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Papers on the Ethnography of Sri Lanka

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Introduction

MICHAEL EGAN

The 1973 American Anthropological Association meetings contained the first session ever exclusively devoted to Sri Lanka nethnology; a Symposium on New Trends in the Ethnography of Sri Lanka. Moreover, several other papers on Sri Lankan topics were scattered in different sessions throughout the meetings. It seemed a natural step, therefore, to take note of this increased attention western scholars have been giving Sri Lanka by bringing their works to a wider audience in a vehicle that insures their findings become as well known in the East as in the West. This volume is the result of that intent.

The Symposium which was attended by around forty people, had as formal discussants, Professors S. J. Tambiah and G. Obeyesekere. The most perspicuous "new trend," all participants agreed, has been the rapid growth in the numbers of Sri Lankan Ethnographers. Correlated with the increase in the number of anthropologists has been a predictable spread in the number of ethnographic regions for which detailed field information is now available. In fact, all of the socio-cultural regions outlined by Bryce Ryan in 1950 have been covered by at least two field studies;[1] many by a great deal more, with surely the record being held by the ½ mile wide strip of land running along the 18 or so miles of highway linking Tangalla to Dondra. These nine square miles have seen five full studies in the last 15 years, or six if the strip is slightly extended and bent off the highway a bit to include the work of Michael Ames around Matara. And yet, what for me was the most unexpected point of agreement reached at the symposium was that the purely ethnographic record is far from complete. For example, where in the literature can we turn for *detailed* descriptions of lower caste Sinhalese groups;[2] where, for a detailed account of ceremonies such as the *Rata Yakuma* that often accompany child birth.[3] Where described are the customs and social organization associated with a tea or large rubber estate? I know of no village lacking at least one deep seated feud, but where are feuds discussed in the literature? Where is our chronicler of Colombo 7?

In short, Sri Lankan ethnography has yet to reach a stage of merely filling in the gaps for a record whose general outline is well known. Rather, despite the increasing numbers of ethnographers working in growing numbers of areas, whole sections of the outline still must be sketched in. The papers presented here are contributions to that task; they certainly do not complete it.

1. B. Ryan, "Socio-Cultural Regions of Ceylon," *Rural Sociology*, 1950, XVII (1).
2. B. Ryan, *Caste in Modern Ceylon: The Sinhalese System in Transition*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955.
3. P. Wirz, *Exorcism and the Art of Healing in Ceylon*, Leiden: E. S. Brill, 1954.

However, none of these papers is merely ethnographic. Each continues an old, but admirable trend begun by our founding grandparents, the Seligmans: the descriptive material is presented not only for its own sake, but also because it has a bearing on theoretical issues which are explicitly brought out during the course of the discussion. In fact, the essential importance of these papers comes less from what they describe, as from their assessment of the ethnography's implications for wider theoretical issues. Typical in this respect are the three papers in this volume concerned with Social Organization.

Dr. McGilvray's paper describes in detail the structure of matriclans (*KuTi* or Kōttiram) in the context of the larger social groupings of caste and community as found in the town of Akkaraipattu (pop. 20,000) in the Southern part of the Batticaloa region. But description, as such, is not the main strength of the paper. For Dr. McGilvray is concerned to demonstrate that the *KuTi* is something new in the literature. Hence his description moves in the comparative mode. In particular, he demonstrates that, though the matriclans bear a family likeness to both the Kandyan concept of *Wamsa* and Yalman's concept of a micro-caste, the similarity is merely partial; the *KuTi* lacks certain features that necessarily characterize both concepts, while having several distinctive features of its own: *KuTis* are not consistently ranked, nor is marriage hypergamous. The theoretic implication here is that new synthetic attempts to coherently describe "Southern, South Asian" social organization must now factor into their transformational or generalizational equations a new 'variant.'

The problem of generalization is the key theoretical consideration of Dr. David's minor monograph on the spatial, cultural and social organization of the Jaffna peninsula. Using detailed descriptions of three different types of ecological units: an agricultural village, a fishing village, and the artisan caste section of a largish market town, Dr. David seeks to stamp out the ethnographic heresy of synecdochicity: that is, the representation of a heterogenous whole by only one of its parts. He argues that the typical model of Southern South Asian rural intercaste transactions is derived from a consideration of agricultural villages with their core of high caste landowners "bound" in jajmani relations to a circle of serving castes. Dr. David shows that this model does not adequately fit artisan castes living in towns, nor even hang comfortably on high status fishing groups. The complicated model he presents for Jaffna consists of two polar types of intercaste transactions, a "bound" jajmani type and a "nonbound" mercantile type, the first characterized by long standing non-commercialized social relations, the second by transitory commercialized relations. Ranged along the continuum between these two polar types lie positions corresponding to actual social transactions engaged in by various Jaffna castes.

As an attempt to rectify the errors of the high-caste agricultural heresy the essay is positively superb, but, as with hares, start one synecdochicity, and you start a whole pack. Two spring to mind. First, Dr. McGilvray's Tamil variant is a part now needing placement within the whole. Second, the extension of Dr. David's scheme southwards to the Sinhalese seems a logical next step. His model would not need much rewording to "fit" the region I am most familiar with: the heavily investigated coastal region between Matara and Tangalla which seems to be in danger of becoming the ethnographer's Soho or Rippebaan! For example, amongst *berava* (typically drummer)

residents of an agricultural village in the Matara-Tangalla "strip," the majority gain their livelihood in the building trades as carpenters, masons, and labourers and their lives closely correspond transactionally to David's nonbound mode. A minority gain their livelihood as astrologers and funeral drummers, occupations that involve them in relationships approaching, though in different contexts, the modes of both bound and nonbound transactions. Finally, another minority gain employ as drummers in an agricultural caste temple, a mode of employ whose transactions are generally "bound." Thus in these Sinhalese cases it would also appear that transactions, rather than either castes or occupational groups, are best characterized by the terms "bound" or "nonbound."

Dr. Gamburd's contribution concerns the social organization of a south-western coastal Sinhalese group. Her paper follows out the theoretical ideas of kinship and marriage as a bundle of rights, duties, privileges, etc., advanced by Leach and Needham. Dr. Gamburd suggests that one can avoid allowing the part to stand for the whole when making generalizations by never loosing sight of any of the parts. For example, the transmission of names is patrilineal, to property, bilineal—when such an iteration of transmission modes is carried to its logical end, Dr. Gamburd finds that, in general, the Salagama Sinhalese are socially organized in a "uni-ambi-bi-lineal bilateral system."

What remains to me obscure about this exercise in "splitting" and then "lumping" is the value of the latter stage. To put my concern simply, I fail to see what adding ampersands (dashes) between items on what amounts to a laundry list adds to understanding, if the generalizational process is meant to simplify and make clear some aspect of an underlying complexity. Nevertheless, the reader who follows Dr. Gamburd's argument to its conclusion will come away with an enriched comprehension of just how complicated some anthropologists have found Sinhalese kinship to be.

I now turn to the two contributions concerning aspects of Sinhalese Ideology in the broad sense of that term. Both papers set out, through the use of texts, to illustrate the dialectic relation between what is good and what is bad or evil; they each attempt to define the "evil" in terms of the good.

Dr. AmaraSingham's contribution examines the main female characters, Sita and Kuveni, of the myth enacted in the *Kondya Kohomba Kankārrya* ritual. The analytic strategy used here is to see the story of each woman, the one pure and good, the other impure and bad, as an extreme representation of a general type; to extract from a comparison of the content of their portrayals a definition of the terms "good/bad," "pure/impure." The intrigue in this precise analysis lies in the fact that the characters are women, a sex in Sinhalese ideology that is neither a paragon of good nor of evil, purity nor impurity, but rather a sex intrincically ambiguous on these ritual dimensions.

Unlike our other contributors, all ethnographers of villages and smallish towns, Dr. Boyd is a professor of comparative literature. His paper contrasts Christian and Buddhist symbols of Evil as defined in the traditional (100 B.C.—*ca* A.D.) literature of each religion. The bulk of his scholarly essay is taken up with a detailed

presentation of evidence supporting his view that differing conceptions of evil that mark Christianity and Buddhism spring from differences in how they conceive the ultimate aim of life. This is good meaty stuff for scholars of comparative religion. But the ethnographic fascination the essay provides arises because the normative Buddhist ideology that emerges bears such a close resemblance to normative schemes extracted by ethnologists, despite the intervention of two thousand years of history.[4]

The final contribution, Dr. Egan's, compares Sinhalese and English colour naming systems. Both systems divide the psychological colour space into 11 generically named colour categories. e.g. green-*Kola*. A number of theorists have argued that the focal values of generic colour terms will be similar across cultures, that, for example, the most typical shade of green, the greenest green, will also be the most typical shade of *Kola*. The Sinhalese-English comparison is of interest in this regard because, though both systems have the same number of generic or basic terms, the focal locations differ markedly for the chromatic terms designating colours towards the blue and of the spectrum. Several theorists have put forward the idea that these differences are directly related to the amount of pigmentation present in the retina. Egan's paper explores this argument in detail.

As can be seen from this short summary, the content of these papers is too diverse to allow meaningful discussion of global trends; here indeed, the parts make up the whole. Each of these essays with the potential exception of Dr. Boyd's is addressed to an anthropological audience, but there is much of profit here to be mined by scholars in other disciplines. Each paper, with the expressed exception of Dr. Gamburd's (which is clearly grist for specialists' mills, if only for the technical language employed), conveys its information in a way that should be intelligible to non-anthropologists. I myself have learned much that is new, if not trendy, while acting as convenor and symposium editor.

4. Cf. R. F. Gombrich, *Precept and Practice*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

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Caste and Matriclan Structure in Eastern Sri Lanka: A Preliminary Report on Fieldwork in Akkaraipattu*

DENNIS B. MCGILVRAY

Setting of the Research

This discussion is based upon fieldwork carried out in the Batticaloa region of the east coast of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) between January 1970 and June 1971. The main research site was the town of Akkaraipattu (population 20,000) located 40 miles south of Batticaloa town and 15 miles east of Amparai. The eastern region has been aptly described by Bryce Ryan as an area of densely populated "peasant towns" which are located along the coastline between the Bay of Bengal and the open fertile paddy lands which stretch inland.[1] Although situated within the climatic region known as the Dry Zone of the island, the dense settlements in this area are sustained by large scale irrigation schemes, semi-saline lagoons, and thick stands of cocoanut trees.

Ecologically and culturally the coastal region between Valachchenai and Pottuvil (80 miles) has a degree of unity in the minds of the inhabitants, who generally refer to it as MaTTakkaLappu (Batticaloa). In certain ways the cultural continuity of the region extends even north to settlements on the southern shore of Koddiyar Bay (Trincomalee), where matrilineal institutions are found similar to those in Batticaloa. The Batticaloa region features an archaic dialect of Tamil which has attracted the interest of linguists.[2] Taken as a whole the Tamil-speaking population of the region is evenly divided between Ceylon Tamils (Saivite Hindus) and Ceylon Moors (Muslims). Both groups are fully franchised ethnic and religious minorities in Sri Lanka, where the majority of the population is Sinhalese Buddhist. Formerly the Batticaloa region was separated from areas of heavy Sinhalese inhabitation to the west by considerable expanses of Dry Zone jungle and hills, but now there is a sizable Sinhalese colonist population near at hand in the Gal Oya irrigation project.[3]

Towns and villages in the Batticaloa region invariably exhibit a strict residential separation between the Tamils and the Moors. Local bodies such as Village Councils are often organized as homogeneous Tamil or Moorish units, but some settlements, like Akkaraipattu, incorporate both Tamil and Moorish neighbourhoods within a

* This research was supported by the U. S. Public Health Service NIMH Predoctoral Fellowship No. MH38122 and adjunctive Research Grant No. MH11765.

1. Bryce Ryan, "Socio-Cultural Regions of Ceylon," *Rural Sociology*, 1950, V15:10n.
2. Kamil Zvelebil, "Some Features of Ceylon Tamil", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1966, V9 (2):125.
3. Benjamin H. Farmer, *Pioneer Peasant Colonization in Ceylon*, London: O.U.P., 1957.

local governmental framework. In either case the Tamils and Moors live in distinct residential enclaves and actively promote the view that the two are totally separate communities. In Akkaraipattu the Moors constitute 66% of the total population, the Hindu Tamils 30%, and a combined group of Christians and Buddhists 4%. Tamil is the common language of all groups except the few immigrant Sinhalese. The town is arranged in a generally rectilinear pattern and is divided into 9 Grama Sevaka (Government-appointed headmen) Divisions, six of them wholly Moorish and three of them wholly Tamil. Dwellings are situated within rectilinear compounds surrounded by high formidable fences of sharpened stakes, barbed wire, and cadjan. Approximately 75% of the population of Akkaraipattu is engaged in paddy cultivation either as landowner, tenant, or labourer. Farmers often commute as far as 5-10 miles to reach their fields, and a great variety of vehicles are seen on the roads (bicycles, bullock carts, tractors). There is very little fishing in Akkaraipattu, although the sea and the lagoon are close by. There are major fishing villages several miles to the north.

Caste and Community

The Moors recognize three special groups which are distinguished from the bulk of the ordinary Moorish population: the Bāwā-s (members of a local Sufi Order), the Maulānā-s (patrilineal descendants of the Prophet), and the Ostā-s (hereditary Moorish barbers and circumcisers). Only the Ostā-s can be seen as a "caste" in the formal sense: they have a hereditary occupation, they are endogamous, and they are assigned a rank inferior to the other members of the Moorish community.

The Tamil community is, on the other hand, highly organized on a caste basis. In an opinion ranking survey carried out with methods developed by Freed,[4] Marriott,[5] Hiebert[6] and others, the collective caste hierarchy among Tamils in Akkaraipattu was shown to be ambiguous in two respects: (1) there was considerable confusion concerning how to evaluate the relative ranks of certain peripheral or anomalous groups which may be Christian (Portuguese Burghers, KaTaiyar Limeburners), may not be found locally (Karaiyār Fishermen, Kōvilār Temple Servants), may be recent immigrants (KaTaiyar Limeburners, Sakkiliyar Sweepers), or may be viewed as being of separate racial/ethnic origin (Portuguese Burghers, Kuravar Gypsies); (2) there was not enough unanimity of opinion to generate a perfectly discrete ranking of the three highest groups: VēLāLar, KurukkaL, and Mukkuvar. Setting aside the problematic peripheral groups, the opinion rank hierarchy of the eight castes fully recognized today as constituting the traditional "core" of the local Tamil caste system is shown in Table 1.

4. Stanley Freed, "An Objective Method for Determining the Collective Caste Heirarchy of an Indian Village," *American Anthropologist*, 1963, V65: 879-891.

5. McKim Marriott, "Caste Ranking and Food Transactions: A Matrix Analysis", *In* Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn (eds.), *Structure and Change in Indian Society*, Chicago: Aldine, 1968.

6. Paul Hiebert, "Caste and Personal Rank in an Indian Village: an Extension in Techniques," *American Anthopologist*, 1969, V71: 434-453. And also, Paul Hiebert, *Konduru: Structure and Integration in a South Indian Village*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971.

TABLE: 1 Reduced Matrix: Tamil ranking of eight castes fully Recognized as part of the local caste system

V	28	35½	46	45	46	46	43	
	18	11½	0	1	0	0	3	
K	30	45	45	45	46	44		High Caste
	16	1	1	1	0	2		Level
M	45	43	46	46	42			
	1	3	0	0	4			
T	35½	45	45	39		Artisan & Profes-		
	10½	1	1	7		sional Castes		
S	39	38	40					
	7	8	6					
Vn	26	35						
	20	11		Service Castes				
N	35							
	11							
P								

List of Castes

V VēLāLāı Cultivatoı
K KuıukkaL Priest
M Mukkuvar Cultivator
T TaTTār Smith
S SāNTār Climbeı
Vn VaNNāı Washerman
N Nāvitar Barber
P Paıaiyar Drummer

NOTE: In each cell, the numbeı above indicates the numbeı of respondents who judged the row caste to be of highei ıank than the column caste. The numbeı below indicates the numbeı who felt the opposite. Pairs of castes given equal ıank by respondents weıe awarded each (½). Cells which show a ıatio of 2:1 or betteı infavour of the row caste oveı the column caste aıe judged to demonstıate a meaningful ıank distinction and aıe separated from the others by a line. A total of 49 infoımants supplied opinions, but because theiı rankings weıe not always exhaustive, the cell totals are less than 49. Caste of informants is as follows: M& V=29, K = 3, T = 1, S = 4, Vn = 3, N = 1, P = 5.

The highest level of the Tamil caste system is seen by local informants as consisting of "good people" (*nallārkkaL*), "high caste-type people" (*uyarnta sātiyānārkkaL*), or sometimes simply "Tamils" (*TamiRan*). This is the stratum within which informants might subsequently claim specific "VēLāLar" or "Mukkuvar" or "KurukkaL" identities when questioned. These people, whom I shall call the High Caste, are 65% of the Tamil population of Akkaraipattu.

All castes below this level are referred to by specific caste names in general conversation; they are always Washermen (VaNNār) or Drummers (Paraiyar), etc., never simply "Tamils". The TaTTār Smiths (goldsmiths and blacksmiths) and SāNTār Climbers (cocoanut harvesters and ex-toddy tappers) are seen as producers of special products and are viewed as distinctly superior to the three domestic and ritual service castes, the Washermen, Barbers, and Drummers. All professional and service castes are endogamous, and caste membership is acquired bilaterally (from both parents). These groups reside in neighbourhoods which are homogeneous by caste, although the dense residential patterns in Akkaraipattu mean that these caste neighbourhoods are directly contiguous. Only the Paraiyar Drummers reside in a physically separate hamlet about a quarter of a mile to the south of town.

Mukkuvar, VēLāLar, and KurukkaL

Of the three High Caste groups, the Mukkuvar-s are the best documented in historical and ethnographic writings. Dutch and British colonial administrators at the end of the 18th century noted the political control which the Mukkuvar-s exercised over the entire Batticaloa region. It appears that the region was divided into a number of sub-kingdoms or vassal states (the cultural model is seven) which owed tenuous allegiance to the Kandyan kings. Legends recount the conquest of Batticaloa by the Mukkuvar-s who, with the aid of itinerant Muslims (sailors? traders?), drove the Timilar caste north to Trincomalee where they are found today. The Mukkuvar-s are said to have rewarded their Muslim allies with women and land in Batticaloa. There is evidence that the Mukkuvar-s did exercise political control of the entire region through a series of feudal sub-chiefs whose office was hereditary in the female line. In present day Akkaraipattu, the *Mukkuvar vannimai* ("reign of the Mukkuvar-s") is still reflected in the office of the *ŪrppōTiyār*, or Mukkuvar chief of the village. This office is increasingly devoid of influence today, but in principle it is the *ŪrpōTiyār* who directs and oversees the lower castes in the performance of their hereditary duties.

The VēLāLar-s, another High Caste group, are well known as the dominant cultivator caste in the Jaffna peninsula and in many areas of Tamilnadu. However, in the Batticaloa region the VēLāLar-s exhibit a pattern of matrilineal clan organization which follows exactly the same principles as the matriclan organization of the Mukkuvar-s. In some villages there is a strong ideology of VēLāLar caste separateness, but in Akkaraipattu there is a pervasive tendency to appropriate the VēLāLar title and to apply it in a loose honourific way, thus confusing the whole issue of clear caste distinctions. The term "VēLāLar" is used in this sense as if it meant simply "honourable paddy cultivator".

The KurukkaL-s are the third High Caste group. The KurukkaL title is applied widely in Jaffna and in Tamilnadu to denote a Brahman or non-Brahman priestly occupational grade.[7] In Batticaloa, however, there is a distinct hereditary non-Brahman

7. Michael Banks, "Caste in Jaffna," *In* E. R. Leach (ed.) *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan*, London and New York: C.U.P., 1960, p. 69. Also, Brenda Beck, *Peasant Society in Koṅku*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1972, p. 71; Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization*, New York and London: Praeger, 1972, p. 111.

priestly group known by this general title. Yalman first suggested the possibility of their connection to the south Indian Lingāyat or Vīrasaiva sect,[8] and my subsequent research strongly confirms this. The KurukkaL-s in and near Akkaraipattu are perhaps 50% endogamous and are often seen as an undifferentiated group by the general public ("KurukkaL *KuTi*" or "KurukkaL *Vamisam*"). However the KurukkaL-s are in fact subdivided into three exogamous matriclans (interchangeably *kuTi* or *kōttiram*) which are named and have certain distinctive Vīrasaiva markings. Priests of each matriclan wear a different style of personal lingam. One matriclan is known as *Vīra Makēsvara Kuruliṅka Saṅkamar KurukkaL*, a title which fairly exudes symbols of Vīrasaiva identity. The term *Saṅkamar* itself is cognate with *Jangama*, the title of the Vīrasaiva priest in Mysore. The other two clans, *Tēsāntira KurukkaL* ("foreign KurukkaL") and *Sanniyāsi KurukkaL* ("ascetic KurukkaL") are less obviously linked to known Vīrasaiva titles, but when a variety of life crisis rituals, funeral customs, and legendary material is compared, there is little doubt that there has been a connection with the Vīrasaiva tradition in the past. The KurukkaL-s of Akkaraipattu do not maintain an active link with Vīrasaivas in India today, but they are aware of their Indian origins.

Matrilineal Descent Unit: *KuTi*

The Tamil word *kuTi* is applied by members of all castes and communities in the Batticaloa region to denote a matrilineal clan. The word can also signify a hut or a new settlement colony. I have used the anthropological term "clan" because the *kuTi* is a named unilineal (matrilineal) descent unit the members of which see themselves in principle as kinsmen but have no conception of any specific genealogical connections which might unify the entire group as a true lineage. A few *kuTi-s* were said to have legendary founders, sometimes female but quite often male. Many *kuTi*-s seem to lack any distinct mythical ancestor, sharing instead only a presumption of noble or grandiose historical beginnings which is implicit in the name of the clan, for example *PaTaiyāNTa kuTi* ("Ruler of the Army") or *Rāsāmpiḷḷai KuTi* ("Child of the King"). Other *kuTi*-s reveal in their names a putative ethnic or racial origin: *VēTar Vēḷāḷar KuTi* (Veddah or aboriginal hunter) or *SiṅkaḷaVēḷāḷar KuTi* (Sinhalese). The clan names are not incorporated into personal names of individuals. The number seven is repeatedly expressed as the culturally "correct" number of matriclans within a given caste, although empirically the number of *kuTi*-s in a locality is often more or less than seven. For the Moors, the "correct" number is 18, but similar problems occur there as well. Most clan names are in fact caste specific or community specific, so that by knowing a person's *kuTi* one usually knows that person's caste or community as well. There is some overlap between High Caste Tamil matriclan names and Moorish matriclan names which people explain as an artifact of ancient Tamil/Moorish intermarriage or conversion of Tamils to Islam. Today no intermarriage takes place, and Tamils and Moors with the same *kuTi* name act as if the two clans are totally separate.

8. Nur Yalman, *Under the Bo Tree: Studies in Caste, Kinship and Marriage in the Interior of Ceylon*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967, p. 331n.

One immediately thinks of the matrilineal groups of the Malabar Coast in discussing the *kuTi*, and in fact there is a good deal of evidence to indicate that the origins of the Mukkuvar caste were among the ancestors of the present day Mukkuvar Fishermen of Kerala. However, if one examines the features of the Nayar *taravād*, for example, there are very few resemblances with the *kuTi* in the present situation. The *kuTi* is not a property-owning group, although there is some historical evidence that it, or lesser units within it, may have been so in the mid-19th century.[9] In a sense property is transmitted matrilineally today through dowry which, if it is land or immovables, is deeded solely to the daughter or to the daughter and son-in-law jointly. Marriage is initially matrilocal among all groups, but this does not result in a matrilineal extended household like the Nayar *taravād*. Within several years of marriage, either the daughter and the son-in-law are provided with a separate dwelling nearby, or the girl's parents actually relocate, leaving the natal dwelling to the married daughter. Provision of a "house and compound" (*vīTu vaLavu*) is the minimum standard for a respectable dowry.

The *kuTi* has no ancestral home, no formal territorial or geographical foundation. *KuTi* names are widely distributed over distances of up to 60 miles, although some clans are more localized within major settlement areas. There is no cult of *kuTi* ancestors or of tutelary deities. Several major Hindu temples which serve as regional pilgrimage centers (*tēsattukkōvil*-s) are managed by one, two, or three specific *kuTi*-s, but this amounts to a statement of local political dominance rather than serving as the focus for any clan-centered worship. The political role of *kuTi*-s is in fact a very important aspect of *kuTi* traditions which are kept alive today.

Today the *kuTi* is salient in two readily apparent areas: it is recognized as a strictly exogamous unit in the regulation of marriage choice, and it is the basis of mosque and temple administration. Frequently defined as an exogamous unit in the comments of informants, it seems to serve as an additional barrier to terminologically forbidden parallel-cousin marriage, for the operative Dravidian kinship system logically implies that cross-cousins (preferred mates) never arise within the same *kuTi*. Among Moors and High Caste Tamils the position that kinship terms "take precedence" over exogamy ideas[10] was impossible to verify because informants were unwilling to visualize the initial *kuTi*-endogamous marriage which would "generate" a cross-cousin within one's own *kuTi*. In fact, violations of *kuTi* exogamy are exceedingly rare. Marriage within the same *kuTi* never exceeded 3% of the sampled marriages among Moors, High Caste Tamils, TaTTār-s, and SāNTār-s. Within samples of Service Caste marriages the percentages of *kuTi*-endogamous marriages were as follows: VaNNār 26%, Nāvitar 61%, Paraiyar 19%.

Every member of a *kuTi* inherits from his mother membership in the clan as well as affiliation with a specific mosque or temple. Members of a *kuTi* within such a temple or mosque congregation select a *kuTi* leader, known as the *VaNNakkar* in the Tamil case and the *Maraikkar* in the Moorish case. There is no rule of matri-

9. Christopher Brito, *The Mukkuva Law*, Colombo: H. D. Gabriel, 1876.
10. cf. Yalman, 1967, p. 330.

lineal succession today, but there may have been one in the past. The *VaNNakkar* or *Maraikkar* sits with the leaders of all other *kuTi*-s from within the same caste or community on a temple or mosque board which supervises all facets of the institution's affairs. It is the *VaNNakkar* or *Maraikkar* who must canvass the *kuTi* membership for financial contributions to support the operation of the temple or mosque and to sponsor religious festivals. *kuTi* leaders have been steadily losing their traditional authority to adjudicate misdemeanours and settle disputes, but some residuum of this power remains.

Although the practice is considered somewhat old fashioned today, *kuTi*-s and whole castes are traditionally accorded certain "marks of honour" (*varisai*-s) which are ritual prerogatives families can display at domestic ceremonies such as weddings and funerals. The different (but specific) numbers of decorated pots (*vīTTu-muTi*-s) or knotted saris which are placed outside the house, the different types of lamps and paraphernalia, etc., are all known as *varisai*-s. Access to the services of each of the Service Castes is counted a *varisai*. Moorish *kuTi*-s seem to have participated to some extent in this system, although there has been a recent effort to erase these Tamil-linked traditions. There is some evidence that a few Moorish *kuTi*-s were once denied the services of the VaNNār Washerman, for example. Among the TaTTār Smiths, only one *kuTi* was said to have originally had the services of the Paraiyar Drummers at funerals, although now all TaTTār-s are served. The SāNTār Climbers renounced their ritual role in High Caste Hindu temple ceremonies and constructed their own temple elsewhere in response to the refusal of the High Caste leaders to allow SaNTar families the *varisai* of Paraiyar drumming at their funerals. These examples indicate the importance which has been traditionally placed on outward signs of clan and caste status in this society. The primary justification which is given for these ritual distinctions is that they formed part of an over-all political organization of society in which the ŪrppōTiyār (and by extension, the Mukkuvar kings) assigned and regulated the rights and obligations of all groups.

The *kuTi* exhibits practically no sign of systematic internal subdivisions (lineages, sublineages) except in a few Moorish *kuTi*-s, and even here tracing such matrilines is extremely difficult and vague. A few interesting examples of conflict within the *kuTi* were noted where special distinctions of descent had been put forward in support of claims to temple office or temple lands, but such assertions would seem to be dormant under ordinary conditions.

In general, the *kuTi* seems to express a rather weak principle of matriliny. The common expression for matriliny is *tāy vaRi* or *peN vaRi* (lit. "mother-way" or "woman-way"), and there is the well known adage: *vērōTi viLāTti MuLaittālum tāy vaRi tappātu*, or roughly, "Even though the wood-apple tree sends out roots which sprout up, the maternal connection is never lost". Having heard this sort of thing often enough, one is still faced with the fact that in ordinary conversations with informants there is frequently a lack of explicit awareness of the formal requirements of mātrilineal descent. People will mention *tāy vaRi* and in the same breath go on to speak with evident lack of rigour about male ancestors and vague descent from "father to son" within the *kuTi*. When an objection is raised, people always see the

point and rephrase the statement in matrilineal terms, but it is clear that thinking is not always consistent in these matters.

Samples of households within each of the major Tamil castes as well as within the Moorish community were investigated to see what patterns of *kuTi* affiliations existed. The Moorish *kuTi*-s, the High Caste Tamil *kuTi*-s, and the *kuTi*-s within the TaTTār and SāNTār castes tend to have magnificent if somewhat enigmatic names which have connotations of eminence and feudal honour. The Tamil Service Castes have simple *kuTi* names which refer to specific villages or areas within the Batticaloa region. The Moorish population is distributed in significant numbers over 8-10 different matriclans, and the same is true of the High Caste Tamils. However, among both the Moors and the High Caste Tamils there is one *kuTi* which is appreciably larger numerically than any other, accounting for 20-25% of all *kuTi* affiliations within my household samples. Tamil castes below the High Caste stratum generally show strong numerical representation in only two or three *kuTi*-s. The High Caste matriclan pattern seems to be a model for emulation by the lower castes, and lower caste informants were sometimes apologetic for what they saw as deviation or lack of rigour (for example, *kuTi* exogamy violations).

Problems of Interpretation

Yalman's brief analysis of the matrilineal *kuTi* system as it was described to him by informants in Panama and Tambiluvil is predicated on the assumption of a set of ranked exogamous matriclans and a pattern of hypergamous marriage centered on concepts of ritual status.[11] Yalman's conclusion is to interpret the system along Nayar lines as a strongly unilineal (matrilineal) pattern of caste-like groupings. Bilateral caste descent is seen as less important than matrilineal descent. Thus Yalman explains the confusing remarks of informants who seem to be jumbling up categories of *kuTi* and caste interchangeably.

On the basis of my own research I can verify that local discussions of *kuTi* and caste can be extremely confusing, but the confusion is centered on the High Caste stratum rather than on the lower castes or the Moors. Affiliation with any of the Professional or Service Castes (TaTTār Smiths, Nāvitar Barbers, etc.) is clearly conceptualized in bilateral terms by local informants, and all such lower castes are strongly endogamous. Within the High Caste stratum, however, people often identify their matriclans as being either one of the several traditional "VēLāLar" *kuTi*-s or "Mukkuvar" *kuTi*-s. Quasi-historical traditions of conquest and local sovereignty are often cited by informants to verify the "caste" affiliation of a given matriclan. There are a number of lesser *kuTi*-s whose "caste" affiliation is more ambiguous, but the prominant VēLāLar and Mukkuvar claims are said to be validated by ancient temple manuscripts (*ēTu*-s, *kalveTTu*-s). I was frequently treated to impromptu songs and recitations from these sources.

Not all High Caste matriclans in Akkaraipattu fall unambiguously into either the Mukkuvar or the VēLāLar categories. The KurukkaL clans are recognized to be

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 313-315 and 325-331.

distinct, and there are several *kuTi*-s which celebrate *VēTar* (Veddah, aboriginal hunter) or *SiṅkaLa* (Sinhalese) origins. There are also a number of very small clans which incorporate the "VēLāLar" title but which are recognized to be marginal and not linked with the VēLāLar caste in any formal tradition. All *kuTi*-s are exogamous, and there is said to be no formal restriction on marriage between all *kuTi-s* in the High Caste stratum (both within and between putative "caste" groupings). Such marriages were verified in the survey data, and thus the whole meaning of bilateral caste affiliation at the highest level of Tamil society was thrown into some doubt.

KuTi Hierarchy and Hypergamy

One of the initial tasks of the fieldwork was to see whether *kuTi* hierarchy and hypergamous marriage were actually found in Akkaraipattu. No exhaustively ranked series of matriclans was found to exist among the High Caste Tamils. Instead, only two *kuTi*-s were identified as having a distinctly superior position among local clans: *PaNikkanā KuTi* and *MaRuvarasan KuTi*. A similar situation was found by Hiatt to exist in nearby Tambiluvil, where the two high-ranking *kuTi*-s are *KaNTan KuTi* and *KaTTappattān KuTi*.[12] Neither Hiatt nor I found it possible to obtain a ranking of High Caste matriclans beyond the isolation of these foremost *kuTi* pairs. Among the lower Tamil castes there was some willingness to isolate certain *kuTi*-s as more prestigious than others, but this tendency varied from caste to caste. Consensus was perhaps strongest among the *TaTTār* Smiths and the Paraiyar Drummers. The idea of *kuTi* hierarchy was recognized in all castes except the Nātivar Barbers, where apathy on such questions was greatest, but there was often a discrepancy between remnants of a traditional hierarchy and present day demographic realities.

I pursued the question of *kuTi* hierarchy a bit farther with the Moors of Akkaraipattu, who seemed slightly more willing to carry out formal opinion rankings of the Moorish *kuTi*-s. No Moorish informants were able to give an exhaustive ranking of all the 22 *kuTi*-s on the list, but there was clear definition of one *kuTi* (*RasampiLLai KuTi*) as superior to the rest. There was a non-discrete tendency to rank another nine *kuTi*-s below *RasampiLLai KuTi*, an undifferentiated bloc of 11 more *kuTi*-s, and one *kuTi* which was ranked at the bottom of the scale. The Moorish *kuTi* ranking data are severely weakened by the fact that respondents refused to rank *all* the *KuTi*-s listed in the questionnaire. When the data were retabulated to eliminate ranking judgements regarding clans with which Ego, spouse, Ego's parents, and spouse's parents were known to be affiliated, the sample was further reduced but the ranking profile was essentially the same. Because of frequent abstentions by respondents, the great majority of ranking comparisons in the Moorish *kuTi* matrix show cell totals which amount to only a fraction of the total possible response.

All this attention to possible ranking of Moorish matriclans was necessary in order to conduct a statistical test of *de facto* hypergamy which it was thought might

12. L. R. Hiatt, "The Pattini Cult of Ceylon: A Tamil Perspective," *Social Compass*, 1973, V20: 237.

exist despite informants' denials of such a pattern. No one in Akkaraipattu seems to recognize even the principle of hypergamy; in fact, it is difficult even to discuss it because of the absence of an appropriately convenient Tamil word or phrase for hypergamy. Nonetheless, a computer programme using a log-linear model for contingency tables was used to generate a set of expected marriage frequencies between a provisionally ranked set of the eleven largest *kuTi*-s in the Moorish sample, assuming conditions of strict exogamy and no hypergamy. A comparison of expected versus observed marriage frequencies confirmed the absence of hypergamy in behavioural terms, thus corroborating the absence of hypergamy as a cultural ideal.

Marriage Alliance between *KuTi-s*

In place of hypergamy and strict *kuTi* ranking, there was found to be a strong tendency toward reciprocal marriage exchange between the two highest ranking High Caste *kuTi*-s and a much weaker tendency toward favoured intermarriage between the single highest ranking Moorish *kuTi* and one or two other Moorish *kuTi*-s.[13] The question of specific marriage alliances among the lower caste matriclans is greatly constrained by simple demographic factors, since no more than three numerically important *kuTi*-s are usually found in these lower castes.

A number of Tamil expressions are used to indicate the idea of reciprocal marriage exchange between two *kuTi*-s, such as *koNTān koTuttān* ("receiving and giving"), *maccān maccinan* ("brothers-in-law"), or *sōTi sōTi* ("paired up"). It accords with a feature of the Dravidian kinship system shared by both Tamils and Moors whereby marriage both generates and reaffirms affinal (marriageable) ties between bilateral cross-cousins. The terminology also logically implies that affines of affines (cross-cousins of cross-cousins) are classificatory kin, in Ego's generation viewed as siblings, hence not allowed to intermarry. Although some degree of disregard for these sort of terminological distinctions has been noted elsewhere,[14] in Akkaraipattu people seem to take them very seriously. Therefore, when people of Clan X marry people of Clan Y, and Clan Y has simultaneous marriage ties to Clan Z, it is recognized by local people that there will be a logical tendency to restrict marriage between Clan X and Clan Z. The logic of the terminology, which applies initially only to specific individuals in specific marriage situations, is sometimes transposed onto the level of whole *kuTi*-s, where expressions like *koNTān koTuttān* are matched by terms like *aNNan tampi* ("elder brother—younger brother") or non-marriageable *kuTi*-s. In actuality these idealized relationships between *kuTi*-s are only found in a few cases where an over-all preference in marriage choice is clearly evident. The only clear examples among the High Caste population are marriage alliances between *PaNikkanā KuTi* and *MaRuvarasan KuTi*, *PaNikkanā KuTi* and *VēTa VēLāLar KuTi*, and

13. This pattern of marriage alliance has been described at length in C. Levi-Strauss, *Les Structures Elémentaires de la Parenté*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949, and Louis Dumont, *Hierarchy and Marriage Alliance in South Indian Kinship*, Occasional Paper No. 12, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1957; and in many others. This marriage alliance pattern was explicitly recognised by many High Caste Tamil informants but somewhat less often noted by Moorish informants.

14. cf. Beck, 1972, p. 213.

between the three KurukkaL matriclans. The public recognition of specific *aNNan tampi* (non-marriageable) *kuTi*-s was not as consistent as the recognition of the *koNTān koTuttān* (allied) *kuTi*-s, but when data on marriage was collected the predicted tendency toward reduced intermarriage between certain *kuTi*-s was noticeable, for example between *VēTa VēLāLar KuTi* and *MaRuvarasan KuTi*.

Thus, rather than a unidirectional tendency to transfer women along hypergamous lines as Yalman's data would predict, the data from both Akkaraipattu and Tambiluvil indicate reciprocal exchange of women in both directions between certain pairs of high-prestige matriclans. One of the major hindrances to comprehension of the underlying principles of caste and matriclan organization in this area is the apparent absence of any well articulated "ideology of descent" and the lack of concern with ethnophysiological concepts such as blood, semen, milk, and the like. This is puzzling in view of the recent amount of work which as been done on defining indigenous ideologies of "common substance and code" in South Asia.[15] Yalman's analysis of his own Kandyan Sinhalese data from Terutenne benefits considerably from a discussion of indigenous concepts of bilaterally transmitted "caste blood" and patrilineally transmitted "aristocratic blood", two rather inconsistent ideas which were nonetheless put forward at the same time in Terutenne.

If anything, informants in Akkaraipattu found the word "blood" (*irattom*) somewhat coarse and impolite, and no one happily stuck to the topic for long. Except among the KurukkaL-s, the idea of substance is virtually absent from High Caste discussions of marriage and *kuTi* affiliation. When questions of specific caste affiliation are raised, informants often reason backwards from the name of a person's matriclan to his or her putative "caste" membership: "He is a man of *PaNikkanā KuTi*, so he must be a Mukkuvar". The clan name often has traditional caste connotations, but the assertion of caste membership is too facile. When informants are then pinned down to the question of "pure" versus "mixed" VēLāLar or Mukkuvar caste identity, they tend to waffle or they shrug off the question as Scholastic and meaningless. Some say, "VēLāLar or Mukkuvar, what is the difference?" and others say, "There is no such thing as a pure VēLāLar or a pure Mukkuvar".

Two Possible Analogies: "Aristocratic Pedigrees" and "Micro-caste"

One interpretation might be to see the Akkaraipattu High Caste situation as analogous to Yalman's description of the gradations of status within the large high-ranking Goigama caste in the Kandyan region.[16] The large unnamed High Caste stratum in Akkaraipattu would then serve as a parallel to the Kandyan Goigama, and the internal distinctions of "Mukkuvar" or "VēLāLar" could be seen to resemble the gradations of *wamsa* (aristocratic descent lines) in the Goigama example. Both

15. McKim Marriott and Ronald Inden, *An Ethnosociology of South Asian Caste Systems*, Paper presented at the 1972 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Toronto. Also, Ronald Inden and Ralph Nicholas, *The Defining Features of Kinship in Bengali Culture*, Mimeographed paper in the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, n.d. and Yalman, 1967, pp. 136-149.

