The Study of Myth As a Political Document

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Symbolic phenomena are highly complex phenomena which can be studied from different angles, depending on the nature of the other variables that are included in the analysis. In social anthropology we are interested in symbols mainly in so far as they affect and are affected by power relations. In other words we study the symbolic as it is structured, or systematized, not by a special logic inherent in it, but by the dynamics of interaction between man and society. At every stage in the study, reference has to be made to both variables.[1]

But for a few welcome exceptions, the anthropological study of myth has experienced a rather unspectacular history. For some time, the pace was set by Malinowski,[2] who treated myth as little more than a reflection of social reality. Any meaningful study of myth, it was felt, must afford causal primacy to the world of social relations. This approach to the analysis of myth went largely unchallenged for three decades, and not until Levi-Strauss shifted the analytical focus from 'on the ground' social relations to the logic inherent in myth itself did myth receive its due consideration as a structurally autonomous phenomenon. Viewed by Levi-Strauss, and others of structuralist persuasion, myth constitutes a repository of logical categorization which can afford clues not only to a single culture, but to the working of all culture. Recent fieldwork, however, indicates a growing awareness among thought structuralists that extra-symbolic factors, e.g. environment, socioeconomic organization, etc. deserve consideration.[3] Therefore, the above quotation of Cohen summarizes rather succinctly the challenge currently facing the anthropologi-

1. Abner Cohen, "Political Anthropology: The Analysis of the Symbolism of Power Relations", *Man*, Vol. 4, 1969, p. 226.

2. B. Malinowski, *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, London, Routeledge, 1926.

3. See, for example, Claude Levi-Strauss, "The Story of Asdiwal", in *The Structural Study of Myth*, Edmund Leach (ed.), London, Tavistock, 1967.

cal study of myth, namely, that if myth is to emerge from the accessory status assigned it by Malinowski, while at the same time avoiding elevation to the sociologically sterile domain of pure symbolism for symbolism's sake, a compromise must be reached. Such an accommodation, if Cohen's advice is to be heeded, will be one which examines the dialectical nature of the sociological relationship existing between the symbol and the act.

What follows is a structural consideration of a Dayak myth, a consideration which, owing to the volume of the myth itself, is admittedly brief and selective. The purpose of this exercise is to illustrate the manner in which myth constitutes a potentially valuable resource for the study of political organization, specifically foreign affairs, particularly when the study must rely in large part upon ethnohistorical reconstruction. Rather than constituting a finished product then, this brief essay admits to being merely suggestive, rather than conclusive, of the manner in which the realm of the symbolic may be utilized in the analysis of 'on the ground' socio-political relationships.

The ethnographic material to be dealt with has to do with the Land Dayaks of North Borneo. The 'on the ground' ethnographic data has been culled from various sources. The myth, which constitutes the ideological side of the equation, was recorded by Geddes in 1950.[4] Prior to discussing the myth, it is necessary to review the general characteristics of Land Dayak society.

Land Dayaks, or 'inland' Dayaks as they might be more accurately labeled, are a Southeast Asian horticultural society situated in northwest Borneo. Their primary subsistence mode is dry (i.e. unirrigated) rice farming. The labor requirement involves carving small plots (1–2 acres per household) from the jungle, burning the growth, cultivating the land for one to three years and subsequently allowing it to lie fallow for approximately ten years. The abundance of virgin land coupled with a relatively low population density allows a fairly high degree of settlement permanency, a fact made obvious by a well-constructed and rather elaborate type of housing. The primary economic unit is the household, and it is this unit to which land rights and harvest yields belong. There is, however, a predilection toward group labor, with careful accounting by household heads in order to arrive at a balance of work obligations between households. Involvement of the Land Dayaks with market economy has been minimal, and consists mainly of intermittent exchange with

4. W. R. Geddes, *Nine Dayak Nights*, London, Oxford University Press, 1961.

Chinese and Malay traders.

