
UNIT 2 ELEMENTS OF RELIGION*

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Beliefs
- 2.3 Myths
- 2.4 Cosmology
- 2.5 Eschatology
- 2.6 Superhumans
- 2.7 Practice of Religion
 - 2.7.1 Household Rituals
 - 2.7.2 Ceremonial Rituals
 - 2.7.3 Life Cycle Rituals
 - 2.7.4 Sacred Words
- 2.8 Religious Symbols
- 2.9 Summary
- 2.10 References
- 2.11 Further Reading

2.0 OBJECTIVES

To understand—

- What aspects of social life can be included under religion?
- What is the relationship between the various elements of religion? and
- How do they synchronise with the rest of society?

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Religion is the most ubiquitous and the most unexplained aspect of our lives. Even from pre-historic times there is evidence from the cave paintings that ancient humans were also engaged with dimensions that were not merely of the material world. The practice of burial from Neanderthal sites indicates some conceptualization of an afterworld. One necessary aspect of religion is that it is a part of the social, it involves collective imaginations that are shared across a religious community or what Durkheim (1912) refers to as a Church. Religion is an explanatory system. According to Tylor (1871), primitive humans used religious explanations to explain the unexplainable, like death and dreams.

The persistence of religion in contemporary life continues because life remains full of questions. According to Clifford Geertz (1966), religion exists because it helps to

*This unit has been written by Prof. Subhadra Channa (Retd), Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi.

transcend the three critical thresholds that every human encounters; the threshold of reason, there exists many phenomenon and happenings that cannot be explained, the threshold of suffering and the threshold of evil. Everyone in this world at some time or other encounter suffering that they feel is beyond endurance, and it is religion that often rescues from unbearable pain. As Durkheim had described, death rituals or piacular rituals, help to alleviate the suffering of loss at the death of a loved one.

The problem of evil is another factor that always raises doubt; how people who transgress norms, carry out evil deeds, still manage to lead successful lives. What then constitutes religion? It is a set of beliefs that include cosmology about the nature of this world and a set of practices, actual actions and behaviour that is linked to the beliefs. The beliefs are about the nature of the world, the nature of the superhuman beings and about any ultimate reality like God. Not all religions have similar kind of beliefs or believe in all the elements. The practices are related to the nature of the divine and then there are the practitioners or religious specialists who help the people to perform the rituals and practices that are part of religion. Let us now examine each of these elements one by one. The most important aspect of religious beliefs understood by sociologists such as Durkheim and Eliade, is that it concerns the sacred. Eliade calls the sacred, hierophanies (Eliade 1957), they are about power and about the real. All people of any faith, believe that religion tells us about the real truth, the profane on the other hand is quite often relegated to the unreal, for example the Hindu concept of Maya.

2.2 BELIEFS

The term belief is used from a sociological perspective, as a construct that is collectively made and participated in. From the point of view of the believers, these are the truths, a description of ontological existence. The most primary of the beliefs is about the nature of the universe, about its origin and its existence. Almost all religions have a creation myth that lays the foundation of that society and lays down the rules and norms of behaviour and creates a moral order. They also comprise an important element of all religions, namely myths.

2.3 MYTHS

Myths are stories and they have been always there; they carry on from ancient times and are believed by the people to be telling them about what happened in the beginning of time. They often tell about the lives of the divine persons; they constitute a kind of history and also explain the reasons for the performances of rituals. The recurrent themes of deluge for example, of caves and mountains probably reflect the retention of early experiences of the species. Some, like Malinowski treat the myths as functional tools of explanation, and like Levi-Strauss, as revealing the uniform structures of the human mind.

Origin myths are found in all societies and cultures, and apart from explaining the origins of the world, of human and non-human species, they also legitimize social hierarchies and formations. The book of Genesis of the Christians, condemn women to a secondary existence by narrating that God created Adam in his own image and that Eve was made from Adam's ribs. Also, the woman is blamed for the original sin of eating the forbidden apple. In the PurusaSukta myth of the Rig Veda, the origin of the

human species is explained along with the primary hierarchy of the four Varna, that are arranged according to the parts of the divine being from where they originated; Brahmins from the head, the Ksatriyas from the arms, the Vaisyas from the thighs and the Shudra from the feet. Their origin assigns to the Varna their place in society. Regional cultures show similarities thereby affirming their affinity and possible common origins, like most Naga tribes have a myth of origin from a cave or the underground.

