

MAN

Man is the "seed" of the universe: that is to say, he was prefigured in the seed *Digitaria*, the vibrations and extensions of which produced the world.

This notion is expressed in the interpretation of the first seven segmentary vibrations which occurred in the first envelope. The first and the sixth produced the legs, the second and fifth the arms, the third and fourth the head, the seventh the sex organs of man (see Fig. 2). The first movements of creation were thus the first prefiguration of the being around whom everything was to be organized. But the link between man and the first creative act does not end here. The original seed first produced the image of man; conversely, man in his own person presents the image of the seed; the seven segment-vibrations also represent seven seeds, to which should be added the original *Digitaria* itself. These eight seeds are to be found in man's clavicles and symbolize his substance as well as his sustenance. We shall see that this notion of a vegetal series, in its various modifications, plays a dominant part in human society.

Man is the image not only of creation's first beginning but also of the existing universe. The egg of the world is represented by a diagram in which it is shown filled with germinating cells, one of which extrudes downwards, while a second lies horizontally across the first at its point of exit; these two constitute the setting of the world and establish the four cardinal points. A third cell, pressing on the first, takes its place and forces it to curve on itself, forming an open egg-shape symmetrical in position with the first (Fig. 3).⁶ The *Dogon* thus produce a diagram which they call "the life of the world" and which is interpreted not only as the microcosmic man but also as the heavenly placenta (the upper egg-form) and the earthly placenta (the lower egg-form) which are separated by the space represented by the cross. In this diagram there may also be seen a reference to the principle of twin-ness: the two egg-shapes and the two segments form two pairs of twins recalling the four primordial beings each possessing two souls. From

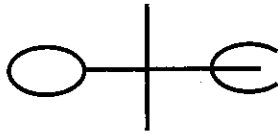


FIGURE 3 "The Life of the World." The Heavenly and Earthly Placentas.

this it follows that the supreme expression of the individual's identity with creation, the perfect creation, is a pair of twins.

Like these primordial beings, man possesses two souls of opposite sexes, one of which inhabits his body while the other dwells in the sky or in water and links it to him. The vital force (*nyama*), which flows in his veins with his blood, is associated with the eight seeds which are distributed equally between his two clavicles. These seeds, united in pairs, are the basis of various notions concerning human personality and the changes it undergoes and they also recall the original groups of four pairs of twins (cf. p. 63). The series so constituted, the terms of which may vary from one social group to another, does not occur in the same order for every individual in the same group. Thus, within the same family the order applicable to a man will be inverted in the case of a woman; some seeds are excluded for certain social ranks or functions; they are held to be the chief factors of social differentiation. Since the condition of a person mirrors the condition of the universe, everything which affects the one has repercussions on the other; that is to say, in some way all a man's actions and all his circumstances must be conceived as closely connected with the functioning of things in general.

The seeds symbolize the food of mankind; they are the pivot on which turns the life of the cultiva-

tor, which depends as much on the seasonal renewal of vegetation as on the daily intake of food. They recall also the renewal of human life itself, which vanishes momentarily from its possessor only to be reborn in his descendants. Finally, the regular and appointed series attributed to the seeds is the sign of the universal order established on earth since the descent of *Nommo*.

Disorder among the seeds, which for an individual results especially from the breaking of the rules of life, prefigures the universal disorder which spreads by stages from the individual to his close kinsmen, his family, his clan, his people. But the disorder may be arrested and removed at any stage by appropriate rituals. Exact and complicated, they make it possible both for the individual to be restored and the general order to be preserved. Thus the individual, through his family and the society in which he lives, is linked in his structure and in his evolution with the universe; and this connection operates in both directions.

A human being in his development manifests the development of *Nommo*, symbol of the ordered world. Thus the new-born infant at birth is the head of *Nommo*; when later he becomes a herdsboy, he is the chest, at betrothal the feet, at marriage the arms, and when fully adult he is the complete *Nommo*; as an elder and still more as a supreme chief he is both *Nommo* and the totality of the world and mankind.

