人类学通识: 人门必读

「挪威」托马斯・许兰德・埃里克森◎ 著



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人类学是一门社会科学,而非一种道德哲学。虽然 人类学提供一些有关人类和社会的观点、特殊社会的分 析及文化差异的反思,但它不会为好生活或好社会提供 解决的方法或秘诀。然而,我深信具有人类学知识的人 在理解他们的社会并作出合理判断方面处于上风。



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作者序言

我很高兴也很乐意为中国读者介绍《人类学通识:入门必读》这本书。中国 正在快速地发展成为全球经济的领袖;而且在未来几年内,中国这个泱泱大国 非常有可能扩大其文化和知识的影响力。虽然中国的人类学研究领域广泛且富 有经验,但到目前为止,它在西方国家的知名度却不高。在未来的几年或数十年 内,这种现象一定会得到改变。此时,我能做的就是为中国读者介绍一些有关西 方人类学的主要观点、主题及学派,以此为中西对话作点早期的贡献。

我写这本书的目的有两个:第一,对人类学家们研究的亲属关系、文化和自然等主题做一个综述;第二,揭示人们如何把社会文化人类学当成一种思考方式、一个思维框架和一种看待世界的方式。

简而言之,我尽力将自己在大学读社会人类学的一些经历再现出来,那时我在一场讲座结束后离开礼堂时,会感觉自己对世界的看法发生了变化。我们通过人类学了解其他民族的生活方式、展现与我们处于同一个时代的他们与我们之间的差异和相似之处,从而提醒我们注意我们的存在、我们的文化和社会都已经过了一系列独特的历史过程。具有不同历史的其他民族以不同的方式生活。这也同样提醒我们,无论是好是坏,即使我们居住的地方一样,情形也可能会大不相同。

人类学是一门社会科学,而非一种道德哲学。虽然人类学提供一些有关人类和社会的观点、特殊社会的分析及文化差异的反思,但它不会为好生活或好社会提供解决的方法或秘诀。然而,我深信具有人类学知识的人在理解他们的社会并作出合理判断方面处于上风。最后,我要再次感谢译者对此付出的艰辛和努力。

托马斯·许兰德·埃里克森 2018 年 12 月 1 日

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译者前言

《人类学通识:入门必读》这本书是挪威奥斯陆大学人类学系托马斯·许兰德·埃里克森教授专门写给有志于从事人类学和对人类学感兴趣的读者的一本通识类著作。早在2004年,该书就已经由英国Pluto出版公司出版,且很快风靡全球,成为世界各地从事人类学研究的基础性读物,也成为受读者青睐的一本理解文化与社会的重要作品。2017年,该书再版时,作者对人类学的理解也随着时间的变化而在广度、深度方面都有了更为深刻、更为广博的认识。

2013年,该书的中文版由周云水等学者翻译并在北京大学出版社出版。时隔四年,该书的英文版本得以再版,以2004年版本为参照的翻译,与新版有了部分内容的不相符、不对应。鉴于此,经作者授权,并与原翻译者沟通交流并达成共识,同意以英文新版为参照,对原中文译本进行调整和再译,并在此基础上,将英文与中文译文进行对照出版。这样对喜欢阅读原文并有意提升英语水平的读者来说无疑是一件好事,既可以实现对人类学本身的理解,又可以在阅读过程中提高英语水平和英语实践能力,并为阅读其他人类学英文作品夯实基础。

另外,该书能得以出版,一方面离不开托马斯·许兰德·埃里克森教授和原中文版译者周云水等人的无私奉献,另一方面也离不开北方民族大学民族学学院的大力支持,没有授权和资金支持,该书则无法出版。在此,对托马斯·许兰德·埃里克森教授、原译者和提供资金支持的相关单位表示感谢。该书的出版,无疑会为人类学的发展和国内外接轨起到积极作用。

马建福 2018年12月11日

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第一章 为什么我们需要掌握人类学?

在一两代人以前,学术圈以外的人几乎很少知道人类学。只有很少的几个国家,在大学里开设极少的人类学课程。这门由少数具有献身精神的发起人引导的学科,被局外人视为晦涩难懂的知识,而局内人则将其视为神圣的知识。人类学家到遥远的地方进行田野调查,然后带着令人陶醉的心情返回,但往往分析的是神秘的亲属制度、刀耕火种的农业或"他者"内部的战争。除了少量惊人的另类之外,人类学家对外部世界的兴趣是适中的,而且其影响力往往局限于学术界。人类学要在人类学家自身所在社会的公共生活中发挥作用,也仅仅是在非常难得的情况下才有可能。