16. Yalman, 1967, pp. 140-141.

Goigama and Tamil High Caste are defined as bilateral endogamous groups. Additional gradations of rank are transmitted patrilineally as *wamsa* in the Kandyan case and through matrilineal clans in the Akkaraipattu case. In perspective, however, the analogy suffers in two ways. First, there is no indication in Akkaraipattu of any dogma of unilineal substance as there is in the Kandyan example. Second, in Akkaraipattu the distinctions within the High Caste stratum are not "aristocratic pedigrees" or feudal titles which are appended to individual names like the Kandyan *vasagama* or *gedera* names Yalman reports from Terutenne. The distinctions in Akkaraipattu are based upon affiliation with larger groups (castes and ethnic/racial groups). The whole idea of "descent from" someone is relatively minimal in the Akkaraipattu case.

A second possibility is that Yalman's concept of the ideally endogamous bilateral kindred or "micro-caste" could be applicable to the Akkaraipattu data, particularly to instances of strong marriage alliance between certain *kuTi*-s. In Yalman's Terutenne, the *pavula* (kindred) fosters an ideal of endogamy, considers itself to be a clearly demarcated group, and evaluates its own status and the status of other *pavula*-s in terms of purity and pollution.[17] The "micro-caste" idea, although built on a different ethnographic pattern, does help to unravel some of the issues in the analysis of *kuTi* alliance, particularly when some of the obvious differences between a highland village of 1200 people and a coastal town of 20,000 inhabitants are kept in mind. There are two problems, however, which should be noted. In the first place, there is a straightforward problem of "real" versus "ideal" endogamy. In Akkaraipattu the image of the *koNTān koTuttān* marriage alliance between *kuTi*-s is not necessarily visualized as endogamy. Most informants see it as a distinct tendency or as a customary connection of long standing, but with at least 50% of the *kuTi* members' marriages falling outside the alliance, it is quite difficult to maintain an ideology of strict endogamy. In fact, there is little evidence of such an ideology.

The second difficulty with the "micro-caste" analogy is a more tentative and theoretical one based on the Dravidian kinship structure. Yalman's picture of the Kandyan *pavula* lays great stress on the ideal of equality among all *pavula* members in terms of wealth, commensality, and marriage. As Yalman has noted, the exchange of women in both directions is an evident sign of equality between groups. If one looks at the two high-ranking *kuTi*-s in Tambiluvil or at the clan structure of some of the lower castes in Akkaraipattu, the pattern of marriage exchange can be seen to occur between two matriclans of approximately equal size. Among the foremost High Caste *kuTi*-s in Akkaraipattu, however, *PaNikkanā KuTi* appears to be significantly larger than its traditionally allied *kuTi*, *MaRuvarasan*. Actually, *PaNikkanā KuTi* is found to have a significant *de facto* marriage exchange link with *VēTa VēLāLar KuTi* as well. There are thus three clans, rather than only two, linked by strong marriage ties, and a similar pattern of three linked clans is found among the KurukkaL-s. There is a problem of asymmetry here as marriage exchange cannot be general between all three clans without terminological contradiction. The two

17. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

clans for which intermarriage is curtailed are, in the Dravidian dichotomy, "kin" (or parallel relations) rather than "affines" (or cross relations). As Dumont and others have argued, there is a difference in the sort of behaviour and respect one shows to kin versus affines.[18] There is a sense of closeness and reciprocity between affines which is lacking between kin and which is symbolized, cemented, and even generated by the marriage tie. In cases of three or more strongly intermarrying clans, then, there is a built-in factor of inequality or distance between two of the clans.

A concrete example of this turns up in the fact that *VēTa VēLāLar KuTi* is generally ignored in discussions of the marriage alliance patterns of *PaNikkanā KuTi* despite the fact that *VēTa VēLāLar KuTi* comes fairly close to matching *MaRuvarasan KuTi* in terms of number of marriage links to *PaNikkanā*. A second example is seen in the case of the KurukkaL-s where there is a tendency for informants to discuss the issue of marriage alliance either with emphasis upon the *Tēsāntira/Saṅkamar KuTi* pair or with emphasis upon the *Tēsātira/Sanniyāsi kuTi* pair. These two orientations appear to be related to some factional rivalry within the KurukkaL group as a whole. These examples have been introduced to illustrate the point that raciprocal marriage exchange between matriclans is "most equal" when only two clans are involved. Therefore, the analogy of the "micro-caste" is fulfilled to a greater extent in certain *kuTi* alliances than in others.

In addition to what has been said in the way of theoretical difficulties, of course, there are a number of ways in which the Kandyan *pavula* and the Akkaraipattu *kuTi* alliance are empirically dissimilar. The *kuTi* alliance has no obvious tendencies toward equality of wealth, proximity of residence, economic cooperation, or restricted commensality, to name a few factors cited in the Kandyan case.[19] However, some of these factors would be quite difficult to isolate within as large and heterogeneous settlement as Akkaraipattu.

Bilateral Caste Descent and Matrilineal Office

At the outset it must be made clear that "*kuTi* alliance", the phenomenon we are discussing here, is not a general feature of all or even most marriages in the Akkaraipattu area. It is, however, a distinct tendency among certain matriclans which claim special status. The problem which I propose to discuss, then, is the nature of these rather special alliances and the cultural idioms which they express. Demographic constraints, such as the numerical strength of each *kuTi* within a given locality, have an important influence on the actual distribution of marriage choices, since everyone needs a spouse. However, the *kuTi* alliances being discussed here all show a significantly higher percentage of marriage exchange than numerical representation of these *kuTi*-s in the marriage pool would predict.

In my own view, the pattern of *kuTi* alliance can be seen as a setting within which two different kinds of status ideology are expressed, either separately or conjointly.

18. Louis Dumont, *Une sous-caste de L'Inde du Sud*, Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1957 and Louis Dumont, *Hierarchy and Marriage Alliance in Indian Kinship*, Occasional Paper No. 12, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1957.

19. Yalman, 1967, pp. 195-196.

The first is the ideology of bilateral caste descent, of gaining a share of some substance or metaphysical quality from both parents. This is unambiguously present in all discussions of marriages among the Professional and Service Castes, and it is why these lower castes are endogamous. It is seen among the Moorish community and among the Tamil High Caste stratum as a whole, both of which are themselves loosely named bilateral endogamous units. Finally, it is seen in certain *partially* endogamous groups, such as in *kuTi* alliances and among religious elites like the Bāwā-s, the Maulānā-s and the KurukkaL-s.

Members of the KurukkaL matriclans acknowledge that "pure" or "unmixed" KurukkaL ancestry is the ideal qualification for the hereditary priesthood, even though competing attractions persuade at least 50% of KurukkaL matriclan members to marry non-KurukkaL spouses. In Tambiluvil, the largest *kuTi*-s assert an ideology of "pure VēLāLar" caste descent, for which appropriate textual support is quickly adduced. The spokesmen of this ideology are particularly found among *KaNTan KuTi* and *KaTTappattān KuTi*, the two highest-ranking matriclans which express a cultural model of marriage exchange. This marriage alliance is only partially fulfilled in practice (30-50% of marriages), but the endogamous tendency is evident.

On the Moorish side, there are three small groups which illustrate the bilateral descent idea. The weakest example is the Maulānā-s, who have a patrilineal model of descent from various persons close to the Prophet (Fatima, Abubakkar, *et al.*). No one seems to bother to differentiate these specific ancestries in ordinary contexts, and the general title of Maulānā, which covers them all, is inherited in the male line. However, there is some tendency for Maulānā-s to exercise special care in contracting marriages, and it is said that if both parents are Maulānā-s (offspring of a Maulānā father) their children will possess extra saintliness. Most Maulānā-s are ordinary farmers and businessmen, but a number of them make protective copper talismans (*accaram*-s) engraved with Islamic symbols.

The Bāwā-s, who are members of a local Sufi Order, say that anyone can become a Bawa through study and dedication, but the son of a Bāwā father inherits a naturally saintly constitution which is conducive to a career as a Bāwā. If both parents are offspring of Bāwā-s, then the child has even greater saintliness. As in the Maulānā example, there is a initial tendency to think in terms of patrilineal descent (only men can be Bāwā-s), but the bilateral aspect of descent is readily revealed. Membership in Maulānā and Bāwā groups is not linked in any way to matriclans, although matriclan affiliation is present as well. Participation in the whole Moorish *kuTi* system makes it impossible for these groups to argue for strict "purity" of descent, but in both cases there is the principle of bilaterality and the tendency toward endogamy (particularly among the Bāwā-s).

The Moorish Ostā Barber/Circumciser group exemplifies bilaterality and endogamy carried to its logical extreme: strict caste boundaries. There is no way, in fact-in which the Ostā-s of Akkaraipattu differ sociologically from a low caste among the Tamils except that Moors are usually less anxious than the Tamils to discuss such low-ranking groups. Like the lower castes among the Tamils, the Ostā-s show

that the strictest endogamy occurs at the bottom rather than the top of the social hierarchy.

There is an ambiguity or vagueness about group prestige among the bulk of the Moorish population which shows up both in a relative lack of status ideology (*kuTi* traditions, caste identities) and in a less pronounced pattern of *kuTi* alliance. Among the Moors, the idea of a marriage alliance between matriclans is understood in a hypothetical sense, but specific matriclan marriage alliances are neither culturally idealized nor are they strongly evident in the marriage data. Several Moorish *kuTi*-s are commonly recognized to be "big" or important in mosque administration, and there is a tradition of succession to the office of *lebbe* (*levvai*, leader of prayers) within one matriclan at one mosque, but none of these traditions compare with the High Caste Tamil ideologies of caste descent, political succession, or priestly office.

Turning to the question of High Caste Tamil *kuTi* alliance, we can see that while bilateral descent concepts are present, there is also a strong set of ideas which celebrate political power, particularly as it is symbolized in the matrilineal clan. The alliance between *PaNikkanā KuTi* and *MaRuvarasan KuTi* does have underlying connotations of "purity" in the sense that the VēLāLar-s as a group are evidently accorded superiority to Mukkuvar-s as a group (see Table 1). However, there is a significant element of political symbolism as well. Legends of the founding of Akkaraipattu recount that the VēLāLar-s were the original "possessers" of the Service Castes (Washermen, Barbers, and Drummers) collectively known as the *kuTimai*. The Mukkuvar-s applied pressure to the VēLāLar-s, and after two of the VēLāLar leader's daughters had been enticed into marriage with the Mukkuvar-s, the VēLāLar-s capitulated, handing over the control of the *kuTimai* castes to the leader of the Mukkuvar-s. This leader was the *Ūrppōṭiyār* whose office is hereditary in *PaNikkanā KuTi* and the VēLāLar women whom he and other *PaNikkanā KuTi* men married were said to have been of *MaRuvarasan KuTi*. Thus the alliance between the two matriclans is given a "charter" in terms of both purity and power. VēLāLar-s do assert intrinsic superiority to Mukkuvar-s in terms of caste purity, but the Mukkuvar kings are said in legend to have held sovereignty over all castes in the Batticaloa region. The giving of women from *MaRuvarasan KuTi* to *PaNikkanā KuTi* is a sort of symbolic trade-off between purity and power, and it enables people today to argue *kuTi* alliance status in two ways. *PaNikkanā KuTi* informants often point with pride to their alliance with "VēLāLar-s", while *MaRuvarasan KuTi* informants boast of their intimate connection with the "*Ūrppōṭiyār*'s *kuTi*". Informants scoff at the idea of "pure" VēLāLar or "pure" Mukkuvar descent, because they recognize that the *PaNikkanā/MaRuvarasan* alliance is itself a mixing of castes. The legendary *PaNikkanā* clan could be said to have gained more than the *MaRuvarasan* clan from this arrangement, since *PaNikkanā* gained both substance *and* power from the capitulation of the VēLāLar-s. Needless to say, people in the strongly VēLāLar village of Tambiluvil tend to denigrate the *MaRuvarasan KuTi* in Akkaraipattu as being no longer a "true" VēLāLar matriclan. In Akkaraipattu, however, both *PaNikkanā KuTi* and *MaRuvarasan KuTi* are given equal status by most people, who say that the

alliance is based on a sharing of both substance and power which is beneficial to both matriclans.

Under closer examination, many of the *kuTi* alliance patterns in Akkaraipattu and Tambiluvil show that politics and the succession to matrilineal office are a second factor, in addition to bilateral descent, which consolidates the alliance. When people are asked about the connection between *PaNikkanā KuTi* and *VēTa VēLāLar KuTi*, for example, the reply often incorporates both dimensions. Symbolically it consists of Mukkuvar-s marrying Veddahs, who are said to be the original inhabitants of the land and therefore of high birth. At the same time it can be given a political interpretation: Mukkuvar-s (the conquering kings) intermarry with Veddahs (original rulers of the land).

The strength of the political idea in the way people look at the *PaNikkanā/MaRuvarasan* alliance is reflected in the whole pattern of succession to the post of *ŪrppōTiyār*. Ideally, succession should be from father to sister's son, but a second condition of legitimacy is that the *UrppōTiyār*'s wife *must* be of *MaRuvarasan KuTi*. The most perfect successor would in fact be a sister's son who was also a daughter's husband, and this was often pointed out to me in spite of the fact that such "perfect" successions have never occurred in the last five generations. The point here, however, is that *MaRuvarasan KuTi* has an acknowledged *right* to supply the wife of the *ŪrppōTiyār* and that, like the office of *ŪrppōTiyār*, the "wife-hood" itself has the seed of matrilineal office implicit in it.

In a broader context *kuTi* affiliation is a "multivocal" symbol which permits of more than one primary interpretation.[20] In a certain sense the most important "thing" which is inherited matrilineally is the matriclan name. Given the name, it is then possible to argue two lines: (1) since *kuTi*-s have legendary associations with particular castes (VēLāLar, Mukkuvar, Veddah, etc.), *kuTi* affiliation can be used to say something about bilateral caste substance; (2) since *kuTi*-s transmit unilineal rights to certain offices (*ŪrppōTiyār*, *VaNNakkar* of a *tēsattukkōvil*, *Saṅkamar* versus *Tēsāntiram* KurukkaL priesthoods, etc.), *kuTi* affiliation can be used to say something about hereditary power and authority. If both aspects of the *kuTi* symbol (purity and office) can be brought together, so much the better for the assertion of unique status. This is actually seen most clearly in Tambiluvil, where each of the two high-ranking allied *kuTi*-s has the hereditary right to appoint a chief trustee of one of the two main Hindu temples. However, throughout the Batticaloa region there is a certain ambivalence about power and purity which seems in some ways to be the heritage of the Mukkuvar kingship. Keep in mind that the KurukkaL-s seem never to have truly played the role of the Brahman as a rival of kingly power; in fact, informants today would deny claims to KurukkaL superiority on the grounds that KurukkaL-s are traditionally employees (=servants) in temples managed by High Caste non-KurukkaL-s. The ideology of power, feudal sovereignty, and matrilineal succession to office thus is shown to be a strong rival of bilateral descent concepts throughout the region.

20. V. W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Chicago: Aldine, 1969, p. 41.

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Spatial Organization and Normative Schemes in Jaffna, Northern Sri Lanka*

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Introducing Jaffna Peninsula of Northern Sri Lanka

The Jaffna Peninsula is vaguely oval with an area of 964½ square miles. At the time of the last census in 1963 it was inhabited by 612,000 Tamil-speaking Hindus.[1] Although exact datings may be debated, let us say that steady settlement by merchants and traders was established by the 7th century A.D.; thereafter this area became heavily colonized by the dominant landowners of Jaffna, the Veḷḷāla caste and their serving castes (*kuṭimākkal*) during the period of the Pandyan empire in South India (particularly during the 13th and 14th centuries A.D.). Due to limestone subsoil (the cement factory at Kankesanturai is the heaviest industry in Jaffna) and relatively low rainfall, the area is less suited to paddy agriculture than the south of Sri Lanka. Most land is devoted to cash crops (tobacco, chillies, onions, arecanut, and tomatoes). The sandy beach which surrounds the peninsula varies from several yards to one half of a mile. Progressing inland, the next ring of the oval has good agricultural land—black alluvial soil. The inner oval, the central region of the peninsula, has reddish, fertile soil. Due to population increases over the last three centuries this area has become progressively more intensively cultivated with, mainly, cash crops. This isolated peninsula provides a natural laboratory for demarcating variations in spatial, social and cultural organization.

There are five parts to this paper. In Part I, I contrast the spatial organization in agricultural villages, fishing villages and artisan towns in the Jaffna Peninsula. This comparison raises the possibility that agricultural, fisher, and artisan castes are involved in different types of intercaste relations and of their commitment to contrary normative schemes. In Part II, I outline two extreme types of intercaste exchanges. Each extreme type, or *mode*, is defined in terms of seven pattern variables: recruitment, time, space, clientele, pricing mechanism, context, and vector of relationships. Actors orient their action to the two modes of intercaste relations by means of two contrary *normative schemes*. Each scheme is a logically connected set of symbols and meanings. These schemes are described in Part III. Value-orientation means translating norms into action. Value-orientation to the contrary normative schemes is not limited to intercaste conduct, that is, involvement in different modes of relations; in Part IV, I summarize the spatial organization data from the three villages to show the differentials in value-orientation to the normative schemes: different norms are

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1. *Census of Ceylon*, Colombo: Government Press, 1963.

incorporated into village structure in the agricultural village, the fishing village, and the artisan town.[2] In Part V, I comment on several methodological issues raised by explanations of spatial structure variation in Sri Lanka and South India, comparing my findings with those of Joan Mencher on Kerala and Brenda Beck on the Koṅku region of Tamiḻnad.

Note that different descriptive terms are used for different parts of the analysis. *Mode* is used to describe patterns of behaviour. *Scheme* is used to describe ideas and norms about behaviour.

PART I: Three Villages

In part I, I describe first, a Veḻḻāḻar (Landowner caste) dominated agricultural village; second, a Karaiyār (Fisherman caste) dominated fishing village; and third, rural towns inhabited but not necessarily dominated by various artisan castes. Subsections on spatial organization are: general village structure (nucleation of wards/nucleation of village); relation of ward structure to kin structure and to status-grade structure; location of pure and impure serving castes; and spatial symbolism of serving castes re purity and honour.

Myliddy North, A Veḻḻāla dominated Agricultural Village: General Village Structure

Myliddy North, a Landowner dominated agricultural village, is not nucleated as are villages in the Tamiḻ region of South India. Myliddy North is composed of wards (*kuricci*; literally, sections). The ward is nucleated; the ward's farmlands surround a cluster of compounds, each including house and garden land, and, usually, a ward temple. Since wards and villages lack the distinct boundaries and boundary protection ceremonies frequently reported in South India, an observer cannot visibly distinguish two wards of the same village from two wards of adjacent villages. This spatial perception is not gratuitous as each ward and not the entire village is the locus of political, economic, and ritual exchanges between a section of the Landowner caste and sections of serving castes (who serve only ward residents and their close kinsmen who live in designated wards of nearby villages). Intralocal orientation and (purity) seclusion is spatially represented by the traditional narrow twisting lanes in the village: a Landowner's house is almost inaccessible to a stranger.

Wards, Kinship, and Status Grades

The Jaffna ward is not a corporate unit in a strict sense—as in Tengalapatti, a village near Madurai in Tamiḻnad, where land ownership can be correlated fairly closely with peasant caste (Pramalai Kallar) unilineal lineage structure.[3] Landowner caste residents of each ward in a Jaffna agricultural village are from three to five

2. Elsewhere I test the wider value-orientations of agricultural, fishing, and artisan castes with two other classes of data; incorporation of norms into caste origin myths and behavioural strategies of stratifying or nonstratifying intercaste ranking transactions. See Kenneth David, "Hierarchy and Equivalence in Ceylon: Normative Code as Mediator," *In* Kenneth David (ed.), *The New Wind: Changing Identities in South Asia, Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, The Hague: Mouton, 1974 and "And Never the Twain Shall Meet? Mediating the Structural Approaches to Caste Ranking," *In* Harry Buck (ed.), *Structural Approaches to South Indian Studies*, Chambersburg, Pa.: Wilson College Press, 1974.
3. Louis Dumont, *Une Sous-caste de l' Inde du Sud*, Paris: Mouton, 1957.

patrilineal descent categories (*cantati*[4]). Land in each ward is controlled by members of several of these affinially-linked units. Since land is transmitted mainly through dowry from mother to daughter but also as inheritance from father to children, more couples live at the wife's house than at the husband's house immediately after marriage. But when the wife's land is given in dowry and the husband inherits from his father they may relocate. Endless variations all result in dispersed (*cantati*) units: there are no localized unilineal descent groups corporately owning distinct wards in Jaffna.

Yet there is a culturally shared fiction:[5] the identification of each ward with one particular unit (*cantati*) and its founding ancestor (*vari*). Each of the four wards in Myliddy North has both a place name and also a *vari* name. An aristocratic original settler of the ward is identified as the founder of the lineage supposedly residing there, but no present inhabitant can trace the genealogy back to the founder. In fact, only some of the male and female descendants of the original settler live in the ward. And only some of these people were born there: others were born and raised in another village and married (cross-cousin marriage) back into their "ancestral village." This fictional identification of wards with kin units and with a founding ancestor is the Landowner Who's Who:

> "Oh. He only lives in Cunnakam. He is from Tayoli,* from the Vadikkārar* line (*vari*). How could my daughter marry him", sniffed a Landowner lady. (*pseudonyms)

Given dispersed kin units, this fiction facilitates tracing distantly connected members of one's unit and judging potential marriage allies' purity and honour.

There is another shared fiction, the closed circle of marriage alliances. Each unit is allied with, i.e. has continuing marriage connections with, several other units. Each unit thus has a set of allied units. In native theory, the alliance sets of all one's allies should coincide and yield a closed status circle of close kinsmen (*kiṭṭiya con-*

4. A more accurate, but wordy, translation of *cantati* would be "sharers of natural bodily substance." The term *unit*, used hereafter, must suffice. A *cantati* closely resembles Schneider's requirements of a descent category as a cultural construct: "The descent category contains persons or statuses linked in three different kinds of ways. They are first linked as kinsmen, or by consanguinity, or however the kin universe is culturally defined as against non-kin. Second, these statuses are linked by the kinds of differentiated links out of which the genealogy or kin universe itself is constructed. Third, they are linked by the kind of connection which defines them as a descent category." David Schneider, "Kinship and Culture: Descent and Filiation as Cultural Constructs," *Southwest Journal of Anthropology*, 1967, XXIII: 68. The third 'kind of connection' is, as I have stated, "sharers of natural bodily substance"; native theory of natural substance states that all kinsmen, *contakkārar*, share natural substance (blood) but only the *cantati* are *cakōtarar*, sharers of natural substance (body). Certainly, Jaffna *cantati-s* are not corporate unilineal descent groups. Dumont's surveys South Indian castes and finds both harmonic (patrilineal + patrilocal or matrilineal + matrilocal) and disharmonic (patrilineal + matrilocal or matrilineal + patrilocal) arrangements. Louis Dumont, *Hierarchy and Marriage Alliance in South Indian Kinship*, Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1957. I submit that only the harmonic arrangement permits a descent category to function as a local descent group. The Jaffna *cantati*, being patrilineal + matri/patrilocal, is disharmonic; the unit is dispersed over several villages and controls no unified, corporate landholding. See Kenneth David, "Until Marriage do us Part; a Cultural Account of Dravidian Categories for Kinsmen," *Man*, 1973, VIII (4).

5. Landowners refer to a tradition (*paramparai*). My use of *fiction* implies the 'as-if' nature of a culture's traditions.

takkarar), each circle having an unique shared bodily substance and thus an unique level of blood purity and aristocratic honour: a grade with the caste. In fact, units resident in different wards of a village do not intermarry. Members of several affinally-linked units reside in each ward. Each unit is mainly allied with other units in the ward or from designated wards in other villages. So far, native theory fits native fact. But geneaologies prove that the alliance sets of the various units overlap but do not coincide. For example, unit A is allied with units B, C, and D; unit B is allied with units A, C, and E; unit C is allied with units A, B, D, and F. Frequently, the affines of close kinsmen, for example, B's ally E and C's ally F, are distant kinsmen (*tūratte contakkārar*) to each other; they have no continuing marriage alliance and their women do not dine together as do close kinswomen. Villagers definitely conceive of such a "closed" alliance set as a distinct though unnamed grade within the caste.[6]

The Landowner caste distinguishes two generic divisions. All the traditions mentioned so far are most developed among the aristocratic Landowners, *Periya* (big) Veḷḷāḷar, powerful grades of the caste who had many servants, titles, offices, and an undoubted reputation for being Veḷḷāḷa. The term *Cinna* (Little) Veḷḷāḷar labels a miscellaneous collection of castes who have become landowners and then become lower grades of the Landowner caste. There is a Tamil proverb: "Kaḷḷar, Maravar, and Akampatiyar (castes) slowly, slowly become Veḷḷāḷa." In fact, the commoners in this village were formerly Akampatiyars.[7]

Village sociologists of the Landowner caste recognize that certain fictions, the identification of a ward with a particular unit whose ancestor founded the ward, and the closed circle of kin yield a coherent native theory of the homology between three structural principles: territory, kinship, and caste. Segmentation of territorial units (*kuricci*-wards) coincides with segmentation of the caste into kin units (*cantati*). Continuing alliance of kin units yields closed circles of kinsmen (*kiṭṭiya contakkārar*), grades of the caste defined as equivalent in purity and honour with reference to the founding ancestors of each of the units. Foreshadowing conclusions, this homology implies that the hierarchic priestly and aristocratic ideas are incorporated into spatial arrangement.

Location of Pure/Impure Serving Castes and Pure Non-Serving Castes within the Village

The distinction between aristocratic and commoner Veḷḷāḷa is firmly based in differential amounts of land owned per family. Although household surveys show that an aristocratic Veḷḷāḷa family owns something over seven acres and a commoner Veḷḷāḷa family owns about three quarters of an acre, I am dubious about these figures because every landowner fears land seizure and distribution (under 1974 government policy) and thus understimates his or her holdings. I was not able to obtain land records.

6. This data does not support Yalman's thesis of microcastes as closed corporate kindreds (See Nur Yalman, *Under the Bo Tree, Studies in Caste, Kinship and Marriage in the Interior of Ceylon*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967) any more than it supports a thesis of corporate unilineal descent groups. Also, given the distinction between allied affines/nonallied affines that is, close/distant kinsmen (*kittiya/turatte contakkārar*), Bank's description of a set of allied units as a "sondakara caste" is questionable: *contakkārar* refers to all kinsmen, whether close or distant, allied or nonallied. See Michael Banks, "Caste in Jaffna," *In* E. R. Leach (ed.), *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon, and North-west Pakistan*, Cambridge: C.U.P., 1960.
7. Koviar Veḷḷāḷa, like Akampatiyar-Veḷḷāḷa, call themselves Veḷḷāḷa and are insulted when referred to as Koviar or Akampatiyar.

Relative difference in landholdings between these two categories can be estimated from the location of serving castes within the village. For serving castes occupy lands given them by aristocratic Veḷḷāḷa in return for their services. Priests—whether *Brahmins* or *Saiva Kurukkals*—subsist partially from the produce of (*māṇiyam*) lands donated to them or to the local temple by the temple manager (*maṇiyam*). Each family of Koviar domestics was given usufructory rights on house lands (*valavu*) and cash-crop garden lands (*toṭṭam*) whose produce provides the subsistence requirements for the family. The term for a sufficient amount of land to provide subsistence is *aṇiyam;* the extent of land varies with the locality: before recent inflation, the necessary amount of land in this area was *āyiram kaṇḍu tarai*, the area necessary to plant 1000 tobacco plants (i.e. 3 3/4 latchams or just under $\frac{1}{4}$ acre). In return, the *Koviar* must cultivate other of the master's lands, care for cattle, do household chores, and perform many ritual duties. While the *Koviar*, a clean caste, is settled on garden land, the unclean *Nalavar* (or, elsewhere, *Pallar*) caste are given palmyrah land for their subsistence requirements (*aṇiyam*). Palmyrah leaves are essential for agriculture—i.e. green manure—and for fences, roofing, and mats; these products indicate some of the *Nalavar's* productive activities. In addition, sale of fermented palmyrah sap, toddy, forms part of their income. Unlike *Koviars* and *Nalavars*, who serve mainly one family and who are given productive land, barbers and washermen, who serve many families, are given only houseland by the aristocratic Veḷḷāḷa. These four kinds of settlements are still reasonably distinct in 1974, although many parcels have now been rented or bought from the aristocratic Veḷḷāḷa. Then serving caste settlements indicate the previous extent of aristocratic Veḷḷāḷa landholdings. In contrast, commoner Veḷḷāḷa possess just their own house and agricultural land but do not have sufficient land to distribute to serving castes. Ability or lack of ability to allocate land to serving castes results in another distinction between aristocratic and commoner Veḷḷāḷa. Aristocrats have hereditary serving castes (*kudimākkal*) while commoner Veḷḷāḷa must hire members of these serving castes for productive and ritual labour. Once again, the distinction between aristocratic and commoner Veḷḷāḷa is reflected in land use and spatial arrangements of pure and impure serving castes.

Location of serving castes also reflects the notions of purity and impurity. Although the pattern is not as clear as in Tamilnadu, South India, where villages contain caste specific streets and untouchables are segregated into a distinct settlement, there is a general correlation between relative caste status and residential proximity to the aristocratic Veḷḷāḷa areas. Commoner Veḷḷāḷa and *Koviar* areas are adjacent to aristocratic Veḷḷāḷa areas; barbers and washermen live further away; and *Nalavar* untouchables live still further away.

It must be noted that this spatial symbolism (proximate garden land given to pure serving castes vs. distant palmyrah land given to impure serving castes) is irrelevant in the case of pure non-serving castes also resident in Myliddy North. Houses of Carpenters, Blacksmiths, and landowning Karaiyar fishermen adjoin untouchable areas. Carpenters live in palmyrah lands.[8]

8. This spatial separatism is reminiscent of the connundrum reported by David Pocock in "Notes on Jajmani Relationships," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* VI, 1963: "Artisans are considered to be higher than Brahmins or lower than Untouchables." For in Tamilnad, some villages have separate *ceris* for artisans—just as there are separate *ceris* for Untouchables.

Myliddy Coast, A fishing Village: General Village Structure

Although Jaffna fishing village spatial organization resembles that of the Jaffna agricultural village, spatial symbolism in the two villages reflects important differences in the value orientations of Kariyār Fishermen and Veḷḷāḷar Landowners.

Myliddy Coast is one of the near continuous chain of fishing villages along the Jaffna peninsula northern coast.[9] The eight wards of Myliddy Coast lie (mainly) seaside of the coastal road. The main settlement—five wards—extends east from a dried creek bed. West of the creek bed are three new wards—colonies from Tirupūr ward. On the other side of the road is another recent settlement, a strip of houses 50-100 feet wide i.e., one to three house compounds wide. South of the landside section is Myliddy North. Broad lanes run north from the road to the beach.

The area between the lanes is a named ward. Each ward, then, is bounded by the sea, the coastal road, and two lanes. Lanes are about 150 feet apart; the distance from sea to road varies from 500-600 feet. From 50 to 60 families of Karaiyār Fishermen live in each ward. One family of Brahmins, two families of Barbers, two families of Washermen, and ten families of Nalavar (untouchable) Labourers also reside in the village. The residential area differs from agricultural villages where compounds (*valavu*) are large, often including garden land (*toṭṭom*) as well as house land (*nilam*) within the cadjan wall, and farmlands (*vial*) surround the house clusters; here, most compounds have just house land within the wall and village area is almost fully settled. There are both ecological and economic reasons for these differences. No crops can grow in the sandy soil seaside of the coastal road. (Several of the richer Fishermen, living landside of the road, have large gardens in their compounds). The economic factor is demand for space in a fishing village. Space within a compound must be left free for salting fish, drying nets, etc.

These wards are loci of kinship, economic, political and religious activities. Intraward marriage is about 65%. Marriages outside the ward but within the village add another 25% and nonlocal marriages the final 10%. As usual in peasant societies, the kinship relation is multi-stranded; kinsmen form economic partnerships with other kinsmen and fight together to protect their interests. Of total number of partnerships (co-owners of boats, contributors of pieces of net to the huge gill-net used with launches), 80% were from the same ward. Fishing boats of the same ward are moored together, distinctly separate from boats of the next ward. Finally, each ward has a shrine within its borders cared for by one of its members. Large temples are also identified with wards.[10] As in the agricultural village, temple support is the only corporate function of the ward; but the ward is the center of kinship, economic, factional, and religious networks.

9. Myliddy Coast lies between Kankesanturai, on the west, and Palāli, on the east. Both Kankesanturai and Palāli are the terminii of direct paved roads to Jaffna town (14 miles south). The network of roads has facilitated the shift to an all-Ceylon market for the daily catch of fishermen. Ice-trucks leaving Myliddy at dusk arrive in Colombo before the next day's market opens.

10. Turai people hire the *pusari* and contribute to the annual festival of the Kannaki Amman Kovil. The giver of a daily festival during the ten days of the festival is called *upayakkārar*. The *upayakkārar* of the Kannaki festival are almost all people from Turai. By these indices (hiring of *pusari*; contributions to pujas and to annual festival, list of *upayakkārar*), the Murukan (Skanda, Subramaniya) Kovil is identified with Panivu. And the Pilliyar Kovil is identified with the people of Tirupur (mainly the Tevars of Tirupur) and of Palantarai.

In addition to ward nucleation, there is a village nucleus: the village fish market/harbour which is located on a strip of beach between the house compounds and the sea.[11] On the day of a good catch, of the three hundred people engaged in the marketing, over half of the buyers are not local residents. The various kinds of fish vendors or middle-men (women carrying head baskets, cycle vendors with an ice-box on the back of the cycle, a few automobile vendors) have no difficulty in passing through the residential area via the broad lanes to reach the harbour. The structure of village lanes facilitates interlocal trade relations; purity seclusion is preserved but not as strictly as in an agricultural village.

The coastal road, the main street of Myliddy, is lined with houses but also vegetableshops, tea boutiques, general stores (groceries, cloth, kerosene, thread, canned food, etc.), toddy booths, an ice factory, and a salt-grinding factory. Unlike Myliddy North, non-locals stop frequently at Myliddy Coast.

Wards, Kinship, and Status Grades

The three principles of caste, kin, and territory do not coincide in the fishing village as they did in the agricultural village. There are two grades of the Fisherman caste: the wealthier Tēvar Karaiyār and the poorer, ordinary (*catāranara*) Karaiyār. Only the Tēvars are identified with founding ancestors (*vari*), Periyanadutēvan and Verimanikatēvan, reputedly commanders of an invading Cōḷa army. Commoner Karaiyār, said to be descendants of the army's soldiers and workers, have no ancestral name. Here, unlike the agricultural village, several wards are identified with each ancestral name. (Tēvars of Turai and Panivu wards descend from Verimanikatevan; Tēvars of Tirupūr, Palanturai and Kalavai wards descend from Periyanadutēvan; and ordinary Karaiyār of Tirupūr, Sanitorium, Velvetti, and Ampattai wards descend from the soldiers/workers). Note that aristocrats and commoners are not always segregated into separate wards: Tirupūr has both. Further, although grades of the castes (Tēvars and commoners) do not marry, marriage patterns do not neatly follow the system of territorial units. Interward marriage is not forbidden as in the agricultural village. Since all Tēvars are equivalent in blood purity and honour they intermarry irrespective of ward residence. Similarly for commoner Karaiyār. Finally, traditional serving castes, Barbers, Washermen, and untouchable labourers, serve Tēvar ward clusters and not individual wards; commoner Karaiyār hire servants for their rituals.

In short, territorial units in the fishing village do not mirror distinctions of kinship and of grades of caste. Ideas of command, honour, and purity are imperfectly mirrored in spatial arrangement. On the other hand, the Fishermen's mercantile

11. The beach has many uses. Nets are dried and mended along the shore. In the past insufficient area for netcare caused internecine quarrels in Myliddy Coast. Cadjan, thatch sheds (*vāti*) store nets, floats and materials for the salting, icing, and packing of fish. Most Tēvars (see below) fish from seventeen foot inboard launches (*vallam*); the majority of their catch, eleven species of fish, is packed in ice and trucked to Colombo for sale. The fifteen species not marketable in Colombo are separated and sold at the local market. Ordinary Karaiyār (see below) used to be seagoing labourers for the Tevar until 1940 when low-cost nylon nets became available; now, some of them have launches or large catamarans with outboard motors and a good assortment of nets. Since catmaran owners rarely catch enough of any one species to fill an ice-box, they thriftily sell their entire catch at the market.

emphasis (and the lesser valuation of the purity/pollution orientations of seclusion and inaccessability) is reflected in the market as the focal point of the village and in the broad village lanes which permit easy access to the market and interlocal communication.

Artisan Towns in the Inland Region[12]

The mercantile emphasis is even stronger with certain artisan castes: the Acari temple carver, the Taṭṭar goldsmith, the Kaikular Silk Weaver, the Ceniar cotton weaver and the Cantar Oil presser (see Table 2: non-bound mode castes). From the observer's point of view, certain other artisan castes, the Tachar carpenter, the Koḷḷar blacksmith, and the Kusavar potter, were traditionally more involved in the Landowner network of relationships than the Temple Carver, Goldsmith, Silk Weaver, Cotton Weaver, and Oil Presser: I shall refer to the former as local artisans, and to the latter as a-local artisans i.e., local vs. local-plus-wider distribution of products. The local artisans are found in many Landowner and Fisherman dominated villages and in rural towns and Jaffna City. The a-local artisans are found in several unicaste villages, rural towns and in Jaffna City. It is, in fact the artisans (local and a-local) plus shopkeepers (from various castes and Muslims) and priests (Brahmins and Saiva Kurukkals of several castes) who inhabit the rural inner town (cf. the usage of *inner city* in the United States.)

The inner town is easy to locate in the Jaffna Peninsula rural areas. Most Jaffna roads, paved only within the past thirty years, followed cart routes connecting market/temple towns. Artisan castes live within an imaginary circle, perhaps a half mile in diameter, the center of which is the market/temple complex at the intersection of two paved roads. Beyond this circle are the Landowner villages.

While fishing village lanes facilitate interlocal trade, the inner town maximizes it, providing a status free, neutral meeting place for buyers and sellers of different castes. In the inner town there is always a vegetable and fish bazaar, and dozens of

12. This Inland Region did not receive an intensive study as the coastal region (where Myliddy North and Myliddy Coast are located). Myliddy Coast was the base of my empirical research for eighteen months. While I did a complete census of three wards of the fishing village, Myliddy Coast, and a partially informant-aided census of the agricultural village, Myliddy North, I did no systematic census of the inland region. I interviewed at least five members of each caste of artisans. In the Inland Region, I know what caste lives where, but not exactly how many members in each caste, data desirable mainly in regard to the artisan caste, the Kailkular weavers, who are locally dominant in Kalviankadu.

I will give a very rough estimate of the number of households of various artisan castes in the Inland Region villages of:

	Nallūr	Ōtamatam	Kalviankatu
Acari			
Icon Carver	3	—	—
Tattar			
Goldsmith	20	6	—
Tachar/Kollar			
Carpenter/Blacksmith	30	15	10
Kaikular			
Silk Weaver	—	—	70
Cantar			
Oilpressor	—	20	—
Kusavar			
Potter			

shops: hardware stores, bookstores, cloth stores, oil stores, tea cafes, barber shops, laundries, buttermilk and curd shops. The Temple Carver works at home. The Goldsmith generally deals from his home except in Jaffna City where there is a whole row of jewelry shops on one street. Blacksmiths and carpenters sometimes have their workshops within their house compound. Within the last twenty years, large lumberyard (carpenter) establishments and car repair (blacksmith) establishments have appeared. 'Petrol sheds' have also appeared. Every major rural market town except Cunnakam supports a major temple; but Cunnakam has a number of medium size temples. By major temple I mean a large, revered, antique, well-endowed temple built according to *Akamic* scriptures with an annual festival lasting at least ten days. The temple, located at or very near the crossroads, is an inter-regional trade center during the festival; distant traders profit by the huge crowds assembled there.