ENDNOTES

1. See M. Griaule and G. Dieterlen, *Signes graphiques soudanais*, Paris, 1951.
2. For the knowledge possessed by the peoples of the French Sudan see G. Dieterlen, *Essai sur la religion bambara*, Paris, 1951.
3. The circular outward and/or upward motion is represented by a helical or spiral form in Dogon signs (Ed.).
4. In ordinary conversation the Dogon constantly use the term *me* for both the placenta and the amnion. We use "placenta" here because their symbolic representations are mainly associated with that organ.
5. Totemism among the Dogon is closely linked with this descent system.
6. See also "Signes graphiques Dogon" in *Signes graphiques soudanais*.

READING 2-3
POLLUTION

Mary Douglas

Mary Douglas's main point here is that the concepts of pollution, taboo, and dirt apply to things that do not fit neatly into the classificatory pigeonholes, or categories, created by society. Drawing on psychology and the work of Lévi-Strauss, Douglas claims that social categories are artificial because society imposes them on the continuum of sensory perception. They are therefore vulnerable to reality and must be hedged about by taboos to protect them. The concept of pollution serves to mark off areas where categories diverge too much from reality. Taboo is an important concept in this reading, and here Douglas—following Edmund Leach, another exponent of the structuralist school of anthropology—demonstrates its application to the classification of categories.

One of the great puzzles in comparative studies of religion has been the reconciliation of the concept of pollution, or defilement, with that of holiness. In the last half of the nineteenth century, Robertson Smith asserted that the religion of primitive peoples developed out of the relation between a community and its gods, who were seen as just and benevolent. Dependent on a sociological approach to religion, Robertson Smith continued always to draw a line between religious behavior, concerned with ethics and gods, and nonreligious, magical behavior. He used the term taboo to describe nonreligious rules of conduct, especially those concerned with pollution, in order to distinguish them from the rules of holiness protecting sanctuaries, priests, and everything pertaining to gods. The latter behavior he held to be intelligible and praiseworthy and the former to be

Source: "Pollution" by Mary Douglas, Reprinted, with slight deletions, by permission of Macmillan Library Reference USA, a Simon & Schuster Macmillan Company, from International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, David L. Sills, editor, Vol. 12, pp. 336-341. Copyright © 1968 by Crowell Collier and Macmillan, Inc.

primitive, savage, and irrational—"magical superstition based on mere terror."

He clearly felt that magic and superstition were not worth a scholar's attention. But Sir James Frazer, who dedicated *The Golden Bough* to Robertson Smith, tried to classify and understand the nature of magical thinking. He formulated the two principles of sympathetic magic: action by contagion and action by likeness. Frazer followed Robertson Smith in assuming that magic was more primitive than religion, and he worked out an evolutionary scheme in which primitive man's earliest thinking was oriented to mechanical ideas of contagion. Magic gradually gave way to another cosmology. The idea of a universe dominated by supernatural beings similar to man but greatly superior to him. Magic thus came to be accepted as a word for ritual which is not enacted within a cult of divine beings. But obviously there is an overlap between nonreligious ideas of contagion and rules of holiness. Robertson Smith accounted for this by making the distinction between holiness and uncleanness a criterion of the advanced religions:

The person under taboo is not regarded as holy, for he is separated from approach to the sanctuary as well as from contact with men, but his act or condition is somehow associated with supernatural dangers, arising, according to the common savage explanation, from the presence of formidable spirits which are shunned like an infectious disease. In most savage societies no sharp line seems to be drawn between the two kinds of taboo . . . And even in more advanced nations the notions of holiness and uncleanness often touch . . . [to] distinguish between the holy and the unclean, marks a real advance above savagery. ([1889] 1927, p. 153)

Frazer echoes the notion that confusion between uncleanness and holiness marks primitive thinking. In a long passage in which he considers the Syrian attitude to pigs, he concludes: "Some said this was because the pigs were unclean; others said it was because the pigs were sacred. This . . . points to a hazy state of religious thought in which the ideas of sanctity and uncleanness are not yet sharply distinguished, both being blent in a sort of vaporous solu-

tion to which we give the name of taboo" ([1890] 1955, vol. 2, part 5, p. 23).