这种情况已经发生了变化。西方越来越多的非专业人士已经发现,人类学提出的一些涉及人类处境的基本见解,可适用于家庭的许多日常情况。在一些国家,高职院校训练护士和警察时,也要给他们传授人类学的知识;人类学的概念还被大学的其他学科借用,并应用于新的现象之中;人类学所强调的从下往上、从内向外观察人类生活的理念,已经影响到了通俗的新闻;学习人类学的学生人数已经逐步增长,有些地方甚至是在显著地增加。在我执教的奥斯陆大学,1982年人类学系的学生为70人,十年之后就已经增长到了600人。

20世纪90年代,在西方社会中,人类学及其理念成了新闻记者和决策制定者日常词汇的一部分。这并非巧合。事实上,我坚持认为人类学对于我们理解当今的世界是必不可少的,而且没有必要为了欣赏其重要性,而追捧非洲的亲属制度或波利尼西亚的交换制度。

Why We Have to Study Anthropology?

A generation ago, anthropology was scarcely known outside of academic circles. It was a tiny university subject taught in a few dozen countries, seen by outsiders as esoteric and by insiders as a kind of sacred knowledge guarded by a community of devoted initiates. Anthropologists went about their fieldwork in remote areas and returned with fascinating, but often arcane analyses of kinship, slash and burn horticulture or warfare among 'the others'. With a few spectacular exceptions, the interest in anthropology from the outside world was modest, and its influence was usually limited to academic circles. Only very rarely did it play a part in the public life of the anthropologist's own society.

This has changed. Growing numbers of non-academics in the West have discovered that anthropology represents certain fundamental insights concerning the human condition, applicable in many everyday situations at home. Its concepts are being borrowed by other university disciplines and applied to new phenomena, its ideas about the need to see human life from below and from the inside have influenced popular journalism, and student numbers have grown steadily, in some places dramatically. For example, at the University of Oslo, the number of anthropology students grew from about 70 in 1982 to more than 600 a decade later.

In many western societies, anthropology and ideas derived from the subject became part of the vocabulary of journalists and policymakers in the 1990s. This is no coincidence. In fact, it can be argued that anthropology is indispensable for understanding the present world, and there is no need to have a strong passion for African kinship or Polynesian gift exchange to appreciate its significance.

以下几方面的理由,可以解释为何人类学可以帮助我们弄明白当代的世界。 首先,不同文化群体之间的接触在当代日益增多。长距离的旅行已经非常普遍、安全且价格相对低廉。在19世纪,只有少数西方人到过其他国家(包括移民在

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内),而且一直到20世纪50年代,即使是相当富裕的西方人,也很少去国外度假。 众所周知,这种情况近几十年已经发生了翻天覆地的变化。国家之间人口的暂时流动,已经日益增多并导致了密切的接触:商人、救援人员、从富国到穷国的旅行者、劳务移民、难民和双向流动的学生。访问"异国他乡"的西方人,远比一代或两代以前要多。20世纪50年代,我的父母亲年轻时可能只去过意大利或伦敦一次。而在20世纪80年代我还年轻时,我们可以乘坐洲际铁路的列车到葡萄牙和希腊,或者在每年的暑假都有类似的旅行。当前,具有同样背景的年轻人,可以到远东、拉丁美洲和印度去度假。旅行的范围得到了拓展,如今会有为人们量身定制的旅行,以及各种特殊的兴趣形式,包括"探险旅行"和"文化观光",人们在导游的带领下可以去看南非的市镇、巴西的贫民窟或印度尼西亚的村落。实际上,对于第三世界的很多社区来说,"文化观光"已经成了重要的收入来源,这可以视为西方人对其他文化的兴趣日益增加的迹象。而从文化观光到完全的人类学研究,可能只差一小步。

同时,由于我们越来越多地在新环境下"造访"他们,就可能发生相反的移动,尽管不是因为同样的原因。正是因为贫富国家之间生存机会和生活水准的极大差异,非西方国家才有数百万人定居在欧洲和北美。一代人以前,对于西方城市的一位居民而言,为了品尝次大陆的烹饪风味和欣赏其音乐曲调,他就必须长途跋涉到印度次大陆。实际上到1980年时,我的家乡还没有印度菜馆。2004年,那里的印度菜馆已经多达12家,从四星级的设施到廉价的外卖小菜馆鳞次栉比。全球文化差异的碎片和琐屑,如今可以在西方人的门阶上发现。因此,这激发了他们对他者的好奇心,而且也因为政治原因,变得很有必要去理解文化差异所承载的东西。当前多元文化议题的争议,诸如少数民族宗教权利、伊斯兰头巾和学校的语言教学,以及因为劳动力市场上的种族歧视导致的积极行为,证实了理智解决文化差异的迫切需要。

