

The authors of this volume come from all continents and represent a broad spectrum of professions in the field of organology. Their unifying idea is the care of musical instruments all over the world, not only those instruments that may appear interesting for commercial re-use or exploitable as symbols of traditions. They are organised in the "International Council for Traditional Music" and form the "Study Group on Musical Instruments".

As one of the most recent research areas within the humanities, the 22nd symposium of this study group was to initiate a dialogue on the relations between musical instruments and the perceptions and/or sensory interpretations and their paradigms such as sound, smell, touch, taste, and the vestibular sensory systems. Moreover, this topic should also help to investigate correlations between musical instruments, their physical and auditory specificities with aspects of proprioception and synesthesia, and further expand on the phenomena of musical instruments as mediators of spirituality.

The second topic of this volume covers the significance of musical traditions, instruments and repertoires as constituents of their mobilities, localities and colonisation including re- and de-colonisation, or place consciousness. Not only that but the second topic also follows the transfigurations of the musical instruments and repertoires as mediators of migrations, displacements and colonisation and both temporal and spatial changes, tracking influences on the representation, contexts or emerging music aesthetics.

Logos Verlag Berlin

ISBN 978-3-8325-4988-6

ISSN 2191-5261

STUDIA INSTRUMENTORUM MUSICAE POPULARIS VI

**STUDIA
INSTRUMENTORUM
MUSICAE
POPULARIS**

(NEW SERIES)

VI

2019

Edited by
Gisa Jähnichen

SERIES OF THE ICTM
STUDY GROUP ON
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda

Playing Non-Music on the Sri Lankan Horanawa

Abstract

The Sri Lankan version of the double-reed oboe, the horanawa, has been and is still important to Sinhala Buddhists since it symbolizes “spirituality” and “locality” in the Sri Lankan cultural context. Usually, the Buddhist culture in Sri Lanka implies avoiding music making as an act of entertainment. This paper will discuss this issue in the context of the sensual perception of playing the horanawa in this Buddhist environment.

A short excursion into the history of the instrument may reveal a number of interesting observations. Kulathillaka¹ writes that the horanawa has its origin in West Asia and that it migrated from there to Sri Lanka. To him, the term horanawa implies a foreign origin. He finds alternative terms used for horanawa in history such as “Oththu Thanthiri” and “Pata Thanthiri”. The horanawa falls under the category “Sushira” of the vernacular musical instrument classification system called “panchaturya”. The musicians who played in the context of panchaturya were considered as being of the lower caste according to literary sources. In a number of religious events the horanawa has been as equally important as all the other panchaturya instruments. Buddhist murals found in temples of the southern coastal area depict musicians playing panchaturya musical instruments, however, after the 19th century, in addition to these local musical instruments, the murals included the colonizers’ musical instruments such as wind instruments made of brass, foreign drums, harps, and the violin as Herath and Gajaweera² describe.

Looking at the aspect of defining music in a Buddhist context and the function of the horanawa, which is also one of the very few traditionally used instruments carrying an instrumental melodic line, this study is based on micro analysis, interviews with musicians and their audiences, and reviewing rare literature in the Sinhala language.

Keywords

Music in Buddhism, Horanawa, Entertainment, Melodic Lines

Introduction

A paper previously presented under the title “The Cultural Function of the Sri Lankan Horanawa” outlines the structure, function, repertoire, performance techniques, history of practices, and how this instrument might have been in contact with activities along the Great Silk Road. This paper adds new findings to the previous analyses with some new information gained and personally experienced through recent field work in 2019. Moreover, this paper is mainly

-
- ¹ Kulathillaka, Ciril de Silva (2000). *Asian and Pacific Regional Music Instruments*. Ratmalana: Wishvalekha Publishers.
 - ² Herath, Uthpala and Anusha Gajaweera (2015). *Violin Reflects the Impact: A Music Iconological Study through the 19th and 20th Century Buddhist Temple Murals in Sri Lanka under British Colonialism*. *Proceedings of the International Conference on Interdisciplinary Research and Development 29-31 October 2015*. Chiang Mai: Maejo University: 272-279.