Wards, Kinship, and Status Grades; Serving Castes

First, there is nothing of the Landowner style (status oriented) ward arrangement within this vague circle of artisan residence. There is no tradition of auspicious, founding ancestors identified with wards as in Landowner villages. Several wealthy Silk Weavers told me, separately, that four different ancestors founded their ward. This non-consensual imitation of an attribute of status was also attempted by the lower grades of Landowners in Myliddy North; anyone can learn the names of recognized founding settlers in two widely circulated publications, the *Yalpāna Vaipava Malai*, and the *Yalpāna Kaumuti*.

In which, the Landowner spatial pattern of master and servants, the clean serving caste living in the master's ward and untouchable serving castes living between the wards is not found in the artisan areas. There are no bounded wards; residents use the word *kuricci* as 'my neighbourhood' is used in the United States: an ego-centered designation for the vicinity around one's house. Certainly there are clusters of houses of one caste of artisans. But houses of another caste are side by side. Purity seclusion is not spatially represented. There may or may not be resident barbers, washermen, Nalavar labourers and Paraiyar drummers. There certainly never were resident Koviar domestics. Artisans *hire* serving castes for secular or ritual jobs; they do not have hereditary relationships with serving castes.

Third, unlike the Landowner pattern of ward temples, in the artisan areas temples are mainly associated with one artisan caste. But other castes pay for some ceremonies of the temple's annual festival. For example, the Oil Presser caste owns a *Pilliyar* (*Ganesha, Ganapati:* the elephant God) temple in Ōtamatam. But the list of *upayakkārar* (givers of festivals) includes a Goldsmith, the Potters (as a whole), and a wealthy Blacksmith.

In summary, artisan spatial organization is an even stronger expression of a mercantile normative order than that found in Fisherman villages. Caste categories do not dictate the arrangement of houses and shops. Rather, the impersonal, instrumental market/temple area, located at a crossroads, maximizes outsiders' access to the market. Arrangement of space in terms of kinship and intra-or intercaste status is perhaps not minimal but is not very important.

PART II: Modes of Intercaste Relations: Bound and Nonbound Mode Relations

In part I, I described one kind of social action, the organization of village space. In Part II, I shall outline two distinct modes of intercaste conduct, bound and nonbound relationships, which correspond to differences in spatial organization in the three villages.

Present views on South Asian rural social structure are synecdochic, the part standing for the whole, in that most studies are of multi-caste, agricultural villages dominated by landowning castes.[13] A stereotype of rural social and cultural structure has emerged from this inexhaustive sample: the locus of organization in agricultural villages is typically a dominant landowning caste of fairly high religious status. The dominant caste in an agricultural village has diffuse or multicontextual relationships with each of its traditional serving castes: roles of hierarchical reciprocity are played in the contexts (which analysts label) economic exchanges, ritual exchanges, and political exchanges.

> These economic relations were, however, only one aspect of the multiple relations which linked the differen caste households in the Indian village. For instance, the hereditary relationship between a Peasant master and his Untouchable labourers operated not only in the economic but also in the political and ritual spheres. If an Untouchable was involved in a dispute with another. whether Untouchable or not, his Peasant master had to come to his support. Similarly, the Untouchable allied himself with his Peasant master in disputes. He was expected to fight for the latter, even against Untouchables aligned with other Peasants in conflict with his own master. Perhaps even more important, the Untouchable had to perform a number of ritual services for his Peasant master, such as carrying a torch ahead of a funeral procession from his master's household. These different types of relations—political, economic, and ritual—reinforced each other and in turn helped to insure the stability of the Indian peasant economies.[14]

This type of intercaste relationship, which has been reported from many regions in South Asia, is often called the *jajmāni* relationship.

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13. Bernard S. Cohn, "The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste," *In* McKim Marriott (ed.), *Village India*, Chicago, 1955; McKim Marriott, *Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan*, Deccan College Monograph Series No. 23, Poona, 1960.
M. E. Opler and R. D. Singh, "Two Villages in Eastern Uttar Pradesh (U. P.) India," *American Anthropologist*, 1952, LIV.
Frederick G. Bailey, *Tribe, Caste and Nation*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960.
Adrian C. Mayer, *Caste and Kinship in Central India*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
K. S. Mathur, *Caste and Ritual in a Malwa Village*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1964.
E. Kathleen Gough, "Caste in a Tanjore Village," *In* E. R. Leach (ed.), *Aspects of Caste in India, Ceylon, and Northwest Pakistan*, Cambridge: C.U.P., 1960.
D. N. Majumdar, *Caste and Communication in an Indian Village*, Bombay, 1958.
14. T. Scarlett Epstein, "Efficiency and Systems of Reward in Rural South India," *In* R. Firth (ed.), *Themes in Economic Anthropology*, A.S.A. Monograph No. 6, Tavistock, second impression, 1970, pp. 232-233.

In addition to the *jajmāni* relationship, authors have called attention to the more particularistic, contractual relations between artisan and fishing castes and all other castes. Epstein classifies two types of inter-caste relationships in terms of mode of reward, duration of service, and regularity of demand.[15]

> Thus in Mysore in South India I found two types of hereditary link in the villages: one between Peasant masters and their Untouchable labourers, the other between Peasants and certain functionary castes, such as washerman, barber and blacksmith, whose services were continually required. Village craftsmen, such as the goldsmith and potter, whose services were not in regular demand, had no hereditary relationship with Peasant caste households; they were not rewarded annually, but rather on the occasions when their services were required.[16]

Wiser distinguishes intercaste relationships in terms of recruitment: "those who serve some" and "those who serve all" (in the former the religious status of the other caste is relevant to recruitment to the relationship, and in the latter the religious status of the other caste is irrelevant).[17] Pocock elaborates on Wiser's distinction in terms of the purity/impurity dichotomy. Some occupations, "those who provide a service", such as barber and washerman, are a direct reflection of the underlying value purity/impurity. Other occupations, "those who provide a commodity", are but an extension of the same value.[18]

Certainly, it is an empirical question to determine the variations in the structural positions of the various castes in a region, the variations even within one village locality. In this section I report two polar modalities of intercaste relationships and mixed modes, that is, deviations from the two modes. Each mode comprises a set of options from seven pattern variables. A mixed mode is an ordered transformation in that the set of pattern variables includes some options from the opposite mode.[19] That is, the Landowner, the Priest, the Barber, and the Untouchable all have intercaste relationships of the status mode; the a-local artisans such as Goldsmith, Temple Carver, Weaver, and Oil Presser, and fishing castes such as Mukkiyar and Timilar have intercaste relationships of the opposite polar mode, the contractual mode. Local artisans such as Blacksmith, Carpenter, and Potter, and the dominant fishing caste, the Karaiyār, have relationships which combine options from both modes.

Structure of Relations between Castes in an Agricultural Village: the Bound Mode

In Jaffna agricultural villages there is a highly uniform structure of intercaste

15. *Ibid*, p. 233, 234.
16. *Ibid*, p. 232.
17. William H. Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmani System*, Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1936.
18. David Pocock, "Notes on Jajmani Relationships," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1962, VI. "Those who provide a service" is similar to Wiser's "Those who serve some." "Those who provide a commodity" is similar to Wiser's "Those who serve all."
19. Let pattern variables A, B, and C each have options 1 and 2. Then one mode is defined as A_1, B_1, and C_1 while the opposite mode is defined as A_2, B_2, and C_2 A mixed mode might be defined as $A_{,1}$, B_1, and C_2.

relations between the dominant[20] Landowner caste and the serving castes. I follow the local category and call this mode of relations the bound mode (*kaṭṭupāṭu:* from *kaṭṭu* meaning "to tie, to bind") The Jaffna equivalent of the North Indian *jajmāni/kumin* distinction is *nainar/kuṭimākkaḷ. Nainar* is a Telugu word adopted for master or lord. *Kuṭimākkaḷ* means people (*mākkaḷ*) of the house (*kuṭi*). Individuals are referred to as son/daughter of the house (*kuṭimakan/kuṭimakaḷ*); they are addressed as younger brother/younger sister (*tampi/taṅkacci*). Note that a man often addresses his real son/daughter as *tampit/taṅkacci*. This usage is telling: a master is engaged in bound mode relations with both his children and with his people of the house.

In the agricultural village the landowner caste is *nainar*. The *kuṭimākkaḷ* are the Brahmin (priest), Koviar (domestic servants, factotum). Ampaṭṭar (barber), Vaṇṇar (washerman), Paḷḷar and Nalavar (agricultural labourer), and Pariyar (drummer, remover of excretment).

I shall now give a brief account of the empirical characteristics of the bound mode of relationships observed between the dominant landowning caste and the serving caste with the following seven pattern variables.

(a) *Recruitment.* Recruitment to a bound relationship is perhaps a misnomer. The relationship exists due to the relative social categories identified with individuals at birth. One man is born to Landowner parents; another man is born to Barber parents: the relationship exists between them without voluntary contract.

(b) *Time.* The relationship is long-lasting, frequently hereditary.

(c) *Space.* The relationship is restricted in locality. Most relations take place in one's ward and in designated wards of adjacent villages. Spatial definition implies both proximity and categorical restriction, that is, wards within a village.

(d) *Clientele.* The relationship is *restricted to certain categories of people*, that is, landowners of a specific status grade who occupy a specific ward. The specifications are honour-*cum*-dominance and purity/impurity.

(e) *Pricing mechanism: traditional price—mode or media of exchange.* The relationship is compensated by a traditional pricing mechanism. Harper wishes to distinguish between payment in produce and payment in cash.[21] I would argue that the price-fixing mechanism is more relevant than the media of exchange. There is no bargaining between the dominant caste and the serving castes. The major payments, whether in produce or in kind, are observably related to the agricultural cycle, payments occurring with some small ceremony between employer and employee. Unit jobs with unit compensations also can occur without ceremonial. In my view, price-

20. 'Dominance' is a descriptive, not analytic, term. Srinivas' various definitions include factors of numbers, economic and political power, relatively high religious status, and landownership. (See "Social System in a Mysore Village," *In* McKim Marriott (ed.), *Village India*, Chicago, 1955 and *Social Change in Modern India*, Berkeley, 1966, p. 10). Dumont and Pocock emphasize the dominant caste's influence in regulating, lifestyles of other castes. ("Village Studies," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1957, I) By excluding the landownership requirement, this descriptive term aptly covers cases of locally dominant fisher and artisan castes.

21. Edward B. Harper, "Two Systems of Economic Exchange in Village India," *American Anthropologist*, 1969, 61.

fixing for service by fiat (lack of bargaining), redistribution, and cyclical, ceremonialized compensation are the important indices of "traditional price mechanism" rather than payment in produce versus payment in cash.

(f) *Context of relationship.* The relationship, although localized in the village, is *multicontextual.* Although actors would not necessarily make the distinction—they tend to think of roles played in economic, political, and ritual contexts as part of one, undifferentiated relationship—the observer notes roles played in analytically separable *contexts.*

(g) *Vector of relationship.* The exchange between two castes in a bound relationship is asymmetrical within each context of the multicontextual relationship. A Landowner will *require* the Brahmin and Barber to support his faction; the Brahmin and Barber *petition* the Landowner to intervene for them in time of trouble. The Brahmin gives cooked food to the Landowner and Barber; the Brahmin will not accept cooked food from either. Similarly, the Landowner gives cooked food to the Barber but will not accept cooked food from him. The Landowner receives and pays for the services of the Brahmin and Barber, but he will neither work for nor accept pay from either caste. Thus, there is asymmetry in each context of exchange.

F. Barth uses the term *status summation* to characterize the involute structure of relationships in a caste system.[22] In most cases there is a constant direction of asymmetry of exchanges between Landowner and his serving castes. The Landowner is superior to the Barber in ritual, economic, and political exchanges. This situation may be termed *status summation.* But between the Landowner and Brahmin Priest, the direction of asymmetry is not constant: the Landowner is inferior to the Brahmin in ritual exchanges although superior in other respects. Since the two pattern variables cover more cases. I thus use two terms (bound relationship as multicontextual and bound relationship as asymmetrical within each context) in preference to the previously used single term "status summation."

Nonbound Relationships: Empirical Generalizations

The data that I collected in an agricultural village in northern Ceylon agrees well with the above empirical model. Northern Ceylon—like the rest of rural South Asia—is not composed only of agricultural villages, but also of fishing villages and artisan villages (and rural towns). A strongly contrasting mode of traditional intercaste relationships obtains between artisans and fishermen on the one hand, and other castes: nonbound relationships (*ishtamāna totarpu*). Using the same pattern variables as above the empirical characteristics of the *non-bound relationship* are as follows:

(a) *Recruitment.* Recruitment to a nonbound relationship is voluntary between individuals.

(b) *Time.* The nonbound relationship is of no set duration. Each transaction (for example, buying fish or cloth) lasts but a few minutes. A man may trade with many fishsellers or become friendly with a particular fishseller and buy only from him. He is not bound to buy from any of them.

22. Fredrik Barth, "The System of Social Stratification in Swat, North Pakistan," *In* E. R. Leach (ed.), *Aspects of Caste in India, Ceylon, and Northwest Pakistan,* Cambridge: C.U.P., 1960.

(c) *Space.* A nonbound relationship is *not restricted or defined* in terms of locality. Market centres may be within a man's village of residence, but many items are available only beyond the village. Availability of items and their relative price, rather than any categorical restriction, determine the locality in which they will be bought.

(d) *Clientele.* The nonbound relationship is *not restricted to certain categories of people.* W. H. Wiser distinguishes between castes which serve only some other castes (in my terminology, bound relationships, such as the Barber who will not cut the hair of an Untouchable) and those who serve all (my nonbound relationships, such as the Potter who sells pots to all customers).[23] I accept Wiser's formula except I would not say that the Potter serves all but rather trades with all. Service and work have a particular demeaning connotation not current to the same degree in the West. In any case, one index of the non-bound relationship is that the client's ability to pay is the relevant criterion for the occurrence or non-occurrence of the transaction, not any hierarchical values.

(e) *Pricing mechanism.* Commodity transaction is governed by a *contingent* (supply-and-demand) pricing mechanism rather than by any *fixed* (traditional) compensation. Prices may fluctuate irrespective of the medium. Barter was rare in 1968, but some people still exchanged rice for fish. When fish are scarce, more rice is given for the same amount of fish. Further, payments are made at the time of the exchange; there is no periodic large-scale payment as occurs in bound mode relationships. Finally, payment is not the occasion for any ceremonial.

(f) *Context of relationship.* The nonbound relationship as *mainly unincontexual* Buyer and seller meet only in the economic context.[24] This economic transaction does not imply interaction in ritual or political contexts. There is some ambiguity on this point concerning service of an artisan to a temple and in life cycle rituals. Note, however, that in the limiting case, the nonbound relationship is zero-contextual as in the case where goods are sold through a middleman: producer and consumer have no contact at all.

(g) *Vector of relationship.* With nonbound relationships, each exchange is symmetrical. Normally, buyer and seller meet on neutral ground, the market. A buyer of higher rank than the seller cannot command the seller, nor can the buyer of rank lower than the seller be commanded by the seller in the marketplace. Bargaining is antithetical to hierarchy.

Summary: *Modes of intercaste relations and transformation of modes.*

The differences between bound and nonbound relationships are summarized in Table 1.

23. William H. Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmani System*, Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1936.

24. Differences in the modes of relationships are illustrated by the attendance at a Landowner caste wedding. The Barber is a bound servant of the Landowner. The Barber must attend and perform various duties such as carrying a torch in the wedding procession. Indeed, the Landowner is *declasse* if he does not have this hereditary servant at the wedding. By contrast, a Goldsmith cannot be commanded to attend the wedding, even the Goldsmith man who performed the prewedding ritual of melting the gold to be used in the wedding necklace (*tāli*). Similarly, a man of the Oil Monger caste, i.e. another artisan caste, was not commanded to attend but rather invited to attend for purely personal reasons: his shop was adjacent to that of the Landowner's brother.

Table 1
Summary of Characteristics of Bound and Non Bound Relationships

Pattern

Variables Modes	*Bound Relationships*	*Nonbound Relationships*
Time	Long-lasting, often hereditary	No set duration
Space	Restricted or defined in terms of locality	Not restricted or defined in terms of locality
Clientele	Restricted to certain categories of people	Client's ability to pay for the commodity is the only criterion
Pricing Mechanism	'Traditional' (fixed) pricing; periodic payments with ceremony	Supply-and-demand (contingent) pricing; payment on delivery of commodity; no ceremony
Context	Multicontextual: roles played between a given dyad in economic, ritual and political contexts	Mainly unicontextual: only economic transactions between a given dyad
Vector	Asymmetrical exchanges; hierarchical reciprocity	Symmetrical exchanges: non-hierarchical reciprocity

Although castes primarily engaged in bound mode relations are sometimes called bound castes (*Kaṭṭupātu cāti*) and castes primarily engaged in nonbound mode relations are sometimes called free-willing castes (*ishtamāna cāti*), there is no neat classification of bound mode castes versus nonbound mode castes. That is, artisans always are engaged (allocating their time and resources) in nonbound (*ishtamāna*) relationships. Agriculturists and their serving castes only predominantly are engaged in bound (*kaṭṭupāṭu*) relationships since they must interact frequently with artisans and fishermen in nonbound relationships.

In sum, bound and nonbound relationships are variations in social structure occurring within one society, rural Jaffna. I speak of the variations as polar modalities. Each mode is a cluster of interrelated empirical characteristics.

In the agricultural sphere there are deviations from the bound mode: the relationships *between* serving castes are not as systematically asymmetrical nor multicontextual as those between the dominant landowner and each of the serving castes. In the mercantile sphere, some artisan castes[25] have relationships more conditioned by locality, expectation of duration, and tendency towards a fixed clientele than other artisans. Note that the deviations from the bound mode are in the direction of the options of the nonbound mode; deviations from the nonbound mode are in the direction of the bound mode.

25. Local artisans: Blacksmiths, Carpenters, and Potters. See Table 2.

Table 2

Castes of Jaffna: traditional designations, tradition occupation, and mode (bound/nonbound) of intercaste relationship

I	II		III
Caste Name	Other designation		Traditional Occupation
	Aryan	Dravidian	
Bound Mode castes: priests and castes of the agricultural sector			
Brahmin[a]	Brahmin	Pārpar, Antanar	Temple Priest
Saiva Kurukkal[a]		Pārpar, Antanar	Temple Priest
Veḷḷāḷar[a]	Sudra	Marutam	Landowner
Koviar[a]		Idaiyar, Mullai	Herder, Domestic Servant
Vannar[c]		Kattati (exercist: sergeant-at-arms)	Washerman
Ampattar[c]		Parikarid (surgeon)	Barber
Pallar[c]			Agricultural Labourer
Nallavar[c]			Agricultural and Fishing Labourer; Toddy Tapper
Paraiyar[c]		Muppar, Valluvan	Funeral Drummer; Weaver; sanitation
Tirumpar[c]			Washerman for Pallar and Nallavar
Nonbound mode castes: merchants and alocal artisans			
Saiva Chetty[a]	Vaisya		Merchant
Acari[b]		Visvabrahman	Temple Carver
Taṭṭar		Visvabrahman	Goldsmith
Kaikular[b]	Vaisya	Cenkuntar Mutaliyar	Silk Weaver
Ceniar[b]	Vaisya	Vanikar	Cotton Weaver
Cantar[b]	Vaisya	Vanikar	Oil Presser
Mukkiyar[b]		Neytal	Fisherman
Tamilar[b]		Neytal	Fisherman
Mixed mode castes: primarily bound mode			
Pantaram[b]	Lingayat		Temple Cook and Assistant to Priest
Nattuvar[b]		Isai (music) Vellalar	Auspicious Musician
Mixed mode castes: primarily nonbound mode: fishermen and local artisans			
Karaiyar[b]	Kshatriya	Neytal	Traders, Fishermen, Landowner
Tachar[b]		Visvabrahman	Carpenter
Kollar[b]		Visvabrahman	Blacksmith
Kusavar[b]	Brahma		Potter

Notes: (*a*) *uyirnda cati*—high caste (b) *nalla cati*—good caste;
(*c*) *korenja cati*—low caste

This social structural analysis relates to the spatial data in Part I in that bound relationships occur in agricultural villages and nonbound relationships occur in fishing villages and artisan towns. The variant modes of intercaste relations are complemented by variants in normative structure, to which I now turn.

Part III: Normative Analysis

Every cultural symbol is an indigenous theory of reality for members of that society: regularities in phenomena are codified by symbols, and orientations for action are provided by the symbol. For actors, a cultural symbol is a descriptive theory (code of conduct) and a prescriptive theory (code for conduct) of the *phenomena* it is arbitrarily identified with by the culture. Bound and nobound mode relationships are two contrary modes of *behavioural phenomena*. Previous sociological descriptions of types of intercaste behaviour by Epstein, Wiser, and Pocock, among others, did not explore the possibility that the modes of intercaste relations might be prescribed by distinct, contrary codes for intercaste conduct. That is, the two modes of relations might result from different value orientations, the implementation of different norms into action.

After months of interviews and observations of disputes concerning actors engaged in the two modes of relationship, I elicited two separate indigenous theories, two contrary normative schemes by means of which actors oriented themselves to the action of others (code of conduct) and with which they guided their own conduct (code for conduct). Each scheme is composed of a discrete set of indigenous symbols. The meanings of the symbols in each set are integrated: the code prescribed by each symbol in the set is compatible with the codes prescribed by the other symbols in the set; each set yields an internally consistent orientation to action. However, the meanings of symbols in one set are not compatible with the meanings of symbols in the other set: the meanings are contrary. An actor cannot follow both scheme in the same transaction.

Space does not permit me to relate anecdotes of disputes which illustrate that actors follow the code for conduct prescribed by the aristocratic scheme when engaged in the bound mode of relationship and that actors follow the code of conduct prescribed by the mercantile scheme when engaged in the nonbound mode of relationship, nor to describe ranking data which show that a third normative scheme, the priestly scheme, is a code for conduct both for actors engaged in bound mode and for actors engaged in nonbound mode relationships.

Normative Schema

The aristocratic scheme enjoins a code for conduct of enduring, diffuse, hierarchical, solidary relationships between units (castes).[26] The set of symbols comprising the *aristocratic scheme* are *paṭṭam* (titles); *urimai* (non-negotiable right of master and servant to service and remuneration); *kauravam* (honour); *maraiyātai* (respect and limitation, that is, preserving honour); *vāram* (command in the specific sense of the giving of a power to a subordinate); *aṉumati* (command in the sense of giving permission for action to take place); *ātarm* (mutual support); and *varicai* (mutual

26. This description builds from David Schneider's notion of the code for conduct between kinsmen in American culture: enduring, diffuse, solidarity. David Schneider, *American Kinship: A Cultural Account*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1968.

definition of status). The *mercantile scheme* enjoins a code for conduct of temporary, specific, equivalent, mutually manipulative relationships between units (individuals). The set of symbols comprising the mercantile scheme are *ulaippu* (profit and manipulation); *cantōcam* (mutual satisfaction); *nitam* (fair-dealing); *keṭṭikkārar* (individual skill, cleverness, and achievement); and *upakāram* (specific aid). The *priestly scheme* enjoins a code for conduct of hierarchical separation between units (castes). Separation should be hierarchically ordered in terms of the religious principles pure/impure: a place for everyone and everyone in his place. The symbols of this set are *ācaram* (purity) and *tiṭṭu* (pollution).

Intercaste relationship (*totarpu*) in the aristocratic scheme is strongly conditioned by the category of birth of the actors. The category of birth (*cāti*: caste) provides the limits (*maraiyātaikul*) for potential interaction, the general rules (*murai*) for the interaction. The hierarchical aspect of relationships in the aristocratic scheme is described by villagers as respect (*mariyātai*), the deference shown the superior by the inferior. In many gestures of etiquette between the superior and the inferior, the superior always gives (food, money, and so forth), while the inferior always receives and serves. The superior is held always to command and to give permission for action to take place (*aṇumati*). In fact, the inferior is not without some influence since he may feign to withdraw from stratifying interaction, but the inferior never directly commands activity to take place.

The mutual, or solidary, aspect of relationships in the aristocratic scheme is further exemplified by the norms of *varicai* (symbol of status) and *ātaram* (mutual support). The term *varicai* is a cognitive shorthand to a social pehnomenon: intracaste ranks of bound mode castes, are, in part, defined by the existence of relationships between master and servant and by the intracaste rank and behaviour of the other party.[27] The term *ātaram* refers to the right to expect aid from the other in happy times and support from the other in troubled times. In sum, the aristocratic scheme is used by villagers to describe conduct of and prescribe conduct for bound relationships.

The norms emphasized in the mercantile scheme are the code of conduct and the code for conduct of nonbound relationships. In this scheme, the relationship is not strongly conditioned by the category of birth of the actors. With the customary symbolic value of many commodities, every Tamil buys gold, cloth, and oil at some time during his life. Trading of these commodities is guided by non-hierarchica-norms, *nītam* (fair play) and *cantōcam* (mutual satisfaction). Non-hierarchy does not exactly mean equality, but rather balance, equilibrium, lack of inequality or partiality: these latter meanings are connotations of the terms *nītam* and *cantōcam*. These notions have no place in the aristocratic scheme, where the superior rules by fiat and the inferior's satisfaction is obligatory. Furthermore, in place of the absolute, ascriptive, categorical value of respect (*maraiyātai*), the mercantile scheme stresses the prestige of cleverness (*keṭṭikkārar*). A *keṭṭikkārar* is a man who is clever and able to prove that fact experimentially, for example, that he is a skillful craftsman, an adriot fisherman. This aspect of individual achievement is also seen in the emphasis

27. In eighteenth-century English comedies of manners, the butler of a highly placed lord scorns the butler of a lord of lower state. In Jaffna, the Barber of titled Landowner will neither dine nor marry with a Barber of an untitled, albeit wealthy, Landowner.

on effort and industry (*ulaippu*). Finally, in place of the aristocratic norm of diffuse, mutual aid (*ataram*), this mercantile normative scheme enjoins specific, unit acts of help (*upakāram*).

Put another way, the code for conduct embodied in the *aristocratic* scheme is that of *hierarchical amity:* diffuse, enduring, hierarchical solidarity. The *mercantile* code for conduct is exactly the opposite, *hierarchical instrumentalty*: non-diffuse, non-enduring, non-hierarchical, non-solidarity. Since relations between castes usually are characterized in terms of ritual distance, the notion of castes behaving toward each other with hierarchical amity gives a different focus to the relationship. True, relative purity of different castes is a feature of the system, but this difference in terms of ritual purity does not prevent an intense (diffuse, enduring, solidary) relationship. Hierarchical amity is a foreign notion in Western class society, where ranked classes are seen (in Marxist theory) as being in antagonistic relation. In Jaffna caste society, the antagonistic, or, at least, manipulative relation—which is euphemized as *cantōcam*, mutual satisfaction—is associated with the non-hierarchical relation in the mercantile scheme. Specific, temporary, manipulative dealing is associated with equivalent position between the transacting parties.

Actors' Choice of Appropriate Normative Scheme

By means of terms for classifying social relations, the villagers do know when to follow the code for conduct prescribed by the aristocratic scheme and when to follow the code for conduct prescribed by the mercantile scheme. Castes engaged in bound mode relations, *kaṭṭupāṭu totarpu*, are either high caste (*uytrnda cāti*) or low caste (*korenjā cāti*); castes engaged in nonbound mode relations, *ishtamāna totarpu*, are good caste (*nalla cāti*). (See Table 2). When the aristocratic scheme is in effect, actors say that they are connected, that there is *koṇṭāṭṭam* between the units: my description of the bound relation details what they mean by *koṇṭāṭṭam*. When the mercantile scheme is in effect, actors say that there is no connection, (*koṇṭāṭṭam illai*) between the units: my description of the nonbound relation details what they mean by *koṇṭāṭṭam illai*. These indigenous classification of units (castes) and modes of relations between units permit consistent *value orientations* to the different normative scheme, that is, *translation of norms into action.*

Part IV : Value-Orientation Analysis

Having dealt with spatial organization, social structural analysis, and normative analysis in the preceding Parts, I now recapitulate the three studies. In Part IV, spatial data from the three villages demonstrates the value-orientations of bound mode and nonbound mode castes. Differences in commitment to the priestly, aristocratic, and mercantile normative schemes is represented spatially in the three villages.

General Village Structure

Named, nucleated wards permit separate locii for economic, ritual and political activity i.e. for (aristocratic scheme) command of serving castes and separate areas for different status grades (priestly scheme): intralocal orientations. A village nucleus (market) permits an interlocal, trade orientation (mercantile scheme). Narrow, twisting village lanes emphasize purity seclusion (priestly scheme). Wide, straight lanes or crossroads permit impersonal market transaction (mercantile scheme).

Figure 1: General Village Structure Variations

Features	*Agricultural village*	*Fishing village*	*Artisan town*
(*a*) named, nucleated, noncorporate wards	+	+	—
(*b*) wards a locus for economic, ritual, and political activity	+	+	—
(*c*) lanes or roads arranged to emphasize seclusion/permit trade	+	—	—
(*d*) nonnucleated village/market nucleus	+	—	—

Key: + means feature is present; —means feature is absent (a & b)

+ means first feature is present; —means second feature is present (c & d).

Correlation of Territory with Kinship and Grades with the Caste

Both Landowners and Fishermen have a dual division: aristocrats/commoners: Big/Little Veḷḷāḷa; Tēvar Karaiyār/Karaiyār. Artisans have no division. Maximal orientation to the aristocratic and priestly schemes occurs in the agricultural village where each territorial unit (ward) is identified with a founding ancestor name (*vari*) since this kinship designation implies gradation of aristocratic honour and blood purity: interward marriage is not permitted. Lesser orientation to the same schemes occurs in the fishing village where sets of wards are identified by the same founding ancestor name and interward marriage is permitted. That Periyanadu Tēvar and Verimanika Tēvar were brothers allows a reference for village togetherness and a status diacritical feature: Tēvars (titled lords) are distinguished from ordinary Karaiyar. But note the reduction of the hierarchical value. Instead of separate lords identified with wards (as in the agricultural village), the fishermen's original settler story uses a metaphor (older brother/young brother) connoting a far lessor degree of inequality: relative age instead of relative rank.[28] All aristocrats of same or different ward may marry and all commoners of same or different ward may marry. Aristocrats do not marry commoners. In short, grades of a caste are not homologous with territorial segmentation. In the artisan case, there are no recognizable wards. Homologies between segmentary systems of categories of land, natural subsistance, and purity imply orientation to aristocratic and priestly schemes; lack of homology implies orientation to the non-local norms of the mercantile scheme.[29]

28. Relative age is a sub-set within relative rank: judgements made by relative rank are modified by the judgement of relative age. For example, a Landowner treats an elderly Untouchable less severely than an Untouchable youth.

29. The homology between divisions of territory, kinship, and rank status may be an important characteristic of peasant societies in general. Note that the central governments of both the Chinese Peoples Republic and of Taiwan secured their position by destroying the territorial units and the kin connections of the entrenched peasant elite. Bernard Gallin: personal communication.

Figure 2: Variations in Homologies

Features	*Agricultural village*	*Fishing village*	*Artisan town*
Dual division	+	+	—
Homology between principles of segmentation	+	—	—
Imperfect homology between principles of segmentation	—	+	—
No homology between principles of segmentation	—	—	+

Key: +means feature is present; —means feature is absent.

Spatial arrangements with regard to serving castes

Serving castes are either a birthright of aristocrats or hired help for commoners. Aristocrats are distinguished from commoners in that it is an "attribute of honour" (*kauraya varisai*) to have serving castes settled in your land. Priestly norms are stressed by the relative proximity of pure/impure serving castes from the houses of aristocrats and commoners: this is the residential separation of the pure from the impure. As with founding ancestor names, servants may be attached to specific wards or to sets of wards. Servants of masters residing in different wares may or may not intermarry.

Figure 3: Variations in Placement of Serving Castes

Paired features	*Agricultural village*	*Fishing village*	*Artisan town*
(*a*) resident, hereditary serving castes/hired serving castes	+	+	—
(*b*) ward specific clean serving castes/clean serving castes connected with sets of wards	+	—	ϕ
(*c*) no intermarriage/intermarriage between ward specific serving castes	+	—	ϕ

Key: + means presence of first feature
— means presence of second feature
ϕ means absence of both features

Part V : Conclusions

The Recognition of Ordered Diversity in Rural Social, Cultural, and Spatial Structures

Accounts of traditional structure by missionaries, British administrators (Thurston, Crooke, O'Malley, etc.) and of Anthropologists until, shall we say, the Second World War, present a picture of seemingly limitless diversity. Notwithstanding notable exceptions—figures such as Bougie, Hocart, Hutton, Ghurye, whose pioneering

work on systems of thought and action demands our attention—the literature is generally composed of discrete ethnographic accounts. The observations became more and more sophisticated and detailed as time went on.

After the Second World War, Anthropologists appear to have lost their tolerance for unstructured diversity. Dominant or encompassing features of traditional structure received relentless attention while subdominant features were understressed. A dominant feature of rural social structure is the *jajmāni* system, a redistributive system ruled by a dominant landowning caste. Another dominant feature—more so in South India and Sri Lanka than elsewhere—is an homology between the three principles of territory, kin, and caste in village social structure. That is, the segmentation of territorial units is homologous with segmentation of kin units and with the segmentation of hierarchically graded castes or grades of castes. In cases such as the Pramalai Kallar agriculturalists of Madurai district, Tamilnad, where rules of descent (patrilineal) and post-marital residence (patrilocal) are "harmonic," the homology approaches empirical fact. With Jaffna agriculturalists, where rules of descent (patrilineal) and post-marital residence (bilocal) are "disharmonic," kin units are dispersed and the homology is a culturally shared fiction. (see above, p. 20).

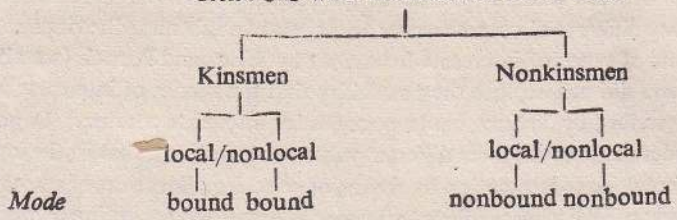
The problem with these characterizations is that diversity is sacrificed for the sake of order, for they derive from a collective methodological bias: traditional Hindu village India, as currently studied, is effectively village agricultural India. By studying fishing and artisan communities, an ordered diversity of spatial, social, and cultural structures appears. Transformations of spatial and social structure can be predicted from differential commitment to the priestly, aristocratic, and mercantile normatives schemes by the castes of Jaffna.

As seen in Part IV, priestly, aristocratic, and mercantile ideas are represented spatially. For example, the relations between the principles of caste, kin and territory vary from village to village in Jaffna. Commitment to the aristocratic and priestly schemes in agricultural village structure results in an homology between these three principles. Commitment to the mercantile and priestly schemes in artisan towns destroys the homology. Commitment to all three schemes in fishing villages blurs the homology.

Similarly, differential commitment to the three normative schemes by the various castes of Jaffna yields a different distribution of the two modes of conduct, the bound and nonbound modes. These distributions can be charted with the same structural principles used to distinguish village structures: caste, kin, and territory.

Regarding relations with members of the same caste, distribution of bound/nonbound mode relations is the same for all castes. There is a partitioning of the semantic domain caste: kinsmen/others i.e. nonkin (*contakkārar/parativār*). In every caste, one has relations (*kontāttam*: interdining, intermarriage, mutual participation in ritual) with kinsmen whether or not they reside in the same village; in every caste, one has no relation (*kontāttam illai*) with non-kinsmen whether or not they reside in the same village (see Figure 5).

Figure 5
Distribution of Modes of Intercaste Relationships



Thus, commitment to normative schemes is irrelevant to the distribution of bound/nonbound mode relations with members of the same caste.

But, regarding relations with members of different castes than one's own, distribution of bound/nonbound mode relations varies with differential commitment to normative schemes.

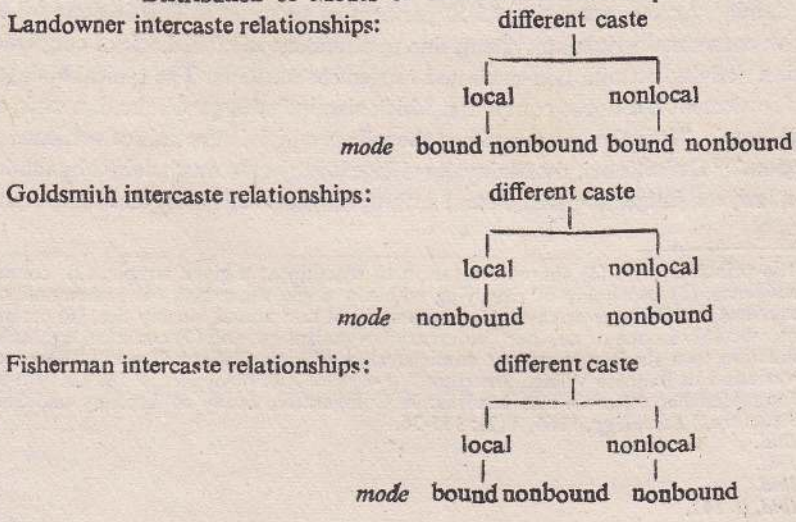
The Landowner is involved in bound mode relationships with certain castes (the serving castes) whether they reside locally or not (e.g., one's own Barber and the Barber of one's affine who lives in the next village). They have bound mode relationships with all castes residing locally (except Blacksmiths and Carpenters). Whenever the Landowner deals with nonlocal artisan castes (Goldsmith, Weaver, etc.) he is involved in nonbound mode relationships.

The Goldsmith is primarily involved in nonbound mode relationships. All of his intercaste relationships, whether local or nonlocal, are of nonbound mode. Even if he uses the services of serving castes for his festivals, they are hired servants, paid by the job.

The Fisherman's intercaste relationships are a mixture of the polar modes. In his own village, he has bound mode relationships with serving and nonbound relationships with Blacksmith and Carpenter, just like the Landowner. But all of his nonlocal relationships are of the nonbound mode.

The three cases can be diagramed as follows:

Figure 6
Distribution of Modes of Intercaste Relationships



Differences in spatial structure and in the distribution of modes of intercaste relations is charted in terms of three intersecting structural principles, caste, kin, and territory. The ordered transformations in the relations between these structural principles represent differential commitments to normative schemes. Previous sociological descriptions of types of intercaste behaviour by Wiser and Pocock (see above p. 18) among others did not explore the possibility that the modes of intercaste relations might be prescribed by distinct, contrary codes for intercaste conduct; the possibility that the modes might result from different value—orientations, that is, the implementation of different ideas into action by means of selective allocation of resources. As in Geertz's study of Bali where different villages are organized according to various combinations of seven principles,[30] in Jaffna there is no standard or uniform spatial or socio-cultural structure but an ordered diversity of structures.

Methodological Issues raised by Explanations of Variations in Spatial Structure

I first want to consider the utility of Joan Mencher's hypothesis which she clarifies from the beginning as *not* meant to be

> an argument for ecological or economic determinitism, but rather to specify some of the links in the chain of causation between environment and social structure, or, put another way. to indicate some of the ways in which ecological factors interdigitate with social ones.[31]

Her study of Kerala and Madras village structures in relation to ecology is a controlled comparison in that the areas "share certain common features and at the same time exhibit today and in the past both cultural and structural differences."[32] A crucial similarity for her study is the fact that "as far back as historical and literacy records go, the same technology was known in both areas. Methods for constructing tanks and canals were known in Kerala as well as in Madras."[33] Her basic hypothesis is that differing ecological conditions and technological adaptations in Kerala and Madras correlate with "some aspects of social structure such as inter-and intra-village organization and inter-and intra-caste relations."[34]

In the narrow alluvial coastland and the low lateritic plateaus of Kerala, paddy is the dominant crop, occupying 45-50 per cent of sown area. This is done without extensive communal irrigation systems due to abundant rainfall. Lack of cooperative irrigation activity permits non-nucleated settlement patterns. The typical Malayalee unit of settlement is a house compound which also includes garden land, a tank, and a small temple. "It is the house and not the village which is the unit of settlement in this region."[35] Definition of the Malayalee village is subject to much debate by administrators, lawyers, judges, legislators, and anthropologists. Authority and socialcontrol

30. The principles are: (1) shared obligation to worship at a given temple, (2) common residence, (3) ownership of rice lying within a single watershed, (4) commonality of ascribed social status or caste, (5) consanguineal and affinal kinship ties, (6) common membership in one or another "voluntary" organization, and (7) common legal subordination to a single government administrative official. Clifford Geertz, "Form and Variation in Balinese Village Structure," *American Anthropologist*, 1959, LXI(6): 992.
31. Joan Mencher, "Kerala and Madras: A Comparative Study of Ecology and Social Structure," *Ethnology*, 1966, V(2): 135-36.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid*, p. 142.

is primarily localized in the hands of an individual (the *jenmie*) or a family (*taravad* or *illam*).[36] In short, the village organization was loose, with the main function of the *Nayar desam* being to attend to military matters involving only *Nayar*, and of the *tara* organization to attend to social and administrative matters involving the *Nayar taravad*.

