clusters of 2-note melismas instead, a common feature of Sinhala folk music (see Table F11, analysis of *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa*)

- Melody based on the pitch inventory of the Khamāj *thāt*.
  - Amaradeva, as in most of his compositions, does not use the chosen raga exactly as it is (see Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017). This makes raga identification difficult, especially for someone without expertise in Hindustani classical music. Therefore, I will list the *thāts* (scales used to classify ragas) for songs that are not referenced in other texts.
- For instance, he strays from the *thāt* in this song in the following ways:
  - He uses the B natural in some phrases
  - The tonal centre is B flat with a secondary centre of C

6. Rhythm

The *bō* tree is thought to be lively and playful in character (NT Government, 2016). This is reflected in the song's tempo which is much quicker than Amaradeva's other Buddhist devotional songs.

Period recording

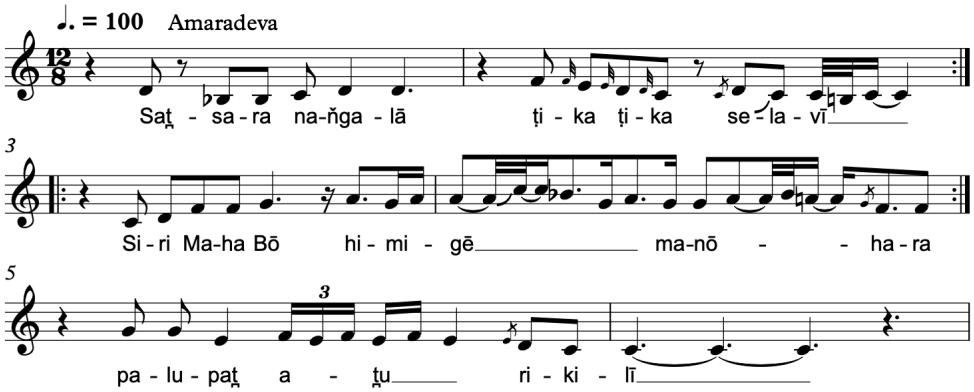
- 12-beat time cycle similar to 12/8
- Vocal timing: free
- Interest created through rhythmic layering (see Orchestration and Texture below)

2002 recording

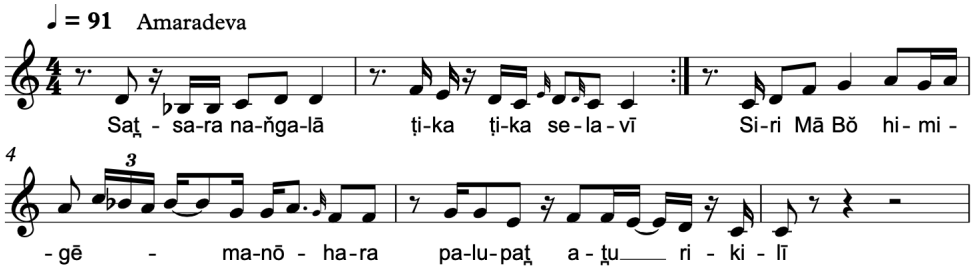
- Vocal timing: strict
  - Conforms to the *vannam* style. *Vannams* were created for dancing and are therefore sung in strict time unlike folk songs such as *sīpaḏa*

- or *sivupaḏas*, a verse of 18 *māṯras* with four quatrains (Kulatillake, 1976, pp. 9–10)

- 4-beat time cycle similar to 4/4
  - Reason for change likely to enable pronunciation of words as they are spoken (compare the following excerpts)



Example F24. (6.15) Excerpt from third verse of Väliṯala Aṯarē (1956 recording)



Example F25. (6.16) Excerpt from third verse of Väliṯala Aṯarē (2002 recording)

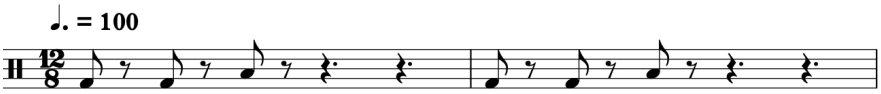
One difference between the above excerpts is the word "palupaṯ" in bar 4. Both A's should be pronounced like the U in "such." Since the second half of the word is spread over a crotchet in the original version, the A vowel becomes slightly elongated, so the word sounds like "palupāṯ." This occurred frequently in *aluth sindu* and rarely in Amaradeva's early songs. As with *Väliṯala Aṯarē*, changes are made in the newer versions. The 4/4 time and hi-hat rhythm shown in Example F25 further down allows Amaradeva to begin the phrase off the beat but still in time and to punctuate certain words such as "palupaṯ" to achieve the exact pronunciation. The first note of the word "rikilī" in bar 4 is also punctuated because a glottal stop is used when the word is spoken. This attention to detail is why Amaradeva is so revered as a patron of Sinhalese language and culture.

7. Harmony

- None
  - Due to Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation's nationalist policies resulting in strict Western instrument and compositional technique bans put in place from 1954 (Abeysekara, 2007).

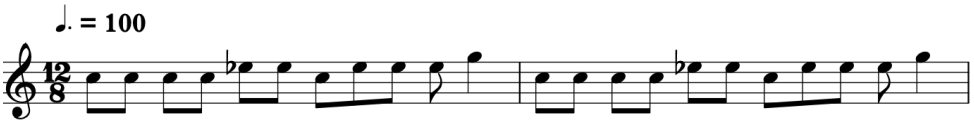
8. Orchestration and texture

The introduction of the period recording has a complex texture with several rhythmic patterns layered together. The *tabla's ḍaggā* (left side with bass tones) plays the following cross-rhythm which Amaradeva heard at a Kandy *perahara* ("parade").



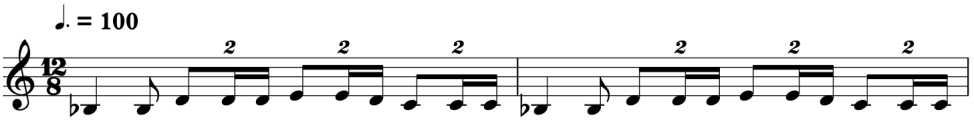
Example F26. (6.10) Ḍaggā rhythm in Väliṭala Aṭarē (1956 recording)

A chiming instrument called the j*alaṭarangam* plays semi quavers like the *tabla's* right side. Originating from Carnatic music, it consists of a set of ceramic bowls of different sizes tuned to various pitches with different levels of water. They are set in a semicircle around the player and hit with wooden sticks ("Cupfuls of melody: Jalatharangam," 2008). It plays the following melodic ostinato throughout the song, though the pattern is faint after the first two bars. It gives the song an ethereal quality because of its tone colour and use of E flats which are not part of the tonal scheme.



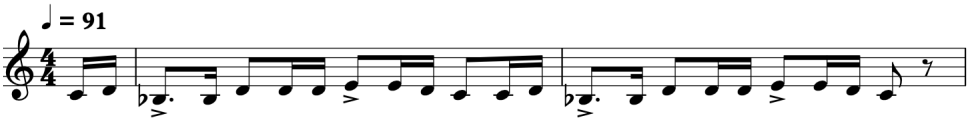
Example F27. (6.11) Percussive ostinato played on the jalaṭarangam in Väliṭala Aṭarē (1956 recording)

The above ostinato reinforces the 2 against 3 hemiola rhythm shown in Example 6.10 because the pitch rises on the fifth beat of the bar where the syncopated *ḍaggā* beat falls in Example 6.10. A similar high note occurs in the second half of the bar, though the *ḍaggā* pattern is absent. The first two notes in the drum rhythm are reinforced by the following main ostinato played on the violin in all interludes together with the chiming pattern. Note the first two notes, the lowest of the sequence, which coincide with the first two *ḍaggā* strokes. The rest of the pattern is played in tuplets, creating a subtle polyrhythm.



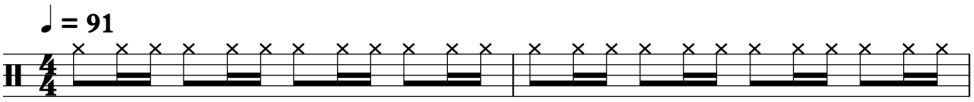
Example F28. (6.12) Violin ostinato in Väliṭala Aṭarē (1956 recording)

Though these rhythmic patterns are very effective, the song was transformed into a 4/4 metre in the new 2002 recording from the album *Väliṭala Aṭarē*. Here, the violin ostinato, interspersed with some melodic content, is played by the sitar. Accent marks indicate the notes that have microtonal pitch inflections which enforce the rhythmic drive.



Example F29. (6.13) Sitar ostinato from Väliṭala Aṭarē (2002 recording)

This version has two interlocking rhythms and the more prominent of the two is the following hi-hat rhythm.



Example F30. (6.14) Hi-hat rhythm from Väliṭala Aṭarē (2002 recording)

Table F7
Analysis of *Tikiri Liyā* ("Petite Lady"), 1957

1. Attributes

- Common spelling: Tikiri Liya
- Composition: Amaradeva
- Lyrics: Madawala S. Ratnayaka
- Supporting singers: Wimala Amaradeva, Daya Nellampitiya and female chorus
- Period recording uploaded onto YouTube (LK Hettiarachchi, 2018)

This song was composed for the SLBC *Jana Gāyanā* radio ("Folk Singing") program mentioned in Chapter 3.5 and 5.5, where the synthesis of folk music and popular music first occurred. *Ranvan Karal Säleyi* (Ran Wan Karal Salei / "The Golden Paddy Sways"), the most famous song in the program, was analysed by ethnomusicologist Garett Field (2015, p. 9; 2016, p. 102). It was based on the rhythm and melody of the *Ṭuraṅgā Vannama* (Thuranga Vannama / "Vannam of the Horse"). Field previously mentions another song called *Ṭikiri Liyā* ("Village Damsel," 1955) produced for the same program, informing us that,

> In 1955, the Sinhala press criticized *Jana Gāyanā* for 'destroying' folk music and so [lyricist Madawala S.] Ratnayake stopped the program (Ratnayake 1977: 9–10). Ratnayake teamed up with composer W.D. Amaradeva in 1957 to restart the show. It met with critical acclaim (Ratnayake 1977: 10). Arguably, the populist shift in politics in 1956 created favorable conditions for the positive reception of Ratnayake's attempt to 'preserve the values of the village and rural life.' (2015, p. 9; 2016, p. 102)

The above quote indicates that Amaradeva's collaboration combined with Sinhalese political nationalism led to the success of the program in 1957. However, it appears that Amaradeva was also the composer of *Ṭikiri Liyā*. The list of songs provided in the biography by Kumara (2015) has an entry called *Ṭikiri Liyā* dated in the 1950s with lyrics by Madawala S. Ratnayaka but no program attribute. A period recording of this song recently resurfaced on YouTube and its uploader confirmed its origin from the *Jana Gāyanā* program. This suggests that the nationalist political movement

led by the Bandaranaike government greatly impacted Amaradeva's career and the *sarala gee* genre.

2. Classification
    - Romantic song (*āḏara gīṯaya*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (no translation due to poor recording quality)
    - Depicts a village romance
    - Combination of colloquial and some semiformal Sinhala
4. Form

Through-composed with sections A, B, C, B^1, D

- First section the largest (strophic)
- Unpopularity may have been due to the complexity created by autonomous sections which were strung together (unlike *Ravan Karal Säleyi* which was strophic)

- Vocal phrase length: irregular

5. Vocal style and melody
    - Vocal tone
        - Amaradeva: forward placement, thicker tone
    - Supporting singers: notes placed in the nasal passage
    - Microtonal pitch inflections in section D

Section A has a tonal structure similar to some *vannams*. The brief B sections sung by Wimala Amaradeva draw from Buddhist *gatha* ("chant"). Sections C and D contain appropriations of folk melodies. They can be found respectively in the second and third sections of Wimala Amaradeva's recording of *Bōgambara Api* (Boogambara Api, 1972), a through-composed paddy harvesting song with three separate sections. Amaradeva extended the melodic range of the borrowed melodic sections in *Ṭikiri Liyā* by adding a variation of the melody between the repetition of the original.

6. Rhythm
    - Time cycle: varies in each section
        - A: 4-beat cycle similar to 4/4
        - B sections: free rhythm
        - C: 6-beat cycle similar to 6/8
        - D: 7-beat cycle (3+2+2) common in Sinhala folk music
    - Vocal timing: strict
7. Harmony
    - None
8. Orchestration and texture

Exact identification is difficult due to poor recording quality, but the following observations can be made:

- Section A: drone instrument
- Section C and D: heterophonic texture as melodic instrument doubles voices
- Sections A, C and D: drum accompaniment

- Likely a traditional percussion instrument as it does not have a sharp tone like the *tabla*

Table F8

Analysis of *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa* ("Having Bundled up our Worries"), 1960s

1. Attributes
   - Common spelling: Karadara Podi Banda
   - Composition: Amaradeva
   - Lyrics: Udayasiri Pathirana
   - Earliest recording, circa 1970s judging by vocal tone, accessed on YouTube (Bandara, 2016a)
2. Classification
   - Song of toil[219]
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 8)
   - Likely inspired by the following *karaṯṯa kavi* ("carter's song") called *Ṯanḍalē* (Thandale) which has been recorded in Devar Surya Sena's treatise *Music of Sri Lanka* (2008, p. 44).

     Ṯanḍalē ḏennā ḏepolē — ḏakkanavā
     Katu kälē — gāle nolihā vaḏaḏenavā

     Haputale kanḏa ḏäkalā — baḍa ḏanavā
     Pavukala gonō — äḏapan Hapuṯal yanavā

     Haputale kanḏa ḏäkalā — baḍa ḏanavā
     In seeing Haputale mountain — the stomach burns with fear

     Pavukala gonō — äḏapan Hapuṯal yanavā
     You bulls who committed sins in a past life — keep pulling, we're going to Haputale

   - In both *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa* and *Ṯanḍalē*, a carter drives some bulls up the steep Haputale Pass. He is compassionate towards them because of their heavy load and towards himself for the long journey that continues overnight.
   - Yet instead of iterating self-pity he attributes his fate and the fate of the bulls to sins committed in their past lives (*karma*). Thus, the Buddhist concept of ḏuka (inevitable "suffering" caused by our entrapment in *sasara* (*samsāra* in Sanskrit), the cycle of life, death and rebirth) is embodied in this folk lyric and in Amaradeva's song.
   - The theme of suffering (particularly of the peasantry) was often portrayed in postindependence art, film and literature.

[219] I classified *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa* as a song of toil according to the meaning conveyed in its lyrics. The song is not literally used to accompany physical labour as most occupational folk songs are.

4. Form

- Strophic (used in the carter's song and other occupational folk songs)
- Vocal phrase length: all 4 bars except one which is 5 bars due to extended ornamentation

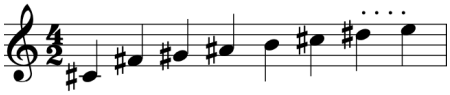
Y	A	Y	A	Y	A	Z^Y
Introduction	abcdef^e Verse	Interlude	$a^1b^1c^1def^e$	Interlude	$Ba^2b^2c^2def^e$	Outro

- The last three phrases of each verse have the same lyrics

5. Vocal style and melody

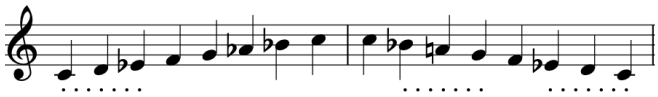
- Forward placement, some use of head voice
- Short ornamentation and melismatic ornamentation in phrase c
- Microtonal pitch inflections: none

- A recording of the above *carter's song* was made by the Lasanthi Ensemble (2016). Its melodic notes are comprised of the following tonal scheme:



Example F31. (7.1) Mode used in the karaṯṯa kavi Ṯanḍalē and other songs of toil

- This tonal scheme can be found in other songs of toil (e.g., the pāru kavi ("boatman's song") *Maleyi Maleyi*).
- The dashes in the carter's song verse transcribed in the previous section indicate where the extended ornamentation falls. This ornamentation, which also covers the top D sharp and E in addition to the above major pentatonic mode, gives the song its melancholic, minor-scale feel.



Example F32. (7.2) Mode used in Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa

- The melody in *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa* is completely different to the carter's song. Yet, the above mode contains the same minor tone-semitone figurations as the ornamentation in the carter's song, thus allowing Amaradeva to evoke the same melancholic sound.

6. Rhythm

- 7-beat (3+2+2) time cycle like 7/8, common in Sinhala folk music
- Vocal timing: slightly free

7. Harmony

- Guitar provides harmonic progression using chords I (Cm) and iv (Fm)

8. Orchestration and texture

- Homophonic texture
  - Guitar plays strummed and broken chords

- First instrumental melody shared by instruments:
  - *Baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute)
  - Flute, violin and viola
  - Violin and viola
- *Sitar* plays final melodic phrase leading up to verse
- *Uḍäkkiya* (Sri Lankan drum with strings) provides percussion

Table F9

Analysis of *Iraṭa Muvāven* ("Sheltered from the Sun"), 1960s

1. Attributes
   - Common spelling: Irata Muwaven
   - Composition: Amaradeva
   - Lyrics: Mahagama Sekara
   - Composed for the SLBC *Madhuvanṯi* (Maduwanthi) program
   - Various recordings
     - Period recording from the LP *Kiri Kavaḍi* (Kiri Kawadi) (accessed at SriLankan Records, n.d.-a)
     - 2000 recording from the album *Iraṭa Muvāven* (Irata Muwaven) (Amaradeva, 2000a)
2. Classification
   - Romantic song (*āḏara gīṯaya*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 9)
   - The lyrics depict the persona's romantic admiration for the Hindu goddess Saraswathi (Andradi, 2015). It describes her journey to Earth and the response of nature to her arrival. Sarasvathi is the goddess of music, knowledge and art and Amaradeva learned to worship her following his years of education at Bhatkhande.
   - They were inspired by the following *bulaṯ ṭaṭṭu kavi* ("betal-holder verse") trranscribed by Kumara (2015, p. 484)

     Iraṭa muvāven iṅḏagena hisa pīranavā
     Sitting, sheltered from the sun, she combs her hair

     Saṅḏaṭa muvāven iṅḏagena saḷu palaṅḏinavā
     Sitting, sheltered from the moon, she drapes her cloth

     Ḏīpa ĉanḏra rēkhaven mūṇa balanavā
     She looks at my face with a radiance resembling the moon's rays

     Mihikaṯa vevulā Sarasavi ḏēvi vaḍinavā
     The earth shakes as the goddess Sarawathi descends [Author translation]

   - They were also likely inspired by the poetry and songs of Rabindranath Tagore, who wrote about romantic love and religious devotion

synonymously, in reflection of Indian tradition, in particular ancient poetry (Som, 2017, "Jeevan Devata" section).