Meddegoda, Chinthaka Prageeth (2019). *Playing Non-Music on the Sri Lankan Horanawa*. *Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis (New Series) VI*. Edited by Gisa Jähnichen. Berlin: Logos, 189-206.

dedicated to discussing how horane³ musicians and some Theravada Buddhists interpret the repertoire produced on the horanawa during Buddhist activities.

The Horanawa

The horanawa is a double reed instrument⁴ that falls under the category of “sushira” of the vernacular musical instrument classification system called “Panchaturya”⁵. The historiography of musical instruments in Sri Lanka implies that various musical instruments mentioned in historical books in Pali and Sanskrit were written by Buddhist monks and educated Sri Lankan laymen. Through the influence of Hinduism and Mahayanism, a few writings of those monks and laymen mention a number of names of musical instruments which might have been used in Sri Lanka after Hindu and Mahayana practices reached out to various parts of the island through royal patronization. The Theravada Buddhist philosophy has been the largest hindrance for not sustaining those musical instruments that migrated from abroad for various reasons and purposes. However, there are certain musical instruments, i.e. the dawla, thammattama, getaberaya, yakberaya and horanawa which are perceived as Sri Lankan traditional instruments. These instruments are used in various Buddhism, Hinduism and pre-religious belief related practices and rarely used for entertainment performances.

The horanawa consists of four parts known as *muhukkuwa* (metal bell at the end), *horane kanda* (the body part with finger holes), *nalli kura* (metal tube connecting the mouthpiece with the main body) and *ipiyawa* (the double or quadruple reed bound with a thread and made of palm leaves). The *muhukkuwa* and *nalli kura* are made of metals such as brass, copper, or silver. The mixture of five types of metals that are used for making a temple bell⁶ is also used to make the *muhukkuwa* and *nalli kura* of the horanawa.⁷

³ Horane is the plural of horanawa.

⁴ It falls under the oboe family according to the instrument classification system introduced by von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs.

⁵ Sirisena, Anura Priyalal (2009). *Panchaturya Nadaya*. Saundarya Yathra Book Series. Colombo: M D Gunasena and Company.

⁶ Heenwella, Roshen and Meddegoda, Chinthaka P. (2018). *Conversation about Playing the Horanawa*. Kandy: Personal audiovisual collection of the author.

⁷ Meddegoda, Chinthaka Meddegoda, 2018. *The Cultural Function of the Sri Lankan Horanawa*. Paper presented at the 25th Colloquium of the ICTM at Shanghai Conservatory of Music. *Double Reeds along the Great Silk Road*. Edited by Gisa Jähnichen and Yoshitaka Terada. (Printing in progress).

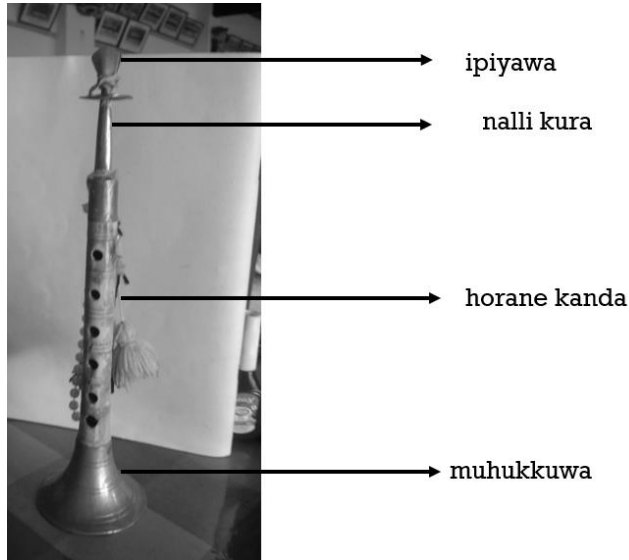


Figure 1: Main parts of the current horanawa (photo courtesy of Chamilla Meddegoda).

