communities have been compared the designations of (the same) fifty ma-
material objects of European origin or plants respectively, especially as to
whether loan-words have been introduced or words from the native vo-
cabulary applied. The result of this comparison shows some aspects not
corresponding to findings of earlier researches. One main thing that is
suggested is that designations or newly invented descriptive terms on the
basis of the vernacular are used more often in the first stage of contact,
whereas frequent borrowing of words seems to be a sign of more advanced
stages. How many of the interpretations may be generalized and how many
are limited to the concrete, investigated situation only future research
can show.

Sinhalese-Tamil Intermarriage on the East Coast of Ceylon*

By Nur Yalman

Most anthropological work is concerned with the analysis of social
systems which are regarded as theoretically distinct from other
systems. It is well known, however, that there are communities all
over the world which are not merely bilingual but are also bicultural:
they exist on the borderlines between two cultures. Such communities
have been rarely described, much less analyzed (e.g., Beckingham
1957: 173). In this paper a bicultural community of this kind is
examined. The people concerned are the inhabitants of a village in
eastern Ceylon where Hindu Tamils and Buddhist Sinhalese have
produced a mixed community. The Sinhalese-Tamil intermarriage is
all the more surprising since we are accustomed to think of the two
peoples as quite separate and now extremely hostile communities.
Indeed, the race riots and other tragic events in Ceylon underline
the deep cleavages between the communities. But aside from Tamil-
Sinhalese unions, it is well known that the respective castes of both
communities remain extremely conservative even about inter-caste
connections. How is it that members of two communal groups, who
will not even think of marrying outside their castes, can successfully
intermarry with persons of alien linguistic and religious communities?

* "The field work on which the paper is based was carried out in the
dry zone of Ceylon between 1954 and 1956. It was supported by a Fellowship
from the Wenner Gren Foundation and an Anthony Wilkin Studentship
from the University of Cambridge. I should like to express my most sincere
thanks to these bodies as well as to the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse,
Cambridge, for electing me to a Bye Fellowship to pursue my work. I am
also grateful to the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences
(Stanford) where most of the paper was written."
On a more theoretical plane, how is it possible for two systems to be merged into one? Is this possible with all systems or only with those already fairly similar?

The argument of the paper is that the Panama system was the result of special local conditions in the "shatter zone" between two cultures and that the long isolation of the community had allowed it to develop an amalgamated social system which was halfway between the Sinhalese and Tamil patterns. And this was possible because the systems were already similar in basic essentials. No mixture took place with the neighboring muslims. At the present time, with greater mobility and lessened isolation, the community has felt its communal allegiances more strongly. It has been faced with the choice of becoming either Sinhalese or Tamil: it can no longer sit on the fence. A cleavage has therefore appeared in the community which promises to drive the wedge deeper into the village.

In the paper, I examine, firstly, the type of amalgam that was produced in the village, in terms of kinship, caste and religion. I then discuss the separation of the village into two camps and its implications.

The village of Panama, near the Indian Ocean on the East Coast of Ceylon, falls between the large Muslim and Hindu Tamil conglomerations like Pottuvil, Tirukkovil, Kalmunai, Batticaloa to the north and the small Sinhalese jungle communities to the west. The village is one of the most isolated in Ceylon, and lies in an economically backward area. For miles around it there is nothing but the scrub jungle which is sparsely populated by tiny Sinhalese communities which barely survive on shifting cultivation. To the north, along the sea shore starting with Tirukkovil are huge populations of Tamil-speaking peoples (Tambiah 1954). They are separated from the Jaffna area where again one finds a heavy population of Tamils (Tambiah; Banks 1960). This Tamil-speaking population on the east coast is divided into many sub-groups, firstly by religion — Hindus, Muslims, Roman Catholics, Protestants — and secondly, especially among the Hindus, by caste (Yalman 1956).

The communities nearest to Panama are Pottuvil, inhabited almost entirely by a population of Muslims, and to the south, Kumane, a tiny village occupied by one of the lowest Sinhalese castes, the Padu (cf. Ryan; 1953: 127 and index; cf. below p. 44). The population of Pottuvil is about 7000, that of Kumane a mere 67, and of Panama itself about 987 according to the census carried out by the village authorities. Historically, Panama is said to have been the center of a
feudal state only indirectly connected with the Kandyan kings. (It is apparently mentioned in the Chronicle of Ceylon Kings, the Mahawansa.) Certainly, until recently, the lands of the village — hundreds of acres of valuable rice land — seem all to have been owned by the family of the feudal lord, the manor of Miangoda Kottagaha Valawwa, which also had traditional jurisdiction over the famous shrine of Kataragama, and one of the foremost sacred pilgrimage centers of Ceylon.