In the farming regions of Madras state such as the Coromandal plain, paddy is the dominant crop, occupying 70-77 percent of cultivable area. Excepting Tanjore district, rainfall is extremely variable and extensive tank irrigation is the norm. Mencher states that "Even in areas where a smaller percentage of paddy is grown, because of dependence on tank irrigation and a perennial scarcity of water, the normal settlement is of the nucleated variety."[37] There are two levels of bounded units. Separate streets (*teru*) are occupied by Brahmins, Landowners, Artisans, serving castes; untouchables live in distinct settlements (*ceri*). The village is a bounded unit with ritually demarcated boundaries, a village temple, a roster of traditional officials, communal grazing lands, threshing grounds, etc. Village farmlands and irrigation tanks surround the village as a whole (rather than an individual house). Authority relations tend to be between caste units as wholes.

This study verifies a limited hypothesis: presence of absence or sufficient rainfall and thus absence or presence of communal irrigation works correlate with dispersed versus nucleated spatial organization, authority vested in individuals or families versus castes; there are concommitant variations of ecological, technological, and social structure in Kerala and Madras.

Although admirable in its controlled comparison, this study is open to several methodological queries in light of the study presented above. First, the study does not consider the variable of paddy cultivation versus dry, cash crop cultivation. In Jaffna, cash cropping occurs without extensive communal irrigation works. In Jaffna, agricultural wards, but not villages, are nucleated, bounded units with temples, authority structure between castes, etc. If that variable is introduced, a more complex comparison results. It appears that the variables of presence versus absence of plentiful rainfall, presence versus absence of communal irrigation works, predominant paddy versus cash crop cultivation, and dispersed versus nucleated settlements (of different scale) permute in the following manner:

	Sparse/ plentiful rainfall	*communal irrigation*	*paddy/cash crop cultivation*	*dispersed/ nucleated wards, streets*	*dispersed/ nicleated villages*
Kerala	—	—	+	—	—
Jaffna	+	—	+	+	—
Madras	+	+	+	+	+

36. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-49.

Harper has reported a variant form of intercaste relations in the cash-cropping Malnad region of Mysore; unfortunately, he does not include data on spatial organization.[38]

A second variable is held constant in Mencher's study. The object of analysis and comparison is agricultural villages. The ecological and technological factors she considers are irrelevant in explaining the variations observed in Jaffna agricultural, fishing, and artisan villages (see Figures 1, 2, and 3 above).

The methodological precedant of generalizing South Asian rural social, cultural, spatial, etc. structure from consideration of the agricultural sector alone is general.[39] Further intensive fieldwork would be necessary to confirm the generality of the structural variations. I have reported here, variations coded with the dichotomy bound/nonbound (*kaṭṭupāṭu/ishtamāna*). There exist a number of indigenous dichotomies which resemble the dichtomy such as the Maharastran distinction of those who have a share in the harvest (*balutadar*) versus those who do not so share (*aiutadar*),[40] the Kerala distinction of those castes who render specialized service by hereditary right and those who do not (*avakāsakkar*/non-*avakāsakkar* castes);[41] and the distinction of right division and left division castes reported both in Tamiḻnad[42] and in Andhra Pradesh.[43] Given the similarities between these indigenous dichotomies, it seems prudent to explore systematically the rural entreprenial sector as a counter-structure which co-exists with the rural establishment structure of the agricultural sector. This procedure avoids a synocdochic account of traditional structure in which one part represents the whole.

Beck goes far in overcoming this collective methodological bias with her account of the contrasting socio-cultural strucures of the right-and left-division castes in Koṅku region of Tamiḻnad. Using Purusa imagery, Beck describes the social order in Koṅku as a single head with a bifurcate body. Brahmins and KaruNīkar PiLLa castes form the single head of the social order; they are neutral with respect to the right/left division.[44] Noting that the contrasts are more pronounced among higher ranked subcastes than among lower ranked ones, she lists sub-castes of the agricultural sector[45] as right hand castes, and rural merchants, artisans and their servants[46]

38. Edward B. Harper, "Two Systems of Economic Exchange in Village India," *American Anthropologist*, 1969, p. 61.
39. See above, pp. 17 and 34.
40. B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Land Systems of British India*, Oxford: O.U.P., 1892, 3 vols.
41. K. R. Unni, *Caste in South Malabar*, Ph.D. dissertation, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, quoted in Mencher, "Kerala and Madras: A Comparative Study of Ecology and Social Structure," *Ethnology*, 1966, V(2), pp. 135-36. Miller makes it clear that the Malayalee term *avakāsam* resembles the Jaffna Tamil term *urimai* (see above, p. 28): "...the right (and duty of a particular family to perform these services was called a *dēsam avakāsam*—a right of the *dēsam*. *Avakāsam* carries the meaning of 'right' or 'privilege' rather than obligation." Eric J. Miller, "Caste and Territory in Malabar," *American Anthropologist*, 1954, LVI, p. 413.
42. Brenda E. F. Beck, *Peasant Society in Koṅku: A Study of Right- and Left- subcastes in South India*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1973.
43. N. Subha Reddi, "Community Conflict Among the Depressed Castes of Andra Pradesh," *Man in India*, 1950, XXX(4), pp. 1-12.
44. Beck, 1973, pp. 7, 8.
45. KanuNTar landowners, OkaccāNTi PaNTāram templars, Koṅku Utaiyār potters, NāTār palm climbers, Koṅku VaNNār washermen, Koṅku Navitar barbers, and Paraiyar drummers.
46. Cōli Ăcāri artisan, KōnuTTi CeTTiyār merchants, Koṅku Acāri artisans, Kaikkolar Mutaliyar weavers, warriors, and merchants, VaTuka Nāyakkar well diggers, VaTuka VaNNār washermen, PaNTiya Navitar barbers, Kūtai Kuravar basket-makers, and Moracu Mātāri leatherworkers and labourers.

as left hand castes. As the Koṅku region is well inland, fisher castes—who would be classified as left hand castes—are not present. One contrast with my data is that there are in Jaffna no separate serving castes for nonbound mode castes. Sections of the Washerman and Barber castes, for example, are hereditary servants to fishermen; other sections are hired by artisans.

Beck reports extensive contrasts in socio-cultural organization which follow the right/left division. Right division castes imitate the KaVuntar landowner lifestyle, the Kshatriya-like ethnic of generosity, wealth, anger, etc. Left division castes imitate the Brahman lifestyle: modesty, aloofness, seclusion, self-control, etc.[47] Leadership positions among right division castes are inherited; the hierarchy of offices correlate with territorial and political divisions. Authority among left division castes is based neither on kinship, territory, nor politics but on learning.[48] In an earlier article, Beck contrasts variations in clan dieties as a continuum from right to left (Clan hero whose story is highly localized/caste hero whose story is localized/generalized local diety/ generalized South Indian folk hero/general South Indian deity/All-India deity) variations in territoriality of origin myths, variations in strength of clan organization (marked/moderate/tenuous), and variations in terms used to designate clans (*kulam/ nāTu/ kuTTam/kōtiram*).[49] Even though she designates Brahmins as neutral to the right/left division, in the construction of her graph contrasting right/left subcaste customs, nine of the ten items taken for comparison "bear some relation to the distinction between Brahman and Kshatriya in the classical texts,"[50] and "actual Brahman behavior in the region was taken as defining the end point of the ritualistic scale and actual KaVuntar behavior as defining the end point of the instrumental scale."[51]

There are striking similarities and differences between Beck's account of right/ left and my account of bound/nonbound. One issue is the explanation of variations in territoriality. First, although the Koṅku region of South India is far greater in size and in population than the Jaffna Pattinam (5000 square miles/ 964-1/2 square miles; 3,000000 people/ 612,000 people), and despite a crucial difference in levels of kinship organization (clans are present in Koṅku but absent in Jaffna), there is a striking similarity in landowner social organization: an homology between segmentary systems of categories of territory, natural substance, purity, and power. A detailed comparison of Konku and Jaffna on this point exceeds the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that in both areas there are segmentary structures of territory (Konku: the Konku Natu region; *nātu* subdivisions, *kirāmam* revenue villages, *Ūr* hamlets, *ūr* settlements, *kutumpam* households; Jaffna: the Yālpaṇam paṭṭiṇam region, *pakuti* districts, *paṭṭu* divisions, *kirāmam* revenue villages, *kuricci* hamlets, *valavu* parcels, *kutumpam* households). In both areas there are segmentary structures of categories of humans (Koṅku: *Jāti* castes, *jāti* subcastes, *kōttiram* clans, *cantati* lineages, *kutumpam* families; Jaffna: *cāti* castes, *contakkārar* close kinsmen, *vari* or *cantati* descent units, and *kutumpam* families). In both areas there are segmentary structures of categories of dominant caste authority structure (Koṅku *KavuNTar*: *paTTakkārar*, *nāTTār*, *mup-*

47. Beck, 1973, pp. 10-12.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
49. Brenda E. F. Beck, "The Right-Left Division of South Indian Society," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 1970, xxxix(4), pp. 794-95.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 785.
51. Beck, 1973.

pāTTukkārar, Ūr KavuNTar; Jaffna: *āracan, maniyakar, utaiyar, vidane, talaiyar*). In both regions, there are progressively inclusive taxonomies of categories of land, natural substance (kinds of humans), purity ("grades of castes"), and power ("caste or sub-caste internal authority structure"). There are correspondences between these taxonomies at each level of segmentation and thus homologies between these systems of categories. In short, Beck's data on KavuNTar and my data on Veḷḷāḷar dominant caste organization are substantially in accord on this point: in this, there is a strong similarity between the right division and bound mode caste organization.

Second, our reports of the variation in spatial organization, that is, the left division and nonbound mode castes, differ. Beck's presentation of left division artisan and merchant spatial organization is basically a negative definition. The higher ranking left division castes have no significant descent group organization, no tradition of local temples, and no internal sub-caste authority structure corresponding to territorial divisions: no homologies.[52] Further, "right division groups tend to be scattered relatively evenly through the countryside. They have representatives in nearly every touchable settlement. The higher-status left-division communities, on the other hand, cluster in only a few settlement areas of each kirāmam. They are usually found in the larger hamlets, near important temples, and along the transportation arteries that cross the countryside."[53] Although this description of higher-status left-division sub-castes fits my previous description of nonbound mode artisans and merchants, I have already shown that nonbound mode fisher castes, who are referred to as as left division castes in South Indian literature (see Thurston), do indeed have a modified pattern of homologies between categories of territory, kinship, and authority structure in their villages. In addition, there is a certain degree of homology in wider regional units. Regional Karaiyār fisher caste leaders called *paṭṭankaṭṭi-s* are mentioned as leading the resistence against the Portuguese.[54] (It is for reasons such as this that Karaiyār reject the identity of fisher castes; they stress a Kshatriya and warrior identity with the use of their title, *Kurukulam*. For the sake of non-indigenous readers, I have called them Fishermen for quick identification). Though their authority had lapsed by the early fifties due to sweeping changes in fishing technology and economic organization, in 1969 there were still three *paṭṭankaṭṭi-s* identified with three broad stretches of the Jaffna peninsula northern coast. During a short visit to fishing villages south of Madras city, I found a more developed system of internal caste authority structure corresponding to territorial divisions. The leaders are called *periyapaṇakkārar*-s, *pakat periyapanakkarar*-s and *periaya pakat periyapaṇakkārar*-s.

To conclude this comparison of Beck's and my data on territorial variations, the study of fishing and artisan spatial organization in addition to agricultural organization yields permutations in structure instead of strict dichotomies, whether right/left or bound/nonbound. But there is a difference in emphasis which deserves mention. Summarizing contrasts in economic and political rights of right and left division sub-castes at the level of the region as a whole, Beck states that

52. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
54. Father Fernao de Queroz, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, translated by Father S. G. Perera, Colombo: A. C. Richards, 1930.

> The right division has an extensive territorial organization... Rights in land, and to the produce of the land, are enjoyed by this group of communities largely so the exclusion of the other division. The left-division subcastes, by contrast, live for the most part by their inherited skills and move about the area according to where their services are in the most demand.[55]

It should be clear from my account above that exclusion from land by the dominant landowning establishment does not exhaustively explain the spatial organization of fishermen and artisans in Jaffna. They have distinctive counter-structures of spatial organization consciously motivated by the exigences of rural enterprise and by their commitment to the set of norms I have labelled the mercantile scheme. By omitting the influence of a conceptual order based on material power—which would probably resemble the mercantile scheme—her definition of the left division remains, at points such as these—as non-right rather than a distinctive counter-structure.

A similar critique bears on the differences between Beck's and my analyses of local intercaste ranking. Beck contrasts the ranking transactional strategies employed by right and left division sub-castes as follows:

> At the level of the individual Ūr or hamlet areas, further right-left contrasts can be observed. Of particular interest here are the different strategies the two groupings use in the competition for local status. The right-division leaders have sought to establish a "ritual alliance" similar to that which Adrian Mayer has already described for Malwa in Central India. This alliance acknowledges the leadership of the KavuNTar agricultural community. Several high-ranking left-division groups, however, attempt to withdraw from many of the situations involving interaction where ranking or status evaluation can occur. Instead, they take their cue from the Brahman's claim that exclusiveness and non-interaction are superior criteria in the assignment of prestive.[56]

As a result of these strategies there is greater rank interminancy concerning the left division than the right; with this I agree, but for somewhat different reasons:

> I have shown who translates which ideas into action by means of which kinds of allocations of resources and with which results regarding ranking. Bound mode castes show commitment to aristocratic and priestly codes by engaging in stratifying ranking transactions. To do so they either expend resources or profit in the transactions. The result is that they are distinctly ranked. On the contrary, nonbound mode castes express their orientation to mercantile and priestly codes by engaging in nonstratifying ranking transactions. Their allocation regime is self-sufficiency and the result is ambiguous ranks.[57]

In this case, Beck is defining the left division strategy only in terms of Brahmanic, or priestly ideas. As with her treatment of territory, the relevance of mercantile ideas is not admitted. The point is that the mercantile ethic prescribes the neutralization of stratifying transactions in order to facilitate business practice. To artisans and to

55. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
57. Kenneth David, "And Never the Twain Shall Meet? Mediating the Structural Approaches to Caste Ranking," in Harry Buck (ed.), *Structural Approaches to South Indian Studies*, Chambersburg, Pa.: Wilson College Press, 1974.

fishermen, bargaining must not be influenced by differences in rank between buyer and seller. And there are different strategies to avoid denotations of relative rank. For example, using a transaction also studied by Beck, commensal transactions, Jaffna Kammalan artisans prefer neither to give nor receive food from other castes while non-Kammalan artisans (eg. Weavers) and fishermen often both give and receive food from other castes. It is only in the former case that the priestly notions of aloofness and separation are followed.

There is then an explanation for the differences between Beck's account and my own, "The conceptualization of the social order in terms of a single head and a bifurcate body is an outgrowth of the fundamental Hindu idea of power..."[58] Beck defines categories of humans, *varna*-s, in terms of different kinds of power. Brahmins influence cosmic events because of their ability to communicate with divinity. Kings (kshatriyas) have power over mortals due to control of phsycal force. Vaisya-s have material power since peasants control animals and merchants control goods. Sudra-s are powerless, lacking control over their own body and external things as seen in their propensity to anger, passion, and poor judgement.

Having defined categories of humans with three kinds of power, Beck proceeds with a discussion of status rivalry between right and left division castes.

> The head in this scheme is represented by the Brahman caste. Both in theory and in practice, members of the Brahman community are generally given precedence in ritual matters. Once this group is granted first place, however, difficulties about the ranking of inferior groups immediately emerge. Typically, a landowning agricultural community is dominant in terms of local political power and controls much of the day-to-day labor and production activity. *The members of this group claim status on account of their kinglike position and back up their assertions by demonstrating their local, territorial hegemony.* Groups that are dependent on this dominant agricultural community for employment will support the claims of their pattrons and ally themselves with them. On the other hand, subcastes that are less immediately dependent on the land and on agricultural production for a livelihood do not accept the landowners claims. *These subcastes try to acquire material wealth as a means of becoming independent economically of the local landowners.* This they attempt to combine with an emphasis on ritual purity and self-control. *In terms of the traditional hierarchy, they then claim that material and ritual power add up to some total prestige quotient which is greater than that of a group wielding political and territorial control alone.*[59] (emphasis mine)

Lifestyle choices and status rivalry claims are then explained in terms of three kinds of power both on the level of empirical facts and on the level of conceptual orders. One immediate difference between her account and my own is that she defines the right division orientation as solely to the kingly temporal power order whereas I define the bound mode castes' orientation as both temporal and spiritual (aristocratic and priestly schemes); in this statement, we appear to accord regarding the left division and nonbound mode castes' orientation to both merchantile material power and priestly spiritual power (mercantile and priestly schemes).

58. Beck, 1973, p. 7.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

A further difference is explicable by the fact that she does not follow the program set out in the above statement. In her extensive writings on the right/left opposition (see the summary of contrasting lifestyles, hierarchies of internal sub-caste authority, clan deities, territorial organization, and ranking transactions on pp. 44, 45), she reduces the triad of conceptual orders based on different kinds of power to a dyad. She defines right and left in terms of the opposition of temporal power and spiritual power and thus dejetes material power as the basis of a conceptual order.

Others have joined this discussion. In his review article of Beck's *Peasant Society in Koṅku; a Study of Right-and Left-Subcastes in South India*, Obeyesekere supports my thesis that the right (or the bound mode) represents a conjunction of orthodox priestly and aristocratic orientations. On the other hand, he proposes that the left orientation be defined in terms of samnyasin heterodox ideas.[60] Marriott follows a similar line in his re-analysis of Koṅku ranking data, interpreting the left division's strategy in intercaste ranking transactions as an ascetic, samnyasin pose, that is, avoiding contact with other jati's natural substance.[61] Such suggestions are not to be ignored, for they go far in making sense of the old connundrum that the five artisan castes sometimes called Visvakarma Brahmins are simultaneously considered higher than Brahmins and lower than untouchables.[62] As overt behavior expressing equivalence between left division or nonbound mode castes in their interaction with other castes occurs in both secular economic contexts as well as in ritual contexts, it still seems preferable to explain such behavior with reference to mercantile ideas as well as *samnyasin* (and *bakti*) ideas.

In conclusion, this excursion from Jaffna to South India regarding explanations of spatial variations yields methodological hints concerning, first, the recognition of the structuring of diversity in the traditional socio-cultural order, and, second, the limitation of analyst's imposition onto the data. Mencher's study follows a pervasive tendency in the literature on rural South Asia in the last twenty years of stressing a dominant structure and underplaying or ignoring sub-dominant structures.[63] This procedure yields a partial, or synochdochic representation, in which the (dominant) part stands for the whole. Both Beck's study and my own attempt to correct this bias by highlighting subdominant rural counter-structures. Another tendency in the literature is to rely heavily on extrinsic analytic categories, a tendency criticized by various authors (Dumont, Marriott and Inden, Nicholas, Barnett, Wadley, David,

60. Gananath Obeyesekere, book review of Brenda Beck, *Peasant Society in Koṅku: a Study of Right- and Left- Subcastes in South India*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1973, in *Man* (in press).

61. McKim Marriott, "Hindu Transactions: Rank without Dualisms." Paper read at the Symposium on "Transactional Analysis," Association of Social Anthropologists, Oxford, July 9 1973.

62. See above footnote 8.

63. For example, Mayer states in a footnote to his table presenting Ramkheri castes and population, that "The analysis will be simplified by omitting the Basket-maker and Grainparcher, absent for professional reasons for most of the fieldwork." Adrian C. Mayer, *Caste and Kinship in Central India*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970, p. 35.

Khare)[64] as imposing an alien ideology on, and thus distorting the data. The response has been to use indigenous ideology (Dumont) or cognitive structure (Marriott and Inden) as a guide to understand the society. This approach, as used by Dumont, has been criticized in its turn for imposing a partial indigenous ideology on the data: esoteric upper caste ideology stands for the whole of Hindu ideology.[65] Beck follows this latter approach in that, in writing up her data on Koṅku, she

> became forced to admit that my local friends did not view their world in terms of anthropological topics. They spoke, rather of a hierarchy of social territories, and often spontaneously discussed local traditions and experiences in terms of what seemed to me a novel framework. For them, the units which made up the local hierarchy formed a series of real conceptual levels. Nonetheless, despite this education I received in the field, I persisted in using traditional anthropological categories in writing up my observations for the first time. As a result of this experience, and because of the discomfort I had felt in forcing my data into a "foreign" mold, I finally recognized the wisdom of utilizing my informants own units as a basic organizational principle in my account of Koṅku customs and ideas.[66]

The final question is whether or not she has, like Dumont, taken a partial indigenous conceptual structure to stand for the whole? As the organization of the chapters indicate, her monograph on right and left subcastes is organized according to the conceptual structure of right division castes.

The relative utility of extrinsic analytic categories and indigenous categories is an intractable issue in Anthropology as witnessed by debates between proponents of the ethnoscience approach (e.g. Lounsbury) and culture theory (e.g. Schneider) regarding kinship and debates between formalists (e.g. Firth) and substantivists (e.g. Polanyi) about economics. As a number of anthropologists studying South Asia now seem committed to advance theory through an interplay between extrinsic analytic categories and indigenous categories, it now seems imperative to guard against imposing a selected variant of indigenous conceptual structure on the data.

64. Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus*, Paris: Gallimard, 1966. McKim Marriott and Ronald Inden, "An Ethnosociology of South Asian Caste Systems," Kenneth David, "Hierarchy and Equivalence in Ceylon: Normative Codes as Mediator," Stephen Barnett, "Identity Choice and Caste Ideology in Contemporary South India", and Susan Wadley, "Power in Hindu Ideology and Practice," all appearing in Kenneth David (ed.) *The New Wind: Changing Identities in South Asia, Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, The Hague: Mouton, 1974.
65. Gerald D. Berreman, "The Brahmannical View of Caste," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, N.S., 1971, V.
66. Beck, 1973, pp. xvi-xvii.

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Kinship as a System of Rights: an Analytical Tool for Discovering Elementary Forms

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Kinship as a System of Rights: An Analytical Tool for Discovering Elementary Forms

This paper suggests a way to resolve the differences between descent and alliance theories. It also attempts to provide a way to move from the particular to the general. The procedures suggested grew out of two considerations, one that none of the terms or existing models of kinship, descent or alliance, were directly useful in analyzing Salagama Sinhalese data; and the other that order in that data became apparent only when the question of the transmission of rights was applied.

What Shall We Mean by Kinship, Descent and Alliance?

The data gathered in a cognatic society perforce led me to questions similar to those stated and summarized by Leach, Schneider and Needham.[1] It was necessary to ask what shall we mean by descent, by kinship, by alliance? How shall we analyze these data? While analyzing the data throughout the years of 1970 and 1971 it became clear that delineation of the transmission of rights from one generation to the next was the only way these data could be effectively classified. It was heartening to read in Needham: "Let me simply adopt the minimal premise that kinship has to do with the allocation of rights and their transmission from one generation to the next."[2] It was encouraging to know that the lack of fit of existing models was not limited to the data of the Salagama Sinhalese. Yet at the same time it lead to the questions: Why have the terms kinship, descent and alliance remained ambiguous? and why is kinship theory so weak as an analytical tool?

The Analytical Power of Viewing Kinship as a System of Rights

Kinship is sometimes seen as a term for a concrete or material ego-centered group sometimes as a context free ideal or category of classification, a guide to behaviour. Here, in addition to these individual and cognitive uses, kinship is viewed as a system of rights within a stateable context. Stating the rights and context operationalizes the concept, "kinship," so that it becomes useful for cross cultural comparison. There is a need to state whether a given context is relevant to a part of society, a total society, or to a number of social systems. The ambiguity of the terms "kinship," "descent" and "alliance" is directly related to the failure to specify context and other variables. The ambiguity is overcome by describing kinship as a number of ways to transmit a variety of rights. This reveals relations and segments which emerge from these interactions, each of which can be placed in context. These steps are necessary

1. E. R. Leach, *Rethinking Anthropology*, London: Athlone Press, 1961; D. M. Schneider, "Some Muddles in the Models," *In* Michael Banton (ed.), *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, London: Tavistock, 1965; R. Needham (ed.), *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage*, A. S. A. Monograph No. 11, London : Tavistock, 1971.
2. Needham, 1971, p. 3.

because the terms "kinship," "descent" and "alliance" are precise only on the intracultural level. This is the reason why models built on kinship, descent and alliance have had no analytical power. The question of transmissions of rights remains precise when applied cross culturally and therefore does have analytical power.

Issues and Problems in Kinship

The issue to be resolved:

The major issue in descent and alliance theory concerns the nature of basic elements, and whether they are concrete or conceptual. The issue will be clarified when the elements are denoted; and when their concrete and conceptual aspects are delineated. Here the elements denoted are rights, relations and segments. It is suggested that they are concrete in a specific intrasocietal context; and they are conceptual in an abstract cross-cultural context.

Summary of problems:

Problem 1: Abstract and specific segments and relations are not clearly delineated.

Problem 2: Other variables, rights and contexts, are also not recognized, thus making empirical generalization impossible.

Problem 3: In lieu of cross culturally relevant variables, society-centric clusters of elements (typologies) have been mistakenly treated as variables.

Problem 4: Emic and etic context are treated as if they coincided with empirical and/or logical reality.

The Elementary Forms and their Contexts

Each of these problems will be treated individually in the context of the descent and alliance controversy. It will be shown that while alliance theorists appear to emphasize cross cultural analysis, and descent theorists appear to emphasize intrasocietal analysis, neither state those contexts explicitly. Therefore it is not clear whether the elements are concrete or conceptual. In that situation it is not possible to state what combination of rights, relations and segments are relevant in each context. This has kept kinship theory from becoming the powerful tool of analysis it could be. Once the context is distinguished and rights are delineated, relations and segments may be recognized in various distinctive combinations and permutations of social systems. In this way empirical generalizations, i.e. statements of distinctive patterns of relations and segments relevant to one or a number of cultures arise. At the same time relations and segments may be delineated further as belonging to an abstract or particular context, i.e. as being relational and/or segmental abstractions and relational and/or segmental particularities. These four further distinctions state the concrete and conceptual aspects of the elementary forms (relations and segments). They will be shown to be crucial to eliminating ambiguity while the empirical generalizations which they make possible provide the way for moving from the particular to the general. *Thus we conclude that kinship as a system of rights is a precise and powerful analytical tool which specifies elementary forms in both their concrete and conceptual aspects. It is the solution offered to ambiguities in descent and alliance theory.*

Movement from the particular to the general is provided by designation of a series of contexts. Dichotomies like wider-narrower, container-contained, encompasser-encompassed, A is greater than B, abstract specific, theme-variations,[3] all state a kind of continuum of contexts where boundaries are primarily nonlinear and situational (e.g. contents A and B described in the following). Once we recognize a continuum of contexts, the relevant variables, and their position within the context, it leads logically to the ability to move from the particular to the general rather than to limit our perceptions to two (opposites) or three (opposites and a mediator) or any other specified number of levels.

To understand the nature of empirical generalization more fully it is helpful to make one further clarification by distinguishing between emic and etic contexts, i.e. between the context of the user and that of the analyst. The three variables, rights, relations and segments fall within the intrasocietal emic context when they are used by members of the society. For example, a patriline is an emic analytic category of the user in an intrasocietal context. However, when it is derived and stated in model form by an analyst, a patriline is an etic category. Cross cultural concepts such as unilineal and/or cognatic society contexts are exclusively etic analytic categories in the sense that there are no "native users" of the concept.

Data and Method

The Salagama caste of Sri Lanka[4] provides a case sample to illustrate how we may distinguish contexts and specify other variables. The mode of analysis is a processual one centering on the question of the transmissions of rights. Because we deal with the differences in descent and alliance theories, the transmission considered in greatest detail is the right to a marriage partner. However, we also consider how that right is related to the transmission of other rights. We begin with the processual questions of the transmissions of rights noting the relations and segments which emerge from these interactions. On the first page of Table 1, the three relevant sets of variables (rights, relations and segments) for the Salagama caste are listed. The fourth set of variables is contexts.

When we turn to cross comparison three relevant contexts emerge from and for the transmission of rights to a marriage partner in predominantly kin based societies. Each context describes a right in terms of abstract relations. The wider context A: "Rights to a marriage partner are transmitted by cross relatives" encompasses the two narrower contexts B and C. B: "Rights to a marriage partner are transmitted in terms of cross sex reckoning in bilateral societies" and C: "Rights to a marriage partner are transmitted in terms of residence in unilateral societies." In this case sample context B describes the Salagama caste.

3. My conception of Lévi-Strauss' use of the terms theme and variations is that stated in the above and many other dichotomies such as general-particular, relational and segmental abstractions-significant features, etic-emic, conceptual-substantive, form-content, culture-activity, norm-action, includer-included, greater than-less than, boundary-unit, non A-A, and outside-inside. Dr. Ina Dinerman by her own keen interest and perceptive questioning encouraged me to probe more deeply into the methodological issue of context.

4. Data were gathered in a Sinhalese village on the Southwest coast of Sri Lanka during 1968 and 1969. At that time Sri Lanka was still known as Ceylon. Fieldwork was made possible by a two-year grant from the American Institute of Ceylon Studies.

As summarized on Table 1, in this Salagama Sinhalese case, the rights considered (column one) are rights to names, residence, land and marriage partners. The *relations* by which those rights are transmitted (column two) are respectively patrilineal, ambilineal, bilineal and bilateral. The *segments* (columns three and four) which result are the *variga* (patriline), the *hatmutu paramparawa* (local descendants of either males or females through the generations of seven grandparents), the *pavula* (bilineally reckoned land owners) and the *naena-massina* (cross cousin and more generally cross relative) group. The *context* is the cognatic kinship system of the Salagama Sinhalese, a uni-ambi-bi-lineal bi-lateral system.

The transmission of the rights to a marriage partner follows the Dravidian system. Many descriptions of this have been attempted. Here the following rule is presented. Once a common ancestral sibling pair is found, a relationship reckoned through a brother and sister is a cross cousin one; cross cousins of the same sex transmit the same relationship as their own, the cross cousin relationship; cross cousins of the opposite sex transmit the opposite or parallel cousin relationship. This is illustrated in Figure 1 in Appendix I.[5] In Appendix I we describe in ethnographic detail the means by which we arrive at this rule for reckoning marriage partners in the Dravidian system.

Marriage rights are not reckoned by locality. They are reckoned by lineality alone, in this case by oppositeness of the sex of connecting relatives a number of generations back to a common sibling connection. To understand the function of this pattern of relations and segments we note its place in the total cognatic setting. The interrelationship between transmission of rights to a marriage partner and the rights to name, residence and land is summarized on page two of Table 1 in lines 3, 5 and 6, respectively. The emergent relations and segments which arise out of these combined transmissions of rights are as follows. Patrilineal name and bilateral marriage rights lead to dispersed multilineal units (the circumscriptive *pavula*).[6] Ambilateral residence and bilateral marriage rights yield local residence independent of marriage rules

5. Supportive ethnographic data and historically contrastive arguments are presented in Appendices I - III as further clarification and/or "proof" of the validity and usefulness of this mode of analysis.

6. In terms of contextual variables separated out by processual analysis, a corporate group is a specific segment which is unilocal; a circumscriptive group is a specific segment which is dispersed multilocally. The difference between corporate and circumscriptive groups in the emic situation among the Salagama Sinhalese is the variation of the context (a single versus several communities context) e.g. the *hatmutu paramparawa* is corporate, the *pavula* is circumscriptive. These are encompassed by Murdock's descriptive definitions; however, Lee and Devore's definition of corporateness contains variables which are relevant in a wider context which encompasses both the *hatmutu paramparawa* and the *pavula*. The Lee and Devore definition encompasses our corporate *pavula* even though its membership is dispersed. Alliance theorists appear to refer to circumscriptive groups as categories rather than as segments.

G. P. Murdock (ed.), in *Social Structure in South East Asia*, Chicago: Quadrangle books, 1960, on page 5 distinguishes corporate and circumscriptive kin groups as follows: "Corporate kin groups. Families, lineages and clans are almost universally corporate." "Circumscriptive kin groups, i.e., noncorporate groups which never function as units, even on sporadic occasions, but which merely serve to define the limits of certain rights and duties of their members." Lee and Devore in 1968 delineate corporateness as follows: "A corporation requires two conditions: a group of people must have some resources to incorporate about and there must be some means of defining who is to have rights over this resource." (page 8).

TABLE 1: Processual Questions

Rights	*Relations*	*Segments*	
		Emergent Structure	
Transmission of rights to:	*Social relationship (structural principle)*	*Sinhalese term (emic analysis)*	*Anthropologist's term or explanation cetic analysis)*
1. Names	From father to children (patrilineal)	*variga*	patriline
2. Residence	From parent in natal residence to children (nonoptative-ambilineal)	*hatmutu paramparawa* (generations of the seven grandparents)	*corporate unit of local kinsmen
3. Land	From both parents to all children equally (bilineal)	*corporate *pavula*	bilineal joint land-owning group
4. Marriage Partners	Through (bro-sis) opposite sex sibling or cousin sibling connectors (bilateral). Also through same sex cross cousin.	**naena-massina* members of the *pavula* in contrast to **nangi-ayya* members of the *pavula*.	**cross cousins in contrast to parallel cousins

*Circumscriptive — a dispersed membership with marriage rights in common;
Corporate — a membership having land ownership and/or locality in common.
See footnote 4 for further description.

**The existence of only two categories, parallel or cross relatives to ego is crucial to this kind of same-opposite reckoning.

Rights	*Relations*	*Segments*	
		Emergent Structure	
Combined Transmission of rights to:	*Social relationship (structural principle)*	*Sinhalese term (emic analysis)*	*Anthropologist's term or explanation (etic analysis)*
1. Names and Residence	patrilineal - nonoptative - ambilateral	***circumscriptive *variga* (dispersed m and f)	patriline with dispersed adult m and f
2. Names and land	patrilineal - bilineal	corporate multilineal *pavula* (dispersed m and f owners)	multilineal joint land-owning group
3. Names and marriage rights	patrilineal, bilateral	circumscriptive multilineal *pavula*	multilineal parallel and cross cousins
4. Residence and land	nonoptative, ambilateral bilineal	*binna* and *diga* marriages; —shares inheritance; consolidation of land by local kinsmen; and usufruct	multilineal kin joint land owners; male or female owned residence
5. Residence & marriage rights	nonoptative ambilateral bilateral	agamous hp	local residence independent of marriage rules
6. Land and marriage rights	bilineal, bilateral	equal inheritance for line and affine	land rights for both line and affine

***Circumscriptive — a dispersed membership with marriage rights in common.
Corporate — a membership having land ownership and/or locality in common.
See footnote 4 for further description.

(the agamous *hatmutu paramparawa*). Bilineal land and bilateral marriage rights yield equal inheritance for line and affine (the corporate *pavula*). This is in the context of dispersed patrilines (line 1), dispersed multilineal joint land owning groups (line 2) and male or female owned residences (line 4).[7] In this setting the function of the multilineally reckoned bilateral endogamous unit appears to be to provide freedom from reckoning of marriage rights by locality in a situation of flexible residence. This would be adaptive to a fluctuating population (too many or too few) in relation to available land. It provides for the most advantageous distribution of persons over land.

Analysis and Cross Comparison

Cross comparative analysis of the nature of transmission of several rights reveals that in unilineal societies all transmissions are through the line of members of one sex only, while in cognatic societies transmissions are through the line of members of either or both sexes. Stated in the more specific terms of lineality in a specific case we discover for the Salagama a mixture of uni, ambi, bi and multilineal relations. Bilaterality appears to covary with diversity in the transmission of rights. Unilaterality appears to covary with uniformity in the transmission of rights.

In Appendix II we compare cross relative reckoning as it is recorded in the kinship terminologies of the Iroquois and the Salagama Sinhalese. From the discovery of the nature of cross relative reckoning we can make statement B, that in cognatic societies, rights to a marriage partner are transmitted by cross sex siblings; and statement C, that in unilineal societies rights to a marriage partner are transmitted in terms of residence. From the kin terms it becomes apparent that the crux of the difference between the Dravidian and Iroquoian systems of reckoning cross relatives lies in the third descending generation. In the Iroquoian system the third generation descendants of a pair of opposite sex siblings reckon marriageability by a regular residence rule. In contrast, where residence is not regularized as e.g., among the Salagama, transmission of marriage partners by same-opposite sex relationship, continues on through nine generations or more.

From the analysis and cross comparison it is hypothesized that two basic sets of concomitantly distinctive features embrace a large number of societies. The cognatic set includes the distinguishing features of bilaterality, flexible residence, cross relative reckoning in terms of cross sex connectors and diversity (multilineality) in transmission of rights. The unilineal set includes the features of unilaterality, fixed residence, cross relative reckoning in terms of residence and uniformity (unilineality) in the transmission of rights.

Here the two sets are empirical generalizations arrived at by processual analysis in terms of transmission of rights. The differences are corroborated in the kinship terms of the Dravidian Salagama Sinhalese and the Iroquoian Iroquois. The kinship terms provide a test for the model arrived at by processual analysis.

7. I have described this more fully in : *The Seven Grandparents: Lineage and Locality in Sinhalese Kinship and Caste*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1972. Also, *Disharmonic Regimes in Southwest Ceylon* ? Paper written for the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Inc., Chicago, 1973.

Kinship as a System of Rights in the Context of Descent and Alliance Theory: Agreements, Differences, Problems and Solutions

In this section the view of kinship as a system of rights is set in the context of current descent and alliance theory. Its precision as an analytical tool which specifies both concrete and conceptual aspects of elementary forms is contrasted to the ambiguity of kinship, descent and alliance used as idealized concepts only. Agreements with existing theory are noted first. Differences which result from application of the inductive mode of analysis are indicated. Problems are posed consecutively, solutions are suggested as each problem is raised.[8]

The basic agreement with Needham as to the minimal premise to consider the transmission of rights has already been noted. Inductive analysis of the materials of Sri Lanka and Needham's deductive analysis in terms of logical possibilities lead to alternative and in some cases contradictory conclusions. The primary difference is that the inductive method assures consideration of the content within a particular context with its specific segments and relations. It assures that the particular does not get lost in the consideration of the more general or abstract. In addition, it provides a bridge between the two. The crux of this difference is revealed in the suggestion made here that empirical generalization about rights, relations, and segments in distinctive contexts is possible; Needham suggests that empirical generalization is impossible. In Appendix III we note how these differences develop. The significance of the conclusions here arrived at inductively become more clear in the setting of the contrastive arguments arrived at deductively.

To highlight how lack of specificity about rights, relations, segments and contexts accounts for divergence of views about modes of analysis of alliance and descent, we place this analysis in the context of current controversy in descent and alliance theory[9] as it is summarized by Needham and Schneider.[10]

This analysis is perhaps closer to the British nihilistic[11] approach to alliance theory advocated by Needham and Leach than it is to the American approach to descent theory presented by Schneider. Yet in addition to agreeing with Needham's basic premise that kinship has to do with the transmission of rights, I found that

8. We have chosen to elaborate the problems after the presentation of data and method so that the solutions may be offered concurrently, Presenting solutions in the context of problems seems to us to be more convincing and at the same time to call for less repetition.