The household group consists of both parents, children, and occasionally an attached older relative, such as an uncle or grandparent. Newly marrieds may take residence in the natal village of either spouse or opt for neolocal residence, pragmatic considerations rather than ideological ones being critical in this regard. Inheritance rights take equal consideration of both sexes and are egalitarian in regard to all siblings. Incest restrictions extend to ego's second cousin.

The political relations with which I am concerned fall within that subcategory referred to as foreign affairs, involving exchange alliances, symbolic contests, warfare and diplomacy. The field of foreign affairs is related in large part to one's physical location vis-à-vis his neighbors. Between the Land Dayaks and the sea are those groups of more recent arrival in North Borneo—Sea Dayaks, Melanau, Ibans and others. While most of these groups share a great number of similarities, relations between them were hostile until pax Britannica was established toward the latter half of the nineteenth century. By this time the later arrivals had pushed the Land Dayaks inland to their present location.

Although social intercourse is now common between these groups, the past is not entirely forgotten. On the coast are the Malays and Chinese, both of whom are considered by Dayaks to be the agents of change, disruption and exploitation. This was as true two centuries ago as it is today. Proceeding from the coast inland, then, there are situated Malays and Chinese, both of whom are feared, the various above-mentioned tribal groups, still mistrusted, and finally the Land Dayaks. This spatial continuum corresponds with a topographical shift from coastal plains to rugged highlands, and figures prominently in the analysis that follows.

"The Story of Kichapi"

The story of the Land Dayak hero called Kichapi was told to Geddes[5] in nine parts, delivered in nine successive evenings. The storyteller was one named Raseh, the leading spirit medium of Mentu Tapuh. Worthy of note is the fact that the telling was done in the presence of other villagers as well as that of the anthropologist. The story was therefore punctuated by many questions and in those cases, reported to have been few, in which there was disagreement on particular details, time was taken out in order that a consensus be reached. In this way the story became

5. *Ibid.*

an expression of the entire village, rather than an idiosyncratic accounting by a single individual.[6]

In brief, the story relates the adventures of Silanting Kuning (later to take the name Kichapi), the hero, as he matches wits with seven-headed giants, dragons, supernatural beings who have the capacity to be either monsters or people, and of course other mortals. The hero is a personification of that which is good, and is constantly pitting himself against those forces which would destroy him. The strategies he employs are his own, but the forces he utilizes are supernatural and derived from encounters with supernatural beings, most of whom are neither good nor evil in themselves but are essentially amoral, oscillating in their loyalties between good and evil.

The story, best described as a saga, consists of related adventures. I have found it useful to break the story down into separate segments, and refer to each as a drama. For instance, the hero's encounter with the Gura bird, and the Dragon chief, etc., all these are dramas which, while connected to form the whole of the story, are analytically separable. Five dramas were 'lifted' from the tale and their features examined. The technique consisted of recording the events of each drama, statement by statement, and thus discerning those features common to all five. This, of course, is the technique recommended by Levi-Strauss.[7] The elements of each drama are referred to by him as "gross constituent units", or "mythemes".[8] In order to grasp the significance of the "gross constituent units" of each drama, they must be placed in the broader context of the complete story. In this way, their similarity to other such relations will become apparent, and the true meaning of the myth be understood.

> The true constituent units of a myth are not the isolated relations but *bundles of such relations*, and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning. Relations pertaining to the same bundle may appear diachronically at remote intervals, but when we have succeeded in grouping them together we have reorganized our myth according to a time referent of a new nature, corresponding to the prerequisite of the initial hypothesis, namely a two-dimensional time referent which is simul-

6. The author's failure to record these minor discrepancies and variations constitutes a serious ethnographic oversight, since such variations are often subtle indicators of shifting political alignments. Regarding the political significance of variations in myth, see especially Edmund Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, London, Bell, 1954, pp. 264–267.

7. Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, New York, Anchor Books, 1967.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 207.

taneously diachronic and synchronic. . . .[9]

The following breakdown reveals the features of five dramas contained in the tale (see chart below). The elements of each drama (horizontal reading) might be referred to as gross constituent units; the vertical columns consist of features common to each drama, and thus are the "true constituent units" of the tale. A brief description of each drama follows:

In the first episode the hero was born. A short time after his birth he shot and wounded the mythical Gura bird. After searching in vain for the fallen bird, he gathered those items which constituted his medicine and went into the deep jungle in pursuance of the bird. Upon finding it, he ate the bird raw.

The second drama finds the hero walking through the deep jungle accompanied by the original potent belongings, in addition to the flesh of the Gura bird which he had consumed. When he met a seven-headed giant in a dream, he talked the giant out of eating him by boasting of the power of his medicine. The giant, convinced that the young man should live, gave him more medicine.

The third drama opens with the hero again walking through the jungle; he is now in possession of his original medicine, the consumed flesh of the bird, and that medicine just given him by the giant. When he encounters a seven-headed giant and the giant's wife he is challenged to pull down a large rattan vine. Should he fail, he is told he will be swallowed. When he is successful, the giants take him back to their house. Once there, they agree he should not be allowed to leave, and they try to swallow him. Each time the giants try to swallow the hero, he slips right through their bodies. Seeing they will be unsuccessful, the giants befriend him, and the three of them go on a hunt. They return from the hunt with the game they have killed and eat the game raw.

The forth drama begins with the hero fishing with two elders. By this time he possesses not only the medicine accumulated in the above three encounters, but that given him by Grandmother Kilimayuh as well. Once the fishing party arrived at a deep pool Kichapi dove into the pool, in spite of the elders who warned him of the danger. He dove to the bottom of the pool where he entered another world. The leader of this world was the Dragon-chief, and the rule was that any mortal who entered this realm could never return to earth, but must be killed. After

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 207–208 (emphasis in original).

DRAMA

1.	birth of hero	hero returns to collect knife, spear shield, and brass cooking pot	enters jungle in search of wounded super-natural bird	finds the dead bird	eats the bird raw
2.	hero goes through jungle	hero possesses knife, spear, shield, pot and consumed flesh of bird	meets seven-headed giant	convinces the giant that he must not eat him	giant gives hero powerful medicine
3.	hero continues through jungle	hero possesses original medicine as well as that received from two encounters with giants	meets a seven-headed giant and giant's wife	succeeds in pulling down vine and defies being swallowed	giants adopt hero; they go hunting and eat the game raw
4.	hero goes fishing with elders	hero possesses all of above medicine in addition to that received from Killimayuh	meets Dragon-chief	avoids Dragon-chief's attempt to kill him	a temporary armistice between the two is effected; hero is permitted to sleep with granddaughter
5.	all parties partake of a meal; animosities are put aside	hero possesses all of above medicine plus that given him by the Dragon-chief	faces Minyawai in battle	killed Minyawai and his five brothers	heads of dead were taken

numerous attempts by the Dragon-chief to kill him, the two contestants, Kichapi and the Dragon-chief, reached an armistice. The Dragon-chief gave Kichapi his most powerful medicine and allowed him to sleep with his granddaughter.

The last drama analyzed opens with the hero sharing a meal with individuals who have come to kill him. After the meal he faces the leader of the opposition in a battle. As usual, the medicine of Kichapi is stronger than that of his opponent, and he takes the life of the latter. After the victory, the heads of the enemies were taken.

