



The Belief in *Pullayar* among Agrarian People in Ampara District, Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Worship of deities takes a specific position among the religious beliefs related to agriculture. The Pullayar deity belief with agriculture specially can be seen in Northern Province and Nuwarakalaviya in the North Central Province of Sri Lanka. The study investigates the significance of the Pullayar deity belief among the agricultural community in Ampara District. It also focusses on the ways in which the agricultural practices of farmers, socio-cultural identities, and customs are influenced by the deity belief system. The main objective of the research was to examine the contemporary condition of Pullayar deity belief associated with agriculture in the Ampara District. The two Grama Niladari (GN) divisions of Galahitiyagoda and Udayagiriya belonging to Uhana Divisional Secretariat in Ampara district were used as the study areas. Data required for the research was collected using forty (40) farmers selected from the study area under random sampling method. Participatory observation and unstructured interviews were used to gather data. Pullayar worship is closely linked with the agricultural practices of Ampara district. Here farmers perform specific rituals for a successful harvest. Among the farming folk beliefs of Ampara, the Pullayar deity worship is uniquely adapted to protect the land from fertility and natural calamities. According to the farmers in this area, it is customary to worship the Buddha as well as Gambaradevi before doing any task in the paddy fields. As a special offering for pullayar deity, farmers offer coconut and let the pots overflow with milk as a ritual. It is performed by them for the protection of their fields and cattle. Pullayar rituals foster collective social cohesion. Strengthens community bonds through shared spiritual practices. Worship as well reveals a gendered division of religious duties, with men leading agricultural rituals and women maintaining household shrines. Therefore, this society reflects a balanced role of spiritual practices across genders. Though, Pullayar deity worship can be regarded as a particular cultural aspect that is unique to the agrarian economic system in this area and still exists now.

Key Words: Agriculture, Culture, Devadana, Gambaradevi, Pullayar deity

1. Introduction

The agricultural landscape of Sri Lanka is deeply intertwined with its inherent cultural and religious traditions. Among these traditions, belief in local deities that shape the socioeconomic structure of rural communities occupies a significant place. Worship of deities takes a specific position among the religious beliefs related to agriculture. In Sri Lanka, particularly in the Ampara district, one such deity is *Pullayar*. The *Pullyar* deity belief can be seen in Northern Province and *Nuwarakalaviya* in the North Central Province of Sri Lanka. This research examines the rituals associated with the *Pullayar* belief linked with agriculture. It explores the unique relationship between the *Pullyar* deity and the agrarian economic system, which is distinctive to the Eastern Province. The main objective is to examine the current status of the *Pullyar* belief as it relates to agriculture in the *Ampara* District. The belief remains a significant cultural feature in the region but relatively under explored in wider social discourse. In addition, this study aims to highlight the contemporary status of the *Pullayar* deity belief and its deep association with agricultural practices in *Ampara* district. They recognize the unique influence of the *Pullyar* deity on agriculture representing an interplay between the spiritual traditions and economic activities. Unlike traditional economic analyses, which often overlook religious beliefs this study recognizes the essential role of the *Pullayar* deity in shaping agricultural strategies, resource allocation, and community cohesion.

Through an empirical investigation and qualitative analysis, this research seeks to elucidate the multiple dimensions of *Pullayar* deity, exploring its manifestations in ritual practices, social norms and economic decision-making processes. By examining the contemporary status of agriculture-related *Pullayar* deity, the study seeks not only to document its prevalence and importance but also to reveal its implications for agricultural productivity, community resilience and socio-economic development in *Ampara* district.

1.1 Historical and cultural context of the *Pullayar* deity belief

God, as a symbol, divinity stands for the pinnacle of human struggle that is, the endeavor of humanity to find its identity when faced with the boundaries of the cosmos (Tillich, 1951). The deity is a metaphor for both what is most profoundly buried inside ourselves and what transcends the human condition. Other organisms just take their surroundings as givens, but humans can only really exist as such when they acknowledge their uniqueness from the cosmos as well as their solidarity with it. Humanity confronts divinity on its path to self-identity. In a cross-cultural setting, divinity represents the human spirit's journey towards self-identity via its meeting with the ultimate and the transcendence of all boundaries placed on human consciousness. Humanity's understanding that it is not alone nor ultimately in control of its destiny is symbolized by the deity. Despite its limitations, this knowledge still links mankind to the same god. Inseparable from humanity's sense of its own identity, deity is both transcendent and enveloping; it is constantly elusive, concealed, and, for some, appears to be nonexistent (Panikkar, 2024).