A seller of traditional instruments living in Pilimathalawa⁸ informs us that today brass is mostly used to make the mohoppuwa since extra effort is needed to get the metal called 'lokada' which he says is not made of five different metals but less than that. He says:

“Traditional players come to this area [Pilimathalawa, Kandy] in order to make the metal part of their musical instruments, otherwise this area has nothing to do with traditional dance or instrument playing. In the case of the horanawa, players come here to work out the nallikura, mohoppuwa and metal rings on the horane kanda which are optional. There is no standard measurement for these metal items. Horane makers can guess how long the nalli kura for each horanawa should be.”

“We do have nearly three sizes of molds for making mohoppuwa”, says Jayampathi⁹ and continues:

“The ends of the horane kanda were adjusted to fit to one of the premade mohoppuwas. What I learnt from other horane players is that lokada¹⁰ is the best for the mohoppuwa because it makes for a good sound. The lokada mohoppuwa vibrates better than brass or other metal mohoppuwas. But today, the horanawa is

⁸ Jayampathi, Wajira (2019). Interview on current practice and opinions on horanawa. Pilimathalawa.

⁹ Jayampathi, Wajira (2019). Interview on current practice and opinions on horanawa. Pilimathalawa.

¹⁰ Lokada is a specific mixture of metal that does not include iron or only a very small percentage of iron.

usually made of brass. The lokada is a bit fragile and therefore difficult to rework after it is cast.”

The horanawa player Roshen Heenwella who I met in the Tooth Temple said that horane kanda should be one vith gussa long that means the length of one thumb held up. Horane players prefer that the horane kanda is made of elephant tusk, buffalo horn, deer horn or timbres like mahogany. The nalli kura and mohoppuwa together should be equal to the sum length of the horane kanda. The horn material can retain moisture which is important for producing a louder sound. Professional players are keen to have the horane kanda made of elephant tusk or any other horn. Buffalo horn is mostly used since it is easy to find. Horane makers apply endaru¹¹ oil inside and outside of the horane kanda. Jayampathi¹² says, “once endaru is applied, then there is no need to soak the horanawa with water again and again. Endaru oil can increase the volume of the sound”.

The finger holes of the horanawa are made on the horane kanda (Figure 1). Some craftsmen believe there should be seven finger holes for seven tones.¹³ The horanawa played at the Tooth Temple consisted of seven holes (Figure 2). Some musicians prefer six finger holes since it suffices for the requirement of producing the melodic range. However, many buffalo horn segments are not long enough to make more than six holes. There are some horane made of buffalo horn which have five finger holes because of their shorter length. It is observable that finger holes of most horane were placed at equal distances. Producing the right pitch on the horanawa does not largely depend on the finger holes unlike bamboo flutes and other free and single reed instruments. Heenwella¹⁴ says, “My horanawa’s got seven holes, because we cannot produce a second octave on the horanawa like we do on the bamboo flute. Eight notes can be produced with seven holes. An additional note can be produced by closing all the holes and moving the horanawa downwards, which actually depends on the skills gained individually”.

¹¹ A type of seed which is processed to blend endaru oil. It is also called castor oil.

¹² Jayampathi, Wajira (2019). Interview on current practice and opinions on horanawa. Pilimathalawa.

¹³ Wimalasiri, Mahinda Kumara (2019). Interview on the history and practice of horanawa, 3 April. Colombo: University of the Visual and Performing Arts.

¹⁴ Heenwella, Roshen and Meddegoda, Chinthaka P. (2019). Conversation about Playing the Horanawa. Kandy: Personal audiovisual collection of the author.



Figure 2: the Horanawa played by the musicians in the tooth temple is displayed on the table of the musicians' room in the temple.

Horane players confirmed that they have got their own ways of making an ipiyawa and playing techniques that cannot be taught. It would be hard to continue without knowing how to prepare the ipiyawa.¹⁵ The reeds of the horanawa are an important part in changing the pitch and producing good sounds.¹⁶ It has to be prepared according to the size of the nalli kura which can be different in size according to each horanawa.