- The first three lines are used unchanged in the chorus and the last line is altered
- This subtle representation of romantic sentiments aimed at a deity rather than an actual woman presumably alludes to the conservative nature of society in the 1960s when Buddhism received extra patronage by the SLFP government. Buddhism, as stated in the analysis of *Śānṭa Mē Rä Yāmē*, renounced love.
- Combination of a few colloquial words with semiformal Sinhala

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular song form
- Vocal phrase length: Regular, 4 bars

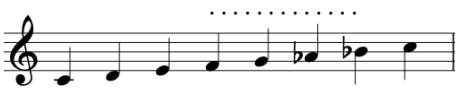
Z	A	Z^1	B	A	Z^1	A	B	Z^2
Intro	$abcb^1$ Chorus	Interlude	$dd^1ef^{\#}g^b$					Outro

- The 2000 recording has no chorus between the two verses and has no outro. It has an an added interlude between the last verse and chorus.

5. Vocal style and melody (period recording)

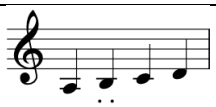
- Very forward placement, heavy tone
- Short and extended ornamentation
- Microtonal pitch inflections: some

- Amaradeva claimed the melody was based on the tonal scheme of a *bali kavi* ("*bali-ritual* poem"). *Bali* rituals are used to counteract adversities caused by the nine planets (Kottegoda, 2018, p. 3).
  - Rather than taking the *bali kavi* melody in its entirety, Amaradeva "elaborated on the indigenous pattern. This was inspired by Indian and Western moods of music. [He believed he] succeeded in preserving local flavor" (Amaradeva, as cited in Ranatunga, 2013b, p. 56).
  - Consider the mode used in *Iraṭa Muvāve,* transcribed in Example F33 below.



Example F33. Mode used in *Iraṭa Muvāven*

The second half of this mode, marked with ellipses, equates to the mode used in the opening of the *bali* kavi *Ḏasapāramiṭā* (Dasaparamitha) transcribed in Example F34 below.

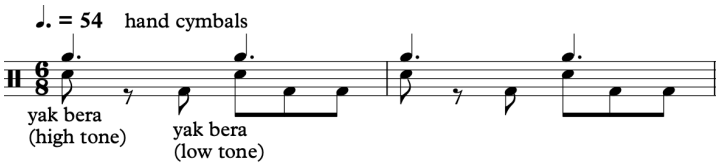


Example F34. Mode used in opening phrases of *bali kavi Ḏasapāramiṯā* performed by Saranelis Fernando (Info Lanka, n.d.-c)

Note that the tonic, indicated by the ellipses in Example F34, is the second note in the *bali kavi* mode. Amaradeva mimics this tonality by using the G as the tonal centre during the verses (except for the last phrase which ends in a C to link to the chorus).

6. Rhythm

- 6/8 time cycle
- Vocal timing:
  - Period recording: mostly strict
  - 2000 recording: slightly free, many more rests between words
- The rhythm is reminiscent of the *gam maḍuva* which has a slower tempo than other ritual performances (P. Medis, personal communication, April 16, 2019). The *gam maḍuva* ("village hut" ceremony, also known as a *ḏevi shanthikarma*) is a type of ritual in which blessings of prosperity are invoked from the deities Devol and Pattini and Vahala (Kottegoda, 2018, p. 5).
- It is played on the *yak bera* ("devil drum"), used in such ceremonies



Example F35. (7.8) Basic yak bera drum rhythm in Iraṭa Muvāven, which is sometimes played with variations

7. Harmony

- Period recording: none
- 2000 recording:
  - Though the tonal centre is C, the introduction and interludes appear to start with a tonal centre of B flat before gradually moving to C. Thus, the chord pattern is B flat (chord VII), C (chord I), B flat, F (chord iv), chord I
  - Chorus: stays on chord I
  - Verses, chord I, VII, I

8. Orchestration and texture (period recording)

- Heterophonic texture
  - Violin and *sarod* play the same melody in instrumental sections
  - Violin loosely follows in vocal sections
- Percussion: *Yak bera* ("devil drum") and *ṭālampaṭa* (hand cymbals)

Table F10
Analysis of *Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biṅḏu Biṅḏu* ("Golden Droplets of Sweat"), 1960s

1. Attributes
    - Common spelling: Ran Dahadiya Bindu Bindu
    - Composition: Amaradeva
    - Lyrics: Dolton Alwis
    - Supporting singers: Mixed chorus
    - Composed for the SLBC *Vijaya Gīṭa* (Vijaya Geetha) program
    - 1999 recording from the album *Svarna Vimānaya* (Amaradeva, ca. 1999)
2. Classification
    - Romantic song *(āḏara gīṭaya)*
    - Patriotic song (*ḏēśa abhimāna gee*)
    - Song of toil
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 10)
    - A combination of *baila* and *sarala gee* themes
    - Sarala gee: Agrarian and patriotic themes
        - Chorus is similar to a *neḷum gee* ("harvesting song") where everyone is encouraged to reap the paddy.
        - Amaradeva idolises the women working in a paddy field and describes them as a blessing to his country. Their sweat is symbolic of their exertions and likened to a necklace of golden beads.
        - He describes the field of ripened paddy as looking like a field of lotuses. This is because when paddy is ready for harvest, it sways in the breeze just like the sacred lotus does (P. Medis, personal communication, April 16, 2019).
    - *Baila*: Playfully romantic lyrics in the second verse
        - Amaradeva talks of one cultivator's beauty but his appraisal of the woman is innocent because it comes from love, not sexual desire (P. Medis, personal communication, April 16, 2019).
        - Composer Rohana Weerasinghe (personal communication, August 24, 2018) believes the beauty of *sarala gee* is the subtly of its lyrics, as present in this second verse. When Amaradeva sings "Mana bäňḏunā pabalu välē" ("My mind was transfixed on her thin necklace"), he is actually referring to her bosom where the loop of the necklace lays. Weerasinghe stated that songs with metaphorical lyrics or indirect meanings such as this are called *subhāviṭa gīṭa* (subawitha geetha / "songs of literary merit")
    - Combination of some colloquial words with semiformal Sinhala
4. Form

- General Sinhala popular song form but with different lyrics in the middle chorus
- Vocal phrase length: mostly 4 bars except the first two phrases (each 2 bars) of the choruses which are sung once separately and then together, almost as if they were one phrase

W	A	Y	B	A^1	Y	B	A	C^{AW}
Instrumental Introduction	$aX^{a}bX^{2b}a^{2}b^{2}cd$ Chorus	Interlude	$efZ^{Y}efZ^{1Y}$ Verse	Chorus				Vocal outro

- Phrases X and Z are very short instrumental interludes within the choruses and verses
- Amaradeva sings all the sections except Aa^2b^2d, which are sung by a male and female chorus
- Vocal outro consists of a repeated phrase

5. Vocal style and melody

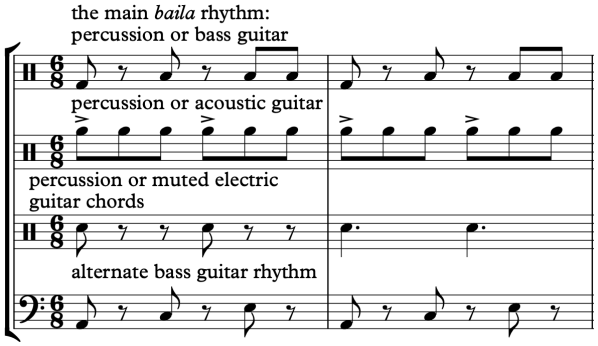
- Forward placement with soft, aspirate tone
- Minimal ornamentation, only mordents which are also found in *baila*
- Microtonal pitch inflections: none

- Since *neḷum gee* ("harvesting songs") only have three or four pitches, Amaradeva makes use of the Khamāj *thāt* once again, which comprises all natural notes except the B flat. It includes the tone-semitone interval pattern that was heard in *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa* and the carter's song *Ṯanḍalē* (see Example 7.1 and Example F32) as well as Wimala Amaradeva's harvesting song recording called *Bōgambara Api*.
- The vocal outro consists of a repeated phrase sung by the chorus layered under a countermelody sung by Amaradeva.[220]

6. Rhythm

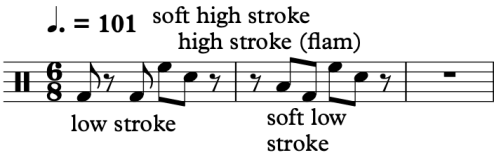
- 6/8 metre as used in *baila*
- Amaradeva stated the song has a "strong baila streak" (Kodagoda, 2015). As described in Chapter 4.3.1.3, *baila* is a genre of Sinhalese music derived from the Portuguese-Burgher *kaffringha* and *chikothi* and the African *manja* music. *baila* was often perceived to be a debased form of music due to its creole roots, and its performance context led to it being associated with frivolity. We may recall that Amaradeva had a great fondness for the genre but was discouraged in its performance by his brother Charles. Yet, its characteristic 6/8 rhythm appears in a few of Amaradeva's *sarala gee* and film songs.
- *Baila* has two or more rhythms layered together to create a hemiola. The most common of these are as follows.

[220] Sinhala pop songs with similar repeated-phrase endings include *Ṯaru Yāyē* (*Tharu Yaye*) by Grecian Ananda and *Mama Eḏā Gosin* by The Moonstones.



Example F36. (7.6) Common baila rhythms

- Amaradeva doesn't copy the rhythms directly but appropriates them in the following rhythm played on the *rabāna*, a Sri Lankan drum similar to a tambourine without jingles (A. Wedisinghe, March 13, 2019). It is used in *baila* (de Mel, 2006, p. 6) and *viriňḏu*, a type of folk song with improvised verses to a 6-beat (3+3) rhythm (Surya Sena, 2008, p. 65).



Example F37. (7.7) *Rabāna* rhythm in *Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biňḏu Biňḏu* (1999 recording)

- Vocal timing: strict

7. Harmony

- Instrumental sections: mostly on I (C), perfect cadence towards the end
- Chorus: mostly stays on I, one chord V (G) in phrase c
- Verses: more harmonic movement: V – VII (B flat) – I – IV (F) – I

8. Orchestration and texture

- Rhythic consistuents:
  - Keyboard playing arpeggios on a marimba-like sound: continuous quaver beats transcribed in Example 7.6
  - Sometimes the acoustic guitar doubles the above
  - *Gejji* (anklets with bells) emphasise beats one and four like the third rhythm in Example 7.6
  - No bass; fourth rhythmic pattern is absent
- Melodic instruments
  - Mandolin: played in tremolo style similar to pre-electronic style of *baila*. though it is still used in some modern *baila* songs such as *Saima Cut Velā* (Saima Cut Wela / "Saima is Drunk") by the Gypsies.
  - Sitar doubles mandolin

- The instrumental melody may have been derived from a Moratuwa *baila* standard as it was used in another Amaradeva composition: the original version of *Onna Babō Äṯinniyā* (*Onna Babo Athinniya* / "There, Child, is the Elephant," from the 1965 film *Āḏarayayi Karunāvayi (*Adarayai Karunawai*)*). - *Baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute): follows with playful melody in the *sarala gee* style

Table F11

Analysis of *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa* ("Callouses on Hands"), 1960s

1. Attributes
• Common spelling: Dathe Karagata • Composition: Amaradeva • Lyrics: Mahagama Sekara • Supporting singer: Wimala Amaradeva • 2002 recording from the album *Väli Ṭala Aṭarē* (Amaradeva, 2002)
2. Classification
• Lullaby (*ḏaru nälävili gee*) • Patriotic song (*ḏēśa abhimāna gee*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 11)
• Lyrics were discovered in Amaradeva's pile of miscellaneous papers following lyricist Mahagama Sekara's death • They convey many different ideas encompassing the nationalist sentiments of the era following the Sinhala-only bill. E.g.: - Section A depicts the village surroundings and romanticises paddy cultivation. The cool breeze wafts over tender rice plants being worked by people with calloused hands. Their sweat droplets are likened to pearls (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, March 8, 2019). - Section B: Amaradeva refers to the ancient civilisation of Anuradhapura (described in Chapter 2.1, claiming that the builders of the great tanks have been reborn in Sri Lanka following the "newfound freedom," presumably from European colonial rule. - Section B^1: Amaradeva expresses the wish that his son will rule in the upcoming debt-free era of liberation and fearlessness. - Section A^2: Wimala states her motherly exertions are made worthwhile with thoughts of her son. - Section B^2: Amaradeva proclaims he cannot depart from the world until his hope, a dream he saw two-thousand five-hundred years ago, is fulfilled. The number of years refers to the age of the ancient

	Sinhalese civilisation as commenced by Prince Vijaya according to the origin myth.

4. Form

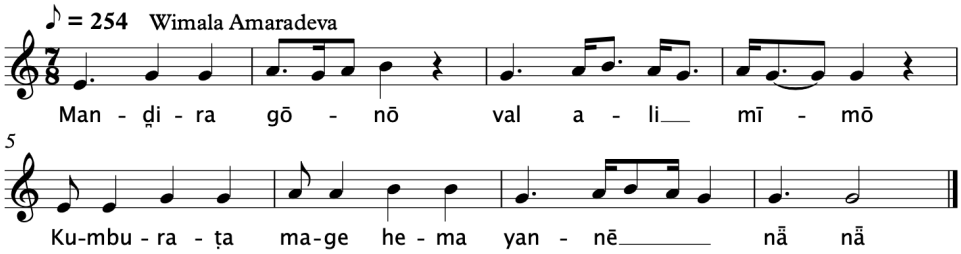
- Strophic but set to two melodies: Section A (sung by Wimala) and Section B (sung by Amaradeva)
- Vocal phrase length: regulars, 4 bars

X	A	A^1	Y	B	B^1	Z	A^2	B^2
Introduction	aba^1b^1		Interlude	$cdef^{Ab}$		Short interlude		

5. Vocal style and melody

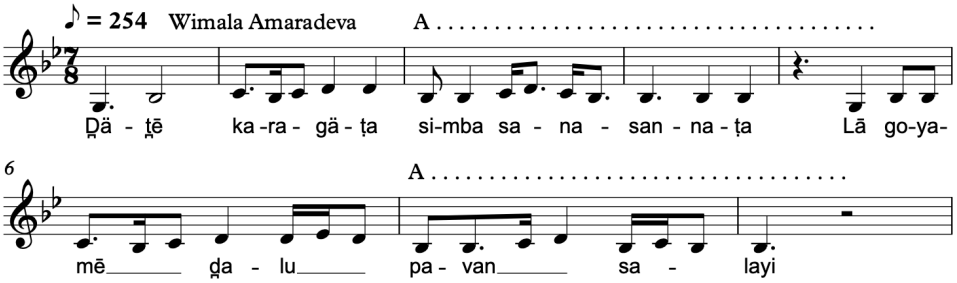
- Tone and placement
  - Wimala Amaradeva, a folk singer, has a thick tone and places notes in the nasal passage
  - Amaradeva: slightly forward, use of head voice in high notes
- Wimala Amaradeva uses short ornamentation of mordents, and 2-note melismas. Amaradeva follows suit.
- Microtonal pitch inflections: none

Wimala Amaradeva helped Amaradeva compose the melody after he showed her Sekara's lyrics and asked her how she would sing them. They reminded her of a *jana kavi* ("folk poem") she had seen in a children's book and subsequently recited at a performance. She sang the first stanza during an interview with me. I've transcribed it below.



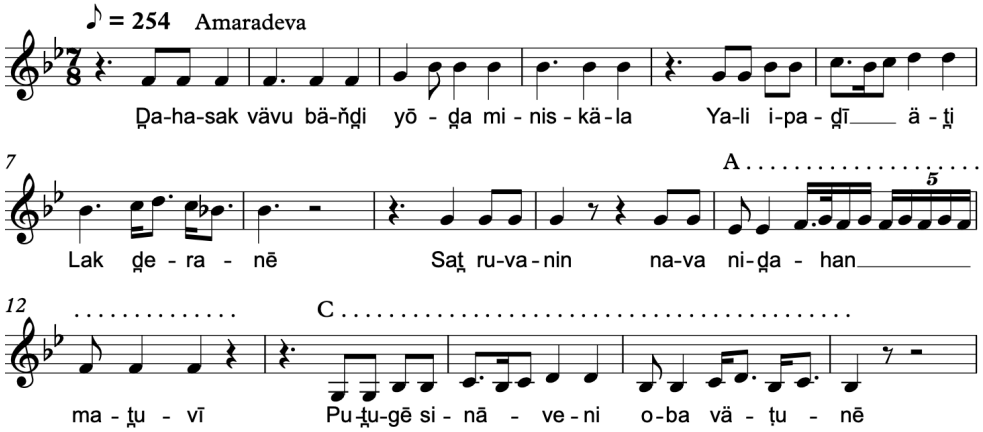
Example F38. (7.3) Jana kavi sung by Wimala Amaradeva

The melody comprises five notes only, ranging a perfect fifth. Amaradeva set this melody to the A sections of *Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa* with minor changes, as I have shown below.



