

protects temple trees but demands huge quantities of wood for cremations (Figure 3.22). Animistic swidden agriculturalists (see Chapter 8) sometimes make offerings to appease the woodland spirits before destroying huge acreages of forest with machete and fire. The ancient earth goddesses de**Figure 3.21** Models of the universe. Model 1 represents the traditional, Judeo-Christian, biblical/scriptural, teleological view, in which humankind is central to creation and autonomous from the natural world. Model 2 describes the modern scientific/elitist view, which rests on the findings of Darwin and others. Proponents of these two views will likely develop unique outlooks on environmental modification.

manded that fields be cleared from the forest for the land to be fruitful, and habitat destruction remains habitat destruction. Civilization itself, argues Tuan, is the exercise of human power over nature. Religion can resist but not overcome that exercise. Also, if people are assumed to be part of



Figure 3.22 Wood gathered for Hindu cremations at Pashupatinath, on the sacred river Bagmati in Nepal. These cremations contribute significantly to the ongoing deforestation of Nepal and reveal the underlying internal contradiction in Hinduism between conservation as reflected in the doctrine of ahimsa and sanctioned ecologically destructive practices. (Courtesy of Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov.)