The land of Panama is worked on the mullekaran (or munnilaik-karan) system described by J. P. Lewis (Codrington 1938: 58), and to my knowledge not utilized by the Sinhalese in other areas. The huge tracts of land are often owned by a few persons, and the villagers themselves fall into a special category of landless laborers.

The full details of the arrangements for land tenure are not essential to the discussion. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that out of the 707 acres of the ancient lands of the village 575 belong to the family of a businessman in Jaffna, Marakanda Mudalali and his children. Of the remaining 130 acres, 68 have been bought and distributed on the Land Development Ordinance by the government. The 62 acres are held by the descendants of the feudal lord, who in fact were the people who sold the lands mentioned above to Marakanda Mudalali.

Miscegenation in Panama. The myths of origin of the village are intriguing. Some say that they are descended from the incestuous union of four brothers with four sisters. Others say that some men came to the area and had intercourse with wild Veddah women who could only mutter meaningless sounds. The former is a reflection of the uniqueness and difference of Panama from other Sinhalese villages in the area. The latter is probably associated with the many individual Tamil men who come and settle with Panama (or Sinhalese) women.

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1 The system is as follows: lands of 30 acre blocks are divided into two, one half is worked by four laborers for themselves, and the other half is cultivated by them for the owner of the land. They pay ground rent for the acreage which they are working for themselves, as well as interest on the loans of seed and buffaloes from the owner. The net result is that the villager is always in debt to the landlord, so much so, indeed, that the landlord has to undertake to provide the workers with rice for food on which again interest is reckoned at 50% per annum. If anything at all remains to the worker, it is undoubtedly a minute amount and to continue to survive the next year, it is again essential to cultivate the land of the landlord and borrow rice for food from him.

2 The rest of the lands in the village have been distributed by the government again on the above ordinance: 170 acres (Wadagama) were distributed in 1902, and 405 acres (Elakatuva) distributed in 1944; but in the latter case, the lands do not have a water supply and the crop is completely at the mercy of the flood waters in the rainy season.
in these parts. There is little doubt that the Sinhalese-Tamil mixture has been in practice for a long time.

Since the villagers are bilingual and use both Sinhalese and Tamil names it is difficult to make a differentiation into Tamil or Sinhalese between those whose parents are both from Panama. The only people whose positions are quite clear are the new arrivals in the village. These fall into three categories. In the first place, there are the Tamils from the north. They are distinguished by their lack of Sinhalese, their dress and ornaments and their names. Secondly there are the Sinhalese who have settled down with Panama women. And lastly, there are those who have come from the Sinhalese Low Country. Their names are again distinguished and although it is highly probable that they had originally been of Roman Catholic persuasion, this has not led to any social separation. With all this mixture, it is certainly striking that there are no intermarriages with Muslims at all.

I made a study of the types of names utilized in the village to indicate the Tamil-Sinhalese mixture. It is interesting that the percentages with two separate indices agree almost completely.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Names</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Sinhalese</th>
<th>Low Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Houses</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
<td>67.3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Names</th>
<th>Names in Genealogical Charts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>558</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I now turn to examine how three aspects of Sinhalese and Tamil society — kinship, caste, and religion — are interrelated in Panama.

**Sinhalese Kinship**

The Sinhalese have a bilateral system the outlines of which have already been described. (Leach 1960, Tambiah 1958, Yalman 1960.) Kinship relations are reckoned on all lines. The full sibling group, brothers as well as sisters, have equal rights on the property of the parents. The property of the mother descends to all her children equally without regard to the number of marriages she may have contracted. The same is true of the father's property which descends to all children recognized by him. Virilocal and uxorilocal marriages are both practiced, though this means little in small jungle communities where all huts are within close walking distance, often with no fences around them.
Normally there are no marriage payments. But at other times, quite apart from providing the share of the daughter as a dowry with the marriage contract, large sums of money, houses, land, jewelry, are conveyed to the daughter. These unions are hypergamous and patri-local, and the groom is allowed to manage the estate — naturally under the close supervision of the father-in-law. When a Sinhalese gets ready to pay large sums of cash to his son-in-law, and grants landed estates to his daughter in the form of a dowry, the son-in-law is certain to be of higher status than the father of the girl. Indeed, jocular civil servants in Colombo will point out that each level of the Ceylon Civil Service is graded according to its dowry potential.

In the villages ready cash is not easily available, and often marriages are between equals and there are no payments. It is possible to come across polyandrous and polygynous unions. There is no developed ideology of descent, and there are no unilineal descent groups.