Example F39. (7.4) Excerpt from first verse of Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa (2002 recording), sung by Wimala Amaradeva

The D sections, sung by Amaradeva, have a variation of this melody.



Example F40. (7.5) Third verse of Ḏäṯē Karagäṭa (2002 recording), sung by Amaradeva

Bars 5 and 6 of Example F40 above convey Wimala Amaradeva's melody. The second half of Wimala's melody (bars 3–4 and 7–8 of Example F39, marked A) is varied in bars 11 and 12 of Amaradeva's sections (marked B in Example F40) and he finishes with Wimala's entire melody sung in his lower register (marked C in Example F40). Thus, he uses the same melodic motif that constitutes the folk element of the song, but creates interest by variation an extension of the melodic range.

6. Rhythm

- 7-beat (3+2+2) time cycle like 7/8, common in Sinhala folk music
- Vocal timing: Wimala Amaradeva — strict; Amaradeva — free

7. Harmony

- Harmonic progression laid out by the guitars
  - A sections: I (G) – VII (F)
  - B sections: III (B flat) – VI (E flat) – III – I – VII – I
  - In all verses, chord III occurs the most, though G is the song's tonal centre

8. Orchestration and texture

- Typical of contemporary *sarala* gee. Instruments include the acoustic and bass guitars, a *sitar*, *tabla*, synthesised drums, keyboard, two *baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flutes), a violin and synthesised violins.

Table F12

Analysis of *Muni Siripā Simbiminnē* ("Embracing the Feet of the Buddha"), 1960s

1. Attributes

- Common spelling: Muni Siripa Simbiminne
- Composition: Amaradeva

- Lyrics: S. Mahinda Thero[221]
- Supporting singer: Nanda Malini and male chorus
- 2000 recording from album *Iraṭa Muvāven* (Amaradeva, 2000a)

2. Classification

- Lullaby (*ḏaru nälävili gee*)
- Patriotic song (*ḏēśa abhimāna gee*)

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 12)

- Amaradeva set music to a poem from a collection called *Jāṭika Ṭoṭilla* (Jathika Thotilla) (date unknown) by S. Mahinda Thero (1901–1951) (Kumara, 2015, p. 506)
- A lullaby conveying nationalist sentiments with the view to inspire listeners to defend the Sri Lankan nation. E.g.:
  - Section A (main singers): A breeze wafts from Mount Samanola (pilgrimage site where it is believed the Buddha left his footprint) and lulls the child to sleep
  - Section B (male chorus): On fighting and sacrificing one's life for their country
  - Section C (main singers): A depiction of the divine reward for such a hero
  - Section B^2: implores the child to defend their country with the strength of Keppetipola, a renowned Kandyan Chief who fought against colonial rule and became a martyr in the Uva Rebellion (1817–1818) of the Kandyan Wars[222]

4. Form

- Through-composed but with a refrain (section A)
- Vocal phrase length: Irregular

W	A	X	B	X^1	B	Y	C	Z	D	A^1

[221] Pempa Tendupi Serky Cherin, ordained Sikkim Mahinda Thero in Sri Lanka, was a monk who advocated for independence and the preservation of Sinhala cultural identity after witnessing the Anglicised lifestyles of the Colombo elite and the aristocracy of his birthplace (Edirisinghe, 2009). He was born in Sikkim (which borders Tibet and became a state of India in 1975). However, he identified himself as being Tibetan because Tibet was more well-known in Sri Lanka ("S. Mahinda Thera: Poet and freedom fighter," 2008).

[222] Kandyan chief Keppetipola was brother-in-law to Ehelipola, the last chief minister who rebelled against his tyrannical king and sided with the British (Wickramasinghe, 2015, p. 30). Keppetipola was one of the few that signed the Kandyen Convention (see Chapter 2.1) in Sinhala, though he knew English. The British appointed Keppetipola chief of the Uva Province and later sent him to investigate what they called a "civil riot." Upon his arrival in Uva, Keppetipola learned that a rebellion had formed when the British went against the terms of the Kandyan Convention, thus discontenting the Sinhalese people. Keppetipola thus sent back his weapons to the British, joined the rebels and added much strength to it until the British brought in reinforcements from India and crushed the rebellion (Chithra, 2004). Keppetipola was captured, trialled and sentenced to death. His request to visit the Dalada Maligawa (Temple of the Tooth Relic) was granted. In his final act there he removed his upper garment and offered it to the temple as it was the only piece of property he owned. He was then taken to be executed and was beheaded while reciting Buddhist verses in Pali (Saldin, n.d.).

Intro	ab (main singers)	Interlude	c (chorus)	Short interlude	c	Short interlude	de (main singers)	Short interlude	fg (Amaradeva)		b
A	X	B^1	X^1	B^1	Y	C	Z	D	A^1	A	W
											Outro

5. Vocal style and melody
   - All have a moderately forward placement
     - Amaradeva uses the head voice in Section D
   - Ornamentation
     - Main singers: short runs and ornamentation (e.g., mordents, turns)
     - Male chorus: none
   - Microtonal pitch inflections: one, a slide on the first word "Muni"
   - Melody based on a folk song from Wimala Amaradeva's repertoire, one her mother had taught her (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 72)
6. Rhythm
   - Changing metrical cycles, as in some Sinhala folk music
     - Section W (intro): starts in 3/4 but changes to 6/8 when the flute comes in
     - Changes to 3/8 after at Section X (violin interlude)
     - Changes back to 6/8 at Section Y
     - Section D is in free rhythm
   - Vocal timing:
     - Main singers: free
     - Chorus: strict
7. Harmony
   - Clear chord pattern, perfect cadences:
     - Section A: I (C major) – V – I – I^7 – V – I, I – iii – ii – vi – V – I – V – I
     - Section B: IV – V – IV – V
     - Section C: I – V – iii – vi – V – I
     - Section D: I – ii – iii – vi – I
   - Harmonisation of string melodies in the instrumental sections
8. Orchestration and texture
   - Instruments typical of contemporary *sarala gee*: bass guitar, a *sitar*, *baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute), *tabla*, synthesised drums, keyboard, two bamboo flutes, violin
   - Additions include viola and cello

Table F13

Analysis of *Raṉnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* ("Our Birthplace is a Land of Gems"), 1964

1. Attributes

- Common spelling: Rathnadeepa Janma Bhoomi
- Composition: Amaradeva
- Lyrics: Mahagama Sekara
- Supporting singers: Mixed chorus
- Composed for the SLBC *Madhuvanṯi* program
- Various recordings
  - Period recording from the EP *Madhuvanṯi* (Maduwanthi(accessed at SriLankan Records, n.d.-c)
  - 1976 live recording (chorus only) from an SLBC concert (Jayaweerage, 2016)
  - 1999 recording from the album *Svarna Vimānaya* (Amaradeva, ca. 1999)

2. Classification

- Patriotic song (ḏēśa abhimāna gee)

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 13)

- Praises precolonial heroes
  - Chorus and first verse: The “gems” referred to in the chorus and first verse are said to have been created from the blood of these heroes which enriched the soil
  - Second verse: About the manmade tanks which are still filled with sacred lotus flowers, whose scent is wafted by the breeze fed by the breath of heroes (K. N. O. Dharmadasa, personal communication, March 8, 2019)
  - Third verse: Depictions of nature allude to the fertility of the island’s soil, and the singers proclaim that they will sing this song of heroes until the sound reaches the skies
- Lyricist Mahagama Sekara based the metrical pattern on the following *Bodhi vanḏanā gatha* (“Bō tree worship verse”) (Kumara, 2015, p. 381). See a comparison of the first two lines of the verse and lyrics below:

Inḏra nīla vanna paṯṯa
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
Sēṯa khanḏa bhāsuran
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑

Raṯnaḏīpa janma bhūmi
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
Lankaḏīpa Vijaya bhūmi
⏑ – ⏑ – – – – ⏑ –

- Sekara’s lyrics are highly Sanskritised, and the basic meaning of the chorus is likely intelligible to a Hindi speaker as well as the average

Sinhalese speaker, according to K. N. O. Dharmadasa (personal communication, March 8, 2019)

- To the average Sinhalese speaker, this (and other patriotic songs) require a lot of concentration to fully gage the depth of meaning. They instead gage the song's intent through the general import of its lyrics and its musical characteristics (D. C. Ranatunga, personal communication, June 13, 2019), in this case, its cheerful, lilting melody.

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular song form
- Vocal phrase length: mostly regular, 4 bars (except in repetition of words in phrase b^1)

A	X	B	Y	A^1	X	B
$abcb^1$ (chorus)	Interlude	dX^1deffg (verse)	Short interlude	a^1		
Y	A^1	X	B	Y	A	C^{A1}
						Vocal outro

- The 1976 performance and 1999 recording commence with an *ālāp* followed by an instrumental introduction

5. Vocal style and melody

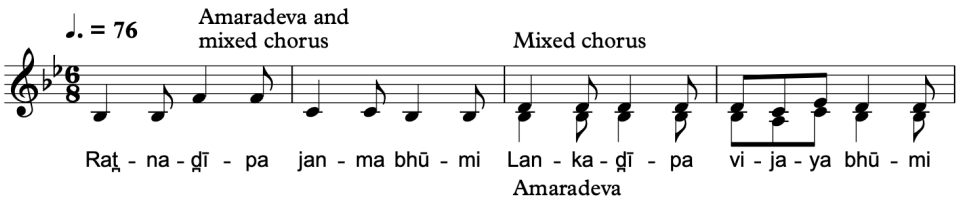
- Forward placement with heavy tone
- Short runs and ornamentation
- Microtonal pitch inflections: yes, and a rare instance where they are retained in the new recording because they allude to the Ariya-Sinhala heritage
- The melody is based on the Gaud Sārang raga which has both the sharp and natural fourth. Amaradeva was teaching the raga to his students during an outdoor class at the Haywood College when he received Mahagama Sekara's lyrics. He felt that the raga suited the patriotism perfectly and set the song to It (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 54; Kumara, 2015, p. 381).
- The song has a very large range of 14 tones.

6. Rhythm

- 6-beat time cycle like 6/8
- Vocal timing: slight rhythmic freedom

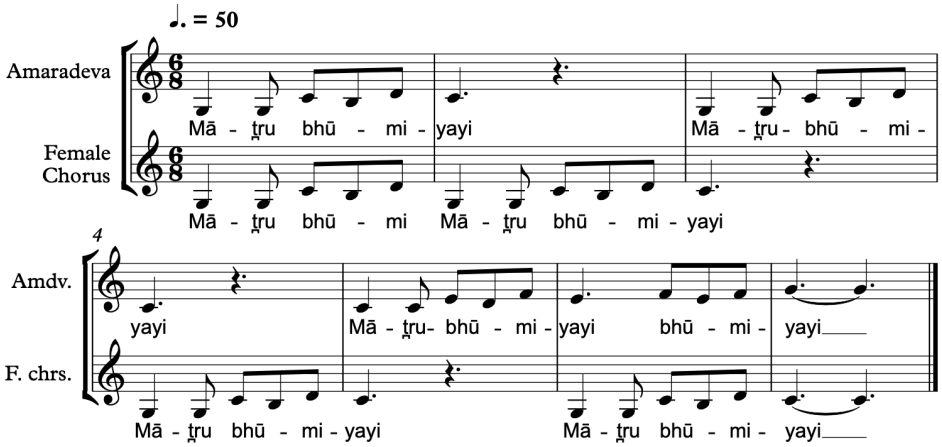
7. Harmony

- The period recording displays a cautious use of harmonisation in Amaradeva's part singing



Example F41. (7.9) Melody with part-singing in Raṭnaḍīpa Janma Bhūmi (1964 recording)[223]

- In the 1976 live version performed 6 years after the composition bans at Radio Ceylon were fully lifted, a canonic setting indicative of Western classical music techniques occurs



Example F42. (7.10) Outro of Raṭnaḍīpa Janma Bhūmi as performed at a 1976 Radio Ceylon concert[224]

8. Orchestration and texture
• The period recording is heterophonic - *Sarod* and *sitar* loosely follow the voices and each other in instrumental sections - *Tabla* provides percussion

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Table F14

Analysis of *Paṭu Aḍahas Nam* ("If There's Narrowmindedness"), 1960s

1. Attributes
• Composition: Amaradeva • Lyrics: Mahagama Sekara, based on a Rabindranath Tagore poem • Supporting singers: Mixed chorus • Composed for the SLBC *Madhuvanṭi* program

[223] Amaradeva and the male chorus singers are singing an octave below the female singers, but I transcribed all parts in the same octave for efficiency.

[224] Again, Amaradeva is singing an octave below the chorus but I have transcribed his part in the same octave for efficiency.

- Various recordings:
  - Period recording rereleased in the album *Madhuvanṭi 1*, SLBC *(W. D. Amaradeva, n.d.)*
  - 1999 recording from the album *Sasara Vasana Ṭuru* (Sasara Wasana Thuru) (Amaradeva, 1999)

2. Classification

- Patriotic song (*ḍēśa abhimāna gee*)

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 14)

- Based on a poem by Rabindranath Tagore which Mahagama Sekara translated into Sinhala (Abesundara, 2012, p. 25; Kumara, 2015, p. 357).
- The original text comes from the thirteenth poem in *Song Offerings (1920)*, Tagore's English translation of his poetry collection *Geetanjali* (1904)
- Sekara transformed the pome into song form (by adopting the first part as a chorus) and added rhetorical questions
- The poem and lyrics state that a nation should strive for progress but be devoid of fear, narrowmindedness and "the dreary desert sand of dead habit" (Tagore, 1920, p. 31) which Mahagama Sekara simplified as "irrelevant traditions"
- Combination of semiformal and formal Sinhala

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular song form
- Vocal phrase length: Irregular, most phrases 4 bars long but some 5 or 6 bars

Z	A	Z^1	B	Z^2
Instrumental introduction	aabc (chorus)	Interlude	$defg^{Bc}$ (verse)	Interlude

A	Z^2	B	Y	A	Y^2
					Outro

- Amaradeva sings phrases Ab and Bdef and the chorus sings the rest

5. Vocal style and melody

Period recording

- Very forward placement, heavy tone
- Short ornamentation (mordents, turns)
- Microtonal pitch inflections: yes

1999 recording

- Slightly forward placement, aspirate tone
- Considerably less ornamentation
- Microtonal pitch inflections: no

- Set to the raga Kedar Chandi (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 136; Chandrarathne, 2011a; Kumara, 2015, p. 357)
  - The raga has an omitted mediant and both the sharp and natural subdominant
  - Amaradeva adds the mediant and a flat submediant
- The melodic climax fals on the words “Swarga rajayata” (“divine kingdom”) in each section

6. Rhythm

- 4-beat time cycle like 4/4
- Vocal timing
  - Period recording: strict
  - 1999 recording: slightly free

7. Harmony

- Period recording: none
- 1999 recording:
  - Some harmonisation in the instrumental parts
  - Bassline is mostly buried in the mix and often hovers over the tonic, sometimes switching to the dominant

8. Orchestration and texture

- Period recording is heterophonic
  - Violin and clarinet loosely follow voices and each other in instrumental sections
  - *Tabla* provides percussion

Table F15

Analysis of *Sannāliyanē* (“The Weaver”), 1960s

1. Attributes

- Common spelling: Sannaliyane
- Composition: Amaradeva
- Lyrics: Mahagama Sekara, based on a poem by Sarojini Naidu
- Supporting singers: Mixed chorus
- Composed for the SLBC *Madhuvaṇḍi* program
- Period recording from the album *Madhuvaṇḍi 1* (W. D. Amaradeva, n.d.)

2. Classification

- Miscellaneous, song about life, death and rebirth

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 15)

- Original poem: *Indian Weavers* (Naidu, 1905) by poet and independence activist Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949) (Abesundara, 2012,

p. 25; Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 126; Rajakarunanayaka, n.d.-a)

- The poem has three stanzas in quatrains and in each, a questioner asks who the weavers weave for at a particular time of day and the weavers respond with the colour and wearer-to-be
  - They weave cloths blue as a wild halcyon for a new-born child, purple and green as a peacock for a queen about to marry, and finally a cloth white as a cloud for a dead man
  - The poem also represents the communal bonds of the weavers, since wearing was an important rural pastime in India during Naidu's time (Kaur, 2003, p. 108; Mahapatra, n.d., p. 33)
- For Sri Lankans, this text represents the Buddhist cycle of life (*sansāra*, consisting of birth, death and rebirth (Kumara, 2015, p. 398).
- Mahagama Sekara made changes to suit Sri Lankan culture
  - No quatrains (more lines needed for song form)
  - Not about a group of weavers. It instead represents a single weaver weaving for the same person (their daughter). This gives greater significance to the cycle of life and the Buddhist concept of impermanence.
  - The halcyon is changed to "mālagirā" ("ring-necked parrot") for aesthetic and or rhythmic reasons
  - The purple and green wedding cloth is changed to a golden colour ("ranvan") like the evening sky because Sinhalese brides only wear modest colours of white or beige
  - Rather than being white like a cloud, the funeral shroud is white like a *kanakok*, a stork that according to Sinhalese belief brings bad tidings (K. Medis, personal communication, April 16, 2019)

4. Form

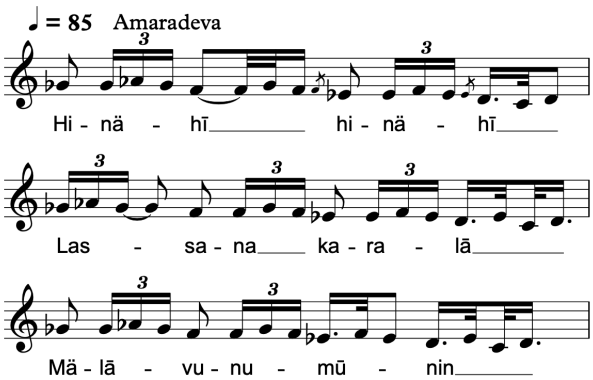
- Strophic
- Vocal phrase length: mostly 4 bars except one 2-bar phrase in each verse when the question "For whom are you weaving this dress?" is repeated

Z	A	Z	A	Z	A	Z
Introduction	$abc^{1a}dc^{1a}de^{c1}$ Verse	Interlude		Interlude		Outro

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement, heavy tone
- Short ornamentation placed strategically in each verse to convey the different meanings through the same melody
  - As transcribed below, Amaradeva uses grace notes in the repeat of "hinähī" ("smiling") to imitate the sound of laughter in the first verse, a mordent with a held last note to emphasise the word "lassana" ("beautiful") in the second verse and two mordents to emphasise

the word “mälävunu” (meaning “sorrowful,” or, more literally, “wilted”) in the final verse.