The National Museum of Sri Lanka in Colombo exhibits musical instruments and among them are also a few horane (Figure 3). Horane with six and seven finger holes can be seen in the collection. One of them has got eight finger holes, which is not visible in the picture. However, the description given

¹⁵ Heenwella, Roshen and Meddegoda, Chinthaka P. (2019). Conversation about the Playing Horanawa. Kandy: Personal audiovisual collection of the author; Wimalasiri, Mahinda Kumara (2019). Interview on the history and practice of horanawa, 3rd April. Colombo: University of the Visual and Performing Arts; Udara Indunil (2019). Interview on current practice and opinions on horanawa, 30th April. Colombo: University of the Visual and Performing Arts.

¹⁶ Heenwella, Roshen and Meddegoda, Chinthaka P. (2019). Conversation about Playing the Horanawa. Kandy: Personal audiovisual collection of the author; Wimalasiri, Mahinda Kumara (2019). Interview on the history and practice of horanawa, 3rd April. Colombo: University of the Visual and Performing Arts

implies that there are not yet sufficient studies conducted in order to give exact data on these exhibits, their use, and their history. This will be part of a later investigation which will need to deliver precise information about these instruments.

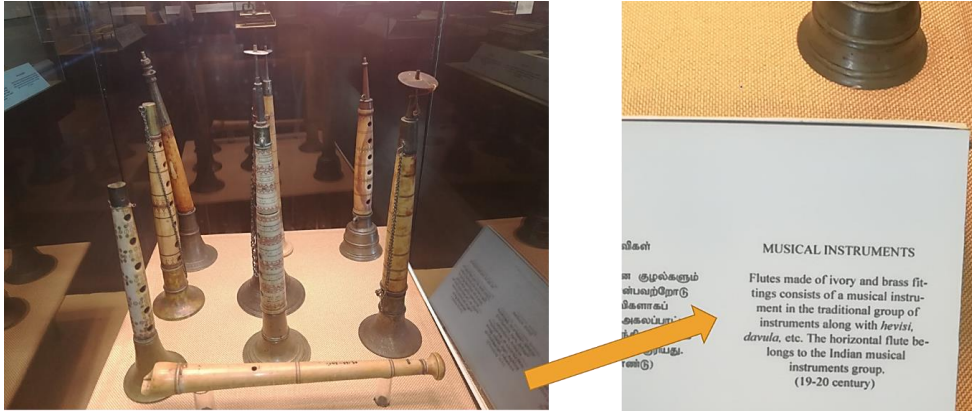


Figure 3: A collection of old horane exhibited in National Museum of Sri Lanka. Photo by Chinthaka Meddegoda.

Historical Facts vs Musicians' Opinion on Music and Buddhism

Weerakkody has brought together some historical and orally passed information regarding the Horanawa through Sinhala, Pali and Sankrit literature and Horanawa practitioner Weerakkody.¹⁷ Weerakkody analyses the etymology of four words i.e. suurana, sorane, kaahala, randaara which were interpreted as horanawa. Suurana is listed among the 64 musical instruments in pali literature called Thupawansaya¹⁸, informing us that there was an orchestra of 64 musical instruments during the era of King Ditugemunu. The Pali literature Dambadeni Asna¹⁹ has listed 62 musical instruments among which is the sorane which is interpreted as horanawa. A poem in Kokila Sandeshaya²⁰ describes a randaara that is interpreted²⁰ as a golden horanawa.

¹⁷ Weerakkody, Iranga Samindanee (2017). Horanawa Hewath Suranaya (The Horanawa which is also known as Suranaya). *Jana Sangeetha Wimارشana* (Investigation into Folk Music), 87-105. Colombo: Janamihira Creation.

¹⁸ Balagalle, Wimalabuddhi and Wimala Wijayasuriya (1966). *Sinhala Thupawansaya* (Edition). Colombo: Rathana Book Publishers: 175.

¹⁹ Koongasthenne, Ananda, ed (1997). *Dambadeni Asna and Kandawuru Siritha* (Edition). N.p.: 34-35.