The work of several modern-day students of comparative religion derives not directly from Frazer but from the earlier work of Durkheim, whose debt to Robertson Smith is obvious in many ways. On the one hand, Durkheim was content to ignore aspects of defilement which are not part of a religious cult. He developed the notion that magical injunctions are the consequence of primitive man's attempt to explain the nature of the universe. Durkheim suggested that experimentation with magical injunctions, having thus arisen, has given way to medical science. But on the other hand, Durkheim tried to show that the contagiousness of the sacred is an inherent, necessary, and peculiar part of its character.

His idea of the sacred as the expression of society's awareness of itself draws heavily on Robertson Smith's thesis that man's relation to the gods, his religious behavior, is an aspect of prescribed social behavior. It followed, for Durkheim, that religious ideas are different from other ideas. They are not referable to any ultimate material reality, since religious shrines and emblems are only themselves representations of abstract ideas. Religious experience is an experience of a coercive moral force. Consequently, religious ideas are volatile and fluid; they float in the mind, unattached, and are always likely to shift, or to merge into other contexts at the risk of losing their essential character: there is always the danger that the sacred will invade the profane and the profane invade the sacred. The sacred must be continually protected from the profane by interdictions. Thus, relations with the sacred are always expressed through rituals of separation and demarcation and are reinforced with beliefs in the danger of crossing forbidden boundaries.

If contemporary thinkers were not already well prepared to accept the idea that "religious" restrictions were utterly different from primitive superstitions about contagion, this circular distinction between two kinds of contagion could hardly have gone unchallenged. How can it be argued that contagiousness is the peculiar characteristic of ideas about

the dangerous effect of breach of the rules, and symbolic actions based on likeness to real causes are used as instruments for creating positive effects.

THE CULTURAL DEFINITION

If we are not to follow Robertson Smith in treating the rules of uncleanness as irrational and beyond analysis, we need to clear away some of the barriers which divide up this whole field of inquiry. While the initial problem is posed by the difference between "our" kind of thinking and "theirs," it is a mistake to treat "us" the moderns and "them" the ancients as utterly different. We can only approach primitive mentality through introspection and understanding of our own mentality. The distinction between religious behavior and secular behavior also tends to be misleadingly rigid. To solve the puzzle of sacred contagion we can start with more familiar ideas about secular contagion and defilement. In English-speaking cultures, the key word is the ancient, primitive, and still current "dirt." Lord Chesterfield defined dirt as matter out of place. This implies only two conditions, a set of ordered relations and a contravention of that order. Thus the idea of dirt implies a structure of ideas. For us dirt is a kind of compendium category for all events which blur, smudge, contradict, or otherwise confuse accepted classifications. The underlying feeling is that a system of values which is habitually expressed in a given arrangement of things has been violated.

This definition of defilement avoids some historical peculiarities of Western civilization. For example, it says nothing about the relation between dirt and hygiene. We know that the discovery of pathogenic organisms is recent, but the idea of dirt antedates the idea of pathogenicity. It is therefore more likely to have universal application. If we treat all pollution behavior as the reaction to any event likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications, we can bring two new approaches to bear on the problem: the work of psychologists on perception and of anthropologists on the structural analysis of culture.

the sacred when another kind of contagiousness has been bracketed away by definition as irrelevant?

This criticism of Durkheim's treatment of sacred on primitive mentality (1922). Lévy-Bruhl documented a special kind of outlook on the universe, regardless of restrictions of space and time is widely attributed to symbolical representations of persons and animals. He himself explained the belief in such remote contagion by the dominance of the idea of the supernatural in the primitive view of the world. And since he would expect "supernatural" to be equated with Durkheim's "sacred," he seems to have seen no conflict between his and the master's views.