Pullayar deity (also Ganesha or Ganapati) is one of the most important gods in Hinduism. Ganesha is easily recognized with his elephant head and human body,

representing the soul (*atman*) and the physical (*maya*). Ganesha is the patron of writers, travelers, students, and commerce, and he removes obstacles blocking new projects. The deity is fond of sweets, to the slight detriment of his figure. Ganesha is also worshipped as a principal deity in both Jainism and Buddhism. For the *Ganapatya* Hindu sect, Ganesha is the most important deity (Cartwright, 2022).

Lord *Pullayar* is known as *Lambodara*, *Gajawat*, *Vigujan*, *Gahanath*, *Ganidu*, *Meeyahat*, *Mihiya*, *Ekdatt* and is said to be the second son of the Lord *Shiva* and *Parvathi*. *Pullayar* deity is popular in the Hindu society as the deity who conducts sacrifices for the wisdom of Hindus and for the removal of vices. Similarly, in the Hindu society as well as in the Sinhalese society, many people seek wisdom from Lord *Ganadev* (*Pullayar* deity) (Rathnapala, 2015). An elephant's head and a protruding belly are seen in the image of him. Also, the body is short, stout, four-armed, a book in one hand and a plate of sweets in the other. The vehicle of this deity is the rat. There are several stories in the literature that state how Lord *Ganadev* or *Pullayar* deity was given an elephant head. One of these stories is that once *Ishwar* went away for a need. *Uma* intended to take a bath and since there was no one to protect the house, she pretended to be a man and gave a stick in hand to protect the house and went to take a bath. *Shiva* came home from away. But the guard did not allow *Shiva* to enter the house. *Shiva* raged mightily and struck off the guard's head. When *Uma* came after her bath, she realized what had happened and joined *Shiva*. To comfort his wife, he told his servants to find a suitable head for this corpse. The servants had found the head of an elephant. When *Shiva* brought this elephant's head close to the carcass, the watchman regained consciousness. After that *Shiva* and *Uma* (*Parvati*) considered him as their son. Another story related to this is that *Parvati* had to go on an urgent business and left her son Lord *Ganadev* to take care of him and left. Lord *Ganadev* had lost his head due to *Senesuru* playing a very calamitous game. On her return, *Parvati* met *Maha Brahma* and narrated the incident, and as per his advice, *Parvati* succeeded in bringing her son back to life by attaching the head of an elephant.

Another famous story is that Lord *Ganadev* got the head of an elephant when he went to help the trunk princes get a wife. This elephant has one tusk on its head. The other tusk was broken in the battle with *Parashurama*. It is the seventh incarnation of *Vishnu*. He once came to visit *Shiva*'s inner room. Lord *Ganadev* has opposed it. In the fight between the two, the tusks of Lord *Ganadev* were broken. In another story, it is also mentioned that Prince *Kanda* and Lord *Ganadev* broke a tooth due to a fight over a mango. Where the head of the Lord *Ganesh* felt, a coconut tree grew in time. There were all types of coconut tea. All kinds of coconuts grew there. Folklore says that this is why coconuts are beaten to offer Lord *Ganadev* (Gamage, 2001).

1.2 Agrarian Economic System in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has a long history of agriculture spanning thousands of years. Traditional agricultural practices, especially rice cultivation, have been central to the country's economy and culture (Silva, 1981). It is important to define what agriculture is in this investigation of two ethnic groups that claim an economy dominated by agriculture. Accordingly, "Agriculture is the science of farming, husbandry and plantations."

(Soratha Rev, 1956). "Agriculture is, in general, farming, husbandry, the science of husbandry and animal husbandry" (Wijayathunga, 2005).

Sri Lanka's diverse agro - climatic zones support a wide range of crops including rice, tea, rubber, coconut, spices and fruits (Sri Lanka Department of Census and Statistics, 2021). Rice, however, has historically been the staple crop and a symbol of self-sufficiency in food production (Silva, 1981).

Agriculture is the science, art and management of industry, the cultivation of plants and the raising of animals for human use. The original meaning of the word agriculture is Sowing paddy. Today, its meaning has spread far and wide to include many crops such as gardens, grains, vegetables, fruits and flowers, coconuts, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugarcane, cashews, rubber and flax, and industrial raw materials such as cattle, goats, sheep, etc. Agriculture is understood as a complex practical science that includes the rearing of animals and a number of related activities.

