

STRUCTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AS A TRANSCENDENTAL PHILOSOPHY

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Introduction

Two things need to be explained before we talk about the topic. First is structural anthropology, second is transcendental philosophy. What is structural anthropology? It is one of the paradigms in socio-cultural anthropology -the branch of anthropology that deals with socio-cultural phenomena- developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss -a French anthropologist- in 1940s-1960s, which gained its popularity in 1970s and 1980s. Unlike other major anthropological paradigms at that time, which were mostly influenced by positivism and historicism, and were mostly considered as theories, Lévi-Strauss's structuralism was meant not only to become a new theory but a new epistemology as well ¹. This means that structural anthropology adopts different philosophical assumptions concerning human beings and their behavior, and socio-cultural phenomena in general, which separate it from other anthropological paradigms.

Second, is what is transcendental philosophy in philosophy. The term transcendent and transcendental is usually related to Immanuel Kant, a German philosopher. For him, the transcendent are the ideas which were beyond the range of any possible experience, while the transcendental are "those elements which were necessary constituents of experience, but which could not come from sense perception" ²

In the United States, transcendentalism had new different meanings. In 19th century transcendentalism was known in the US as a philosophical view which believed "in the superiority of intuitive to sensory knowledge".

¹ Lévi-Strauss, C. 1963. *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.

² Harding, W. 1973. "Transcendentalism". *Encyclopedia Americana* vol.27: 3-5.

Nevertheless, transcendentalism is “more correctly thought of as an intellectual, aesthetic, and spiritual ferment than as a strictly reasoned body of doctrine”³. The anonymous pamphlet in the US, “An Essay on Transcendentalism”, states the most commonly held principles of transcendentalists. “Transcendentalism...maintains that man has ideas that come not through the five senses; or the powers of reasoning; but are the result of direct revelation from God, his immediate inspiration, or his immanent presence in the spiritual world”. It also asserts that man has something besides the body of flesh, a spiritual body, with senses to perceive what is true, and right and beautiful, and a natural love for these, as the body for its food”⁴

In relation to our discussion on transcendental philosophy here, I would like to call the American transcendentalism of the 19th century as spiritual transcendentalism, which is different from transcendentalism in humanities and social science, which I would call structural transcendentalism. Structural transcendentalism holds that behind the socio-cultural phenomena and the human mind, there is what we call an unconscious structure, which can be known; can be understood; can be grasped. The structure is not an empirical phenomenon. It is beyond the empirical phenomena, we might say.

To understand and to grasp such a structure, it needs to be presented in the form of model. That is why a structure is sometimes also called a model. It is a model made or built by the social scientist to understand the socio-cultural phenomena under study.

In this article I would like to show that the structural anthropology developed by Lévi-Strauss is basically a transcendental philosophy. It is anthropology with a view that there is structure in the human mind, as well as beyond the human mind, from which various structures spring and develop and are manifested, expressed in human socio-cultural activities.

What are basic philosophical views or basic assumptions of Lévi-Strauss’s structural-ism about human being and socio-cultural phenomena?

Structural Anthropology: Basic Assumptions and Model

Lévi-Strauss’s structuralism cannot accept positivistic approach in social science, which pays attention solely to the real, empirical patterns

³ Harding, W. 1973. “Transcendentalism”. *Encyclopedia Americana* vol.27: 3

⁴ Harding, W. 1973. “Transcendentalism”. *Encyclopedia Americana* vol.27: 3

of interaction (such as Radcliffe-Brown's view on social structure), but it agrees with the view that anthropology or social science in general should pay greater attention to the "meaning" aspect of socio-cultural phenomena, by which it is meant the "objective meaning", not the subjective one. It is this objective meaning which is considered as the true meaning. In this case structuralism does not belong to the phenomenological nor to the hermeneutical camp, because structuralism's objective meaning lies beyond the empirical patterns of interaction and the conscious subjective meaning.

