

THE WINDINGS OF DESTINY: The Tribal Image in Edith Wharton's
THE AGE OF INNOCENCE

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"There are moments when a man's imagination, so easily subdued to what it lives in, suddenly rises above its darkly level and surveys the long windings of destiny. Archer hung there and wondered..."¹

To analyse Edith Wharton's The Age of Innocence, two aspects must be taken into account: the obvious delineation of group behaviour in the New York society of the end of the nineteenth century, with its codes and rituals; and its subtler aspects of primitive attitudes and values, around which the author's own traditional beliefs play, perhaps, a very important part. In this study I will try to consider both though it is my aim to deal more deeply with the latter. I am well aware that very often the two levels are intermixed and the unconscious rises above the superficial narration.

Edith Wharton pictures the social system as a strong net of conventions that keeps the group together and strengthens the links among the members of the families of which New York FAMILY is made up. As Radcliffe Brown puts it:

Os valores sociais vigentes numa sociedade prio

mitiva são mantidos mediante sua expressão nos costumes rituais ou cerimoniais. ²

This is true of the Mingotts, the Van der Luydens, the Selfridge Merrys, the Archers, the Wellands, and everybody in "the tribe", as she so often calls them in her novel. They follow the rites of "good form" blindly. They had their especial arrays to go out; women must wear their bridal dresses twice or three times in the first year following their wedding, just as they are expected to put on "proper" clothes when dining at home. Rich young men are not supposed to work hard, though they go into some profession — chiefly law — because it is "proper." They meet at their club to talk over the same subjects and are not allowed to go into politics, for propriety so forbids: "a gentleman couldn't go into politics" (p. 123). Marriage, as in ancient tribes, is a matter of material and social interests associated. It means an interchange of women (or men) and family possessions. Young ladies are unconsciously led to being "nice" so as to become perfectly controlling wives. They don't think; they keep on fulfilling their tasks as preservers of the tribal rites. This kind of life is empty but nobody notices it. People in the small aristocratic group go about their acquired pleasures and obligations in the same way savages follow the ever-renewed rites of religion and cyclic ceremonies: the winter Race Cup of the Beauforts; the annual Opera nights at the Academy; the Church Service on Sundays; the China and Silver ware for

great dinners with a hired chef, Roman punch and menus on gilt-edged cards; the flowers that young men send every day to their betrothed. These and every other detail prescribed and respected by society do not differ much from the unlearned behaviour of the primitive. Edith Wharton shows and criticizes that, though she is not entirely rid of its charm. The New York aristocracy that she lively recreates is the group where nobody can be authentic, where the goddess "Form" presides over everything and the unpleasant must be thoroughly ignored and avoided. Rites are performed with untainted perfection in the same way as the respect for the ancestors and the important elders (such as old Catherine Mingott and the Van der Luydens), is paid humbly and blindly in a state close to awe. She sees that society critically though with some sort of tenderness for the lost peace of the close of last century:

In reality they all lived in a kind of hieroglyphic world, where the real thing was never said or done or even thought, but only represented by a set of arbitrary signs.(p.42)

'... if we don't all stand together, there'll be no such thing as Society left.' (p. 48)

Youngsters are brought up to preserve the settled values of their ancestors, without even questioning them. They grow up and get married so as to rear their own children in such a way that the latter will duplicate the

puppets into which their parents, too, have been made. Men believe what they have been told about the ideal wife and perfect domesticity; they get married and are expected to do "their duty," to be loyal and keep up with the normal flow of life in their homes. Girls worry about the right clothes for every social event, put on placid attitudes that help ignore the unpleasant, learn how to rule over their homely kingdom and wear the unchangeable mask of undisturbed balance and happiness. Archer, too, has been taught to obey the social laws and accept that sort of life. But he sometimes feels that it is not quite what he wants. He is fond of May but he would like her to have her independent thoughts. So he tries to make her read and come in contact with art. He knows that their world is false but he has been thoroughly conditioned by it and is unable to change its values. The only thing is to keep pretending and feel dead:

That terrifying product of the social system he belonged to and believed in, the young girl who knew nothing and expected everything, looked back at him like a stranger through May Welland's familiar picture. (p. 40)

Conformity to the discipline of a small society had become almost his second nature. (p. 325)