1.3 Role Of Religion and Spirituality in Agriculture

Religion and spirituality often shape cultural practices and beliefs surrounding agriculture. For example, in many cultures, agricultural rituals and ceremonies are deeply intertwined with religious beliefs (Barker, 2008). Beliefs and beliefs are a prominent concept in this inquiry, as is the identification of agriculture. Beliefs are a person's mental image of their religion, culture and God. It can be recognized as images. It can also be considered as any concept with which one's mind is satisfied. However, this concept is an inheritance from the traditional wisdom of the human race. It is also a cultural tool that has been transported to today's society through primitive human communication. This communication gives mental healing to the human being and it also gives an incentive to build a successful life and lead a happy life. Engaging in religious and spiritual practices related to agriculture can contribute to the psychological well-being of farmers. Prayer, meditation, and mindfulness can help reduce stress, anxiety, and depression associated with the uncertainties of farming (Davies & Schuurman, 2019). Spiritual connections to the land and a sense of purpose derived from farming can also provide a source of resilience and meaning in the face of adversity (Ganapathy, 2017).

1.4 Research Gap

Lang studied 'The role of religion in agriculture: Reflections from the *Bamenda Grassfields* of Cameroon since pre-colonial times' in 2018. Traditional Religion and Christianity have played a significant role in the development of agriculture in the *Bamenda Grassfields* of Cameroon. This paper examines the dynamic role of religion in agricultural development, focusing on the region's need for agricultural development and the potential of its religious and spiritual traditions for agricultural advancement. The paper asserts that religion has been a significant factor in the agricultural sector's growth, highlighting the ongoing relationship between religion and development (Lang, 2018).

Chakrabarty & Biswas researched 'Buddhism in Agrarian Society of Rural Bengal: Perspectives of Belief Systems with a Focus on Ritual and Deities.' Buddhism was the State Religion of Bengal for over 400 years, from the 8th century to the 12th century.

In 2011, the Indian census showed 0.31% of Buddhists in West Bengal, while less than 1% of the population follow Buddhism. Most Buddhists were converted to Islam during Sultanate rule, while Hinduism took over many shrines and deities. This paper revisits the cultural landscape of early Buddhism in Bengal, focusing on Buddhist culture in folk life and its presence in agrarian society. The study uses literature review, fieldwork, participant observation, interviews, and focus group discussions to analyze the evolving belief system of a non-Buddhist folk society (Chakrabarty & Biswas, 2023).

“Is farming a belief in Northern Ghana? Exploring the dual-system theory for commerce, culture, religion and technology” was done by M. Tanko in 2020. This paper explores the importance of cultural norms and religious values in promoting sustainable rice production among rural farmers in Northern Ghana. The study, based on the Dual-system hypothesis, reveals heterogeneity in results among three ethnic and religious groups. The paper proposes a new categorization of farming, emphasizing the need for small-scale policy streams to promote adoption of cultural and religious strategies for rural farmers with unique beliefs (Tanko, 2020).

Falvey's (2005) research explores the connection between religion and agriculture, focusing on sustainability within the context of Christianity and Buddhism. Christianity emphasizes stewardship, promoting responsible land and resource management for present and future generations. Buddhism, on the other hand, emphasizes interconnectedness and impermanence, emphasizing the importance of sustainable cultivation methods. The study reveals both similarities and differences in their approaches to sustainable agriculture, emphasizing the profound influence of spirituality on agricultural sustainability. By comparing these two traditions, Falvey provides valuable insights for practitioners and scholars (Falvey, 2005).

Then, various research had been conducted regarding the religion, agriculture, deities' beliefs and spiritual practices and customs in the world. But there was no any research did in Sri Lanka with agricultural perspective. So, this research fulfils that research gap in Sri Lanka.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1 Study Area and Data Collection Methods

This study was mainly based on an applied anthropological approach. Local farmers that live in the highest paddy cultivation district of the country, Ampara in the North Central Province were used as the informants of the study.

According to agriculture household survey results, the estimated number of households with agricultural operators in the country was 2.1 million, and the estimated population of these households was 8.1 million by 2021. In Sri Lanka, family members of agricultural operating households are contributing to the production activities frequently (Department of Census and Statics 2020/2021).

