

Configurations of Culture in North America

Ruth Benedict

American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1932), 1-27.

Stable URL:

http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0002-7294%28193201%2F03%292%3A34%3A1%3C1%3ACOCINA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-%23

American Anthropologist is currently published by American Anthropological Association.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at http://www.jstor.org/journals/anthro.html.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

http://www.jstor.org/ Fri Feb 11 22:09:51 2005

American Anthropologist

NEW SERIES

Vol. 34

JANUARY-MARCH, 1932

CONFIGURATIONS OF CULTURE IN NORTH AMERICA

IN THE past twenty-five years the fact of prime importance in anthropology has without doubt been the accumulation of a few full-length portraits of primitive peoples. It is hard to think back to a time when as yet the chance of reconstructing even a passable picture of any primitive tribe was limited to two or three regions, each of them beset with difficulties. The best accounts that were available were not the outcome of any purposeful inquiry on the part of students of custom, but of the lucky chances that had brought together a good observer and a striking culture, the records of Sahagun, for instance, or Codrington in Melanesia.

The vast amount of available anthropological material was frankly anecdotal as in travelers' accounts, or schematically dissected and tabulated as in many ethnologists'. Under the cirumstances general anthropological discussion of necessity had recourse, as in Tylor's day, to the comparative method, which is by definition anecdotal and schematic. It sought by collecting great series of observations detached from their context to build up "the" primitive mind, or "the" development of religion, or "the" history of marriage.

Out of the necessities of the same situation there flourished also the schools of strict diffusionists who made a virtue out of the limitations of materials at their disposal and operated solely with detached objects, never with their setting or function in the culture from which they came.

The growing dissatisfaction with these two dominant theoretical approaches of what we may well call the anecdotal period of ethnology has always been explicit in Boas' insistence upon exhaustive study of any primitive culture, and is today most clearly voiced by Malinowski. His vigor is directed against the diffusionist group rather than against the Frazers and the Westermarcks of the comparative method, but in his own work he insists always that anthropological theory must take into account not detached items but human cultures as organic and functioning wholes. He would have us realize that when a museum collection has been installed from the Niam-Niam or a monograph of like type has been published we

No. 1

By RUTH BENEDICT

still know in reality exactly nothing about them unless we know the way in which the arrangement of the house, the articles of dress, the rules of avoidance or of marriage, the ideas of the supernatural—how each object and culture trait, in other words, is employed in their native life. Malinowski, somewhat disappointingly, does not go on to the examination of these cultural wholes, but is content to conclude his argument with pointing out in each context that each trait functions in the total cultural complex, a conclusion which seems increasingly the beginning of inquiry rather than its peroration. For it is a position that leads directly to the necessity of investigating in what sort of a whole these traits are functioning, and what reference they bear to the total culture. In how far do the traits achieve an organic interrelation? Are the *Leitmotive* in the world by which they may be integrated many or few? These questions the functionalists do not ask.

Now the fact that becomes increasingly apparent as full-length accounts of primitive peoples come from the press is that these cultures, though they are so overwhelmingly made up of disparate elements fortuitously assembled from all directions by diffusion, are none the less over and over again in different tribes integrated according to very different and individual patterns. The order that is achieved is not merely the reflection of the fact that each trait has a pragmatic function that it performs—which is much like a great discovery in physiology that the normal eye sees and the normally muscled hand grasps, or, still more exactly, the discovery that nothing exists in human life that mankind has not espoused and rationalized. The order is due rather to the circumstance that in these societies a principle has been set up according to which the assembled cultural material is made over into consistent patterns in accordance with certain inner necessities that have developed within the group. These syntheses are of various sorts. For some of them we have convenient terminology and for some we have not. But they are in each case the more or less successful attainment of integrated behavior, an attainment that is all the more striking for the anthropologist because of his knowledge of the scattered and hybrid materials out of which the integration has been achieved.

The proposition that cultures must be studied from this point of view and that it is crucial in an understanding even of our own cultural history has been put forward by the German school headed by Wilhelm Dilthey and popularly represented in English-speaking countries by Oswald Spengler in his *Untergang des Abendlandes.*¹ For this philosophical school, history is the succession of culturally organized philosophies of life, and philosophy is the study of these great readings of life. For Dilthey himself the emphasis

¹ English translation: The Decline of the West. 2 vols. New York, 1929 and 1930.

is only secondarily and as it were accidentally on the configuration of culture itself to express these varied readings of life. His primary emphasis is upon these great interpretations as expressing the variety of existence and is directed against the assumption that any one of them can be final. He argues vigorously that essential configurations in philosophy are incommensurable and that their fundamental categories cannot be resolved the one into the other.

His most systematic study, the *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften*, is frankly historically descriptive. When he does become systematic, his groupings are not configurations at all but personality types in philosop'ny; he groups Democritus, Epicurus, Hobbes, and the French Encyclopedists as exemplifying his "materialist-positivist" type, over against which he sets a type of objective idealist and the idealist of freedom, both of them as eclectically selected from different nations and ages. He has, however, in his less systematic essays well characterized certain cultural attitudes significant in the period of Frederick the Great and in the medieval period, and he often makes use of cultural points. E. Spranger's² elaboration of types is a priori and subjective, not drawn from the study of history. He presents as his types the man of theory, economic man, aesthetic man, man as gregarious, man as exemplifying a will to power, man as religious.

Spengler, however, has elaborated the cultural aspect of the philosophy of his school. He has avoided their attempt to define and limit "the" types that may occur. For him the "destiny ideas" whatever they may be that evolve within a culture and give it individuality are what is dynamic and challenging in human life. These have differed profoundly one from another, and they condition their carriers so that certain beliefs and certain blindnesses are inevitable to them. Each great culture has taken a certain direction not taken by another, it has developed beliefs and institutions until they are the expression of this fundamental orientation, and the full working out of this unique and highly individualized attitude toward life is what is significant in that cultural epoch. His study makes a confused impression owing to its discursiveness and the unresolved complexities of the civilizations with which he deals. From an anthropological point of view the fundamental criticism of his work is that it involves treating modern stratified civilization as if it had the essential homogeneity of a primitive culture. His picture, especially of the modern world-view which he calls the Faustian, is only one of the integrated pictures that could validly be drawn for modern man. It needs to be balanced by a picture of a Babbitt or a Roosevelt, for instance. Even at that, what with his rather mystic consideration

² Eduard Spranger, Types of Men. English translation by Paul J. W. Pigors. Halle, 1928.

of numbers, of architecture, of music, of painting, of will, space, and time, the definition of his types becomes confused, and the identification of his different Faustian "destiny ideas" in mathematics, finance, philosophy, and morals hard to make out.

The fundamental principle of the philosophy of Dilthey and his school has remained in its application to the civilization of western Europe stimulating and provocative rather than convincing. The difficulty, which Dilthey himself largely avoided by stressing primarily the dominant drives in philosophy instead of in cultures at large, in Spengler is very clear; historical data of western Europe are too complex and cultural stratification too thoroughgoing to yield itself in our present state of historical knowledge to the necessary analysis.