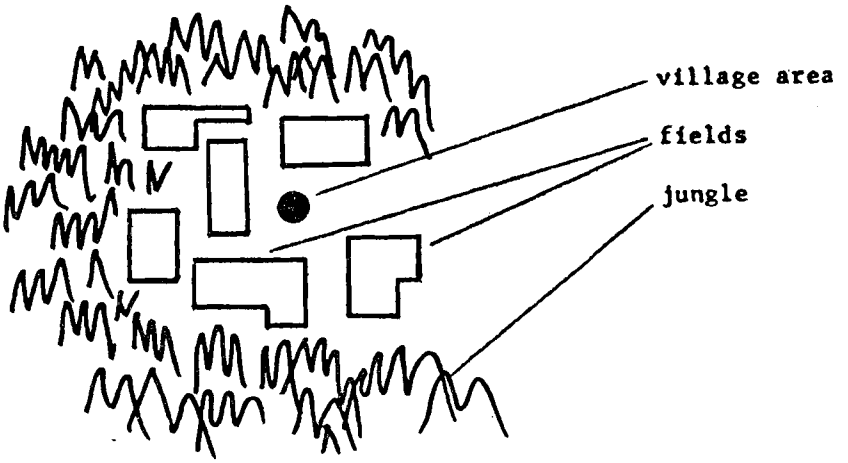
From each of the dramas it is possible to abstract five general features (see vertical groupings). The first is representative of a rather stable condition. Birth, treks through the jungle, fishing and feasting are all rather routine occurrences. The second feature has to do with the hero conducting an inventory of those charms, chants and other paraphernalia which constitute his 'medicine', an inventory which increases proportionately with his successes. Having done so, the hero then confronts the unknown in all five cases. Whether the unknown consists of pursuit of a supernatural bird into the deep jungle, confrontation with various monster types, or another mortal possessing an unknown quantity of medicine, all the encounters involve a struggle in which the outcome is unpredictable. The outcome of the confrontation sees the hero emerging as victor in all five dramas, a result of possessing attributes, rational or magical, in excess of those of his opponent. Finally, the fifth commonality has to do with a transaction which formally 'seals' the breach which previously existed, and results in relative stability once again.

These commonalities will be returned to below. The next task is to examine the foreign relations of Land Dayaks with their neighbors. Before doing this, however, it is interesting to note the relationship between the Dayaks' perception of their environment and their spatial classification of supernatural beings.

Dayak "demons" are of varying kinds and likewise pose various types and degrees of threats to the villagers. Since the Supreme Being originally designed for the demon population and the human population to be separate from each other, the former are seldom encountered within the confines of the immediate village area. Once outside the village, however, one is likely to come in contact with demons, and the farther one travels from the village the more dangerous they become.

The Dayak conceive of their environment as consisting of three parts, the village, the "countryside" and the jungle. The countryside refers to that area which has been burned clear of jungle and which supports the

crops—"It is not very frightening. But it is lonely".[10] Beyond this is the jungle, uncharted and something to be feared.



The most dangerous demons are those of the deep jungle and, as mentioned, the village is the safest area since the Supreme Creator intended that the demons should avoid human settlement areas. Just as the demons shun the village proper, so do the Dayaks avoid the deep jungle. It is the intervening area, the "countryside", where the struggle between man and demons takes place, a struggle analogous to that between civilization which would see the area cleared for cultivation and the jungle which would have it grow over again. That is, the same area which is contested for by man and nature becomes also the arena for the struggle between man and the supernatural.

Fortunately for man, the demons "are not inevitably beyond human power. Man can escape them, beat them, cheat them—if he is fast enough, strong enough, or clever enough".[11] Partly as a result of this fact, the struggle finds its ritual expression in large festivals to which the demons are invited and entertained. The feasting and merry-making constitute a transaction designed to guarantee a temporary truce between the two groups.

> The festivals and the group of people living together—since a crowd frightens the big demons—cast a kind of *cordon sanitaire* around the village. The demons most to be dreaded are those who dwell beyond this cordon and

10. Geddes, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

who have not attended the parties. They are to be met with in the distant countryside and particularly in the deep jungle.[12]

This triadic breakdown (the village which is human, the jungle which is non-human and home of the supernatural, and the "country-side" in between which represents the area of interaction between the two) is expressed in the drama in which Kichapi meets the Dragon-chief (#4 above; p. 100 in Geddes *op cit.*). When he dove to the bottom of the pool, he found himself in front of the house of the Dragon-chief, ruler of the underground world. The house was raised on pilings, and on the steps leading up to the doorway where the Dragon-chief stood were placed upturned knife blades. Before attempting to negotiate the steps, the Dragon-chief threw a spear at Kichapi, and Kichapi threw it back. This situation, with Kichapi and the Dragon-chief overtly antagonistic, and with the area in between accessible but dangerously so, is analogous to the village, the jungle, and the "country-side" respectively.