9. The current state of ambiguity manifests itself in the use of terms which present a number of problems: (1) The problem of non-designated variables: terms which are used without explicit reference to variables are ambiguous terms. (2) The problem of lack of agreement over designated variables: terms may be assigned different variables by different authors. For example, see footnote 6 regarding corporate and circumscriptive groups. (3) The problem of non-designated contexts: terms which are used without explicit reference to contexts are applied ambiguously. For example, see footnote 21 regarding the terms descent and alliance and consanguinity and affinity. (4) The triple problem of nondesignated variables, clusters of different variables designated for one term and nondesignated contexts.

10. Needham, 1971, pp. xiii-34 ; Schneider, 1965, pp. 25-85.

11. Needham in his 1971 book referred to earlier explicitly contends that there can be no such thing as a theory of kinship or marriage.

my analysis also accords well with Schneider's suggestion that we move away from typologies.[12]

On the basis of analysis of kinship as a system of rights we now discuss more detailed solutions for each of the four problems summarized earlier.

Problem 1: Abstract and specific segments and relations are not clearly delineated.

David Schneider's historical summary and analysis of descent and alliance theory models brings to light a major disagreement over the nature of segments, the nature of relationships between them and whether they are concrete or conceptual. This disagreement arises because the theories or models do not clearly distinguish in what context (on the inclusionary continuum from a part of a single society to universal cross cultural) the segments are being treated. As a result crucial distinctions are merged. At the extremes, in the societal context the mutual existence of relational and segmental particularities are seldom acknowledged; in the more general context the mutual existence of relational and segmental abstractions are not stated clearly. In between, the significance of the comparative context b is less inclusionary than a but more inclusionary than c (as 8 is less than 10 but greater than 6) is ignored entirely.

The questions regarding segments have been approached from characteristically different directions by alliance and descent theorists. Descent theorists have emphasized the intrasocietally specific and concrete emic substantive terms and typologies and have at times falsely applied them cross culturally. This has led to reification or over-substantivization. At the opposite extreme alliance theorists appear to claim that there are no concrete segments as substantive fillers for relational abstractions. In their approach relational particularities and abstract segments are emphasized. This leads to the danger of losing one of the variables in each context and of misinterpreting the relationship between those that are recognized.

Here four features, two in each contrastive contextual set are taken into account: abstract relations and segments in the wider inclusionary context and specific relations and segments in the narrower context. Each context of any abstraction-specificity dichotomy within the continuum has two kinds of features, relations and segments. The wider contect contains 1) relational abstractions like cross relatives and 2) segmental abstractions or categories like opposite groups. The narrower context of the dichotomy includes two kinds of particularities: 1) relational ones such as cross sex connectors and 2) segmental ones such as agamous multilineal local units. *The solution lies in recognizing the co-existence of relational and segmental features in a continuum of contexts broken down into successive dichotomies of greater than and less than.* It is suggested that instead of considering the nature of segments and the relationships between them, the concern be broadened to consider the respective natures of specific segments, specific relations, abstract segments, abstract relations and the connections (especially the relation of more and less inclusionary contexts) between them. Consideration of these differences resolve a number of dilemmas by clarifying ambiguous statements which have arisen in descent and alliance theory.

12. Schneider, 1965, p. 78.

For example, when we apply the two sets of distinctive features discovered here, they not only corroborate but also specify in an exact way Leach's general conclusion that "the nature of the marriage institution is partially correlated with principles of descent and rules of residence."[13] The two sets denote very general but exact kinds of correlations: 1) bilaterality, diverse transmissions of rights with flexible rules of residence, and cross relationships reckoned by cross sex connectors and 2) unilaterality, uniform transmission of rights with inflexible rules of residence and cross relationships reckoned by residence.[14]

Problem 2: Other variables, rights and contexts are also not recognized thus making empirical generalization impossible.

In Appendix III the analytical power of applying the question of transmission of rights inductively, to specify the elementary forms (abstract and specific relations and segments) has been illustrated. We have emphasized how in conjunction with delineation of context it enables us to get beyond ambiguity to empirical generalization across cultures. This mode of analysis is contrasted to others in Appendix III.

The steps in the process which enable empirical generalization are as follows: 1) processual questions about transmissions of rights are asked 2) emergent relations and segments are classified 3) both abstract and specific aspects of these elementary forms are delineated 4) context is considered.[15]

Here an example illustrates how an empirically based generalization for reckoning rights to a marriage partner in bilateral societies comes into being. The empirical base is the Salagama Sinhalese social system. The generalization is arrived at by movement from the wider context (the right to a marriage partner is transmitted by cross relatives—abstract relation—in opposite groups—abstract segment) to the narrower context with more specific stipulations (the right to a marriage partner is transmitted bilineally by cross sex connectors—specific relation—in the context of agamous multilineal local units—specific segments).

The unilateral Iroquoian system provides a contrast for further generalization. It provides an example of a second kind of narrower context in which (the right to a marriage partner is transmitted unilineally by cross relative residence—specific relations—in the context of exogamous unilineal local units—specific segments).

The transmission of other rights than those to a marriage partner may be analyzed in terms of these four features as well. For example, among the Salagama, the transmission of the right to a name results in the specific relation of patrilineal transmission; the specific segment, the patriline or *variga*; the abstract relation of transmitting

13. Leach, 1961, p. 108.

14. Though these are generalities and essential features, we trust we have not "set up an invalid class" but rather have "discriminated a class of phenomena to formulate a proposition which holds for all members of the class" (Needham, 1971, p. 23) ; in this case to formulate the testable propositions that two basic sets, of four distinctive features each, cluster respectively as a pattern in a relatively large number of societies. Members of one set are referred to as bilateral and the other as unilateral.

15. Varying degrees of inclusionariness in contexts, i.e. the number of social systems to which combinations of variables are applicable depends on the number of stipulations. The more stipulations the narrower the context.

names, and the abstract segment, a uniline. It is clear that these two different transmissions of rights (to marriage partners and names) result in two different sets of relations and segments in each of two different contexts (wider and narrower). To avoid confusion the sets and relative contexts must be clearly delineated from one another. For example, in the Sinhalese Salagama social system it would be a mistake to associate the specific segment (patriline) with the specific relation of the transmission of the right to a marriage partner instead of with the specific relation of the transmission of the right to a name only. If the mixed association between sets is made, confusion results. This particular mixed association is valid in some societies because in those societies the two transmissions coincide. Even though it can be, and is, valid in more than one society, whether or not it is valid always remains an empirical question of the particular permutation of elements in any specific society.

We can, however, as illustrated above, come to empirical generalizations about characteristic permutations of elements as they apply to several similar bilateral societies; and to further generalizations about characteristic differences in permutations between bilateral and unilateral societies. We come to such generalizations by means of treating the transmission of each right as a variable and also treating relations, segments, and contexts as variables rather than treating clusters of each as typologies and comparing typologies across cultures. Delineation of single variables make empirically based generalizations possible because separation and distinction of the variables lend clarity and precision for movement (comparing permutations of elements) within and across varying numbers of societies. The number of societies which fit the stipulations determine the relative width or degree of inclusionariness of the context.

Problem 3: In lieu of cross culturally relevant variables societycentric clusters of elements have been mistakenly treated as variables.

The difference between empirical generalization and a "bundle of rights" or typology has been considered both above and in Appendix III. In further clarification of the usefulness of the method of processual analysis we contrast it to the following suggestion made by Schneider by suggesting a revision: "Instead of typologies we need a series of relevant elements, like descent, classification, exchange, residence, filiation, marriage, and so on; these need to be rigorously defined as analytic categories and then combined and recombined into various combinations and permutations, in different sizes, shapes, constellations."[16]

In the light of this experiment and analysis Schneider's suggestion and list of relevant elements might be revised to include a method for arriving at relevant elements and to read: Instead of typologies we need processual questions such as those which ask about the transmission of rights to names, residence, lands, marriage partners and differential rights: they reveal "relevant elements" (variables) the relations and segments within each particular social system. One example is illustrated in Table 1. These variables may be "combined and recombined into various combinations and permutations" which fit various contexts. Each context is also a relevant

16. Schneider, 1965, p. 78.

variable. The processual questions are a discovery procedure which enable us to separate out the relations and segments which are relevant (significant features) within a particular system (context). They also empower us to separate out the relations and segments which are relevant (empirical generalizations) between different systems (broader context).

Problem 4: Emic and etic contexts are treated as if they coincided with empirical and logical reality.

Etic and emic contexts are analytical categories which are related to empirical reality as grammar, a metalanguage, is related to speech. Grammars (etic and emic analyses) are a statement of the order present in empirical situations. As such they are logical constructs derived from empirical observation. The degree to which they accurately state the order in the empirical reality varies from construct to construct. An emic analysis of a social system states the order as the user (an inside analyst) sees it; an etic analysis states it as an outside observer (outside analyst) sees it. The outside observer usually views a system from a broader perspective. As we suggested in the introduction, a patriline (emic analysis) becomes one representative form of a unilineal system (etic analysis). As will be described below, descent and alliance are precise in an emic context but only the question of the transmission of rights to a marriage partner can reveal what is precise in an etic context. This is discovered by observing the segments and relations which emerge as relevant to that context of transmission.

Delineation of the difference between the contexts of users and outside analysts serves to clarify some of the ambiguities in theory and/or terminology.

For example, Schneider[17] has suggested that the key to understanding structure may be outside the realm of empirical reality just as a formula for cutting a puzzle lies outside the puzzle. Here it is suggested that the key to understanding structure lies in the analytical usefulness of the separation and distinction of the variables 1) rights 2) relations 3) segments and 4) contexts. Basic sets one and two summarize the results of this sample application of empirical generalization. We differ from Schneider in that, while we suggest the key to understanding structure (segmental particularities) is a mode of analysis, (and in that sense is perhaps like a formula outside of society), we nevertheless emphasize that the way to the key is internal to the society (in the sense that it must begin with consideration of the transmission of rights and the resultant specific relations and segments in a specific context).

The propositions about cognatic and unilineal societies suggested here may be viewed in emic and etic contexts as follows. In the emic context they are substantive typologies here based on Iroquois and Salagama Sinhalese kinship terminologies. In the etic context they are generalizations with an empirical base, i.e. they are a wider context which encompasses both specific segments and relations on the emic level and abstract segments and relations on the etic level.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-85.

In Needham's sense[18] in the etic context the propositions are a comparison by reference to logical features and relational abstractions. The logical features consist in the possible modes of transmission of the right to a marriage partner (in terms of relations, segments and contexts) and their possible and recurrent combinations with other rights. The relational abstractions consist in the logical possibilities of relationships for reckoning cross relatives within the general segmental abstraction or dichotomization into same-opposite groups.[19]

Awareness of emic and etic contexts afford a number of advantages. It eliminates ambiguity in the social analyst's use of the categories of alliance and descent by disclosing them as terms which have validity only in the emic context. It makes evident the fact that much of the debate over descent and alliance theory arises out of the nonspecification of context as a variable in analysis. It has been suggested here that the nature of cross relative reckoning in the third and succeeding generations (by residence in unilateral and by cross sex reckoning in bilateral societies) is the significant feature by means of which alliance and descent are stated and distinguished by culture bearers in kin based systems. Because this combination of specific relations and segments differ from unilateral to bilateral social systems it is clear that what remains descent in one becomes alliance in the other (see Figures 3 and 4 in Appendix II for an example). Given the fact that terms designate different things from society to society, there is a paradox in trying to use any one substantive term cross culturally.

Examples of the paradox may be seen in the two sets of terms: consanguinity and affinity, and alliance and descent. They both subsume relations and segments each relevant only to specific societal contexts. The variables may or may not be stated clearly. If they are stated clearly some of them must be dropped to be relevant in varying cross cultural contexts. The less specific the context the fewer stipulations are relevant.[20]

While these terms are precise[21] in the emic context of a specific society, they are imprecise, i.e. ambiguous in the wider etic cross cultural context.[22]

Because of this impreciseness we agree with Needham who has concluded that marriage should be placed in the same category of odd-job words within which Witt-

18. Needham, 1971, p. 32.

19. Segmental abstractions appear to coincide with Chomsky's concept of deep structure. See Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, The Hague: Mouton, 1957.

20. As an example of increased clarity which results from designating contexts we point out that a) cross relative reckoning is a relational abstraction, while b) cross sex connector relatives are relational particularities. Relational abstractions are conceptual and etic. They are found in cross cultural contexts while relational particularities are conceptual but emic. They are found in the societal context.

21. It may be pertinent to emphasize this emic precision. The purpose of alliance and descent to culture bearers in kinship societies is clearly to separate kinsmen into marriageable and non-marriageable relation-segments.

22. In the literature four sets of terms are used more or less imprecisely as synonyms. In the light of the abstraction-specificity dichotomy, the sets exogamy and endogamy and parallel and cross cousins are abstractions which combine relational and segmental elements in one term and are applicable in the context of unique society substantive analysis only. The fact that two variables coincide in one term, make the term analytically indistinct and difficult to apply.

genstein has placed kinship.[23] One reason theories of descent and alliance have foundered is that they have relied on a number of emic terms which become ambiguous when they are used in a wider context and because they have relied on a number of emic typologies which also become ambiguous when they are in the etic or wider context. In foot-note 9 we have referred to the formal manifestations of this ambiguity in terms.

The tool of processual questions remains precise in both the etic and emic context. This etic preciseness and subsequent analytical usefulness is in direct contrast to the chameleon-like nature of the emic terms "descent" and "alliance" when they are mistakenly applied to cross cultural analysis.

The possibility of generalization lies in isolating variables and noting their characteristic combinations and permutations from society to society. Typologies are replaced with processual questions, and comparisons are replaced with generalizations and/or correlations of abstract relations and segments based on specific relations and segments with validity across some cultures though not necessarily with universal validity. Thus it is that the generalizations and correlations are based in empirical reality. This plus the fact that they are at the same time applicable across some cultures makes them specific in both form (context) and content (relations and segments). It is for this reason that they enable us to move from the particular to the general.[24]

In essence the solution to both intellectual puzzles, the problems of resolving ambiguities in descent and alliance theory, and of moving from the particular to the general offered here, is to 1) find a tool (here the processual question) by means of which 2) one can separate and distinguish variables[25] (here rights, relations, segments and contexts); to 3) note their characteristic combinations (here basic sets 1 and 2); and to 4) suggest the relative number of social systems i.e. the context (here unilateral and bilateral social systems) to which particular combinations are applicable.

23. Needham, 1971, pp. 5-8.

24. R. F. Murphy in his book, *The Dialects of Social Life*, New York: Basic Books, 1971, has expressed this power to move from the particular to the general manifested in the combined specificity in form and content when it is found in other aspects of culture (etiquette and ritual). He suggests: "Etiquette and ritual elevate activity to correspondence with culture, a transition from the particular to the general." "They bridge the contradiction between norm and action." (p. 243).

25. In the anthropological vocabulary as well as in many emic vocabularies some terms combine two or more variables. For an example see footnote 22.

APPENDIX I

The Rule for Reckoning Marriage Partners in the Dravidian System: an Ethnographic Example

In the analysis of the transmission of the right to a marriage partner among the Salagama Sinhalese we begin with four rules which state the transmission of marriage rights in single generation terms. We come to one simplified rule which accounts for the reckoning of parallel and cross relations through successive generations.

Figure 1 represents an actual set of parallel and cross cousin relationships in one small sector of a nine-generation genealogy. It also depicts a generalized representation of cousin reckoning by means of the relative sex of a series of ancestral pairs whose starting point is a pair of ancestral siblings. In this system typically classified as Dravidian, exogamous parallel cousin and endogamous cross cousin units are specified. Ego may not marry children related as father's brother's or mother's sister's children and in contrast may marry children related as father's sister's or mother's brother's children. This is extended over the generations by the regular practice of children taking on the same relationship as their respective parents had to each other if their respective parents are of like sex, and taking the opposite relationship of that which their respective parents had to each other if their parents are of opposite sex to each other. For example, if the respective parents are both male and happen to be in cross cousin relationship to each other as G2 and G5 in Figure 1, their children will continue to take the same relationship. As a result H2 and H5 are cross cousins. In contrast where G2 and G4 are male and female respectively and are in cross cousin relationship to each other, their children will take the opposite relationship of parallel cousins. As a result H2 and H4 are parallel cousins.

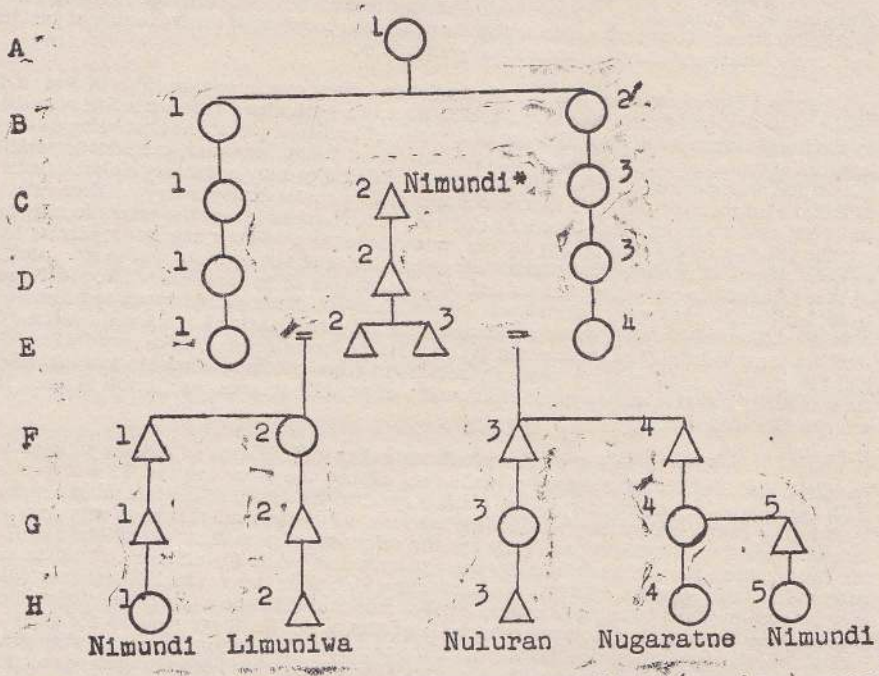
We are all familiar with the rules which state that (1) children of like sex siblings are parallel cousins while (2) children of unlike sex siblings are cross cousins. This is true for both the Iroquoian and the Dravidian kinship systems. However, in the Dravidian, in contrast to the Iroquoian system, two additional rules simply extend this regularity over an indefinite number of generations. They are the rules which state that (3) children of like sex cousins keep the same relationship their parents had while (4) children of unlike sex cousins have the opposite relationship from that which their parents had. These four rules may be encompassed by the one comprehensive rule that (5) once a common sibling link is found, the relationship between descendants of that pair of siblings remains the same as that of the relationship between the parents if the parental siblings (or in the following generations the parental cousins) are of the same sex. The relationship becomes opposite to that of the parents if parental siblings or cousins are of the opposite sex. This generalized statement is illustrated in figure 1.

For a particular example, more than one generation in depth, we may look at the relationship between H2 and H4 in Figure 1 from this point of view. The ancestral common siblings are brothers E2 and E3. Therefore, F2 female and F4 male are also siblings or parallel cousins in the system. The offspring G2 and G4 of opposite sex parallel cousins F2 and F4 take the opposite relationship, that of cross cousins. In turn, the offspring H2 and H4 of cross cousins male G2 and female G4 again take the opposite relationship to that of their parents and become parallel cousins.

It is the feature of clearly demarcating marriageable and nonmarriageable persons by the parallel and cross cousin terminology which keeps the Dravidian system so clearly divided into ones own exogamous group (nonmarriageable) and the exogamous group of others (marriageable to ego). Everyone who is nonmarriageable is a sibling or parallel cousin; those who are marriageable are cross cousins.

Figure 1:

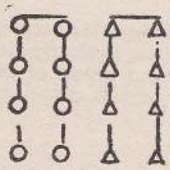
Set of Relationships in One Small Sector of a Nine-Generation Genealogy.



*The names Nimundi etc. signify patriline (variga) names.

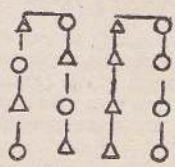
Generalized representation of cousin reckoning by means of relative sex of ancestral connectors.

Same sex ancestral pair transmit a like relationship



siblings
parallel cousins
parallel cousins
parallel cousins

Opposite sex ancestral pair transmit an opposite relationship



siblings
cross cousins
parallel cousins
cross cousins

If the sex of the connecting pair of ancestors is the same, the relationship of the descendants remains the same as that of the ancestors. If the sex of the connecting pair of ancestors is opposite (one male and one female) the relationship of the descendants is opposite to that of the connecting pair of ancestors.

APPENDIX II

A Comparison of Cross Relative Reckoning as it is Recorded in the Kinship Terms of the Iroquois and the Salagama Sinhalese

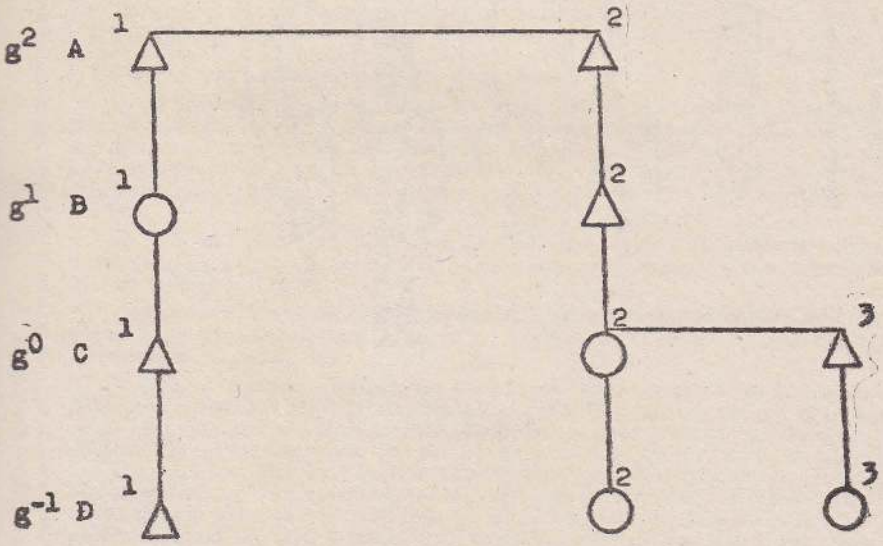
The kinship terms of the Iroquois and the Salagama Sinhalese are depicted in Figures 2 and 3. The systems are alike on ego's generation in terms of parallel and cross cousin terminology, and on the first ascending generation in a bifurcate merging terminology as so long ago pointed out by Murdock and Lowie and others. Because they have usually been compared in those terms only, they have been considered to be very similar and have sometimes even been equated.

However, a major distinction between them becomes apparent when we analyze the terminology on three instead of two generations. On g^{-1} [26] the two systems differ. In the Iroquoian system the children of cross cousins are terminologically identical with the sons and daughters of a female ego while they are nephews and nieces of the male ego. In the Dravidian system, the children of cross cousins of opposite sex become sons and daughters.

Figure 2:

Comparison of Dravidian and Iroquoian Terms for Relationships

The terms are similar on generations 2, 1 and zero; namely brothers, parallel cousins and cross cousins, respectively. They differ as stated on g-1 in the terms for children of cross cousins. The terms illustrate the bilateral nature of the Dravidian and the unilateral nature of the Iroquoian systems. We have here postulated that they reflect flexible multilocal residence based on non-optative, ambilateral rules of succession and inflexible unilocal residence based on unilateral rules of residence, respectively.



Dravidian system terms for children of cross cousins

A — of opposite sex
1. D1 son to C2
2. D2 daughter to C1

B — of same sex
1. D1 nephew of C3
2. D3 niece of C1

Iroquoian system terms for children of cross cousins

A — of opposite sex
1. D1 son to C2
2. *D2 niece to C1*

B — of same sex
1. D1 nephew of C3
2. D3 niece of C1

26. G^0 is the generation of ego, g^1 of his parents, and g^{-1} of his children, etc. When the third generation is used here it designates a g^{-1} speaking of g^1 as the generation of the ancestral sibling connector.

Figure 3:

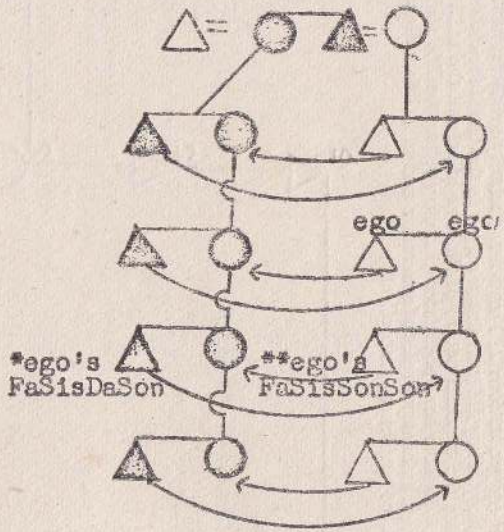
Iroquoian Terminology

*Nephew of male ego lives in opposite residence from male ego as adult.

*Different line than male ego.

*Son of female ego moves to residence of female ego as adult

*Different line than female ego.



**Nephew of female ego; lives in different residence from female ego as an adult.

**Same line as female ego

**Son of male ego; same residence as male ego as an adult. They both move to live uxorilocally.

**Same line as male ego.

		Residence as adults	*Matriline*
*ego's FaSisDaSon	— son of female ego	same	different
	— nephew of male ego	different	different
**ego's FaSisSonSon	— son of male ego	same	same
	— nephew of female ego	different	same

In a matrilineal, uxorilocal situation those who live in the *same residence as propositus are sons* regardless of matriline; those who live in a *different residence are nephews* regardless of matriline.

of both male and female egos thus illustrating the bilateral nature of the system. In Figure 2 this feature which differentiates the two systems is noted in italics in the Iroquoian system. Figure 3 illustrates this difference from the point of view of the connection between Iroquoian terminology and residence. Those who are called sons on g^{-1} live as adults in the same residence as the 'propositus' (ego whether male of female). Those who are called nephews live in the opposite residence.[27] In the Iroquoian system then cross relationship is reckoned in terms of residence on g^{-1}. There is a unilateral differentiation of kinship terms by sex on g^{-1} associated with differentiation by sex in the transmission of rights to residence. In contrast in the Dravidian system cross relationship continues to be reckoned by the complimentary rules that "once a common sibling link is found collaterals (siblings or in the next generation parallel or cross cousins) of the same sex transmit the same relationship as their own; and collaterals of the opposite sex transmit the opposite relationship[28]. There is no differentiation of kinship terms by sex on g-1. This is associated with no differentiation by sex in the transmission of rights to residence. G^{-1} Iroquoian and Dravidian kinship terms (in 3rd and succeeding generations) state respectively the residentially and nonresidentially based nature of reckoning cross relatives. Same-opposite categories are maintained in the former by same residence-opposite residence; in the latter by same sex connedtor-opposite sex connector. Same-opposite categories (a segmental abstraction) for reckoning cross relatives (a relational abstraction) are the general or nonsignificant feature which unilateral and bilateral societies have in common. Residence and sex differentiators are the significant features (relational and segmental specificities) which distinguish them from each other. Bilateral reckoning is associated with flexible residence, i.e. there is a built in structural option or choice. Unilateral reckoning is associated with inflexible rules of residence.

By inflexible it is meant that there is only one structural possibility (one specific segment) stated in the kinship terms and in the societal rules, it is not meant that statistically there are no cases which do not accord with the rule. Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the bilateral and two unilateral (matri and patri) directions of exchange of marriage partners. The structural options in choice of residence in situations of bilateral exchange are illustrated in Figure 4. The lack of options in the matrilateral and patrilateral systems of unilateral exchange is illustrated in Figure 5. In the Salagama Sinhalese case sample bilaterality is associated with diversity in the transmission of rights. Elsewhere (here illustrated by the Iroquois) unilaterality is associated with uniformity in the transmission of rights.

In addition to the very wide inclusionary context of the relations and segments, cross-relative and same-opposite groups, there are sets of concomitantly distinctive features os stipulations which include a smaller number of societies, but whose context nevertheless ir much more inclusionary than a single society. Cross sex connectors and bilateral parallels cross cousin units belong to this category. It is hypothesized here that two basic sets are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Basic set 1 includes the distinctive features of bilaterality, flexible residence, cross relative reckoning in terms of cross sex connectors and diversity (multilineality) in transmission of rights.

Hypothesis 2: Basic set 2 includes the distinctive features of unilaterality, fixed residence, cross relative reckoning in terms of residence and uniformity (unilineality) in the transmission of rights.

The set of distinctive features for the bilateral social system were first revealed by a processual analysis of the Salagama Sinhalese system.[29] Cross comparison of terminologies of the Iroquoian and Salagama Sinhalese Dravidian systems revealed that distinctive features are stated in the kinship terms. The two basically different kinds of social systems (bilateral and unilateral) have different significant features which can be arrived at by processual analysis. The differences are corroborated in the kinship terms and hence can be arrived at by analysis of the kinship terms as well. The Iroquoian and Sinhalese are systems of direct exchange, one matrilateral, the other bilateral. It is hypothesized that Crow and Omaha, matrilateral and patrilateral systems of indirect exchange will parallel the differences found in matrilateral and patrilateral systems of direct exchange.

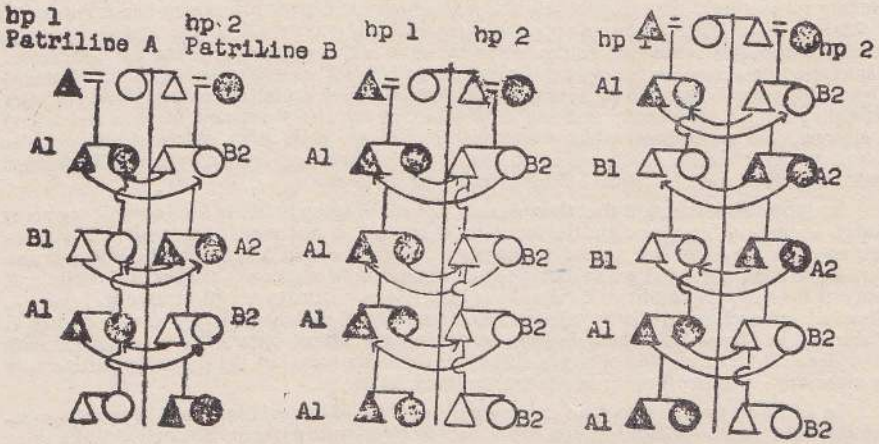
27. In the Iroquoian case this means that female egos call those males who as adults live uxorilocally in the same residence as they do, sons, even though they are of a different lineage than their own. Male egos call those males who as adults live uxorilocally in the same residence as they do sons. Those sons are of the same lineage as the male egos. Both male egos have moved away from their place of birth to live uxorilocally. This is depicted in Figure 3.
28. Gamburd, *The Seven Grand parents: Lineage and Locality in Sinhalese kinship and caste*, Section 5. 3. 2.
29. Processual questions have allowed us to "look and see whether there is anything common" (Needham, 1971, p. 30, quoting the philosopher Wittgenstein) as it has been suggested would be helpful.

Figure 4

Bilateral Exchange of Marriage Partners and Flexible Residence

The relationships of patrilineal exogamy and bilateral exchange of marriage partners in conjunction with ambilateral (uxorilocal or virilocal) choice of residence and nonoptative (transmission from the parent in his natal area) transmission of residence which in combination produce and maintain the geographically defined *hatmutu paramparawa* (an agamous local unit).

N.B. Patriline A is distinguished by solid and patriline B by clear triangles and circles ; and the vertical line indicates the geographical separation of hp 1 and hp 2.



Situation 1

uxorilocal choice of residence; matrilocal residence succession; both patrilines found in each locality; patrilines alternate locality every other generation

Situation 2

virilocal choice of residence; patrilocal residence succession; one patriline/locality; patrilines stay in the same location every generation

Situation 3

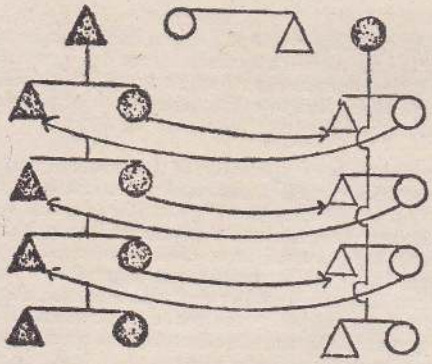
alternating viriuxorilocal choice of residence; alternating patrilocal-matrilocal residence succession; patrilines alternate locality every other two generations; both patrilines found in each locality

Figure 5

Unilateral Exchange of Marriage Partners and Inflexible Residence

Figure 5 is identical to situation 2 of figure 4 except that residence is transmitted unilaterally. Instead of representing one alternative in an ambilateral situation this represents the only possible decision. When the direction of exchange is patrilateral there is as in situation 2 of figure 4 virilocal choice of residence, patrilocal residence inheritance and a localized patriline. If the direction of exchange is matrilateral there is uxorilocal choice of residence, matrilocal residence inheritance and a localized matriline.

Patrilateral



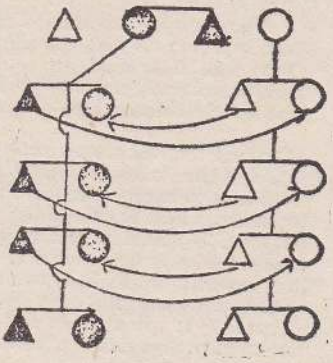
Situation 2

virilocal choice of residence

patrilocal residence succession

a patriline

Matrilateral



Situation 2a

uxorilocal choice of residence

matrilocal residence succession

a matriline

APPENDIX III

Theory of Analysis of Kinship and Marriage Reached Inductively from Data of the Salagama Caste of Sri Lanka Placed in the Context of Needham's Deductive Analysis of Descent and Alliance theory.

Rodney Needham[30] prefaces his "remarks on the analysis of kinship and marriage" with a quotation from Igor Stravinsky about theory. "What is theory in music composition?—Hindsight. It doesn't exist. There are compositions from which it is deduced." The Salagama caste is the 'composition' from which I have deduced, or more accurately, induced, a theory of kinship and marriage. In this appendix I place my inductions in the context of Needham's[31] discussion of the state of kinship and marriage theory and analysis. I do this by choosing sections in his discussion which either seem ambiguous, the same as, or contrary to my experience with the analytic mode of delineating transmissions of rights, or which lead to further questions and clarifications.

I begin with the area of agreement. "Let me simply adopt the minimal premise that kinship has to do with the allocation of rights and their transmission from one generation to the next. These rights are not of any specific kind but are exceedingly various; they include most prominently rights of group membership, succession to office, inheritance of property, locality of residence, type of occupation, and a great deal else".[32] So far we agree.

In the following contrasts it becomes apparent how the specificity of the model of analysis followed here takes us beyond ambiguity to empirical generalization. In that context I find it difficult to accept Needham's next suggestion that "They are all, however, transmissible by modes which have nothing to do with the sex or genealogical status of transmitter or recipient."[33] Sinhalese data suggest disagreement here as a uni-ambi-bi-lineal bilateral system emerges. The explanation may lie in what seems to me an ambiguous suggestion "These jural systems and their component statuses can be genealogically defined. Why this should be so is a fundamental question that has never been properly resolved, and I cannot take it up here."[34] It appears that abstract (jural systems.....) and specific relations (genealogies) are the respective referents here. However, ambiguity by definition leaves us at best guessing what may be meant.

I agree that "the word (kinship) has in fact no analytical value."[35] However this leads to the question, what does then have analytical value? The Sinhalese data suggest that the relations and segments which arise out of the transmissions of rights are the variables which have analytical value. They are both abstract and specific. They bring us beyond formal logical possibilities of transmissions of rights to the consequences of the transmission. The logical possibilities of the consequences may also be stated. In this way empirical generalization need not be equated with a 'bundle of rights'[36] that is with a typology. Rather empirical generalization becomes valid or possible only when it is equated with relations and segments which emerge in a context. Empirical generalization is the notation of permutations of relations and segments which emerge in particular contexts. Statements of comparison depend on delineation of the context as well as delineation of permutations of rights, relations and segments. In sum, specificity is achieved by the recognition and delineation of all four variables: rights, relations, segments and contexts.

In contrast to Needham[37] my experience with analysis by the mode of transmissions of rights suggests that terminologies do lead to empirical generalization or at least become one diagnostic feature in an empirical generalization. The empirical generalization reached in this paper is that residence is flexible in a situation of transmissions of rights by a variable diversity of ways; in such a situaton or context the Dravidian terminology states the bilateral mode of transmitting the right to a marriage partner. Where residence is inflexible in a situation of invariable uniform transmission of rights the Iroquoian terminology states the unilateral mode of transmitting the right to a marriage partner. Two sets (two permutations) of

30. Needham, 1971, p. 1.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-34.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

rights, relations and segments are found in two delineated contexts: cognatic and unilineal societies. Sociological similarities may end at this very general level. Nevertheless recognition of this general context of comparison provides a degree of clarity and is of predictive value.

If "the point in discriminating a class of phenomena is to be able to formulate propositions which hold for all members of the class,"[38] the point is achieved above. The research question which must be asked is whether sociological properties can be ascribed to members of the classes Dravidian and Iroquois; i.e. do they covary with cognatic and unilineal societies ? Our hypothesis reached by empirical generalization is that they do covary. Further testing of empirical data is necessary.

The greater clarity of the analytical tool of kinship as a system of rights is illustrated when Needham's return to the ambiguous terms descent and descent groups for Pul Eliya is rephrased in terms of transmissions of rights for the Sinhalese Salagama case. Needham states "Examples of societies with 1) lineal terminologies but 2) without fixed rules of lineal descent or corresponding 3) descent groups are the Sinhalese of Pul Eliya....."[39] (numbers added for reference). If we read this in terms of transmissions of rights for the Sinhalese Salagama this becomes "An example of a society with 1) a patrilineal transmission of names but 2) with bilineal transmission of property and 3) ambilineal transmission of residence and a Dravidian terminology for reckoning marriage partners are the Salagama caste Sinhalese."

On the basis of analysis of the transmissions of rights, induction has led us to 1) variables which have analytical value 2) achievement of specificity by the recognition and delineation of four variables and 3) empirical generalizations. The four variables are discovered by induction from Sinhalese Salagama caste data. While induction and deduction do not necessarily contradict each other, induction can tell us more and more quickly than can deduction from formal logic because it draws from the data of many cultures rather than from logical deductive powers based on Western culture alone. Instead of returning us to the ambiguous terminology and other pitfalls of previous theories it allows us to procede to empirical generalizations.

Instead of delineating a class as a number of objects possessing certain attributes in common; it allows us to classify kinds of phenomena already found to cohere by means of empirical generalization. The phenomena are specified in terms of variables: rights, relations and segments. Sets of phenomena: regularly occuring permutations of rights, relations and segments become comparable in terms of contexts. This inductive approach through variables complements the deductive approach through formal logical possibilities. For example, Needham[40] suggests effective comparisons can be initiated in terms of relational abstractions. The inductive approach has led to recognition of three further distinctions (elementary forms): segmental abstraction, relational particularities, and segmental particularities.

Thus we are enabled to move beyond "logical and psychic facilities as elementary resources available to all mankind for ordering experience"[41] to elementary forms and consequently to empirical generalizations of sets or permutations of rights, relations and segments in a number of distinctive contexts. We reach these generalizations by the operation of classification suggested here, induction freed from typologies. From the transmissions of rights, relations and segments emerge. Designation of context makes comparison possible.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

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Kuveni's Revenge: Images of Women in a Sinhalese Myth

LORNA RHODES AMARASINGHAM

I

The position of women has been a matter of some concern to students of Sinhalese society and culture. Nur Yalman, in his article "The Purity of Women in the Castes of Malabar and Ceylon,"[1] has pointed out that the protection of the purity and exclusiveness of the group through the regulation of the sexual life of women is central to South Indian conceptions of caste. He shows that the South Indian concern for the purity of women is associated with the structure of the social system and that the safeguarding of women from possible violations of their sexual integrity is an expression of the desire to safeguard the boundaries of the group.

