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Dual Organization in Central Ceylon? or The Goddess on the Tree-top.

NUR YALMAN

Un modèle quelconque peut être conscient ou inconscient, cette condition n'affecte pas sa nature. Il est seulement possible de dire qu'une structure superficiellement enfouie dans l'inconscient rend plus probable l'existence d'un modèle qui la masque, comme un écran, à la conscience collective. En effet, les modèles conscients—qu'on appelle communément des 'normes'—comptent parmi les plus pauvres qui soient, en raison de leur fonction qui est de perpétuer les croyances et les usages, plutôt que d'en exposer les ressorts.

Claude Lévi-Strauss
Anthropologie Structurale

IN this paper I am concerned with an examination of symbolic and social dual organization. Does "dual organization" refer to those rare social systems in which the total community is in one way or another bisected into two definable "groups" which have certain formal relations with each other? Or, alternatively, can we speak of "dual organization" when the society is not so divided, or when the social divisions are obscure, but where there is a symbolic system in which binary categories are prominent? And furthermore, just what is the relationship between dualism as a symbolic order, which appears quite widespread, and dualism as bisected social structure, which has rarely been satisfactorily analyzed?

Dualism has certainly moved in and out of the central arena of anthropology in a bewildering fashion. Lévi-Strauss traces the interest in dualism directly back to Rivers.¹ After Rivers, the study of dualism was pursued particularly by Hocart in some erudite articles.² There is a large amount of material in Dutch on dualism in Indonesia, but more recently Lévi-Strauss, in a tradition which stretches from Durkheim and Mauss³ and Hertz⁴ (not to carry the fascination of the subject back to the Pythagoreans or the Chinese), has brought the problems of dualism back into the focus of anthropological interest if not repute. Needham, too, in his more recent articles has given binary categories greater prominence.⁵

Lévi-Strauss' main article on this subject "Les organisations dualistes existent-elles?"⁶ has recently been bitterly criticized by Maybury-Lewis as misleading, ambigu-

The author is Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago. The field work on which this essay is based was carried out in Ceylon in 1954-56. It was generously supported by the University of Cambridge and the Wenner Gren Foundation.

¹ C. Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie Structurale*, (Paris, 1958), p. 179n.

² A. M. Hocart, "Buddha and Devadatta," *Indian Antiquary* (Bombay & London, 1923) Vol. 52, pp. 267; also "Duplication of Office in the Indian State," *The Ceylon Journal of Science* (Colombo & London, 1928), Section G, Vol. 1, part 4, pp. 205-210.

³ "De quelques formes primitives de classification," *Année Sociologique*, 6 (1901-1902).

⁴ "La Pré-éminence de la main droite," translation in *Death and the Right Hand*, R. Needham (Chicago, 1960).

⁵ R. Needham, "The Left Hand of the Mugwe," *Africa*, 30, 1960; also "Genealogy and Category in Wikmunkan Society," *Ethnology* (Pittsburgh, 1962), Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 254f, and others.

⁶ Reprinted in *Anthropologie Structurale*, (Paris, 1958) pp. 147-180.

ous, and based on flimsy and dubious evidence.⁷ Maybury-Lewis acknowledges the originality of the author, but underlines the distinction between social systems and symbolic systems. We should observe, however, that it is precisely this distinction which Lévi-Strauss, in all his works, has attempted to dissolve.

The relation between social systems and symbolic systems leads directly to a theoretical issue of fundamental importance. It concerns the interpretation of religious phenomena. Just how does religion relate to "social structure?" To what extent are we justified in tracing various features of religion and ritual to the mere presence of social groups? There has been at times a tendency to see a one-to-one connection between groups and their rituals. Yet it is obvious that the simple parallel statement of groups and their rituals leaves a vast mass of religious phenomena unaccounted for. Here the approach deriving from Durkheim and Robertson Smith leads to an oversimplified conception of the "congregation" or the "group."

As I will indicate, a more fruitful line of investigation lies in the direction not of the morphology of social groups, but of the principles on which they are formed. In other words, we should seek to relate religious and ritual phenomena to "structural principles," for, when adequately analyzed, such principles may be seen in operation as it were behind both social groupings and moral and religious concepts. We must therefore shed our empirical bias and be prepared to consider not the "caste congregation" in a temple but the "caste principle," or not the members of the lineage meeting under a particular tree but the "lineage principle." For it seems as if culture is its own best analyst; the structural principles which anthropologists attempt to distill from their mountains of field material are quite often to be seen beautifully analyzed and perfectly framed in religious concepts, myths, and ritual. The unexpected directions in which such premises lead will be seen in the course of the paper.

I will attempt to elucidate this problem in the context of material from Ceylon. I am concerned with an intriguing ritual during which a Goddess and her consort are first joined and then pulled apart with great pomp. In one village, Terutenne, the ritual is closely associated with extensive evidence for "dual organization." Indeed there appears to be a one-to-one connection between the ritual and the structure. But, when we move to another village, Panama, we find the ritual, but not the bisection. How then are we to proceed?

The communal rituals we are concerned with are identical in intention and similar in structure to private healing rituals directed to the deities, but are more elaborate and ostentatious.⁸ The rituals for the deities may be referred to with a generic term as *deviyange sellama* (lit., the "play of the Gods"). The tone of levity in the term *sellama* (play or game) does not detract from the precision of the term; for the Sinhalese male and female gods are quite playful and their playfulness contrasts strongly with the high moral tone associated with the Buddha. "The play of the Gods" would include all rituals undertaken by a *kapurala* priest for the deities. The village rituals may be more obliquely referred to as *mangalaya* (festivals) or *mangala davana* (fes-

⁷ "The Analysis of Dual Organizations: a methodological critique," in *Bijdragen Taal -, en Volkenkunde*, pp. 18-44 ... but, see also reply by Lévi-Strauss "On Manipulated Sociological Models," *ibid.*, No. 116, 1960, pp. 45-54.

⁸ N. Yalman, "The Structure of Sinhalese Healing Rituals," in *Religion in South Asia*, ed. E. Harper (Seattle, 1964), pp. 115-150.

tival day; also used for “wedding”). Ordinary villagers may in their casual moods refer to these “games” as “female-male intercourse” (*ganu purussaya sambandham*), thus expressing the central concern of these harvest rites. Indeed, the term *keliya* often associated with these sacred “games” has lewd sexual implications (e.g. *rata keliya*: night play, copulation).