There are several reasons why anthropological knowledge can help in making sense of the contemporary world. First, contact between culturally different groups has increased enormously in our time. Long-distance travel has become common, safe and relatively inexpensive. In the nineteenth century, only a small proportion of the western populations travelled to other countries (emigrants excluded), and as late as the 1950s, even fairly affluent westerners rarely went on holiday abroad. As is well known, this has changed dramatically in recent decades. The flows of people who move temporarily between countries have grown and have led to intensified contact: business-people, aid workers and tourists travel from more economically developed countries to less economically developed ones, and labour migrants, refugees and students move in the opposite direction. Many more westerners visit 'exotic' places today than a generation ago. In the 1950s, people may have been able to go on a trip to Rome or London once in their lifetime. In the 1980s, people could travel by Interrail to Portugal and Greece, and take similar trips every summer. Young people with similar backgrounds today might go on holiday to the Far East, Latin America and India. The scope of tourism has also been widened and now includes tailor-made trips and a broad range of special interest forms including 'adventure tourism' and 'cultural tourism', where one can go on guided tours to South African townships, Brazilian favelas or Indonesian villages. The fact that 'cultural tourism' has become an important source of income for many communities in the less economically developed world can be seen as an indication of an increased interest in other cultures from the West. It can be a short step from cultural tourism to anthropological studies proper.

At the same time as 'we' visit 'them' in growing numbers and under new circumstances, the opposite movement also takes place, though not for the same reasons. It is because of the great differences in standards of living and life opportunities between more and less economically developed countries that millions of people from non-western countries have settled in Europe and North America. A generation ago, it might have been necessary for an inhabitant in a western city to travel to the Indian subcontinent in order to savour the fragrances and sounds of subcontinental cuisine and music. Today there are large numbers of Indian restaurants

in many western cities, ranging from four-star establishments to inexpensive takeaway holes in the wall. Pieces and fragments of the world's cultural variation can now be found on the doorstep of westerners. As a result, the curiosity about others has been stimulated, and it has also become necessary for political reasons to understand what cultural variation entails. Current controversies over multicultural issues, such as religious minority rights, the *hijab* (shawl or headscarf), language instruction in schools and calls for affirmative action because of ethnic discrimination in the labour market testify to an urgent need to deal sensibly with cultural differences.

其次,世界正在以其他方式缩小。卫星电视、手机网络和互联网,已经为真正的全球、瞬时和无摩擦的沟通创造了条件,不管是好是坏,按照许多人的见解:对于密切接触、新的和去区域化的社会网络或"虚拟社区"的发展而言,距离不再是具有决定意义的阻碍物,同时,个人具有更多的信息可以选择。此外,经济也正在逐步走向全球一体化。过去数十年来,在数量、规模和经济重要性方面,跨国公司正在急剧增长。整个20世纪,资本主义生产方式以及总体上在全球占主导地位的货币经济,几乎已经变得普及。同样在政治上,全球议题逐渐占据议事日程。政治与和平、环境和贫穷问题,都在全球议题之列,并且涉及如此多的跨国连接,以至于单个国家根本无法令人满意地加以处理。艾滋病和跨国恐怖主义也是跨国问题,只有通过国际合作才能加以理解和处理。以前相对分离的社会文化环境,现在已经更紧密地纠葛在一起,这促使我们日益认识到大家都在同一条船上的事实:即便可以从阶层、文化、地理和机会方面分类,但人类本质上还是一个整体。

再次,在当今时代,文化正在迅速地变迁,这几乎在世界任何地方都可以感受到。在西方,典型的生活方式当然正在改变。稳定的核心家庭不再是唯一常见和社会可接受的生活方式。青年文化和时尚及音乐的潮流快速变化,以至于年纪稍大者很难迂回曲折地跟随它们;饮食习惯正在变化,这导致许多国家出现更大的文化多样性;等等。这样或那样的变化使得我们有必要问:"我们究竟是谁?""什么是我们的文化——说我们具有文化究竟有何意义?""我们与 55 年前习惯于居住在这里的人有何共同之处,如今我们与那些居住在完全不同的地方的人

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又有何共同点?""是否还可以肯定地讲我们主要属于国家,或者属于其他更加重要的群体呢?"