Archer's New York is the closed group where the "foreigner" is not allowed and if he or she succeeds in entering there, it can only be by the hands of one of the

half-sacred idols. (That is how Beaufort manages to become one of them). People in the separate "clans" exchange their children so that the "tribe" remains composed of the same families. And these families will get together whenever it is necessary to back up their relatives. They have realized that their strength lies in their union and that their "Society" will be maintained only by their sticking to the rites and beliefs which the "initiated" are allowed to know and participate in. They cannot and will not intermix with people from other tribes, so as to avoid losing the very springs of their holy group needs and values, as Mrs. Archer states:

'... we belong here, and people should respect our ways when they come among us.' (p. 91)

Archer, too,

... thanked heaven that he was a New Yorker, and about to ally himself with one of his own kind.
(p. 29)

Life for them means simply being equal to the other members of the tribe. Marriage is a succession of dual submissive behaviour; it lacks communication except when communicating is necessary for tribal treasures to be saved. The individual is not important; it is the tribe that matters. When man and woman get together they have to go through the same sacrificial rites their ancestors have

performed. And everybody accepts that willingly, without questioning their own separate yearnings; if there are dreams they must remain in a dark corner of the soul while the faces evince the social smiles of those who are absolutely able to avoid "the unpleasant" because their society will never admit of individual feelings. That aristocratic place symbolized by Fifth Avenue means every sign of outward remonstrance just as it points out to you the degrees people are allowed to possess. Men and women belong in their clans and receive the respect due to their rank. They follow unconsciously the dogmas of their cult even though these dogmas go side by side with slavery to the social code.

Ellen Olenska, though a Mingott, is a "foreigner" and as such she realizes that that heaven is but the hell of pretences:

'Does no one want to know the truth here, Mr. Archer? The real loneliness is living among all these kind people who only ask one to pretend.'

(p. 75)

She can detect what lies beneath the surface of joyful acceptances:

'You never did ask each other anything, did you? And you never told each other anything! You just sat and watched each other, and guessed at what was going on underneath.' (p. 359)

If someone like Ellen tries to shake the roots of society, he or she will absolutely be either banished or ignored — the members of the tribe will sacrifice him or her coldly and tacitly.

One aspect in The Age of Innocence cannot be passed by; and that is the author's intention of creating an Olympus-like New York. There is the appearance of peace and trust. Even the environment is that of Greek mythology, with the green fields, the special dinners with Jupiter/Van-der-Luyden presiding over them or May/Diana casting her arrow towards her goal. And Archer the hero is there, daring to love a dark goddess come from the unknown, a goddess who has looked the Gordon in the eye and acquired the wisdom owned by immortals only. May says that Countess Olenska seems to understand everything; and she does. On Olympus the gods would not permit any interference with their designs — in New York, the High Society will not allow anybody to go against their moral principles. When it comes to deciding between a member of the clan and a social tribute not paid, the sacrifice is certain: the infractor must be smitten. When the Beauforts affront the established financial morals, they die to the group. Old Catherine will not have their names spoken before her and society will never forgive them despite the fact that the parties they used to offer can never be substituted. And when Archer and Ellen fall in love with each other the whole tribe contrives to banish the "foreign" goddess and gather about the weak relative (May) whose domestic sanctuary has to be preserved at all costs:

... he saw all the harmless-looking people engaged upon May's canvass-backs as a band of dumb conspirators, and himself and the pale woman on his right as the centre of their conspiracy. (p. 338)

The age of innocence is the lost unconscious period of old New York which, to Edith Wharton, means much more than an object for criticism. She seems to miss the darkness synonymous with innocence and she betrays her tenderness despite the irony that she pours forth in her novel.

The rituals of the season, such as summer in Newport and winter full of balls and Opera nights, are sacredly performed and the same is true of other social tributes. The wedding-ring, the betrothal visits, the cigars in the library after dinner, the parading of gentlemen before the guest of honour, all of them are beautifully summarized as rituals in the chapter about Archer's and May's nuptials. That is one of the moments when the reader feels the intermixing of the two levels of tribal images — the obvious one, with Mrs. Wharton's allusion to sacred and everlasting ceremonies, and the deeper one, with Archer as the hero who has had a chance to be enlightened but who nevertheless remains bound, on account of his human condition, by the tribal chains which reflect his own destiny as a mythical hero: he has to endure suffering and bondage for the renewal of earthly life.