The sample was selected based on to the Agriculture and Environmental Statistics published by the Department of Census and Statistics in Sri Lanka in the year 2021.

Further, Sri Lankan highest paddy extent and harvested average yield and production are 17 499 (gross extent sown(acres)) have reported by the Ampara District (Department of Census and Statics, 2020/2021). Therefore, Ampara district situated in Eastern Province was selected as the main study area. Uhana Divisional Secretariat of Ampara district was selected under snowball sampling and data related to the research was obtained. Here, as per the instructions of the officers of the Uhana Divisional Secretariat, GN divisions were selected.

Two GN divisions of Galahitiyagoda and Udayagiriya situated in the Uhana DS of the Ampara district were selected as study areas. The selection of the Ampara District was based on the average yield and production rate of rice within the district. Data was collected from forty (40) farmers that were selected randomly, twenty (20) farmers from each village participated in the study in (Table 01). Interviews, participatory observations and case studies were used to gather data.

Table 01. Sample Distribution

Province	District	Selected Divisional Secretariat	Selected Grama Niladari Division	Sample
North Central Province	Ampara	Uhana	Galahitiyagoda	20
			Udayagiriya	20
Total Sample Size				40

2.2 Data Analysis Methods

quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS and Microsoft packages. All qualitative data collected by data sources were unable to analyze using statics. In these cases, qualitative data is analyzed using data analysis techniques like sketchers, photos, models, etc.

3. Results and Discussion

At the outset it is important to mention the crop harvest and associated rituals in Uhana region of Ampara district. Paddy cultivation is mainly done in this area.

3.1 Rituals Associated with Pullayar Deity belief

Among the rituals associated with paddy cultivation in this area, the rituals associated with Lord Pullayar is prominent. These people consider the Pullayar deity as the Gambara deity of the area. In front of every house a small pahan pela dedicated to Pullayar deity can be seen.

As the farmers who were above 65 years old said that it is the custom of the farmers to pray to God and ask for God's help in many cases, from choosing a field to cutting the threshing floor. Farmers believe that this custom still survives. Inquisitive about the ways of surrendering to the God among the magic related to rice cultivation, it

appears that the farmers in the field of study conduct their industry with the blessings of Buddha and Gods. Here Buddha performs penance and ties offerings to a big tree called *Sanhinda* near Senanayake Samudra. There is no specific time for this and it can be done at any time of the day.

This activity is also done by men and the respondents further said that there is no intervention of women in the work related to the God. There are several ways of surrendering to the God, but the most commonly used method is to take a piece of clean cloth and put a change of one rupee or two rupees in the cloth, tie a knot and tie a basket called a day ahead, according to the farmers. Correspondingly, before making the land holy, there will be surrendering for the gods and goddesses after performing the rituals of worshipping the Buddha. As well, every time the leaves are removed from the threshing floor (*Kamatha*), it is a regular custom to separate the parts dedicated to the gods.

3.2 Impact of Pullayar Worship on Community Dynamics

The worship of the *Pullayar* deity associated with agriculture was never done purely out of personal ambition. Regularly all the farmers come together and worship Lord *Pullayar* with one goal in mind. Especially here, all the farmers of the village come together and perform all the rituals in cooperation. Here, all the farmers wish that everyone's harvest will be prosperous. Even today, there is a strong bond between these farmers and the farmers believe that God *Pullayar* is the main reason for the cooperation and integration among all.

3.3 Gender Roles in Pullayar Worship

The research revealed that men and women have different roles in *Pullayar* worship, such as men leading public rituals related to farming and women in charge of private household shrines. Field research on alms giving for *pullayar* deity and women revealed that women do not correlate to this activity. Mortar and pestle were taken to the threshing floor and threshed, and according to their custom women did not participate on it. Not only the paddy is threshed and dried, but even the rice is cooked here by men. As the reason why women are not involved, the villagers cited *Killa*.

Killa' is not merely a superstitious belief but has practical implications for agricultural practices. Farmers adhere to specific rituals and restrictions to mitigate the perceived defilement, safeguard their crops, and ensure a bountiful harvest. The '*Killa*' concept is a complex system of beliefs and rituals deeply intertwined with the pragmatic realities of farming life. Farmers, guided by their faith in '*Killa*,' meticulously follow a set of time-honored customs and restrictions that are designed to mitigate the perceived defilement of their fields.