Most harvest rituals in central Ceylon are developed around the theme of a food offering (first fruits: *alut sal*; also *adukku* or *multeng*) to the deities. This offering may be a separate ritual by itself, but it is often part of a larger sequence in which gods and goddesses are brought to the ritual location with separate processions and then united in a hut. The *An keliya* ritual described below stands in direct contrast to these rites of “unification,” for in this case, after the male and female deity are laboriously locked together, the “game” consists of their being pulled apart by two opposing teams in the village. It is appropriate therefore to speak of *An keliya* as a “rite of separation.”

The most prominent cyclical rituals in a Sinhalese village are concerned with the Buddha, and there are daily rituals, food or flower offerings (*dhana*), to the Buddha in every temple. Just as the Buddhist priest (Bhikku) according to tradition is offered food by the householders every day before noon, the Bhikku in his turn offers food to the image of the Buddha in his *vihara* (image chamber) before noon every day. In the evening, when the priest is permitted to partake of liquid refreshments, the Buddha image is also not neglected. On the four quarters of the moon, the *poya* days, the ritual is basically the same, although there may be more lay visitors to the temple, and the other sacred objects in the temple grounds such as the *Dagoba* and the *Bo* tree may also receive ritual attention and offerings (mainly flowers).⁹

In general, the main efflorescence of ritual activities in the central Ceylon dry zone falls into the dry season from about May to October. Again in this region, the full moon day in May (*Vesak*) which commemorates the birth and Buddhahood of the Buddha coincides precisely with the main (*maha*) harvest in the paddy fields. After *Vesak*, each full moon day has some kind of ritual associated with it, and it is precisely at this time that the great ritual processions (*perahera*) at such sacred centers as Kandy, Anuradhapura, Mayangene, and Kataragama take place. *Vas* (sometimes described as Buddhist Lent) is the traditional rainy season in the Buddhist calendar and coincides with the proper season in north India. This is traditionally the time when the Bhikku were unable to make their expected “begging” rounds in the villages because of the rain, and stayed in one place, to be looked after by the laity (*Vas vahinava*). But in Ceylon, *Vas* falls squarely in the middle of the dry season.

The special rituals in the Buddhist temples during the dry season are confined to the full moon days of *Vesak* and *Asala*, i.e., the birth of the Buddha and the commencement of *Vas*. It is notable therefore that the most significant “play of the Gods” associated with the centers of Kandy, Mayangene, and Kataragama takes place in those months within the *Vas* season. Apart from the main rituals, the celebrations at secondary centers, such as Panama, Kotabowe Vidiya, and Hanguranketa, which

⁹ The *poya* days are named: *masa poya* (lit. “month poya,” no moon), *attavaka poya* (half moon), *pasalos vaka* (full moon), etc. The period when the moon is getting larger is auspicious, the period after full moon inauspicious. Annual rites are normally timed to begin soon after *masa poya*, grow with the moon, and come to climax on the night of the full moon.

draw large regional crowds, also fall into this period.¹⁰ It so happens that the Buddhist priests are confined to their temples exactly at the time when the main after-harvest fertility rituals are undertaken. We should further observe that the priests are said to be explicitly forbidden to see either the “play of the Gods” or indeed any rites which include “dancing and singing.” Parallel to this prohibition, they also may not attend births, weddings, or puberty rituals. This latter prohibition, at least, is explained by the association of the priests with funerals and death.¹¹

I turn now to the communal rituals in the villages, beginning with those in the village of Terutenne. In 1954–56, the main dry-season activity of the inhabitants was to visit the sacred shrine at Mayangene. Apart from the Mayangene pilgrimage, the village formerly held two “plays of the Gods:” the rituals of *Gam Maduva* and *An keliya*. A communal *Gam Maduva* had not been performed for three years, and even though the paraphernalia were still treasured in the homes, *An keliya* had not been performed, it was said, for twenty years.

The *Gam Maduva* ritual has been described before.¹² It consists briefly of the following activities. First, a hut (*maduva*) is erected. The various symbols of the deities, arrows and tridents for the gods, and anklets and necklaces for the goddess, are brought in procession and placed on an altar in this dwelling. Then certain objects made of starched cloth by the washermen (*haluva*: ritual clean clothes?) are also taken to the hut. In the second important phase of the rite, food is cooked and offered to the assembled gods and goddesses. Each object representing a deity is then handled separately by the Kapurala priests, who go into trances and relate the myth of the birth and other events associated with the deity. Some of the events related in the myth may be theatrically enacted. “Shooting the mango” (*amba vidamana*), or the arrival of Devol Deva in Ceylon (below), both of which are associated with Pattini, or “the tying of elephants” (*at bandana*) are special sequences which may be included in the ritual. The total impression is one of divine nuptials, and the purpose of the ritual is to purify the village of “mistakes” (*varada*), and enhance the fertility of its fields, cattle, and women.

The *An keliya* ritual has similar purposes but a different and more intriguing structure which is associated with an event in Pattini’s life. First, the myth: The goddess Pattini and her consort Pālānga were out in the jungle looking for some *sapu* (temple tree) flowers. They finally found a beautiful one high up on the branches of a tree. They could not reach it, so they took some long poles with hooks at the ends and attempted to pick the flower with these. When they still could not reach it, they climbed the tree, Pattini always on a “lower” branch (*yata*) than her consort. In the process of climbing from branch to branch, their hooks became entangled. They

¹⁰ There is some suggestion that these secondary rituals are timed to form a cycle, but the evidence on this point is not extensive. It is said that at least in the Uva (Eastern Provinces) Kataragama area, the rites of Panama, Kotabowe Vidiya, and Mayangene, take place in a set order, and even that the God visits these centers in a fixed order. In the same way, it is said that the Kandy and Hanguranketa rituals, and others in the same district, are also part of a special cycle.

¹¹ See N. Yalman, “The Ascetic Buddhist Monks of Ceylon,” *Ethnology* (1962), Vol. 1, pp. 315–328.

¹² See U. A. Gunasekera, “Puna Maduva” in *Spolia Zeylanica*, (Colombo, 1953), Vol. 27, Part 1, pp. 63–75; M. D. Raghavan, “The Pattini Cult as a Socio-Religious Institution,” in *Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. 26, Part 11, pp. 251–261 (Colombo, 1951); Yalman, loc. cit., 1964.

climbed down and tried to pull the hooks apart, but without success. They repaired to the legendary city of Madura in southern India, and there all the maidens on the side of Pattini and all the men on the side of Pālānga had a tug of war. Pālānga's hook broke. Pattini was delighted, and in her pleasure demanded that henceforth she be propitiated annually in this fashion. Thus Pattini's side became *Yata pila* (below side) and Pālānga's became *Uda pila* (top side). Pālānga,¹³ however, was not a very good husband, and although Pattini allows him to win now and again, she is not pleased when it happens.