The Sinhalese use formally the same terminology of kinship as the Tamil-speaking peoples. Not only is the form of the terminology identical, but also some words (mama, appa, amma: father-in-law — mother's brother — father's sister's husband — father, mother) are identical.

Again in both cases there are rules prescribing actual or putative or classificatory cross-cousin marriage. All other categories are not only unmarriageable, but intercourse between them is considered to be a sin. This, however, does not mean that such unions do not occur (Yalman 1962).

**Tamils of the East Coast**

There are two essential differences between the people of the East Coast and the Sinhalese of the Kandyan areas: in terms of descent, the Tamils of the East Coast, both Muslim and Hindu, consider themselves to be matrilineal, and are formed into matrilineages which are called kudi and which are allegedly exogamous. They are divided up into smaller lineages of narrower span called vaittu var (womb tie). In arrangements of marriage, both the Hindu and Muslim Tamil communities almost always pay huge dowries; and the marriages, with rare and special exceptions, are always uxorilocal (cf. Yalman 1956). I describe this Tamil system in somewhat greater detail than the Sinhalese since this is the first published account of their customs.

All East Coast Tamils — Hindus and Muslims — have much the same names for their matrilineages. The myth is that when the Muslims first arrived on the island, they were offered either land or
women. There were seven Muslims, and very wisely they chose the women, and thereby also received matrilineage lands.

The lineages are highly varied in status. The hierarchy I received for Tirukkovil and Tambilivil Hindu Tamils is as follows:

1. Kurakkal kudi
2. Kandan kudi
3. Kattapattan kudi
4. Sariveli kudi
5. Varde (Veddah) kudi
6. Chetti kudi
7. Karayyar kudi (Fishermen)
8. Mukkuva kudi (Fishermen)

There are some disagreements about the positions of these kudi's. Kurakkal kudi consists of priests. The Kurakkal is the officiator in Shivaite temples. He carries the Shiva lingam (phallus) as an emblem of office in a chain around his neck. On the East Coast both the custodianship of temples and the lingam descend from the man to his sister's sons in the female line. The Kurakkal lineages in these particular communities are part of a wider community of Kurakkal's who exist in other localities in Ceylon and also in India. The principles of hypergamy are carefully observed. The men of Kurakkal kudi are allowed to settle down with women from any kudi. With suitable dowries they may marry into Karayyar or even Mukkuva kudi. The children are affiliated to their castes through the mother and since they inherit property and their social positions in the female line no problem arises. Considerable freedom is thus allowed to the men who often come south as far afield as Panama and settle in the village with local women.

The women are, on the contrary, protected. Hence women of Kurakkal lineages can only marry men of other equal ranking Kurakkal lineages. The women of other kudi, too, must marry equals or superiors.

In this connection it should be noted that the last three kudi on my list are normally spoken of as "castes" in Ceylon. Here the implication is that they are local lineages of wider named status groups — like Mukkuva — on the East Coast.

The system of dowry is linked to uxorilocal residence. The normal arrangement is that titles to land rest with women, and by promising a daughter a certain amount of land, and a proportion of cash dowry during the marriage negotiations, it becomes possible to acquire a "good" son-in-law. In many cases, it is felt that, at least for some lands, no title deeds should be made out in the name of the daughter, and that the land should be held in common between the brothers and sisters. This arrangement allows the brothers to pass the management of the property to their sisters' husbands — so that they could have a good ally and relative — but makes it also possible for them
to preserve their rights in the common land. In such cases, obviously, they hold great control over the family of their sister. All descriptions of family relations begin and end with the fact that the mother's brother is the "real" relative, and that the father is somewhat a "stranger".

It is felt, for example, that the homes of men are not really with their wives, but with their sisters. Accordingly, brothers can always call upon their sisters' houses for meals, or to stay, but they cannot go into the houses of their brothers, which, given this system, are said to be the houses of "strangers". The same is true of the parents: a man's mother will constantly visit his sisters, sometimes live in the same house with them, but she will not come into the house into which he was married.

There is a developed ideology and pattern of behavior which is part of this system. There are elaborate avoidances (like the avoiding of personal names, not meeting face to face, covering up the head of the mother-in-law as soon as the son-in-law comes into sight — with Muslims only —) between the mother-in-law and the son-in-law; it will be recalled that it is the mother-in-law who holds the property and conveys it to the daughter, and it is in the interest of the son-in-law to get control of it as quickly as possible to become the manager of the property.