Myths justify the celebration of festivals and rituals, for example Christmas celebrates the birth of the Christ child and Janmashtami the birth of Lord Krishna. However, the relationship of myths and rituals is not a one to one relationship as there are many rituals without any myths and all myths do not call for celebration.

2.4 COSMOLOGY

Religion provides the cosmology by which a people understand the world around them. Most of the cosmology is provided by myths but some of it is taken as given. For example, some tribes believe that the earth is carried on the back of a tortoise, the Hindus believe it rests on the back of a large snake. The Christians believed that the earth was at the centre of the universe and that all of creation was made by God in a span of six days.

Life and death, as explained by Tylor, are at the roots of the human curiosity and understanding them is fundamental to all cosmologies. Almost every religious belief is centred on the belief in a non-material existence, both of the human and even non-human, in terms of a spirit, soul or ethereal body. The belief in spirit was coined by Tylor as Animism and at being the origin of religious beliefs. Even though not termed as Animistic most complex religions also have belief in spirits and souls, extending them to non-humans as well, like the Hindus. Some tribes believe in the oneness or contiguity of animal and human spirits. They believe that spirits can traverse from one body to another. The likeness and disparity between humans and non-humans are a core aspect of cosmological beliefs. Some people believe in an animated or living landscape. The religions that worship natural elements as deities are known as Naturism. Some doctrinal religions like Islam and Christianity give primacy to humans but many, including Hinduism, include non-humans as important parts of the universe.

2.5 ESCHATOLOGY

Beliefs about the after-world and the destination of the soul are again varying and important components of cosmology. Some like the Saoras (Vitebsky 1993) do not have any belief in death as it is known in other culture. They simply believe that people pass from one world to another, and there is free mobility between the two worlds. Others may believe that the soul remains in repose to rise finally at the end of time (Apocalypse) like the Christians. The Hindus and Buddhists believe in transmigration of the soul from one body to another, including into all life forms other than humans. Some believe in heaven and hell and some do not. Eschatology is closely related to the perception of time. Those that believe in linear, historical time like Judaism and Christianity, apply the same to the destination of the soul, while cyclical time supports notions of rebirth and transmigration. As Eliade (1957) explains, for those with belief in cyclical time, each cycle such as the beginning of a New Year is a throwback to the origin. It is not another year, but the resurrection of the same year but anew.

2.6 SUPERHUMANS

According to Spiro (1966), what all religions have in common is a belief in superhumans, being who have superior properties to humans. They have more power and can control the destinies of humans and affect them in many ways. Spiro was speaking in context of Buddhism that does not believe in God but in superior beings. The final destiny of the soul in Buddhism is liberation from the cycle of birth and death and from all sufferings. Some such beings still prefer to remain on earth to guide others towards liberation. The Buddha is the most exalted of them all, but not the only one. There is a lesser order of superhuman beings in Buddhism and they correspond to the many deities of the Hindu pantheon. Similarly, while Hindus worship many gods and goddesses, the Hindu philosophy tells that these are only different forms of the same Being, Atman, of which all other beings are but a part.

Ancient people attributed power to most natural phenomenon and worshipped them, like in ancient Greek and Roman religious beliefs. Their supreme god Zeus was the god of thunder and lightning, and Poseidon, the god of the sea and the underworld. Diana or Nike was the goddess of sports and Minerva the goddess of war. Similarly, in Hindu religious beliefs, Shiva the supreme god resides on the sacred mountain of Kailasa. Himalaya is a god whose daughter Parvati is the consort of Shiva. Among the more ancient Hindus who were mostly pastoralists, Varuna, the god of rain and thunder was a supreme god and so was Surya, the sun god. As is well known pastoral people are dependent upon the natural elements and worship them. Rivers, mountains, trees and animals are all considered sacred among the Hindus and worshipped. Change over to agriculture changed the nature of the gods, from warrior gods, the emphasis shifted to mother goddesses representing fertility of the earth and crops.