For Lévi-Strauss the aim of anthropology is to "understand" and to "explain" socio cultural phenomena, but the meanings of understanding and explanation here are different from the ones in phenomenology, in hermeneutics and in positivism. To understand in structural anthropology is to grasp the network of relationships of the phenomena under study, while to explain means to show, to uncover, to elucidate the "logic" behind the phenomena being studied.

In this case, all human behavior and their results, clothes, kinship and marriage system, culinary system, myths, rituals, enz. should be seen as linguistic phenomena, i.e. phenomena consisting of signs or systems of signs and meaningful symbols. A symbol is anything that is given meaning. It thus consists of three elements that is the symbol itself, the meaning and the relation between symbol and its meaning. There are two kinds of symbols: public symbol and private symbol⁵. Since human being is an animal symbolicum⁶, he always creates and uses symbols. In this case, the relation between symbol and its meaning is always arbitrary. Since it is arbitrary, -in the case of public symbol- the meaning of a symbol is consensual. It depends upon consensus. It may thus change.

A symbol is not a sign. A sign is not related to meaning. It has no meanings, but it has function. It is operational. Its meaning is thus its operation. The clearest example of a sign is a phoneme in language. Phoneme /p/ for instance has no meanings. It is a sound. But, it has function. Phoneme /p/ is different from /b/, so that we have /pig/ and /big/. 'Pig' is a symbol because we relate it to a certain thing, to a particular meaning, but /p/ in that word is not a symbol. It is a sign, which is different from phoneme /b/. The phoneme here, that is /p/ and /b/ serve to make /pig/ different from /big/.

⁵ Firth, R. 1970. *Symbol: Public and Private*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

⁶ Cassirer, E. 1945. *An Essay on Man*. Yale University Press.

A sign does not have "meaning" when it stands alone. A sign acquires its "meaning", i.e. its operation, within a context, that is within a system of relationships. This also the case with the symbol. Although it has referential meanings, we are not quite sure which meaning is "the meaning" of a symbol, until we put it in a particular context, or within a system of relationships. It is thus the relationships which are important in the eyes of the structuralists. Two kinds of relationships are identified paradigmatic (associative, synchronic) and syntagmatic (diachronic) relationships.

Since human activities and their products can be seen as symbols, like in language, they can also be seen as signs. If a word -which is a symbol- consists of signs, an action, an artifact, an idea -which is also symbol- consist of signs as well. Human activities are like language. They are symbols and signs. Behind these symbols and signs there lies a certain order which can be presented as abstract rules that control, guide, or determine their dynamics. For example, various kinship systems and marriages can be seen as a system of signs which signifies something. The rules that dictate the individuals how to choose their would be spouse from certain category is the grammar, that is a set of rules that govern which element can be combined with certain elements. These rules "say" something, signify something, so that we can identify them as bilateral system; matrilineal system or patrilineal system.

In analyzing socio-cultural phenomena structuralism gives more emphasis on the totality of a system rather than its parts. For structuralism the totality, the whole, and the parts will be better understood if the researcher pays more attention to the relations between the parts. Structuralism studies the parts and the relations between them. The elements of the phenomena are never treated as independent or isolated elements, separated from one another. The elements are seen as interrelated to one another. Their interrelationships, however, are neither causal nor functional, but logical, that is they are not empirical, but can be grasped through mind.

Structuralism tries thus to uncover the logic behind the various socio-cultural phenomena. The logic is not the explanations given by the researcher or the people being studied, but it is the logical relationships between the elements. It is the structure which is presented in the form of a model, by which the researcher understands the phenomena. A structure is thus also a model the researcher uses to comprehend, to understand the phenomena being studied. However, researchers do not have the same capability to grasp and build a structure, a model. It may thus happen that the same socio-cultural phenomena will generate different model from different

researchers. The superior model, the better model, in this case is the model that can 'explain' more data that can cover greater amount of data in one frame of interpretation.