Gananath Obeyesekere has focused on a somewhat different aspect of the position of women—the attitudes of Sinhalese women toward themselves, which in turn reflect the attitudes of men toward them. In his "Pregnancy Cravings in Relation to Social Structure and Personality in a Sinhalese Village," he says that:

> Men folk in Laggala view their women as possessed of certain inherent weaknesses: *Seductiveness*—women are viewed as sexually easily excitable, inducing the male to adultery and thus a threat to the integrity of the family; *Untrustworthiness*—no woman could be trusted, neither one's wife nor even one's mother.. ...women are also *jara* (unclean).....[2]

In structural terms, women are the weakest link in the perpetuation of the caste, because impurity can enter the group through them. The Sinhalese attitude corresponding to this structural situation is that women are potentially disruptive, untrustworthy and unclean.

In this paper I will examine the representation of two female figures, Sita and Kuveni, in the Sinhalese myth of the *Kohoṁba Kankāriya*. Because this myth is very long and complex and because space does not permit a full analysis, I will limit myself to a comparison of the characteristics of these two women, concentrating on the ways in which their portrayal reflects the attitudes toward women described by Yalman and Obeyesekere.

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*This paper is based on research carried out in central Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in 1971-72, supported by a traineeship grant from the U.S. National Institute of Health. I am happy to have this opportunity to express my thanks to the many people in Sri Lanka who helped me with this project.

1. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1962:25-58.
2. *American Anthropologist*, 1963, LXV (2) : 326.

II

Sita and Kuveni are the central female characters in the myth which is enacted in the Kandyan ritual of the *Kohoṁba Kankāriya*. The full *Kankāriya* ritual is an extensive and elaborate propitiation of the gods which is now rarely performed; it is intended both to increase general prosperity and to cure individual afflictions.

The *Kankāriya* myth describes the illness and subsequent cure of the second king of Lanka, Panduasudev. As Panduasudev's illness is the result of events in the life of his predecessor, Vijaya, the story of Vijaya's conquest of Lanka is central to the myth. The *Kankāriya* version of Vijaya's life is parallel in many respects to that of the *Mahāvaṃsa* chronicle (fifth century AD), but there are some important differences of emphasis which reflect the focus of the *Kankāriya* on problems of illness and ritual cure. The *Kankāriya* contains other stories in addition to that of Vijaya, and themes which are related to the Indian epic of the *Rāmāyana* provide the focus for a subplot which eventually contributes to the denouement of the story.

Kuveni is the demon princess who lures Vijaya into marriage upon his arrival in Lanka. Sita is the wife of Rama, the hero king of the *Rāmāyana*, whose battle against the demon who captures his wife is the central event of the epic. I will begin with Sita's story and then go on to the story of Kuveni. This account is necessarily abbreviated and does not contain all the details of the original myth.[3]

Sita's Story

1. Rama went to war against the demon Ravana, who had lured Sita away by taking the form of a beautiful deer.

2. After rescuing Sita from the demon, Rama became suspicious of her, thinking that she must have had sexual relations with Ravana during her long captivity.

3. Sita undertook an ordeal of fire in which the gods attested to her purity.

4. Later, Rama heard rumours that his subjects were still suspicious of Sita.

5. Rama sent Sita into the forest with his brother Lakshmana, with instructions that she should be killed.

6. Sita was pregnant at the time. Lakshmana felt sorry for her and left her at the hermitage of the sage Valmiki.

7. Sita bore a son. She lived with her baby in the forest under the protection of the hermit.

8 One day she left her baby on her bed while she went to gather fruit in the forest.

9. The baby fell off the bed and began to cry.

3. Except in a few instances where variant incidents are indicated in footnotes, I have not dealt with variations on the plot of the myth. The versions I recorded were quite uniform with regard to the main plot and varied only in detail.

10. The hermit did not want to touch the baby, so he created another out of a blade of grass.

11. Sita returned to discover the two infants.

12. When she refused to believe the hermit's account of the creation of the second baby, he made a third child out of a flower.

13. Sita raised the three baby boys by nursing two from her breasts and the third from her little finger.

14. The sons of Sita grew up to become the powerful kings of the land of Malaya.[4]

Story of the Two Brahmins

(Previous Incarnations of Vijaya and Kuveni)

15. In India there lived a Brahmin and his wife who were dancers in the court of a king.

16. The king gave the Brahmin a magical wish-fulfilling gem.

17. The Brahmin made the mistake of telling his wife about the gem.

18. The wife tried to take the gem.

19. Sakra, king of the gods, saw that a woman was about to touch the gem; knowing that it would lose its powers at the touch of a woman, he snatched it away before she could reach it.

20. When the Brahmin found the gem gone, he furiously demanded the truth from his wife.

21. The Brahmin and his wife agreed to an oath before the sun-god.

22. The Brahmin swore that she had taken the gem (which was not true) and his wife swore that she had neither *seen* nor touched it (which was not true because she had seen it, but not touched it).

23. Since both were lying, both died from the effects of the oath.

24. Just before they died, they swore that they would be reborn as husband and wife so that they could have revenge on one another.

25. They were reborn as Vijaya and Kuveni.

Kuveni's Story

26. Kuveni was a princess born to a king and queen in Lanka.

27. At birth, she had three breasts and the astrologer pronounced her extremely inauspicious; he also predicted that the third breast would fall off when she saw her future husband.

4. In the *Rāmāyana*, Sita has twin boys who grow up under the tutelage of Valmiki and eventually learn the epic he has composed about their father. When they go to their father's palace to sing it to him, he recognizes them and reinstates them as his sons.

28. She was cast out by her parents and left to be raised by demons (*yakās*).[5]

29. Kuveni grew up to be very beautiful. In the meantime Vijaya, an Indian prince, was banished from his homeland because of his unruly behaviour and sailed to Lanka with seven hundred followers. He landed on the island on the day of the Buddha's *parinirvāna* (death).

30. Kuveni was hidden along the shore and watched him land.

31. When she saw him her third breast fell off, indicating that he was to be her husband.

32. Kuveni turned herself into a bitch, an animal which the men would take to indicate human habitation on the island.

33. The bitch lured all seven hundred of Vijaya's followers into the interior, where she hid them.

34. When Vijaya went to investigate, the beautiful demon princess was sitting spinning.

35. She told him that he would have to marry her to get his followers back.

36. Vijaya agreed to marry Kuveni. She helped him build a palace and houses for his followers.

37. Kuveni also helped him to destroy her relatives, the demons, who were the original inhabitants of the island (these demons are also referred to as "Veddas," the aboriginal population of Lanka).

38. After Kuveni had lived with Vijaya for several years and borne him two sons, his followers began to complain that they did not want a demoness for a queen.

39. Vijaya cast out Kuveni and her children. He then married a princess from South India.

40. Kuveni returned to the remnants of her people, who took in her children but were unwilling to accept her.

41. Kuveni used magical weapons to attack Vijaya (she sent a long tongue into his chamber while he was sleeping) and he died.

The myth goes on to relate how Vijaya's successor, Panduasudev, is also attacked by Kuveni. He becomes ill, but the gods intervene and arrange for the three sons of Sita to be lured to Lanka to effect a cure. This they do, enacting the first *Kankāriya* ritual. The reason they are powerful enough to counteract Kuveni's magic is that the Malayan king is born of a flower, not of a womb.

III

The story of Sita and the story of Kuveni provide the crisis (Kuveni's revenge) and the resolution (the intervention of Sita's sons) which are the major elements in the plot of the *Kankāriya* myth. Thus even the full myth centers on questions of the intention, purity and suitability of the two women.

5. There is an obvious contradiction here between Kuveni's royal parentage and the contention that Lanka was inhabited only by demons until Vijaya's arrival. In some versions Kuveni is simply the child of demonic parents. Regardless of her parentage, she is usually regarded as having been born as some kind of demon child.

Sita and Kuveni have several characteristics in common:

They are desirable (1, 34).

They have three sources of milk (13, 27).

The people (Rama's subjects and Vijaya's followers) question their suitability (purity) as wives (4, 38).

The two women are both rejected by their husbands (5, 39).

But there are also a number of differences:

Sita:	*Kuveni:*
is passive (1, 5)	is aggressive (35, 41)
is of the same caste as her husband	is of a different group (non-human) and lower than her husband (28)
is pure (proved by ordeal) (3)	is impure (a demoness) (27)
is attacked by a demon in the form of a deer (1)	lures Vijaya's followers in the form of a bitch (32)
eats fruit (8)	eats flesh (a characteristic of demons)
defends Rama even when she is rejected by him	attacks her own people (37)
calls on the gods for help (3)	uses her own magical powers to take revenge on Vijaya (41)
is protected by the hermit (7)	is rejected by her own people (40)
produces pure, powerful children (14)	produces impure, powerless children (38)
her children are entitled to their father's status (14)	her children are rejected by their father (40)

Sita and Kuveni are both beautiful, seductive and fertile. Thus they can cause men to behave in extreme ways. They are both suspected of being impure and are rejected by their husbands. The configuration of the two stories is therefore similar: a beautiful woman turns out to be of uncertain purity and is given up by her husband.

Within this simple outline, however, there are a number of characteristics which distinguish the two women. First, there is a difference in the kind of impurity which causes them to be rejected. Kuveni's impurity arises from the simple fact that she is a demon: it is intrinsic to her nature. Sita, however, has merely come in contact with a demon. When Rama wins her back he asks: "What man of honour would give reign to his passion so far as to take back a woman who has dwelt in the house of another ?"[6] Sita, just because she is perfect as a wife for Rama, is also extremely vulnerable to assaults on her purity. She cannot defend herself because the mere suggestion of contact is enough to implicate her.

6. Hari P. Shastri (trans.), *The Ramāyana of Valmiki*, London: Shanti Sadan, 1952, p. 335.

A second and crucial difference between Sita and Kuveni is that they are of different statuses in relation to their husbands. Sita is of the same caste as Rama whereas Kuveni is not only lower than Vijaya, she is not even human. This is the source of the pure/impure dichotomy which differentiates them; Sita is pure *as a wife* to Rama and her purity is essential to his honour; Kuveni's impurity which could be overlooked while Vijaya was still a newcomer to Lanka, becomes important once his kingship is established and a successor required.

Sita and Kuveni are also opposed in terms of activity and aggressiveness. Whereas Sita is won by her husband (in the *Ramāyana*), Kuveni tricks Vijaya into marrying her. Sita is passive in relation to her rejection, allowing herself to be left in the forest and asking for help only from forces stronger than herself (the gods, or the sage); Kuveni, on the other hand, is aggressive in her own defence. She turns on Vijaya with magical weapons and is not satisfied with killing him but must also take revenge on his successor. The long tongue with which she invades the king's chamber is symbolic of her aggressive nature.

Finally, the differences between the two women are apparent when it comes to their children. In both female figures there is a symbolic indication of fecundity: the possession of a third source of milk. But whereas Kuveni's third breast implies an excess which is non-productive, Sita nurses an actual child from her little finger. Kuveni's children are demons like their mother and belong therefore with their mother's people. Two of Sita's children, on the other hand, are produced without even touching a woman (and are thus extremely pure) and all three are powerful and noble and acceptable to their father.

The story of the two Brahmins prefigures the themes in Kuveni's story. The Brahmin's wife is aggressive and untrustworthy. Her touch is impure (simply because she is a woman) and dangerous to the wish-fulfilling gem (19). A line from one of the *Kankāriya* texts sums up the situation:

> Women's qualities cannot be trusted
> The wife pretended she knew nothing about the gem.....[7]

The Brahmin's wife, like Kuveni, demonstrates that there are two sides to the desirability and fertility of women. On the one hand, Kuveni's attractiveness is dangerous and her children are undesirable. On the other hand, Sita's attractiveness makes her vulnerable and susceptible to attacks upon her purity

IV

Sita and Kuveni seem to indicate a conflict between the desirability of women and the need to maintain the dividing lines of the social structure. The problem explored by the portions of the *Kankāriya* myth which deal with them is: how can the fertility and seductiveness of women be contained? Levi-Strauss has suggested that:

> (A) myth is certainly related to given (empirical) facts, but not as a representation of them. The relationship is of a dialectic kind and the institutions in the myths

7. J. E. Sederaman, *Lankave Yaksha Yugea: Kohoṁba Kankāriya Upata*, Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1955, p. 38.

> can be the very opposite of human institutions. This will in fact always be the case when the myth is trying to express a negative truth. . . . .the extreme positions are only *imagined* to show that they are *untenable*.[8]

In the stories of Sita and Kuveni we seem to have an imaginative exploration dependent on one of the empirical bases of Sinhalese society—the rule that "like marries like." This is a rule which must, in real life, be threatened by the attractiveness of women who are outside the group. Yet women must be kept from contact with low caste men, and men cannot claim the children of low caste concubines. The myth sets out positive and negative aspects of the concern for the purity of the group, and indicates the danger that inheres in the crossing of group boundaries.

Space does not permit giving enough of the myth to be able to show the larger "dialectic" which is involved. Here, however, we can see that Sita and Kuveni represent two types of women, one pure and good, the other impure and bad. The marriage of Rama and Sita is "acceptable" because they are of equal status, and Sita's character is appropriate to her position as a vessel containing the purity of her caste; she is passive in relation to Rama and yielding in the face of his rejection of her. The results of the union of Rama and Sita are powerful children who belong to the same caste as their father and mother. That they are particularly pure is indicated by the fact that two of them do not come from their mother's womb at all.

Kuveni and Vijaya form a socially non-productive union. Kuveni is completely outside the boundaries of Vijaya's social world and in order to have him as a husband she must trick him into accepting her. The marriage is doomed from the start, as is indicated by the story of their previous birth in which the untrustworthy nature of women is clearly stated. The union is negative and the children are not acceptable to their father but must return to their mother's group. Vijaya cannot be a king and have a wife lower than himself; furthermore Kuveni is powerful and dangerous to him.

The myth then explores the contradiction between the natural fertility and desirability of women and the bounded nature of the social structure. It presents a dichotomy between pure/impure and socially productive/socially non-productive. Sita is "bounded" and the concern is for her integrity; Kuveni is "unbounded" and the emphasis is on her aggressiveness. Thus the myth can be seen to represent, in Levi-Straussian terms, the limits of institutions. The Sita incident is positive, the Kuveni story negative. Taken together they constitute a pairing of two options, one productive, the other "untenable."

There is, however, a further complication, one which indicates that there is more to these two extreme positions than a simple dichotomy of good and bad. The complication arises because Sita is not simply pure; she is also suspected of having been unfaithful to Rama and of being contaminated by contact with a lower status being. She too is rejected by her husband and is considered unsuitable as a wife.

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8. "The Story of Asdiwal," in E. R. Leach (ed.) *The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1967, pp. 29-30.

Sita and Kuveni represent two different ways in which women can be impure. Kuveni is impure because of her structural position; she is a demon and inherently low because of her birth. Her marriage does not change her degree of purity and she remains dangerous and unsuitable throughout. Sita is pure to begin with and becomes impure because of an assault on her from outside her group. She is vulnerable to change because of the contamination of contact with a demon; her integrity can be violated and her condition changed against her will.

Sita, then, must be protected from aggression. When the protection breaks down she is sullied and is no longer suitable as a wife. The mere suggestion of impurity spoils her as a perpetuator of Rama's status. Kuveni is already impure and her aggressiveness seems to be related to her low status; her condition cannot be changed and she has "nothing to lose."

The purity of women is depicted here as problematic in two ways. When the concern is with women of the same status the problem is to protect their extreme vulnerability, and when the concern is with lower-status women, the problem is protection against their aggressive seductiveness. Both can be a danger to the integrity of the group.

We come now to Obeyesekere's comment that women are regarded as seductive and untrustworthy. The story of the two Brahmins brings out the idea that women are untrustworthy, and the theme of lack of trust is repeated in the stories of both Sita and Kuveni. What unites all three women is that they can't be trusted—there is no way for Rama to know for sure whether Sita is pure, for the Brahmin to know whether his wife took the gem, or for Vijaya to know what Kuveni has done with his followers—or that she will eventually kill him. The women in all three stories are desirable, yet possessed of an inherent ambiguity.

This suggestion that there is an ambiguity and uncertainty inherent in the very nature of women implies that the images of women contained in the *Kankāriya* myth not only indicate structural aspects of femininity and fertility, but also express certain attitudes toward female sexuality in general. The purity of women is relative and there is no way to be completely certain of it. Thus, women are problematic not only in their potential vulnerability or aggressiveness, but also in their very nature as the focus of men's desire.

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Satan and Māra: Christian and Buddhist Symbols of Evil*

James W. Boyd

The nature and meaning of what the early Christians and Buddhists experienced and defined as "evil" constitutes an important aspect of their religious experience. As counter to what they experienced as ultimately good and true, the experience of evil offers an alternate perspective from which to view and better to understand the meaning of the Christian "salvation in Christ" or the Buddhist "realization of the Dharma" as taught by the Buddha. Recent studies in the symbolism of evil,[1] and more specifically, an analysis of the symbols of Satan and Māra,[2] have not only demonstrated the intrinsic merit of such considerations but have also revealed the need for further scholarship in this area.[2]

This study of the early Christian and Buddhist symbols of evil, Satan and Māra, is based on an examination of selected literature that falls within the formative period of each tradition (*ca.* 100 B.C.—*ca.* 350 A.D.). In this early period the canonical literature of Christians and Theravādin Buddhists as well as important *sutras* of Mahāyāna Buddhists were written. Given the great diversity and amount of literature that falls within this period, a selection of texts was made based on the following criteria: (1) the text must have material relevant to the topic, (2) the texts selected should be representative of earlier and later literature and should reflect different types of writings, and (3) the texts should provide a suitable basis of comparison with the other religious tradition.[3]

Analysis of the texts proceeded as follows. Passages which described the activities of the chief figures of evil were grouped according to characteristic verbs and verb phrases of which Satan or Māra (or established related names) were the grammatical or contextual subjects. Passages which described the nature and power of Satan and

*A fuller treatment of this topic appears in the author's book by the same title (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975).

1. Paul Ricoeur, *The Symbolism of Evil*, trans. by E. Buchanan, New York: Harper and Row 1967; James Kallas, *The Satanward View: A Study in Pauline Theology*, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968.
2. T. O. Ling, *The Significance of Satan*, London: SPCK, 1960, and *Buddhism and the Mythology of Evil*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1962.
3. The selected Christian literature includes the New Testament, the Apostolic Fathers, and several of the early Greek Fathers. Specific texts considered are: *New Testament; Epistles of Ignatius; Epistle of Polycarp to the Phillippians; The Martyrdom of Polycarp; Epistle of Barnabas; Visions, Mandates, Similitudes of the Shepherd of Hermas;* Justin Martyr's *First* and *Second Apologies*, and the *Dialogue of Justin, Philosopher and Martyr, with Trypho, a Jew;* Irenaeus' *Against Heresies;* Origen's *De Principiis* and *Against Celsus*

   Texts selected from the Buddhist literature include portions of the Pali Canon, and Sarvāstīvādin, Mahāsanghika, and Yogācārin Sanskrit literature. Specific texts considered are: the Pali *Nikāyas; Mahāvastu, Lalita Vistara;* Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddha Carita; Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Saddharma Puṇḍarīka;* Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra;* Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa;* Asaṅga's *Srāvakabhūmi.*

Māra were grouped according to titles and phrases which were characteristic throughout the selected literature in both traditions. In this manner a general portrait of the activities, nature and power of Satan and Māra was derived.

Interpreting these mythological portraits as expressions of real dimensions of the early Christian and Buddhist experience of evil, these stories of the activities, nature and power of Satan and Māra can be understood as a means of identifying the various kinds of experiences each tradition considered evil as well as serving as symbolic expressions of the general character of those experiences.[4] The meaning and etymological background of the terms Satan, Māra, and Evil One (Gr. *ponēros*; Skt. *pāpimā*), furthermore, are found to be explications of concepts central to each tradition's understanding of evil.[5] The following interpretive comparison of the dominant motifs in Christian and Buddhist mythology deals with basic similarities and differences between their respective accounts of experiences of evil as well as their understanding of the nature of "evil" (*ponēros*; *pāpa*).

A. Kinds of Experiences of Evil

A comparative analysis of the texts discloses that similarities between early Christian and Buddhist experiences of evil are found on the level of general characteristics; however, specific aspects of their respective accounts of such experiences show important differences. On the general level, both the early Christians and Buddhists had similar experiences of "evil" when they were urged or felt inclined toward actions which were not in accord with what they regarded as ultimately good and true.

For example, in the New Testament gospels Satan tempted Jesus to work miracles, to fly from the roof of the temple, or to seek to be the "prince of the world," all of which were actions appropriate to popular messianic expectations but not to Jesus' own understanding of his mission.[6] Satan is referred to by St. Paul as "the tempter" who entices men from their faith.[7] Among the Greek Fathers Origen also views Satan's temptations as a means of putting the followers of Jesus to the test.[8]

4. When I use the expression "experience of evil" I mean to include interpretive elements as well as the experience *per se*. The term "mythology" is to be understood as connoting stories about "the actions of gods or of beings conceived as divine or possessed of divine attributes" (*mythos*); cf. Webster's *New International Dictionary*, 2nd. ed., 1958. This basic usage is to be distinguished from the term "mythical" (*mythikos*) which connotes "arbitrarily invented . . . imaginary stories."

5. It is to be understood that we are dealing with these concepts within the context of the respective mythologies of each tradition. This point is especially important when considering the Buddhist term *pāpa*. We shall not be discussing the general sense of the term *pāpa* ("evil") as it is used in Buddhist ethics for example, but only as it is given meaning by the Māra mythology.

6. Mk. 1:13; Mt. 4:3-10; Lk. 4:3-12.

7. I Thess. 3:5; I. Cor. 7:5; cf. also: *Dialogue of Justin, Philosopher and Martyr, with Trypho a Jew*, trans. M. Dods and G. Reith in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), *Ante-Nicence Christian Library* [hereafter ANCL], Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1867-1895, p. 112; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, trans. A. Roberts and W. H. Rambaut, ANCL, II, 112; Origen, *De Principiis*, trans. F. Crombie, ANCL, I, 224. For the Greek text of the writings of the Greek Fathers cf. J. P. Migne's *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Graeca*, Paris, 1857-1887, VI, VII, XI. The Loeb Classical Library Series on *The Apostolic Fathers* provides on alternate pages the Greek and the English translation by K. Lake.

8. *De Principiis*, I, 224.

Likewise, the Buddhist Pali texts record episodes in which Māra urges Gotama to become a universal king and establish a great empire of peace[9]—certainly an acceptable social goal, but not the goal of one on the direct Path to freedom (*nirvāṇa*) and Enlightenment (*bodhi*). The Sanskrit literature also relates how Māra encourages man's inclinations toward worldly and "religious" values which lead away from the Path of the Buddha. The *Mahāvastu*, e.g., quotes Māra as saying to the Buddha (a query applicable to the followers of the Buddha as well): "What wilt thou gain by this striving? Go and live at home..... (and) when thou diest thou wilt rejoice in heaven and wilt beget great merit."[10]

The specific manner in which this type of conflict with traditional religious and social values was described, however, differs between the two traditions. The Christian characteristically spoke of being tempted (*peirazō*) by Satan, whereas the Buddhist referred to man's "inclinations" toward values and desires of this world (*kāmesu namati*) promoted by Māra. The term "temptation" (*peirazō*) means, principally, "being put to the test," meeting an external challenge. When used in connection with Satan, "temptation" also connotes "enticement to sin."[11] The Christian experienced a "testing" of his total orientation to life, an enticement away from his faith. The Buddhist term "inclination" (*namati*), on the other hand, as it is developed in the literature, emphasizes one's own inclinations—essentially misdirected natural instincts on the part of man—which remove him from the Buddhist perspective and lead him into the pursuit of alien values.[12]

In these first examples, it is notable that evil, for both the founders of these traditions and their followers, is integrally related to what each considers Holy and True.[13] As faithful followers of Jesus, Christians view as evil that which is disruptive of their desire to realize a full life in Christ. Jesus himself regarded any form of enticement away from his messianic goal as the work of Satan.[14] Those who follow the

9. *The Book of Kindred Sayings*, trans. Mrs. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward. Pali Text Society [hereafter PTS], London: Luzac and Co., 1950, I, 146; *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, PTS ed., I, 116.

10. *Mahāvastu*, trans. J. J. Jones, *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* [hereafter SBB] London Luzac and Co., II, 224-225; III, 418; cf. also: *The Buddha Carita of Asvaghosha*, trans. E. B. Cowell, *Sacred Books of the East* [hereafter SBE], London: Oxford University Press, 1927, XIII, 138; XV, 163; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpārāmitā* (*The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Slokas*), trans. E. Conze, Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1958 XVII, 123.

11. W. Arndt and F. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 4th ed., 1952, "peirazō," p. 646.

12. The verb *namati* (bend down, or incline) as it appears in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, I, 116 (*cf.* above, n.9), is in the optative mood, third person singular (*nameyya*). In such a case the verb form has neither a causative nor passive implication, and in this context refers to man's inclination to sense desires rather than man's being "enticed" to sense desires by some external cause. As far as can be ascertained from the texts selected for this study there is no Pali or Sanskrit term used in conjunction with Māra's activities which is equivalent in meaning to the Greek verb *peirazō* (putting to the test by enticement to sin).

13. The terms "Holy" and "True" refer respectively to the Christian theological and Buddhist philosophical orientations, although both terms are regarded as correlates in each religious tradition.

14. Jesus said to Peter, "Get behind me, Satan! For you are not on the side of God, but of men" (Mk. 8 : 33; Mt. 16 : 23) when Peter rebuked Jesus for saying that the Son of man must suffer many things. Peter was putting Jesus' messianic understanding to the test and consequently was doing the work of Satan.

Path of the Buddha and seek to attain perfect wisdom (*prajñā*) and freedom (*nirvāṇa*), likewise regard whatever inclines one away from this purpose as "evil." In both traditions, evil is essentially a disruptive break in the bond between man and what he considers sacred.[15] However, having once stated this, we must also keep in mind that the difference between "temptation," a term for which there is no exact equivalent in the selected Buddhist literature,[16] and "inclination," is suggestive of differences in the two estimates of evil.[17]

Another kind of experience of evil broadly similar in both traditions concerns problems internal to the religious community. When the religious doctrine or teaching was misrepresented or the unity of the church or sangha challenged, such events constituted evil. The Apostolic and Greek Fathers especially warned against what the New Testament refers to as the spirit of error which seeks to take away the Word that has been sown in men's hearts so that weeds may grow in its place.[18] St. Ignatius of Antioch admonishes the Ephesians: may "no plant of the devil be found in you." He criticizes the Docetists who are inspired by the Devil, and condemns the Judaizers as instruments of the Devil.[19] Irenaeus states even more specifically: "Let those persons..... who blaspheme the Creator, either by openly expressed words, such as the disciple of Marcion, or by the perversion of the sense (of Scripture), as these of Valentinus and all the Gnostics falsely so called, be recognized as agents of Satan."[20]

The Buddhist Māra sought to "blur the vision" and "darken the understanding" of the followers of the Path by various means. The Sanskrit *Perfection of Wisdom* literature, e.g., defines as activities of Māra the disruption of proper relations between teachers and pupils, the promotion of "bad opinions" such as maintaining "being"

15. Paul Ricoeur, *The Symbolism of Evil*, p. 5, defines evil as the "crisis" in "the bond between man and what he considers sacred." I have chosen to use the more general term "disruptive" rather than "crisis" in that the former is applicable to the Buddhist as well as Christian experience.

16. Cf. above, n. 12.

17. Of less importance, but of descriptive interest, are the different types of conflict that occurred between early Christians and their contemporaries and early Buddhists and their Indian contemporaries. Christians were subject to the "terrible torments" (*deinas kolaseis*) of martyrdom, such as struggling with wild beasts or having limbs mangled, all of which were seen as instigated by Satan. (Cf. *Ignatius to the Romans*, trans. K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers* [hereafter AF], Loeb Classical Library, ed. E. Capps, *et al*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925, I, 223). The Buddhists, however, were subject to verbal rather than bodily abuse. Brahmins and householders, believed by the Buddhists to be possessed by Māra, "reviled, abused, vexed and annoyed" (*akkosanti paribhāsanti rosenti vihesenti*) them, taunting them about their pretended purities or scornfully claiming that greater men than they had respect for traditional views. (Cf. *The Middle Length Sayings*, trans. I. B. Horner, PTS, London: Luzac and Co., 1954, I, 397-398; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, PTS ed., I, 334). Despite these differences, the intended effect was similar, namely, to bring about a denial of faith in Christ or to disrupt efforts to follow the Path of the Buddha.

18. I Jn. 4 : 6; Mk. 4 : 15; Mt. 13 : 19, 25.

19. *Ignatius to the Ephesians*, AF., I, 185, 191, 193; *Ignatius to the Philadelphians*, AF, I, 245; *Ignatius to the Magnesians*, AF, I, 197; *The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians*, AF, I, 293.

20. *Against Heresies*, II, 127; cf. also I, 72. Caution against being deceived is prevalent throughout the early tradition: Mt. 24 : 4, 5, 11, 24; Mk. 13 : 5ff.; Jn. 7 : 12; I Jn. 2 : 26; 3 : 7; Rev. 2 : 20, 13 : 14; 19 : 20, 20 : 3, 8, 10; *Dialogue*, 96, *First Apology*, 56; *De Principiis*, I, 241; *Against Heresies*, II, 127. The term "Devil," which comes from the Greek word *diabolos* used in the Septuagint to translate the Hebrew *sâtan*, means the "slanderer" and "deceiver." Cf. Arndt and Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 181.

where there is only emptiness, as well as false understandings of the very teaching of "emptiness" (*śunyatā*).[21] The Pali literature narrates how Māra attempts to undermine the disciples, confidence in the Buddha and seeks to make the Buddha perplexed by challenging the authenticity of his Enlightenment.[22]

The early Christians characteristically speak of this type of experience as being "deceived by lies" (*planaō, pseudos*), whereas early Buddhists talk of being "confused and perplexed" (*vicakkhukamma, vicakṣukarma*). Again this difference is related, in the final analysis, to different understandings of the Holy and True. The early Christians experienced the Holy in their relation to an historical personage, Jesus, whose life and events could be narrated and their religious significance defined. The error and delusion of false doctrine resulted from the failure of heretical teachings to articulate properly the true religious significance of the Christ event in history. Hence heretics were "deceived by lies." Buddhist language didn't become "doctrinal" in the Christian sense, basically because of the Buddhist attitude that language was fundamentally soteriological in function and meaning. Buddhist language is always most correctly understood to be simply a means toward achieving the ineffable truth; conceptual constructs can in no way "contain" the truth itself.[23] The Buddhist experienced a "blurring" of his vision of the Path and found misunderstandings between teachers and pupils "confusing and perplexing," hence evil, but did not consider them "lies" which misrepresented an historical, definitive truth.

Still another kind of experience of evil relates to illness and natural calamities. Rarely are disease and infirmity directly linked with the primary symbols of evil in either tradition. Satan is seldom cited as the cause of illness and on only one occasion in the selected texts is Māra the direct cause of illness.[24] However, there is an indirect association of Satan and Māra with illness and natural disasters, an association which is stronger among early Christians than among Buddhists. The problems of cold, hunger, thirst, and heat are occasionally cited by the Buddhists as the external armies of Māra,[25] and inconveniences (*ādinava*) such as distress, pain and uneasiness are termed the "fetters of Māra."[26] The early Christians speak more prevalently of demonic possession as the cause of certain kinds of illness, and understand this possession to be an extension of Satan's effort (as the ruler of demons) to seduce men from God.

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21. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, XXX, 202ff.; XXVII, 125; XI, 87; III, 29-30; *Ashṭasāhasrikā*, ed. R. Mitra, Calcutta; Asiatic Society, 1888, XXX, 483; XXVI, 331; XI, 240; III, 78. Cf. also *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, trans. L. de la Vallée Poussin, Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1923-1926, IX, 249; *Mahāvastu*, III, 417; *Le Mahāvastu* (Texte Sanscrit), ed. E. Senart, III, 416.

22. *Kindred Sayings*, I, 137-139; *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, I, 110-111.

23. For a discussion of this point see Frederick J. Streng, "The Problem of Symbolic Structures in Religious Apprehension," *History of Religions*, 1964, IV (1) : 126-153.

24. Lk. 13 : 16 refers to a woman bound with an infirmity for eighteen years by Satan; other passages are not as explicit: Acts 10 : 38; I Cor. 5 : 5; II Cor. 12 : 7; I Tim. 1 : 20. The overall tendency in the selected literature is to regard possession as a demonic function and not an activity of Satan. *The Middle Length Sayings*, I, 395, relates that Māra entered the Venerable Moggallāna's stomach and caused severe discomfort.

25. For example, *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (*Mahāprajñāpāra mitāśāstra*), trans. É. Lamotte, Louvain: Bureaux du Muséon, 1944, 1949, II, 906.

26. *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, I, 346.

Physical infirmities are attributed to "spirits of infirmity" and "unclean demons," and Jesus' healing is described as a driving out of demons.[27]

The fact that illness and natural disorders are sometimes regarded in both traditions as evil, though peripherally so, may be due simply to the negative effect illness has upon one's energies and actions which hinder him from pursuing the religious life. The early Christian was more likely to experience illness and natural calamities as disruptive evil than was the Buddhist, however, because of the difference in basic attitudes toward the nature of man's present existence in relation to the Holy and True. From the perspective of the Enlightened Buddhist, life is essentially *dukkha* (suffering and ill); hence illness and disease are manifestations of a basic condition which one must radically break through (*nirvāṇa*). To realize the truth of suffering (*dukkha*) is a step on the Path to Enlightenment rather than an obstruction to it. The early Christian's evaluation of this life, on the other hand, is that it is fundamentally good, or at least originally so, as it is the creation of the one true God. Any perversion of this initial condition, such as illness and disease, is unnatural and hence some account has to be given of it, while the Buddhist has no need to give a similar account. He is prepared to take it as a "given," while the Christian is not.

Mental attitudes and emotional states ranging from slothfulness and lustful pleasures to anger and irreligious sentiments are also broadly associated with the experience of evil by followers of both traditions. The *Shepherd of Hermas*, for example, says: "when ill temper or bitterness come upon you..... [or] the desire of many deeds and the luxury of much eating and drinking,..... and desire of women, and covetousness and haughtiness, and pride..... know that the angel of wickedness [Satan] is with you."[28] Origen in turn refers to those "wicked suggestions" that deprave a sentient and intelligent soul with thoughts of various kinds persuading it to evil, the example par excellence being the suggestion of the devil to Judas that resulted in his betrayal of Jesus.[29]

Likewise the Buddhists frequently refer to Māra as the fisherman who uses fleshbaited hooks of "gains, favours, flattery," and binds all by lust, anger, or desire.[30] The Pali literature quotes Māra's command to his host who are surrounding the Lord and the Great Brahmā: "Come on/ And seize and bind me these, let all be bound by lust!"[31] "Womanhood" and "anger's loathsome form which lurks in the heart" are also understood as Māra's snares.[32] Sanskrit works frequently refer to persons being "beset by Māra," such as those who are unpractised, plant no wholesome roots, or keep bad friends.[33]

27. Mt. 7 : 22; 9 : 34; 10 : 8; Mk. 1 : 34, 39; Lk. 9 : 49; 11 : 14ff.; 18ff.; 13 : 32; *Shepherd of Hermas, Mandates*, AF, II, 87-89; Origen, *Against Celsus*, ANCL, II, 517. Satan is frequently called the "ruler of demons" in the gospels: Mt. 9 : 34; 12 : 24; Mk. 3 : 22; Lk. 11 : 15.
28. *Shepherd of Hermas, Mandates*, II, 97-99.
29. *De Principiis*, I, 241-242; cf. also: *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, AF, II, 317.
30. *Kindred Sayings*, II, 153, 154; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, SBB, II, 293.
31. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, 293; *Dīgha-Nikāya*, PTS ed., II, 262.
32. *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, trans. F. L. Woodward and E. M. Hare, PTS, London: Luzac & Co., 1966, II, 61; III, 56; *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, PTS ed., II, 52; III, 68; cf. also: *Kindred Sayings*, II, 153-154; *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, II, 226-227.
33. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, VII, 60; VIII, 62; *Ashṭasāhasrikā*, VII, 184; VIII, 186; cf. also: XVII, 128, XXI, 153-154; *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, II, 844.

The Christian usually speaks of these experiences as "hindrances" and "obstructions" (*egkoptō*) to the realization of a true life in Christ. The Buddhist, similarly, refers to such experiences as "obstacles" (*āvaraṇa*) or "interruptions" (*antarāya*) brought about by Māra so as to swerve a person from the Path, as when thoughts about the teaching or meditational practices are disturbed by internal desires or external nuisances.[34] The Christian, however also speaks of his being "instigated" (*hypoballō*) by Satan into ill-temper or similar attitudes.[35] That is, in early Christian literature there is an expressed sense of experiencing an emotion, such as lustful pleasure, as an obstacle to a truer life, yet being incited or urged into such a course of action by a power adverse to one's well-being.[36] The Buddhist, on the other hand, though he experiences interruptive, unwholesome attitudes as obstacles to the pursuit of the Path, views them not so much as predicaments into which one is urged, but rather as manifestations of what one is already bound to (*baddhatā*) just by the fact of existing. The intoxicating powers of lust, anger and intemperance are described by the Buddhist as "snares" (*pāsa*) and "fetters" (*saṃyojana*) which bind him to *samsaric* existence and deny him access to the freedom of Enlightenment.

Again it is the difference in basic attitudes toward the nature of man's present existence as evaluated from the perspective of the Holy and True that explains this difference between early Christians and Buddhists. The Christian considers this present existence as inherently good (cf. the Doctrine of Creation). Actions and attitudes which obstruct or hinder one from the realization of that good are not an integral part of the nature of existence and therefore are accounted for in terms of an external instigating power opposed to the proper course of life. The Buddhist, however, judges ordinary existence as an inherently imperfect mode of being (cf. the Noble Truth of *dukkha*). Actions and attitudes which interrupt one's progress toward Enlightenment are therefore examples of the internal character of *samsaric* existence itself, further manifestations of the very bondage from which he seeks to free himself. For this reason the Buddhist regards unwholesome states of intemperance, etc., as more serious experiences of evil than does the Christian. Anger, lust, etc., are instances of a more pervasive evil: the desire that intoxicates the human condition and so perpetuates an existence full of suffering. These unwholesome states are not merely external obstructions to an inherently good life. They are symptomatic of an inherently imperfect mode of existence which is the very antithesis of what the Buddhist considers Holy and True.

All of the above kinds of experiences were associated with the activities of a Satan or Māra. The function of these symbolic references to the activities of the two mythological figures was thus to identify the varied kinds of experiences regarded as evil as well as to emphasize their common character as being disruptive of efforts to relate to or attain the Holy and True as perceived by each tradition. The two

34. *Śrāvakabhūmi of Asaṅga*, trans. Alex Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Māra," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1959, III : 112-113.

35. *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, II, 335; *De Principiis*, I, 241-242.

36. "Instigate" means "to incite, to urge on," in contrast to "possess" which means "to enter into" (*eiserchomai*). "Instigate" is also to be distinguished from "tempt;" the latter means "to put to the test through enticement," the former means "to spur into action by inciting."

mythological episodes which are most illustrative of this disruptive characteristic are Satan's temptation of Jesus and Māra's attack on Gotama. These two episodes are frequently referred to throughout the early literature of each tradition and epitomize what each tradition understood to be the fundamental nature of evil, namely, a power opposing and disruptive of what each considered the truest expression of the ultimate—the person of Christ and the insight wisdom attained and taught by the Buddha.

B. Character of Experiences of Evil

The mythological descriptions of the nature and power of Satan and Māra suggest further that the existential character of these varied kinds of experiences of evil is also symbolically portrayed in these two mythologies. Descriptions of the nature and power of Satan and Māra articulate symbolically the general nature and power of the experiences of evil themselves. A comparison of the Buddhist and Christian mythologies discloses a basic similarity as well as difference between them. What might be termed a numinal sense of *mysterium* and *tremendum*, an overplus of meaning eluding conceptual apprehension, is similarly conveyed in both mythologies. First this similarity will be discussed before moving to a consideration of the difference.