The relationship with the superhuman beings is either supplicatory or propitiating. People tend to keep the superhumans happy by doing according to their wishes and they also worship them explicitly to gain something from them. Adherence to the rules of the moral order is a way to keep the gods and goddesses in genial mood. Worship, making offerings and keeping vows are ways to obtain favours. People offer money and light candles in Churches, perform Mass and say prayers. At the Tirupati temple in South India, devotees offer the hair of their head to the deity. In some other places other kinds of offerings may be made and different kinds of rituals may be performed, but the goal remains the same. The ordinary people recognize that the deities or the superhumans have more power than they have and they can make things happen.

Sacrifice has been an age- old mode of worship and propitiation. There have been many kinds of analysis of sacrifice, a classic one given by Robertson Smith (1874) says that taking part in the sacrificial feast is sharing the table with the gods. The sacrifices are made to the gods as their food, but they are eaten by the devotees, symbolising a repast shared with divinity.

Religions that believe in only one God are called monotheistic, such as Christianity and Islam; but even though they may have only one God, they have many other superhuman beings, that are recognized and worshipped. Christianity has many saints who are worshipped in many churches across the world. The body of St. Xavier preserved in Goa for example draws thousands of devotees from across the world. While Buddhism has no God they worship the Buddha and also many other superhuman beings like Avalokiteshwar, Tara, Amitabha and others. They make splendid temples and perform

many rituals of propitiation and make offerings. Quite often among many people of the world, the highest deity or the Supreme God is recognized but not worshipped. It is the lesser beings, who are required for day to day needs who are made offerings to and worshipped.

In Europe one finds small groves in most villages and towns devoted to local saints who are worshipped by individuals for their limited and specific requirements. So also, in India there are temples devoted to many gods and goddesses but no one worships supreme God Brahman. The Nuer, as studied by Evans-Pritchard (1956) recognize a supreme all pervasive being they call Kwoth, but he is not worshipped. Offerings are made to the lesser superhumans who control specific parts of the universe. Although religions with more than one sacred deity are called Polytheistic, like the ancient Roman and Greek pantheons, several others are apparently polytheistic, but like Hinduism have belief in an ultimate and single truth.

At times sacredness is invested not in any being human or superhuman but in an object. Mostly these objects gain their sacred status from being in close contact with some sacred entity. For example, many Catholic Churches have what are known as relics, which are body parts of saints that are kept with great reverence and care and displayed on special ritual occasions. The hair of Prophet Mohammed is said to be preserved in a Mosque. Objects like amulets and bells etc, are called as fetishes. But they are only peripheral aspects of religions and play varying roles in performance of rituals. Therefore, beliefs about the universe, about superhumans and about the after-world are all part of religion and religious beliefs, the other important aspect of religion is the actions that are performed, the everyday or occasional practices that make religion manifest and real.

2.7 PRACTICE OF RELIGION

The practice of religion comprises of relationship with the superhumans, the acts that are performed to propitiate them and also for supplication. Some of them are precise and recurrent, and follow a pattern. They are called rituals. Not all rituals are religious but religious rituals play an important part in the practice of any religion.

Individuals may perform their own rituals at home, but individual actions are not part of the collective and not a concern of the sociologist. As social scientists we are concerned with the public domain alone. Rituals can be classified and understood in many ways. Commonly understood classifications are:

1. Household rituals
2. Ceremonial rituals
3. Life Cycle rituals

These are then sub-divided into several types, depending upon the time of their performance, the level of participation and the goals for which they are performed.

2.7.1 Household Rituals

These are part of what may be understood as the everyday practice of religion. Among many indigenous people, the daily ritual may comprise of making offerings to the ancestors, often these are enshrined near the family hearth, so whatever is cooked is

offered to them first. In the hills of India, there is the prevalence of lineage gods or *kuldevta*, who are seen as members of the family and kept appeased by various offerings on a regular basis (Channa 2013). Many Christian, Hindu and Buddhist families may have small shrines at their homes with a crucifix, an idol or an image and regular prayers or small offerings are made to them. Hindus light incense sticks and blow conch shells in the evening at the tulsi (basil) plant. These small and recurrent rituals have the role of keeping household members involved in the household as a unit. All these are done with the goal of the entire household prosperity and well-being in mind. They are a reminder that all members are both participating in and responsible for each other. Offerings made to the ancestors are to express gratitude for them handing over their property and in case of agricultural communities, they are the ones who hand over the seeds for future harvests. In Himachal, members of a household for example, pay extra attention to offerings made for those ancestors who did not marry, as they feel they received more from them than they would have if they had their own children.