A similar triadic relationship, but on a larger scale, is obvious in the context of political relations.

The Land Dayaks and Foreign Affairs (1820–1840)

Historical data pertaining to northwest Borneo during the nineteenth century are limited. While such material as does exist does not deal with the Land Dayaks exclusively, it is possible to reconstruct fairly accurately their relations with other groups of the area.

Northwest Borneo has been experiencing in-migration from South Borneo, Java, and other areas of what is now Indonesia for well over three centuries. As a result, various ethnic and tribal groups have come into contact during this period, including Melanaus, Ibans (also referred to as Sea Dayaks) and Land Dayaks. Sandin points out that prior to 1820 intergroup relations in the area were limited to those contacts made during migration (primarily of Iban) up the river valleys in the course of settling new land.[13] Such contact, though it often resulted in absorption or displacement of the original residents, seldom resulted in marked hostilities. After the first two decades of the nineteenth century, however, this pattern changed. "The emphasis switches from pioneer agriculture inland to a pattern of raiding and retaliatory inter-Iban warfare carried

12. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
13. Benedict Sandin, *The Sea Dayaks of Borneo*, London, Macmillan, 1967.

on along the coastline", a switch probably due to the "growing Iban population, and increasing contact with coastal societies".[14]

What follows are three cases of small-scale hostility representative of the situation in North Borneo during this period.

> Entingi felt sure that Tindin would lead his invading troops from the upper Enteban across the Padeh and down the Geraji stream toward the Layar river. So the Bukitan chief led his own warriors from Paku toward Enteban, in order to attack Tindin while he was on the march. But at the Tinting Kayu Ukir, one of the ridges of Mount Ensanga, the opposing forces unexpectedly met (3), and here they fought hard. Neither side showed any will to surrender. After some warriors had been killed and wounded, Entingi called Tindin by the Bukitan word *Isan*, which is an Iban term of address used between parents of children who are married. "Why do you address me as Isan", asked Tindin, "have you any son?". "Yes, I have a son named Demong", said Entingi, adding, "Now let us sit down and try to resolve our misunderstanding peacefully". Tindin was glad to hear these gracious words from the headman of his enemy, and he agreed to end the fighting and try to reason out their quarrel (4). Tindin then declared that it would be both wise and proper if Entingi agreed to a marriage between his son and Tindin's own daughter (5), in order to restore peace as soon as possible between the Bukitans and the Dayaks.[15]
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> Remampak, the daughter of the dead man, swore that she would marry any man who could avenge the death of her father by killing Ginyum. At this time, the mighty warrior Brauh Ngumbang (2) (who had already outlived several wives) was at Rantai Panjai in the Skrang. On hearing of Remampak's wish he went to call on Ginyum (3). The Bukitan chief was an excellent blacksmith, and Brauh Ngumbang said that he would like Ginyum to forge a new knife for him. While Ginyum was busy at this task, Brauh Ngumbang asked the young Bukitan who was there to get some cold water for him to drink. And while the young man was away at the river, Brauh Ngumbang drew his spear and threw it with all his might into Ginyum's back, killing him (4). He then chopped off Ginyum's head and started to Skrang. When he came to Remampak's house, he called for her to come out and meet him. At first she refused since she was wearing only a very poor mourning dress. Brauh Ngumbang insisted, telling her that he had something very valuable in the bag. Finally she came out to see what it was, and, recognizing the head of Ginyum, agreed to marry Brauh Ngumbang in accordance with her vow (5).[16]
>
> When they had migrated to Sebayan, Senabong's men again raided Bangkit, this time with the assistance of the Sebayau people. By now Sana and Anal were so worried by these attacks that they humbly invited Gerijih of Paku to come and live with them at Bangkit (2). As the price of his assistance, Gerijih demanded that they should share all their lands and fruit trees with his family, and when this request was satisfied, he came with his followers (2) from Paku. After many more adventures, Gerijih finally defeated Senabong and took his head (3, 4). After he had won this victory he advised the followers of Senabong, who remained among the Sebayau people, that if they wished to avenge