We cannot accept Durkheim's argument that there are two kinds of contagion, one the origin of primitive hygiene and the other intrinsic to ideas about the sacred, because it is circular. If we approach the problem of contagion in Lévy-Bruhl's terms, then the scope of the answer is broadened: there is not simply a residual area of magical behavior that remains to be explained after primitive religious behavior has been understood but rather a whole mentality, a view of how the universe is constituted. This view of the universe differs essentially from that of civilized man in that sympathetic magic provides the key to its control. Lévy-Bruhl is open to criticism: his statement of the problem is oversimple. He bluntly contrasts primitive mentality with scientific thought, not fully appreciating what a rare and specialized activity scientific thinking is and in what well-defined and isolated conditions it takes place. His use of the word "pre-logical" in his first formulation of primitive thinking was unfortunate, and he later discarded it. But although his work seems to be discredited at present, the general problem still stands. There is a whole class of cultures, call them what you will, in which great attention is paid to symbolic demarcation and separation of the sacred and the profane and in which dangerous consequences are expected to follow from neglect of the rituals of separation. In these cultures lustrations, fumigations, and purifications of various kinds are applied to avert

Perception is a process in which the perceiver actively interprets and, in the course of his interpreting, adapts and even supplements his sensory experiences. Hebb has shown that in the process of perception, the perceiver imposes patterns of organization on the masses of sensory stimuli in the environment (1949, 1958). The imposed pattern organizes sequences into units—fills in missing events which would be necessary to justify the recognition of familiar units. The perceiver learns to adjust his response to allow for modification of stimuli according to changes in lighting, angle of regard, distance, and so forth. In this way the learner develops a scheme or structure of assumptions in the light of which new experiences are interpreted. Learning takes place when new experience lends itself to assimilation in the existing structure of assumption or when the scheme of past assumptions is modified in order to accommodate what is unfamiliar. In the normal process of interpretation, the existing scheme of assumptions tends to be protected from challenge, for the learner recognizes and absorbs change, for the learner recognizes and absorbs cues which harmonize with past experience and usually ignores cues which are discordant. Thus, those assumptions which have worked well before are reinforced. Because the selection and treatment of new experiences validates the principles which have been learned, the structure of established assumptions can be applied quickly and automatically to current problems of interpretation. In animals this stabilizing, selective tendency serves the biological function of survival. In men the same tendency appears to govern learning. If every new experience laid all past interpretations open to doubt, no scheme of established assumptions could be developed and no learning could take place.

This approach may be extended to the learning of cultural phenomena. Language, for example, learned and spoken by individuals, is a social phenomenon produced by continuous interaction between individuals. The regular discriminations which constitute linguistic structure are the spontaneous outcome of continual control, exercised on an individual attempting to communicate with others. Expressions which are ambiguous or which deviate

from the norm are less effective in communication, and speakers experience a direct feedback encouraging conformity. Language has more loosely and more strictly patterned domains in which ambiguity has either more or less serious repercussions on effective communication. Thus there are certain domains in which ambiguity can be better tolerated than in others (Osgood & Sebeok 1954, p. 129).

Similar pressures affect the discrimination of cultural themes. During the process of enculturation the individual is engaged in ordering newly received experiences and bringing them into conformity with those already absorbed. He is also interacting with other members of his community and striving to reduce dissonance between his structure of assumptions and theirs (Festinger 1957). Frenkel-Brunswik's research among schoolchildren who had been variously exposed to racial prejudices illustrates the effects of ambiguity on learning at this level. The children listened to stories which they were afterwards asked to recall. In the stories the good and bad roles were not consistently allocated to white and Negro characters. When there was dissonance between their established pattern of assumptions about racial values and the actual stories they heard, an ambiguous effect was received. They were unable to recall the stories accurately. There are implications here for the extent to which a culture (in the sense of a consistent structure of themes, postulates, and evaluations) can tolerate ambiguity. It is now common to approach cultural behavior as if it were susceptible to structural analysis on lines similar to those used in linguistics (Lévi-Strauss 1958; Leach 1961). For a culture to have any recognizable character, a process of discrimination and evaluation must have taken place very similar to the process of language development—with an important difference. For language the conditions requiring clear verbal communication provide the main control on the pattern which emerges, but for the wider culture in which any language is set, communication with others is not the only or principal function. The culture affords a hierarchy of goals and values which the community can apply as a general guide to action in a wide variety of contexts. Cultural interaction, like linguistic interaction,

involves the individual in communication with others. But it also helps the individual to reflect upon and order his own experience.