2.7.2 Ceremonial Rituals

These are those that involve more people belonging to the larger society. In the smaller indigenous groups, the entire community may be involved, or any unit with a specific identity like a totemic clan, or a lineage group or a village. Many nations reaffirm their identities by large scale ceremonial rituals like the Republic Day parade in India, or the Bastille Day in France. Although these are not considered as religious rituals, they have all the characters of one. Religious rituals are marked by the involvement with the sacred entities (here the nation), but in many ways the nation too is a sacred entity. In the monarchies and ancient kingships, the person of the king or emperor is conceived of as sacred. All ceremonials of the state that are performed around the personage of the ruler have therefore a sacred or religious character. Geertz (1980) has described what he calls as a Theatre State, a state whose legitimacy is maintained by ceremonial rituals.

Annual rituals are performed for several reasons. In all agricultural societies, these annual rituals mark the harvest time, when the new crop is harvested and it is time for celebration. Even when societies have become urbanised, they continue to celebrate harvest festivals, like in India, one celebrates, Bihu (Assam), Pongal (South India), Lohri (Punjab) and Sankranti (Central, East and North India). According to Leach, annual rituals also have the function of marking time. In the times when there was no other way to know how much time had passed, the time from one cycle of ritual to another marked the passage of one segment of time. Leach compares it to the drops of water falling at regular intervals, where interval or pause or a reversal marks the limit of one segment of time as the other begins. In many societies and cultures, time is not seen as linear but as cyclical, and the cycle of time is marked by the annual festivals. So, when people in rural areas or where ever, they are not following the time by watch, need to know the interval that has passed, they measure it against an annual ritual, like from one Thanksgiving to another, or one Deepawali to another and so on. The festivities mark the interval by causing a pause in normal social life, sometimes even a reversal, where people reverse their social hierarchies or normal roles to enact contrary behaviour. Men and women, otherwise living sedate lives may engage in revelry like at Holi, or have pantomimes and masked dances that take them away from day to day life. This reversal created a strong impact that would help to remember and mark the time.

Another impact of collective ceremonies is what Durkheim referred to as raising the collective consciousness, essential for the maintenance of identity as well as for

maintaining the moral solidarity. According to Durkheim, in totemic rituals, the totemic lineage group, that traces its origin from a common ancestor, reaffirms its bonding with each other as well as to the ancestor. Since the ancestor is sacred, they also recognise that they are part of the sacred and therefore also obliged to maintain the moral order. The totemic community is not just a relational community bound by common ties of descent but also a moral community bound by common duties and obligations towards the totem who is ancestor. Since most totemic ancestors are non-humans, Durkheim could identify the unity of the human and non-human world as exhibited and enforced by the totemic rituals. According to Max Gluckmann (1954) who coined the term rituals of rebellion, these rituals that expressed rebellion were actually designed to dispel tensions and restore equilibrium, like staged fights and other kinds of aggressive behaviour.

Ceremonial rituals can be just a one-time ritual to mark any major and life-changing event. But quite often these tend to be replicated and continued in remembrance or commemoration of that event; like the birth of a new nation, the end of the World War or any other particularly significant event. These events must have a wide significance and social and political relevance for them to be remembered. Rituals can also have deep and significant political roles to play. In many situations of oppression and subjugation, rituals have been shown to play significant roles to register protest, to mobilise people into rebellion and to also inform the oppressors that their oppression cannot be tolerated. Some of these have been designated as Cargo Cults, or Millennial movements, where the people gathered under a belief that an apocalypse like situation was imminent. When the world would end, and their oppression with it. These movements were based on a kind of hope that things will overturn and the oppression would end. Sometimes these rituals helped to form and reinforce new identities like the Kalela dance studied by A.L Epstein in urban Africa, where labour migrated from different tribes recreated their tribal identity, even if they were of different origins.

2.7.3 Life Cycle Rituals

The human life is intercepted by transitional phases that are translated into status transformations in social terms. The physical developments that begin with birth and end with death, are marked by rituals that emphasize that along with any physical changes that an individual may be undergoing, there is a major change in the social position of the person. A change in social status involves significant changes in roles and responsibilities as well as access to resources and privileges as a member of society. Since there is considerable social significance, it is imperative that the individual is made aware of these changes, and the life cycle rituals are specifically directed towards this end.