The structure built by the anthropologist is a model representing the 'real' structure underlying the phenomena. This can be achieved if culture or socio-cultural phenomena are seen as linguistic phenomena. In linguistics the linguist tries to uncover the 'order', i.e. the grammar underlying various linguistic expressions, of which the speaker of the language are not aware. As we know, people use language to communicate. They can use it very well. However, most people are not conscious about the grammar, and many never know about the grammar at all. This also is the case with the socio-cultural phenomena. Many people are involved in various social interactions, they interact with one another, and yet they are unaware of the structure or the "grammar" that governs their socio-cultural activities. It is this structure that the structuralists try to elucidate, to uncover, and then describe it in the form of a model.

It is assumed here that humans have an innate capability in their mind to structure, to impose structure. This capability is genetically acquired. This means that there is a structuring force that governs, limits, and controls the range of possibilities of realization. There is thus a chance to find homology or correspondence of structures in various socio-cultural phenomena, such as myths, kinship systems, languages, architectures, enz., since these structures are products or expressions of the same innate structuring capacity.

Based on the assumptions above structural anthropologists try to uncover the relationships within the phenomenon under study, and build a particular model, through which the phenomenon becomes intelligible. These relationships, which are believed to exist in any socio-cultural phenomena, will be found in socio-cultural phenomena such as religion, myths, rituals, world views, daily activities of the people, enz. In this paper I try to show some of the structures in Islamic socio-cultural phenomena, including Koran.

Binary Oppositional Structures

In Islam certain structures can be found in various phenomena. Some of these are in the verses of Koran, some are in principles (*qā'idās*), and some are

in behavioral and material phenomena. The structures vary. There are binary oppositional structures, threefold structures, as well as fivefold structures

a. Allah - Messenger: Binary oppositional, fundamental, structure

The first binary opposition, which is the fundamental structure, in Islam can be found in the most fundamental principle, known as tauhid, which is expressed in the *shahādah*, the statement a person should make when he becomes a Muslim.

La ilāha ilallah, muhammadur rasūlullah

There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is His Messenger

Every Muslim should make this statement outwardly and inwardly. He states it outwardly with his tongue, inwardly with his “heart tongue”. The statement is the entrance to Islam, to Islamic life, to Islamic world, but it is not only a material entrance. It is also a spiritual entrance. He should believe that there is no other God, no other Lord, except Allah, and that Muhammad is His messenger.

It is also taught in Islam that Allah has created the universe. Allah is the Creator of everything in the universe, and human being is one of His creations, the highest creature in His creation, as far as we know. Allah is thus the Most Powerful, but He is also the Most Merciful, the Greatest of all. Muhammad is the best creature or servant among His creatures or servants. We find here a complementary oppositional relationship, a binary opposition relationship.

Allah - Muhammad

God - Messenger

Lord - Servant

These binary oppositions can be presented in the following model.

Model 1. The hierarchical binary oppositional structure



This binary opposition is the first and the most fundamental structure. The acceptance of *shahādah*, is thus an acceptance, an acknowledgement of the binary oppositions above.

Nevertheless, the binary structure can also be found in many verses in Koran. There are for instance the description of the *mu'min* and the *kaafir*, the good people and the bad people, the good person and the bad person, the right and the left, day and night, heaven and earth, enz.

b. Binary Oppositional Structures in Time

Before Sunrise - Before Sunset

“*Fa subhānallaāhi hīna tumsūna wa hīna tushshibūn*” (Ar Rūm: 17)

(So Glory be to Allah when ye reach eventide and when ye rise in the morning)

We have here a binary opposition of time. One is the time before the sun disappears on the horizon, the other is the time before the sun appears on the horizon. One is in the west, the other is in the east. It is thus also related to cardinal directions.

Night and Day

“*A lam tara annallāba yūlijjul laila fin nahāri wa yūlijjun nahāra fil laili..*”

(Luqmān: 29)

(Seest thou not that Allah merges Night into Day, And He merges Day into Night...)