Example F43. (7.11) Ornamentation variations in Sannāliyanē (1960s recording), last bar of phrase b in each verse

- Microtonal pitch inflections: none
- Amaradeva considered the song wholistically rather than as individual verses when composing the melody (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 126).
- He chose the Carnatic C*hārukēsi* raga (Kumara, 2015, p. 398; Rajakarunanayaka, n.d.-b). According to Amaradeva this was Pandith S. N. Ratanjankar’s favourite raga. Amaradeva believed it embodied the song’s emotions (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 126).

6. Rhythm
   - 4-beat time cycle like 4/4
   - Vocal timing: strict
7. Harmony
   - Some harmonisation of melodic content in the instrumental sections
8. Orchestration and texture
   - Heterophonic texture, sparse instrumentation
     - Flute, clarinet and violin play the same melody in instrumental sections
     - Violin loosely follows voices
     - *Tabla* plays throughout
       - The *ḍaggā* (bass part of the *tabla*) plays a rhythmic pattern
       - The other side is played on every beat with a copper-coloured one-cent coin that gives it a distinctive sound. This technique was unique to Sri Lankan players of that period (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019)

Table F16

Analysis of *Biṅḏu Biṅḏu Ran* ("Golden Droplets"), 1970s

1.	Attributes
	• Common spelling: Bindu Bindu Ran • Composition: Amaradeva • Lyrics: Madawala S. Ratnayaka • Supporting singers: Mixed chorus • Composed for the SLBC *Svarna Varna* (Swarna Warna) program • Various recordings - Period recording rereleased on the SLBC album *Nīla Nuvan* (Neela Nuwan) (Various Artists, n.d.-b) - 2000 recording from the album *Iraṭa Muvāven* (Amaradeva, 2000a)
2.	Classification
	• Romantic song (*āḏara gīṭaya*)
3.	Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 16)
	• Based on a folk poem about a man who fears his lover has feelings for another (P. Medis, personal communication, April 16, 2019) • It is a *subhāviṭa gīṭa* ("song of literary merit") and this is therefore portrayed indirectly - Thus, the singer appeals to his lover to avoid dangerous situations such as walking alone at night or along unfamiliar roads.[225] - In the phrase "don't destroy your beautiful eyes" he is ordering her not to corrupt her eyes with the sight of another man. • Opening section mirrors the *sīpaḏa* folk song style containing quatrains with lines ending in rhyming syllables (P. Medis, personal communication, April 16, 2019) • Metres used in Sinhalese folk verse and classical poetry are also used (Kumara, 2015, p. 374) - Section A is based on *samuḏraghōśa* with each line containing 18 *māṯras* or syllabic instances - The B sections are loosely based on the *peḏa* metre which has 16 syllables per line. While Tony Donaldson (2001) describes the metre as having four clusters of four *māṯras* (p. 278), it appears that this song has two clusters of eight. The song also deviates in the fifth and final line of the main verses in which 14 *māṯras* are used. A syllabic breakdown of Section B is given below, where the bottom

[225] When Amaradeva sang the phrase "Huru näṯl maňgaka gos ugulaka väṭenu epā" ("Don't fall into a trap by taking unfamiliar routes") in *Biṅḏu Biṅḏu Ran* in his US concert *Amara Piyasara*, he would pause and explain his new interpretation of the words, intended for his fans. He would say, "Even though you live in a foreign country, don't chase an unfamiliar culture." Then he would add, "I know you haven't done this, because I couldn't have been here today if you had" (cwvideopro, 2014a).

parentheses indicate longer syllables equalling two *māṯras* and dashes indicate short syllables equalling one *māṯras*.

Biṅḏu *b*iṅḏu ran gōmara mālā
⏑̣ – ⏑ – ⏑ / ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑
Baṇḏā gela vaṭa Omari laṯāvaṭa
⏑ ⏑ – – – – / – – – – ⏑ – –
Kaṇḏen pāvī laṇḏaṭa basinā
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ / ⏑ – – – – ⏑
Ranvan ranvan mage ran kikiḷī
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ / – – ⏑̣ – – ⏑
Ranvan ranvan ran kikiḷī
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ / ⏑̣ – – ⏑

- He refers to his lover in the verses as his “golden hen,” an endearing term for attractive young women in Sinhalese folk literature (cwvideopro, 2014a).
- Similar to *Ran Ḏahaḏiya Biṅḏu Biṅḏu* he likens her sweat to golden beads strung around her neck, likely an illusion to the fruits of her labour during the harvesting season.
- In Section B^1 he asks why she has not come to the low bushland, signifying his fears of her waning love for him
- Combination of some colloquial words with semiformal Sinhala

4. Form

- Strophic with a vocal introduction and outro
- Vocal phrase length: regular, 4 bars

A	Z	B	B^1	B	C^{Bi}
aVbWcXdY Vocal introduction	Interlude	efefghii Verse	$e^1f^1e^1f^1g^1hii$		Vocal outro

- Amaradeva sings section A solo. In the verses, phrases e and f are split in half between him and the chorus. He sings phrases g and h solo, and the chorus conclude with phrase i.
- The *sīpaḏa*-like verse (Section A) of the period recording is placed between section B^1 and B in the 2000 recording and is significantly shorter — 51 seconds compared to the original 2”3’ introduction)
  - The period recording foregrounds the folk element)

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement, small use of head voice as well as rich, chesty sound in section A
- Ornamentation
  - Extended ornamentation in section A
  - very minimal (mordents and runs) in B sections
- Microtonal pitch inflections: none

- It contains the tone-semitone pattern found in Sinhala folk songs such as the carter's song *Ṯanḍalē* on which *Karaḏara Poḏl Bäňḏa was based*

6. Rhythm

- 6-beat time cycle like 6/8
- Vocal timing
  - Free in section A
  - Mostly strict
- Section A is in a free metre
- *Sitar* hemiola rhythm ending section Z, B and C vocal sections

7. Harmony

- Barely discernible; violin plays a harmonised melody under phrase Bi

8. Orchestration and texture

- Complex texture in vocal introduction
  - Simultaneous ostinatos with repeated notes: sitar (G – C, perfect fourth) and sarod (G – E, descending minor third)
  - *Baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute): plays melodic phrases between Amaradeva's phrases
  - Vibraphone: sustained notes, barely audible
  - Percussion: *rabāna* (frame drum) and *uḍäkkiya* (drum with strings)
- Other sections
  - Vibraphone and percussion continue
  - *Sarod* and *sitar* play interjections between vocal phrases
  - *Svaramandal* plays in the last phrase of each section and throughout the outro

Table F17

Analysis of *Kumariyaka Pā Salamba Sälunā* ("A Young Lady Shook her Anklet Bells"), 1970s

1. Attributes

- Common spelling: Kumariyaka Salamba Saluna
- Composition: Victor Ratnayaka
- Lyrics: K. D. K. Dharmawardana
- Period recording from EP *Amaradeva with Victor Ratnayake,* Gemtone OME 41 (SriLankan Records, n.d.-c)

2. Classification

- Miscellaneous, about sexual desire

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 17)

- About an ascetic who sees a beautiful woman wearing a sheer cloth and is distracted from his meditation
- This relates back to the quote discussed in the analysis of *Śānt¸a Mē Rä Yāmē*
  - Amaradeva claimed “the discovery of the “self” that is made of heart and mind naturally gives one insights into the human condition and man’s communion with man”
  - This communion is likely a reference to various types of relationships, including sexual ones
- Therefore, the lyrics relate to the humanist frame of thought advocated by Buddhist philosophy
- Contains semiformal Sinhala

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular music form
- Vocal phrase length: regular, 2 bars except the last which is 3 bars, resulting from a rest that symbolises his broken concentration

X	A	Y^X	B	A	Y	B	A	Z^Y
Introduction	$abcda^1$ Chorus	Interlude	$efe^1f^{1a1}gh^{a1}$ Verse	a			a^2	Outro

- Phrases e and f in the verses have the same melody but differing lyrics
- Phrases f^{1a1} and h^{a1} in the verses share the melisma sung in phrase a^1 of the chorus

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement, head voice
- Short ornamentation (mordents and turns) with melismas
- Microtonal pitch inflections: none
- Melody based on pitch inventory of A flat major scale

6. Rhythm

- 4-beat time cycle similar to 4/4
- Vocal timing: free
- Quasi-habanera rhythm in interludes (on guitar), influenced by Sinhala pop
  - Afro Latin rhythms were first introduced to the Sri Lankan music industry by Sinhala pop artist C. T. Fernando and later popularised by Clarence Wijewardena of the Moonstones in the late 1960s (see Chapter 4.3.1.6)

7. Harmony

- Instrumental sections; hovers over chord I (A flat)
- Chorus: mostly on chord I but ends with a perfect cadence
- Verses:

- More harmonic movement in the first half (phrases e and f): I – IV – V – I
- Harmony is missing in the second half where he mourns for his lost hope of Thusitha (a Buddhist heaven)

8. Orchestration and texture

- Textural shift from heterophonic to homophonic
- Acoustic guitar plays chords throughout
- Instruments play melodies in instrumental sections
  - Two violins — also play counter melodies under the voice
  - Two *Baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flutes)
  - *Santoor* or *sitar* doubled by a bowed instrument
- Percussion:
  - *Tabla* – only in vocal sections)
  - *Gejji* (anklets with bells) — only in instrumental sections, stricken repeatedly but briefly to represent the woman who distracts the ascetic

Table F18

Analysis *Pera Ḏinayaka* ("On a Previous Day"), 1975

1. Attributes

- Common spelling: Pera Dinayaka
- Composition: Amaradeva
- Lyrics: Sunil Sarath Perera
- Various recordings
  - 1976 live recording (chorus only) from an SLBC concert (Jayaweerage, 2016)
  - 2002 recording from the album *Väli Ţala Aţarē* (Amaradeva, 2002)

2. Classification

- Romantic song (*āḏara gīţaya*)

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 18)

- About the remembrance of a past relationship
  - The protagonist envisages an older lover and fancies he can hear her from afar singing a lullaby based on one of his melodies
  - Mentions that her love is now replaced with compassion, a trait that is integral to Buddhism
- Inspired by the *Theri Theri Gatha* and *Mal Pūjā Gatha* ("Flower-Offering Gatha") which describe the impermanence of things in life (Kumara, 2015, p. 443)
- Contains semiformal Sinhala

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular music form

- Vocal phrase length: mostly 4 bars (except phrase c in the verses which has ornamentation running onto the next phrase)

A	B	Z	C	Z	C^1	Z	C^1	B
Vocal introduction	ab Chorus	Interlude	$cc^1c^2d^{Bb}$ Verse		cc^1d^{Bb}		cc^1d^{Bb}	ab^1

- Last phrase of the choruses and verses have the same melody
- Chorus is not repeated in between the verses
- In the 2002 recording, the short *ālāp* is replaced with a lengthier instrumental introduction and there is no third repetition of phrase c in the first verse

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement with rich, chesty tone
- Hindustani classical ornamentation
- Microtonal pitch inflections: yes, retained in the 2002 recording
- Amaradeva originally opted to use the Bhimpalasi raga which has a flat third and flat seventh. He also wanted a natural seventh so he used the Patdīp raga instead (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 122; Kumara, 2015, p. 443).

6. Rhythm

- 4-beat time cycle similar to 4/4
- Vocal timing: most 4 bars (except the first one in each verse which runs onto the next phrase due to its ornamentation)

7. Harmony

- 1976 live recording: none
- Only semblance of harmony provided by the bass which is somewhat buried in the mix. A stringed instrument playing arpeggios appears to be buried deeper into the mix and sounds almost out of earshot

8. Orchestration and texture (1976 recording)

- Heterophonic texture
- *Baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute) and violin: loosely follow each other in the interludes and very loosely follow the voice
- Sitar: sometimes follows the voice but mostly plays interjections between vocal and instrumental phrases
- Percussion: *tabla*

Table F19

Analysis of *Anoṯaṯṯa Vila* (“Lake Anothatha”), 1973

1. Attributes

- Common name: Anothatha Vila
- Composition: Victor Dalugama

- Lyrics: Sunil Sarath Perera
- Supporting singer: Amitha Wedisinghe
- Composed for the SLBC *Gīṯaraṅganī* (Geetharangani) program
- Period recording rereleased on the album *Pera Ḏinayaka*, SLBC (Various Artists, n.d.-d)

2. Classification

- Miscelanous, based on Buddhist folklore

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 19)

- About a deity descending to Earth from the world of snakes
- Contains semiformal Sinhala

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular song form
- Vocal phrase length: mostly 4 bars except two 6-bar phrases in each chorus

X	A	Y	B	A	Y	B	A^1
Introduction	$abcdea^1b^1c^1d^1e$ Chorus	Interlude	fgZ^Yfgh^de Verse				abcde

- Amaradeva sings the first half of the chorus and Wedisinghe the second half
- They sing the last chorus together
- In the verses, Amaradeva sings phrases f and g and Wedsinghe sings h and e

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement, head voice
- Short ornamentation and runs
- Microtonal pitch inflections: none

- When Dalugama first read the lyrics, they reminded him of a *kulu näṭum gee* ("winnowing basket-dance song"). He did not base his melody on this folk song but utilised traditional percussion to project the village feel (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019)
- Mostly uses the pitch inventory of C major but there is one E flat in the chorus

6. Rhythm

- 4-beat time cycle similar to 4/4
- Vocal timing: free

7. Harmony

- Double bass alternates between chords I and V
- Vibraphone sometimes indicates these chords, most audibly at the beginning of each vocal section
- Melody played in thirds by the clarinet and oboe

8. Orchestration and texture

- Thick texture in the instrumental sections with a string of short melodies (similar to *Śānḏa Mē Rä Yāmē*)
  - Pairs of instruments: *sitar* and *jalaṯarangam* (pitched percussion, cups filled with water), *baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute) and oboe, viola and violin
  - 3 layers of traditional Sri Lankan percussion: *yak bera* (used in Low Country rituals), *ṯammäṭṭama* and *gäṭa bera*
- Vibraphone and double bass play throughout
- Texture thinner in vocal sections
  - *Tabla* takes over percussion
  - Texture thickens in interjections played by the violin, viola and *jalaṯarangam* together
  - The *baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute) plays a counter melody under the vocals; a syncopated two-note oscillation that sounds like a bird call. According to journalist Sirimanna (2013), the imitation of sounds in nature represents a Buddhist aesthetic.

Table F20

Analysis of *Pāvenā Nil Valāvē* ("Floating on a Blue Cloud"), 1977

1. Attributes

- Common spelling: Pawena Nil Walawe
- Composition: Sarath Dassenayaka
- Lyrics: Kularathna Ariyawansa
- Period recording from the LP *Pipena Kusuma* (accessed at SriLankan Records, n.d.-d)

2. Classification

- Romantic song (*āḏara gīṯaya*)

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 20)

- About a lonely celestial nymph who inhabits a reservoir
- According to cultural expert Piyasoma Medis (personal communication, April 16, 2019), celestial nymphs are not part of Sinhala folklore, and these lyrics are therefore created from the imaginings of the author
- Contains semiformal Sinhala

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular music form
- Vocal phrase length: mostly 4 bars except phrase a (varies due to a sustained note, is 6–8 bars) which has a sustained note that Amaradeva holds at varying length and imitates the sensation of floating

Y	A	Z^Y	B	A	Z	B	A
Introduction	abca Chorus	Interlude	dedeff[1] Verse	a			

5. Vocal style and melody
   - Forward placement
   - Sustained notes on the words “pāvenā” (“floating”) and “vaḷāvē” (“cloud”) in phrase a to mimic the sensation of floating
     - Lots of vibrato and reverb used to the same effect
     - The use of vocal effects such as reverb is a first in the recordings analysed so far and likely an influence of Sinhala pop)
     - Focused tone transforms into head voice on the sustained notes to imitate the ebb and flow of water
   - Short ornamentation (mordents) and melismas
   - Microtonal pitch inflections: none
6. Rhythm
   - Lilting 6-beat time cycle similar to 6/8 mimics the motion of water
   - Vocal timing: free
   - Based on the pitch inventory of B flat major but also uses a flat seventh in the last two phrases of the verses, present in the Khamāj *thāt*
7. Harmony
   - Arpeggiated accompaniment
     - Chorus: I (B flat), V and IV are used throughout
     - Verse: in addition to the above, the borrowed chord VII (A flat) is used
8. Orchestration and texture
   - Homophonic texture provided by the keyboard with reverb and acoustic guitar which each have the main focus at different times, blending in and out of each other seamlessly and symbolising the flow of water.
   - The strings occasionally play melodic lines but mostly provide ambient harmonic colouration
   - The texture does not change in the instrumental sections as it does in other *sarala gee*. Instead, the *sitar* and flute take over the main melody to maintain the sensation of floating throughout.

Table F21

Analysis of *Niḏahas Lanka* (“Free Lanka”), 1970s

1. Attributes
   - Common spelling: Nidahas Lanka
   - Composition and lyrics: Ananda Samarakoon

- Originally written as a song about Samarakoon's mother upon her commentating that he wrote many songs but none were about her. He later rewrote the lyrics as a patriotic song (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019).