²⁰ Kokila Sandeshaya (2009). *Classical collection, edited by Godage Publications*. Colombo: Godage and Brothers.

According to the latter mentioned literature, King Parakramabahu VI was an expert in playing the horanawa.²¹ The 83rd poem in *Selalihini Sandeshaya* describes a musical instrument called the kaahala that is also interpreted as horanawa.²²

Some historical anecdotes are important in realizing and marking the religious background of the horanawa in Sri Lanka. The *Mahāvāṇsa*²³ informs us that *turya vadana*, a term used for the sound of an instrumental ensemble, was heard on the arrival of King Vijaya in Sri Lanka in the fifth century BC. *Bodhiwanshaya*²⁴ informs us that a group of professionals who mastered 18 types of professions came to Sri Lanka along with the Buddhist nun *Sanghamitta* who brought the branch of Sri Maha Bodhi²⁵ from India and planted it in Anuradhapura in 236 BC. Among those people were professionals of the Gandharwa caste, in which professional musicians were also included. *Rajapaksha*²⁶ says that during the occasion of *Sathipirith*, the drummers play certain rhythmic patterns which may create *Bhakti Rasa*, which refers to the aesthetics of devotion.

The current practice of horanawa playing largely informs us that the sound of the horanawa has been important in Buddhist religious events. Two main functions of the *Hewisi*, a specific Buddhist event, are summarized by *Sirisena*²⁷ as accompanying religious activities in Hindu and Buddhist temples and occasions of certain social entertainment. A recent survey on the events of horanawa playing reveals that it is widely used in the events of Buddhist, Hindu, and other rites, annually organized religious processions, funerals and traditional theatre plays such as *Sokari*, *Kolam*, *Kavi Nadagam*, and *Sindu Nadagam*.

The horanawa is rarely incorporated into popular music practices. It would be an interesting study to further explore the reason for this. The song titled *Mal*

²¹ Alawuisi, Sebi Hela (1962). *Commentary on Kowul Sandeshaya*. Colombo: M D Gunasena and Cooperation.

²² Alawuisi, Sebi Hela, ed. (1957). *Selalihini Sandeshaya*. Colombo: M D Gunasena and Cooperation: 128.

²³ *Mahāvāṇsa* (2000). Translated from the Original Pāli into English by the Government of Ceylon. In two Parts. New Delhi/Madras: Asian Educational Services

²⁴ Lokuiyana, Lionel, ed. (1970). *Sinhala Bodhi Wanshaya*. Colombo: M D Gunasena and Company: 335.

²⁵ Buddha used to meditate under the tree called Sri Maha Bodhi.

²⁶ *Rajapaksha*, Waidyawathi (2002). *Buddha Puja Saha Bheri Wadana Sanskruthiya*. Colombo: Godage and Brothers: 5.

²⁷ *Sirisena*, Anura Priyalal (2009). *Panchaturya Nadaya. Saundarya Yathra Book Series*. Colombo: M D Gunasena and Company: 33.

Paba sung by Senanayake Weraliyadda has incorporated a short excerpt of the horane sound as the only example that can be observed in the field so far. As an artiste in the Tooth Temple, Roshen Heenwella²⁸ is rather unhappy if someone attempts to organize finger holes to be matched to concert pitches. He speculates that doing so will be the death of the tradition, and the religious importance of the horanawa will vanish. Mahinda Wimalasiri²⁹ believes that the horanawa should be promoted to be used in songs of mainstream media. He says:

“Nowadays, many horane musicians do not care about the melody in terms of correct pitches. The biggest problem is learned musicians do not incorporate this instrument into mainstream music in Sri Lanka. I want to promote this instrument and therefore I am working to make it better. After the Kandy period, our musicians left our own music and adapted Indian and Western music. They did not think that the only melodic instrument we have is the horanawa.”

According to Wimalasiri, a musician in the music band of the Sri Lankan Army, Sunil Jayasiri improved the horanawa to play concert pitches but since his death no one has taken over his mission. Kolitha Banu Dissanayake³⁰ has promoted him on public platforms to demonstrate its capacity to be incorporated into local popular music orchestras.