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.

their dead leader they should live peacefully with the Sebayaus, and marry women of the good and powerful families, so that they would have the means to seek revenge (5).[17]

The above cases represent the execution of foreign affairs policy. The numbers in parantheses indicate points of commonality in all three cases (see next paragraph). A similarity of sequence is evident in all three cases. First, peace is destroyed, followed by both sides raising an attacking force and engaging in conflict. After the physical confrontation has cessated, a cease-fire is turned into a treaty, so to speak, by a transfer of goods. (This sequence, it may be noted, corresponds to the 'processual' model of Swartz et. al.).[18]

It is by now obvious that this five phase classification of these three 'on the ground' political dramas is analogous to the five bundles of relations identified in the mythical dramas. First (1) there is assumed to be a state of *status quo*. Following this there occurs (2) an *assessment of power*, (3) *confrontation* of conflicting parties, (4) *neutralization* of the conflict, and, finally (5) a formalized *synthesis*, or *resolution*, of conflict. (In some cases, the steps of the sequence are implied rather than explicit. For example, in case #2 the two leaders, Entingi and Tindin, had obviously mobilized their power resources by calling upon their respective allies).

Such an analogy is not surprising when we consider the conditions generated by the political hostilities of the period. The frequent hostilities dictated that a society's chances for survival be directly proportional to the fighting force it was able to muster. For this reason, relations with neighboring kin groups were of crucial significance. The concluding section of the myth relates how kin groups were of primary importance when it came to waging hostilities—"then he gathered together his six brothers and the girls they were bethrothed to, and his own bethrothed. This made fourteen in his party altogether. They set off downstream to attack".[19] As is made obvious by this quotation, affinal relationships are of critical importance. The significance of alliances created on the ground (see cases #1 and #3) results in such relations being given ideological expression (see fifth column of diagram).

The political landscape of the Land Dayak (and adjacent groups as well) may be expressed in terms of a triad based on alliance oriented marriage preferences.

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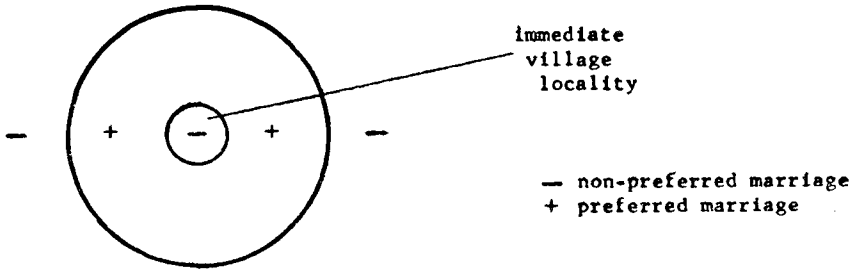
17. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

18. M. J. Swartz, V. W. Turner and A. Tuden, *Political Anthropology*, Chicago, Aldine, 1966.

19. Geddes, *op. cit.*, p. 120.



Pragmatically, in terms of group survival, this would appear to be a proper interpretation. To marry one's close neighbor would merely consist of a redundancy of an alliance already in existence, for settlement proximity in itself implies an alliance of some type having been previously effected. On the other hand, to take a partner in marriage from too great a distance would constitute wastefulness in terms of security of the group, since an ally located far away would be of little value as a political resource. Similarly, relationships with groups far off could contribute to absorption and hence loss of group identity. Maximization of group interest therefore required that one select a partner from the intervening area (+).