The *An keliya* rite consists of an enactment of the central theme of this myth. The village is traditionally divided in two parts, spoken of as *Yata pila* and *Uda pila*. This division is conceived of as a topographical and hereditary bisection of Terutenne by the mountain stream called *pin arawa* (merit stream). Each side possesses enormous hooks (*An*), handed down as prized possessions in the family. During *An keliya* two enormous wooden hooks, one for *Yata pila* and one for *Uda pila*, are locked and tied together with great ceremony. Then the two groups, using the leverage provided by an enormous tree trunk placed in a ditch upside down, endeavor to pull the hooks apart, until one breaks. This is followed by much obscene language directed to the losers, who may not take such abuse in good spirit and serious fights and killings are said to have occurred.

The sides are not in fact equal in status. The goddess' side is superior. In Terutenne, the *Yata pila* group by customary right arranged their hook in such a fashion that the *Uda pila* group normally had no chance of winning. Fights would then start even before the rite had commenced. This significant bias in favour of *Yata pila* is noted by all the observers of *An keliya*. In Terutenne, it was said that *Yata pila* is the side of the goddess, whereas *Uda pila* is only the side of her consort, who is not important in his own right. It was further said that if Pālānga won, the village would be ravaged by disease brought on by the angry Pattini, whereas her victory would be auspicious.¹⁴

The central features of the rite do not appear to have changed since seventeenth century, when it was held on a grand scale, perhaps even between sections of the Kandyan kingdom. The sexual content is tersely underlined by Robert Knox, writing at the time:

"Upon the breaking of the stick, the party that hath won doth not a little rejoice. Which rejoicing is exprest by dancing and singing and uttering such sordid beastly expressions, together with postures of their bodies as I omit to write them . . . This filthy solemnity was formerly much in use among them; and even the King himself hath spent time in it, but now lately he hath absolutely forbidden it under penalty of a forfeiture of money."¹⁵

Just what is the relation of this rite to the social organization of Terutenne? To what extent was the village bisected? And what was the significance of the dualism? A general topographical division into two was definitely recognized in the village. The people spoke of the community in terms of sides: "that side-this side" (*egoda-*

¹³ Often referred to as *Polānga* (Russell's Viper?) in myths; see below.

¹⁴ For further material on *An Keliya*, see P. Wirz, *Exorcism and the Art of Healing in Ceylon*, (Leiden, 1954) pp. 168-178; C. J. R. LeMesurier, "An Keliya," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon)*, Vol. VIII, No. 29 for 1884, 1886, p. 369; M. D. Raghavan, "The Pattini Cult as a Socio-Religious Institution," *Spolia Zeylanica*, 1951, Vol. II, p. 26.

¹⁵ Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (London, 1681), p. 97.

megoda). The old (*parana*) fields of the village were divided into “that-side” fields and “this-side” fields (*egoda wela-megoda wela*); the same was true of the lands for slash and burn cultivation (*egoda hen-megoda hen*); and finally, the village itself was spoken of as *egoda gama-megoda gama*.

That this bisection was not simply a matter of the special topography of Terutenne alone was clear, since a similar bisection of the community could be observed in neighboring villages as well. The division was partly related to the agricultural cycle in this area. There are essentially two forms of cultivation in dry zone villages: paddy, and slash-and-burn (*chena*) agriculture. The paddy fields, which are dependent on elaborate irrigation systems, are always permanent, and form the focus for agricultural communities. Slash-and-burn agriculture, however, entails a cultivation cycle of at least four years: the jungle is cut, allowed to dry, fired, sown, and cultivated, and the community moves on to another plot the next year. Thus while the paddy fields are in valley floors, or around streams, *chena* is movable. In Terutenne, the *chenas* move from year to year, and in certain years the plots worked on one side of the hills are many miles away from those cultivated on the other side. Owing to the very extensive areas that are required for *chena* cultivation, with its low yields per acre, it is impossible for the entire village to move as a group on the highlands. Thus, in Terutenne the *chenas* were in principle divided between the two halves of the village; one side always went to the east, and the other side to the west.

The *egoda-megoda* bisection coincided exactly with the *yata pila-uda pila* division. It was furthermore claimed first, that all those in *Uda pila* (west) were low-status persons, and that all the good families with “clean” caste pedigrees were *Yata pila*. Second, it was claimed that there could be no intermarriage across *Uda* and *Yata pila* even though there were members of the same castes in both sections. It is true that during many months in Terutenne I came across very few unions across the division. There was, however, no unanimous agreement on the “marriage-barrier.”

Let me now summarize the bisection of the community. If the two sides on either side of the *pin arawa* stream are listed, the following picture emerges. I will take the west to be “this side.”

west—megoda	east—egoda
a. all <i>Uda pila</i>	a. all <i>Yata pila</i>
b. <i>megoda gama</i> (village)	b. <i>egoda gama</i>
c. <i>megoda hen</i> (<i>chena</i>)	c. <i>egoda hen</i>
d. <i>megoda wela</i> (paddy fields)	d. <i>egoda wela</i>
e. <i>megoda pansala</i> (temple)	e. <i>egoda pansala</i>
f. <i>megoda</i> Maluvegoda <i>dayakaya samitiya</i>	f. <i>egoda</i> Boddhisukkaramaya <i>dayakaya samitiya</i>
. . . . (two temple benefactors societies)	
g. aristocratic high caste (<i>goyigama</i>) families	g. same
h. ordinary high caste families	h. same
i. low <i>goyigama</i> families	i. same
j. low caste washermen, and some tom-tom beaters	j. low caste tom-tom beaters, blacksmiths, and potters

Some points call for comment. Under (e) it should be noted that there are two temples in Terutenne, one of the Amarapura order (east) and one of the Siam Nikaya (west). The priests of the two orders never mix in any Buddhist rites, even though the laity is not so divided and the rites are identical. The annual ritual which concludes the *Vas* season is the *katina pinkama*, when the Buddhist priest is offered a specially prepared and stitched cloth. During the period of *Vas* in Terutenne in 1955, the two temple societies separately organized the food offerings to the priests so that each household took turns in preparing the food and offering it at the temple. Anyone could join in on this act of merit, but it is significant that no household from the west provided food for the eastern temple, and only three wealthy households from the east entered their names, among a list of eighty, for the food offerings to the western temple.