It is one of the philosophical justifications for the study of primitive peoples that ethnological data may make clear fundamental social facts that are otherwise confused and not open to demonstration. Of these none seem to me more important than this of fundamental and distinctive configurations in culture that so pattern existence and condition the emotional and cognitive reactions of its carriers that they become incommensurables, each specializing in certain selected types of behavior and each ruling out the behavior proper to its opposites.

I have recently examined from this point of view two types of cultures represented in the Southwest,³ that of the Pueblo contrasted with those of the various surrounding peoples. I have called the *ethos* of the Pueblo Apollonian in Nietzsche's sense of the cultural pursuit of sobriety, of measure, of the distrust of excess and orgy. On the other hand Nietzsche's contrasted type, the Dionysian, is abundantly illustrated in all the surrounding cultures. It values excess as escape to an order of existence beyond that of the five senses, and finds its expression in the creation in culture of painful and dangerous experiences, and in the cultivation of emotional and psychic excesses, in drunkenness, in dreams, and in trance.

The situation in the Southwest gives an exceptionally good opportunity for the study of the extent to which contrasted psychological sets of this sort, once they have become institutionalized, can shape the resulting cultures. The Pueblo are a clearly marked-off civilization of very considerable known antiquity, islanded in the midst of highly divergent cultures. But this islanding of their culture cannot be set down as in Oceania to the facts of the physical environment. There are no mountain ranges, no impassable deserts, not even many miles that separate them from their neighbors. It is a cultural islanding achieved almost in the face of geographical conditions.

³ Psychological Types in the Cultures of the Southwest. ICA 23: 572-581, 1928.

The eastern Pueblo went regularly to the plains for the buffalo hunt, and the center of the Pima country is within a day's run on foot of Hopi and Zuñi. The fact therefore that they have a complex culture set off as strikingly as any in North America from that of their impinging neighbors makes the situation unmistakable. The resistance that has kept out of the Pueblo⁴ such traits as that of the guardian spirit and the vision, the shaman, the torture, the orgy, the cultural use of intoxicants, the ideas of mystic danger associated with sex, initiative of the individual and personal authority in social affairs, is a cultural resistance, not the result of an isolation due to physical facts of the environment.

The culture of the southwest Pueblo, as I have pointed out in the article referred to above, is a thoroughgoing, institutionalized elaboration of the theme of sobriety and restraint in behavior. This dominating theme has effectually prevented the development of those typical Dionysian situations which most North American tribes elaborate out of every phase of life, cultivating abandon and emotional excesses, and making birth, adolescence, menstruation, the dead, the taking of life, and any other life crises ambivalently charged occasions fraught with danger and with power. It has likewise refused such traits of surrounding cultures as self-torture, ceremonially used drugs, and the inspirational vision, along with all the authority that is usually derived from personal contact with the supernatural, i.e., shamanism. It hates disruptive impulses in the individual—I speak in an animistic shorthand, meaning that their cultural bias is opposed to and finally pares down to a minimum the potential human impulses to see visions and experiment in indulgences and work off its energy in excesses of the flesh.

Among these disruptive impulses the Pueblo *ethos* counts also the will to power. Just as surely as it has acted to obliterate self-torture it has acted to obliterate the human impulse toward the exercise of authority. Their ideal man avoids authority in the home or in public office. He has office at last thrust upon him, but even at that the culture has already taken away from the position he has to occupy anything that approaches personal authority in our sense; it remains a position of trust, a center of reference in planning the communal program, not much more.

Sanction for all acts comes always from the formal structure, not from the individual. He may not kill unless he has the power of the scalp or is planning to be initiated into it—that is, into the organized war society. He may not doctor because he knows how or acquires sanction from any personal encounter with the supernatural, but because he has bought his way

⁴ Op. cit., 573 ff.

up to the highest rank in the curing societies. Even if he is the chief priest he will not plant a prayer stick except at the institutionally prescribed seasons; if he does he will be regarded as practicing sorcery, as, according to the point of tales in which this situation occurs, he is indeed. The individual devotes himself therefore to the constituted forms of his society. He takes part in all cult activity, and according to his means will increase the number of masks possessed in Zuñi by having one made for himself-which involves feasting and considerable expense. He will undertake to sponsor the calendric kachina dances; he will entertain them at the great winter dance by building them a new house and assuming the expenses of his share of the ceremony. But he does all this with an anonymity that is hard to duplicate from other cultures. He does not undertake them as bids for personal prestige. Socially the good man never raises himself above his neighbor by displaying authority. He sets everyone at his ease, he "talks lots," he gives no occasion for offense. He is never violent, nor at the mercy of his emotions.

The whole interest of the culture is directed toward providing for every situation sets of rules and practices by means of which one gets by without resort to the violence and disruption that their culture distrusts. Even fertility practices, associated so universally in other cultures with excess and orgy, though they make them the leading motif of their religion,⁵ are nonerotic rites based on analogies and sympathetic magic. I shall discuss later the thoroughness with which their rites of mourning are designed to this same end.

Such configurations of culture, built around certain selected human traits and working toward the obliteration of others are of first-rate importance in the understanding of culture. Traits objectively similar and genetically allied may be utilized in different configurations, it may be, without change in detail. The relevant facts are the emotional background against which the act takes place in the two cultures. It will illustrate this if we imagine the Pueblo snake dance in the setting of our own society. Among the western Pueblo, at least, repulsion is hardly felt for the snake. They have no physiological shudder at the touch of its body; in the ceremony, they are not flying in the face of a deep antipathy and horror. When we identify ourselves with them we are emotionally poles apart, though we put ourselves meticulously into the pattern of their behavior. For them, the poison of the rattlesnakes being removed, the whole procedure is upon the level of a dance with eagles or with kittens. It is a completely charac-

 $^{^{5}}$ H. K. Haeberlin, The Idea of Fertilization in the Culture of the Pueblo Indians. AAA-M 3, no. 1, 1916.

teristic Apollonian dance expression, whereas with us, with our emotional reaction to the snake, the dance is not possible upon this level. Without changing an item of the outward behavior of the dance, its emotional significance and its functioning in the culture are reversed. And yet often enough, in ethnographic monographs, we are at a loss to know this emotional background even in traits where it becomes of first-rate importance, as for instance in the feeling directed toward the corpse. We need much more relevant data from the field in order to evaluate the emotional background.

The more usual situation is the one in which the trait is reworked to express the different emotional patterning characteristic of the culture that has adopted it. This reworking of widespread behavior traits into different configurations of culture can only be adequately described when there is a much greater body of field data presented from this angle, and a much greater agreement has been arrived at among anthropologists as to the relevant patternings. There are however certain configurations of culture that are clear from the existing monographs, and not only, nor chiefly perhaps, from America. However in order to establish the validity of the argument I am presenting, I shall limit myself to traits diffused over this continent and discuss only well-known North American cultural traits and the way in which they have been shaped by the dominant drives of certain contrasted cultures.