Roshen Heenwella is currently employed to play the horanawa. He does not belong to the lineage of any of the four traditions that are committed to serve in the Tooth Temple. The four traditions are known as Ihalawela, Molagoda, Maalagammana and Uduwela. These titles are the surnames of the people who were assigned by the rulers during the Kandyan period³¹. Artistes from these traditions receive monthly remuneration and rewards such as paddy fields and land for housing for their lifetime service to the Tooth Temple. However, the temple has legal rights to get those properties back in case the artists don't reliably serve the temple as expected. Karunadasa Uduwela³² from the Uduwela tradition said “Not everyone is allowed to play Hewisi for tooth relic related events, only we have the authority to do that. We can employ others by our consent in case we cannot attend. Now I am in the sixth generation of this tradition. After me, my son will take over my role”. There has been a tradition

²⁸ Heenwella, Roshen and Meddegoda, Chinthaka P. (2019). Conversation about Playing the Horanawa. Kandy: Personal audiovisual collection of the author

²⁹ Wimalasiri, Mahinda Kumara (2019). Interview on the history and practice of horanawa, 3rd April. Colombo: University of the Visual and Performing Arts.

³⁰ He was a professor of high rank.

³¹ 1594–1815.

³² Uduwela, Karunadasa (2019). Interview on current practice and opinions on horanawa. Kandy.

to play south Indian musical instruments that are likely to be a thamboru and a big thalam pata (figure 11). The people from the assigned four traditions take care to display these two instruments with musicians to symbolize the previous practice which was not fully known to the people in the temple and any of the devotees. However, there has not been any research done in this regard. Rajapaksha has mentioned little information as narrated by the servants in the temple³³.

Weerakkody stated that when she was undertaking fieldwork at the Tooth Temple, she felt that the Hewisi ensemble did not play what they used to play.³⁴ They attempted to hide traditional rhythmic patterns and Horane melodies. Some of the musicians informed Weerakkody that, “scholars learn through observing our traditional artistry and then they become professors and earn more than us by performing our artistry at public events”. However, Roshen Heenwella answered my questions with deep interest and offered me further assistance to contact Hewisi artists working in other temples such as the Kalaniya Great Temple and the Bellanwila Great Temple. The melodies played on the horanawa are not passed down as a legacy from father to son but well-known Buddhist chanting melodies, folk tunes and dance accompanying songs called wannam which were composed by educated laymen during the Kandyan period are. There were 18 wannams composed during the Kandyan period and only two of them can be heard when played on the horanawa during Buddhist religious events (for example, figure 9). Roshen Heenwella explains³⁵, “Recently, a Hewisi ensemble accompanied the Buddhist monks and relics on their way from the temple to my home. They were invited for the almsgiving ceremony held at my own home”. Chathura Priyadarshana Ruberu who played the horanawa said “I did not learn from specific gurus but by listening to horanawa melodies in day-to-day life. I used to play the trumpet for the marching band in school and now continue horanawa playing as a profession. What matters to me in horanawa playing is producing a louder sound and correct intonation, which is rather challenging”³⁶.

³³ Rajapaksha, Waidyawathi (2002b). *Dalada Maligawa Ha Turya Wadanaya*. Colombo: Godage and Brothers: 51.

³⁴ Weerakkody, Iranga Samindanee (2017). Horanawa Hewath Suranaya (The Horanawa which is also known as Suranaya). *Jana Sangeetha Wimarshana* (Investigation into Folk Music), 87-105. Colombo: Janamihira Creation.

³⁵ Heenwella, Roshen and Meddegoda, Chinthaka P. (2019). Conversation about Playing the Horanawa. Kandy: Personal audiovisual collection of the author.

³⁶ Ruberu, Chathura Priyadarshana, Shammika Rukshan Silva, Lahiru Madhushanka (2019). Personal Communication on horanawa. Kurusa Handiya, Alubomulla.