The *tremendum* aspect of the experience is mythologically expressed in the great power and influence Satan and Māra have over man and the world. Satan is the ruler of demons and the ruler of this world (*kosmos*),[37] which includes the "world rulers" (*kosmokratores*) of this darkness,[38] the "elemental spirits of the universe" (*stoicheia (tou kosmou)*[39] and the world as mankind—the sum of the totality of human possibilities and relationships.[40] The extent and authority (*exousia*) of Satan's reign is vast, hence he is appropriately called the "god of this age" whose power (*dynamis*) inspires all evil "rule, authority, and power" in the heavenly places as well as on earth, from the beginning of this present evil age (*aiōn*) to its end.[41]

The Buddhist Māra, likewise, holds man in his power (*balaṃ*) and commands a fearful host of demons. Māra is the lord of the world of desire (*kāmaloka*) which is comprised of six classes of *devas* as well as "the world below with its recluses and

37. Jn. 12 : 31; Mt. 9 : 34; *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, II, 399; *De Principiis*, I, 52.

38. Eph. 6 : 12. The term "world rulers" occurs only in this passage in the New Testament and probably refers to angelic world rulers who according to Jewish belief controlled various departments of the universe and were conceived as subordinate to one great prince of evil; cf. Francis X. Gokey, *The Terminology for the Devil and Evil Spirits in the Apostolic Fathers*, Washington, D. C. : The Catholic University of America Press, 1961, p. 52.

39. Gal. 4 : 3, 9. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951-1955, I, 173, says that the "elemental spirits of the universe" are "conceived to be in essence star-spirits" who "govern the elapse and division of time." Cf. also G. H. C. Macgregor, "Principalities and Powers: The Cosmic Background of Paul's Thought," *New Testament Studies*, 1954, I : 17-28.

40. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 255. Cf. also, T. O. Ling, *The Significance of Satan*, London: SPCK, 1960, p. 32.

41. Eph. 2 : 2; 1 : 21; II Cor. 4 : 4; *Ignatius to the Ephesians*, I, 187; *Dialogue*, 258. The Greek Fathers especially make explicit the association between Satan and the serpent who appeared at the beginning of time and the anti-Christ who will dominate the end-days of time Cf. *De Principiis*, I, 222; *Against Heresies*, II, 123.

brahmins, its princes and peoples....."[42] His realm, as death's realm (*maccudheyya*), however, extends beyond the *Kāmaloka* to the *Rūpa* and *Arūpa* worlds.[43] The whole substrata of rebirth and death, in other words, are within Māra's domain. The Pali texts say of Māra's army that they can hunt and seek "in every sphere of life;"[44] simply to "drift along life's stream" is to be subject to Māra.[45] And not only is the entire "tripie world..... assailed by Māra, the Evil One,"[46] but a succession of *devas* filling the Māra position continues this domain throughout the cyclic process of *samsara*.[47] Thus the Buddha has said: "I consider no power, brethren, so hard to subdue as the power of Māra" (*Māra bālaṃ*).[48]

These aspects of the Satan and Māra mythologies express the feeling of encountering a power that precedes, outlives and extends far beyond the reach of an individual's life; a despotic and infectious power of such magnitude that an acute sense of impotence or even captivity to this power is experienced. This is a sense of *tremendum*.[49]

A numinal sense of *mysterium* is conveyed in the portraits of the nature and abode of Satan and Māra. Satan is called the "prince of the power of the air," the ruler of "spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places."[50] This reference by St. Paul to "heavenly places" suggests that he shared the common Jewish opinion of the lower atmosphere being the dwelling place of fallen angels.[51] Irenaeus also refers to the Devil as "one among those angels who are placed over the spirit of the air."[52] In addition to this heavenly abode, Satan is also conceived as a "spiritual" reality which is unlike man's form and mode of existence. Unlike man, Satan cannot

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42. *Kindred Sayings*, I, 167; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, 12. Cf. also, L. de la Vallée Poussin, "Cosmogony and Cosmology (Buddhist)," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* [hereafter ERE], 1955, IV : 129-138.

43. *Middle Length Sayings*, I, 277, 279; *Kindred Sayings*, I, 135-136; *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* (*The Lotus of the True Law*), trans. H. Kern, SBE, London: Oxford University Press, 1909, XIII, 275. Buddhaghosa, in his commentary (*Papañcasūdanī Majjhimanikāyatthakatha of Buddhaghosacariya*, London: Oxford University Press, 1928, II, 266) applies the term *tebhūmaka* to both Māra's realm and Death's realm; the term "refers to the three stages of being, the kāma, rūpa, arūpa existences." Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Pali-English Dictionary*, PTS, London: Luzac & Co., 1959, p. 306.

44. *Kindred Sayings*, I, 141.

45. *Woven Cadences of Early Buddhists*, trans. E. M. Hare, SBB, London: Oxford University Press, 1947, V, 764.

46. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, XII, 275.

47. Among former Māras, Dūsī Māra is sometimes mentioned. Cf. *Middle Length Sayings*, I, 396.

48. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, 76.

49. The Pali expresses this sense of *tremendum* vividly in the phrase describing Māra's desire to make the Exalted One "feel dread and horror and creeping of the flesh" (*bhayaṃ chambhitattaṃ lomahaṃsaṃ*). Cf. *Kindred Sayings*, I, 129, 130, 160-164; *Samyutta-Nikāya*, I, 104, 128-131. Likewise, the mythological descriptions of Māra's attack upon the bodhisattva (Cf. 'The Māra Suttas,' *Kindred Sayings*, I, 128-159) and the apocalyptic vision of the fearful host of demons in the Book of Revelation (Cf. Rev. 9 : 7-11) give expression to this dimension of experiences of evil.

50. Eph. 2:2; 6 : 12; cf. also *Against Heresies*, II, 821; *De Principiis*, I, 151.

51. Cf. above, n. 38, 39; below n. 70.

52. *Against Heresies*, II, 121. Irenaeus also associates "spiritual wickedness" with "the angels who transgressed and became apostates." Cf. *Against Heresies*, I, 42.

be perceived by the physical senses,[53] and he is capable of deeds which are beyond man's capabilities, e.g., possession.[54]

These qualitative differences between man and the chief figure of evil are also characteristic of Māra the Evil One. Māra is a *deva* (god) of the highest class of *devas* in the *Kāmaloka;* he is the chief of the *Paranirmitavaśavartin devas* who occupy the highest heavens in the world of desire.[55] His abode is far above Mt. Meru, the center of the Buddhist universe.[56] As a *deva*, Māra has a mind-made body which, unlike that of a human being is not "born of a father and mother," and is superior to the human form which is nothing but ".....a heap of boiled rice and sour milk,.....subject to rubbing, massaging, sleep, dissolution, disintegration and destruction."[57] In contrast, Māra's body is self-luminous, long-lived, does not cast a shadow, and like Satan, is capable of deeds far beyond the powers of man.[58]

In other words, there is a dimension to experiences of evil that lends itself to mythological descriptions of realms qualitatively different from man, numinal dimensions beyond the horizon of the usual, the intelligible and the familiar—a sense of *mysterium*. The Satan and Māra mythologies are thus symbolic expressions of the general character of early Christian and Buddhist experiences of evil. So that when St. Paul, for example, speaks of Satan as hindering him from visiting the church at Thessalonica,[59] or when he was kept from being too elated in his work because of the harrassments and hindrances placed in his way by Satan,[60] the reference to Satan is a means of articulating in-depth realities of that experience. In these particular hindrances Paul experienced not simply disappointment and frustration. There was also a real sense of his own impotence in the face of a radically unintelligible and profane power which was hostile to him and his efforts to visit fellow Christians. The Satan mythology gave expression to these aspects of an experience distinguishable from more ordinary occasions of failure or dissatisfaction.

Similarly, when *bhikkhunī* Somā experienced an interruption while attempting to enter concentrated thought, she spoke of it as an activity of Māra.[61] The reference to Māra, likewise, distinguishes the character of that experience from other simple annoyances. On this particular occasion *bhikkhunī* Somā experienced not only an interruption but also a sense of bondage to an infectious inclination and inexplicable power which constantly sought to cripple her efforts to realise Enlightenment.

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53. Although it is only by interpretive implication, Satan's association with "evil spirits" (*ponerōn pneuma*) suggests that he too "has not flesh and bones" (Lk. 24 : 39); cf. also *Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans*, AF, I, 225; *De Principiis*, I, 6.

54. Cf. Lk. 22 : 3, e.g., where Satan entered (*eisēlthen*) into Judas.

55. Cf. e.g., *Kindred Sayings*, I, 167; *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, I, 340, 608.

56. Cf. *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, I, 449; L. de la Vallée Poussin, "Cosmogony and Cosmology (Buddhist)," ERE, 1955, IV : 129-138.

57. *Mahāvastu*, II, 253, 260-261.

58. Cf. e.g., the description of the lowest class of *devas* over which Māra rules in the *Mahāvastu*, I, 25-26; II, 253, 360.

59. I Thess, 2 : 18.

60. II Cor. 12 : 7.

61. *Kindred Sayings*, I, 161-162; also I, 149.

That the chief symbol of evil in the two traditions both give expression to the numinous dimension of the experiences of evil may provide a partial explanation for the remarkable similarity in the relation of both Satan and Māra to the activity of "possession." The writers of early texts in both traditions viewed major crimes or acts detrimental to Jesus or Gotama as deeds resulting from "possession" by Satan or Māra. Early Christians understood Judas' betrayal of Jesus as the result of being possessed (*eiserchomai*) by Satan,[62] and early Buddhists viewed Ānanda's failure to encourage the Buddha to stay on in this life as due to "possession" (*pariyuṭṭhita*) by Māra.[63]

Perhaps what these references to Māra and Satanic possession expressed for the early writers was that in these acts detrimental to the Christ and the Buddha, the numinous realities basic to all experiences of evil were most vividly present. Such explicit opposition and blindness as was manifest in these direct encounters with the Christ and the Buddha did not appear to be solely attributable to human volition. By ascribing these events as due to the possession of Satan and Māra, the early writers pinpointed in terms of their own experiences of evil the reality of that power which was the disrupting source of opposition to all efforts to relate to or realize the Holy and True.[64]

As encompassing and infectious as was this numinous dimension of the experiences of evil, however, it was felt to be derivative and lacking in ultimacy. That is, it was not thought to be as primordial as the experience of the Holy and True wherein ultimately reality and power resided. This is reflected in the mythological portrayals of the limitations and defeat of the chief figures of evil. Satan's status is that of a creature, a fallen angel, who has been decisively defeated by the power and authority of Christ[65] and whose future destruction (*katargein*) is certain.[66] Similarly, Māra, though a *deva*, is himself subject to death and liable to change and sorrow.[67] Māra is defeated by the *bodhisattva* and his future demise is also certain, for Māra will reap the result of his *karma* as do all beings in *samsara*.[68]

Next let us look at the basic difference in the experience of evil in the two traditions, as conveyed by their respective mythologies. Whereas a dominant characteristic

62. Lk. 22 : 3; John 13 : 27.

63. *Kindred Sayings*, V, 231 *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, V, 259; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, 111; *Dīgha-Nikāya*, II, 104. Cf. also "anvāvisati" *Middle Length Sayings*, I, 389; *Majjhima Nikāya* I, 326-327.

64. Likewise, the torments of martyrdom and the woman bound with an infirmity for eighteen years were seen as the work of Satan rather than the work of demons because of the obvious and extreme nature of the disruptive power being manifested.

65. In the gospels the strongest expressions of the triumph of Jesus over the Devil have to do with exorcisms, e.g., Mt. 8 : 16. The Apostolic and early Greek Fathers express the same confidence in Jesus' power; cf., e.g., *Ignatius to the Trallians*, AF, I, 217.

66. I Cor. 15 : 26; cf. also Mt. 25 : 41; Rom. 16 : 20; *Epistle of Barnabas*, AF, I, 395; *Against Heresies*, II, 127-128. For a discussion of the term *katargein* see, Hans-Reudi Weber, "Christ's Victory over Satanic Power," *Study Encounter*, 1966, II (3) : 164.

67. Like everything else in *samsara*, *devas* are transient and subject to death and rebirth.

68. *Kindred Sayings*, I, 155; *Le Lalita Vistara*, trans. P. E. Foucaux, Annales du Musée Guimet, 1902-1908, XXI, 257.

of the Christian mythology could be referred to as a sense of *horrendum*,[69] the Buddhist experience may more accurately be characterized by *fascinans*. This difference is conveyed by the way in which the two mythologies characterize the chief figures and their realms. Satan's abode is in the lower atmosphere, the "dark" regions where the clouds gather and where sin, error and death reign.[70] Satan is a fallen angel, who, according to some texts, transgressed and became an apostate, hence was cast out of heaven down to earth.[71] Though he is chief of the fallen angels and prince of this world, what is emphasized is the lowliness of his heirarchical status in contrast to what he had been previously. Thus Satan's domain and power are identified with the "powers of darkness" that reign over this present evil age.[72]

Māra, on the other hand, is described as reigning with great power, majesty, influence and splendour.[73] His abode is formed from seven jewels due to previous good merits,[74] is "covered with a canopy of jewels and crowded by throngs of Apsarases," and stands in the midst of the mansions of the highest class of devas.[75] Rather than being linked with the *asura-host*, with whom there is the association of a fall from former glory, Māra is associated with the *devas* who are "virtuous, mighty, long-lived, beautiful, and enjoying great well-being."[76]

The dissimilarities are apparent. The metaphorical colouring conveyed by the terms which describe Satan and his realm, as well as the fallen status of Satan himself, suggest that in the final analysis the character of the early Christian experience of evil was "dark" and negative. It was a confrontation with an opposing power which perverts what is initially good and is hostile to man's welfare, namely, a sense of *horrendum*.[77] Although there is initially a sense of *fascinans* in the Christian experience

69. Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, trans. John Harvey, New York: Oxford University Press, 1958, pp. 106-107, n. 2, suggests that in regard to Satan the *mysterium tremendum* might be intensified to *mysterium horrendum*. In the experience of evil there "is a horror that is in some sort numinous, and we might designate the object of it as negatively numinous."

70. Eph. 6 : 12; *Against Heresies*, II, 121; *De Principiis*, I, 144. St. Augustine says: "There are.....some spiritual beings of wickedness in the heavens, not where the stars twinkle and the holy angels inhabit; but in the shadowy dwelling place of this lower atmosphere where the clouds gather together." Cf. Sermon 222, *Migne Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris; 1857-1887, XXXVIII, 1090 ; translation by Gokey, *Terminology*, 52.

71. For the most part, the New Testament writers make no theoretical assertions as to the origin of Satan. However, a number of passages by choice of words and phraseology seem to reflect the idea of Satan as a fallen angel. Cf., II Peter 2 : 4; Jude 6; Rev. 12 : 9. Justin is explicit about a fall, *Second Apology*, 75; Irenaeus only hints at a theory, *Against Heresies*, I, 42; cf. also *Against Celsus*, II, 385.

72. Eph. 6 : 12.

73. *Kindred Sayings*, I, 167; *Gradual Sayings*, IV, 164-165; *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, I 340, 608; *Śrāvakabhūmi*, 112-113.

74. *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, I, 449.

75. *Mahāvastu*, II, 327. "Apsarases" are a class of female divinities.

76. *Ibid.*, I, 26-28.

77. We are here comparing the characteristic motifs of each tradition's portrayal of its chief figure of evil. It should be noted, however, that on occasion Satan can appear as an angel of light (Lucifer: II Cor. 11 : 14) and Māra is sometimes called *Kaṇha* (*Kṛṣṇa*), the "Dark One" (e.g., *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, 293; *Lalita Vistara*, XXI, 258-259) and on one occasion is associated with "smokiness" and "murkiness" (*Kindred Sayings* I, 152).

of temptation, such an experience ultimately carries a sense of *horrendum* because of the realization that its tendency is toward a violation of the inherent well-being of man. Since man's present existence is inherently good, evil is experienced as that which is externally adverse to such a condition. The term Satan itself means "adversary."[78] As an adversary Satan is the source of "evil" (*ponēros*; *ho ponēros*—the Evil One), a term which means in the physical sense, "sick, painful, spoiled," or in "poor condition," and in the ethical sense, "base, vicious, degenerate."[79] In other words, evil, for the Christian, means essentially a degenerating, spoiling opposition to what is inherently or originally a good and desirable condition of human existence. Evil is a condition of personal desolation or ruin brought about by what is experienced as an actively opposing power hostile to a good and full life. Satan's powers of death and destruction, "the loss of all that gives worth to existence," epitomize evil.[80]

The early Buddhist mythology, on the other hand, though it reflects a sense of meeting an equally pervasive and despotic power which makes what is not really desirable seem desirable, characterizes that power not as essentially dark and negative but rather as splendid and attractive. Māra has the majesty and splendour of a *deva* who is long-lived and often associated with *kāma*, the expression of love and enjoyment of life in this world.[81] Māra is not the hostile power which brings ruin and end to life; rather he promotes life in *samsara* and those pleasures that lead to its continuance. The early Buddhist experience of *pāpa* ("evil"), in the context of the Māra mythology, is basically one of being attracted to the pleasures and ideals of this world. Although there is initially a sense of adversity in conflicts the Buddhist had with contemporary religionists (e.g., the reviling abuse of Brahmins),[82] finally even this kind of experience of *pāpa* betrays a sense of *fascinans* because the effect is perceived to be adherence to traditional religious practices which the Buddhist judged as merely another facet of the enticing realm of *samsara*. Because man's present existence is inherently imperfect, experiences of *pāpa* are characterized by the inherent, seemingly attractive conditions of *samsaric* existence. The Māra mythology shows that the experience of "evil" in early Buddhism is more adequately characterized by the mood of *fascinans*, than by that of *horrendum*.

The attraction which the Buddhist feels toward *samsara* is understood as the result of desire conceived in ignorance as to the true nature of phenomenal existence. To emphasize the true character of *samsaric* existence as fundamentally undesirable, another type of usage of the Māra symbol came into being in the Buddhist tradition.

78. "Satan" is a Hebrew name derived from the root *sâtan* which means "to oppose" or "to act as an adversary." Cf. *Greek-English Lexicon*, "satan," p. 752.

79. *Greek-English Lexicon*, "ponēros," pp. 697-698.

80. J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources*, London: 1914-1929, "olethros," p. 445. Satan has the power of death and destruction: cf. Hebrews 2 : 14; I Cor. 5 : 5; *Shepherd of Hermas, Similitudes*, II, 173; *De Principiis*, I, 268.

81. *Dhammapada*, trans. S. Radhakrishnan, London: Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 74-75; *Buddha Carita*, XIII, 137-139; Kāma, the god of sensual love and worldly enjoyment in the Vedic tradition, when used in the Buddhist tradition as a synonym for Māra, clearly rests on Buddhist views in which death and world desire are coordinates. Cf. Ernst Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895, p. 187.

82. Cf. above, n. 17.

In addition to its symbolical use as the title of a cosmological *deva*, *māra* came to be used as a concept associated with representative aspects of the whole of *samsara*. The root meaning of the term *māra* is "death" (*mārayati*: that which kills).[83] Death in the Buddhist context refers not simply to the termination of an individual life, but also to continual death after rebirth. With this conceptual meaning, *māra* became identified with three terms, *skandha*, *kleśa*, *maraṇa*, the first two of which point to aspects of *samsara*, and the third of which the Buddhist considers a general characteristic of the whole of *samsara*. *Skandhas* are the personality aggregates epitomizing the conditions of existence. The *skandhamāra* identified all phenomenal existence with death (*māra*). The term *kleśa* refers to the *karmic* defilements of man's ignorant desire for the world. The *kleśa-māra* identified all *karmic* defilements with death (*māra*) as they are causative factors in the continuation of the death-birth cycle. To express more fully the meaning of the term *māra*, as it is here being used, a third use of *māra* was formulated, viz., the *maraṇamāra* (or *mṛtyumāra*). *Maraṇa*, meaning "death itself," is both the essential meaning of the concept *māra* and the essential character of all conditions and defilements of *samsara*. The whole of *samsara* is characterized by *maraṇamāra*.[84]

By using the title Māra, referring to the Māra *deva*, the Buddhist acknowledges that *samsaric* existence has a mysteriously attractive, binding power. At the same time, by identifying representative aspects of *samsara* with the concept *māra* meaning 'death," the Buddhist emphasized the basic undesirability of ordinary, impermanent existence. It is the latter usage that stresses the essential meaning of the Buddhist understanding of *pāpa* ("evil"). This Sanskrit-Pali term has been linked with the Greek word *pema*, which means "misery, calamity"[85] as well as with *talaiporos* which means "suffering, distressed, miserable (a hard life)."[86] Etymologically the term *pāpaḥ* has been traced to the sense of inferior social classes often opposed to the superior.[87] The basic meaning of the term *pāpa*, therefore, most probably is: that which is essentially miserable, full of suffering, and inferior. All conditions of *samsara* which are subject to or cause death (*skandhamāra*, *kleśamāra*, *maraṇamāra*) are of

83. Etymologically the term *māra* is related to the Pali *maccu* and the Sanskrit *mṛtyu*, which mean "death." More specifically, whereas *maccu* (Skt. *mṛtyu*) indicates "death itself" Māra is the *nomen actoris* to the causative *mārayati*; Māra therefore means the one who kills or causes death. Cf Windisch, 1895, pp. 185-186.

84. References to a plurality of Māras are frequent in both Pali and Sanskrit literature. Passages specifically dealing with the four Māras (*skandhamāra*, *kleśamāra*, *maraṇamāra*, and the Māra deva [*devaputramāra*]) can be found, e.g., in the following: *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, I, 339-340; *Śrāvakabhūmi*, 112-113. That the numerical reference is "four" is not of significant importance in itself. References in both the Pali and Sanskrit traditions range from one, three, four to five *māras*, the fifth being *abhisaṃkhāramāra* which is simply a broader definition of the *kleśamāra*, and has to do with the accumulation or construction of karma. For a more detailed discussion, cf. my article, "Symbols of Evil in Buddhism," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 1971, XXXI (1) : 63-75.

85. M. Mayrhofer, *A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitatsverlag, 1962, p. 255.

86. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Pali-English Dictionary*, p. 453. According to Windisch p. 192, the term *pāpmā* in older Sanskrit literature signifies "not only the morally bad, but more objectively, misfortune, sorrow and pain....."

87. Wilhelm Rau, *Staat und Gesselschaft im Alten Indien*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1957, pp. 32ff., 61. I am indebted to Dr. Mahinda Palihawadana for these references to Rau and Mayrhofer.

the nature of *pāpa*, i.e., constitute an inferior, lowly, essentially miserable form of existence. The attractive life which the Māra *deva* (*Māra pāpimā*) extols is judged by the Buddhist as inferior and fundamentally full of suffering (*pāpa*) because it is impermanent and can be equated with death (*māra*) in all its aspects.

C. The Meaning of *pāpa* in Relation to *ponēros* and "Evil"

We have seen that the fundamental difference in meaning between the Christian *ponēros* and the Buddhist *pāpa* is closely related to their respective doctrines of creation and *dukkha*, which in turn are determined by each tradition's understanding of the Holy and True. The Christian seeks to affirm the basic goodness of ordinary existence through a full life in Christ. His understanding of *ponēros* is essentially that of a mysterious power hostile to and destructive of the intrinsic worth of life. The characteristic experiences of *ponēros* are: being tested, tormented, deceived, instigated into acts of degeneracy, and falling ill or becoming diseased, each of which is a spoiling of the basic worth of existence. Evil (*ponēros*) is an undesirable, often aggressively negative and morally degenerate violation of the human condition. The Buddhist, on the other hand, judges the human condition itself as a "violation" of absolute freedom (*nirvāṇa*), and therefore seeks to break through the ordinary conditions of human existence which are identifiable with suffering and death. His understanding of *pāpa* is conceived in a strikingly different way from that of the Christian *ponēros: pāpa* has to do with that mysterious, attractive, binding power inherent in ordinary existence itself. Characteristically, the experiences of *pāpa* are: being naturally inclined toward sense desires, bound to the snares and fetters of *samsaric* existence, and continually interrupted and confused in efforts to release oneself from a state of being which is imperfect, impermanent and full of suffering.

The connotations of the English term "evil" are applicable to the meaning of *pāpa* only if the context is made clear, and careful consideration is given to specific usages. The term "evil," in English, readily reveals its Christian heritage, for it connotes not only that which is undesirable (lowly, miserable, worthless), but also that which is "not morally good" (wicked, sinful) as well as what is "offensive, wrathful, harmful, injurious, and malignant."[88] The moralistic and strong malignant connotations of the term are not applicable to *pāpa* when the latter is associated with the ordinary conditions of *samsara*. The impermanent (*maraṇamāra*), non-substantial (*skandha-māra*) conditions of *samsara* are not intrinsically harmful nor are all human actions, as such, morally bad, hence they are not "evil" in these two senses. On the contrary, the Buddhist would maintain that *samsara* constitutes those conditions which enable one to attain Enlightenment. It is only in and through *samsara* that *nirvāṇa* can be realized. What is important is one's attitude toward *samsara*. Adherence to the attractions of *samsara* promotes the continuity of *samsara* with its attendant suffering; adherence to the Path of the Buddha which leads one in and through *samsara* results in freedom and salvation.

Samsara, in other words, can be associated with *puñña* (good, virtue) as well as with *pāpa*. A more appropriate rendering of *pāpa* in the context of its association with the ordinary conditions of phenomenal existence may be the term "bad" rather

88. Cf. Webster's *Third New International Dictionary*, 1966.

than "evil." The English word "bad" in contemporary usage does not as readily carry the moralistic and strong malignant connotations as does the term "evil." Although one does talk of "bad conduct," for example, as morally wrong and possibly harmful (and in this usage the term becomes a synonym for evil), one can also talk of "bad weather" or of "bad food," the former meaning undesirable, troublesome weather, the latter referring to inferior, poor or rotten food. The meaning of "bad" in this type of usage approximates more accurately than does the term "evil" the meaning of *pāpa* when associated by the Buddhist with *samsaric* existence. *Samsaric* existence is *pāpa* (bad) because it is something which is undesirable, troublesome, i.e., ill (*dukkha*), and is inherently inferior to the state of Enlightenment.

The connotations of "evil" and "bad" as that which is morally wrong and injurious are applicable to the Buddhist use of *pāpa*, however, if the reference is to those *karma*-producing acts of defilement (*kleśamāra*) which ultimately are based on a desire and fascination for an inferior mode of existence. Not only overt conduct such as acts of violence toward others, but also intellectual and emotional attitudes such as anger, hypocrisy, desire, etc., constitute defilements which are harmful and injurious to efforts to follow the Path to emancipation. Thus *pāpa* can connote that which is harmful, offensive, and malignant as applied to man's own bad *karma*. *Kleśa* is not only "bad" ("ill, inferior and undesirable"), it is "evil" ("morally wrong, offensive and malignant", connotations which, as we have stated, are also involved in certain usages of the term "bad"). Because the English term "bad" embraces both connotative levels more readily than does the more forceful term "evil," it appears to be a more appropriate general rendering of the Buddhist meaning of *pāpa*.[89]

A difficulty in interpretation arises when it is noted that the *devaputramāra* mythology suggests not only that *pāpa* is to be understood as a malignant power, but also as an opposing power *external* to man. The mythological portrayal of Māra's attack against the Buddha, for example, expresses strong negative connotations suggestive of an offensive, malignant external force of *pāpa*. This mythological suggestion of the reality of an external power beyond the harmful results of one's own *karma*-producing acts of defilement cannot be reconciled with a basic Buddhist premise: the efficacy of the law of *karma*. The Buddhist follows the Path in order to attain Enlightenment, and insofar as it is true that good actions bear good fruits, one can proceed with confidence in following the Path. However, the *karmic* principle which gives efficacy to the Path is jeopardized if one admits of real factors outside the freedom of man's self-determinations that determine his behaviour, i.e., if one admits to the reality of a radically *external* power that impinges upon man's will rather than being reducible to it.

The traditional Buddhist solution to this interpretive problem has been to limit the meaning of the *devaputramāra* reference through demythologization. This process

89. That the Buddhists use the same word where we might use different ones (evil and bad) is not to suggest that they were conscious of the different meanings when they used the terms. Rather it simply points out the inherent difficulty in attempting to understand experiences structured by one language system in terms of the categories of meaning of another language. The Buddhist use of *pāpa* suggests that they saw resemblances where we require distinctions in meaning. Often those resemblances evade us. For an interesting discussion concerning assumptions in translations which are often misleading see, A. W. H. Adkins, *From the Many to the One*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1970, pp. 1-12.

can be noted throughout early Buddhist literature. Māra's external armies were named hunger, thirst, cold and heat,[90] his daughters "Craving," "Discontent," and "Passion."[91] Likewise, the Māra *Pāpimā* figure has been traditionally viewed by informed Buddhists as the personification of the three doctrinal *māras* (*skandhamāra kleśamāra, maraṇamāra*). The Pali commentary tradition elaborates even further and refers to a fifth *māra*, the *abhisaṃkhāramāra*. *Abhisaṃkhāra* refers to the accumulation of *karma*, and as a *māra* is simply a broader doctrinal designation for *kleśamāra* which emphasizes that the source of injurious *pāpa* is not external, but internal to man.[92] When *pāpa* is experienced, the source lies not in the disruptive external circumstances themselves, but in how man responds to them. Ultimately it is man's own intellectual, emotional, and volitional *karmic* response that constitutes the active, counter-productive and malignant power of *pāpa*. The problem of "evil" for the Buddhist is to bring about the cessation of man's own internal desires conceived in ignorance and thus break through the impermanence and suffering of *samsara*.

In contrast, the Satan symbol is not demythologized by the early Christian writers under study. Even the *Shepherd of Hermas*, who among the selected writers is the only one to consistently demythologize demons as personified vices, never speaks of the Devil or Satan in this manner. When speaking of these personified vices, *Hermas* always restricts his terms to *daimonion* and *pneuma*, and at no time calls them *diabolos*.[93] The reason for this is that the Satan figure, mythologically portrayed as an external agent of evil, expresses the Christian understanding of the ultimate source of *ponēros* as external to man. Although man contributes to the power of evil through his own sin, the early Christians understood the nature of *ponēros* to be ultimately an extrinsic power foreign and hostile to the rightful conditions of human existence. Furthermore, unlike the Buddhist who "depersonalized" man through dharmic analysis (analyzing all phenomena into its component parts and relations), the Christian's emphasis upon the personal character of man and God lent itself to a personified representation of evil. Consequently Satan was not demythologized. The existential "problem of evil" for the early Christian was one of conquering the power of *ponēros*. The theoretical "problem of evil" was one of reconciling the reality of *ponēros* with the Christian understanding of the nature of God and His creation.

This difference between the Christian affirmation and the Buddhist rejection of the externality of the source of "evil," as we have seen, is ultimately a derivative contrast stemming from their separate understandings of what constitutes the Holy and True. The Christian, who understands his present existence to be fundamentally purposeful as the creation of a Holy, transcendent God, also knows evil, in the final analysis, to be an adverse power alien and external to the original created order. The informed Buddhist, on the other hand, understands his present existence as fundamentally imperfect and inferior to the state of complete emancipation (*nirvāṇa*). This state, paradoxically, is a condition immanent in *samsara* itself. Thus, the Buddhist knows *pāpa* and *māra* as intrinsic to *samsara* itself. Each tradition's understanding of "evil" is consistently derived from its understanding of the ultimate good.

90. *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, II, 906.
91. *Woven Cadences*, 835. Cf. also *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, II, 880-881, n. 1; *Buddha Carita*, XV, 160; *Kindred Sayings*, I, 156.
92. Cf. above, n. 84. For a convenient listing of the references to Māra in the Pali commentary tradition see, G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, London: Luzac and Co., 1960, II, 611ff.
93. Cf. Gokey, *Terminology*, pp. 126-127.

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Articles on Sri Lanka, 1970-1973

compiled by

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The growing body of literature on Sri Lanka, especially in the form of periodical articles, has raised problems for both the research worker and the layman in keeping up to date with the published literature largely because the material is scattered in journals published all over the world. The same difficulty arises in keeping track of chapters on Sri Lanka in books which cover a wider area or a special theme. References to both these types of material are eventually embodied in general and special bibliographies, but the publication of such bibliographies takes time and some of the articles, especially those on current issues, lose their value and interest unless located soon after publication. For these reasons it was decided to regularly publish a check list of these items in this journal.

The list published in this issue of the *Modern Ceylon Studies* encompasses the years 1970-1973 inclusive, but it is expected that those that follow would cover one year at a time. They would normally include material published in all languages. However, in clearing the backlog for the years before 1974 it has not been possible to list the articles published in Sinhala and Tamil. From 1974 items in these languages will be included. These bibliographical lists will not include articles published in this journal. Nor will articles in undergraduate journals, newspapers and popular magazines be taken into account; the latter was a decision that the Editorial Board reached with some reluctance for a few research articles have been included in such publications and it could be argued that the articles in some of the journals referred to below are less than research efforts; however, problems of size and management precluded any other decision, while the alternative of a selective choice was not considered feasible.

Since the items per year would be few in number, a subject classification was not considered necessary and an alphabetical arrangement by author was favoured. This principle was extended to the somewhat larger listing generated by the years 1970-73 as well.

The subject coverage of the list (according to a decision of the Editorial Board) will be generally limited to the scope of this journal. The material relating to the sciences, medicine, engineering and technology, and the humanities (e.g. literature, archaeology and epigraphy) will, in general, be excluded. It was, however, decided to include all articles on history as the attempt to distinguish between the ancient, the medieval and the modern history of Sri Lanka is fraught with many difficulties.

It would be helpful if authors could send us an offprint of each of their recent publications and/or a list of their current publications. These should be addressed to "The Editor, Modern Ceylon Studies, University at Peradeniya, Sri Lanka".

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2. **Abeysinghe, Ariya.**—Some import substitution possibilities in the food sector in Sri Lanka. *Cey. Management Accountant,* Vol. II, No. 2, July-Sept. 1973.

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19. ————Sri Lanka's Marxists. *Problems of Communism,* Vol. 22, No. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1973.

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Sinhalese Colour Terms: A Case for the Effect of Retinal Pigmentation

M. J. EGAN

Introduction

This paper explores the relation of Sinhalese colour terminology to various aspects of Berlin and Kay's theory of colour naming.[1] Berlin and Kay postulate that the colour space contains eleven universal focal points for eleven basic colour terms found, in all languages, though in varying numbers. In this formulation a colour term is defined as basic only when it is (1) monolexemic, (2) applicable to a wide range of objects, (3) not included within the meaning of another colour expression, and (4) psychologically salient. A colour's focal value is defined as its most representative or typical shade.

Berlin and Kay have hypothesized that basic colour terms have the same focal values across languages as a result of a similar historical process in which the colour space is progressively divided into smaller units. The essential idea here is that this process always begins with the same initial division: the colour space is divided into its light and dark shades with focal values at White and Black. From this common beginning, new terms are added with focal values that fall in positions intermediate to the old.

While there has been considerable support affirming where the focal values are placed, Berlin and Kay's explanation for why the focal values are placed as they are has been considerably modified.[2] The difficulty with Berlin and Kay's explanation is that the focal values of basic colour terms are spread most unevenly over the surface of the colour space. If a simple process of progressive subdivision were at work, however, focal values should be spread rather evenly throughout the space. Recent explanations for focal value placement postulate a more complex relation between the ordering processes of classification and the psychological colour space's structure.

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1. B. Berlin and P. Kay, *Basic Color Terms*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.

2. M. J. Egan and R. D'Andrade, *The Shape of Color*, Paper read at the 1972 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Toronto; E. R. Heider, "Universals in Color Naming and Memory", *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1972, XCIII (1) : 10-20; S. Harkness, "Universal Aspects of Learning Color Codes: A Study in Two Cultures," *Ethos*, Summer 1973, 1 (2) : 175-200; M. J. Egan, *The Cognition of Colour*, Paper read at the 1973 meeting of the Association of Social Anthropologists, St. John's College, Oxford.

The psychological structure of the colour space can be specified in terms of three psycholophysical dimensions which generally correspond to the characteristics of the visual sensations of hue, brightness, and saturation.[3] The colour space can be conceptualized in terms of a colour solid whose central axis defines a scale of brightness, with a hue scale positioned around that aixs, and a saturation scale marked outward from the central axis to the surface of the solid. Because different hues appear to attain different degress of maximum saturation, and to achieve these maxima at different brightness levels, the colour solid's surface is irregular, being marked by bulges and depressions.

The focal values of basic colour terms appear to be linked to the shape of this solid because all eleven focal values occur either on its central axis or on the solids' surface.[4] Further, with the exception of the basic colours Brown and Grey, which appear to be intermedial, the remaining focal values occur either near the poles of the central axis or near surface locations attaining local saturation maxima, that is in locations where surface bulges peak.[5]

In their empirical work, Berlin and Kay found that the content of particular basic colour lexicons could be partially predicted from the number of basic terms in the lexicon. Their predicative model contains seven ordered states:[6]

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VIII
						Purple
						Pink
Black	Red	Green	Yellow	Blue	Brown	Orange
White		Yellow	Green			Grey

Thus, for example, the model predicts that all 3 term systems will have focal values at White, Black and Red, or that all 5 terms systems will contain focal values not only at White, Black and Red, but at Green and Yellow as well.

No single explanation in the literature satisfactorily explains how basic colour terms have come to be ordered in this manner. As we have seen, Berlin and Kay's idea that new terms are added with foci in places as distant as possible from existing ones does not account for the uneven arrangement of focal values. Further, as Berlin and Kay themselves point out, the consistency with which the same focal values define basic colour terms across languages, and the fact that basic colour term lexicons can be partially ordered, both mitigate against any explanation of colour naming based on individual events occurring in different cultures; arguments from cultural relativity predict diversity, not uniformity.

3. Optical Society of America, Committee on Colorimetry, *The Science of Color*, New York : Crowell, 1953.
4. E. R. Heider, "Universals in Color Naming and Memory", *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1972, XCIII (1) : 10-20.
5. Egan and D'Andrade, *The Shape of Color*.
6. Berlin and Kay, 1969, p. 5.

Two recent explanatory proposals merit attention: First, Harkness accounts for the ordering as follows:

> A partial answer may be found in the shape of the colour solid, combined with current knowledge of human color perception. It has been shown that red, green, yellow, and blue wavelengths are the most powerful stimulants of nerves in the visual system at different stages of color reception. One might argue that the total absence of light (black) and its presence (white), have an even more basic function as end-points on a continuum of stimulation of the rods in the visual system. When one translates these ideas from the realm of physiology to the shape of the color solid as it has been conceptualized, it is evident that salience is an important characteristic of basic color terms. Black and White are the end points of the vertical brightness dimension, while the best examples of red, green, yellow and blue all occur along a "wave" of most highly saturated colors which encircles the color solid.....one could speculate further that Green and Blue are the last terms distinguished within these because they are relatively less highly saturated (hence less salient) than Red and Yellow.[7]

The essentials of Harkness's explanation, thus, consist in first giving priority to basic colors thought to be physiologically anchored: White, Black, Red, Yellow, Green, and Blue: these terms are then ordered first in terms of chromaticity, with the achromatic terms Black and White taking precedence. The chromatic terms are then ordered on the basis of psychological salience predicted from comparative saturation levels, on the hypothesis that the more saturated a color, the more salient it will appear.

It is difficult, however, to link physiology to saturation to salience to the terminological ordering of Berlin and Kay in the straightforward way Harkness wishes. Orange and Purple, which apparently are not physiological anchored, nevertheless appear to attain higher saturation levels than do either of the anchored colors Green or Blue. Further, E. R. Heider has produced experimental evidence that suggest focal colors rank significantly higher than non-focal colours on measures of (1) salience, (2) codability, (3) response latency, and (4) the accuracy of recall for both short and long term memory tasks. No consistant ordering in terms of these variables emerged, however. Some support, though, was forthcoming for the idea that the basic color terms Red, Yellow, Green and Bule should be ranked before Brown, Purple, Pink and Orange:

> If the saliency of focal colors plays a role in the learning (and, by implication, the linguistic evolution) of basic color names, then it is not unreasonable to suppose that saliency differences among focal colors would lead to an evolutionary order in the development of color names. Although none of the measures of the present research supported the specific evolutionary order proposed by Berlin and Kay there was some confirmation (the significant response latency data of both Exp. II and III and the significant error data of Exp. IV) that Berlin and Kay's first four colors were more codable and memorable than the latter four. Such findings are compatible with the evidence that those four colors (red, yellow, green, and blue) may be the physiologically primary hues.[8]

7. Harkness, "Universal Aspects of Learning Color Codes: A Study in Two Cultures", *Ethos*, Summer 1973, I (2) : 197.

8. Heider, "Universals in Color Naming and Memory", *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1972, XCIII (1) : 19-20.