Here we find another binary opposition in time. Night and day. A day here is divided into two, based on the presence and absence of the sun. When the sun is present the time is called “day”, when the sun is absent, the time is called “night”. Unlike the former binary opposition, this binary opposition is not related to space.

c. Binary Oppositional Structures in Space

We also find in Koran the expressions of the binary oppositional structure in space, such as “heaven and earth”, “sea and land”

Heaven and Earth

“*Wa labul hamdu fis samāwāti wal ardhi...*” (Ar Rūm: 18)

(Yea, To Him be praise in the heavens and on earth...)

“*Wa min aayaatihii khalqus samaawaati wal ardhi.*” (Ar Rūm: 22)

(And among His Signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth...)

“*Wa min āyātihī an taqūmas samā-u wal ardhu bi amrihī.*” (Ar Rūm: 25)

(And among His Signs is this, that heaven and earth stand by His command...)

“*A lam tarau annallāba sakhhara lakum mā fis samāwāti wa mā fil ardhi.*”

(Luqmān: 20)

(Do ye not see that Allah has subjected to your (use) all things in the heavens and on earth....)

“*Lillāhi mā fis samāwāti wal ardhi.*” (Luqmān, 26)

(To Allah belong all things in heaven and earth....)

Land and Sea

“*Zhabaral fasādu fil barri wal bahri bi mā kasabat āidin nāsi.*” (Ar Rūm:

41)

(Mischievousness has appeared on land and sea because of (the deed) that the hands of men have earned...)

There are actually many more binary oppositional structures in space, but the examples are enough to show that such a structure can be found in many verses.

d. Binary oppositional structures in heavenly bodies

Another kind of binary oppositional structure is related to heavenly bodies, especially the sun and the moon.

Sun and Moon

“..*wa sakbkeharasy syamsa wal qamara kulluy yajrii ilā ajalim musamman..*”

(Luqmān: 29)

(..that He has subjected the sun and the moon (to His Law) each running its course for a term appointed...)

e. Binary Oppositional Structures in Human's State

In Koran We can also find other binary oppositions which are related to the local situations and conditions. There is a binary opposition related to the general conditions of human beings today, it can be the conditions of their lives (living and dead), their nature (seen and unseen), the conditions of their faith (believers and unbelievers), their physical nature or gender (male and female). The following verses show those binary oppositions.

Living and Dead (Life and Death)

“*Yukbrijul hayya minal mayyiti wa yukbrijul mayyita minal hayyi / wa yuhyil ardha ba'da mantihā...” (Ar Rūm: 19)*

(It is He Who brings out the living from the dead, and brings out the dead from the living, and Who gives life to earth after it is dead...)

We have here the binary opposition of living and dead, life and death. Through this binary opposition Allah reminds us that He alone who can make alive something which is already dead, and He alone who can make something alive dead.

Seen and Unseen

“...*wa asbagha 'alaikum ni'amahū shāhīratay wa bāthīnatay...” (Luqmān: 20)*

(...and has made His bounties flow to you in exceeding measure, (both) seen and unseen...)

Believers and Unbelievers

The third binary opposition is related to the conditions of faith. The social category here is believers and unbelievers. This kind of binary opposition can be found in the following verses:

A fa man kāna mu'minan ka man kāna fāsiqal lā yastawīn (As Sajadah: 18)

(It is then the man) who believes no better than the man who is rebellious and wicked? Not equal are they)

“Ammal ladzīna amanū wa ‘amilush shālihāti fa labum jannātul ma’wā nuḥulam bi mā kānū ya’malūn” (As Sajadah: 19)

(For those who believe and do righteous deeds, are Gardens as hospitable homes, for their good deeds)

“Wa ammal ladzīna fasaqū fa ma’wāhumun nāru kullamā arādū ay yakbrujū minhā u’rdū fibā ...” (As Sajadah: 20)

(As to those who are rebellious and wicked, their abode will be the Fire. Every time they to get away there from, they will be forced thereinto...)