I have already referred to death practices. There are two aspects involved in death practices which I shall consider separately: on the one hand, the bereavement situation, and on the other, the situation of the individual who has killed another.

The bereavement situation is characteristically handled in Dionysian and in Apollonian cultures according to their bias. Dionysian behavior for the bereaved has found several different channels of expression in the region we are discussing in North America. Among the western Plains it was a violent expression of loss and upheaval. Abandon took the form of selfmutilation, especially for women. They gashed their heads, their calves, they cut off fingers. Long lines of women marched through camp after the death of an important person, their legs bare and bleeding. The blood on their heads and legs they let cake and did not remove. When the body was taken out for burial everything in the lodge was thrown on the ground for any that were not relatives to possess themselves of it. The lodge was pulled down and given to another. Soon everything was gone and the widow had nothing left but the blanket about her. At the grave the man's favorite horses were killed and both men and women wailed for the dead. A wife or daughter might remain at the grave, wailing and refusing to eat, for twentyfour hours, until her relatives dragged her away. At intervals, even twenty years after a death had occurred, on passing the grave they cried for the dead.⁶

On the death of children especially, abandon of grief is described as being indulged. Suicide is often resorted to by one parent or the other. According to Denig, among the Assiniboine:

should anyone offend the parent during this time his death would most certainly follow, as the man, being in profound sorrow, seeks something on which to wreak his revenge, and he soon after goes to war, to kill or be killed, either being immaterial to him in that state.⁷

Such descriptions are characteristic of Plains mourning. They have in common fundamental social patternings of violent and uninhibited grief. This has nothing to do, of course, with the question of whether this is the emotion called up in all those who participate in the rites; the point at issue is only that in this region institutionalized behavior at this crisis is patterned upon free emotional indulgence.

In such a typical Apollonian culture as the pueblo of Isleta, on the other hand, Plains mourning is unthinkable. Isleta, like any other Apollonian society provides itself with rules by which to outlaw violence and aggressive moods of any kind. Strong feeling is repulsive to it and even at death, which is the most stubbornly unescapable of the tragic occasions of life, their whole emphasis is to provide a routine for getting by with the least possible upheaval. In Isleta a priest who is known as the Black Corn Mother and who is a functionary of one of the four "Corn" divisions of the Pueblo, officiates at death. He is called immediately and prepares the corpse, brushing the hair and washing and painting the face with identification marks to indicate the social affiliation of the dead. After this the relatives come in, bringing each a candle to the dead, and the Corn Mother prays and sends the people away again. When they have gone he and his helpers "feed" the dead man ceremonially with the left hand-associated with ghosts-and make an altar in the room. Only once again during all this ritual tending of the dead are the relatives admitted, and that is when the priest has ready a small smudge from the combings of the dead man's hair. The bereaved breathe this in and will thereby cease to grieve over the dead person. The burial takes place the following day, but the family and relatives are ceremonially taboo for four days and remain in retreat in the house of the dead man,

⁶ George Bird Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians, 2: 162. Yale University Press, 1923.

⁷ Denig, The Assiniboine. BAE-R 46: 573.

receiving certain ritual washings from the priest. The formalites that more nearly correspond to burial in other regions are performed over the burial of food for the deceased on the fourth day. They go outside the village for this, and after it is over, they break the pot in which water was carried, and the hairbrush that was used to prepare the body for burial, and on their return cut their trail with a deep incision with a flint knife. They listen and hear the dead man come, far off, to the place where they buried food for him. The house is filled with people awaiting their return, and the Black Corn Mother preaches to them, telling them this is the last time they need be afraid of the dead man's returning. The four days has been as four years to him and therefore those who remain will be the readier to forget. The relatives go to their houses but the housemates observe the ordinary taboos for ceremonial purity for eight days more, after which everything is over. The Black Corn Mother goes to the cacique and returns to him the power he received from him and must always receive from him for every death. but which he has this means of disposing of when he is not compelled to exercise it. It is a characteristic Apollonian touch, and very common in the Southwest.8

There is here no frank institutionalized indulgence in grief, no cutting off of fingers—not even of hair—nor gashing of bodies, no destruction of property, not even a show of its distribution. Instead of insistence upon prolonged mourning by the most closely bereaved, the emphasis is all upon immediate forgetting. The two pictures are of course familiar types of contrasted behavior, and they are here institutionalized for two contrasted cultures.

In the face of the evident opposition of these two institutionalized types of behavior it is at first sight somewhat bizarre to group them together over against another type in contrast to which they are at one. It is true nevertheless. In their different contexts, the Southwest and the Plains are alike in not capitalizing ideas of pollution and dread. This is not to say that fear of contamination or of the dangerous power of the dead are never to be detected in these regions; they are humanly potential attitudes and no culture is perhaps hermetically sealed against them. But the culture does not capitalize them. In contrast with the non-Pueblo Southwest, for instance, these two are alike in realistically directing their behavior toward the losssituation instead of romantically elaborating the danger situation. In Isleta the clan head officiating at death does not have to be purified and the curse of contact with the dead lifted from him when the rites are over; he lays aside his official prerogatives as undertaker as he would his stole. He has

⁸ Esther Schiff Goldfrank Isleta ms.

not been polluted by his office. Nor is the smudge for the relatives designed to put them beyond the pursuit of vengefulness of the dead, but rather to make them forget quickly.⁹ They break his hairbrush, not the bones of his legs, because what they are symbolizing is the ending of this man's life not precautions against his envy and vindictiveness. Similarly on the Plains¹ the giving away of property and the demeaning of one's self in personal appearance, which is so commonly a ruse for forestalling the jealousy of the deceased, is here a gesture of grief and associated with such other manifestations of oblivion of one's self and ordinary routine as going off mourning alone on the prairies, or starting off "to kill or be killed, either being immaterial to him" in his grief. They do not destroy the tipi and all the man's horses, for they are neither concerned with the contamination of the corpse nor with the malice of the ghost toward those who continue to enjoy them. On the contrary their one thought is to give them away. Neither do they capitalize that common theme for patterning a danger situation, the fear and hatred of the person who has used supernatural power to kill the deceased.

These themes however are the very basis of the mourning ceremony in surrounding regions. It is no uncommon thing to find that death rites are hardly directed at all toward the loss-situation but wholly preoccupied with contamination. The Navaho are by no means extreme examples. The Franciscan Fathers¹¹ tell us that in former times slaves were employed to prepare and carry the corpse and they were killed at the grave. Now members of the family must expose themselves to this defilement. Men and women strip themselves to a breechcloth for the duty and leave the hair flowing so that not even a hair string may be exposed. To the Navaho either type of behavior we have just been describing would be unthinkable. Only those who because of their close kinship cannot avoid the duty accompany the body. Four are necessary, one to lead the favorite horse which is to be killed on the grave of his master, two to carry the corpse, and one to warn any travelers along the way that they may turn aside and save themselves from defilement. To protect themselves the mourners keep strict silence. Meantime the hogan in which death occurred has been burnt to the ground. All the members of the family fast for four days and during this time a guard warns all comers off the trail between the hogan and the grave lest they incur danger.12

 $^{^9}$ In Zuñi however certain scalp dance attitudes are explicitly associated with the widow and widower. See p. 17.