Mahinda Wimalasiri demonstrated how the melodies are incorporated into the horanawa repertoire. Pirith chanting has been imitated on the horanawa from the beginning (Figure 6). Later, other tunes of Buddhist recitations were imitated (Figures 7-9). The transcriptions of horane melodies are drafted through listening to the recorded melodies played by Mahinda Wimalasiri and Roshen Heenwella. The subtleties in the melodies are purposefully not transcribed since all horane players learn the framework of traditional melodies and ornament them in their own way.

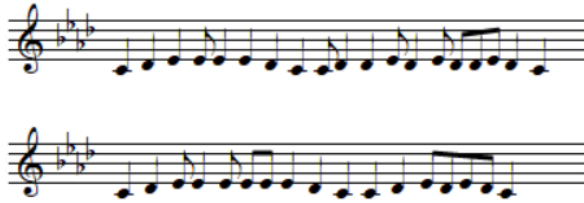


Figure 6: Transcription of a Pirith Chanting melody that is imitated by horane players in their own way.



Figure 7: Transcription of Jayamangala Gatha/Ashthaka. This melody is used for chanting various Buddhist poems and prose.



Figure 8: Transcription of Gajaga Wannama that is widely played by horane players and one of the 18 wannams composed during the Kandyan Period.



Figure 9: Transcription of Mayura Wannama that is played on the horanawa, mainly in processions. Mayura Wannama is one of the 18 wannams composed during the Kandyan Period.



Figure 10: Transcription of Varamathi Suba. Transcription of a sung melody of one of the Prashasthi which were composed to praise kings in the Kandyan Period.

Mainly, there are two traditions of horane playing that can be identified through playing techniques and repertoire. Horane players from the upcountry tradition try to keep using circular breathing throughout the melodies. This tradition has been developed through the religious activities that have taken place in the Tooth Temple which is highly regarded by the Buddhists as the centre of Buddhist heritage in Sri Lanka. The second tradition is not named but understood by upcountry players as “not very religious”. This is because ‘other’ horane players do not hesitate to play some popular Sinhala and Bollywood songs even in religious processions, and certain Buddhist events.

These horane players even claim themselves to not be very serious in comparison with Kandyan horane players with regard to the repertoire and breathing techniques. A recently uploaded YouTube video was heavily criticized by its users for playing a Bollywood melody on a horanawa accompanied by a Hewisi drum ensemble at a public event ³⁷.



Figure 11: Thamboru and thalam pata are played near the wall of the Tooth Relic chamber on the occasion of Thewawa, another specific religious event.

Limitations of Using Musical Tones in Buddhist Practices

The range of musical tones described in Buddhist texts and oral traditions of Buddhism is explored to determine whether horane musicians consider such views. The history of pirith chanting says that pirith was chanted during the time of Buddha (5th century BC) to overcome the plague that devastated the

³⁷ Accessible via https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_CrOj5kX8qE. Last visited on 15 May, 2019.

large town of Vishala Mahanuwara in India. In the Mahāvāṇsa³⁸ it is mentioned that the pirith was chanted in Sri Lanka during the period of King Upatissa in the 6th century. The study of Kulathilaka³⁹ regarding the measurement of a possible range of tones for Buddhist chanting is rather general in referring to historical sources and therefore this study does not intend to reconsider all the historical sources. According to Kulathilaka, the current style of chanting is rather musical and quite different from what is described in historical sources. As mentioned in Culavagga⁴⁰, another important historical Buddhist literature, the poetic meter in any Buddhist recital should not be extended when they are recited, chanted, or sung. The Malwathu sector of Buddhism in Sri Lanka believes that the chanting can include five tones and is called, from what is known from historical sources, as Ghana Sajjayanaya. Vinaya Atthakatha in Samanthapasadika⁴¹ mentions that the sound of the veena, the lute, arouses and increases desire.