The first most important life cycle rituals are of birth, a ritual that not only announces the addition of another member to the society, but also proclaims the value of that particular new-comer to the society. Birth rituals and types of celebration or lack of it, announces how much the new born can look towards as his or her claims by the mere fact of birth. In most parts of India, for example, the birth of a boy calls for celebration but there is silence when a girl is born, indicating that a girl child is going to be kept deprived in the future as well as compared to the boy child. Coming of age or puberty is another transition that is marked in many cultures and in some it is the most important of all rituals as it marks the transition to adulthood and becoming a full member of society. In many indigenous communities, initiation rituals are elaborate and full of symbolism and much has been written about them (Turner 1969).

Marriage, birth of first child, widowhood and death are the other transitions marked by rituals in most cultures. Death rituals had been designated as piacular rituals by Durkheim and according to him are more about the living than about the dead. These rituals allow the living to come to terms with life without a loved one or a very important member of their family and society. They also serve to absolve any guilt that the living may be feeling towards the dead. Rituals and sacred performances are almost never spontaneous but are performed under the guidance and scripts prepared by what are known in all cultures as Ritual Specialists.

2.7.4 Sacred Words

An important element of all rituals is the spoken word. It may be in the form of a Hindu mantra, a Christian Mass, an Islamic Namaz, or Buddhist Chants. Sound has important attributes and it seen to be vested with power and the capacity for influence. All religious rituals take great care to have the words spoke right, not only in terms of content but also in terms of intonations and pronunciation. The right kind of sound effect is necessary for the efficacy of the ritual. Sacred words can be oral traditions as in indigenous communities or as the Vedas and other texts of ancient India were learned by heart and passed down orally. Writing technology produced holy books. In some religions like in Sikhism, the holy book, The Granth Sahib, is worshipped in the place of any deity. It is the icon or the key symbol of their faith. There are specialists called Granthis who recite the verses of the Granth Sahib regularly.

Words or the oral traditions and narratives are specialized areas that need specialists.

2.7.5 Ritual Specialists

The conduct of a mass, to be a leader for prayers or to pronounce the mantra in the right manner, one needs to be a specialist. A religious specialist is one who is either born into it, like when the calling is inherited or one has to have the aptitude that may often be seen as a divinely ordained virtue. On the basis of whether they have an inner quality or if they are trained into being religious specialists, they are termed as shamans or as priests. Although shamans are located mostly indigenous and non-doctrinal religions and most organized religions like Hinduism, Christianity and Islam have their priests or professional specialists, it is not very uncommon to find unconventional practitioners in all religions, the mystics, the ascetics and the charismatic spiritual leaders.

Among Hindus, there is a specialized Varna category from which the professional category of priests is drawn, the Brahmins. However not all Brahmins are priests, and most sacred places, like shrines and temples have their own lineages of priests, in a way that all the specialists who serve in that temple are drawn from that particular kin groups of genealogically connected males, like the Pandas of Jagannath temple in Odisha. Here the priests learn from family traditions and by apprenticeship.

The Christian priests are trained pedagogically to become priests; it is an entire process of specialized education. Such formal learning to become priests is not found in many other religions, except in Islam. The more structured and organized a religion, the more formal are its institutions, and Catholic religion is the most organized in the world. Its clergy have a complex institutional hierarchy and distribution of power. Islamic priests also learn formally but the religion is does not have organization and hierarchy like Christianity.

Shamans are found mostly in non-organized religions in less complex societies. They are both inspirational as well as sometimes hereditary. Inspirational shamans become so because of some inner urge, often triggered by dreams or extra-sensory experiences like getting a vision. Often in simpler societies, shamans and religious specialists are not full-time specialists but just ordinary people who carry out the work of shamans, like healing and conducting rituals. In the absence of hierarchy and surplus production it is difficult for a society that may be dependent on a subsistence economy like hunting food gathering and pastoralism to support a full-time specialist. As societies grow complex with systemic hierarchy the religious institutions also grow complex and develop hierarchies of which the Catholic Church with the Vatican at its apex is a prime example.