A reflection of the process of what I choose to call the "adoption" of the son-in-law is apparent in the food customs during the first six months of marriage: during this formative period the son-in-law is literally fed by his mother-in-law; she and not her daughter cooks the food.

After the marriage, it is felt to be very unfortunate if the son-in-law gives more attention to his parents rather than to his in-laws. For this reason it is felt that the son could earn some cash before his marriage during his early youth for his natal family and thus make a contribution towards the dowry of the sisters. There is, therefore, a tendency for men to marry rather late, and for women to be given in marriage almost as soon as they reach puberty; at times the girls are mere children.

The crux of the matter is the size of the dowry received. It is well known, and accepted, that the larger the dowry, the greater the obligations of the son-in-law towards his parents-in-law. When the dowry is small, clearly there is little point in bothering too much about in-laws. This tendency is of some importance for the discussion of the pattern in Panama.
In summary, one may say that the system of marriage in these districts is similar in essentials to the Sinhalese pattern. But for the Sinhalese it is a lopsided pattern in which there are only uxorilocal marriages. In the upper ranks of society where dowries are the rule in all communities, the ideas of kinship among Muslims and Hindus of the East Coast and the Sinhalese tend to conform to the same general pattern. Marriages are then not uxorilocal; for, outside rural surroundings, the issue at stake is not the ready labor of the son-in-law, but his general assistance in government departments or in matters of cash or business; and in such cases it is less essential to force the question of residence.

Panama Kinship

The Panama kinship pattern was an amalgam of the Sinhalese and Tamil systems. Sinhalese and Tamil terms were used interchangeably. They practiced uxorilocal marriage, but the majority of the population had not much property to speak of for an entry into the dowry system. Nevertheless, they did have houses, buffaloes, and seed in the granaries, and these were duly passed on to the sons-in-law, who were obliged to come and live in the household with the parents of their wives. Thus a Tamil pattern was followed in the early years of marriage.

On the other hand, most of the people did live on the income from their labor, rather than the return on the capital they owned. Therefore, after a few years had passed, the sons-in-law would move out of the house to another site, and also relations would be kept up, they were nothing as close, and as binding, as the ones which I observed in Muslim villages and in proper Tamil districts.

Hence with this system open at both ends to Tamils and Sinhalese, it evidently had been easy for many persons (mainly men) from the Tamil districts of the north as well as others from the Sinhalese areas to come and settle in Panama, and for both groups to merge in this melting pot. It should be noted, however, that although Panama had the pattern of uxorilocal residence, it did not have the elaborate lineage organization evident in the East Coast districts.

Caste

Panama did not have its own low castes, and most of the small villages in the jungle around claimed and were accorded high caste
status, even though in Kandyan days most would have been among the lower ranks of the high caste.

Panama itself was not accorded very high status by the surrounding Sinhalese villages. They would say that Panama blood and kinship was (kavalam) “mixed up”. Mixture with the Tamils in particular could not be looked upon as permissible by the villages nearer the central Sinhalese districts. The Padu caste living in the village of Kumane nearby was accorded very low status by all, and the people of Panama, in contrast to these Padu, would have been accepted as high caste.

The names of the people in Panama, when they used Sinhalese names, were all of the high caste. The family of the ancient feudal overlord of the district, the Kottagaha manor, had intermarried with the ordinary members of the village very closely indeed, and again, normally, they would be accorded high status in ordinary Sinhalese villages.

There was no intermarriage with the low Tamil castes of the East Coast by the people of Panama, and being able to speak both languages with fluency, they were quite aware of the status of Tamil castes as well as the Sinhalese.

A new group of people had arrived in the village from Pottuvil in the last ten years, and had settled down on the edge of the village. They were extremely closely related among themselves. These people were Tamil washermen: they spoke only Tamil, and they were accorded the status that washermen would hold in any locality on the island, whether it be among the Sinhalese or the Tamils.

The castes, therefore, had remained unmixed in Panama. The only possible exception to this statement were the people from the Low Country who were members of the Fisher (Karava) caste and who, having moved, had succeeded in claiming to be ordinary Sinhalese high castes. This procedure is a fairly frequent one in the Kandyan areas where the ordinary villagers do not know, or — if there is a good reason — pretend not to know the caste organization of the Low Country (Yalman 1960: 99—100).