¹⁰ In this entire discussion I exclude the Southern Sioux.

¹¹ An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navajo Language, 454. St. Michael's, Arizona, 1910.

¹² Gladys A. Reichard, Social Life of the Navajo Indians. CU-CA 7: 142.

Besides the dominating fear of pollution, the Navaho have a strong fear also of the return of the ghost. If a woman fails in fasting or breaks silence, it will show the dead the way back and the ghost will harm the offender. This discomfort of the living before the dead is nearly universal, though it assumes very different proportions in different cultures.

On the other hand, the dreaded vengefulness of the ghost and his malice toward those who have been spared by death is not as popular in North America in the elaboration of the horror situation as it is in South America and in other parts of the world. It is a theme that for Crawley, for example, is fundamental in death practices, and it is striking that it should play so slight a role in North America. One of the clearest examples on this continent is from the Fox. The Central Algonkin have a strong belief in cruel antagonists which the dead must overcome along their route, and the custom of burying weapons with the body was in order that they might be armed against them. With the Winnebago, too,¹³ war hatchets were buried with the dead so that they might kill animals they met along their way, and their relatives in this world be blessed in like fashion. But Jones records that among the Fox it was a frequent request of the dving that they might be provided in the grave with a war hatchet to protect themselves against Cracker of Skulls; but this the living would not do because the dead were feared and it was desirable that they be weaponless. Therefore they are helpless before Cracker of Skulls who scoops from each a fingerful of brain.14

The Mohave on the other hand made much of the fear and blame of the medicine-man who had supernaturally caused the death. A seer was employed to visit the land of the dead after a death. If the deceased was not there, it was known that the doctor who attended him was guilty of malpractice. "It is the nature of these doctors to kill people in this way just as it is the nature of hawks to kill little birds for a living," according to a Mohave in the 80's. A rich man remained rich in the other world and all those a medicine-man killed were under his chieftainship. He desired a large rich band. "I've killed only two. When I die I want to rule a bigger band than that."¹⁵ When blame was attached to any medicine-man, anyone might take it upon himself to kill him.

The medicine-man openly avowed his complicity. He might hand a stick to a man and say, "I killed your father." Or he might come and tell a sick person, "Don't you know that it is I that am killing you? Must I grasp you

¹³ Paul Radin, JAFL 22: 312.

¹⁴ Wm. Jones, ICA 15: 266.

¹⁵ John J. Bourke, JAFL 2: 175, 1889.

and despatch you with my hands before you will try to kill me?"¹⁶ The point is that this is supernatural killing. There has never been any intimation that it was the custom for a medicine-man to use poison or knife. It is a blame- and terror-situation open and declared, a situation more familiar in Africa than in North America.

It is well to contrast this Mohave attitude with the Pueblo witchcraft theories. In Zuñi the bereavement situation is not lost in a situation of sorcery and of vengeance taken upon sorcery; bereavement is handled as bereavement, however clearly the emphasis is upon putting it by as soon as possible. In spite of the great amount of anxiety about witches which is always present among the Pueblo, at an actual death little attention is paid to the possibility of their complicity. Only in an epidemic when death becomes a public menace is the witch theory ordinarily acted upon. And it is a community anxiety neurosis, not a Dionysian situation depending like the Mohave on the exercise of the shaman's will to supernatural power, and the ambivalent attitude of the group toward this power. I doubt whether anyone in Zuñi has any witch techniques which he actually practices; no one defies another over a dead or dying man. It is never the medicine-man who by virtue of his medicine powers is also the death bringer and embodies in his one person the characteristic Dionysian double aspects of power. Death is not dramatized as a duel between a shaman, thought of as a bird of prev and his victim. Even the existence of all the necessary ideas among the Pueblo-it is interesting that they are overwhelmingly European in their detail-does not lead to this Dionysian interpretation of death.

There are other themes upon which danger situations can be and have been built up around death in different cultures. The point we need for our discussion is that the Dionysian indulgence in emotion at death can be institutionalized around realistic grief at the loss of a member of the community, or around various constructs such as contamination, guilt, and the vengefulness of the dead. The contrast between cultures which indulge in danger constructs of this sort in every situation in life and those that do not is as striking as that between the Apollonian-Dionysian types.

The fullest collections of primitive material on the danger situation are of course the various works of Crawley. This was his outstanding subject throughout his work, and he interpreted it as a universal drive in human society. It is certainly one that is common in institutional behavior, but it is for all its wide distribution a particular configuration of culture, and contrasting configurations develop their contrasting behaviors.

Where human contacts, the crises of life, and a wide range of acts are

¹⁶ A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California. BAE-B 78: 778.

regarded realistically in any culture, and especially without the metamorphosis that passes over them in consequence of the fear- and contaminationconstructs we have been discussing, and this is institutionalized in culture, I shall call them realists. Cultures of the opposite type I shall call simply non-realists. It is admittedly poor terminology. James's antithesis of the tough and tender-minded approaches also the distinction I wish to make, but his substitute for these of healthy-mindedness and the sick soul brings in an implication I wish to avoid.

We must be content to say, I think, that those cultures that institutionalize death as loss, adolescence as an individual's growing up, mating as sex choice, killing as success in a fight, and so on, contrast strongly with those who live in an Aladdin's cave where all the vegetation is something else. It is certainly one of the most striking facts of anthropology that primary life situations are so seldom read off culturally in this direct and realistic fashion.

Indeed it is the realistic institutions that would seem to be the less thoroughly carried through. Human culture as a whole throughout its history has been based on certain non-realistic notions, of which animism and incest are the ones which will occur to every anthropologist. The fear of the ghost—not of his enmity or vengefulness, which is found only locally, but of his mere wraith—is another. These notions appear to have conditioned the human race from the beginning, and it is obviously impossible to go back to their beginnings or discuss the attitudes that gave them birth. For the purposes of this discussion we must accept them as we have to accept the fact that we have five fingers. Even the realistic Plains have not discarded them, though they use them more realistically than other cultures.

In the region we are discussing, the Dionysian cultures are cross-sectioned by this realist-nonrealist antithesis, the Plains institutionalizing excess and abandon without elaborating danger-situations, and the non-Pueblo Southwest, the Shoshoneans, and the Northwest Coast carrying these danger-situations to extremes. The realist cultures likewise are Dionysian among the Plains and Apollonian among the Pueblo. The two categories operate at a different level and cross-section each other. It is difficult, however, to imagine an Apollonian culture maintaining itself on the basis of fundamental danger-constructs, and certainly this type does not occur in the region we are considering.

