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宗教 人类学

陈进国◎主编

ANTHROPOLOGY
OF RELIGION
(Vol.6)



第六辑

名家特约 Special Approximations

田野现场 Field Sites

本土眼光 Local Visions

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学术评论 Book Reviews



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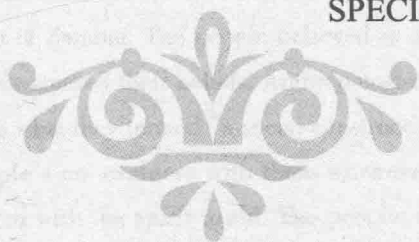
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名家特约

SPECIAL APPROXIMATIONS



The Animistic Turn: Implications for the Anthropology of the Anima

Edith Turner

In the anthropology of the 1950's if researchers "went native" , it might doom them academically. Victor Turner and I spent two and a half years among the Ndembu of Zambia. The people believed in spirits, and like many researchers we merely studied their beliefs. Anthropologists were reducing the phenomena of spirits to what they termed "a social construction of reality" . They were denying the people's co-evalness with them whenever the events they witnessed were concerned with the spirit world. The people, nonetheless, extended their gift to Turner and myself—the gift of their vision and ritual. Now a wider change has intervened. The academic denial has nearly gone. Now as an anthropologist I could share the spiritual experiences of the people with whom I lived, realizing how spirituality was real, an aspect of people's life-world. I could take it seriously. This would leave me free to undertake a fruitful interweaving with that world. Accordingly I joined the world of the Inuit of Alaska for a year. Here I give some of the ethnography of Inuit spirits in depth, listening to what they are trying to tell me.

Hidden in this change there are obviously some implications for the philosophy of anthropology, a reversal of one's perspective on fieldwork. It is now necessary to make a study of "anthropology itself" —venturing into radical reflexivity. We are uncertain about how this matter affects getting jobs and there is great puzzlement about the semi-magical effects of healing. But now we can call ourselves "radical empiricists," as the anthropologist Michael Jackson designated himself, faced



with people in Sierra Leone, West Africa, who had been given a spirit world.

As far as we can see, the anthropologists of consciousness and religion are often right inside their subjects' own experiences, and their publications show it. This is obviously because anthropologists do fieldwork. They have been having the experience of religion. They have been in situations where they have been praying, singing, chanting, or healing along with their people in trouble. This is a vast turn-around. Putting it shortly, to study ordinary human experiences of spirituality and changes of consciousness, certain of us have had to shift our own personal invisible, real spiritual life into a position to the front and have it changing in us, so that our fieldwork is the creation of our friends as well. They are working upon us. This is in one sense the same thing as perspectivism: the discovery of the looseness of fit of the world view of people who accept each others vagaries and what is more, their spiritual experiences. These, then, will be practicing "sharing and empathy". This, as Swanscutt (2013) points out, it has now been expounded by Vivieros de Castro, working in Amazonia. (1992). We are in a new paradigm already. As Swanscutt says, "the soul" or "spirit" of the shaman is not separate from his or her body, but interdependent with it, and every being's perspective is thus "part of an overall totality of the self," comprised of the shared soul substrate and different bodily affects (Swanscutt, 2007:238).

And here we can even take a further step back from America's inveterate individualism to say with Swanscutt, quoting (Willerslev, 2007:238) and his Siberian people—instead of placing personhood at the root of sociality, Willerslev proposes that sociality be viewed as constitutive of personhood in the perspectival context. We receive ourselves through others. (2007:2).

Thus, the study that the anthropology of the anima requires is a different fieldwork method. This cannot happen through mere reading, or noting psychological reactions in people, or even by means of the comparative method. (2007: 3).

Fieldworkers in a new society leave behind everything, they have climbed the hill where their new people are living, and look out through their eyes. The view for them is different. They are different. They will get new workmates in

everything. Their soul, that anima, will blend with those other spiritualities, blending like the organic new members that they are. These are stronger commitments than those that the religions themselves often require. Therefore, we need to write down this material, intimately. The method is gradually being taken up in part by the Societies for the Anthropology of Consciousness, by Humanistic Anthropology, and, sometimes, the Anthropology of Religion, and this material is evidence: it is the nitty-gritty. Theory will have to work with this, not “theory on theory” —not as if theory were an existing mathematical theorem. On the contrary, what is real here is nature, the spontaneous working of humanity. This methodology is necessary not only for the understanding of the soul, but also the sense of *communitas*, of collective joy, of religion, of spirituality, and of most of the arts.

It is of course based on the anthropology of experience. Fieldworkers are always audiences to events. On one hand as the field people’s experiences occur to researchers, as they literally work side by side with those they study—through literally embodied feeling, or on the other hand when the affect is conveyed in stories of a variety that arouses our recognition, so that we and they reach “intersubjectivity” which the African philosopher Tchimalonga Ntumba (1985) from Kinshasa simply called *We-ness*. (Quoted in Turner 2012:158. This was also heard from Nelson Mandela, when he and Desmond Tutu established the term *Ubuntu*, literally “humanness,” the well-known religious sense of unity. Victor Turner constantly termed it *communitas*. When anthropologists do finally convey “affect” to the public, the result has sometimes had all the character and flavor of the researcher along with that of the people in the writing—their nature, and their very soul—and this is not merely what psychology finds at its Freudian depth, but what is commonly recognized as the very breath of the life of a person, for instance by Roy Wagner, Paul Stoller, Stephen Friedson, and Robert Desjarlais, and was once by Margaret Mead herself.

In the case of *communitas*, stories can build to a point where it is impossible not to recognize its existence, even in its most “fuzzy” form, full of inversions, and an irresistible force of its own, as in *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective*



Joy (Edith Turner 2012).

The experience of *communitas* makes one wonder where it came from. “*Communitas*” is not led by a charismatic figure. People have no ranking here. The person that participates does not have to “give herself away to another” — Leaders in *communitas* are already lost in the fun of across-the-board friendships. Such an experience goes quite simply along with the sense of the presence of energy. It is accompanied by the intention to do something with “us-all”, and we do it. It is easy to experience—simply in a musical choir, playing in a band, or being in a participating audience, and in ritual. Moreover it is irresistibly attractive, often too far gone to change.

Healing and the Humility of its Affect. Why are we interested in the study of healing?

Somewhere across the length and breadth of humanity, someone is sure to need healing. One feels drawn to it. Healing is mysterious, the determined crawl of human flesh back into firmness and health. It is mysterious but real, and everybody knows it is good. In Islam, for instance, God says healing is the only really good thing we do. The good sage Barkat Ali Shaykh Hakim Moinuddin Chishti (1985, pp. ix–x.) said, in *The Book of Sufi Healing*:

Not even the highest degree of dedication to worship may earn anybody the claim of divine forgiveness or recompense in any other form, yet there is one thing that everybody should make sure of, which shall not go unrequited under any circumstances by Allah the Almighty, and that is selfless service to ailing humanity.

Spiritual healing is supposedly like magic, but depends for its working on the healer’s *communitas*—her fellow-feeling with the patient, on the healer’s alignment with the patient, on her attentiveness, her attention, the healer’s hold on the healing act, her purchase on it. Then the prayer. Then the breath in and out, the sigh of the patient and the healer at the same time, signaling that the deed is accomplished. All of this is the token of its sacredness. We can sometimes sense that everything that exists is already framed to seek what is good, and always did seek it, of necessity. All things are included in this, presupposing the