最后,近十几年以来,人们对文化认同的兴趣空前高涨,这正逐渐成为一种资本。许多人觉得自己的地方独特性,正在受到全球化、间接殖民主义和来自外部世界的其他影响形式的威胁,并且作出反应,试图强化或至少保护他们视为独特文化的东西。在很多情况下,少数群体的组织要求代表他们选区的文化权利;在其他情况下,国家尽量通过立法,减缓或设法阻止外部的影响或变迁的过程。

Second, the world is shrinking in other ways too. Satellite television, cellphone networks and the Internet have created conditions for truly global, instantaneous and friction-free communications. Distance is no longer a decisive hindrance for close contact; new, deterritorialised social networks or even 'virtual communities' develop, and at the same time, individuals have a larger palette of information to choose from. Moreover, the economy is also becoming increasingly globally integrated. Transnational companies have grown dramatically in numbers, size and economic importance over the last decades. The capitalist mode of production and monetary economies in general, globally dominant throughout the twentieth century, have become nearly universal. In politics as well, global issues increasingly dominate the agenda. Issues of war and peace, the environment and poverty are all of such a scope, and involve so many transnational linkages, that they cannot be handled satisfactorily by single states alone. AIDS and international terrorism are also transnational problems which can only be understood and addressed through international cooperation. This ever tighter interweaving of formerly relatively separate sociocultural environments can lead to a growing recognition of the fact that we are all in the same boat; that humanity, divided as it is by class, culture, geography and opportunities, is fundamentally one.

Third, culture changes rapidly in our day and age, which is felt nearly everywhere in the world. In the West, typical ways of life are being transformed. The stable nuclear family is no longer the only common and socially acceptable way of life. Youth culture and trends in fashion and music change so fast that older people have difficulties following their twists and turns; food habits are being transformed, leading to greater diversity within many countries, and so on. These and other changes make it necessary to ask questions such as: 'Who are we really?', 'What is our culture, and is it at all meaningful to speak of a "we" that "has" a "culture"?' 'What do we have in common with the people who used to live here 50 years ago, and what do we have in common with people who live in an entirely different place today?' 'Is it still defensible to speak as if we primarily belong to nations, or are other forms of group belonging more important?'

Fourth, recent decades have seen the rise of an unprecedented interest in cultural identity, which is increasingly seen as an asset. Many feel that their local uniqueness is threatened by globalization, indirect colonialism and other forms of influence from the outside, and react by attempting to strengthen or at least preserve what they see as their unique culture. In many cases, minority organizations demand cultural rights on behalf of their constituency; in other cases, the state tries to slow down or prevent processes of change or outside influence through legislation.

我们这个时代,是柏林墙倒塌,以及苏联模式的共产主义消失之后的时代;也是互联网、卫星电视和全球资本主义的时代;还是种族清洗和多族群现代性的时代;在各种其他事物中,这个时代的独特标签是全球化和信息化。为了理解这种看似嘈杂、混乱和复杂的历史时期,有必要采用一种视角看待人类,而不是用预想的假设对人类社会想当然,因而要从全球和地方的角度同时分析人类世界,对其差异和相似性具有敏锐的反应。人类学是唯一能够满足以上条件的专业学科,它研究人类在社会中可以想象到的最多变的环境,其目的是要寻找模式和相似性,但最为根本的是要快速地解决复杂的问题,并用简单的答案来回答。

现在,尽管人类学的概念和观点在近年来已变得非常流行,但是人类学本身却依然鲜为人知。人们普遍相信,人类学的目标在于从诸如亚马孙或婆罗洲这样

的偏僻之地"发现"新的民族。许多假设认为人类学家的魅力来自最新奇的风俗和可以想象的仪式,他们避开了展览上的老生常谈,还有人相信人类学家用一生大部分的时间,穿着或不穿卡其布套装,在世界各地旅游,间或写点枯燥无味又博学的旅行见闻演讲稿。所有这些关于人类学的概念都是错的,尽管它们——类似于同类的许多虚构之事——包含了一点点实话。迄今为止,我已经讲过人类学对于理解当代世界至关重要,它的很多中心观点进入了人们的日常生活,而且它——尽管这样——很少为人所知。因此,让我们抓紧往下讲吧!

Our era, the period after the fall of the Berlin wall and the disappearance of Soviet-style communism, the time of the Internet and satellite TV, the time of global capitalism, ethnic cleansing and multi-ethnic modernities, has been labeled, among other things, the age of globalization and the information age. In order to understand this seemingly chaotic, confusing and complex historical period, there is a need for a perspective on humanity which does not take preconceived assumptions about human societies for granted, which is sensitive to both similarities and differences, and which simultaneously approaches the human world from a global and a local angle. The only academic subject which fulfills these conditions is anthropology, which studies humans in societies under the most varying circumstances imaginable, yet searches for patterns and similarities, but is fundamentally critical of quick solutions and simple answers to complex questions.

Although the concepts and ideas of anthropology have become widely circulated in recent years, anthropology as such remains little known. It is still widely believed that the aim of anthropology consists in 'discovering' new peoples, in remote locations such as the Amazon or Borneo. Many assume that anthropologists are drawn magnetically towards the most exotic customs and rituals imaginable, eschewing the commonplace for the spectacular. There are those who believe that anthropologists spend most of their lives travelling the world, with or without khaki suits, intermittently penning dry, learned travelogues. All these notions about anthropology

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