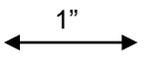
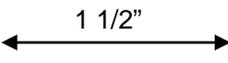


Edward B. Tylor was the curator of the University Museum at Oxford, and in 1871 published a book, *Primitive Culture*, which commences with the sentence, “Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.”<sup>1</sup>

In a contrary approach, Indian anthropologist, McKim Marriott, in his book, *India through Hindu Categories*, argues that “the traditional categories of sociological questioning themselves impose a culture upon respondents.” As examples of such western categories, he offers kinship, social structures, and religion, each of which “risks imposing an alien ontology and an alien epistemology” on Indian definitions of reality.<sup>2</sup> But the chapters of the book itself are organized into “spheres” (*lokas*) of religion, architecture, kinship, village organization, and state politics.<sup>3</sup>



While criticizing the concept of the spheres as an intrusion of western categories of experience, many authors persist in using the concept, unaware of doing so. What they deny in theory, they keep in practice. Tylor identified this by the term “survivals.”<sup>4</sup> In her study of the Ndembu in central Africa, Bali reached a surprising conclusion.<sup>5</sup> In this

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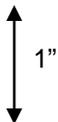
<sup>5</sup>Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*, vol.1 (New York: Henry Holt, 1874), 1.

<sup>6</sup>McKim Marriott, *India through Hindu Categories* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1989), 2.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 23.

<sup>8</sup>Tylor, 16.

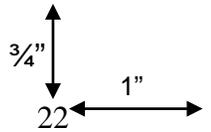
<sup>9</sup>Eleanor Bali, “The Ndembu of Central Africa: Parsing Culture,” updated 14 September 1997, <<http://www.africa.net/ebali/africastudies.html>> (cited 15 May 2000), para 14.



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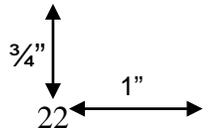
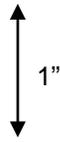
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In the late nineteenth century, Edward B. Tylor was the curator of the University Museum at Oxford. His book, *Primitive Culture*, commences with the sentence, “Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (1871, 1). In a contrary approach, Indian anthropologist, McKim Marriott argues that “the traditional categories of sociological questioning themselves impose a culture upon respondents.” As examples of such western categories, he offers kinship, social structures, and religion, each of which “risks imposing an alien ontology and an alien epistemology” on Indian definitions of reality (1989, 2). But the chapters of the book itself are organized into the “spheres” (*lokas*) of religion, architecture, kinship, village organization, and state politics (1989, 23).

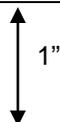
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*Note: On a regular page, the full references as given in this box would not appear. But for the sake of making clear what the parenthetical references above refer to, here are the full citations, which would ordinarily appear at the end of the paper in the List of References:*

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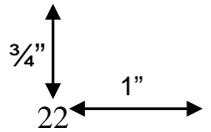
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