It is impossible to do justice here to the consistency of this realist configuration among the western Plains; it would be necessary first to differentiate their institutional behavior from the Apollonian Pueblo and then from the romantics about them. So far as the people directly to the west, the Shoshoneans, are concerned, the differences in behavior which I wish to stress have already been pointed out by Lowie.¹⁷ He notices the change in affect in menstrual taboos¹⁸ and the dropping out of the relevant customs. Childbirth and the menstruating woman have been two of the great points of departure for the tender-minded elaboration of horror and the uncanny. The Plains, like the Pueblo, do not share the trait. Lowie points out also how the Plains, again like the Pueblo, stand contrasted with the western groups in ignoring the non-realistic involvement of the husband in his wife's confinement. Attenuated forms of couvade are the rule for Shoshoneans, Plateau peoples, and Californians. It is not a Plains trait.

The same disinclination is evident in the contrasting attitude toward the name.¹⁹ Plains names are not mystic part and parcel of one's personality; they are realistic appellations much in our own sense. It is not a grievous insult to ask another's name. Even more, it is not an affair of life and death to use the name of another after his death. Among the Karok,²⁰ for instance, the same retribution must be visited upon this act as upon having taken the man's life. It is a fiction that is alien on the Plains.

There are therefore a considerable number of reasons for thinking that the cultural attitude we have noted in Plains mourning ceremonies over against those to the west and south (Navaho and Pima) are characteristic for their culture. Most striking of all perhaps, Lowie points out that among the western Plains vengeance upon the medicine man is atypical whereas it is reported among the Shoshoneans and the central Californians. I believe this can be put very much more strongly. In any other part of the world than North America we should frankly refer to the attitude that is constantly reported from British Columbia to the Pima as sorcery, and the killing of the shaman as vengeance taken on the sorcerer. The Plains simply do not make anything of this pattern. They use supernatural power to further their own exploits as warriors, they do not use it to build up threats. Sorcery is the prime institutionalization of the neurotic's fear world, and it does not find place from the Blackfoot to the Cheyenne.

Before we continue with further examples of mourning practices in other configurations, it will be clearer to illustrate the configurations we have just discussed by another situation—the situation of the man who has killed another. It throws into relief the attitudes we have been discussing.

¹⁷ The Cultural Connection of California and Plateau Shoshonean Tribes. UC-PAAE 20: 145–156.

¹⁸ Ibid., 145.

¹⁹ Lowie, ibid., 149.

²⁰ Stephen Powers, Tribes of California. CNAE 3: 33, 1877.

The Cheyenne scalp dance is characteristic of Plains configuration. Tremendous Dionysian exaltation is achieved, but not by way of horror or contamination ideas connected with the corpse; it is an uninhibited triumph, a gloating over the enemy who has been put out of the way. There is no intimation of a curse lying upon the scalper which it is the function of the dance to remove. There is no idea of the fearful potency of the scalp. It is a completely joyous occasion, a celebration of triumph and the answer to a prayer that had been made with tears.

Before setting out upon a warpath everything is solemn and prayerful, even sorrowful, in order to gain pity from the supernaturals.²¹ On the return with the scalps, however, all is changed. The party falls upon the home camp by surprise at daybreak, the favorite hour for Indian attack, their faces blackened in triumph

... shooting off their guns and waving the poles on which were the scalps that had been taken. The people were excited and welcomed them with shouts and yells. All was joy. The women sang songs of victory.... In the front rank were those who had... counted coups.... Some threw their arms around the successful warriors. Old men and women sang songs in which the names were mentioned. The relatives of those who rode in the first rank... testified to their joy by making gifts to friends or to poor people. The whole crowd might go to where some brave man lived or to where his father lived, and there dance in his honor. They were likely to prepare to dance all night, and perhaps to keep up this dancing for two days and two nights.²²

Grinnell speaks especially of the fact that there was no ceremonial recognition of the priest or of his services on their return. The scalp was an emblem of victory and something to rejoice over. If members of the war party had been killed the scalps were thrown away and there was no scalp dance. But if the warrior who had been killed had counted coup before he died there was no occasion for grief, so great was the honor, and the victory celebration over the scalp went forward.

Everyone joined in the scalp dance. In keeping with its social character it was in charge of berdaches who were here matchmakers and "good company" and who took the place of the female relative who usually has so conspicuous a role. They called out the dances and carried the scalps. Old men and women came out as clowns, and as if anything were wanting to emphasize the absence among the Cheyenne of dread and danger in relation to the slain enemy, Grinnell says that some of these were dressed to represent the very warriors whose scalps were the center of the ceremony.²³

²¹ Powers, *ibid.*, 22.

²² Grinnell, *op. cit.*, 6–22.

²³ Ibid., 39-44.

This Plains behavior was unthinkable over a great part of the continent. In the southern belt of the United States, from the Natchez to the Mohave—excluding the Pueblo for the moment—the opposite attitude is at its height. Over this whole area the point of the scalp dance was the great dangerous supernatural potency of the scalp and the curse that must be removed from the slayer. It belonged to their whole tender-minded awe before dark and uncanny forces.

Years ago in the government warfare against the Apache the inexorable purification ceremonies of the Pima almost canceled their usefulness to the United States troops as allies. Their loyalty and bravery were undoubted, but upon the killing of an enemy each slayer must retire for twenty days of ceremonial purification. He selected a ceremonial father who cared for him and performed the rites. This father had himself taken life and been through the purification ceremonies. He sequestered the slaver in the bush in a small pit where he remained fasting for sixteen days, each four days with a plunge into the river, no matter what the weather, and a slight change in the rules of fasting. Among the Papago the father feeds him on the end of a long pole.²⁴ His wife must observe similar taboo in her own house. On the sixteenth day the dance occurs. The slayer sits again in a small pit in the middle of the dance circle, a hole that allows him only the most cramped position, and the "braves," men who have qualified as warriors, dance for him. The end of the Papago ceremony is the rite of throwing the slaver, bound hand and foot into the river, after which he is loosed from his bonds, physically and spiritually. A bit of the hair of the men he has killed is placed by his "father" in a buckskin bag along with an owl feather to insure its blindness and a hawk feather to kill it, and by the ceremony this medicine is made subservient to his will. He embraces it, calling it "child," and uses it thereafter to bring rain.²⁵ The whole ceremony is one for drawing the teeth of a dangerous power and freeing the perpetrator from curse, to the end that the power may be rendered beneficent.

The Mohave had a ceremony of which we have less detail. The master of ceremonies alone could touch the scalp during the four-day ceremonies and he had to incense himself eight times daily.²⁶

As I pointed out in a previous discussion of the Southwest, there is no culture trait in Zuñi that presents so many unmodified likenesses to institutions outside the Pueblo as the scalp dance. From the point of view of

²⁴ D. D. Gaillard, AA, o.s., 7: 293-296, 1894.

²⁵ Russell, The Pima Indians. BAE-R 26: 204; J. William Lloyd, Aw-aw-tam Indian Nights, 90. Westfield, New Jersey, 1911; and Benedict, ms.

²⁶ Kroeber, Handbook, 752.