3 The Padu of Kumane are also bilingual in Tamil and Sinhalese. They claim to be Sinhalese but appear to intermarry with both Sinhalese and Tamil districts. Their paddy lands had belonged to the Manor and later to the Tamil businessman from Jaffna. Recently the land had been acquired by the Government of Ceylon and given to the village. In 1955 these were poor, traditionally minded villagers, but it was remarkable to find that a Low Country man from Colombo, who spoke English and wore trousers, had “married” and settled in the village. He was doing a profitable business exporting alligator skins to Colombo!
Religion

I now turn to examine some aspects of the local cults of Panama. It is well known that popular Buddhism among the Sinhalese does contain many elements of Hinduism. The pantheon of Gods and Goddesses around the Buddha is much the same as the pantheon of Hindu Tamils. Thus, Vishnu, Kali, Pulliar and Supramanyar of the Hindus are represented among the Buddhist Sinhalese as Vishnu, Pattini, Ganesha and Kataragama (Cartman 1957, ch. V). The interpretations of the personalities of local deities can be very fluid. The local deity may simply be called Alut Deva (New Deity) or may be associated with one or another of the well known deities like Ganesha. The same deity may also be propitiated as Pulliar by Tamils who may come into the locality.

While the Sinhalese Buddhists do propitiate the deities of the Hindu pantheon, a clear institutional distinction is preserved. The Buddhist temples are known as Vihara, and are looked after by orders of Buddhist monks, resplendent in their saffron robes. The temples dedicated to the “Hindu” deities — whom the Sinhalese simply call devaya — are known as devale and are looked after by functionaries known as Kapurala. Some established and famous devale’s may have permanent Kapurala’s, but normally the Kapurala is an ordinary villager whose esoteric specialty happens to be the propitiation of the Gods. Unlike the Buddhist priesthood (Sangha), the Kapurala’s only wear special attire during rituals. They are not supposed to shave their hair, and are allowed to raise families.

The local devale cult of Panama is specially suited to a mixed population of Tamils and Sinhalese. It consists of the well known “game of the deities” (devayage sellama) referred to as An Keliya (Hook Play). There are excellent accounts of this “game” provided by Le Mesurier (1884: 369), Raghavan (1951) and Meerworth-Levina (1916). The myth is that the Goddess Pattini went out into the jungle with her husband Palanga to pick flowers off the temple trees. The flowers were high up in the trees and though the couple climbed the branches — with Pattini always on the lower branch and Palanga on the higher — they could not reach the beautiful flowers. Eventually they found some long sticks with hooks at the end and tried again. This time they got their hooks entangled. They came down and pulled hard, but could not separate them. They then repaired to Madura, a famous city in South India, and asked the entire population to join them in pulling the hooks apart. In the end Palanga’s hook broke. Pattini was delighted. She ordered the town henceforth to propitiate her in this fashion.
An Keliya was one of the annual rituals of the Kandyan Sinhalese village where I worked in a purely Buddhist area (Yalman 1960: 83). In Panama the names of deities were different. The female was called Valli Amma — who is better known as the mistress of the god Kataragama (see below) — and the male deity was simply Alut Deva (New Deity). There were small devale's dedicated to these deities in some corner of the fields.

In the ritual at the Panama devale's two hooks of huge dimensions are elaborately locked together to the singing of hymns as well as obscene songs. The village divides into two sections known as Uda Pila and Yata Pila (Upper Side and Lower Side respectively) allegedly on a hereditary basis, but in fact somewhat informally. One of the hooks is tied to a large tree. The other one is tied to an immense tree trunk which swings back and forth in a trench specially dug for the purpose. The two groups both pull on the same side on two long ropes tied to the moving trunk. By repeatedly pulling on these ropes, the two hooks, which have been locked into each other, are strained. One of them eventually breaks to the great joy of the opposing teams. The process is repeated with larger hooks until the end of the ceremony which lasts for two weeks. In the end the winning hook is taken in a great procession (perahera) to the sea, where a special water-cutting ceremony takes place (die kapavana).

The ritual is admittedly associated with fertility. It takes place at the end of the dry season and is intended to enhance the fertility of the fields, the animals and human beings. The significance of the ritual in the context of Panama is that the "game" is equally meaningful to both the Tamils and the Sinhalese. It is performed in many Sinhalese areas as well as in the Tamil districts of the East Coast, as for instance, at the annual festivals of Tirukkovil. The game has both a Tamil and a Sinhalese terminology:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sinhalese</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the teams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uda Pila</td>
<td>Wada Seri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yata Pila</td>
<td>Sen Seri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the officials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basnayaka Nilama</td>
<td>Wannaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapurala</td>
<td>Kattandiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betmerala</td>
<td>Wattandiya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ritual of Panama is timed to coincide with the annual festival of the famous jungle shrine of Kataragama. The celebrations at the end of August in Kataragama bring pilgrims to the area from as far afield as South India. Here Hindu Tamils and Buddhist Sinhalese join in the worship of the great enigmatic deity. Panama is on the main pilgrimage road from Jaffna, Trincomalee, Batticaloa to the shrine of
Kataragama. The pilgrims who throng the roads attend the Panama festival as well. By making money offerings (panduru) they also have their future foretold by the Kapurala's of Panama who are in a state of possession throughout much of the ritual.