What is clear from the work of Heider and Harkness is that there are grounds for granting more salience to Red, Yellow, Green and Blue, than to the other basic chromatic colors. It is clear, also, that Red and Yellow, because of their relatively higher saturation levels, could in theory be accorded more salience than either Blue or Green. What remains unclear, though, is why Red should always precede Yellow, for both achieve similar saturation levels. It is unclear, for the same reason, why Green should always precede Blue.

The second explanation to be considered is that of Bornstein, who has recently advanced a modern version of H. W. R. River's retinal pigmentatin theory of terminological ordering.[9] Specifically, Bornstein argues that the shorter wavelengths of light should be absorbed by pigmentation lying in front of the eye's photoreceptors. In consequence, individuals with much pigmentation will be hampered in discriminating shorter wave length colors, and hence, will in all likelihood not develop basic color names for them. Bornstein is only interested in what he defines as primary colors: Black, White, Red, Yellow, Green and Blue. As indirect evidence for his thesis he shows, from a survey of 200 languages, that semantic color indentities, which he defines as the application of a single name to two or more primary color regions, abound in the shorter wavelength areas (Green and Blue), but are rare in the longer wavelength region of the hue circle (Red and Yellow). In particular, Green and Blue are frequently denoted by a single term, though Yellow and Green, and Red and Yellow are rarely merged under a single label.

> Bornstein pictures the process underlying terminological ordering as follows: This yellow pigmentation selectively absorbs entering short wavelength radiation before the photic stimulation can excite the photo-receptor pigments specifically sensitive to the short wavelength end of the visible spectrum. The results of such decreased sensative are (1) A depression in the photipic luminosity function at the short wavelength end and (2) a reduction in the perception of "blueness". The latter effect may be likened to a graying or darkening of the short wavelength end of the spectrum resembling blue-weakness or, in extreme cases, tritanopia. Typically, the manifestation of such color weakness in color naming behaviour is the color "confusion" of shorter wavelength..... and the perception of blue or even green and blue as darker or black.[10]

Thus Bornstein argues that the order in the terminology corresponds to an ordering in retinal pigmentation: the more retinally pigmented a population, the less likely it will have a fully developed set of basic color terms. The signal weakness in Bornsteins argument is in its logic, which sees in the lack of a name for a color, a "manifestation" of an underlying sensory defect; a single term for Blue and Green does not *necessarily* indicate these two hues are indistinguishable. Put simply, if "color confusion" exists, people should confuse hues, and though much empirical evidence

9. M. H. Bornstein, "The Psychophysiological Component of Cultural Difference in Color Naming and Illusion Susceptibility", Behavior Science Notes, *HRAF Quarterly Bulletin*, 1973, VII (1) : 41-104; W. H. R. Rivers, *Reports on the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torrs Straites*, Vol. II, and part I, A. C. Haddon (ed.), Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, pp. 79-80.

10. Bornstein, "The Psychophysiological Component of Cultural Difference in color Naming and Illusion Susceptibility", *HARAF Quarterly Bulletin*, 1973, VIII (1) : 68-69.

exists that they do not, none[11] exists that whole populations cannot distinguish Green shades from Blue, or Blue shades from Black, or Green and Blue from Black.

To sum then, the saturation-salience thesis is weakened because there is no apparent straight-forward thorough-going relation between the order of saturation maxima and the terminological order: the retinal pigmentation theory does not satisfy either because whole populations do not show the type of hue confusions Bornstein's theory predicts.

The theories we have summarized may be synthesized to create a potentially more adequate account of the process. We start from the empirical observation that correlates the placement of focal values with the shape of the psychological color solid. These irregularities on the solid's surface appear to be generally perceptionally salient. It is these maxima that are ordered.

Next, taking into account the unevenness of the solid's surface, we can apply Berlin and Kay's notion of an ordering process that works by the addition of new terms in locations most different from previous placements. For purposes of argument. if we grant that the colors in nature are organized much like the colors in the *Munsell Book of Color*, then the 3 points[12] most plausible for the locations of the focal points of a three term color system would be located at Red, White and Black. Black and White are at the extremes of the solids central axis, while red attains maximum saturations near the solid's "equator" Green and Blues also achieve their maximum saturations near the solids equator, but they do not achieve as high a degree of maximum saturation, hence are not as different (distant) as Red is from White and Black.

The next step is difficult to unambiguously predict in terms of a distance model. Brown, Purple, Pink and Orange circle Red, and thus, because they are close to Red, are unlikely choices until the more distant saturation maxima in the Yellow, Green and Blue regions of the hue circle have been ordered. Yellow's focal point is not as far as Blue and Green on the hue dimension, but is much further in terms of brightness. Blue and Green are located on the solid's equator approximately opposite Red on the hue circle. Since, in the Berlin and Kay, model Yellow and Green can each occur after Red, the problem resolves itself into ascertaining why there are no systems having Blue, but lacking either Green or Yellow. Here Bornstein's ideas take on a special relevance. However, before they can be applied, they need to be refined with regard to just what the effects of pigmentation interference might be.[13]

Pigmentation should act as a type of yellow filter differentally absorbing different wavelengths of light: the shorter the wavelength, the more should be absorged. Now if pages of the *Munsell Book of Color* are viewed through a yellow filter, based on my

11. Berlin and Kay summarize this evidence in their book, *Basic Color Terms*.

12. There is some debate in the literature over the nature of the first binary division. cf. E. R. Heider, "Probabilities, Sampling, and Ethnographic Method: The case of Dani Colour Names", *Man*, 1972, VII (3) : 448-466; Egan, *The Cognition of Color*. Regardless of the type of binary divisions made for the purposes of this argument, three term systems seem a less contentious place to start.

13. Though, in theory, retinal pigmentation is supposed to affect adversely color perception in the blue regions, this loss appears to be offset by an improvement in visual activity.

own observation, the hues don't appear to change.[14] Green still appears green. Increasingly, however, the area from about page 7.5 G onwards to 10 P. appears less saturated, and it is much more difficult to see differences between adjacent chips.

Thus, in terms of a distance model, if retinal pigmentation does indeed act as a partial filter, it should have the effect of depressing saturation values in the shorter wavelength areas of the hue circle, and of generally 'flattening' out the area.

R. D'Andrade has performed an experiment bearing on this idea.[15] D'Andrade was concerned to empirically test the relation of saturation to the location of focal colors. With the same chip array used by Berlin and Kay, he first established for twenty University of California undergraduates the location of focal values for the chromatic basic color terms: Red, Orange, Yellow, Green, Brown, Blue, Purple and Pink. He found the focal values for these colors to be typically located in regions of high saturation. Second, he constructed another chip array containing chips of the same hues and brightnesses as the previous array, but with focal areas "recontoured" with chips of lowered saturation levels. The following shift in focal chip choices resulted:

> The choices for the special array show a strong shift away from focal areas of the standard array. In certain cases, such as the term "orange", the shift involved a general directional displacement. In most cases, however, there was a general spreading effect, in which the formerly peripheral areas were chosen. Along with the spreading effect goes an increase in the number of chips chosen for the same color, indicating that informants show less agreement when the normal best examples of the standard array are absent.[16]

What D'Andrade's result suggests is that, if depressed saturation values result in a 'spread' of focal choices, surface pigmentation, by depressing saturation values, should give the same result: a "spread" of focal choices.

Specifically, the focal choices for Green, Blue and Purple should show, for the heavily pigmented, more spread than those of the other chromatic colors, and also more spread than that shown by the chip choices of the less pigmented, regardless of the wavelength of the term's referent.

If retinal pigmentation acts to supress saturation values, then Blue is subsumed with Green with such regularity, not because Blue and Green are confused, but because, for the heavily pigmented, there is no really distinct peak of saturation in the blue region to act as an anchoring point for a distinctive name.

The remainder of this paper will be concerned with ascertaining the fit between these ideas concerning the effect of retinal pigmentation on the ordering of basic color terminologies and the structure of two basic color term systems, the Sinhalese and the English.

14. A. Munsell, *The Munsell Book of Color*, Baltimore: Munsell Color Company, 1969.
15. Egan and D'Andrade, *The Shape of Color*.
16. *Ibid.*

Method

Subjects—Two groups of S's were employed: a group of 14 native monolingual English speaking University of British Columbia students ranging in age from 18-40 years of age. The second group consisted of 16 monolingual Sinhalese speakers resident in a village off Tangalla in Southern Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese speakers varied in age from 16-42 years: approximately equal numbers of both sexes were included in both samples.

Retinal pigmentation was not measured directly; but it was assumed that the Sinhalese, who were uniformly more outwardly pigmented than the English speaking S's also had heavier retinal pigmentation.

Because of a lack of electricity in the Sri Lankan village, lighting was difficult to standardize cross-culturally. In Sri Lanka, the test was conducted outside in June on cloudless days from 9.30 - 11.00 a.m. and 1.30 - 3.00 p.m. in direct sunlight. In British Columbia the test was conducted under similar conditions, though it required from June through September to achieve the needed number of cloudless days.

Test Construction

Testing materials were constructed using the neighboring hues edition of the 1969 *Munsell Book of Color* which contains small rectangles of tinted paper graded by hue, brightness and saturation.

Each informant was shown a page of the Munsell Book and asked to name the colors perceived on that page, and to indicate those color's boundaries. Each informant was then asked to choose for each demarcated color, the most and the least representative chip for that color. For example, "What is the greenest chip?" or in Sinhalese "*Mehi kolama patiya kumakda* ?"

A pre-test using five informants from the Sri Lankan group showed informants responding in similar ways to adjacent pages of the Munsell Book. Since the full test took about an hour and a half of repetitive questioning, it was decided to complete the experiment using five fairly evenly spaced pages of the Munsell Book: 7.5R, 5Y, 5G, 10B, and 5P. The same five pages were used for the English speaking group.

Analysis of Results

The thesis under consideration predicts that (1) In general the focal point of basic colour terms should "fit" the shape of the color solid in a particular way and (2) that, for the heavily pigmented, this fit should increasingly worsen toward, the blue end of the hue circle. The difficulty with empirically testing this hypothesis is that the two parts of the thesis, at least for short wavelength basic terms, "predict" contrary results. It is therefore necessary to specify with more precision the pattern we would expect to find in the empirical results most consistent with the thesis advanced.

First, let us consider the ideal pattern we should expect to find in the absence of any pigmentation effects. Basic colors may be divided into two classes: the achromatic colors such as White, Grey and Black; and the chromatic colors such

as Red, Green and Yellow. Archromatic colors are usually defined as completely lacking in tint, but empirically, respondents often include in an achromatic color's region some areas that are lightly tinted. For achromatic colors, the pattern the distance model predicts locates focal points in the least saturated region of each color's area. The least typical, or anti-focal, shade for each achromatic term should call in each color's most saturated region. On the brightness dimensions, the basic terms should be located as far apart as possible.

For basic chromatic colors, an opposite placement pattern for focal and anti-focal choices should hold. The focal points should be located in regions where saturation levels achieve local maxima, and thus should be located in a basic color's saturated region. Conversely, each chromatic basic color's anti-focus should be located in its least saturated region.

What we do not expect to find for any basic chromatic color is a "medial" arrangement of local choices. In this type of arrangement a color's focus is located in the centre of its region. Its anti-focal value is located anywhere on the colors periphery; it thus could be either more or less saturated then the focus itself.

Retinal pigmentation should affect the above expectations as follows: For the lightly pigmented we expect the above pattern to hold in its entirety. For the heavily pigmented, however, we expect the spread of chips chosen to increase as the wavelength of the color shortens. Nevertheless, we expect that the informants will, for these shorter wavelength colors, still be attempting to use saturation values as a guide to the choice of focal point. Hence, we still expect the choice to retain a basic chromatic pattern with the anti-focus placed in a less saturated region than the focus.

The Tabulation of the Results

Three measures will be used in the analysis of the results. First percentage of focal choices falling in the most saturated portion of a colour's region will be given. Second, the total number of chips chosen will be given, for each color, as a crude measure of intra-subject agreement. This is not a very accurate measure of spread because some pages of the Munsell book have many chips in their most saturated region, others few. For instance 10Y 8V 12C is the sole maximally saturated chip on the 10Y page. On the 7.5B page, on the other hand, 3 chips exhibit the same degree of maximum saturation. Hence, a third measure tabulating spread by percentaging choices in each saturation column will be given.

The Sinhalese results

Eleven colours were discriminated in the test: *rosa* (pink), *tambili* (orange), *kaha* (yellow), *ratu* (red), *nil* (blue), *kola* (green), *guru* (brown), *dham* (purple), *alu* (grey), *sudu* (white) and *kalu* (black). In a free recall test, given prior to the main test, color expressions for gold, silver, and copper were also given, but these colors were not identified during the color naming test.

Grey was discriminated 52 times, orange four times, with the rest of the colors falling within that range. Informants typically agreed on which colors were present on which part of which page, but there was considerable variation in the placement of color boundaries.

The placement of focal values for the colors red, yellow, green, blue, and purple is displayed in tables 1-5.

Discussion of the Sinhalese Results

The results are strongly in agreement with the hypothesis. *Kalu* (black) and *sudu* (white) were identified 56 and 31 times respectively. Their foci were never more saturated than their anti-foci. In fact, typically black and white's regions were confined to one chip. All 56 "black" choices were of the least saturated and darkest chip on the page. Likewise 30 of the 31 "white" choices were of the least saturated and lightest chip on the page. *Alu* (*grey*) was discriminated 65 times. 52 (80%) of these choices were in the most unsaturated columns of the test pages, while the remaining 13 (20%) were in the adjacent column. The anti-focus for grey was never less saturated than the focal choice. The empirical placement of typical "greys" conformed well to expectations also: 90% of the choices were concentrated, as brightness levels 4-5-6, midway between the focal values of "black" and "white".

The arrangement of focal and anti focal choices for the chromatic colors are also strongly in agreement with the hypothesis. The pattern for the color labled *Guru* (brown) is an exception to this generality, and thus will be discussed separately.

As can be seen from table 6, the percentage of focal chip choices in the most saturated column of a basic color region steadily decreases as we move from red and yellow to green to blue to purple. Likewise, as can be seen in tables 1-5 and table 7, the spread of choices, both in terms of the number of separate chips selected as focal points and the amount of clustering these selections display, conforms to expectations. For example, *Ratu* (red) was discriminated 15 times; the focal choices were distributed over three continuous chips. *Dham* (purple), by comparison, was discriminated 16 times, with the focal choices distributed over 5 separate chips, themselves distributed over 5 separate saturation levels.

Despite the spread in focal choices for the colour terms denoting shorter, wavelength regions of the spectrum, out of 79 focal chip selections for the colors labelled *ratu* (red), *kaha* (yellow), *kola* (green), *nil* (blue), and *dham* (purple), only 3 selections placed a focal point in a less saturated region than the anti-focus. Nor was there a pattern to these anomalies, for they occurred once for red, green and purple. All of these colors, thus, have a strongly chromatic profile.

The color labelled *rosa* (pink) was discriminated 9 times, always on the 5R page. Its focus was always located in the most saturated region of its area, and its anti focus was always located in a less saturated region.

The color labelled *tambili* (orange) was discriminated 3 times; once on the 5R page and twice on the 7.5 yellow page. Its focus was always located in its most saturated region, its anti focus in a less saturated region. The color labelled *guru* (brown) was distinguished 25 times; 16 times on the 7.5R page and 9 times on the 7.5Y page. *Guru's* (brown) region tends to occupy the lower third of both pages. In both cases, the area is of medium saturation; in only one case was a focal value chosen for "brown" that was more saturated than its anti focus.

This odd focal distribution for "brown", and also the low frequency with which the color *tambili* (orange) was recognized, probably results from the fact that neither the 7.5R or 5Y page is "near" the true focal points for these colors which, for both Sinhalese and English speakers, seen to focus around 5YR.

It could be the case that, rather than being influenced by retinal pigmentation half of our informants for the color *dham* (purple) were actually associating the word "*dham*" with the color of the *dhambul* fruit, whose pulp is a dark, not too saturated purple. Thus, the puple of this fruit might be their paragon of purple. In short, the empirical pattern found for purple might be the result of local factors, the result of a type of associate system based, not on the saliency properties of color but on the colors of particular objects.

This line of argument, however, does not seem too plausible. It could be extended to the Sinhalese term "*tambili*", one sense of which is orange, but another sense of which means a coconut whose skin exhibits a bright, highly saturated orange color. The word "*alu*", which means ash as well as grey, also comes to mind. But both of these terms have focal and anti focal patterns in conformity with expectation. Likewise, the term "*kola*" means leaf as well as green, but leaves, if used as a standard of reference for assigning focal points, have a much wider range of shade than does the pulp of the *dhambul* fruit. Yet green's foci are much more tightly grouped than purple's. Finally, *nil* (blue) does not name any blue object in nature, yet its focal pattern is more dispersed than green's. Purely local associational factors, because they display no coherent overall pattern, seem therefore a less likely basis for explanation than does pigmentation.

The Canadian Results

The Canadian results differed markedly from the Sinhalese in two respects. First, English speakers use many more color terms than the Sinhalese, typically dividing the color space on each test page into many named regions. In the entire test, Sinhalese speakers identified eleven colors, and in a free recall test, when asked to name all of the colors that exist, 3 additional terms were cumulatively elicited. The Canadians, as a group, attached 15 different color lables to the first test page, 7.5 Red, and for the whole test discriminated 34 distinctively named regions: red, peach, brown, brownish-red, beige, pink, grey, black, orange, cream, coral, tan, rose, pinkish-grey, white, yellow, greenish-grey, yellowship-green, yellowish-greenish-grey, green, olive, greyish-brown, ivory, greenish-brown, ochre, slate, torquoise, charcoal, greenish-grey, blue, blue-grey, purple, violet and mauve.

Most of these terms were used infrequently; only 10 of the names were used 3 or more times. These were, in order of frequency: grey (42), black (25), green (17), brown (16), yellow (14), blue (13), purple (12), red (11), pink (7), and white (5). Orange was discriminated only twice. There is thus, a good, correspondence between these frequently chosen categories and the categories used by the Sinhalese. Equally there was a high degree of overlap between the English and the Sinhalese choice of regions, as can be seen by inspecting Tables 1-5.

The second marked difference between the English and the Sinhalese data is that the focal choices for English do not appear to be influenced by pigmentation. See tables 1-5.

Discussion of the Canadian Results

The results for the English terms "black" and "white" show, without exception, an achromatic profile of focal and anti-focal chip choices. Equally without exception, the darkest, least saturated chip was chosen as focal black: the lightest, least saturated chip as focal white. Grey also had an achromatic profile, with all choices located in the 2 least saturated chip columns. (80% of the choices were in the least saturated column). Anti-focal choices also conformed to expectations.

The focal point of the colours red, pink, yellow, green, blue, and purple fall, with three exceptions for yellow, in the two most saturated regions of their areas, and as can be seen from tables 6 and 7, the focal regions are tightly bunched. Anti-focal choices, for all these colors, with but one exception, are less saturated than focal choices. Anti-focal choices are overwhelmingly located in the least saturated region of a color's area.

Brown was distinguished 15 times. Five focal choices are located in the lower third of the 5Y page; 10 focal choices are located in the same region of the 7.5R page. Typically the brownest chip was thought to lie in the least saturated area of brown's region or contiguous to it. Usually brown's anti-focal value was not less saturated than the focal value; four anti-focal choices were more saturated than the focus itself. Again, the reason for brown's seemingly anomalous pattern of focal and anti-focal points probably stems from the fact that, for English speakers, the most representative browns are located in the 2.5—5YR regions of the color space. The same explanation probably accounts for the low frequency with which the colour orange was elicited.[17]

Conclusions

The empirical evidence presented in the body of this paper shows a well defined correspondence existing between the focal points of generic color terms and the shape of the psychological color space. These findings support the general psychological notion that irregularities are, in general, perceptually salient. Borders, bumps, areas of rapid transitions in shape or shade provide the major natural landmarks that guide the divison of the natural world into categories. That is why in all languages the front of the head has many named parts, the back few; the reason why a generic word for the nose is a linguistic universal.

It is an anthropological commonplace that animal, vegetable, mineral and cosmological taxonomies have different structures in different cultures. The universals found in generic color terminologies do not seem to fit this pattern. What is truly distinctive about color compared with other aspects of the physical world, however, is that, relative to these, it has few landmarks to guide its division. Other natural categories, conversely, lack the degree of color's cross-cultural translatability simply

17. The discussion of these results is somewhat abridged because the literature already contains descriptions of English colour terminology. A good bibliography can be found in, A. Chapanis, "Color Names for Color Space", *American Scientist*, 1965, LIII: 327-345. The results reported here do not conflict with earlier results; they are presented because they were collected in the same manner as the Sinhalese results, and thus facilitate direct comparison.

because they contain a wealth of different potential classificatory dimensions. In this view, retinal pigmentation acts to soften the landscape in the blue-purple regions of the hue cirlce: the peaks become hillocks; hence there is less to anchor a name to.

It is necessary to stress, however, the tentative nature of these conclusions. First, before we can be assured that the Sinhalese deviation from a strict "peak" model is indeed the result of differential pigmentation, and not the result of factors at variance with that theory, itself, more precise and more direct measures of the impact of retinal pigmentation on the shape of the color solid must be devised. If the thesis advanced here holds, the blue-violet region of the color space should "look" different to the heavily pigmented. It should be possible to directly measure these differences. The fact that they have not been detected, is probably due to the use of ordinal, rather than interval, measuring scales[18]: the relations between color chips remain the same when a peak becomes a hillock.

18. J. Mellinger, "Psychological Color Space", *American Psychologist*, 1956, II; W. S. Torgenson, *Theory and Methods of Scaling*, New York: Wiley, 1958; T. Shoise, "An Application of the Method of Multidimensional Scaling to the Perception of Similarily or Difference in Colors", *Japanese Journal of Psychology*, 1958, XXV of II : 375-385; C. Helm, "A Multidimensional Ratio Scaling Analysis of Perceived Color Relations" *Journal of the Optical Society of America*, 1964, LIV : 256-262.

Tables 1-5—Cumulative Frequencies of English and Sinhalese Focal Chip Choices

SINHALESE

Saturation

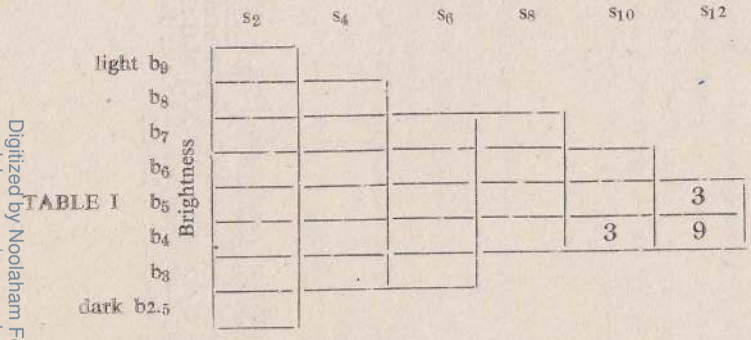
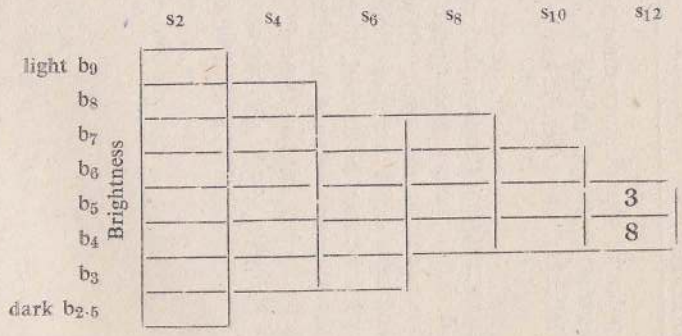


TABLE I

Hue
7.5 red

ENGLISH

Saturation



Saturation

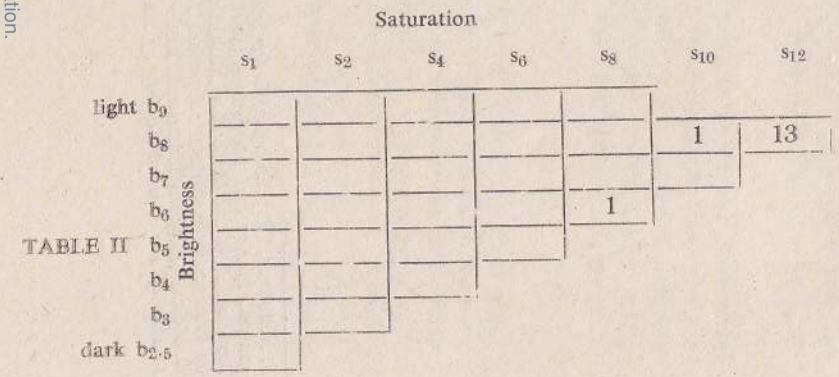


TABLE II

Hue
5 yellow

Saturation

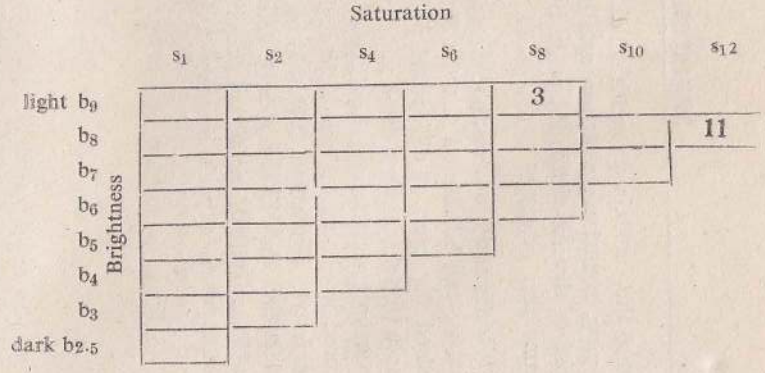
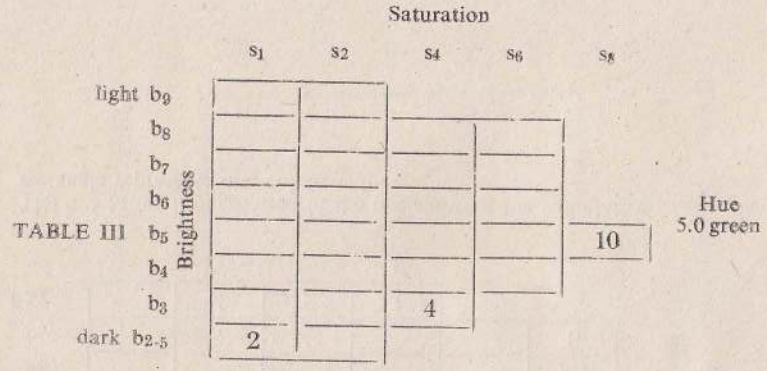


TABLE III



Hue
5.0 green

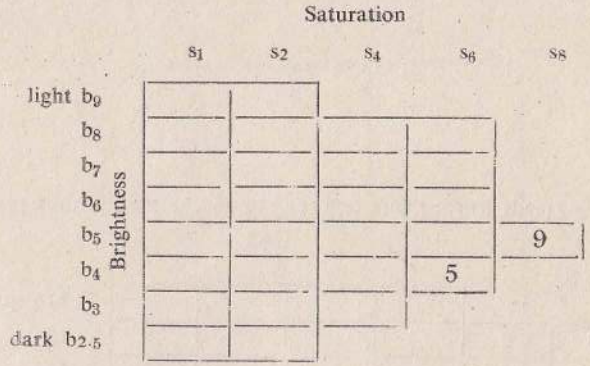
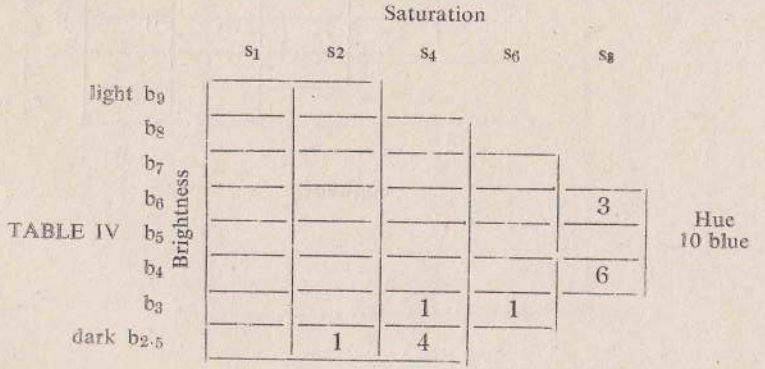
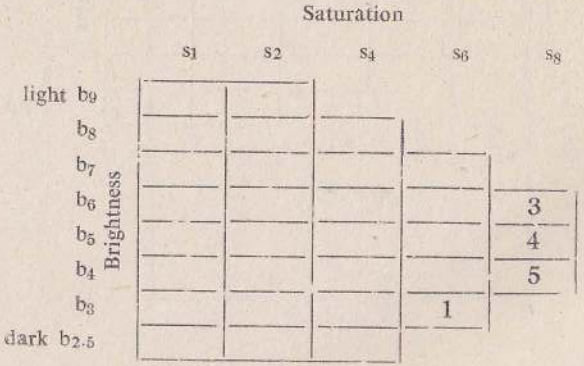


TABLE IV



Hue
10 blue



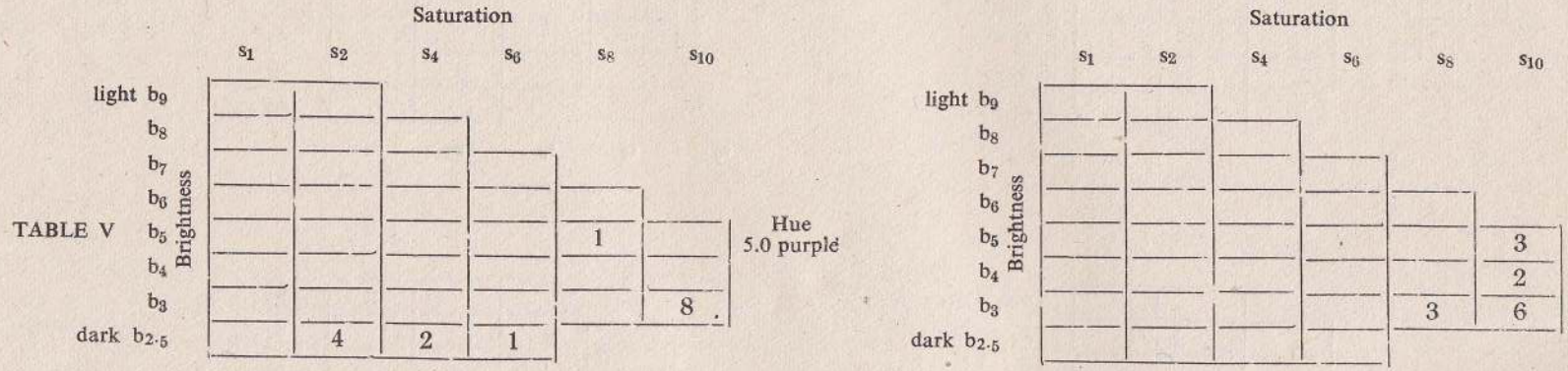


Figure 1-5 The five Munsell pages used in the test showing the cumulative frequencies of focal chip choices for both Sinhalese and English speakers. Each rectangle represents one colour chip.

Table 6. The Percentage of Focal Choices Falling in the Most Saturated Column of Each Test Page.

	SINHALESE	ENGLISH
Red	86.6%	100%
Yellow	86.6%	86%
Green	63.3%	60%
Blue	56.3%	92%
Purple	50.0%	78%

Table 7. The Number of Focal Choices Falling in Each Saturation Column.

	SINHALESE					ENGLISH				
Red	12	3				14				
Yellow	12	2	1			11		3		
Green	10	0	4		2	9	5			
Blue	9	1	5	1		12	1			
Purple	8	1	1	2	4	11	3			
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
	High <——> Low					High <——> Low				
	Saturation					Saturation				

BOOK REVIEWS

CLARENCE MALONEY: **Peoples of South Asia**, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1974, 584 pp. + XIX, maps, charts, pictures, index, and glossary, no price indicated.

Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) is one of the countries discussed in this massive volume on South Asia. Other nations included under South Asia are India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Mauritius, Maldive Islands, and part of Afghanistan. This book is perhaps one of the most authoritative and up-to-date publications dealing with this huge subcontinent.

Maloney's stated aim in undertaking the research and printing of this compendium is "to present as completely as possible an anthropology of the South Asian subcontinent". (p.v.)

He has adopted the holistic or total approach in the writing of this book by drawing or synthesizing and summarizing a tremendous amount of data on the region's prehistory, history, linguistics, physical anthropology, and cultural anthropology. Contemporary issues and problems of South Asia—e.g. population, community development, national integration, etc.—have not been neglected to put his presentation in proper context and perspective.

Before reviewing the material related to Sri Lanka, it is appropriate to give a summary of the contents of this book. The Author describes in the first two chapters the land and languages of South Asia while the succeeding two chapters consider races and the prehistory of the region. Maloney then offers data on the rise of village and urban communities, from a narration of early village life in Afghanistan and Pakistan to a description of society at the time of Buddha. In chapter 6, the author concentrates on South Asia as a culture area and includes a significant treatment of basic concepts such as *Great-Little Traditions* as propounded by the late Robert Redfield and Milton Singer of the University of Chicago and *Sanskritization* and *Modernization* as popularized by M. N. Srinivas, India's most eminent social scientist. In Chapter 7, Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Islam, and other religions have been extensively dealt with while in Chapter 8, two of the areas' dynamic institutions —caste and village—are properly reviewed. Sociolinguistics is next taken into account.

The succeeding six sections after sociolinguistics are merely broad and sketchy surveys of the following societies: northern and western India, South India and the islands, eastern Indian plains and Bangladesh, India Muslims and Pakistan, Himalayan peoples, and finally the tribal peoples of South Asia.

The last three chapters should be useful to applied anthropologists since they deal with rural change and development, urban change, and population. An index, a glossary, maps, charts, and pictures enrich the volume.

I would like to offer a sampling of the author's data on Sri Lanka, concentrated mainly on the last three chapters of the book. In the chaper on rural change and development on the subject of land reform, Maloney cites Sri Lanka's eminent anthropologist G. Obeyesekere:

> As for Sri Lanka, Obseysekere has shown through the study of Dutch and British records the effect of legislation, such as that requiring inheritance to be bilateral. He showed that as population increased and outsiders came to acquire land in hill villages, there appeared strains in the culture, changes in strategy of marriage arranging, and in fact a radical reorganization of the traditional hamlet structure in part of the island .....The maximum holding has been set at 25 acres of rice land, but in the populous southwest zone farms are tiny. (p. 475).

On Sri Lanka education, we are told that "literacy was 76% in 1970, and is nearly universal among Lowland Sinhalas. But studies have shown that over 50% still have not found work 5 years after leaving school". (p. 490).

On population in Sri Lanka, Maloney cites figures from 1871 to 1973 to support his contention that:

> Sri Lanka is an example frequently cited by demographers of dramatic population growth due to modernization. The country had perhaps 1 million people in 1800 and has grown to over 13 million. The population grew about 1% a year in the first half of this century.....The life expectancy at birth is 66, the highest in South Asia. (p. 541).

Maloney then underscores the fact that Sri Lanka suffers from an acute food problem. He states that "While the world market for its exports has declined, foreign exchange has to be used to import food. Congestion on buses increases yearly, and unemployment soars". (p. 542).

The author concludes with timely observations on Mrs. Bandaranaike's government:

> The Marxist government of Mrs. Bandaranaike won the election of 1970 after promising to double the daily rice dole to every person on the island, but the success of its economic efforts may be judged in the spontaneity of the 'insurgency' of 1971 which demanded more radical experiments and convulse the whole island....This delightful island, though still the pearl of the Indian Ocean, has little time to alter the course which has caused population to increase 14-fold since the appearance of the British on its shores. (p. 542).

In a volume of this size and magnitude (584 pages, including index), the author's focus is understandably on the vast nations of India and Pakistan. It is unfortunate that Maloney has not given Sri Lanka the extended treatment it rightfully deserves. The author's presentation of data on Sri Lanka is at best superficial.

Any review of South Asian anthropology—to be comprehensive and coherent—should include more basic information and analysis of Sri Lanka. It is the reviewer's hope that Maloney, in his next book revision, allocate more space for and expand his discussion of Sri Lanka society, culture, and personality in the context of a dynamic and turbulent South Asian community.

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Memoir of Julius Stein van Gollenesse, Governor of Ceylon 1743-1751 for his successor Gerrit Joan Vreeland, 28 February 1751, translated and edited with an introduction and notes by SINNAPPAH ARASARATNAM, vii + 154 pages, Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka, 1974 (soft cover).

The very appearance of the present work from the Department of National Archives should bring a ray of hope to scholars interested in Dutch records of Sri Lanka. Since 1905, when the department began publishing the memoirs left by Dutch Governors to their successors, eleven such memoirs have been published in ten volumes. Yet, to say that the programme had languished somewhat in the last four decades would be an understatement for the last memoir to see print was that of Jan Schreuder (1762) in 1946. It is to be hoped that the present publication coming almost simultaneously, as it were, with Tikiri Abeyasinghe's *Portuguese Regimentos on Ceylon*, also published by the same department, will inaugurate a new period of activity by the National Archives of Sri Lanka in the publishing field.

The memoir itself is a useful document. It gives us a good picture of land tenure, trade and the administrative problems faced by the Dutch during the mid-eighteenth century. It is perhaps even more useful (when taken together with the memoirs of Jan Schreuder and Van Imhoff) in mirroring the anxieties of the Dutch in relation to the increasingly persistant demands of the Kandyans for greater concessions relating to trade. As the editor himself observes, the memoirs prepared by the Governors are of variable quality, yet ".....if these memoirs can be divided into good ones mediocre ones, the present memoir of Van Gollenesse certainly belongs to the first category". (page 2).

The value of the memoir itself is greatly enhanced by an erudite, yet very readable historical introduction (41 pages) by the editor. This part of the book, largely based on archival material at the Koloniale Archief (the Hague) and the editor's own previous publications (listed on page 5), places the memoir firmly in its historical setting. Indeed, the wealth of new data revealed in his (necessarily summarised) introduced section reminds us that except for those who have access to the University of London Library where two scholarly doctoral theses lie, viz. those by Dr. D. A. Kotelawala, *The Dutch in Ceylon*, 1743-1766, Ph.D., 1968; and Dr. V. Kanapathypillai, *Dutch Rule in Maritime Ceylon* 1766-1796, Ph.D., 1969, the information available on Dutch Ceylon during the eighteenth century remains very sketchy. Professor Arasaratnam's scholarly effort thus becomes a good buy for all academic libraries and those scholars interested in the history of the period.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

The Editors welcome articles based on research in the social sciences. While the emphasis will be on Sri Lanka, articles of general interest on South and Southeast Asia will also be considered for publication. Contributors are requested to send *two copies of each article* intended for publication, with manuscripts and all related inquiries being addressed to "The Editors". Contributors will receive twenty five off-prints of articles accepted for publication.

Manuscripts should be typed on one side of the sheet only, in double spaced typing, leaving a margin of about 1½ inches for editorial purposes. Articles should not normally exceed 15,000 words in length. References and footnotes should be given in a continuously numbered list at the end of the article. The punctuation and format of text, citations and footnotes should be on the lines demonstrated by the first essay in vol. 5 : no. 1 (1974). Where bibliographies are included, short references could be used for citations: e.g. A. N. Other, 1974, p. 124. The bibliographies should be set out in the style adopted in the essays in vol. 5 : no. 1. Where bibliographies are not included, initial citations in full should follow this pattern: A. N. Other, title, Colombo: publisher's name, date; and short titles could be used for subsequent references to the same source. In addition, an *abstract* of no more than 200 words should be supplied, typed on a separate sheet of paper.

It will assist us a great deal if authors submitting essays to our journal could adhere to these guidelines. Thank you.

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