- Period recording from the LP *Guvan Viḏuli Gee Vol. 4* (Guwan Viduli Gee), SLBC (accessed at SriLankan Records, n.d.-a)

2. Classification

- Patriotic song (*ḏēśa abhimāna gee*)

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 21)

- Samarakoon was also the composer of the Sri Lankan national anthem and both songs have lyrics that:
  - Endorse unity and are inclusive of all ethnic groups in comparison to other patriotic *sarala gee*
  - Have no direct reference to the Sinhalese, though the nation's victorious past and ancient civilisation are mentioned
- While the national anthem consists of praise for the island's natural endowments and the wisdom and strength it gives its inhabitants, *Niḏahas Lanka* encourages its listeners to serve the country and assist in the welfare of all, especially the helpless.
- Semiformal Sinhala

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular music form
- Vocal phrase length: regular, 4 bars

Z	A	Z	B	A^1
Introduction	$a^Z a^Z b a^Z$ Chorus	Interlude	cdcdeef Verse	a^Z

Z	C	A^1	Z	C	A^2
	ghij Verse	a^Z			$a^Z a^Z$

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement, head voice
- Short ornamentation
- Microtonal pitch inflections: none

- Text set to a cheerful, uplifting melody, similar to *Raṭnaḏīpa Janma Bhūmi* and *Namō Namō Maṭā* (Namo Namo Matha,1946), the Sri Lankan national anthem
- Pitches match the Kalyān *thāt* which has a sharp fourth (likely based on the Yaman Kalyān *raga* (also used for the Indian and Sri Lankan national anthems)

6. Rhythm

- 2-beat time cycle similar to 2/4
  - Outlined with a quasi-country-Western guitar rhythm
- Vocal timing: Strict (slightly less strict in chorus)

7. Harmony
• Instrumental sections which have the same melody as phrase a^z of the chorus: mostly stay on chord I (C sharp) but end with a IV – V – I cadence • Chorus, phrase b — stays on chord I • Verse 1: I – V – I – IV – I – IV – I – V – IV • Verse 2 and 3: I – V – I – V – I
8. Orchestration and texture
• Similar to the original recording of *Namō Namō Maṯā*, composed in 1940 and recorded with Swarna de Silva in 1946 (Jeyaraj, 2015). This period recording has been uploaded onto YouTube (Pebotuwa, 2017). • The following similarities suggest that Samarakoon arranged *Niḏahas Lanka* on paper prior to his death in 1962 - Acoustic guitar plays *boom-chuck boom-chuck* rhythm with alternating bass notes and chords - Combined with a heterophonic texture between the voice and instruments such as the *baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute), violin and, in *Nidahas Lanka* only, *sitar* - Heterophony and instrument blending occur in the interludes of these two examples as in Amaradeva's other songs. The violin and flute are played in the high register, maintaining the uplifting feel. • Instrumentation also includes a *tampura* drone which is only audible at the end of the song

Table F22

Analysis of *Sasara Vasana Ṯuru* ("Throughout Every Rebirth"), 1975

1. Attributes
• Common spelling: Sasara Wasana Thuru • Composition: Amaradeva • Lyrics: Dolton Alwis • Composed for the SLBC *Vijaya Gīṯa* program • Period recording named *Hela Ran Ḏeraṇa* from the LP *Kiri Kavaḍi* (accessed at SriLankan Records, n.d.-a)
2. Classification
• Patriotic song (*ḏēśa abhimāna gee*) • Buddhist devotional song (*bakthi gee*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 22)
• An expression of the singer's desire to be reborn in Sri Lanka in every birth that precedes Enlightenment

- He also lists the specific places that are his “heritage” and which lie close to his heart
  - They include the Maha Bodhi Tree (also described in Amaradeva’s *Väliṭala Aṭarē*), the Rathnamali temple structure in Anuradhapura (where some of the Lord Buddha’s relics are thought to be held), Seegiri Fortress and Thissa Wewa, a reservoir.[226]
  - They are all significant in Buddhism and Sinhalese premodern history.
- Amaradeva stated that this was one of the songs he sang with the fewest number of words, making it sound like an easily recitable mantra. The short lyrics were very effective in the song’s instant popularity (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 60).

4. Form

- Similar to general Sinhala popular music form except both verses have the same lyrics, and the chorus is not repeated between them
- Vocal phrase length: regular, 4 bars in the choruses and 8 bars in the verses

W	A	X^{Ac}	B	X^{1}	B	Y	A	Z^{XY}
Introduction	aabc Chorus	Interlude	de Verse	Interlude				Outro

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement, head voice
- Short ornamentation, runs and two-note melismas
- Microtonal pitch inflections: none
- Pitches used match the Asāvari *thāt* which resembles the C natural minor scale and thus has a melancholic aspect.
- The vocal melody originated from a *prasasthi gee* (Kandyan court panegyric) (Amaradeva & Abeysinghe, 2017, p. 60).
  - Amaradeva likely extended this melody as *Sasara Vasana Ṭuru* has a range of 11 tones (Bb3 – Eb3).
- The highest points in the vocal melody occur in the phrases where Sri Lanka is described as a “meritorious land” and where the significant places are mentioned.

6. Rhythm

- 6-beat time cycle like 6/8, implied by the violin
- Vocal timing: free

7. Harmony

- The only chords are outlined by the violin playing arpeggios in the intro. Chords are mostly i (C minor) with one iv

[226] The monument is also known as the Ruwanwelisaya. Such temple structures are called *sṭūpa* or *ḍāgäb* in Sinhala.

- Harmonised melodies played on the violin and viola in sections X^1 and Z^{XY}

8. Orchestration and texture

- Homophonic texture in instrumental sections
  - Violin plays arpeggios in the introduction (low register)
  - Violin and viola play a melody in harmony in the low register, providing an earthy, woody sound
- *Baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute) plays throughout and has a lot of reverb on it, thus creating an ethereal quality, plays in the high register in contrast to the strings
  - It also plays a countermelody under Amaradeva's vocal part at the end of the second verse and continues it into section Y
- The vibraphone also contributes to the ethereal sound, providing some harmonic colouring or interjections between vocal phrases
- Vocal sections: more heterophonic
  - Violin loosely doubles voice
- Percussion: *tabla*

Table F23

Analysis of *Aḍavan Vū* ("From Half-Closed Eyes"), 1970

1. Attributes

- Common spelling: Adawan Wu
- Composition: Amaradeva
- Lyrics: W. A. Abeysinghe
- Various recordings
  - 1976 live recording (chorus only) from an SLBC concert (Jayaweerage, 2016)
  - 2000 recording from the album V*asanṯa Gīṯaya* (Wasantha Geethaya) (Amaradeva, 2000c)

2. Classification

- Buddhist devotional song (*bakthi gee*)

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 23)

- About the Samadhi Buddha statue, an ancient granite monument of the Anuradhapura period located in the Mahamavuna Garden
  - According to the poster sold at the heritage site, it was sculpted between 300–400AD
  - The statue depicts the Buddha in the seated position of meditation
- The song describes how the Buddha's great qualities of love, compassion and kindness emanate from the statue, flowing like a river
- Inspired by the book *Buṯsaraṇa* by Vidya Chakravarthy (Kumara, 2015, p. 451)

- Combination of semiformal Sinhala with some formal Sinhala

4. Form

- Ternary with an *ālāp* (vocal introduction)
- Vocal phrase length: regular, 2 bars

A	Y	B	Y^1	C	B
ālāp	Short interlude	ababcdc^{1}defab Chorus	Short interlude	ghZg^{1}h^{1}ef Verse	abab^1

- The repeat of phrases g and h in the verse have different lyrics and slight melodic variations
- The 2000 recording does not have an *ālāp*

5. Vocal style and melody

- 1976 recording
  - Forward placement, rich, chesty tone which depicts his fervent admiration for the Buddhist monument and what it represents.
  - Scalic ornamentation in the Hindustani classical style mark the start and end, short ornamentation throughout
  - Microtonal pitch inflections: yes, in the start and end
- 2000 recording:
  - Forward placement with head voice, creates a smaller sound that mirrors the serenity of the monument
  - No scalic ornamentation

- Amaradeva claimed that the melody was based on the Yaman Kalyan *raga*, but no sharp fourth is used (thus the pitch inventory resembles C major)
  - There is, however, a melodic fragment of the notes B – D – C that ends phrase a and is also present in the Indian and Sri Lankan national anthems which are possibly based on Yaman Kalyan

6. Rhythm

- 4-beat time cycle similar to 4/4
- Vocal timing: free

- Amaradeva was inspired by the calming rhythms of *pirith and gatha* (Kumara, 2015, p. 451). These two forms of Buddhist chant are recited in steady, free rhythms and this is likely the reason why the song does not have syncopation.

7. Harmony

- 1976 live recording: mostly none throughout except the *ālāp* and last phrase where the s*eraphina* (harmonium) and acoustic guitar play I – IV – V – I
- 2000 recording: bassline (often buried in the mix) and occasional guitar chords and arpeggios

- Same chords as above for phrase a and b and the rest of the progression also has combinations of I, V and IV
8. Orchestration and texture
• *Ālāp* - Sparse: *seraphina* and acoustic guitar (strumming/arpeggios) - Violin loosely doubles voice in the final phrase and continues in other vocal sections • Interludes - String of heterophonic melodies: *baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute) with keyboard on celesta sound, violin, acoustic guitar and *sitar*, possibly synthesised (the latter two play down the octave and in staccato to create contrast) • Vocal sections - Heterophonic, violin follows the voice - The others play interjections between phrases and occasionally double vocal notes that fall on the main beats • Percussion: *tabla* and *ṭālampaṭa* (hand cymbals)

Table F24

Analysis of *Siri Buddhagaya Vihare* ("Sacred Bodh Gaya Temple"), 1978

1. Attributes
• Composition: attributed to H. W. Rupasinghe but based on a Hindi song (see ravindra channel, 2013) • Lyrics: Marceline Albert and Gilbert Weerasekara • Various recordings - Original 1934 *aluth sindu* recording sung by Rukmani Devi and H. W. Rupasinghe uploaded on YouTube (යුග යුග රැඳී යුග ගී, 2014) - 1978 recording sung with Rukmani Devi and arranged by Sinhala pop musician Clarence Wijewardena from the EP *Amaradeva with Rukmani Devi*, Artek AL003 (accessed at SriLankan Records, n.d.-c) - The latest Amaradeva recording sung with Samitha Mudunkotuwa was already discussed in the tabulation of *Chanḏō Mā Biliňḏē*
2. Classification
• Buddhist devotional song (*bakthi gee*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 24)
• An invitation to worship at the Maha Bodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya, India, which marks the location where the Lord Buddha is believed to have attained Enlightenment

- The lyrics also depict the Buddha's Enlightenment and defeat of Mara, a demon who distracted the Buddha (then Prince Siddharta) with visions of beautiful women
- More similar to *sarala gee* than *aluth sindu*: combination of semiformal Sinhala with some formal Sanskrit and Pali words

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular song form
- Vocal phrase length: Irregular, 2–4 bars and parts of phrases are repeated

X	Y	A	Z	B	A^1	Z^1	B	A^2
Saxophone solo (*aalap*)	Introduction	aabbcca Chorus	Electric guitar solo	dd^1eeffg^a Verse	a^1	Sitar solo	$hhihi^1jj^1kk^1g^a$ Verse	a^1a

- The two verses have different melodies, like the early Amaradeva's songs discussed
- The instrumental solos are a novel feature of the song as they are not often found in Sinhala popular music
  - The solos are not free-style improvisations in the jazz sense, but rather an improvisation on vocal phrase a of the chorus

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement, some head voice but more of the rich, chesty tone
- Ornamentation derived from Hindustani classical music
- Microtonal pitch inflections: yes

6. Rhythm

- 4-beat time cycle like 4/4
- Vocal timing: free
- Though the first beat of each bar is emphasised by the *tabla*, a juxtaposing rhythm is played on the electric guitar in sections Z, A^1, Z^1 and A^2.
  - It is a quasi-*skengay* rhythm found in reggae and the second and fourth off beats are therefore emphasised (M. Mora, personal communication, June 11, 2019)
  - First chorus: guitar is absent from first repeat and soft/muted in second repeat

7. Harmony

- Provided by the electric guitar
  - Interludes Z and final chorus: quasi-*skengay* rhythm chords on I (E flat) – II (F) – I
  - Various combinations of the above chords are used in other sections, but the guitar is very muted and buried in the mix

8. Orchestration and texture

Its instrumentation was novel in *sarala gee*, including a saxophone, keyboard and two electric guitars in addition to the typical *sitar*, *swaramandal* and *tabla*. While the original 1936 recording begins with the piano playing a variation of the chorus, the 1978 version starts with a solo played by the renowned saxophonist and composer Stanley Peiris (1941–2002). An ambient background texture is provided by the keyboard, playing sustained string notes, and electric guitar playing a few deep glissandi chords. The *swaramandal* segways into section Y in which the sitar plays the melody. The saxophone is played extremely softly under the sitar and in some vocal sections. The guitar too is very faintly present from section A onwards, playing strummed chords. The keyboard is present throughout as well and moves between a homophonic and polyphonic single-note melody against the vocals. There are also phrases where the voices are accompanied only by percussion, namely the *tabla* and *ṭālampaṭa* (Sri Lankan hand cymbals). The other instruments enter inconspicuously throughout the song. Though there is sometimes polyphony and a wide variety of instruments used, the texture sounds sparse throughout to reflect the feeling of meditation and the unwavering and solitary strength of the voices reflect the Buddha's resolution.

Table F25

Analysis of *Sanarāmara Himi* ("The Enlightened One"), 1981

1. Attributes
• Common spelling: Sanaramara Himi • Composition: Amaradeva • Lyrics: Arisen Ahubudu • Period recording rereleased in the album *Pāramiṭā*, SLBC (Various Artists, n.d.-c)
2. Classification
• Buddhist devotional song (*bakthi gee*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 25)
• About the Lord Buddha's first sermon held in a deer park in Sarnath, India. - The sermon was called *Dhammachakra Sūṭra* "setting in motion the wheel of the good law." - The eight spokes symbolise the eightfold path that leads to liberation from worldly attachments (Wickremeratne, 2006, pp. 107, 276). • The lyricist was a member of the Hela Havula pure Sinhala movement and replaced some Sanskrit words with equivalents in Elu, the ancient and supposedly pure form of the Sinhala language. - E.g., the Sanskrit word *dharmachakra* ("wheel of dharma"), replaced with *dhamsak*

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular music form
- Vocal phrase length: regular, 8 bars in the chorus and 4 bars in the verse

Z	A	Z	B	A
Introduction	aab Chorus	Interlude	cdefg Verse	

Z	B	A	Z^1	B	A

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement, head voice
- Some melismas but no ornamentation
  - Mostly 2-note melismas
  - One melisma in the chorus on the word *dhesuwe* ("turned"), symbolising the motion of the wheel of dhamma
- Microtonal pitch inflections: none
- Uses the pitch inventory of the C major scale with an additional E flat in the verses

6. Rhythm

- Waltz-like 3/4 time signature emphasised by guitar playing *boom-chuck-chuck* rhythm
- Vocal timing: free, rests between words

7. Harmony

- Provided by acoustic guitars: *boom-chuck-chuck* chords and arpeggios
  - Instrumental sections: I (B flat) – IV (E flat) – V (F) – I – V – I
  - Chorus: I – IV – I, I – IV – I, I – IV – V – I
  - Verses: I – IV, I, V – I, I, I – IV – I

8. Orchestration and texture

- Sparse with a mellow sound
- Homophonic accompaniment on acoustic guitars throughout
  - Waltz chords
  - Alternation between one strum and arpeggios
- Instrumental sections:
  - *Baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flute) and *sitar* play the melody together in heterophony
  - They share the same melody and play separately in the final interlude preceding the verse where Amaradeva claims humans were separated from desire and distanced from the darkness of ignorance because of the Buddha's teachings
- Vocal sections
  - *Sitar* plays interjections

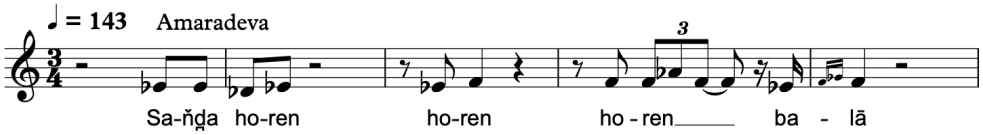
Table F26

Analysis of *Saňḏa Horen Horen* ("The Moon Sneakily, Sneakily"), 1980s

1. Attributes
   - Common spelling: Sanda Horen Horen
   - Composition: Premasiri Khemadasa
   - Lyrics: Kularathna Ariyawansa
   - Period recording uploaded onto YouTube (Bandara, 2016b)
2. Classification
   - Romantic song (*āḏara gīṭaya*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 26)
   - Depicts a couple talking romantically in the night
   - As with other romantic *sarala gee* there are allusions to nature, in this case, the moon
     - It is personified and shyly observes the couple, shedding tears of joy for their love
   - Combination of some colloquial words with semiformal Sinhala
4. Form
   - General Sinhala popular music form
   - Vocal phrase length: regular except phrase h which has 6 bars, technically a 4-bar phrase extended with a hummed 2-bar melisma

Y	A	Z	B	A	Z	B	A
Introduction	abcdd[1] Chorus	Interlude	efgh Verse				

5. Vocal style and melody
   - Forward placement, head voice
   - Short ornamentation and melismas
   - Microtonal pitch inflections: none
   - The pitches used match the Khamāj *thāt* with a tonic of B flat
     - The added flat seventh gives the song a mysterious character.
   - The vocal melody's range is fairly large, spanning Bflat3 – Eflat4
   - The melody for the opening line "Saňḏa horen horen horen balā" ("The moon looks sneakily, sneakily, sneakily") has the following melody



Example F44. (7.12) Opening vocal melody of Saňḏa Horen Horen (1980s recording)

   - Note how it rises during the three repeated words, mimicking a person slowly edging past its cover of clouds and receding again.
6. Rhythm

- 3/4 time signature
- Vocal timing: free, rests between words

7. Harmony

Though the mode suggests the song is in E flat major, it does not include a flat seventh and the third is only used sparingly. Therefore, the sense of modality associated with the Western major scale is not present. The song's chord progression, written below, also lacks perfect and plagal cadences.