These practices, far from being arbitrary, are rooted in centuries of experiential wisdom, reflecting an intimate understanding of the local ecosystem, soil health, and the delicate balance required for a successful harvest. By adhering to '*Killa*' rituals, farmers not only seek spiritual harmony but also practical agricultural benefits, ultimately aiming to safeguard their crops and ensure a bountiful yield that sustains their livelihoods and the well-being of the entire community.

3.4 Cultural Significance of *pullayar* in Local Agrarian Life

According to the farmers in this area, it is customary to worship the Buddha as well as *gambara devi* before doing any task in the paddy fields. As a special offering for *pullayar* deity, farmers offer coconut and let the pots overflow with milk as a ritual. It is performed by them for the protection of their fields and cattle. The top portion of the harvest is offered to the lord *buddha* and the gods. This sacrifice is called *devadana*. Correspondingly, it is customary to set aside the first part of each farmer's crop in the field for this donation, even if it is trampled separately. Earlier this first part was kept in the threshing floor and later it has become a custom to take them to the houses as well. It is seen that the first part of the paddy retained in the threshing floor was threshed by the men in the threshing floor itself.

In addition to the cooked milk rice, they have also taken fruits including ripe bananas for this donation. Sweets are also added to it. A couch was made to offer these alms and it was divided into four main parts and offerings were made to Lord Gana, Lord Kataragama, Lord *Saman*, and Lord *Pattini* with fruits and sweets including milk rice in those parts.

The researcher was able to correlate a *Deva Danaya* that was done in the domain of *Udayagiriya Grama Niladhari* in *Uhana* Regional Secretariat, (Figure 01 & 02). All the respondents were of the opinion that it is the most important ritual in the worship of the *pullayar* deity. This is a ritual performed on the threshing floor as well as near D.S. *senanayake* lake which provides water for crops. The ritual is performed by a person named *Kattadirala*. After the ritual, it is customary to distribute alms to all those involved and to the entire village.



Figure 01. Prepared *Devadana* (milk rice)



Figure 02. *Pahan pela* arranged in honor of Pullayar deity at the threshing floor

The elders are of the opinion that in the past there was a tree in *Nuwarakalaviya* for *Pullayar* deity and it was known as the *Pullayar* tree. The *Pullayar* tree is a big tree with hanging branches at the beginning of the forest when the villagers go to the forest. This one was a large banyan tree. *Pullayar deity* is called Lord Ganapathi here. Branches are hung from this tree especially to seek protection from Lord Ganapathi. If a big banyan tree is not nearby, another big tree is chosen for it.

These farmers, who have unwavering devotion to *Pullayar* deity, mention that they constantly seek God's protection for their economic well-being. It is also their belief that the harvest increases day by day with the help of God. And because of that, they are of the opinion that the villagers will make sure that the almsgiving is done in the most orderly manner. Nine data contributors under the age of forty were subjected to the research phase and since this group represents the new generation, their opinion regarding this belief in God and harvest as well as economic strength can be stated as follows.

- *“Pullayar deity is above us. However, if our effort is not interest, it will be difficult for us to build economy.”*
- *“God looks at us only on the basis of our dedication.”*
- *“We all have the gaze of Pullayar deity. He will not help us if we just stay. The people who are struggling to overcome their sufferings are the ones who have the divine vision of Pullayar deity.”*

Thus, it appears that the new generation of farmers believe in their strength and courage as much as God. This can be further substantiated with case studies.

Saman (an assumed name) is a 48-year-old farmer from Ampara district. Due to irregular rainfall and rising costs, Saman's family has been suffering economically as crops have failed. Despite these hardships, Saman *Pullyar* remained devoted to God, believing that faith would guide him through these challenges. He started by

attending agricultural workshops organized by local governments and NGOs to learn about drought-tolerant rice varieties. Every morning, Saman prayed to *Pullyar* for strength and clarity, but his focus was on implementing new techniques and technologies to improve the output of his plantation.