2.8 RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS

Since religion is an aspect of culture, it is a system of symbols and signs whose meanings are known to the members of the culture and to the collective that comprises the Church for that religion. Symbols are symbols because they carry collectively recognized but arbitrary meaning, that make sense only in the context of the myths and cosmology that they represent and contain within themselves. The crucifix for example makes sense only to a Catholic and the image of goddess Kali to a Hindu. To others who are not conversant with the mythology, these symbols may be meaningless or gross.

According to Clifford Geertz, religious symbols by their very arbitrary nature and disjunction from instrumentality, are capable of evoking very powerful emotions that may also translate into powerful actions. Religious symbols, by their very location in the emotive rather than in the pragmatic are capable of producing strong and sustained moods and motivations, as Geertz describes them. Ortnor has used the term Key Symbols for the most pervasive and powerful symbols that produce such strong emotional response from most members of the Church. She divides key symbols into two types, Summarizing and Elaborating. The Summarizing are those that condense a vast amount of meaning into a short space, into a single motif or icon, like the Cross, or a flag or a single image or sound like the Om. The cross stands for the entire ideology of the Christian church as does the totem for the entire spiritual meaning system of the totemic clans.

Elaborating symbols are those that describe the entire meaning system in its entirety; they are divided into Root Metaphors and Key Scenarios. Root metaphors are those symbols that express the central and most succinct ideas of any religion, like for Christianity it would be the Church, the Pope and the sacred pilgrimages. For Islam it would be the pilgrimage to Mecca and the Koran. Key scenarios are scripts that describe the fundamental meanings of a religion. Like for example for the Hindus, the epic Ramayana is a Key Scenario that describes the major moral and ethical principles of Hinduism. All aspects of rituals are symbolic and most rituals create a symbolic universe to represent the real world. Anthropologists, sociologists and religious historians have done immense work on religious symbols and symbolism; Turner, Bateson, Ortnor. Eliade and Geertz among others.

2.9 SUMMARY

In this Unit the student has been introduced to all that we study when we do a sociological study of religion. This is an overview as religion covers a vast canvas as it overlaps with most of what is social. The three major aspects into which a study of religion can be divided is the Beliefs, Practices and Symbolisms. Each of them as we have seen can be subdivided into component elements. There are many ways in which these elements can be understood and different typologies can be created. Here we have tried to summarize from the some of the most well- known sociological and anthropological works on religion. As we have seen throughout this chapter, all the elements are integrated with the society in which they occur. Most indigenous and traditional societies are religious systems in entirety, in that all aspects of society are both constituted in and constitutive of the religious elements. It should serve as a preliminary guide to the students of sociology of religion.

2.10 REFERENCES

- Channa, Subhadra Mitra. 2013. *The Inner and Outer Selves: Cosmology, Gender, and Ecology at the Himalayan Borders*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Durkheim, Emile. 2001. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Tr. Carol Cosman). New York: Oxford University Press (Org. 1912, French).
- Eliade, Mircea. 1957. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. New York: Harvest Book.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1956. *Nuer Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1966. 'Religion as a Cultural System.' In Michael Banton (ed), *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*. London: Tavistock.
- Gluckmann, Max. 1954. *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Leach, Edmund (ed). 1967. *Structural Study of Myth and Totemism*. London: Routledge.
- Malinowski, B. 1926. *Myth in Primitive Psychology*. London: Norton.
- Ortner, Sherry. 1973. 'Key Symbols.' *American Anthropologist*, Vol75, pp 1338-1346.
- Robertson Smith, William. 1894. *Religion of the Semitics*. London: Adam and Charles Black.
- Spiro, Melford E. 1966. 'Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation.' In Michael Banton (ed), *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*. London: Tavistock.
- Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Tylor, Edward B. 1871. *Primitive Culture*, Vol.II (*Religion in Primitive Culture*). London: John Murray.

2.11 FURTHER READING

Bell, Catherine M. 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Geertz, Clifford. 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lessa, William A and Evon Z Vogt (eds.). 1965. *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach*. New York: Lessa and Vogt.

Morris, Brian. 2006. *Religion and Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vitebsky, Piers. 1993. *Dialogues with the Dead: The Discussion of Mortality among the Sora of Eastern India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



ignou
THE PEOPLE'S
UNIVERSITY