The paddy fields are also divided. The parts called *egoda-megoda wela* have separate water supplies. However, labour in these fields does go across the division. Of the 71 holdings in *megoda wela* (west), 27 are owned by people in the east; again of the 71 holdings, are cultivated on a sharecropping basis by people of the east and 56 by those of the west. In the fields below the place where the separate streams of *egoda-megoda* fields meet, 18 lots out of 39 are owned by people of the east, but only 4 cultivate it themselves, and the rest is given on sharecropping to the west.

A fuller account of land tenure in Terutenne would indicate more clearly that there is definite imbalance in wealth in the village. The west consists of poorer people, and all the large landlords and the rich school teachers are concentrated in the east. In Terutenne, at least, the ideal pattern of *Yata pila* being superior to *Uda pila* did coincide with actual figures of land ownership. The bisection of Terutenne into a "that side-this side" village, and the association of these sections with the *Yata* and *Uda pila* divisions, was also repeated in the organization of other villages in the Walapane region. Thus, the immediate neighboring village of Udamadura is similarly bisected by a stream: *Uda pila* live on one side and *Yata pila* on the other. I have a statement on record from an informant who claims that the *Yata pila* of one village always marry *Yata pila* from another, and that there may be no marriage between *Uda* and *Yata pilas*. "Why should one marry *Uda pila*? They are 'low!'" The same is true of Tibbotugoda village, and in Abangelle I was told that a great fight had developed at the last *An keliya* and allegedly some people were killed. My informant stated that those who did have wives from the "other" side sent them back.

Having described the "ideal" blueprint of the village, it should be observed that after a residence of ten months in the community I became convinced that, whatever the situation in the past, in 1955 neither the dual organization nor the alleged marriage barrier between *Uda* and *Yata pila* was of any importance in the social life of the village. It is true that the divisions were conceptualized, and that informants spoke, when asked, in *Uda pila-Yata pila* terms, but marriage was obviously a matter of negotiation in which wealth, caste, and status were the factors of prevailing importance. If it was still true that there were extremely few marriages across the *egoda-megoda* division in Terutenne, this was not because of *An keliya*, nor because of the division, but simply a reflection of the fact that, in the first place those who lived in the *Uda pila* area were—for reasons other than *An keliya*—considered to be "polluted," and secondly, they were in general poorer than the persons in the *Yata pila*

part of the community.¹⁶ Hence, even though the ritual division was perpetuated by the de facto conditions in the village, it was not the central concern of the villagers and I did not attribute much importance to this division, although a similar pattern of *Uda pila*-*Yata pila* division could be observed in other parts of central Ceylon.

So far our evidence on the relations between the bisected community and the rite is inconclusive. Let me now turn to another community which will make further precision possible. The best material on *An keliya* comes from the intriguing village of Panama on the east Coast of Ceylon. This village has a curious mixture of Hindu Tamils and Buddhist Sinhalese and has been described elsewhere.¹⁷ *An keliya* is one of the annual rituals performed by the entire village just before the Kataragama ceremonies. The fact that Panama lies on the main pilgrimage route from Batticaloa to Kataragama, and that the rite is observed not only by the inhabitants of the village but also by the pilgrims who are on their way to the jungle shrine of Kataragama should be recalled in assessing the persistence of the rite in this region.

The Panama *An keliya* is more elaborately organized than any I have come across in the literature. In 1955 there were six persons formally associated with the proceedings. First, the village was divided as usual into the two hereditary divisions: *Yata pila* and *Uda pila*. Each side, then, had three officials:

<i>Basnayaka</i>	(Lay lord of temple),
<i>Wattandiya</i>	(Priest, handles hook (<i>an</i>) and food),
<i>Kattandiya</i> (<i>Kapurala</i>)	(Priest, becomes possessed).

These positions, like the *pila* affiliation, are hereditary in the male line, but the accession to the Wattandiya and Kattandiya posts is ratified by the Basnayakas, who are the lay heads of the sides. In 1955, the Basnayakas in Panama were rich and influential members of the village.

Until about 1943, Panama did not have any permanent constructions at the *An pitiya* (the *An keliya* place). The location consisted of a large flat rock to the west of the extensive paddy fields. On either side of the rock there were two large trees which were images (*gas deka rupaya*) of Pattini and Alut Swami (new holy man)—as her consort was known in this region. In 1943 the location was “improved” and two temples (*kovil* or *devale*), one for Pattini and one for her consort, were built facing each other. The temples, like the location, are deserted most of the year, but are activated at the proper time (*Binara* month).

Before the *An keliya* is to be held, the officials go around the village shouting “Hoo! Must purify the place!” At the same time, new rice (first fruits: *alut sal*) is collected by the Wattandiya of each party. During the fifteen days preceeding the *An keliya*, villagers are not allowed to fish, must be clean, and must refrain from sexual

¹⁶ For a fuller analysis of status divisions in Terutenne, see my “The Flexibility of Caste Principles in a Kandyan Community,” in *Aspects of Caste in S. India, Ceylon and N.W. Pakistan*, ed. E. R. Leach, Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology, No. 2, 1960, pp. 78–112.

¹⁷ N. Yalman, “Sinhalese-Tamil Intermarriage on the East Coast of Ceylon,” *Sociologist*, Vol. 12, 1962, pp. 36–54.

intercourse. In the past, each Basnayaka had to construct a hut (*maduva* or *geyak*) for his deity at the *An pitiya*. Now, with the permanent constructions, he has to provide a clean mat and clean cooking pots for the food offerings to be prepared.

From the first to the sixth day, the rituals are said to be "small." In the second week, the interest mounts, and many more visitors (from the village and the region) go to see the proceedings. The climax is on the fourteenth night, when the final *An keliya* takes place. On the day of the fifteenth, the unbroken hook (always the *Yata pila* hook, i.e., the goddess Pattini) is taken in procession to the sea and bathed. The rite of "water cutting" (*die kapanava*) takes place, and the ritual is ended.