Attention may be drawn to the fact that in the Eastern Provinces some of the rituals appear to symbolize Tamil Sinhalese unions on a religious plane. I do not know quite how to interpret this aspect of the annual festivals of this area, but the ritual of Kataragama consists of the famous South Indian god visiting his love Valli Amma who is said to be a Sinhalese-Veddah girl. The myth tells of the arrival of Kataragama in Ceylon on a hunting trip from South India. He has a wife and family in Madura, but while in Ceylon falls in love with the Sinhalese Veddah girl he meets in the jungle. He does not return to South India and his wife sends messengers, Ganesha the elephant-headed, and Vishnu, and even the prophet Muhammed to induce Kataragama to return home. (It is explained that there are temples to all these deities at this pilgrimage center because these “deities” are still trying to influence Kataragama to go home. In particular, the Hindu Tamils explain the existence of a mosque at the shrine in this fashion.)

The annual ritual consists of the enacting of the Kataragama myth. For fifteen nights every year, and twice a night, Kataragama is symbolically taken to visit Valli Amma at her temple — which is opposite his — by his priest. Although the exquisite nocturnal procession is watched by thousands in the light of flares, the visit is considered secret. Kataragama must not be seen by anyone. His symbol — an arrow — is taken from his devale and is carried by a priest under the crimson cloak of the head Kapurala. The two men — one under the cloak of the other — mount a great elephant and ride in splendor to the devale of Valli Amma. Thus Kataragama visits Valli Amma secretly and incognito. His arrow is put beside her necklace and both are ritually anointed with oil from the Kataragama devale. (For further descriptions of Kataragama, see Wirz 1954: 145 ff.)

It is difficult to say to what extent this ritual is associated with the pattern of Tamil-Sinhalese relations in the Eastern Province. It may also be noted that the Valawwa (Manor) which claims to have had jurisdiction over Panama, and which owned all the land of the village until recently, also claims to have had jurisdiction over the shrine of Kataragama. The ritual pattern of a male deity visiting a female

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4 Kottagaha Miangoda Valawwa is said to have provided the lay officials (Basnayaka Nilame) of the Kataragama shrine. The contributions made to the temples by the pilgrims are quite large, and it is understandable why members of this Valawwa might wish to press their claims. But the shrine has been taken over by the Ceylon Government and a member of the
deity in procession at the annual festivals is also known from other areas (e.g., Kotabowe Vidiya near Bibile), but is by no means always associated with unions between the Tamils and the Sinhalese.

The Separation of Communities

It is clear so far that there was a complete merging of the Sinhalese and Tamil social systems in Panama. A halfway point was reached in kinship terms, in terms of caste the two systems were articulated without difficulty, and even in worship an excellent solution had been found. We must now turn to examine how and why the Sinhalese and Tamils are moving apart from each other.

In terms of kinship two separate groups have emerged and are moving in opposite directions. Consider this family, for instance, who think they are Sinhalese, and pretend to descend from the feudal overlords: all their names are Sinhalese — though they pay dowry — and they have not intermarried with the Tamil areas for some time now, although they have relations in Lahugala and Siyambalanduwa, both inhabited only by Sinhalese (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 — Sinhalese Group [Numerals refer to persons in Figs. 3 & 5]

And consider these other people who think they are Tamils, certainly attempt to dress the same way as the Tamils, and do wear the sacred ash which the Hindus wear and the Buddhists do not (Fig. 3).

This second case is more interesting. The desire to become Tamilized is not simply an influence of Tamil culture and epic poetry but is associated with economic factors. It was pointed out that the family of a Jaffna businessman, a Tamil, owned most of the ancient lands of the village. This landlord keeps a permanent agent in Panama, who is himself a Tamil. The Tamil agent, in turn, chooses a number of famous Kandyan Radala (aristocratic) families has been appointed as Basnayaka Nilame to look after the financial affairs of Kataragama.
sub-agents (Mullekaran) according to the traditional system of agriculture, all of whom are Tamils themselves.