The Buddhist scripts reveal some history and practices of Buddhist chanting which were not strictly specified as Veda chanting in Hinduism. However, it is specified rather that Buddhist chanting should not arouse or increase one's desire and therefore had to follow a certain range as well as a certain distorted rhythm which does not invite movements. Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka do not come up with conscience defining common rules and methods of chanting. The average time duration of a Maha Piritha⁴² is 40 to 60 minutes since it is partly a reciting meter which is not stable from monk to monk. However, when all the monks chant together, they sound in unison and seemingly do not consider any prescribed length and avoid a regular meter that could invite repetitive movements.

³⁸ *Mahāvāṇsa* (2000). Translated from the Original Pāli into English by the Government of Ceylon. In two Parts. New Delhi/Madras: Asian Educational Services.

³⁹ Kulathilaka, Ciril de Silva (2009). *Manawa Sangeetha Vidyawa Ha Bauddha Sajjayanaye Swara Mapakaya. Manawa Wansa Sangeetha Vimarshana*. Edited by Ranjit Fernando, et al. Colombo: Department of Ethnomusicology, University of Visual and Performing Arts, 77-90.

⁴⁰ Finot, Louis, ed. (1932) *Mahāparinibbana-sutta and Cullavagga*. The Indian Historical Quarterly 8 (2).

⁴¹ Buddhaghosa Jayawickrama, N A, trans. (1895). *The Inception of discipline, and the Vinaya nidāna; being a translation and edition of the Bāhiranidāna of Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā, the Vinaya commentary*. London: Luzac.

⁴² The second step of a pirith ceremony is chanting Maha Piritha which includes three Sutras namely Rathana Sutraya, Maha Mangala Sutraya, and Karaniya Metta Sutraya.

Conclusion

The interpretation of Buddhist scripts in the Theravada section informs us that singing, playing and dancing are lust provoking activities which hinder the way to Nirwana. However, it is hard to determine how to differentiate non-musical sounds and non-dancing body movements from the general behavior of mankind, or what is general and non-general in one's behavior. One's perspectives in perceiving any sound and movement are all that finally matters. Hewisi musicians do not claim themselves to be musicians and they are not called musicians in society. They were called horane wadakaya or horane karaya, which means horane player or kalakaruwo, which means artists as all interviews have revealed.⁴³ Uduwela⁴⁴ said, "music and Hewisi are two different things. We do not name our drums and horanawa as musical instruments; they are made to produce Panchaturya sounds. Hewisi is used only for Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, which are known as triple gems in Buddhism. Hewisi will not be played for laymen, not even for the President". Musicians could imitate the sound of pirith chanting on the horanawa which would announce the event to the public through its sonority. Most of the musicians were not aware of musical limitations but mostly followed the senior musicians who were responsible for complying with the expectations of the Buddhist clergy and public regarding the overall intonation of the horanawa. The musicians believed that they had to maintain the religiosity in the event and therefore they imitated the chanting melodies of various Buddhist scriptures and associated traditional tunes. The musicians and instrument makers did not care about the music intervals too seriously since specific intervals were not demanded and appreciated in religious practices. Similarly, the regularity of rhythmic structures might have been distorted on purpose.

⁴³ Heenwella, Roshen and Meddegoda, Chinthaka P. (2019). Conversation about Playing the Horanawa. Kandy: Personal audiovisual collection of the author; Udara Indunil (2019). Interview on current practice and opinions on horanawa, 30th April. Colombo: University of the Visual and Performing Arts; Uduwela, Karunadasa (2019). Interview on current practice and opinions on horanawa. Kandy; Ruberu, Chathura Priyadarshana, Shammika Rukshan Silva, Lahiru Madhushanka (2019). Personal Communication on the horanawa. Kurusa Handiya, Alubomulla; Wimalasiri, Mahinda Kumara (2019). Interview on the history and practice of horanawa, 3rd April. Colombo: University of the Visual and Performing Arts; Kumara, Mahendra (2019). Interview on current practice and opinions on horanawa. Colombo: University of the Visual and Performing Arts.

⁴⁴ Uduwela, Karunadasa (2019). Interview on current practice and opinions on horanawa. Kandy.

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