During the period leading up to the final *An keliya*, the Kapuralas (Kattandiya) remain in their respective temples. They must be very clean, cannot go to their homes, and must bathe fully after all bodily functions. The Wattandiya cooks the food offerings for the God. The food (*adukku*) is offered by the Kapurala, who falls into trances during this procedure. In particular, the *Alut deva* kapurala is much in evidence. He dances (*Alut deva natanava*); he "becomes" the god (*Alut deva venava*); he loses consciousness (*Sihi neti venava*); and he describes his visions (of the future) (*pena kiyana*). In the actual ritual, the *Yata pila Wattandiya* brings his hook to the stone in the middle, all the while reciting various verses (*kannalav*). His mouth, however, is covered with a cloth so that no saliva (polluting) will fall on the sacred object. Then the *Uda pila Wattandiya* ties up the *Yata pila* hook, and the *Yata pila Wattandiya* does the same for the hook of *Alut swami*. In the smaller *An keliya* leading up to the grand finale, the broken hooks are replaced by others, and the rite goes on. The contest apparently provokes great excitement. The victors may tie the vanquished with a rope to the central rocking post, and may dance around them uttering obscene language, but finally also singing certain charmed songs referred to significantly as "reversing the fault" (*varada horavanava*).

After the final night (fourteenth), there is a day ritual, when the winning hook is taken in procession to the sea. Three *Yata pila* and three *Uda pila* pots are filled with saffron water (*kaha pen*), and offerings of coins (*panduru*) are placed in them. The Kapurala, again with their mouths covered, then bathe the goddess with the saffron water. The goddess "plays in the water" (*die kelinava*) and is then taken back to her temple. (In other water cutting ceremonies, water is taken back to the temple on this occasion and kept for a full year in the sacred chamber).

Such is the course of the Panama rite. Let me observe immediately that if some association with a topographical and hereditary dual organization could be detected in the Terutenne region, the evidence was to the contrary in Panama. First, the village was not topographically bisected. Second, even though the people mentioned *Yata pila* and *Uda pila*, and even though in theory *pila* affiliation was hereditary in the male line, in fact these matters were hardly taken seriously. Some said that *Yata pila* was the side of grown ups and *Uda pila* the side of the children. (Observe the asymmetry between the sides). Others said that separate household lists were prepared for the rice offering to the two *devale*, and although these lists were traditional, one could change one's affiliations by making vows to the goddess. It seemed extremely unlikely, at any rate, that the *Yata pila-Uda pila* division in Panama was related to a fundamental cleavage in the community. It should be understood that no analysis of the *An keliya* rite in Panama is possible by way of an itinerary through "social groups." We must look elsewhere.

I have suggested that *An keliya* is a rite of separation. Although the goddess and her consort are made to cohabit, they are in the end forcibly split. The significance of this act is more clearly indicated, in contrast to the other main annual rituals in the Panama region where the divine personages are joined. The most intriguing and esoteric ritual in Ceylon takes place at the jungle shrine of Kataragama, near Panama. Thousands of pilgrims from Ceylon and south India, Buddhists as well as Hindus (and even Muslims and Christians) flock to this deserted locality and bring it alive for a few weeks every year. The myth is as follows:

The god Kataragama (Supramanyar), who has a wife (Teyvannai Amma) and children in south India, comes to Ceylon on a hunting trip with his brother Ganesha. Near Kataragama, the two brothers see a young girl (Valli Amma) who has been brought up by the Veddas. Kataragama falls in love with her. He and Ganesha think of a trick to win her. Ganesha puts on an elephant head, and frightens the girl; Kataragama saves her. She is grateful to him and the two start cohabiting. Teyvannai Amma, in south India, is understandably annoyed with the god and his new mistress. She sends all sorts of messengers to induce the god to return to her, but all in vain.

It should be observed that while Valli Amma's birth is also supernatural, she is not of equal birth to Kataragama. Her birth story is told as follows: a hermit who lived in the jungle masturbated one day. The semen fell on grass, which was eaten by a hind. The hind became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter, Valli Amma, who was brought up by the Veddas around Kataragama. It is worth adding here that the name *Valli* is the usual feminine suffix indicating caste status for the names of the lowest Sinhalese caste, the Rodiya.¹⁸

The ritual of Kataragama consists essentially of the great mysterious god going to his mistress twice a night for fourteen nights. The magnificent nocturnal ceremony takes place in the light of flares, sacred fires, and torches held by thousands of pilgrims thronging the route of the god. The sound of music and drumming emanates from the temple of Kataragama, and at the right time two priests emerge from the temple to the great shouts of *Saddhu* from the Buddhists and *Haro hara* from Hindus. One of the priests, wearing a full crimson cloak, walks in front, trailing behind him the crouched figure of the second priest completely shrouded under the cloak of the first priest. The symbols of the god are said to be carried under the red cloak. They mount a caparisoned elephant and in a colorful procession, tom-toms beating, dancers and singers leading the way, slowly move through the great sea of onlookers towards the temple of Valli Amma. The second temple is about half a mile down the road and faces the Kataragama temple. The procession halts in front of the Valli Amma temple; the god and priests go in and disappear behind a curtain, which carries a picture of Valli and her hind and which covers the sacred chamber where the symbols of the mistress are to be found. The visitation lasts about forty-five minutes. The priests come out, again the devoted shouts of "Haro Hara" fill the air, and the procession returns to the Kataragama temple.

When I asked people in the crowd what actually takes place in the Valli Amma temple, some said that they did not know and that it was a secret. Others, however, were more ready with explanations and with amused glances said that the God was having intercourse with his mistress. But since he was married in south India, he had

¹⁸ Most castes appear to have special suffixes to indicate status in personal names. The Rodiya use Valli/Villi for female and male respectively.

to visit Valli secretly, and this was the reason he had to hide behind the cloak of his priest. The people appeared more reluctant to say exactly what takes place inside the chamber of Valli Amma, but some thought that an arrow and some oil are taken from the Kataragama temple to Valli Amma. Valli Amma's symbol is a necklace; the arrow is put through the necklace and the oil is poured on top of the sacred objects. Meanwhile, the priest is in a trance and dances in front of the symbols, which are then taken back. This ritual is repeated, on a smaller scale but in almost exactly the same form, in the shrine of Kotabowe Vidiya in the Bibile region. I should also note that the building of two shrines, one male and one female facing each other, is a prominent part of ritual healing ceremonies (*madai*) I observed in Panama.