There are many instances in the myth which substantiate this model. As the hero penetrates the deep jungle far from the village of his birth, he experiences three encounters with giants.[20] In all three cases the giants wished to swallow the hero, or absorb him into their own systems, and in all three cases they fail. This refusal to be swallowed and thus integrated is, I feel, accountable to the fact that the giants were of a type unlike that of the hero, i.e. of different species (dragon/man), or, referring to the above diagram, 'too far away' from the hero. The fact that the hero was successful in cleverly evading these attempts at being integrated into the larger systems of the giants is all the more interesting in light of the fact that history reveals that "the first such expeditions recorded in Iban tradition ended in disaster for the attacking forces", due to the employment of "clever stratagems".[21]

In addition to the most dangerous contests being those incurred far from home, the tale is suggestive also of the danger accruing to conjugal alliances with distant groups. In the tale, the hero makes love to numerous women, but the most dangerous affair was that with the Dragon-chief's

20. Geddes, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 81, 82.
21. Sandin, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

granddaughter.[22] Although the Dragon-chief was ostensibly friendly, he took every opportunity to try to kill the hero. In another part of the tale, Gumiloh, the heroine, was courted by and eventually married to a Malay,[23] a union which later proved disastrous.[24] These two unions have in common (1) the fact that both involved dissimilar parties (i.e. both the Dragon-chief's granddaughter and the Malay suitor were from different 'worlds', and (2) both unions were effected in an atmosphere of hostility. Another interesting commonality is that both 'worlds' were accessible only by water. To reach the world of the Dragon-chief's people (a world which, it will be recalled, the hero was warned against) it was necessary to dive into the deepest and "forbidden" pool; to reach the world of the Malay it was necessary to travel downriver to the coast.

Concluding Remarks

In addition to illustrating the adaptive value of exchange alliances with neighboring groups, and the ideological validation of the perceived advantages of such relations, the above discussion reveals the manner in which mythical expression employs a sequential medium representative of that existing in 'on the ground' political process.

An obvious deficiency in the above analysis is the lack of sufficient historical input. The bulk of the material which does exist pertains to Land Dayak society only in a tangential manner. Consequently, the correspondence of the ideological input to the political behavior discussed cannot be as precise as desired. There is, however, enough evidence to warrant the assumption that foreign affairs of the Land Dayaks differed little from those of the Iban. First, the area within which the Iban hostilities were conducted was occupied by Land Dayaks as well. It hardly seems likely that their ethnic distinctiveness would exempt them from the frequent wars. Secondly, although only occasional mention is made of Land Dayaks, the term "Bukitan" is encountered frequently. This is a term of Malay origin which translated means 'highland', and most likely is a collective referrent encompassing what are now Land Dayaks as well as other groups.

Looking to the positive side, the above analysis makes obvious the fact that there is a transactive relationship between power and sym-

22. Geddes, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

bolism;[25] that is, foreign relations provide the "physical matter" from which the "crystal" of myth is seen to emerge.[26] Made less obvious by the material presented here, but just as true, is the fact that this relation is not only a unidirectional one, but is an exchange type of relation, 'exchange' referring to the "mutuality of the relationship between the political system and the other systems of the environment".[27] Ideological expression is as much a "model for" as a "model of".[28]

What is to my mind significant in the above analysis is the demonstrative value of myth as a research tool for the ethnohistorian. The compatability, indeed, interdependence, of historical and ethnographic research is by now indisputable.[29] What emerges from the above exercise is the feasibility of using myth as an historical document in those cases where existent documentation requires corroboration from other sources. or, in other cases, where conventional documentation is nonexistent.

25. Cohen, *op. cit.*

26. Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology, op. cit.*, p. 226.

27. David Easton, "Categories for the Systems Analysis of Politics", in *Varieties of Political Theory*, D. Easton (ed.), Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1966, p. 150.

28. Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System", in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, M. Banton (ed.), New York, Tavistock, 1966, p. 13.

29. W. C. Sturtevant, "Anthropology, History, and Ethnohistory", in *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, J. A. Clifton (ed.), Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1968.