- Chorus: I (E flat major) – IIV (D flat major), I – VII – I, I – IV – VII, VII – I – VII, VII – I
- Verse: I – VII – I – VII – I – VII, I – VII – I – VII – I – VII, I – VII – I – I^7, I^7 – IV – I – VII, I – VII – I

8. Orchestration and texture

- Sparse and mellow
- Based on motif and variation
- Introduction
  - Deep cello melody under motivic violin melody in high register
  - Acoustic guitar then varies violin melody
- Interlude
  - Violin and cello accompaniment
  - *Sitar* and guitar vary cello and violin melodies in harmony
- Verses
  - Sitar interjection to close
- Throughout:
  - Arpeggiated accompaniment on acoustic guitar (except when it switches to melodies briefly)
  - *Tabla* plays quasi-waltz rhythm in a soft sound the player creates by using one hand as a mute (A. Wedisinghe, personal communication, March 13, 2019) and it therefore sounds like a pair of bongos

Table F27

Analysis of *Ṯaru Aruṇdathi* ("The Arundathi Star"), date unknown

1. Attributes

- Common spelling: Tharu Arundathi
- Composition: Stanley Peiris
- Lyrics: Ajantha Ranasinghe
- 1999 recording from the *Svarna Vimānaya* album (Amaradeva, ca. 1999)

2. Classification

- Romantic song (*āḏara gīṯaya*)

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 27)
   - About a broken relationship and the loneliness he feels without his partner
   - Reference to Hindu beliefs
     - According to the Hindu religion, Arundhathi is married to the sage Vashistha. She is embodied in a star and represents chastity and a model wife
   - His lover is likened to the Goddess Arundathi in an indirect manner
   - Combination of some colloquial words with semiformal Sinhala
4. Form
   - General Sinhala popular music form
   - Vocal phrase length: regular, 2 bars

Z	A	Z^1	B	A	Z^1	B	A
Introduction	abcd Chorus	Interlude	efghi Verse	abc^1d^1,			$a^1b^1c^1d^1d^1d^1d^1$

   - There are lyric variations in each chorus
   - Has a repeated end-phrase
     - More common in Sinhala pop but also heard in Amaradeva's *Ran Ḏahaḏiya*
5. Vocal style and melody
   - Forward placement with chesty tone and head voice
   - Short and extended Sinhala folk-style ornamentation similar to Example F18 from the *Oliňḏa Keliya*
   - Microtonal pitch inflections: some, to convey the melancholic tone and because the text implies references to Hindu beliefs
   - Pitches used match the Kāfi *thāt* and the tonic is D (all notes are natural)
6. Rhythm
   - 4-beat time cycle like 4/4
   - Vocal timing: free, rests between words
7. Harmony
   - Harmonic progression on guitar and keyboard, slightly buried in the mix
     - Chorus: i (Dm) – VI (B flat) – i – VI (G) – i – VI – IV – i
     - Verses: III (F) – VII (C) – IV – i – IV – VII – IV – VII – III – v (Am) – i
   - Possible bassline on acoustic bass: deeply buried in the mix
8. Orchestration and texture
   - Instrumental sections have a string of melodic fragments and alternate between homophony, heterophony and polyphony
     - Opening melodic phrase: *sitar* and acoustic guitar an octave apart

- Last note of the above is echoed repeatedly by the violins (acoustic and synthesised), conveying the emptiness caused by his absent lover
- Violin melody with soft, chromatic cello counter melody
- Melody on two *baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flutes) of slightly different timbres
- Violin melody interspersed with sitar interjections
- Keyboard plays a soft, tinkly, percussive sound reminiscent of a star, either strictly or loosely following all of these melodies

• Vocal sections
- Keyboard accompanies
- Violin plays counter melody in choruses and part of the verses
- Sitar and flute interjections

• Percussion
- *Tabla* plays in vocal sections and accompanies flute in instrumental sections
- Castanets, hi hats and hand drums (likely bongos) play elsewhere in instrumental sections

Table F28

Analysis of *Suḏu Neḷuma Kō* ("Where is the White Lotus"), 1989

1. Attributes
   - Common spelling: Sudu Neluma Ko
   - Composition: Amaradeva
   - Lyrics: Rathna Sri Wijesinghe (1953–)
   - Composed for the SLBC *Madhuvanṯi* program
   - 2002 recording from the album *Väli Ṯala Aṯarē* (Amaradeva, 2002)
2. Classification
   - Miscellaneous, song describing an incident
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 28)
   - Based on the following incident experienced by the lyricist

He was a schoolteacher in the Okkampitiya village, Monaragala, Uva Province in 1981. The remote school only had one building and no bathrooms. One of his brightest students was eleven years old, in the seventh grade. She often visited the local dam after school and picked white lotuses to sell at the local temple. She would then buy a few things for herself and give her remaining earnings to her family. Wijesinghe inquired after her one day when she did not attend class and learned she had drowned in the dam due to recent rain that caused flooding. When her body was found the next day, she was still clutching two white lotuses in her hand. Wijesinghe attended her funeral and found her family's house was too small even to contain the

coffin, and her family had previously known so much grief that not one member could shed a tear (Radio Eka, 2016; R. S. Wijesinghe, personal communication, March 6, 2019).

This incident weighed heavily on Wijesinghe's mind until he wrote of it in this song for Amaradeva's *Madhuvanṭi* program. Wijesinghe chose to set the song in well-known Sorabora Wewa, Mahiyangane, also in the Uva Province. Amaradeva retold the story and performed *Suḏu Neḷuma Kō* at a 1994 performance at Tower Hall, bringing many audience members to tears (Kumara, 2015, p. 471). This released Wijesinghe's emotional burden because he felt she had finally been mourned properly. Wijesinghe visited the Okkampitiya temple in 2018 and learned people still inquire about the incident because of *Suḏu Neḷuma Kō* (R. S. Wijesinghe, personal communication, March 6, 2019). It can be surmised that this song was highly resonant with Sri Lankan audiences because the girl's poor quality of life and tragic death were congruent with the mid twentieth-century political and artistic nationalist discourses featuring the suffering of villagers.

- Combination of some colloquial words with semiformal Sinhala
- Language is simple but metaphorical
  - The girl is not explicitly mentioned but is symbolised by the lotus flowers
  - White lotuses represent purity in Sinhalese culture and thus in this song they allude to the young girl's innocence
- There are also references to the Buddhist concepts of *samsāra* (the mundane cycle of existence) and *ḏuka* (suffering).

4. Form

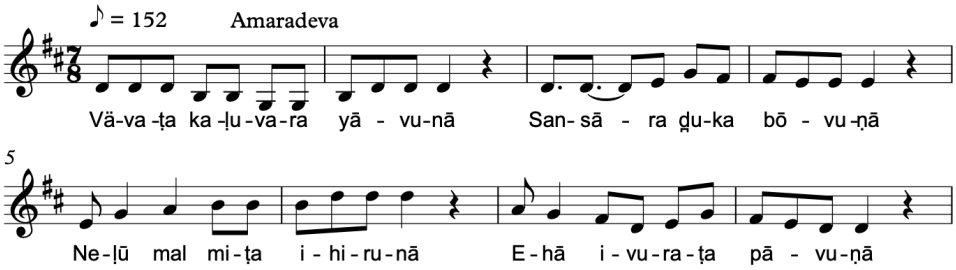
- General Sinhala popular music form
- Vocal phrase length: mostly regular, 2 bars except a and a- which contain the first half of a^1

W	A	Y	B	A^1	Y^1	B	A^2
Introduction	aXa^1bcb^1 Chorus	Interlude	$de^aZde^af^cg^b$ Verse	a^1b		$e^{1a}hf^{1c}g^b$	$a^1bcb^1a^2$

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement, head voice
- Short and extended folk ornamentation, short runs, two-note melismas and longer melismas
- Microtonal pitch inflections: none
- Based on the pitch inventory of the D major scale but no seventh is used
- The variation of melodic material in both the instrumental and vocal sections alludes to the cyclic nature of man's suffering as described in Buddhist philosophy
- The overall melody and most individual phrases in both the choruses and verses have wavelike formations with the climax occurring in the

third phrase, thus representing how the girl's body washed away with the flood and then floated back the next day to the place she drowned See, for example, my transcription of the first verse in Example F45 below.



Example F45. (7.13) Basic melody in first verse of *Suḏu Neḷuma Kō* (2002 recording)

6. Rhythm
   - 7-beat (3+2+2) time cycle similar to 7/8, common in Sinhala folk music
   - Vocal timing: free, rests between words
7. Harmony
   - Harmonised melody: strings
   - Bassline, occasional keyboard chords
     - Chorus: I (D) – IV (G) – I – ii (Em) – IV – I – IV – I – IV – I
     - Verse 1: IV – I – IV – ii – ii-I-IV-I – V – I
     - Verse 2: IV – ii – IV – I – IV – I – V – I
   - Although a C is not used anywhere in the melody, this restriction is not placed on the harmony as the fifth chord is used to create a perfect cadence
8. Orchestration and texture
   - Full orchestration
   - Throughout:
     - Homophonic texture: double bass and keyboard
     - *Tabla*, hi hats and synthesised hand cymbals that emulate the *ṭālampaṭa*, an instrument used at temples and thus congruent with the song's theme
   - Introduction: string of melodic fragments
     - Opening melody: *sitars* and electric guitar playing in staccato an octave apart
     - Harmonised melody: violins and synthesised strings
     - Flute echoes *sitar* and guitar melody
     - Strings lead into chorus
   - Vocal sections
     - Violin faintly doubles Amaradeva in heterophony
   - Interludes
     - Y: *sitars* foreshadow first verse

- Y^1: *sitars* and plucked strings, followed by the flute, foreshadow second verse

Table F29

Analysis of *Ṭāṭṭā Unaṭ* ("Though I am the Father"), 1981

1. Attributes
   - Common spelling: Thatha Unath
   - Composition: Rohana Weerasinghe
   - Lyrics: Sunil Ariyarathna
   - 2000 recording from the album *Koḷomṭoṭa* (Kolomthota) (Amaradeva, 2000b)
2. Classification
   - Romantic song (*āḍara gīṭaya*)
3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 29)
   - Conveys a husband's perception of his wife's role in caring for their family
     - The opening two lines translate as "Though I am the father and the breadwinner, my sons and daughters are given security by you, their mother."
   - Verse one:
     - The husband describes how he was drawn to his wife's affectionate nature when they met and how she extended this to her children and in turn increased his reverence for her
     - He claims that his heart was not full of love for her when they first met, but that he is now overflowing with love after seeing her care for their children
     - This is relatable to many people in Sinhalese society where arranged marriages called marriage proposals are a common form of matrimony. It is generally consensual on the part of both the bride and groom, but marriages often take place soon after a decision is made, before romantic feelings can fully mature.
   - Verse two:
     - He describes how her scent lingers on their children, transferred to them through her milk
     - Thus, though simple, the lyrics convey great admiration as well as intimacy
4. Form
   - General Sinhala popular music form
   - Vocal phrase length: regular, 4-bars

X	A	X	B	A	X	B	A
Introduction	abab	Interlude	$cYdY^1eY^2fZ$				

	Chorus		Verse				

5. Vocal style and melody
    - Forward placement, head voice
    - Short ornamentation (e.g., mordents and turns) and short melismas
    - Microtonal pitch inflections: none
    - Pitches used match the Khamāj *thāt* and therefore has a flat seventh
    - The tonic is F#
    - The E sharp is also used additionally in the verses
6. Rhythm
    - 6-beat time cycle similar to 6/8
    - Vocal timing: free, rests between notes
7. Harmony
    - Clear harmonic progression: electric bass and arpeggiated guitar
        - Chorus: I (F# major) – IV, I – vi – I
        - Verse: I, V – IV, I – V, I – IV, I – V – I
    - Harmonies melodies: strings
8. Orchestration and texture
    - Full orchestration with light texture as not all instruments play simultaneously
    - Instrumental melody
        - Opening melody: played on violin and viola with staccato sitar interjections
        - Variation of the above: two *baṭa nalāva* (bamboo flutes) of slightly different timbres, uninterrupted
        - String melody: repeated up and octave with cello playing mostly in sixths below
    - Throughout:
        - Percussion: *tabla*
        - A double bass plays throughout
    - Vocal sections
        - Arpeggios: acoustic guitar
        - Percussion: *tabla* and *ṭālampaṭa* (hand cymbals)

Table F30

Analysis of *Hanthana Sihinē* ("The Dream of Hanthana"), 2014

1. Attributes
    - Common spelling: Hanthana Sihine
    - Composition: Aruna Gunawardena
    - Lyrics: Janaka Siriwardena

- Supporting singer: Umariya Sinhawansa (1991–), a Sinhala New Age singer
- Period recording uploaded onto YouTube (R.k.J Withanachchi, 2015)

2. Classification

- Romantic song (*āḏara gīṭaya*)

3. Lyric attributes and meaning (see Translation 30)

- About a student's unrequited love for her lecturer
- Set in. the scenic Hanthana range often associated with lovers, that surrounds the University of Peradeniya
- A new student has fallen in love with her lecturer. The lecturer, however, does not share the same feelings as he is still in love with his wife who recently left him (The Woman, 2018). The student thus laments her lost hope of a Hanthana romance, and he, knowing her feelings and that she has fantasies of their relationship in the next rebirth, feels compassion for her.
- Contains semiformal Sinhala but is highly metaphorical
  - E.g., in the first verse the man's life is depicted like a stage play, as the student dreams of being centre-stage in his thoughts, while he laments that his wife left his theatre empty

4. Form

- General Sinhala popular music form
- Vocal phrase length: irregular, alternating between 4 and 6 bars
  - Phrases are very fragmented — the above makes more sense musically, though each is comprised of three short sub-phrases

X	A	X	B	A	X	B	C^{AcX}
Introduction	ab^a Chorus	Interlude	cd^a Verse				Vocal and instrumental outro

- Unusual variation of form: chorus is never fully repeated and is absent from the end of the song

5. Vocal style and melody

- Forward placement, much use of head voice
- Ornamentation
  - Amaradeva: melismas only
  - Sinhawansa: short ornamentation and melismas
- Microtonal pitch inflections: yes (Sinhawansa only)
- Pitches match the Asavari *thāt* (similar to the C natural minor scale).
- Has the tone-semitone pattern of pitches found in some Sinhala folk songs
- Occasional use of the E natural and B natural as passing notes

6. Rhythm

- 4-beat time cycle like 4/4

- Vocal timing: free, rests between words (characteristic of *sarala gee*)

7. Harmony

- Bassline buried in the mix
- Short passage with strings harmonising over voice
- Clear chord progression with perfect cadences
  - Chorus: I (C minor) – iv – VII – v – I, I – iv – VII – III – v – VII – I
  - Verse: I – v – VII – i, I – iv – V^7 – I – VII – III – v – VII – I

8. Orchestration and texture

- Similar to New Age:
  - Sparse compared to most of Amaradeva's remakes
  - Consistent harmonic guitar accompaniment throughout
  - Harmonic keyboard accompaniment in vocal section
  - No melodic interjections between phrases
- Percussion: woodblock with synthesised tambourine, maracas and windchimes
- Contemporary pop bassline is more buried in the mix, similar to other *sarala gee*
- Instrumental sections are shared by the violin and cello, playing independently and then together in harmony.
- 2nd half of verses (sung by Amaradeva):
  - Countermelody: violin (more prominent) and cello, creates build-up

Glossary

***Akuru kiyavīma* —** ceremony in which a Buddhist monk, family elder or renowned scholar teaches children letters at an auspicious time. Some instructors use an alphabet book and others write Sinhala letters on a sand board atop a wooden frame.

***Ālāp* —** an opening section in Hindustani classical performances where the pitches and key pitch patterns of the raga are presented, first in free rhythm, then sometimes with pulse and metre. In Sinhalese popular music, the *ālāp* serves as a slow-tempo introduction.

***Aluth sindu (aluṯ siṅḏu)* —** a genre of Sinhala popular music produced from the 1930s—1940s. The genre mostly contained Hindi and Tamil film song imitations with Sinhalese lyrics. Rare original songs in the genre were based on Hindustani classical ragas.

***Arya-Sinhala* —** an identity and strain of Sinhalese nationalism created in the nineteenth century and deployed to establish the Indo-Aryan origins of the Sinhala ethnic group and justify them as the custodians and patrons of Buddhism. It was based on the discovery of linguistic similarities between Sanskrit, Sinhalese and certain European languages, and the Vijaya origin myth recounting the arrival of North Indians to Sri Lanka who later mixed with Sri Lankan indigenous Väḏḏas and South Indians.

***Aśṭaka* —** a poetic form derived from the Sanskrit form *ashtakam* which often has eight quatrain verses each with end rhymes. In Sri Lanka, this form is used loosely for religious texts such as the Pali *Jayamaṅgala Gatha* recited at Sinhalese Buddhist weddings.

***Aṭa sil* —** literally, "eight precepts," followed by pious members of the Buddhist laity and novice monks. It is slightly similar to the *pan sil* ("five precepts) with three additions, including abstinence from witnessing or participating in entertainment (such as dancing and music) and beautifying the body with ornaments and cosmetics, eating after noon, and sleeping on a high or luxurious bed.

***Avuruḏu gee* —** literally, "New Year songs," these are songs sung by the Sinhalese during the Sri Lankan New Year in mid-April. Traditionally, this term encompassed game songs such as the *Oliňḏa Keliya*, but today it also includes popular songs written for the New Year.