For our purposes, the most striking aspect of the Kataragama ritual is that it is a union between a god of high status and a woman of relatively low status, and at least in this regard does not violate the rules of hypergamy. The low status of Valli Amma is specially emphasized first by the distinction which is upheld between her and the "legitimate" wife, and second by the fact that *Valli* is a usual name for the women of the lowest caste, the Rodiya. The contrast with *An keliya* is particularly forceful. *An keliya* consists of a union between a goddess and a man of low status, and does run counter to the rules of hypergamy.

I think that the Pattini-Pālānga union is in fact a "wrong marriage" (*varada*) and that the two are forcibly split in order to "correct" the mistake (*varada horavanava*). The Kataragama-Valli Amma union is according to the rules, is indeed particularly fertile, and therefore not the split but the union is emphasized. In order to elucidate the symbolic implications of this splitting act, I propose to examine the other contexts in which this male-female splitting theme is repeated. The most frequent ritual act which takes place in Ceylon is the splitting of a coconut with a knife. Most rituals contain this act in some fashion. There is no specific explanation for the act except that it forecasts (like the *Yata pila-Uda pila contest*) whether the future will be auspicious or not. More specifically, the coconut is described as having a male and a female end. One side of the nut has three holes in it; this is the female, inauspicious end. The opposite end has an erect tuft and is male and auspicious. It is these two sides which are split. The Tamils, who have greater finesse in their interpretation of ritual, say that the coconut for Valli Amma must be split with a knife, but that dedicated to Kataragama must be smashed and broken on the ground. At the end of the Kataragama ritual, hundreds of coconuts are broken by the devotees in front of the temples in this fashion.

Other fruits are also supposed to have male-female sides, and splitting fruits apart is one of the major healing rituals in Sinhalese villages. All kinds of fruits may be split, but again one in particular is singled out for special potency: limes. There are lime-cutting specialists (*dehi vedarala*) who have a special place among ritual healers. Lime cutting (*dehi kapang*) is a complex ritual which consists of cutting hundreds of limes with scissors over the person of a patient. The specialist starts from the head, and cuts the limes over every joint down to the feet. One explanation of this act is that

it splits the person into two: the right and the left sides. The right side is pure and male; the left, impure and female. The ritual is intended to drive away sin (*dos*), mistakes (*varada*), poison (*vas*), etc.

Wirz, who describes this ritual in detail (see note 14), also provides the myths associated with it. It must be observed that they appear to center around themes of patricide, incest, and “wrong” sexual intercourse. It is important to consider some of these myths for our purpose. The basic theme of the demon (Yakka) “birth stories” is exemplified by the following accounts:

The myth begins with an “origin story.”¹⁹ The population of the earth comes from an original couple. At first there are no sun and stars, no animals and plants; there is nothing to eat but mud. Desire arises in the couple; one becomes man, the other woman. Stars begin to shine; they procreate and people the earth. (Here is the latent incest problem indicated by Lévi-Strauss and Leach—Note 19.) The second part of the myth repeats a typical “wrong” intercourse theme.

There is a King and his Queen in this population. There are many others who desire the Queen and one among them is Maraya (symbol of death). Maraya tries to commit sexual intercourse with her in the guise of her husband. The Queen wants to open the door of her bed-chamber but her maid stops her. Maraya, foiled in this attempt to get through the door, sends a “polanga” snake eighteen feet long into the room. This makes the Queen ill. In order to get rid of the illness, the “lime-cutting” ritual is prescribed. The limes must be cut over the Queen’s body.

A different version of the story repeats the structure, but changes some of the items. There is again a creation episode. This time Sakra creates a couple who populate the earth. Sakra again makes a King and Queen. Maraya wants to copulate with the Queen; he cannot do it himself, and he sends a lizard (*geta-polanga*), which gets into the Queen’s room and hides in her genitals. The lime-cutting ritual is prescribed. The “message” appears to be that at first there is no life but also no death. Then life and procreation appear, but the “wrong” intercourse (of the couple?) is followed by death (Maraya). Hence to avoid death, the male-female splitting act must be performed.

There is a long series of birth stories with precisely this structure, but which usually include the patricide theme after the “wrong” intercourse. In many of these, the Queen bears a “demon-son” who attempts to kill his father. In one of the stories, the theme of incest is brought out: There is a King and a Queen. The Queen is pregnant, and astrologers tell the King that she will bear a son and a daughter. The son will have supernatural powers, and the daughter (Giri Devi) will be irresistibly beautiful. She will be so beautiful that her brother will want to copulate with her. He must be banished. The son is sent away. Many years pass, and the girl is about to be married; her brother finds out who he is, and is furious at not being invited to the wedding. He arrives at the wedding, eats everything up, and carries off his sister. The sister commits suicide. The brother is dismayed and very angry; he goes berserk, and torments both gods and men.

¹⁹ For a penetrating and highly suggestive analysis of “origin stories” see C. Lévi-Strauss, “La Structure des Mythes” in *Anthropologie Structurale* and E. R. Leach, “Lévi-Strauss in the Garden of Eden,” *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences* (Series II, Vol. 23, No. 4, February 1961).

So far, we may be allowed to draw one simple conclusion, that the male-female splitting act as exemplified by the rituals of lime-splitting is definitely considered a palliative of "wrong intercourse." But is it really the case that Pattini and Pālānga are involved in a "sexual mistake" which must be "corrected" by a public ceremony? Let us consider some further myths to elucidate this particular point.

It may be noted in the following myth that the relations between Pattini and Polānga repeat the theme of the King and Queen and "wrong" intercourse on the part of the Queen. Pattini marries Polānga Therunaanse, a man "with neither profession nor income." Polānga takes Pattini's golden anklets (*halang*), a symbol of Pattini and the female organ (symbolism explicitly made by informants). The golden anklets are sold to a goldsmith (low caste). There is a King and Queen; the Queen also has anklets. She takes them off while bathing and loses them. They are "eaten" by a peacock (the "vehicle" of the God Kataragama). The King is angry; over the protestations of the Queen, he catches Polānga, accuses him of "stealing" the golden anklets of the Queen, and kills him. (Adultery in Sinhalese is also referred to as "stealing" or thievery.) Pattini comes back to the scene. She is angry with the King. The King tries to kill Pattini. Pattini reaps havoc, and must be appeased.