The general processes by which language structure changes and resists change have their analogues at the higher level of cultural structure. The response to ambiguity is generally to encourage clearer discrimination of differences. As in language, there are different degrees of tolerance of ambiguity. Linguistic intolerance is expressed by avoidance of ambiguous utterances and by pressure to use well-discriminated forms where differences are important to interpretation and appropriate responses. Cultural intolerance of ambiguity is expressed by avoidance, by discrimination, and by pressure to conform.

THE FUNCTIONS OF POLLUTION BELIEFS

To return to pollution behavior, we have already seen that the idea of dirt implies system. Dirt avoidance is a process of tidying up, ensuring that the order in external physical events conforms to the structure of ideas. Pollution rules can thus be seen as an extension of the perceptual process: insofar as they impose order on experience, they support clarification of forms and thus reduce dissonance.

Much attention has been paid to the sanctions by which pollution rules are enforced (see Steiner 1956, p. 22). Sometimes the breach is punished by political decree, sometimes by attack on the transgressor, and sometimes by grave or trivial sanctions; the sanction used reflects several aspects of the matter. We can assume that the community, insofar as it shares a common culture, is collectively interested in pressing for conformity to its norms. In some areas of organization the community is capable of punishing deviants directly, but in others this is not practicable. This may happen, for example, if political organization is not sufficiently developed or if it is developed in such a way as to make certain offenses inaccessible to police action. Homicide is a type of offense which is variously treated according to the relationship between killer and victim. If the

offender is himself a member of the victim's group and if this is the group which is normally entrusted with protection of its members' interests, it may be held contradictory and impossible for the group to inflict punishment. Then the sanction is likely to be couched in terms of a misfortune that falls upon the offender without human intervention. This kind of homicide is treated as a pollution.

We would expect to find that the pollution beliefs of a culture are related to its moral values, since these form part of the structure of ideas for which pollution behavior is a protective device. But we would not expect to find any close correspondence between the gravity with which offenses are judged and the danger of pollution connected with them. Some moral failings are likely to be met with prompt and unpleasant social consequences. These self-punishing offenses are less likely to be sanctioned by pollution beliefs than by other moral rules. Pollution beliefs not only reinforce the cultural and social structure, but they can actively reduce ambiguity in the moral sphere. For example, if two moral standards are applied to adultery, so that it is condemned in women and tolerated in men, there will inevitably be some ambiguity in the moral judgment since adultery involves a man and a woman. A pollution belief can reduce the ambiguity. If the man is treated as dangerously contagious, his adulterous condition, while not in itself condemned, endangers the outraged husband or the children; moral support can be mustered against him. Alternatively, if attention is focused on the pollution aspect of the case, a rite of purification can mitigate the force of the moral condemnation.

This approach to pollution allows further applications of Durkheimian analysis. If we follow him in assuming that symbolism and ritual, whether strictly religious or not, express society's awareness of its own configuration and necessities, and if we assume that pollution rules indicate the areas of greater systematization of ideas, then we have an additional instrument of sociological analysis. Durkheim held that the dangerous powers imputed to the gods are, in actual fact, powers vested in the social structure for defending itself, as a structure,

against the deviant behavior of its members. His approach is strengthened by including all pollution rules and not merely those which form part of the religious cult. Indeed, deriving pollution behavior from processes similar to perception comes close to Durkheim's intention of understanding society by developing a social theory of knowledge.

Pollution rules in essence prohibit physical contact. They tend to be applied to products or functions of human physiology; thus they regulate contact with blood, excreta, vomit, hair clippings, nail clippings, cooked food, and so on. But the anthropologist notes that the incidence of beliefs in physiological pollution varies from place to place. In some communities menstrual pollution is gravely feared and in others not at all; in some, pollution by contact with the dead is feared, in others pollution of food or blood. Since our common human condition does not give rise to a common pattern of pollution observances, the differences become interesting as an index of different cultural patterning. It seems that physiological pollutions become important as symbolic expressions of other undesirable contacts which would have repercussions on the structure of social or cosmological ideas. In some societies the social definition of the sexes is more important than in others. In some societies social units are more rigorously defined than in others. Then we find that physical contact between sexes or between social units is restricted even at second or third remove. Not only may social intercourse be restricted, but sitting on the same chair, sharing the same latrine, or using the same cooking utensils, spoons, or combs may be prohibited and negatively sanctioned by pollution beliefs. By such avoidances social definitions are clarified and maintained. Color bars and caste barriers are enforced by these means. As to the ordered relation of social units and the total structure of social life, this must depend on the clear definition of roles and allegiances. We would therefore expect to find pollution concepts guarding threatened disturbances of the social order. On this, nearly everything has been said by van Gennep. His metaphor of society as a kind of house divided into rooms and corridors, the compartments carefully