***Baila* —** a Sinhala popular music genre with creole roots, originating from Portuguese-Burgher *kaffringha* and *chikothi* and African *manja* music. It is characterised by a jaunty 6/8 metre with hemiolas. Lyrics are often satirical or comical. There are two forms: *vāḏya baila* (debate *baila*), always improvised and only performed live, and commercial *baila*, recorded and performed for mass audiences.

***Bajavu (bajaw)* —** a type of get-together where, unlike *päḏuru* parties, no instruments are used. Instead, participants clap, whistle or play rhythms on cups and kitchen utensils.

***Bakthi gee* —** Buddhist devotional songs of any genre. Though it is now used to classify popular songs such as *sarala gee*, the term was originally used for a specific category of traditional music documented by Devar Surya Sena. Traditional *bakthi gee* were derived from Buddhist-themed *nāḍagam gee* and followed the structure of certain Indian songs with a strophic form containing *astni-antara* (of a higher pitch) and *antai* sections.

***Bali kavi* —** literally, "*bali* verses," sometimes called *bali-yāga* ("*bali* chanting"), refers to verses chanted during Sinhalese *bali* ceremonies that form an appeal to the planetary gods, who are represented in images. The ceremonies are usually conducted to promote good fortune or prevent illness or misfortune directed at someone. The *äḏurā (*master of the ceremony) must therefore have a good knowledge of astrology. These ceremonies appear to have been adapted from ancient indigenous rituals of the Väḏḏas and continued to be performed even after Buddhism reached Sri Lanka.

***Bhikku* —** an ordained Buddhist monk.

Buddha Jayanthi — literally meaning "Buddha's Birthday" in Sanskrit, this is a festival celebrating the birth of Gautama Buddha. In Sri Lanka, it is believed that the Buddha's birth, enlightenment and death occurred on the same date in their respective years.

***Buruṭa tree* —** known as satin wood in English, its wood is used in carpentry and its leaves, bark and stem oil are used in ayurvedic medicine.

***Calypso* —** a genre of Sinhala popular music mis-named after Trinidadian calypso. It was inspired by Spanish and Latin-American music and used acoustic instrumentation. It also featured vocal harmonisation.

***Chārkeśi* —** a Carnatic classical raga with a flat sixth and seventh. It is usually performed from mid-morning to noon and evokes feelings of devotion and pathos. It was introduced into Hindustani classical music by S. N. Ratanjankar.

***Chithrapati gee (ĉiṭrapaṭi gee)* —** a genre of Sinhala popular music, literally, "film songs." One of the most diverse genres in terms of style, as songs often imitate the styles of other Sinhala popular music genres. Several of its songs were based on Hindi and Tamil film songs, as were songs of the preceding *aluth sindu* genre.

***Dasa sil* —** literally, "ten precepts," followed by all ordained Buddhist monks. They are similar to the eight precepts, with the two separate precepts in place of the precept regarding entertainment and beautification, and the addition of abstinence from handling money.

***Deśi sangīt* —** literally "regionally-specific music," but idiomatically translated as "folk songs." The term was redefined by Hindustani musician S. N. Ratanjankar who used it to refer to "music of the people."

***Devol (Ḏevol)* —** the fire god, one of the guardian spirits. He was the captain of a shipwrecked band of merchants from the Kurumbara tribe of South India who ended up on the Sri Lankan coast. The merchants were dispelled from many coastal settlements

by the locals and travelled far on rafts. They finally entered land to the south of Galle and held a fire-dance and ceremony to thank their gods. The locals were so awed by the spectacle, they came to worship the chief, Devol.

Ḍhol - a double-headed drum from the Indian subcontinent. It comes in various forms.

***Ḏorakaḍa asna* —** a section of the *pirith*-chanting ceremony where deities are invited to partake in the good merit conjured up by the ceremony and bestow blessings on the human participants.

***Ḏuka* —** literally, "suffering," "sorrow" or "dissatisfaction." An important Buddhist concept that was the subject of the Buddha's first sermon. Buddhist philosophy maintains that *ḏuka* is an inevitable part of mortal existence, that it is partly caused by material or worldly desires, and that one can only be free from it when they attain Enlightenment.

***Esrāj* —** an Indian chordophone created as a hybrid of the *sāraṅgī* and the *sitar*. It has 20 frets on the neck, with 4 bowed strings and 12 to 15 sympathetic strings. Commonly used in West Bengali music, it was once the main accompanying instrument for Rabindra Saṅgīt, and it was mandatory for Rabindranath Tagore's students at Shantiniketan to learn the instrument. It was therefore likely introduced to Sri Lanka by Tagore's Sri Lankan students.

***Filmi gīt* —** Hindi language film songs.

***Gam maḍuva* —** a paddy harvesting ritual during which blessings of the goddess Pattini are invoked. The first portion of the harvest is offered to the goddess to prevent evil spirits, secure future harvests and attain prosperity.

***Gāndharva* —** a term for skilled singers in Hindustani classical music. It is also used to refer to heavenly beings, who are also believed to be talented singers and dancers, in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

***Gäṭa bera (geta bera)* —** literally, "knot drum," so called due to its shape, tapering from the middle. A drum traditionally used in the Up Country region. It is used to accompany Kandyan dance. It has two heads on either side, is tied around the player's waist and is played with the hands. Different animal skins are used on their side to produce a wider variety of tones.

***Gatha (gāḏā)* —** verses from the Buddhist canon, written in Pali.

***Gē names* —** a type of family name ending in the suffix "gē" that traditionally preceded given names. Some people either have either a *gē* name or a surname, and others have both. In Sinhala, *gē* is a suffix that either means "belonging to" or "house of." The latter is the appropriate translation when concerning these family names.

***Gejji* —** anklets with bells, commonly worn by Sinhalese dancers.

***Gharānā* —** a particular lineage or apprenticeship for musicians and dancers. Each *gharānā* has its own stylistic distinctions.

***Gurukula* —** literally, "teaching school," a traditional method of teaching in India where the student lives with their teacher. In Sri Lanka, the term was adopted to refer to a particular ideological method of composition, namely the Hindustani Gurukula which espoused links to the Arya-Sinhala identity through the use of Hindustani classical music of North India.

Hela Havula — literally, "Hela Fraternity," a nationalist organisation that ran from 1939 to 1944, led by grammarian Cumaratunga Munidasa. Its goal was to promote an authentic Sinhalese identity by establishing a "pure" form of the Sinhala language, devoid of words not only from European languages of English, Dutch and Portuguese, but also from the Indo-Aryan languages of Pali and Sanskrit.

***Hela veḏakama* —** Sinhalese traditional medicine, now commonly called Ayurveda after its Indian counterpart.

***Horanāva* —** a Sinhalese quadruple-reed oboe. The body is usually made from wood (or sometimes ivory) and has seven finger holes and a brass bell attached to the bottom. It was traditionally used for Buddhist *hēvisi pūjā* ("sound offerings"), in *perahäras* (parades) and *kōlam* (masked plays).

***Jalaṭarangam* —** a Carnatic pitched percussion instrument consisting of a set of ceramic bowls of different sizes tuned to various pitches with different levels of water. They are set in a semi-circle around the player and struck with wooden sticks

***Jana kavi* —** literally, "verses of the populace," this is the term used to refer to both Sinhalese folk poetry and folk songs (also called *jana gee*). Such verses were composed by villagers as opposed to those of the king's courts. As such, *jana kavi* were often spontaneously composed and were passed down orally.

Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) — known in English as the People's Liberation Front, is a Marxist-Liberalist political party that formed a movement involving two armed insurrections against the Sri Lankan government in 1971 and 1988-1989.

***Jāṭaka tales* —** a large collection of Indian stories that retell incidents from Gautama Buddha's past lives in both human and animal form. Each story describes one of the Buddha's virtues.

***Jatika Samagiye Maha Sammanaya (Jāṭika Samagiya Mahā Sammānaya)* —** literally, "Great Award of National Unity." An award created and given to Amaradeva by the Sri Lankan government for his efforts to promote inter-ethnic harmony in Sri Lanka.

***Kalāyaṭanaya* —** a term for arts societies (e.g., the Shanthi Kalayathanaya).

***Kaluvara tree* —** literally, "dark tree," a tree with very dark wood, hence the name. The wood is often used to make furniture and is very durable.

***Karaṭṭa kavi* —** literally, "carter's songs." An occupational category of Sinhalese folk songs sung by bullock carters who transported goods throughout the country until the 1920s.

***Karāva* —** a Sinhalese caste whose occupation was mostly fishing, though some were carpenters.

***Karma* —** literally "action" or "doing" in Sanskrit. This is a concept used to refer to the consequence of one's actions in Buddhism and Hinduism. In these religions, it is believed that actions committed in a past life are a determining factor in the quality of a present life.

***Kedar* —** a Hindustani classical raga with both a natural and a sharp fourth, often played during the late evening. It was named after the god Shiva and has many complex melodic contours.

***Khamāj* —** a Hindustani classical raga with a flat seventh on the descent. It is often played late at night. It is commonly used in the North Indian song forms *ghazal* and *thumrī*.

***Kōlam* —** Sinhalese folk plays linked to the folk religion. The overnight plays therefore contained ritualistic sections to evoke blessings from or appease the various deities, sections for pure dramatic entertainment, and interludes of comedic dialogue that kept the audience awake and linked the ritualistic and dramatic sections together.

Lanka Gandharva (Gāndharva) Sabha — a youth group formed in the 1940s to promote the arts.

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE, also known as the Tamil Tigers) — a militant organisation who sought to create a separate Tamil State in the North-East of Sri Lanka to curb the discontent caused by discriminatory Sinhalese nationalist policies. They waged civil war against the Sri Lankan government and carried out numerous terrorist attacks in the country between 1983 and 2009.

Maḍḍala – a double-sided drum, also known as the *maḍḍalaya* or *ḏamila beraya* ("Tamil drum") in Sri Lanka, and the *mridangam* in India. It is normally made out of jackfruit timber and goatskin membranes. It featured in *nāḍagam* plays and was popularized in E. R. Sarachchandra's 1956 contemporary *natya gee Maname*.

***Māṯra* —** mora in English; a syllabic instance found in Sanskrit poetic metres, also used in Sinhalese poetry. A short syllable equals one *māṯra* or mora and a long syllable equals two *māṯras* or morae. The metre is defined by the number of *māṯras* per line.

Mela (Mēla) Society — an organisation of the University of Colombo, inaugurated by G. P. Malalasekera in 1942 in response to the dominance of Western culture on campus. It is also known as the Gandharva Sabha.

Muḏalāli — a money-lending shopkeeper.

***Nāḍagam* —** literally "drama" in Tamil. A form of drama created in the mid-18th century. It originated from the Tamil *tērukūttu* ("street plays") and its music was therefore based on Carnatic music. It was initially accompanied only by the *maḍḍala* drum. Though the early plays relayed Christian stories, *nāḍagam* were later a vehicle for Buddhist and semi-historical themes.

***Nälävili gee* —** lullabies. A category of Sinhalese folk song, but contemporary lullabies have also been composed in several Sinhala popular music genres.

***Natya gee (nāṭya gee)* —** a genre of Sinhala popular music containing songs composed for stage plays. Stylistically, these songs had the characteristics of *nāḍagam* gee, *nurthi gee* or Sinhalese folk music, or a combination of the three.

***Nelum gee* —** literally, "transplanting songs." These occupational folk songs are sung by groups of Sinhalese women as they transplant paddy crops. There are two forms, the *sinḏu* style which has a faster tempo, and the *osse* style which is in free tempo and sung towards the end of the day's work.

***Nurthi (nūrṭi)* —** a form of stage play whose songs were called *nurthi gee*. The drama originated from the travelling Parsi theatre companies of Bombay who visited Sri Lanka from 1877. *Nurthi gee* was the first music to be recorded and distributed commercially in Sri Lanka. While *nurthi* plays had various themes (romantic, adventurous, religious and didactic), many of the songs that survived in the Sinhala popular music canon were Buddhist or historical and *nurthi gee* can therefore be considered a nationalist genre today.

***Oliňḏa keliya* —** a board game played during the Sri Lankan new year, usually by women. Two players sit either side of the board which has nine holes on either side, each filled with 4 seeds. The aim is to shift beads to other holes and collect all beads in the new hole. The player with the greatest number of beads wins the game. There are often onlookers who call out instructions as they await their turn. The associated Sinhalese folk song, also called *Oliňḏa Keliya*, is sung before the round of games begins.

***Paḏuru parties* —** literally, "reed-mat parties," are informal get-togethers where participants sit on reed mats and play music, accompanied by musical instruments such as the *seraphina* or guitar, depending on which genre of music is being performed.

Pāli Canon — scriptures from the Theravada Buddhist tradition, preserved in Pali verse.

***Pan sil* —** literally, "five precepts," which are followed by the Buddhist laity. They include abstinence from: killing, sexual misconduct, taking intoxicants, stealing and lying.

***Paṭal (pathal) kavi* —** an occupational category of Sinhalese folk songs sung by miners, also called *paṭal gee*.

Pattini (Paṭṭini) — a goddess or guardian spirit who embodies purity, chastity and health. She is said to have sold an anklet she had been given at birth, the only possession of worth she had, to save her unfaithful husband from his gambling debts.

***Perahära* —** can be described as a parade, pageant or procession. They are usually religious and feature dancers, acrobats, drummers who chant, elephants, and light displays.

***Pirith* —** ceremony at which *gatha* (Pali verses from the Buddhist canon) are recited to prevent evil. Sinhalese Buddhists, who continued ritualistic practices alongside Buddhist worship, believe that demons or evil spirits are both in awe and fear of the Lord Buddha and afraid when his teachings are chanted. Therefore, it is believed that the evil influences of spirits can be averted by contemplating Buddhist teachings.

Planetary gods — called *navagraha* ("nine planets") in Sanskrit, these are the deities associated with celestial bodies according to Hindu astrology. These deities are also worshipped by the Sinhalese during times of trouble. The Sinhalese refer to these gods as: Ravi (the sun), Chandra (the moon), Kuja (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Shukra (Venus), Shani (Saturn); Rahui [Dragon's Head) (shadow of the ascending lunar node), Këtu (Dragon's Tail) (shadow of the descending lunar node), and Guru (Jupiter).

***Rabāna (plural: raban)* —** Sri Lankan frame drums used to accompany singing. They come in two forms. The larger version is played by a group of women crouching around it. The small version, akin to a tambourine without jingles, is played while dancing, with the right hand, and thumb and third finger of the left hand on the rim. The latter is also used in *viriňḏu*.

***Rabindra Saṅgīt* —** a term given to the extensive collection of songs written by Rabindranath Tagore. Common themes included religious devotion, romance, humanism, and patriotism. The music, mostly based on Hindustani classical music, also harboured elements from Western and South Indian music.

***Raga* —** literally, "colouring," is a melodic framework for Classical musical performance from the Indian subcontinent. More complex than a mode, each raga consists of an ascending and descending form, a main note and second-most-prominent note, rules for ornamentation and slides, and melodic motifs. There are also often rules for the time of day each raga should be performed.

***Rūkaḍa* —** puppetry plays that became widespread during the 18th century and were likely patronised by the Tamil kings of Kandy. Puppetry had been in vogue since the 12th century and was often used during religious events. Modern *rūkaḍa* imitated live stage plays of *nadagam* and *nurthi*. Performances can still be witnessed in Ambalangoda.

***Sāḏu* —** the common Sinhalese name for a monk. It is also uttered by the laity after Buddhist chant, or after a powerful speech or performance with a Buddhist theme and in this context means "well said."

Samudraghosha - a poetic metre with 18 *mäṯras* (morae).

***Sandeshaya (Sanḏeśaya) kavi* —** literally, "messenger poems," is a poetic form derived from the Sanskrit form *sanḏeśa kavya*. Themes often pertain to separated lovers, though the message being sent could also be directed at another person, such as a king. The message and the story behind it are not featured as heavily as the route the messenger takes, which is described in vivid detail. While the messenger in the Sanskrit form could be anyone or anything, the messenger in Sinhalese *sandeshaya kavi* is always a bird, and each composition is therefore named after the type of bird that sends the message.

***Saňḏun tree* —** sandalwood, a fragrant tree.

***Sansāra* —** the mundane cycle of life, death and rebirth in Buddhism.

***Sarala gee* —** literally, "light songs," is a genre of Sinhala popular music created in the mid-1940s to counteract the perceived unoriginality in the Sri Lankan music industry, which mostly consisted of Hindi and Tamil film song imitations with Sinhalese lyrics, called *aluth sindu*. *Sarala gee* is considered the first popular genre to represent a truly Sinhala idiom in part because its composers drew from Sinhala folk music. It mainly contains a combination of Hindustani classical music, Sinhalese traditional music, and Western music. It reflects both strains of Sinhalese nationalism, mainly the Arya-Sinhala identity with links to North India, and the Hela Havula "pure" Sinhala identity to a lesser extent. Lyric themes include romantic love, patriotism, Buddhism, and village life.

***Sarod* —** an Indian chordophone, mainly used in Hindustani classical music. It does not have frets, allowing the player to easily produce slides and microtones.

***Seraphina* —** Sri Lankan name for the Indian harmonium.

***Shanthikarma* —** the term for Sinhalese curative rituals and ceremonies, such as *pirith*, *pūjas* or *thovil*. Such ceremonies are also referred to as *seth sānthi*. This and other similar rituals appear to have originated from the ritualistic practices of the ancient Indigenous Yakṣa tribe who worshipped powerful tribal leaders who had passed away and were given godly status. It was believed that this practice could bring about good fortune and protection from harm.

***Sinhala New Age* —** a broad genre of popular songs produced from 1998 to the present and pioneered by the duo BnS. Styles encompass hip hop, RnB, Sinhala pop and rock, sometimes blended with traditional Sinhalese and Indian popular musical forms.