The verses of surāh Sajadah above clearly state that the believers are not the same as the unbelievers. The believers who perform good deeds will be granted a place to live forever in the paradise, as a return from Allah for what they have done in this life, for what they have done so far

f. Binary Oppositional Structures in Human Relations

Father and Son

“Yā ayyuhan nāsut taqū rabbakum wakh syau yaumal lā yajzī wallidun ‘aw waladīhī wa lā maulūdun huwa jāzīn ‘aw wālīdīhī syai-an...” (Luqmān: 33)

(O mankind! do your duty to your Lord and fear (the coming of) a Day when no father can avail aught for his son, nor a son avail aught for his father...)

g. Binary Oppositional Structures in Moral State

“*Dzālika bi annallāha humal haqqu wa anna mā yad’ūna min dūnihil bāthilu...*”

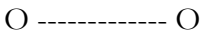
(Luqmān: 30).

(That is because Allah is the Truth and because whatever else they invoke besides Him is Falsehood...)

The opposition between something *haq* and *bāthil* appears many times in Koran. This opposition appears to remind the believers about the *haq* they have to follow and the *bāthil* they have to leave and reject.

We find here the second pattern of binary oppositional structures, which is not hierarchical and can be presented as follows.

Model 2. The non-hierarchical binary oppositional structure



Threefold Structure

Another structure we can find Islam, is the threefold structure, which is a further development of the binary oppositional structure

a. Allah - Rasulullah - Nature: The Fundamental Threefold Structure

The threefold structure consists of three elements. This structure is manifested in various forms. For instance in the statement of the prophet that he was sent as “blessing, mercy for the whole universe” (*rahmatan lil ālamin*). This statement contains three elements, they are: (a) the One who gives the blessings, the Most Merciful, (b) the *rahmāt*, the blessing itself (i.e. prophet Muhammad), and (c) the ones who receive the blessings, that the whole universe, including human beings.

Relations between these three elements are hierarchical, in which Allah the Giver of blessing is the most superior, and the universe, the human life, as the receiver of the blessing is inferior, and Muhammad, The Messenger as the blessing (*rahmāt*) is in-between. Prophet Muhammad. is on the one hand part of the universe, for he is also a human being, on the other hand he is also different from other elements or creatures in the universe, since he is from Allah, and was given to the universe. In the language of

the structuralists, prophet Muhammad was a person in a liminal position, betwixt and between.

The liminal position was clearly reflected in miraculous Isra' Mi'raj, when the prophet was taken by the angel Gabriel to meet Allah. In the story of Isra' Mi'raj it is narrated that prophet Muhammad all alone had met and had seen Allah. Gabriel could not accompany him anymore in that situation. In this encounter prophet Muhammad received the order from Allah to perform five times prayer a day instead of fifty times, on particular times. Although only five times it is accounted as fifty times.

Model 3. The hierarchical threefold structure



b. Three Categories (Groups): Threefold Structures of People

In Al Waaqi'ah verse 7-12; 27; 41; 88-94, we find the descriptions of three kinds of people

“.....

Wa kuntum azwājan tsalātsah

Fa ash-hābul maimanati mā ash hābul maimanah

Wa ash-hābul masy-amati mā ash-hābul masy-amah

Was sābiqūnas sābiqun

Ulā-ikal muqarrabūn

Fī jannātin na'im

.....

Wa ash-hābul yamīni mā ash-hābul yamīn (verse 27)

.....

Wa ash-hābusy syimāli mā ash-hābusy syimāl (verse 41)

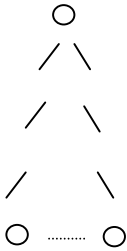
.....

Fa ammā in kāna mīnal muqarrabīn (verse 88-94)

Fa raḥim wa raḥīm wa jannatu na'im
Wa ammā in kāna min ash-hābil yamīn
Fa salāmul laka min ash-hābil yamīn
Wa ammā in kāna minal mukadḏzibīnadh dhāḥilīn
Fa nuḏulum min hamīm
Wa tashliyatu jabīm

In sūrah Al Waqī'āh above we find three categories of people. The first are the ones who are close to Allah, the *muqarrabīn*. The second are those who are on the right side, who will be put by Allah in the paradise, while the third are the left, those who will be taken to hell. These three categories can be put together in a single model as follows.