I would suggest that the idea of "wrong intercourse" (i.e., against the rules of hypergamy) is fairly explicit in the relations between Pattini and Polānga. In the above myth, for instance, there is a clear juxtaposition between the "anklets" of the Queen "eaten" by a "peacock," and the accusation that the "anklets" are "stolen" by Polānga. The first indicates a connection between the god Kataragama and the Queen (hypergamy) to which the King could have no objection, whereas the second describes the suspicion of intercourse between the Queen and Polānga (hypogamy) to which the King would have serious objections. Certain other Pattini myths appear to center around this preoccupation, for example, the following:

Intruders from Malabar (among them Devol deva) sail over to Ceylon. Pattini wants to keep them out of Ceylon, and puts up seven layers of fire. She is unsuccessful, and three men land. One is experienced in charms and ritual healing (often associated with tom-tom beaters); a second is experienced in transforming "potsherds into money" (Potter caste); and a third is experienced in transmuting sand into sugar (Jaggery makers' caste). The caste occupation comes to the surface in the second part of the story. One of the men settles and marries a local girl. He secretly continues his occupation of transforming sand into sugar. His children discover his "secret" (low caste?) and tell their mother. The mother is angry; the man kills his children.

There is little doubt that the forced landing of the intruders against Pattini's will is seen by the informants in its sexual undertones. Gunasekera writes thus:

"The priest impersonates Devol, asks to be let into the shed which is obstructed by two men holding the cloth across, which is said to represent the obstruction created by Pattini when the former wanted to land in Ceylon. In the dialogue that follows there is much humorous dialogue (sic.), at times bordering on obscenity. The priest is ultimately allowed to come in and worship at the main booth re-enacting the prostration of Devol at Pattini's shrine."²⁰

These myths of Pattini are clearly imbued with the anxiety of "wrong inter-

²⁰ Gunasekera (note 12), p. 69.

course,” but they are not unequivocally concerned with the particular myth of *An-ḱeliya*. They may strengthen our argument, but they do not clinch the case. The myths may be put to different interpretations. Another route through a different set of myths leads directly back to our issue.

It will be recalled that in the original myth of *An ḱeliya*, Pattini and her consort are in the jungle trying to pluck flowers, and that they start climbing a tree. Why is a tree inserted at this point in the myth? And why are they both climbing to reach the flowers? The answer to this seemingly innocent question takes us back again to the theme of incest. To elucidate the problem, let us first consider the myth of origin of the lowest caste in Sinhalese Ceylon, the Rodiya.

Once upon a time there was a King, Parākrama Bāhu, whose daughter, Ratna Valli (Gem Valli) became addicted to flesh.²¹ She demanded that some kind of flesh be given to her every day. One day the people who were charged with the duty of finding provisions for the palace could not find any flesh, so they substituted human flesh instead. The daughter liked this so well that she became addicted to it. One day, a barber (or at times a weaver) discovered what was going. He broke the news to the anxious people whose youths had been disappearing. Thereupon the King expelled his daughter and gave her to a Rodda, a “sweeper” who was a poor relative of the royal household in the palace. The progeny of these two formed the Rodiya caste.

We should draw attention to the following points: first, note that eating, especially in the caste context, is normally associated with sex. Hence the daughter was not only a cannibal, she was also guilty of “eating” human beings, i.e., having improper secret intercourse. She is therefore guilty of a double crime, eating polluted food (i.e., disregarding caste rules concerning commensality), and having sexual relations with persons below her station (i.e., flouting the rules of hypergamy). The punishment meted out is entirely according to the rules laid down in the Laws of Manu: she is given to a low caste. The laws of Manu explicitly state this kind of wrong intercourse to be the origin of the castes in general. I should observe that “wrong intercourse” is not always in clear focus in the Rodiya myths; some versions make it clear that there has been “an illicit love affair between princess Ratnā Valli and the Roddā, the sweeper at the palace” which led to their excommunication, but others disguise the crime behind metaphors.

What has this story of “wrong intercourse” to do with our tree? Here we should return to the songs which the Rodiya sing about the mythical ancestress, Ratna Valli (Gem-Valli). The famous Ratna Valli is always said to be atop a *telambu* tree, and all the incantations are intended to bring her down, not simply off the tree but down to the caste level of the Rodiya.

“Leaning against the tree of thick green foliage,
Oh! woman with your heavy bluish braided tresses,
Oh, Ratna Valli, like a peacock resplendent,
Descend from the *telambu* tree.”²²

²¹ I am aware that in yet other myths, Ratna Valli is described as the mother of Parākrama Bāhu I, and that Vijaya Bāhu predicted that her “body shall be the place for the birth of a son who will surpass all former and future monarchs in glorious qualities.” (Mahavamsa 59.34 sq.) But that evidently was a “correct marriage.” Wilhelm Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times* (Wiesbaden, 1960) p. 114.

²² M. D. Raghavan, *Handsome Beggars: the Story of the Ceylon Rhodiya* (Ceylon, Colombo Book Center, 1957) p. 62. Raghavan also gives some information about the *telambu* tree: “*Sterculia Foetida*. A

We may further note that the association between Ratna Valli and the Goddess Patini is explicitly made both by Raghavan and by Nevill.²³ Even leaving aside the many other intriguing problems raised by the story of Ratna Valli and the incantatory songs addressed to her, not to speak of the curious treatment of the *telambu* tree which (according to Raghavan) must be cut down before the Ruvan Vali Saya Dagoba can be built, it is clear that there is more to this goddess who likes to remain on the tops of trees.

But if this myth is not sufficient to allow us an insight into the splitting act dramatized by the *An keliya*, we have the further myth about "trees" in "*nirvana*" and "hell." This is one of the very first stories I recorded in the village of Terutenne.

Hell is "apaya:" people who are guilty of wrong behaviour descend to "apaya." Those who are involved in wrong sexual acts, people who copulate with others' wives, in fact people who copulate with anyone who is not properly their mate are condemned to climb the "Katuimbula" (thorn? sour?) tree. This tree has big thorns like crowbars. They point down when you climb up, and point up when you climb down. There are always two climbing the tree, (sic) the woman and the man: when one goes up the other comes down; they will never meet. If you sleep with your sister the same thing may happen to you. The tree in *nirvana* has a special name (?). Only good people have a chance of seeing that tree. The tree will provide one with everything; anything that is desired. But the people who go to nirvana never want bad things! That tree has no thorns on it!

There is, no doubt, much more to be said on the subject of the ritual as well as the myths we have mentioned. One feature of both the myths and the ritual appears to be quite definite: each rite and myth we have mentioned appears to repeat the basic principles of caste hypergamy and copulation in different ways, but they all lead to and amplify the same conclusion, that the health and prosperity of the community is depended upon correct caste behaviour. It is not entirely accidental that the Rodiya, illegitimate offspring of Ratna Valli, are still associated with disease through their name, which according to Raghavan is made up of the first syllable of *Roga* (disease), and the second of *dadi* (deformity).