At this point I turn to the deep level of the novel. But before my doing so let us have a general look at some

aspects of tribal images. The first thing to attract one's attention is the word myth. Could The Age of Innocence be lined up with the primitive myths? I would say it could. The myth is a sequential story that seeks to organize chaos into accepted reality. To Mircea Eliade it provides models for human behaviour and confers significance and values to human life:

... os mitos descrevem as diversas, e algumas vezes dramáticas, irrupções do sagrado (ou do sobrenatural) no Mundo. É essa irrupção do sagrado que realmente fundamenta o Mundo e o converte no que é hoje. ³

The mythical hero is doomed to live between two realities: the worldly one and the one come from some remote past (which is felt as a dream by mankind). Throughout the sequence of events he has the apprehension of time as being simultaneously irrevocable (earthly) and ever renewed (primordial, indefinite, reversible), the sacred time. In his Le mythe de L'éternel retour⁴, Eliade states that the world was supposed by the primitive to have cyclic phases of chaos followed by renewal, and that renewal was achieved through the coming together of gods and man. But after the new cycle begins, the hero who has helped the gods recreate human life is not allowed to keep company with the deities. In the novel here studied the hero — Newland Archer — gets to communicate and come together with the *foreign goddess* who has brought chaos to the tribal life —

Ellen Olenska — but he is not able to prevail over his fate, as she won't have him leave his clan to return with her to her place beyond the sea; he remains in the world of human reality, but still has glimpses of the dreamland where his feelings for the goddess keep burning.

... once more Archer became aware of having been adrift far off in the unknown. What was it that had sent him there, he wondered? (p. 186)

... and suddenly the same black abyss yawned before him and he felt himself sinking into it, deeper and deeper in. (p. 187)

Newland experiences thus two kinds of reality:

- a) social: expressing the existing relationship between diverse aspects of social life and cultural codes;
- b) natural: reflecting the principles of the workings of the mind.

This double existence is in itself, according to Bradcock, the structure of myth.⁵

The second point to be considered is the formation and maintenance of the tribes. To Lévi-Strauss⁶ the tribes are formed from the inter-relationship of clans. They are limited to their members and won't accept people from other groups. As he puts it, in As Estruturas Elementares do Parentesco,

... as sociedades primitivas fixam as fronteiras

da humanidade nos limites do grupo tribal, fora do qual elas não vêm senão estranhos, isto é, sub-homens sujos e grosseiros, talvez mesmo não homens: feras perigosas ou fantasmas.⁷

As it has been already pointed out that was the behaviour of the clans, in The Age of Innocence, towards the "foreigners," "people who wrote" and other artists. To the French anthropologist the individual was formed according to his social position through conditioning experiences of action and self-denial. There are opposing structures of aggression and conciliation, war and peace, good and evil, order and disorder. As the events in Mrs. Wharton's novel take place, one is aware of the intermingling of the above mentioned oppositions. Ellen Olenska is subject to different attitudes from her relatives as she shakes the roots of their limited universe. They back her up when she comes from Europe but they manage to send her back after a period when they overtly ignore her presence. Some people try to avoid her at first, to crowd around her later on. They are good to her, and they make her suffer.

The origin of the tribe seems to rest on the system of marriages inside the clans. One has, then, an endogamic system (the tribe) made of an exogamic one (the clans). Lévi-Strauss points out that cousins get married so as to preserve the possession of lands and cattle as well as their original values:

Os casamentos entre as castas conduzem à consti-

tuição de novas castas e ao desenvolvimento do modelo inicial.⁸

To Radcliffe Brown,⁹ the essential characteristic of primitive society is the regulation of behaviour as the result of clan fixed patterns of conduct. The tribe thus constituted survives rigidly by observing all outward remonstrations of solidarity and social obligations. The cyclic rituals are rigorously performed so as to reassure the family gods of their worshippers' fidelity and to renew their blessings in order to maintain the security that men need, and retain the people's stability in what concerns living. Lévi-Strauss analyses some myths of American tribes in which these rites are performed and situations return to normality through the interference of a mediator who is very often half-god and half-man. This mediator, propped by human help and sacred symbols, can counteract evil and see the hero to his success, or he may help the gods in their penetration among men. I see the Van der Luydens as this kind of mediator. Mr. Van der Luyden opens the doors of the tribe to the *foreign* Countess Olenska. He is feared and respected and nobody dares to find any fault with him except Ellen, who can speak freely of their house and its coldness, because she does not belong to those people's limited circle, and comes from beyond the sea (a universal symbol for the unknown). In the moment of her departure Mr. Van der Luyden remains in town, so as to support the group in their final decision and he is the one who (very meaningfully) takes her away from Newland's view for good,

after the Archers' farewell dinner. The old man is really above the other mortals of the tribe and can dispense justice, as he does when asked to support Ellen on her arrival:

There was a silence during which the tick of the monumental ormolu clock on the white marble mantelpiece grew as loud as the boom of a minute-gun. Archer contemplated with awe the two slender faded figures, seated side by side in a kind of vice-regal rigidity, mouth-pieces of some remote ancestral authority which fate compelled them to wield, when they would so much rather have lived in simplicity and seclusion, digging invisible weeds out of the perfect lawns of Skuytercliff, and playing Patience together in the evenings. (p. 52)

The Countess, as the divine orphan come to bewilder and then reorganize the world, is helped by Mr. Van der Luyden, while she is necessary for the development of the myth:

She had Beaufort at her feet, Mr. Van der Luyden hovering above her like a protecting deity... (p. 63)

And it is at Skuytercliff that Ellen and Newland can communicate deeply for the first time.

To Lévi-Strauss and others the concept of marriage was closely linked to the existing relationship among the members of the family, in primitive tribes. Men married their

cousins on their mothers' side but were not allowed to marry their cousins on their fathers' side or vice-versa; there was formed, then, either the matriarchal or the patriarchal society. As they got married they moved to their new clan and started their lives with what the Romans called IUS IN PERSONAM (he or she had rights and duties towards his/her clan) and IUS IN REM (all the other people in the clan had duties towards that person). In matriarchies, when a young man married in the clan, he usually had the IUS IN PERSONAM but never IUS IN REM. His rights IN REM remained in the group he had come from. He was responsible for the birth rate but had no prominent rôle in the family, though he was very often loved by his wife and children and might become an object of affection with them. The main decisions were made by the women, not by the men. In The Age of Innocence matriarchy is quite obvious. The Mingott clan is ruled over by "cunning" old Catherine; in the beginning of the book she is represented at the Academy by her daughter and her sister-in-law. In the Welland family the father is a dismal figure while mother and daughter govern the house and feel responsible for the males in the "clan." This is clearly put by Edith Wharton as can be seen from the following instances:

Mr. Welland was a mild and silent man, with no opinions but with many habits. (p. 116)

Mrs. Welland says:

'Having an invalid to care for, I have to keep my mind bright and happy.' (p. 145),

though Mr. Welland is no invalid. Little by little May also assumes her ruling position in her new home; Archer realizes that

She became the tutelary divinity of all his old traditions and reverences. (p. 197)

When May tells Archer of her decision to offer Ellen a farewell dinner and as he tries to avoid it, she quite decisively states her having made up her mind:

'A dinner — why?' he interrogated.
Her colour rose. 'But you like Ellen — I thought you'd be pleased.'
'It's awfully nice — your putting it in that way. I really don't see —'
'I mean to do it, Newland, she said, quietly rising and going to her desk. 'Here are the invitations all written. Mother helped me — she agrees that we ought to.' She paused, embarrassed and yet smiling, and Archer suddenly saw before him the embodied image of the Family. 'Oh, all right', he said, staring with unseeing eyes at the list of guests that she had put in his hand. (p. 335)

Also Mrs. Archer, who loved her son, carefully looking after him, is the one to say the decisive words in almost everything at home; one sees, for instance, that the library, in the

Archers',

was the only room in the house where Mrs. Archer allowed smoking. (p. 2)

After all, the clans and consequently the tribe in the novel, constitute a perfect matriarchy:

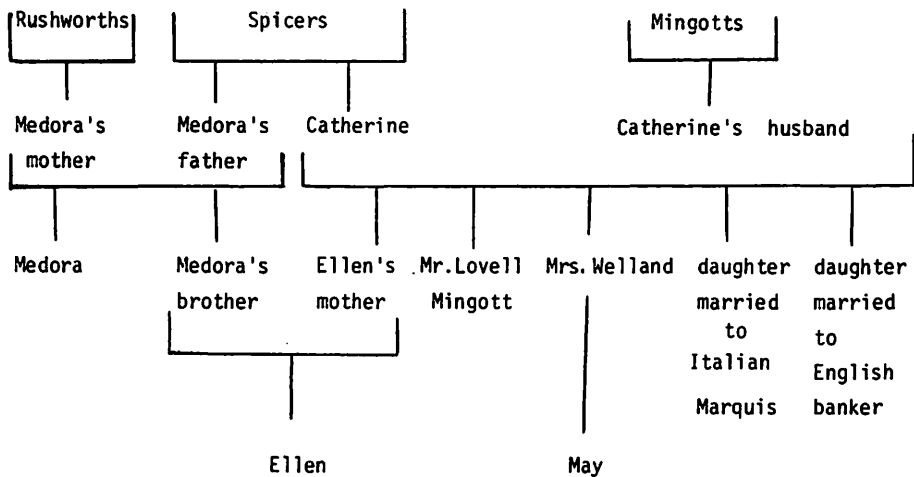
Archer felt himself oppressed by this creation of factitious purity, so cunningly manufactured by a conspiracy of mothers and aunts and long-dead ancestresses... (p. 43)

The book delineates the family branches and in it most characters are related to the two main groups which are on their turn inter-related themselves. The two main stems of the social aristocracy in Newland Archer's New York are:

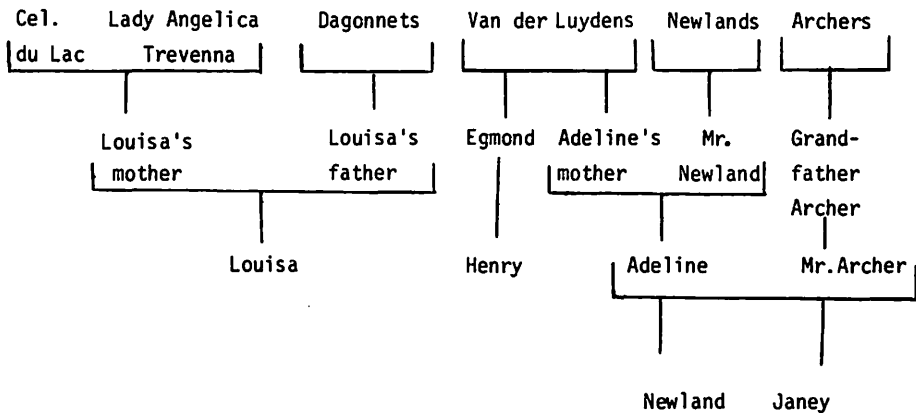
- a) The Mingotts and Masons (who cared for food, clothes and money)
- b) The Archer — Newland — Van der Luydens (who loved travelling, horticulture and reading)

The trees would be as follows:

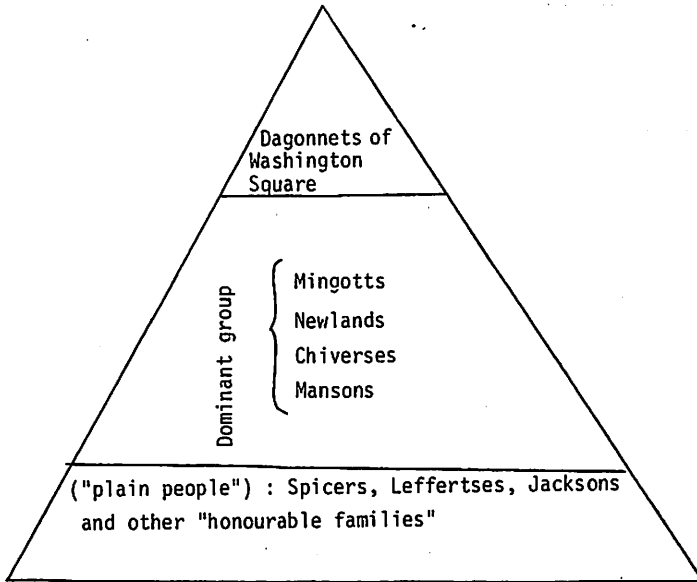
1.



2.



The great New York aristocratic tribe was, as Mrs. Archer used to say, formed by a triangle:



Ellen Olenska is sent into this closed tribe, where really she has never belonged, in order to shake it and start renewal. Ellen is the "dark lady" (as opposed to May who, Diana-like and unintelligent, is presented from beginning to end dressed in white, with her lovely blond hair brightened by the light of the environment) coming from the unknown and able to see beyond the common sight:

Evidently, she was always going to understand;
she was always going to say the right thing.