Model 4. The threefold / triangle structure ○



b. Three Parts: Threefold in Al Fātihah

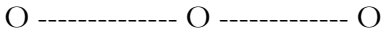
Based on the Prophet’s statement in hadith Qudsi, Al Fātihah can be divided into three parts. The first part consists of the first, the second and the third verses. The second part is the fourth verse, “*Iyyāka na’budu wa iyyāka nasta’in*”. When a Moslem re-cites this verse, Allah according to the prophet said to him, “This is for you and for me”. The third part consists of the fifth, the sixth and the seven verses, which according to the prophet are for the servant, the human being who recites that verse (*ayāt*)

c. Three Parts: Threefold Structures in Salāh

According to a Moslem friend, there is in *salāh* the middle part that is the *i’tidal*, which means “the middle”. *I’tidal* is a part of the salah after the

ruku'. This I think explains the fact that those who come to congregational prayer and manage to find the *ruku'* (before *i'tidal*) he is considered as finding the whole *raka'at*, but those who find the *i'tidal* part or thereafter are considered as missing the whole *raka'at*, thus he has to re-peat the whole *raka'at* he missed. This shows that a *raka'at* (cycle) of a *salah* is divided into three parts: the first part consists of the standing and the *ruku'*, the second is the *i'tidal* (the standing after the *ruku'*), the third consists of the *sujud* (prostrate), the (sitting), the *sujud* and the sitting as the end of a *raka'at*. The model is as follows (Model 5).

Model 5. The non-hierarchical threefold structure



5. Fivefold Structures

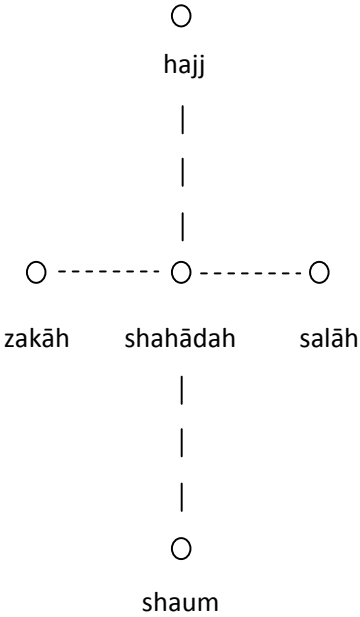
In addition to the above structures, there is also another more complex structure, consisting of five elements, which we may call “fivefold structure”. This structure can be found for instance in the fundamental principles of Islam or the pillars of Islam.

a. Five Pillars of Islam: The Fundamental Fivefold Structure

It is narrated that prophet Muhammad had said that Islam was built on five pillars. They are testimony of faith (*shahādah*), ritual prayer (*salah*), giving alms (*zakāh*), fasting (*sawm*) and pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*). Although these five principles are not equal, they cannot be reduced. Hajj for instance, is not an obligation for those who cannot afford to go to Mecca while for those who are rich, it becomes an obligation. In this case performing hajj depends on one’s wealth. Nevertheless, that does not mean that there are thus only four pillars in Islam. The pillars are still five and no Moslem can or may reduce them.

As I have mentioned above, the *shahādah* is like an entrance to Islam. It is the first thing to do to become a Moslem, while hajj is the last. Based on this, we can build a model of a structure consisting of five elements as follows.

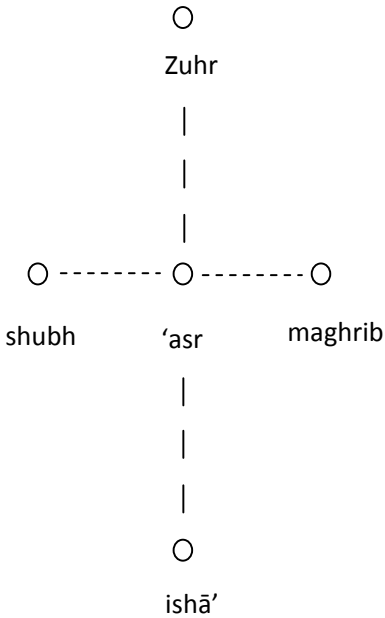
Model 6. The structure of the five pillars of Islam