***Sinhala pop* —** a genre of Sinhala popular music based on Western popular music genres and Latin-American rhythms. The genre originated in the 1940s with the likes of C. T. Fernando but was only formally labeled Sinhala pop when the Moonstones, led by Clarence Wijewardena, revolutionised the Sri Lankan music industry by introducing electronic musical instruments. Themes are often romantic.

***Sīpaḏa (seepada)* —** a poetic form originating from Sanskrit poetry and commonly used in Sinhalese folk songs. The form contains quatrains with the lines of each verse ending in the same syllable. Also known as *sivupaḏa* in Sinhala.

***Sitar* —** an Indian plucked chordophone with 18 to 21 strings.

***Skengay* —** a style of guitar playing where the off-beats (beats 2 and 4) are emphasised. It is found in reggae.

***Slōka (śloka in Sanskrit)* —** literally "song," the most commonly used form for verse in classical Sanskrit poetry. The metre is commonly used (for instance in religious and technical writings) and each stanza consists of four lines with eight *māṯras*.

***Sokari* —** a form of folk plays performed in the region of Kandy. They included songs, accompanied by the percussion instruments *ṯālampaṭa*, *gäṭa bera* and *uḍäkkiya* as well as the *horonāva*, a reed instrument. All verses were sung to the same melody in a 3-beat rhythm. The five types of verses included a lullaby.

Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) — this early political party was founded by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike shortly after Sri Lankan independence in 1948. It is considered to have a democratic socialist agenda, was part of the Non-Aligned Movement and was an instigator of pro-Sinhalese nationalist policies such as the instatement of Sinhala as the State language.

Sri Lankabhimanya (Lankābhimānya) Award — with a name literally meaning "Pride of Sri Lanka," this award is the highest civil honour given to a Sri Lankan citizen. It is awarded by the President, can be awarded posthumously and can only be held by five people at a time. Amaradeva is currently one of the holders.

***Sṯōṯra* —** a genre of Indian religious texts. They are eulogies or hymns of praise which are, like all Indian religious texts, sung.

***Subhāviṭa gīṭ*a —** literally, "songs of literary merit." Songs with lyrics containing formal Sinhala or metaphorical and dense language. Sometimes referred to as "art songs" in English.

***Sūriya tree* —** known in English as the portia tree or Indian tulip tree. Its scientific name is *thespesia populnea*.

***Sūṯra* —** *sutta* in Pali. In Buddhism, these are canonical scriptures containing the Buddha's teachings (e.g., *Dhammachakra Sūṯra*). The form is also used to convey other, sometimes non-religious, canonical wisdom.

***Svaramandal* —** also known as the Indian harp, is a zither with 21 to 36 strings hooked onto a wooden box. Its name literally means "group of notes" and it is used to accompany vocal performances.

***Ṯālampaṭa (thalampata)* —** a pair of small hand cymbals joined together by a string. The player strikes them together to make two different sounds: *thith* (a short or closed beat produced by striking the cymbals and holding them together) and *theyi* (a long or open beat produced by separating the cymbals after striking them, allowing the sound to vibrate). The latter is used for larger metrical units and for the last beat in a metrical pattern. The word *thith* is also used to describe the metrical patterns used in Sinhalese drum music which is complex, being made up of a sequence of 1-5 metrical units (e.g., 3+4+2 beats).

***Ṯammäṭṭama (thammattama)* —** a pair of Sinhalese drums of two different sizes, with roped sides and cowhide membranes. It is played with two sticks fitted with cylindrical bars and is commonly used in Buddhist proceedings such as *perahäras* (parades).

***Tānpurā* —** an Indian plucked chordophone with four strings tuned to three frequencies. It provides a drone that supports other instrumentalists and vocalists. The four strings are plucked successively during a performance.

***Thāt (thaat)* —** heptatonic scales used to classify *ragas* in Hindustani classical music. *Ragas* may differ slightly from their *thāt*, either having some additional or omitted notes.

***Thera/Thero* —** honorary title for an ordained Buddhist monk. The title Theri is used for ordained female monks.

Theravada Buddhism — one of the schools of Buddhism. It is more conservative and is thought to have preserved the Buddha's teachings most closely. It is practiced in Sri Lanka, Laos, Burma, Cambodia and Myanmar.

***Thovil (ṭovil)* —** Sinhalese rituals which come in three forms. One is the *yak-thovil*, performed to counteract evil from demons. The second is *ḏēva-thovil* to invoke blessings from the deities. The third is *bali-thovil*, performed to appeal to the nine planets.

***Ṭoran (thoran)* —** a large structure (*pandal*) erected during Buddhist and religious festivals in Sri Lanka. It is decorated with coconut leaves and flowers. It features a panel, often made from areca tree wood and illuminated with lights, depicting scenes from the life of Gautama Buddha or *jāṭaka* stories of his previous births.

***Uḍäkkiya* —** a drum from the Up Country region, shaped like an hourglass and traditionally used for Kandyan rituals and folk dances. The player uses a stick to strike the head in one hand and pulls the ropes taught using the other hand.

***Up Country* —** known in Sinhalese as Uda Rata, this is the name for the hilly interior of the island where the province of Kandy is located. Kandy was the location of the last Sinhalese kingdom which survived Portuguese and Dutch colonisation. Kandyan culture was therefore considered to be the most authentic and undiluted form of Sinhalese culture.

***Väḏḏas (Veddas)* —** the indigenous tribal population of Sri Lanka who were related to the early populations of India, Southeast Asia and Australia and are called *proto-Australoids*. The populations of Sri Lanka and Malaysia were named *Veddoids* after the word Väḏḏas, the name of their tribe in Sri Lanka.

***Vāhala* —** called gods of the palaces, this group of guardian spirits are often worshipped collectively, though individual gods are sometimes worshipped.

***Vannam (single, vannama)* —** a form of songs composed to be sung and danced to in the king's courts. The texts are descriptive and also have an introduction where the melody is laid out with mnemonic syllables that describe drum strokes. The dance is often pantomimic and was inspired by the Tamil Bharatanatyam classical dance form (varnam). While there have been many *vannam* compositions from various kingdoms in Sri Lanka, a set of 18 *vannams* from Kandy survived, and is regularly performed today.

***Virahā* —** erotic Sinhalese love songs of parting sung by women in the Kandyan courts, inspired by South Indian music and culture.

***Viriňḏu* —** a form of folk song that is always in a 6-beat rhythm (similar to 6/8) and is accompanied by the *rabāna*. All *viriňḏu* have a similar melody and rhythm to which

lyrics are often improvised. The form was once used to spread news and is now performed by buskers.

***Viśāraḏa* —** literally "scholar," "self-confident" or "wise" in Pali. It is the Sinhalese vernacularised name given to the Indian Vishārad university qualification in music, now equivalent to a bachelor's degree.

***Yak bera* —** literally, "devil drum," also known as *ḏevol*. It is a cylindrical drum with heads on either end, played with both hands. It was traditionally used in the Low Country region to accompany dances and rituals.

***Yaman* —** a Hindustani classical raga with a sharp fourth, often played during the late evening. It is usually one of the first ragas taught to students of this musical tradition.

***Yaman Kalyan* —** a Hindustani classical raga with a sharp fourth and occasional natural fourth, often played during the late evening.

List of people mentioned

Note. This list does not include the numerous musicians mentioned in Chapter 4.

Amara Ranatunga (1939–2018) — a prominent Sinhalese *sarala gee* singer who became the first professor of music in Sri Lanka.

Amitha Wedisinghe — a renowned Sinhalese singer in the *sarala gee* and *chithrapati gee* genres.

Anagarika Dharmapala (1964–1933) — a Sinhalese Buddhist revivalist, and the first Buddhist missionary. He also activated for Sinhalese nationalism and for Sri Lankan independence.

Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877–1947) — an influential Sri Lankan Tamil philosopher, metaphysician, historian and ethnographer. He was associated with Rabindranath Tagore and took part in the Indian independence movement. Renowned for his scholarship and theoretical exploration of ancient Indian art, he is widely recognized as being one of the first to introduce it to the West. He also researched traditional Asian art, including Sri Lankan crafts.

Ananda Samarakoon (1911–1962) — a Sinhalese musician, one of the three founders of *sarala gee* who combined Sinhalese folk music with North Indian classical music to forge a uniquely Sri Lankan musical idiom. He was also a teacher and visual artist. He composed the national anthem, which was altered by the Sri Lankan government, leading to his controversial suicide.

Chitrasena (1921–2005) — an influential Sinhalese dancer and choreographer who brought international acclaim to Sri Lankan traditional dance through his ballets. His dance style involved a combination of Sri Lankan traditional dance, South Indian *kathakali* and Western ballet. The ballets had various themes, including village life, Buddhist lore and Hindu mythology. He established the Chitrasena Dance Company and the Chitrasena Arts Centre in the 1940s to assist upcoming artists.

Clarence Wijewardena (1943–1996) — an influential Sinhalese musician who revolutionized the Sri Lankan music industry by pioneering the use of electronic musical instruments. He also popularised the use of certain electric guitar playing techniques that became a hallmark of several Sri Lankan popular music genres. Though he primarily worked in the Sinhala pop genre, he has also composed music for teledramas and television commercials.

Cumaratunga Munidasa (1887–1944) — a Sinhalese grammarian and leader of the Hela Havula movement. He sought to promote an authentic and autonomous Sinhala identity by establishing a "pure" form of the Sinhala language devoid of loan words from other languages. He also sought to promote innovation in all fields within the country.

Dayaratna Ranatunga — a prominent Sinhalese *sarala gee* singer and composer, and musicologist.

Devar Surya Sena — a Sinhalese lawyer who became a renowned Sri Lankan ethnomusicologist who first introduced Sri Lankan folk music to the anglicized Colombo elite class. He was the son of influential politician James Peiris.

Ediriweera Sarachchandra (1914–1996) — an influential playwright who created an authentic form of modern Sinhalese theatre based on folk plays and *nurthi* dramas. He was a lecturer at the University of Ceylon and University of Peradeniya and was influential in propagating traditional Sinhalese culture within these roles. He also produced novels, poems, literary criticisms and social commentaries.

Edward Jayakody (1952–) — a prominent Sinhalese *sarala gee* singer who has also composed music for children's programs, films and teledramas.

Edwin Samaradivakara — a Sinhalese composer and leader of the SLBC orchestra, particularly renowned for the *Ḍaskama* film score.

John de Silva (1957–1922) — a Sinhalese lawyer who became an influential *nurthi* playwright of Sinhalese nationalist productions.

King Ravana — a mythical figure who ruled ancient Sri Lanka. He is described in Indian Sanskrit epics as being a demon-king, while Sri Lankans attribute him with early technological advancements.

Lester James Peries (1919–2018) — an influential Sinhalese film director who produced several internationally acclaimed films. His films were considered to be authentically Sri Lankan because they commonly portrayed family life in rural settings. He produced feature films, short films and documentaries.

Madawala S. Ratnayake (1929–1997) — a Sinhalese writer and prolific lyricist in the *sarala gee* and *chithrapati gee* genres.

Mahagama Sekara (1929–1975) — an influential poet and lyricist. He was also a visual artist, playwright, novelist, translator and filmmaker. He had a particularly fruitful creative relationship with Amaradeva and wrote many *sarala gee* and *chithrapati gee* lyrics.

Migettuwatte Gunananda Thera (1823–1890) — a Buddhist monk who brought recognition to the Buddhist religion by challenging Christian missionaries to public debates in the 1860s and 1870s. The debates were held in Baddegama, Udanwila, Waragoda, Liyanagemulla, Gampola and, most significantly, Panadura. He also wrote several Buddhist periodicals.

Mohamad Ghouse (1910–1953) — a musician who was born in Bangalore, North India, and migrated to Sri Lanka in the early 1930s to establish his career there. He worked in the *aluth sindu* and *chithrapati gee* genres before his untimely death.

P. Dunston de Silva (1921-1988) — a flutist, music teacher, music director and radio executive.

Premakumar Epitawala (1917–2010) — an influential Sinhalese choreographer who produced modern ballets that drew from traditional Sinhala dance forms, classical Sinhalese texts and village themes.

Prince Vijaya — a mythical figure from North India noted in the Sinhalese chronicles as the founder of the Sinhalese race and the first civilized kingdom in Sri Lanka.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) — an influential Bengali poet, composer and visual artist. He was a modernist and nationalist whose writings were patriotic, spiritual and romantic. He composed the Indian national anthem and an entire genre of Bengali music later named *Rabindra Saṅgīt*. He also expanded his father's Shantiniketan institute, establishing the Visva-Bharati University there.

Rathna Sri Wijesinghe (1953–) — a renowned Sinhalese lyricist who has mainly worked in the *sarala gee* genre.

Rukmani Devi (1923–1978) — a renowned Tamil-Burgher actress and singer. She acted in close to 100 films and was the first leading female singer, having worked in the *aluth sindu* and *chithrapati gee* genres.

S. Mahinda Thero — a Buddhist monk from Sikkim. He became a poet and freedom fighter in Sri Lanka, advocating for independence and the preservation of Sinhala cultural identity after witnessing the Anglicised lifestyles of the Colombo elite and the aristocracy of his birthplace.

S. Panibharatha (1920–2005) — born to a hereditary family of ritual drummers, he became the influential leader of the first Sinhala drum ensemble that performed outside of a ritual context and included drums from various Sri Lankan regions.

Samitha Mudunkotuwa (1973–) — an influential and versatile Sinhalese singer. She began her career with playback singing and has mainly worked in the Sinhala pop and Sinhala New Age genres, but has also produced some *sarala gee* and covers of *aluth sindu*.

Sanath Nandasiri (1942–) — a renowned Sinhalese *sarala gee* singer and composer who has also produced music for teledramas and films.

Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949) — an influential Bengali poet and political activist who became the first female governor of India. She was a follower of Mahatma Ghandhi, was an anti-imperialist and advocated women's rights.

Sesha Palihakkara (1928–2009) — a renowned Sinhalese dancer, actor and film producer.

Shanthi Kumar (1916–1968) — a Sinhalese producer, director, scripwriter, dancer and choreographer who became renowned for the second Sinhalese talkie *Asokamala*.

Shrikrishna Narayan Ratanjankar (1900–1974) — a renowned North Indian scholar and teacher of Hindustani classical music. He was the first disciple of Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande and Faiyaz Khan. He was also the principal of Bhatkhande for many years, including the time Amaradeva studied at the institute.

Sirimavo Bandaranaike (1916–2000) — the world's first elected Prime Minister. She furthered her husband S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's Sinhala nationalist policies and strove to transform Sri Lanka into a socialist republic, though her governance did not result in any economic growth.

Somabandu Vidyapathi (1923–2006) — a prominent Sinhalese visual artist, renowned for his theatre stage designs. He was also celebrated for his paintings, temple murals and costumes.

Sri Chandrarathna Manawasinghe (1913–1964) — an influential scholar, philosopher, writer and lyricist in the *sarala gee* and *chithrapati gee* genres.

Stanley Peiris (1941–2002) — an influential Sinhalese composer and saxophonist who worked in many genres of Sinhala popular music, including Sinhala pop, *sarala gee* and *chithrapati gee*.

Sunil Santha (1915–1981) — one of the three founders of *sarala gee* who sought to create a Sri Lankan popular musical style by combining Sinhalese folk music with Western music. His songs were the first form of Sinhalese music to be appreciated by the anglicized Colombo elite, though his career was greatly disrupted by the Western music restrictions at Radio Ceylon. He also produced soundtracks for two of Lester James Peiries' early films.

Sunil Sarath Perera (1943–) — an influential author, lyricist, broadcast executive and environmentalist.

S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (1899–1959) — founder of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and the fourth Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. He was known for promoting left-wing policies and Sinhalese nationalist policies such as the "Sinhala-only" bill. After attempting to amend this policy in favour of non-Sinhalese Sri Lankans, he was assassinated by a Buddhist monk who sought political gain.

Ven. Rambhukkana Siddhartha Thera — a Sinhalese Buddhist monk and prolific 20th century lyricist.

Ven. Thotagamuwe Sri Rahula (1408–1491) — a Sinhalese Buddhist monk and scholar who authored the classical poem *Sālalihini Sandeshaya*.

Ven. Waththawe Vidharma Himi — a Sinhalese Buddhist monk and author of the classical epic poem *Gupṭila Kāviya* during the Kotte period (1412–1597).

Victor Ratnayaka (1942–) — an influential Sinhalese *sarala gee* singer and composer who was the first Sri Lankan musician to host a solo concert.

Vincent Somapala (1906–1989) — a Sinhalese teacher, composer and author who established one of the first Hindustani classical music education institutions in Sri Lanka.

Vishnu Govind Jog (1922–2004) — an influential North Indian musician who introduced the violin to Hindustani classical music.

Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande (1860–1936) — an influential North Indian musician who sought to nationalise Hindustani classical music through its theorisation, historiography and institutionalisation. The Bhatkhande Institute was posthumously renamed in his honour.

Vishvanath Laugi — a Hindustani classical musician from Bombay who became renowned in sri Lanka for his *nurthi gee* compositions.

W. B. Makulloluwa — a renowned Sinhalese composer, music educator and ethnomusicologist. He created a movement to indigenise Sri Lankan music by only using traditional Sri Lankan musical sources. Unfortunately, however, he faced a lot of opposition and did not receive much state patronage. Therefore, his compositions have not been preserved, although his treatise on Sinhalese folk music is still used in schools.

W. D. Amaradeva (1927–2016, born Wannakuwattu Waduge Don Albert Perera) — a singer, composer and violinist who worked in the genres of *sarala gee*, *chithrapati gee*, and *natya gee.* One of the three founders of *sarala gee*, he was an influential nationalist musician who wove several musical forms together to create a unique idiom.

Wimala Amaradeva (Wimala Gunarathna) — a folk singer and dancer who taught at Anula Vidyalaya and was married to W. D. Amaradeva.

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