Pueblo cultural attitudes it presents strikingly atypical elements which are well-known for the central region of North America and at home there. One such is the biting of the scalp, reported from Laguna²⁷ and Zuñi. This act is performed in the face of a strong feeling of contamination from the scalp. In Zuñi they say that the woman upon whom this act devolves is free of the curse because she rises to the point of "acting like an animal." It is an almost unique recognition in this culture of the state of ecstasy, and is an instance of a diffused culture trait, the scalp dance, which has been accepted among the Pueblo without the reconstruction that would have been necessary to bring it into line with their dominant attitudes.

Accepting this fact, we may examine the Zuñi scalp dance to see in what directions it has been modified at their hands. In the first place, they have rephrased the release from the curse so that it is no longer, as with the Pima and Papago, a dramatization of ambivalent attitudes toward the sacred—on the one hand, the polluting, on the other, the powerful—but belongs with any retreat undertaken to gain membership in a society. The scalp dance in Zuñi is an initiation into the policing society of the bow priesthood. It is taken up into their pattern of providing formal fraternal organizations for handling every situation. The bow priesthood is an elaborate organization with special responsibilities, functioning for life. The curse of the slayer and the release from it are dwarfed by the pattern of initiation into a new set of social functions.

Similarly the cleaning of the scalp, which in more Dionysian cultures is done with the tongue, lapping the fresh drops of blood, in Zuñi is an adoption rite, a baptism in clear water which is performed by the father's sisters to give status in the clan group. It must be performed not only at adoption but at marriage, and, as we have seen, in the scalp ceremony. The idea underlying the act in Zuñi is that of adoption of a new, beneficent influence into tribal status—surely a clear example of the way in which Pueblo configurations draw the teeth of more violent behaviors.

Their attitude is especially clear in the scalp dance prayers:

For indeed the enemy Even though on rubbish He lived and grew to maturity By virtue of the corn priests' rain prayers (He has become valuable.) Indeed the enemy Though in his life He was a person given to falsehood

²⁷ Franz Boas, Keres Texts. AES-P 8: 290 (pt. 1).

He has become one to foretell How the world will be. How the days will be . . . Even though he was without value. Yet he was a water being. He was a seed being. Desiring the enemy's waters, Desiring his seeds. Desiring his wealth, Eagerly you shall await his days (the scalp dance). When with your clear water You have bathed the enemy (the scalp), When in the corn priests' water-filled court He has been set up. All the corn priest's children With the song sequences of the fathers Will be dancing for him. And whenever all his days are past, Then a good day, A beautiful day, A day filled with great shouting, With great laughter, A good day, With us, your children, You will pass.28

It is not dread and horror that find expression in such lines as these. Instead the attention is realistically turned upon his unremarkable mortal existence, and the contrast is made with his present beneficence as a means toward rain and crops.

Both the bereavement situation and the murder situation show therefore strong contrasts in the three North American cultural configurations we have considered. I shall arbitrarily select one other contrasting configuration that is perhaps nowhere in the world more strikingly illustrated than in North America. The pursuit of personal aggrandizement on the Northwest Coast is carried out in such a way that it approaches an institutionalization of the megalomaniac personality type. The censorship which is insisted upon in civilizations like our own is absent in such self-glorifications as a Kwakiutl public address, and when censorship functions, as among the tribes of the gulf of Georgia, their self-abasements are patently not expressions of humility but equivalents of the familiar self-glorification of the Kwakiutl. Any of their songs illustrate the usual tenor:

²⁸ Ruth Bunzel, Zuñi Ritual Poetry. BAE-R 43 (in press).

I am the great chief who makes people ashamed.

I am the great chief who makes people ashamed.

Our chief brings shame to the faces.

Our chief brings jealousy to the faces.

Our chief makes people cover their faces by what he is continually doing in this world

Giving again and again oil feasts to all the tribes.²⁹

I began at the upper end of the tribes. Serves them right! Serves them right! I came downstream setting fire to the tribes with my fire-bringer.

Serves them right! Serves them right!

My name, just my name, killed them, I, the great Mover of the world. Serves them right! Serves them right!³⁰

The energy of the culture is frankly given to competition in a game of raising one's personal status and of entrenching oneself by the humiliation of one's fellows. In a lesser degree this pursuit of personal prestige is characteristic of the Plains. But the picture is sharply contrasted. The Plains do not institutionalize the inferiority complex and its compensations. They do not preoccupy themselves with the discovery of insults in every situation. They are anything but paranoid. But it is in terms of these particular psychological sets that the pursuit of personal aggrandizement is carried out in the culture of the North Pacific coast. Probably the inferiority complex has never been so blatantly institutionalized. The greatest range of acts are regarded as insults, not only personal derogatory acts, but all untoward events like a cut from an axe or the overturning of a canoe. All such events threaten the ego security of the members of this paranoid-like civilization, and according to their pattern may be wiped out by the distribution of property. If they cannot be, the response is perfectly in character: the bubble of self-esteem is pricked and the man retires to his pallet for weeks at a time, or, it may be, takes his life. This extreme of negative self feeling is far removed from the exhibitions of shame due to indecent exposures or breaking of taboo in other regions. It is plain sulking, the behavior of a person whose self-esteem is all he has and who has been wounded in his pride.

All the circumstances of life are regarded on the Northwest Coast, not as occasions for violent grief or equally violent jubilation, occasions for freely expending energy in differentiated ways, but primarily as furthering, all of them alike, this insult contest. They are occasions for the required fight for prestige. Sex, the life cycle, death, warfare, are all almost equiva-

²⁹ Franz Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl. BAE-R 35: 1291.

³⁰ Boas, op. cit., 1381.

lent raw material for cultural patterning to this end. A girl's adolescence is an event for which her father gathers property for ten years in order to demonstrate his greatness by a great distribution of wealth; it is not as a fact in the girl's sex life that it figures in their culture, but as a rung of her father's ladder toward higher social standing, therefore also of her own. For since in this region all property that is distributed must be paid back with usury (else the recipient will entirely lose face), to make oneself poor is the prime act in acquiring wealth. Even a quarrel with one's wife is something only a great man may indulge in, for it entails the distribution of all his property, even to the rafters of his house. But if the chief has enough wealth for this distribution of property, he welcomes the occasion as he does his daughter's puberty as a rung in the ladder of advancement.³¹

This comes out clearly in the reinterpretation of the bereavement situation in this region. Even the cutting of the hair in mourning has become not an act of grief on the part of near relatives, but the service of the opposite phratry signifying their tribute to the greatness of the deceased, and the fact that the relatives of the dead are able to recompense them. Similarly it also is another step upward in the pursuit of prestige and the acquisition of wealth. All the services for the dead are carried out in like manner. The emphasis of the society at death fell upon the distribution of property by the bereaved phratry to the officiating opposite phratry. Without reference to its character as a loss- or danger-situation, it was used just as the occasion of the girl's first menstruation or a domestic quarrel to demonstrate the solvency of the family group and to put down rival claimants to like wealth. Among the Haida³² the great funeral potlatch, a year after the death, where this property was distributed, was organized around the transfer of winter-dance society membership to members of the host's phratry from members of the guests' phratry, in return for the property that was being distributed to them-an activity of course that has reference to ideas of ownership and prestige and winter ceremonial among the Haida but not to the loss involved in death nor yet to the danger associated with the corpse or the ghost. As the Kwakiutl say "they fight with property"i.e., to achieve and maintain status based on wealth and inherited prerogatives; therefore "they fight," also, with a funeral.