**b. Shubb - Zuhr – ‘Asr - Maghrib - Ishā’:
Fivefold Structure in Salāh**

Another fivefold structure is the obligation to perform *salāh* or daily prayer. The five times obligatory prayer. They are *shubb*, *zūbr*, ‘*asr*, *maghrib* and *ishā*’. The morning prayer (*Shubb*) should be done before sunrise, the mid-day prayer (*zūbr*) from mid-day to mid-afternoon, the afternoon prayer (‘*asr*) from mid-afternoon to sunset, the sunset prayer (*maghrib*) after sunset, and the night prayer (*ishā*) from nightfall to midnight. The number of cycles (*raka’āt*) in each *salāh* is not the same. In *salāh shubb*, there are only two cycles. The three cycles is only for *salāh maghrib*, while in *salāh zūbr*, *salāh ‘asr* and *ishā*’, there are four cycles. This does not mean that *salāh* with the least cycles, that is *shubb*, is the least important. These *salāh* are all equals. They are all equally important, and thus cannot be reduced.

Model 7. The structure of the daily salāhs



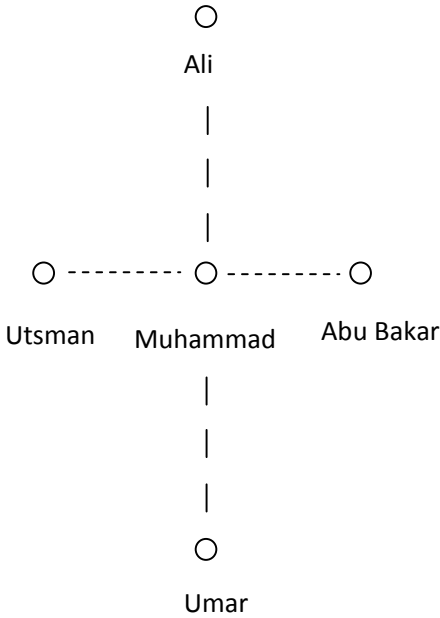
Can we describe the second fivefold structure like the first one? Of course, because among these five *salāhs* there is what is called *salāh mustba*, or central *salāh*, that is *salāh ‘asr*. However, this does not mean that this *salāh* is the most important. Based on this, we can put *salāh ‘asr* in the center, and thus we have the same structure here. We have here two similar structures of different order or level. One is more abstract than another. The order of principles is more abstract than the order of *salāh*, because the *salāh* are behavioral patterns, while the pillars are ideas.

**c. Muhammad and the Four Caliphs:
Fivefold Structure in Leadership**

Still we have another fivefold structure of a more concrete level. Among the Moslems, especially the *ablus sunnah wal jamā’ah* (the aswaja), the accepted leaders in the history of Islam were five. They are the prophet Muhammad himself, and the four caliphs (khalīfahs). The khalīfahs were Abu Bakar, Umar, Utsman and then Ali. Al-though there were other leaders after them, and there are other great leaders in Islamic communities, it is those four leaders which are accepted by all Moslems as the true leaders, because they

are the closest ones to the prophet. They were his closest companions who were appointed as leaders by the early Moslems. We have here also five elements, which can be put into the same model, such as follows.

Model 8. The fivefold structure in Islam leadership



Conclusion: The Transcendental Structure

We see from the analysis above that there are at least three kinds of structure we find in Islamic socio-cultural phenomena. First is the binary oppositional structure, which has two kinds of variations: hierarchical and non-hierarchical. Second is the threefold structure which has three kinds of variations, the hierarchical, the non-hierarchical and the triangle, third is the fivefold structure.

Those structures are neither material nor spiritual. They are above the material, the behavioral, as well as the spiritual phenomena, but they are manifested, expressed in material, behavioral and spiritual phenomena. They are thus the transcendental structures in Islam. Are those structures universal? Can we find them in other religions? To answer these questions we need to analyze data from other religions. ❖

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