An keliya may now be seen in its total context of Sinhalese rituals concerned with splitting males from females. Furthermore, the examination of the particular rituals, and the myths associated with them, clearly suggests that even though the rituals may be described by informants as generally beneficial, they are in fact specifically concerned with "mistakes" (*varada*) in sexual relations. In the Sinhalese context, there are two kinds of such mistakes: the basic rule is that a man may have intercourse with a woman only in the category of cross-cousin. All the other are "sisters," or "mothers," etc. Any union outside the prescribed category would be described as a "mistake" or "wrong." The other "mistakes" would concern cross-caste unions. In this case, hypergamous unions would be accepted, but hypogamous sexual intercourse would be considered a severe offense. In practice, the two rules are associated; the kinship rule is only an aspect of the caste rule. If the kinship rule were rigidly followed, caste mistakes would not take place. I would suggest therefore, that while the "birth stories" of the demons appear to center around the theme of "incest" rather than "caste," and while the Rodiya are living examples of the dreadful consequences

tree common in the dry region of Ceylon, with dull orange flowers. The great pendulous red follicles gaping open and showing the black seeds within are very striking objects. The seeds are eaten roasted."

²³ Nevill, *The Taprobanian*, Vol. II, Part III, 1887, p. 87.

of hypogamy, the rituals are in fact directed to reverse (or split) all mistaken unions.²⁴

Still, the specific “mistake” that *An keliya* deals with is hypogamy. This is exemplified by the agreed status differences between *Yata pila* (the side of the Goddess, superior but female, and hence “under”) and *Uda pila* (the side of Polanga, inferior but male, and hence “on top”). *An keliya*, therefore, counteracts unions “against the grain” (*pratiloma*), and thereby protects the purity of the castes and the community. The purity of the community enhances its luck, fertility, health, wealth, and the general well being of the inhabitants. For this reason, *An keliya* is especially appropriate as an after-harvest rite.

Kataragama deals with the opposite theme. It represents a correct, “with the grain,” (*anuloma*) union. As an approved union it is more directly concerned with fertility. And this concern is shown by the widespread belief that the rains never fail to come either immediately following upon the last ritual, or very soon thereafter.

The concern with sexual relations, the male-female dichotomy, is obvious in the rites we have described. It is hardly necessary to draw the contrast between the realm of gods and goddesses, demons and demonesses, on the one hand, and the all that lies within the purview of Buddhism on the other. In the *devale* and in connection with those beings concerned with everyday existence, the sex distinctions are markedly elaborated. In the Buddhist temple (*vihare*) and in connection with the Buddhist priesthood, precisely these divisions are negated, denied, obliterated. The priests must be a-sexual.

Buddhism is more concerned with eternity than life, with the other world than this world, with the moral being than the physical being. The denial of the world, of life, and of sex is of course more forcefully underlined in the birth stories of the Buddha, and we may recall, for instance, the occasion when as Prince Siddharta he is tired of all the beautiful women in the palace and goes out for a walk in the garden. There he sees an old man, a priest, and a corpse, and he decides to turn away from the sensual life.

It is interesting also that in nirvana there is no life, but also no death. In the world of sense, of pleasures, there is life, but there is also death. And it would appear from the myths that the distinctions of sex also belong to the region of existence rather than eternity. In a sense, the distinctions of sex, which imply life, also bring with them death. And in order to escape from this painful cycle of life and death, sex and sexual distinctions in particular have to be negated. These questions appear to be the central concerns of Buddhism in the villages.²⁵

* * * *

I began with dual organization. It appeared at first from the analysis of Terutenne as if the *An keliya* ritual could directly and immediately be related to the social divisions in the community. Yet further attention to the contexts of the rite showed that the *Yata pila-Uda pila* division itself was part of the ritual, and that to explain the ritual in terms of divisions which are created in order to play the “game” would beg

²⁴ There is undoubtedly also a theme of the “original incest sin” running through the demon birth stories. This is why they are often associated with myths of the creation of the world and the first couple. The concept of “original sin” is not particularly strong among Sinhalese Buddhists, and even though a latent preoccupation with this subject may be present in the rituals, they appear to me to be directed more specifically against sexual mistakes which have occurred in the community during the past year.

²⁵ For further elaboration, see N. Yalman, “On some Binary Categories in Sinhalese Religious Thought,” *Transactions of the N. Y. Academy of Sciences* (Series II, Vol. 24, No. 4, February 1962), pp. 408–420.

the question of why the rite was performed. At the conclusion of our itinerary through healing rituals and demon myths, we did end up at the concept of structure. But it was clear that the rite was concerned with the deeper principles of the structure (i.e., incest, hypergamy, etc.) rather than directly with specific social groups. It looks as if specific social structures generate anxieties around the preservation of certain core principles on which they are based. Caste structures raised problems concerned with the regulation of sexual intercourse within and across the castes, and in particular the preservation of the purity of high caste females. I have already indicated the potency of this concept in connection with female puberty rites in Malabar and Ceylon.²⁶ It is noteworthy that another one of the major rituals of Sinhalese villages has brought us back to the same anxiety.²⁷ My argument that the ritual is not related to the topographical divisions in Sinhalese villages but concerns the institution of caste and hypergamy is best shown by the fact that Hindu Tamils of the east coast also perform *An keliya*. In Tirukkovil and Tambilivil the population divides into east and west (*Sen seri-Wada seri*) and the rite is repeated. The concern is clearly not embedded in the particularities of Sinhalese social structure, but in those deeper principles of caste which they share with Tamils.

To conclude, although the distinction between dual organization at the "group" level and dualism at the cognitive level may be useful for certain heuristic and empirical purposes, we must agree with Lévi-Strauss that both can be treated as surface phenomena and as expressions of fundamental structural principles which indeed do lie at a greater depth and may not be consciously recognized by the informants.²⁸

²⁶ N. Yalman, "On the Purity of Women in the Castes of Ceylon and Malabar," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 93, Part 1, 1963, pp. 25-58.

²⁷ For a vivid description of this fear of low caste pollution among high caste women, see Raghavan, p. 35.

²⁸ See his discussion of conscious and unconscious models in *Anthropologie Structurale*, p. 308.