This reinterpretation of the bereavement situation in terms of the "fight with property" is, however, only a part of the Northwest Coast pattern of behavior. It is assimilated as well to the insult preoccupation. The death of a relative, not only in a war but by sickness or accident, was an affront

³¹ Boas, op. cit., 1359.

³² John R. Swanton, The Haida, Jesup Expedition Report 5: 176, 179.

to be wiped out by the death of a person of another tribe. One was shamed until the score had been settled. The bereaved was dangerous in the way any man was who had been grievously shamed. When the chief Neqapenkem's sister and her daughter did not come back from Victoria either, people said, because their boat capsized or they drank bad whiskey, he called together the warriors. "Now I ask you tribes, who shall wail? Shall I do it or shall another?" The foremost responded, "Not you, Chief, let some other of the tribes." They set up the war pole, and the others came forward saying, "We came here to ask you to go to war that someone else may wail on account of our deceased sister." So they started out with full war rites to "pull under" the Sanetch for the chief's dead relatives. They found seven men and two children asleep and killed all except one girl whom they took captive.³³

Again, the chief Qaselas' son died, and he and his brother and uncle set out to wipe out the stain. They were entertained by Nengemalis at their first stop. After they had eaten, "Now I will tell you the news, Chief," Qaselas said. "My prince died today and you will go with him." So they killed their host and his wife. "Then Qaselas and his crew felt good when they arrived at Sebaa in the evening.... It is not called war, but 'to die with those that are dead.' "³⁴

This is pure head hunting, a paranoid reading of bereavement that stands almost alone in North America. Here death is institutionalized in such practices as this as the major instance of the countless untoward events of life which confound a man's pride and are treated as insults.³⁵

Both the preoccupation with prestige and the preoccupation with insults underlie also the behavior centered around the killing of an enemy. The victory dance has become permanent, graded societies institutionalizing the most fiercely guarded prerogatives of these tribes; they constitute one of the most elaborate prestige organizations we know anything about. The original trait upon which they were built is preserved among the tribes to the south. It was a victory dance with the head of the enemy held in the teeth. As Professor Boas has shown, this became, as it was worked up into

³³ Boas, op. cit., 1363.

³⁴ Boas, op. cit., 1385.

³⁵ In this short survey I have emphasized the differentiated aspect of mourning on the Northwest Coast and omitted the strong institutionalization of death as uncleanliness in this region, as this trait is common to regions we have discussed. No area has carried further the idea of uncleanliness—mourners, menstruating women, women in childbirth, men and women after intercourse, are all unclean. This is institutionalized differently in different tribes as it comes into conflict with the prestige mechanisms.

the Northwest Coast configuration, the cannibal dance³⁶ and the pattern of the secret societies. The dancers of the Kwakuitl secret societies are still considered "warriors," and the societies, which are normally in operation only during the winter season, always function on a war party no matter what the season. Now these secret societies are the great validations of prestige and of wealth through the distribution of property, and the final Northwest Coast form of the germinal idea of the victory dance is therefore that of enormously elaborate, rigidly prescribed secret societies, membership in which establishes and validates social status.³⁷

The dominant drive being the competition for prerogatives, another turn is given to the situation of the person who has killed another. One can get prerogatives, according to their idea, not only through the death of relatives, but through that of a victim, so that if a person has been killed at my hands I may claim his prerogatives. The slayer's situation is therefore not one of circumventing a dread curse or of celebrating a triumph of personal prowess; it is one of distributing large amounts of wealth to validate the privileges he has taken by violence at the moment when, incidentally so far as institutional behavior goes, he took also the life of the owner. That is, the taking of life is dwarfed behind the immense edifice of behavior proper to the Northwest Coast configuration.

As in the bereavement situation, the pattern has led to the institutionalization of head hunting with all its rigid rules of procedure. Meled had killed the chief of the local group Gexsem.

If he (Meled) had paid a copper or if he had given his daughter to marry the elder brother of the one he had shot, then his local group would have been disgraced, because he paid in order not to be killed in return. Only those pay who are weak minded.

He did not pay, and he was killed in revenge. But the man who killed him on sight was not a member of the local group of the chief whose death he was avenging. That chief's mother paid the avenger a slave but it was a disgrace to her local group and in spite of Meled's death it was not counted that the stain upon the name of the dead chief's local group had been wiped out.

³⁶ 12th and Final Report on the North-Western Tribes. British Association for the Advancement of Science, 51, 1898.

³⁷ It is obvious from the nature of the case that this Northwest Coast game of prestige can only be played by selected members of the community. A large proportion of the tribe is no more than audience to these principal players, and the configuration of life for them necessarily differs. We need particularly to understand these "fan" cultures and the psychological attitudes characteristic on the one hand of the actors and on the other of those who make up the audience.

If another man of the local group Gexsem had killed Meled, then there would have been no disgrace to their group and all the men would have stopped talking about it.³⁸

Death on the North Pacific Coast, therefore, was primarily an insult situation and an occasion for the validation of prerogatives. It is taken up into the characteristic configuration of this region and made to serve the drives that were dominant in their culture.

There are of course aspects of culture, especially of material culture, which are independent of many of the aims and virtues a society may make for itself. I do not mean to imply that the fortunes of the sinew-backed bow will depend upon whether the culture is Dionysian or Apollonian. But the range of applicability of the point I am making is nevertheless greater than is generally supposed. Radin has for instance argued very cogently from Winnebago material for the great importance of individuality and individual initiative "among primitives."³⁹ Now the Plains and the Winnebago are among our great primitive examples, according to all observers, of high cultural evaluation of the individual. He is allowed institutionally guaranteed initiative in his life such as one cannot easily duplicate from other regions. One has only to compare it with the Pueblo to realize that Radin's point of very great personal initiative is a prime fact among the Winnebago and the western Plains, but not coextensive with primitive culture. It is an attitude to be studied independently in each area.

The same is also true of Malinowski's picture of the way in which the Trobrianders—and Melanesia generally, we may well add—have made reciprocity a basic behavior trait of their culture. He describes the reciprocal obligations of sea and land peoples, of chief and subjects, of the two sides of the house, of husband and wife and other selected reciprocating relatives, and he deduces from this that "tradition" is a weak word invoked by the anthropologist to cover our ignorance of what really holds "society" together, a function that is performed by reciprocity. But this organization of society here is of a definite type, highly uncharacteristic, say, of Siberia, and fundamental in any description of Melanesia. In what way it ties up with fundamental attitudes in that region is still to be defined.

Cultural configurations stand to the understanding of group behavior in the relation that personality types stand to the understanding of individual behavior. In the psychological field, behavior is no longer given the same

³⁸ Boas, op. cit., 1360.