isolated and the passages between them protected by ceremonial, shows insight into the social aspects of pollution. So also does his insistence on the relative character of the sacred:

Sacredness as an attribute is not absolute; it is brought into play by the nature of particular situations. . . . Thus the "magic circles" pivot, shifting as a person moves from one place in society to another. The categories and concepts which embody them operate in such a way that whoever passes through the various positions of a lifetime one day sees the sacred where before he has seen the profane, or vice versa. Such changes of condition do not occur without disturbing the life of society and the individual, and it is the function of rites of passage to reduce their harmful effects. (Gennep [1909] 1960, pp. 12-13)

Van Gennep saw that rites of transition treat all marginal or ill-defined social states as dangerous. His treatment of margins is fully compatible with the sociological approach to pollution. But van Gennep's ideas must be vastly expanded. Not only marginal social states, but all margins, the edges of all boundaries which are used in ordering the social experience, are treated as dangerous and polluting. Rites of passage are not purificatory but are prophylactic. They do not redefine and restore a lost former status or purify from the effect of contamination, but they define entrance to a new status. In this way the permanence and value of the classifications embracing all sections of society are emphasized.

When we come to consider cosmological pollution, we are again faced with the problem unresolved by Lévy-Bruhl. Cosmological pollution is to the Westerner the most elusive, yet the most interesting case. Our own culture has largely given up the attempt to unify, to interpenetrate, and to cross-interpret the various fields of knowledge it encompasses. Or rather, the task has been taken over by natural science. A major part of pollution behavior therefore lies outside the realm of our own expertise: this is the violent reaction of condemnation provoked by anything which seems to defy the apparently implicit categories of the universe. Our culture trains us to believe that anomalies are only due to a temporarily inadequate formulation of gen-

eral natural laws. We have to approach this kind of pollution behavior at second hand.

The obvious source of information on the place of cosmic abnormality in the mind of the primitive is again Lévy-Bruhl. Earthquakes, typhoons, eclipses, and monstrous births defy the order of the universe. If something is thought to be frightening because it is abnormal or anomalous, this implies a conception of normality or at least of categories into which the monstrous portent does not fit. The more surprising that anomaly is taken to be, the clearer the evidence that the categories which it contradicts are deeply valued.

At this point we can take up again the question of how the culture of civilization differs from that which Lévy-Bruhl called primitive. Recalling that dirt implies system and that pollution beliefs indicate the areas of greatest systematization, we can assume that the answer must be along the same lines. The different elements in the primitive world view are closely integrated; the categories of social structure embrace the universe in a single, symbolic whole. In any primitive culture the urge to unify experience to create order and wholeness has been effectively at work. In "scientific culture" the apparent movement is the other way. We are led by our scientists to specialization and compartmentalism of spheres of knowledge. We suffer the continual breakup of established ideas. Lévy-Bruhl, looking to define the distinction between the scientific and the primitive outlook, would have been well served if he had followed Kant's famous passage on his own Copernican revolution. Here Kant describes each great advance in thought as a stage in the process of freeing "mind" from the shackles of its own subjective tendencies. In scientific work the thinker tries to be aware of the provisional and artificial character of the categories of thought which he uses. He is ready to reform or reject his concepts in the interests of making a more accurate statement.