The main challenge Saman faced was that the cost of new equipment and seeds put financial strain on his already struggling farm. Many of his neighbors relied only on traditional rituals and prayers, but Saman knew he had to take bold steps if he wanted to revive his plantation. He firmly believes that his own dedication and willingness to improve have been key to his success. "God gives us courage, but it is our hard work that turns that courage into prosperity." Saman's story highlights the belief that divine faith and personal effort can work hand in hand. In Ampara, where rice farming is deeply intertwined with tradition and faith, Saman's balanced approach allows him to thrive in a challenging environment. Accordingly, instead of entrusting everything to God, they had a clear idea that it was their responsibility to work diligently. Thus, it is pure that the belief in God is strong in contemporary society, but today's farmers value their commitment as much as their belief in God. Thus, it is clear that the current farmers have not entrusted the responsibility of their entire life to God.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

Located in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka, *Ampara* District is characterized by its predominantly agricultural economy, with agriculture serving as the main means of livelihood for the majority of its population. In this context, the research makes it clear that the belief in *Pullayar deity*, who is associated with agriculture and fertility, plays a crucial role in shaping agricultural practices, resource management and community dynamics.

The study finds that the *Pullayar* deity faith plays a significant role in shaping the agricultural economy of Sri Lanka. The cult of *Pullayar* deity, who is associated with agriculture and fertility, is deeply rooted in the cultural and religious practices of agricultural communities. This belief system influences various aspects of agricultural practices, including planting rituals, harvest ceremonies, and land management techniques.

Also, the belief in *Pullayar* deity extends beyond mere religious practices and permeates various aspects of the agricultural economy. From tillage techniques to water management strategies, farmers in *Ampara* district integrate their faith in *Pullayar* deity with their agricultural practices. God is seen as a protector of his crops and a source of divine intervention in times of agricultural uncertainty. Accordingly, in the present time, in Ampara district, the new trends in *Pullayar* deity worship and agricultural economic system, it is seen that the present society has given unwavering respect to deities but has not entrusted its entire life and economic system to the God. Though, *Pullayar* deity worship can be regarded as a particular cultural aspect that is unique to the agrarian economic system in this area and still exists now.

The Department of Culture should take responsibility for the preservation and promotion of traditional beliefs and practices associated with *Pullayar* deity. Then cultural preservation naturally takes place. In this way, efforts to preserve cultural heritage will be able to celebrate and sustain indigenous knowledge systems related to agriculture.

Community-led initiatives that leverage the *Pullayar* deity belief to improve agricultural sustainability, encouraging the participation of local farmers and community leaders in decision-making processes related to land use, resource management and agricultural development.

To create awareness about the importance of *Pullayar* deity and its impact on agricultural economies. Develop educational programs and outreach activities that highlight the cultural, environmental and economic dimensions of traditional agricultural practices.

To support further research and documentation efforts for a deeper understanding of *Pullayar* deity belief and its impact on agrarian society and collaborate with academic institutions, cultural organizations and local communities to collect oral histories, document rituals and preserve traditional knowledge related to agriculture.

Integrating insights from the study of *Pullayar* deity belief into agricultural policies and development strategies and incorporating indigenous perspectives on agriculture and spirituality into government initiatives aimed at promoting sustainable rural livelihoods and environmental conservation.

In this way, the recommendations that can be presented at the end of the research can be outlined. Accordingly, it should be stated at the end of the research that it is the responsibility of the cultural anthropologist to preserve the intangible culture associated with the *Pullayar* deity and the agricultural meaning system and pass on the local closed cultural elements to future generations.

This study discussed how Indian Rāgadhāri music influenced the Ulpatha Radio Opera. Accordingly, the songs in the Ulpatha are based on the popular melodies used in North Indian Rāgadhāri music. Some songs use a melody based on one particular Rāga for the entire set, while another song consists of melody composed by mixing several Rāgas. A distinctive feature of the use of Rāga melodies for this opera is that the melodies are adapted to the willing of the composers without protecting the naturalism and purity of each rāgas. Although many songs consists only the basic form of rāgas, melodies do not contain the advanced Rāgadhāri features that contribute to the expression (bhāva) of each rāgas. However, it seems that the Rāga concept has been used to make melodies that fits the lyrics of the song.

The utilization of Indian Rāgadāri music in the Ulpatha drama, which was created with the aim of creating a production form with a local identity, can be identified here as having originated on a special cultural level. Accordingly, the play was created from the support of several composers, singers, playwrights and players who were of the opinion that the local music should be nurtured in the great tradition of India,

and it seems that the influence of Indian Rāgadhāri music on that opera which had a local theme. It is also clear that the Ulpāthā Gīta Nātakaya has been presented as a creative radio opera with a Rāgadhāri background due to the musical educational background of the composers, musical inclinations and ideas drawn from the ideal characters. Therefore, this composition can be identified as a unique musical creation of Sri Lankan music tradition.

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