³⁹ Primitive Man as Philosopher, 32 ff.

interpretation, say, for the cycloid and the schizoid type. It is recognized that the organization of the total personality is crucial in the understanding or even in the mere description of individual behavior.⁴⁰ If this is true in individual psychology where individual differentiation must be limited always by the cultural forms and by the short span of a human lifetime, it is even more imperative in social psychology where the limitations of time and of conformity are transcended. The degree of integration that may be attained is of course incomparably greater than can ever be found in individual psychology. Cultures from this point of view are individual psychology thrown large upon the screen, given gigantic proportions and a long time span.

This is a reading of cultural from individual psychology, but it is not open to the objections that always have to be pressed against such versions as Frazer's or Lévy-Bruhl's.⁴¹ The difficulty with the reading of husband's prerogatives from jealousy, and secret societies from the exclusiveness of age- and sex-groups, is that it ignores the crucial point, which is not the occurrence of the trait but the social choice that elected its institutionalization in that culture. The formula is always helpless before the opposite situation. In the reading of cultural configurations as I have presented it in this discussion, it is this selective choice of the society which is the crux of the process. It is probable that there is potentially about the same range of individual temperaments and gifts, but from the point of view of the individual on the threshold of that society, each culture has already chosen certain of these traits to make its own and certain to ignore. The central fact is that the history of each trait is understandable exactly in terms of its having passed through this needle's eye of social acceptance.

This involves another aspect of the problem of cultural configurations, that which concerns the adjustment of the individual to his society. As we have said, it is probable that about the same range of individual temperaments are found in any group. But the group has already made its cultural choice of those human endowments and peculiarities it will put to use. Out of small leanings in one direction or another it has bent itself so far toward some point of the compass that no manipulation can change its direction. Most of the persons born into the culture will take its bent and very likely incline it further. Those are most fortunate whose native dispositions are in accord with the culture they happen to be born into—those of realistic tendencies who are born among the western Plains, those who are liable to delusions of reference who are born on the Northwest Coast, the Apollon-

⁴⁰ William Stern, Die menschliche Persönlichkeit, Johann Ambrosius Barth, Leipzig, 1919.

⁴¹ See Clark Wissler, Science, 63: 193-201, 1916.

ians who are born among the Pueblo, the Dionysians who are born among the American Indians outside the Pueblo. In the particular situation we have been discussing, the person to whom violent indulgence in grief is congenial is well provided for culturally among the Cheyenne; the one who dreads violent expression and wishes to get the painful situation over with with a minimum of expression, in Isleta. The person who easily feels personal reference in any situation of life, even in death, finds his paranoid tendencies well channeled among the Kwakiutl.

Contrariwise, the misfit is the person whose disposition is not capitalized by his culture. The Dionysian who is born among the Pueblo must re-educate himself or go for nothing in the culture. The Apollonian, likewise, in California is shut out of social activity in so far as he cannot learn to take to himself the institutionalized behavior of the locality. The person who does not readily read insults into external events can only function with extreme difficulty on the north Pacific Coast or in northwestern California.

It is clear that there is not possible any generalized description of "the" deviant—he is the representative of that arc of human capacities that is not capitalized in his culture. In proportion as his civilization has committed itself to a direction alien to him, he will be the sufferer. The intelligent understanding of the relation of the individual to his society, therefore, involves always the understanding of the types of human motivations and capacities capitalized in his society and the congruity or incongruity of these with those that are native to the individual under discussion or are the result of early familial conditioning. It can always be unquestioningly assumed that by far the majority of any population will be thoroughly assimilated to the standards of their culture-they will learn to read life in terms of violence, or of sobriety, or of insults as the case may be. But the person who is at a loss in his society, the unavailable person, is not some one type to be specified and described on the basis of a universally valid abnormal psychology, but he represents the type not capitalized in the society to which he was born.

All this has a most important bearing on the formation and functioning of culture traits. We are too much in the habit of studying religion, let us say, or property complexes, as if the fundamental fact about them were a dependable human response: like awe, for example, or the "acquisitive instinct," from which they stemmed. Now there have been human institutions that do show this direct correspondence to simple human emotions death practices that express grief, mating customs that express sex preference, agricultural practices that begin and end with the provisioning of the tribe. But even to list them in this fashion makes forcibly clear how difficult it is to find such examples. As a matter of fact, agriculture and economic life in general usually sets itself other ends than the satisfaction of the food quest, marriage usually expresses other things more strikingly than sex preference, and mourning notoriously does not stress grief. The more intimately we know the inner workings of different cultures the more readily we can see that the almost infinite variability in any cultural trait if it is followed around the globe is not a mere ringing of the changes upon some simple underlying human response. Another and greater force has been at work that has used the recurring situations of mating, death, provisioning, and the rest almost as raw material and elaborated them to express its own intent. This force that bends occasions to its purposes and fashions them to its own idiom we can call within that society its dominant drive. Some societies have brought all this raw material into conspicuous harmony with this dominant drive, the societies to which on an a priori basis Sapir would allow the appellation of "genuine cultures."⁴² Many have not. Sapir holds that an honest self-consistency that rules out hypocritical pretensions is the mark of a genuine culture. It seems to me that cultures may be built solidly and harmoniously upon fantasies, fear-constructs, or inferiority complexes and indulge to the limit in hypocrisy and pretensions. The person who has an ineradicable drive to face the facts and avoid hypocrisy may be the outlaw of a culture that is nevertheless on its own basis symmetrical and harmonious. Because a configuration is well-defined it is not therefore honest.

It is, however, the reality of such configurations that is in question. I do not see that the development of these configurations in different societies is more mystic or difficult to understand than, for example, the development of an art style. In both if we have the available material we can see the gradual integration of elements, and growing dominance of some few stylistic drives. In both, also if we had the material, we could without doubt trace the influence of gifted individuals who have bent the culture in the direction of their own capacities. But the configuration of the culture nevertheless always transcends the individual elements that have gone to its making. The cultural configuration builds itself up over generations, discarcing, as no individual may, the traits that are uncongenial to it. It takes to itself ritual and artistic and activational modes of expression that solidify its attitude and make it explicit. Many cultures have never achieved this thoroughgoing harmony. There are peoples who seem to shift back and forth between different types of behavior. Like our own civilization they

⁴² E. Sapir, Culture, Genuine and Spurious. American Journal Soc. 29: 401-417, 1924.

may have received too many contradictory influences from different outside sources and been unable to reduce them to a common denominator. But the fact that certain people have not done so, no more makes it unnecessary to study culture from this angle than the fact that some languages shift back and forth between different fundamental grammatical devices in forming the plural or in designating tense, makes it unnecessary to study grammatical forms.

These dominant drives are as characteristic for individual areas as are house forms or the regulations of inheritance. We are too handicapped yet by lack of relevant descriptions of culture to know whether these drivedistributions are often coextensive with distribution of material culture, or whether in some regions there are many such to one culture area defined from more objective traits. Descriptions of culture from this point of view must include much that older fieldwork ignored, and without the relevant fieldwork all our propositions are pure romancing.

Columbia University, New York City