Any culture which allows its guiding concepts to be continually under review is immune from cosmological pollutions. To the extent that we have no established world view, our ways of thinking are different from those of people living in primitive cul-

tures. For the latter, by long and spontaneous evolution, have adapted their patterns of assumption from one context to another until the whole of experience is embraced. But such a comprehensive structure of ideas is precarious to the extent that it is an arbitrary selection from the range of possible structures in the same environment. Other ways of dividing up and evaluating reality are conceivable. Hence, pollution beliefs protect the most vulnerable domains, where ambiguity would most weaken the fragile structure.

EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF POLLUTION BEHAVIOR

Pollution beliefs are often discussed in terms of the emotions which they are thought to express. But there is no justification for assuming that terror, or even mild anxiety, inspires them any more than it inspires the housewife's daily tidying up. For pollution beliefs are cultural phenomena. They are institutions that can keep their forms only by bringing pressure to bear on deviant individuals. There is no reason to suppose that the individual in a primitive culture experiences fear, still less unreasoning terror, if his actions threaten to modify the form of the culture he shares. His position is exactly comparable to a speaker whose own linguistic deviations cause him to produce responses which vary with his success in communicating. The dangers and punishments attached to pollution act simply as means of enforcing conformity.

As to the question of the rational or irrational character of rules of uncleanness, Robertson Smith is shown to have been partly right. Pollution beliefs certainly derive from rational activity, from the process of classifying and ordering experience. They are, however, not produced by strictly rational or even conscious processes but rather as a spontaneous by-product of these processes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: A Comparative Study of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge.
 Durkheim, Emile. (1912) 1954. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. London: Allen & Unwin, New York; Macmillan.

First published as *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse, le système totémique en Australie*. A paperback edition was published in 1961 by Collier.

Eliade, Mircea. (1957) 1959. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. New York: Harcourt. First published in German. A paperback edition was published in 1961 by Harper.

Festinger, Leon. 1957. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Evanston, Ill.: Row.

Frazer, James. (1890) 1955. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. 3rd ed., Rev. & Em. 13 vols. New York: St. Martin's; London: Macmillan. An abridged edition was published in 1922 and reprinted in 1955.

Frenkel-Brunswick, Else. 1949. *Intolerance of Ambiguity as an Emotional and Perceptual Personality Variable*. *Journal of Personality* 18:108-143.

Gennep, Arnold van. (1909) 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. London: Routledge; Univ. of Chicago Press. First published in French. Hebb, Donald O. 1949. *The Organization of Behavior: A Neuropsychological Theory*. New York: Wiley.

———. 1958. *A Textbook of Psychology*. Philadelphia: Saunders.

Leach, Edmund R. 1961. *Rethinking Anthropology*. London: School of Economics and Political Science Monographs on Social Anthropology, no. 22. London: Athlone.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. (1958) 1963. *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books. First published in French.

Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien. (1910) 1926. *How Natives Think*. London: Allen & Unwin. First published as *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés primitives*.

———. (1922) 1923. *Primitive Mentality*. Macmillan. First published in French.

Osgood, Charles E., and Sebeok, Thomas A. (editors). (1954) 1965. *Psycholinguistics: A Survey of Theory and Research Problems*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.

Smith, William Robertson. (1889) 1927. *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*. 3d ed. New York: Macmillan.

Steiner, Franz. 1956. *Taboo*. New York: Philosophical Library.

RELIGION IN THE NEWS

A LEGENDARY HERO GUIDES A REBORN KYRGYZSTAN

ASK YOURSELF

Critics of the structural approach maintain the binary oppositions, reversals, and mediators that structural anthropologists claim to have discovered do not really exist in the stories themselves, but are superimposed on them by the author. Think about Reading 3.2 again, and ask yourself if you are convinced that Edmund Leach is really onto something or whether the author

was suffering from an unduly overheated imagination when he sought to discover "messages" in these distal myths. And what of the three "messages"? Are you convinced Leach has demonstrated that they exist? If you are—or even if you are not—has Leach made you think about Genesis with any greater insight than before you read him?

FURTHER READINGS

Endicott, Kirk. *Batek Negrito Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979. The cosmos of a nomadic hunting and gathering people living in the rain forest of the Malay Peninsula is examined in relation to the indigenous attitudes toward the natural environment, conceptions of humanity, divinities, and ritual practices. This is a brilliant analysis of the cosmological notions of a technologically simple society.