Fig. 4 — Names of Workers on Marakanda Mudalali’s Lands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-agents Mullekaran</th>
<th>Tamil Agricultural Workers</th>
<th>Sinhalese</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Low Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sinayya ................</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunjitambi ............</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periyatambi ............</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirivedi ...............</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K V M ....................</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(all Tamil Names)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 14 5 1

Fig. 5 — Kinship Connections between Tamil and Sinhalese Groups

The mullekaran in turn choose a number of workers from Panama with whom they actually cooperate in cultivating the fields. One

4 Sociologus 12,1
cannot help noting that Tamil names predominate among those chosen to work on the lands of the Jaffna businessman. The impression is sharpened when one compares the preponderance of Tamil names in this respect with the overall percentage of Tamil names in Panama (31%) (Fig. 1).

It must not be imagined that the two groups of Sinhalese and Tamils are unrelated, but nowadays this relationship has been set aside as far as marriages are concerned (Fig. 5).

Schools
Together with this kind of change, there are now two schools started by a baffled government, in Panama. There is a Tamil school with a Tamil teacher and there is a Sinhalese school with a Sinhalese teacher of a low caste (Salagama) from the Low Country.

The Tamil school in 1955 was almost empty except for the children of the people mentioned above. The rest of the villagers seem to have chosen the Sinhalese school; after all, it is the Sinhalese who are in power today in Ceylon. These schools are slowly driving the wedge further into the community; already, the school children of the Sinhalese school are unable to speak as fluent Tamil as their parents and will no doubt become more definitely Sinhalese as time goes on. Of course the separate scripts of each language will intensify the division.

Temples
The traditional devale ritual of Panama has been described above. There are certain new developments in the village indicative of the separation of the two elements in the population. A new Buddhist temple appears to have been built in Panama in 1927. This is an elaborate vihare and has the traditional dagoba and pansala (residence) for the Bhikkhu’s. Some of the Panama villagers are attending the vihare regularly whereas the Tamil elements are not.

When I was in the village in 1955 a terrific dispute broke loose over the question of a new Hindu temple for those who now were identified with the Tamils. This was going to be a Pulliar Kovil and the Kurakkal who was married into Panama was intended to become its incumbent. The reason for excitement was that the site chosen for the

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5 This was not an entirely new Hindu temple in the region, but the first in Panama. There is another Kovil ten miles south of Panama in a deserted place called Okande. The Kurakkal who is intended to be the incumbent of the new temple is the priest of Okande. He had inherited this from his maternal uncle; the incumbency of Hindu temples in the East Coast descends in the maternal line. It is significant that the Kurakkal of Okande is not allowed to approach the rites of AnKelilya, though the
Sinhalese-Tamil Intermarriage on the East Coast of Ceylon

kovil was opposite the Buddhist temple. The Sinhalese group led by the Buddhist priest vehemently opposed the project. There was also a more surreptitious aspect of the chosen site. There was a Bo tree — sacred to Buddhists — very near the place where the foundations of the temple would have fallen, and it would have been necessary to pull down the sacred tree in order to build the temple to Pulliar. Eventually the Tamil supporters gave way and agreed to build their temple elsewhere.

Those who had decided to support the project were mainly the sub-agents of the Tamil landlord, their relatives and a few others. The full list was as follows: (Only heads of households are mentioned.)

- Periyatambi: The sub-agents of the Tamil landlord
- Sinayya: The sub-agents of the Tamil landlord
- Kunjitambi: The sub-agents of the Tamil landlord
- Tambiraja: Other close relatives
- Wannisinham: Other close relatives
- Punchirala Wattevidani: Also agent of landlord
- Sinayya: Tamil school teacher
- Murikesi: New immigrant Tamil mason
- 4 households: Entire community of Tamil washermen

The new developments in the ritual life of the community are part of the social separation of the two groups. The emergence of the Buddhist vihara and the Hindu kovil indicate that the division is now crystallized in the temples and religious functionaries who are no longer common to Sinhalese and Tamils (as the Kapurala's of the devale) but are indicative of their differences.

I have described in this essay the separation of the population of an old village into two camps. On the Tamil side the incentive to become Tamil seems closely associated with the magnetism provided by the great Tamil landlord. Certainly all those who took the lead in the setting up of the kovil were closely associated with this person.

The matter does not seem so simple on the Sinhalese side. The question appears related to an ideological development which in Ceylon has popularly been called the resurgence of Buddhism. This is a well known factor in the towns, but in rural areas the clearest index of this development is the dying out of local devale rituals. In all the villagers do ask for his help in agricultural rites to safeguard the crop. Okande is also on the main pilgrimage road to Kataragama and this is one of the reasons for keeping up a temple and its incumbent in the middle of a hostile jungle.