(p. 22)

... he was once more conscious of the curious way in which she reversed his values, and of the need of thinking himself into conditions incredibly different from any that he knew if he were to be of use in her present difficulty. (p. 102)

Once she says to him:

'I want to cast off all my old life, to become just like everybody else'.

Archer reddened. 'You'll never be like everybody else', he said. (p. 106)

In the mythical structure of the novel Ellen is the foreign goddess sent to re-establish the order, though at first she seems to bring about chaos. She is the divine orphan (as a matter of fact she is an orphan, in the book), the wandering deity who falls in love with a mortal. In myths of origins divine orphans appear in order to create the world from chaos:

El niño primordial, el divino niño de los mitos de los orígenes, el huérfano abandonado que vive la primera hora del mundo, afronta precisamente (los) peligros y escucha (las) voces de la naturaleza. Ante él, privado de padre y madre, la naturaleza es simultáneamente maternal y peligrosa, auxiliadora y mortal. Esta criatura goza de excepcionales poderes sobre las fuerzas naturales, pero está también expuesta a toda suerte de amenazas: es Dionísio niño, que manda

a las fieras y a las potencias de la metamorfosis, pero que puede ser insidiado por los Titanes.¹⁰

Ellen comes to New York after having been a long time in lands beyond the sea. She seems to have some sort of magic power which makes everybody, even the mediator, surrender to her. Wherever she goes, her dark, natural being radiates warmth and enlightenment. Symbolically enough it is by the fire that she and Archer are able to see deep into each other's souls. Her little house in a forbidden place — West Twenty-third Street, where dress-makers, bird-stuffers and "people who wrote" are her neighbours — has that mystical atmosphere of the unfamiliar... She has the fire lit inside her temple and is offered its ritual:

... and a log broke in two and sent up a shower of sparks. The whole hushed and brooding room seemed to be waiting silently with Archer. (p.109)

When Archer is on the verge of asking Ellen to be his life's companion and is ready to leave his betrothed, Ellen seems to commune deeply with the fire:

Madame Olenska leaned toward the fire and gazed into it with fixed eyes. (p. 168)

She is the goddess who has lived since the primeval times; who has been, is and will ever be. Here again the mythical

structure is clearly set. It is a dual characteristic of myths to be irrevocable (the present) and reversible (the past), as has already been said. In The Age of Innocence the reader is aware that Ellen is someone living in the last decades of the nineteenth century but she is simultaneously from a far away past. Once in her little house, Newland feels that "she looked haggard and almost old" (p. 171). And she confesses to him, in a mixture of real present being and remote entity, as pointed out before, her wish (unattainable) of casting off her former self, and this she says, "looking away from him into remote dark distances" (p. 106). As a matter of fact , she had already put that to him, when they first met, at the Academy, and Archer talked of her having been away for a long time; her reply then was:

'Oh, centuries and centuries; so long, that I'm sure I'm dead and buried, and this dear old place is heaven'.(p. 15)

Later on, at the Van der Luydens' dinner, Archer notices that

... the Countess Olenska was the only young woman at the dinner; yet, as Archer scanned the smooth plump elderly faces between their necklaces and towering ostrich feathers, they struck him as curiously immature compared with hers. It frightened him to think what must have gone to the making of her eyes. (p. 60)

Finally, in Boston, when Newland is trying to see the Countess, he experiences the paradoxical sensation of living in the timeless. He knows he is alive and in Boston, but he feels closer to his goddess, and that nearness brings back to him, unconsciously, perhaps, the certainty of his living at that same hour in distant primeval times. Here the mythical structure is quite clear and the hero is seen throughout his experience, reversing the ages so as to live once more the moments that had been essential in his ancestors' existence:

It was the same world, after all, though he had such a queer sense of having slipped through the meshes of time and space. (p. 231)

The mythical hero goes through different moments of success and failure, happiness and suffering, as he moves circularly from — to his native land. In many myths all around the world, the hero's travellings can be found and they are structurally very similar. The human hero is supported by different elements both in his tribe and in the "foreign" kingdoms of the unknown. But he will finally settle down as a common human being, or a stone, or a tree, or any other natural element. See, for instance, Lévi-Strauss's "A Gesta de Asdival"¹¹ : Asdival's wanderings finally take him back to his tribe, where he is turned into stone. He was born of a heavenly father, a fact which gives him his extra-terrene features. He marries a goddess and as he does not belong in her world but in his tribe, he must come back to

it after going through victories and few defeats. In the end he is made not to act any more.) A closer look at Newland Archer's trips and life will show great resemblance to this and other myths — he also moves from New York in search of his goddess-love, to go back again; he has victories and defeats within his group (he is alternately Ellen's celebrated champion and lover left to oblivion by the "tribe"). He realizes more than once that he and the Countess don't belong in the same world:

... there they were, close together, and shut in; yet so chained to their separate destinies that they might as well have been half the world apart. (p. 245)

... he could only brood on the mystery of their remoteness and their proximity, which seemed to be symbolised by the fact of their sitting so close to each other, and yet being unable to see each other's faces. (p. 289)

He falls into various swirls of consciousness as if to realize that he was born to be the father of the new generation to come after the chaos he has helped start, though he is "... by nature a contemplative and dilettante" (p. 349). And that generation symbolized by Dallas and Fanny Beaufort, renewed, may set up different values and bring about a new Tribe. But he, Newland the hero, and she, Ellen the goddess, are to remain in their separate worlds

after witnessing the strength of his tribe and his Family. They realize that the power coming from the tribal rites will be the defense of the most absolute beliefs of the group (among these and excelling them, unity and the outwardly happy, stable family). The members of the "tribe" are ready to forgive provided that Ellen goes back to her world. In the final pages of the novel Archer is conscious of the tribal strength:

... he saw all the harmless-looking people engaged upon May's canvas-backs as a band of dumb conspirators, and himself and the pale woman on his right as the centre of their conspiracy. And then it came over him, in a vast flash made up of many broken gleams, that to all of them he and Madame Olenska were lovers, lovers in the extreme sense peculiar to "foreign" vocabularies. He guessed himself to have been, for months, the centre of countless silently observing eyes and patiently listening ears, he understood that, by means as yet unknown to him, the separation between himself and the partner of his guilt had been achieved, and that now the whole tribe had rallied about his wife on the tacit assumption that nobody knew anything, or had ever imagined anything, and that the occasion of the entertainment was simply May Archer's natural desire to take an affectionate leave of her friend and cousin. (p. 338)

How significant it is that their leave-taking is "celebrated" with eating, the long-lived manifestation of mythical worship,

from Homer's narratives to present-day savage offerings, not to say Calvinist American Thanksgiving Day. It was the old New York way of taking life without "effusion of blood": the way of people who dreaded scandal more than disease, who placed decency above courage, and who considered that nothing was more ill-bred than "scenes", except the behaviour of those who gave rise to them. Archer knows for sure that it won't do to struggle against his and Ellen's destiny, as

... one thing in the old New York code was the tribal rally around a kinswoman about to be eliminated from the tribe. (p. 337)

When the book ends Ellen stays in her world beyond and Newland remains apart, unable to move towards her, submissive to his fate. He can remember her and witness the coming up of the new world they have helped to create.

NOTES

¹Edith Wharton, The Age of Innocence (New York: Random House, 1948), p. 355. All quotes here transcribed are from this edition.

²S.R. Radcliffe Brown, Estrutura e Função na Sociedade Primitiva, trans. Nathaniel C. Caixeiro (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes Ltda, 1973), p. 42.

³Mircea Eliade, Mito e Realidade, trans. Pola Civelli (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva S.A., 1972), p. 11.

⁴Mircea Eliade, Le Mythe de l'Éternel Retour (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1975).

⁵C.R. Bradcock, Lévi-Strauss: Estruturalismo e Teoria Sociológica, trans. Maria Isabel da Silva Lopes (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1976).

⁶Claude Lévi-Strauss, O Pensamento Selvagem, trans. Maria Celeste da Costa e Souza and Almir de Oliveira Aguiar (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1976).

⁷Claude Lévi-Strauss, As Estruturas Elementares do Parentesco, trans. Mariano Ferreira, (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes Ltda. 1976), p. 195.

⁸Lévi-Strauss, p. 462.

⁹ Brown, op. cit.

¹⁰ Furio Jesé, Literatura y Mito, trans. Antônio Pigrau Rodríguez (Barcelona: Barral Ed. S.A., 1972), pp. 12-13.

¹¹ Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Gesta de Asdival", in Mito e Linguagem Social (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Tempo Brasileiro Ltda, 1970), pp. 13-51.