Kirk, G. S. *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures*. London: Cambridge University Press, and Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970. The author, a classical scholar, evaluates the merits of the different approaches to myth by examining their power to help us make sense of the narratives of ancient times and—more restrictively—those of nonliterate societies. This is an admirable introduction to myth—authoritative yet engagingly readable.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. "The Structural Study of Myth" in *Structural Anthropology*, Volume 1. 1963. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. Some myths seem to hide attempts to resolve certain philosophical puzzles. In analyzing the story of Oedipus in this article, Lévi-Strauss argues that the myth attempts to resolve a dilemma brought about by two apparently contradictory beliefs held in classic Greek society. On the one hand, he says, the Greeks believed that human beings were born from the earth. On the other, they denied this belief. The myth, he tries to show, enabled them to evade the puzzle in a manner that (presumably) satisfied their sense of logic.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The raw & cooked: introduction to a science of mythology*. Vol. 1. Trans. John and Doreen Weightman. New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, 1969. In this book, the most famous of all students of mythology begins by analyzing a single myth from a Brazilian tribe. He gradually adds more and more as he extends his geographical range. By the end of the book he has analyzed 183 myths. And there are another three volumes before he gets to North American myths! Very tough going, but an indispensable work for anyone seriously interested in myth.

Needham, Rodney. *Symbolic Classification*. Santa Monica, Calif. 1979. A brief overview of this topic. Among the matters discussed are the various forms symbolic classification may take, opposition, and transformations.

Radin, Paul. *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology*. New York: Schocken. 1972 (1956). The

trickster is a world-wide motif, occurring in the folklore of many societies. In this book we see how he reveals his distinctive attributes among the Winnebago, Assiniboine, and Tinglit peoples, of North America.

SUGGESTED VIDEOS

"Popol Vuh: The Creation Myth of the Maya." This video uses imagery from ancient Maya ceramics to create a captivating depiction of the Popol Vuh, the Maya creation narrative, which is the foundation myth for many Native American beliefs. After the Maya are introduced, the narrative unfolds. It starts with the creation of the world and ends with the victory of the hero twins over the evil lords of the underworld. A teacher's guide is available. 60 minutes; 1992; \$295 (sale), \$70 (rental). Catalog #38183.

"World Cultures on Film and Video." University of California Extension, Center for Media and Independent Learning, 2000 Center Street, Fourth Floor, Berkeley, CA 94704.

"Tracking the Pale Fox: Studies on the Dogon." This film describes the history of research into Dogon culture. It begins with the original fieldwork of Marcel Griaule in 1931, which it locates within the framework of the French Anthropology of the time, and includes interviews with Dogon Elders and researcher Germaine Dieterlen. 48 minutes; RA/VHS 212; \$72; Film Officer, RAI, 50 Fitzroy Street, London W1P 5HS, United Kingdom.

"Watuma." This animation video has five tales from the creation myths of the Yekuana Indians, who live in the rain forests of Venezuela. They describe the origin of evil, sex, night, fire, and food. The animation consists of handpainted watercolors using designs that are drawn in part from ancient Yekuana art. 24 minutes; 1990; \$195 (sale), \$50 (rental). Catalog #37907.

"World Cultures on Film and Video." University of California Extension, Center for Media and Independent Learning, 2000 Center Street, Fourth Floor, Berkeley, Ca 94704.

"My Country Djarrakpi." For the Australian Aborigines, paintings and ritual form part of a unitary complex that includes social organization since every painting or design is owned by a particular clan and celebrates occurrences in the clan's "Ancestral Past." This film portrays a member of the Yolngu tribe talking about his land at Djarrakpi, a site of great sacredness for his clan. We see an exhibition of his paintings at the

Australian National University in Canberra, where he interprets his bark painting of Djarrakpi and then we are taken to the sand dunes of Djarrakpi itself where he describes the meaning of some of the physical features of the local landscape. £15. By Ian Dunlop. Pro-

ducer: Film Australia. 1981. Length: 16 minutes. VC.RA98. Film Officer, Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI), 50 Fitzroy Street, London W1P 5HS, United Kingdom.