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*6 Sinhalese name — an agricultural officer.
villages where I worked they had become greatly diluted if not given up, and in their place the more purely Buddhist rites and ceremonies, the vihara and Buddhist priests were playing an increasingly important part. In my village in the Maho area, the devale cult had not been performed for ten years and the people attended a new Buddhist vihare in the vicinity. In the Monaragala area devale ceremonies had not taken place for fifteen years, yet there were two very new Buddhist temples. Of course, this does not mean that the local cults have been given up everywhere. In my village in the Bibile area — quite close to Monaragala — I did attend a very elaborate annual rite on the Kataragama pattern. The An keliya was performed in Panama in 1955. I also feel sure that in villages where the cults had been given up, the rituals would again be revived in case contagious disease or some other danger threatened the community.

Even with these reservations, the trend does seem clear. I have historical evidence for my village in Walapane (Yalman 1960). Le Mesurier, a remarkably devoted Government Agent — whose name is perpetuated in a Kandyan village called Lamasuriyagama — discusses my Walapane village extensively (1898: 266 ff.). There is also clear evidence of land tenure in the Grain Tithe Registers for Walapane from 1857 until grain tithes were given up almost at the turn of the century which I investigated7.

In 1857 there was one vihara in the village and it owned only one pale (about half an acre) of paddy land. It is clear that right through the latter half of the nineteenth century more paddy land is dedicated to this temple. In 1955 there were two vihara's in this village. The older one of the Siam Nikaya order held 15.5 pale (i.e., about eight acres) of paddy land. A new Buddhist temple of the Amarapura Nikaya order has been started in the thirties and this temple owned thirteen pale (about seven acres) in 1955.

The development of high Buddhism in Dry Zone villages seems related firstly to the fact that these villages which appear to have been more isolated — both physically and economically — now have closer ties with the outside world. Secondly, as the language issue has shown, Sinhalese nationalism has now become a formidable ideology in Ceylon. It is noteworthy that Sinhalese nationalism has focused on two indices which differentiate the Sinhalese from the Tamils. One is language, and hence the banners Sinhala Pamanay (Sinhalese only) in the riots. The other is Buddhism, and hence the very active role played by the Buddhist priesthood in the Tamil-Sinhalese disputes.

7 These Registers are at the Nuwara Eliya Kacheri. They were made available to me through the kindness of Mr. B. F. Perera. C.C.S., then Permanent Secretary to the Home Office.
We may conclude that the shocks of political bombshells in the towns do reverberate through the isolated villages as well. The villagers of Panama cannot sit on the fence between two cultures, but must make up their minds on which side they will join. Most appear to be moving in the Sinhalese direction, but the Tamil landlord provides a focus for the others. Had there been no great Tamil landlord on Panama, the history of the village would have been quite different.

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Synopsis

Singhalesisch-tamilische Heiratsbeziehungen an der Ostküste von Ceylon

Der ceylonesische Ort Panama ist ein Beispiel für eine nicht nur bilin-
guistische, sondern auch bikulturelle Gemeinde. Hier leben seit längerer

8 This description in Panama relates to the state of affairs in 1955. After the race riots (Vittachi 1958) and after the recent (1960) breakdown of governmental functions in the Northern and Eastern provinces, we may expect the process of separation to be speeded up.
Matrilateral Marriage among the Mapuche (Araucanians) of Central Chile

By Louis C. Faron

Although many books have been written about the Mapuche since they became settled on reservations after their pacification in 1884, their system of marriage has never been adequately described. It is the purpose of this paper to record and discuss some of the features of this system and to establish it as one of preferential matrilateral marriage (1). The discussion has implications for the interpretation of similar systems in other patrilineal societies, but no attempt is made to spell these out systematically. Rather, matrilateral marriage is considered solely with respect to the network of ties it establishes between Mapuche groups and individuals whose status and role sets are defined by membership in reservation descent groups or localized patrilineages (2). One such group stands in a special relationship to one or more homologous groups in the structure of matrilateral marriage.

1 I gratefully acknowledge receipt of a research grant from the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation which made it possible for me to travel to Chile and reside for a year with the Mapuche.

I am indebted to Professor E.H. Winter, Mr. Sol Miller, and Dr. Rodney Needham for critical appraisals of earlier drafts of this manuscript. Although I have benefitted from their comments, I assume full responsibility for the paper as it stands.

An ethnographic note of importance is that in 1953 there were an estimated 200,000 Mapuche occupying an area in central Chile of the approximate extension of the state of Delaware, where they lived on more than 2,200 small reservations composed of one or more localized patrilineages.

2 Marriage is part of the structural relationship between lineages which