人类学理论

THEORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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PART I

Chapter 1 Introduction

Why study the history of anthropological theory? Many students ask this question, and the answer is straightforward: anthropology is a product of its past, so to understand anthropology with sophistication, students need to know how it developed. This need is especially great for "theory," or schools of thought, because theories develop in response to one another, sometimes positively and sometimes negatively, and they develop in the context of particular times, places, and personalities. To foster a sophisticated understanding of anthropology, many academic departments encourage, or require, advanced undergraduate or graduate students to complete a course in the history of anthropological theory. These readings are designed for such a course. It can also be used in other anthropology courses where professors adopt a historical or theoretical perspective.

There is, of course, no one history of anthropological theory. History depends on the historian, who is selective in presenting theories and who is influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by personal background, education, or "agenda." For this reason, no one textbook in the history of anthropological theory can ever be definitive, including our own companion textbook. Helping to counterbalance any unconscious or conscious "slant" of a textbook is a "reader," or collection of original writings. These writings, called primary sources, allow anthropologists to speak for themselves rather than to be spoken for in textbooks, called secondary sources. Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory is designed to provide such counterbalance.

There is also no one reader in the history of anthropological theory. Therefore, an explanation of the choice of readings and the format of their presentation is warranted. For a reader to be useful, it must contain readings that will be read. Most of the readings here have been read with benefit by the editors in courses they have taught or themselves taken as students. Almost all of the readings have also been approved, and in some cases recommended, by anonymous reviewers. As editors we believe that anthropology is linked closely to Western history and to interactions among Western

and non-Western peoples. In our textbook, we begin this history with antiquity and continue it through the medieval, Renaissance, and early modern periods, including the episodes of European geographical expansion, the Scientific Revolution, and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. While this broad scope has merit, it would be impractical to reproduce in its entirety here because its numerous and substantial readings would make this book necessarily lengthier and more expensive. Rather than raise the price or reduce the number or length of readings, we have decided to begin our readings with the nineteenth century, when anthropology by name achieved recognition. As partial compensation, we have summarized the history of pre-19th century anthropology in our overview to Part One.

The readings in this book are grouped into four parts, arranged primarily chronologically. Part One, with nine readings, examines the early history of anthropological theory, focusing on key nineteenth-century foundations and forerunners. Part Two, with 11 readings, looks at the earlier twentieth century when the discipline came of age in the United States, France, and Britain. Part Three, with 16 readings, examines the later twentieth century, when anthropology expanded, diversified, and became increasingly self-reflective. Part Four, with five readings, captures anthropological theory in the early twenty-first century, when interests in globalization, public engagement, and world traditions in anthropology appear to be on the rise.

Although it is desirable to let past and present anthropologists speak for themselves, students need some historical background in order to appreciate what the anthropologists are saying. Therefore, each part is preceded by an overview that summarizes the historical period, introduces the anthropologists, and helps explain the readings. These overviews are aimed at students who are already familiar with anthropology, and preferably also with Western history, but who at the same time will be learning a more detailed history of anthropological theory from their teachers or textbooks.

Furthermore, each reading is preceded by an introduction that highlights what students can expect to learn from the reading, as well as by a list of 10 key words that students can use for testing their broader understanding of the reading's main themes. The key words are defined in a glossary at the end of the book. Students using the

editors' textbook will find that the organization into parts and the order of presentation of theorists in the textbook and the reader are the same, making it easy to use the two books in tandem. A general Conclusion summarizes historical trends and interprets what they might mean for anthropology in the present and into the near future. We have also provided lists of thought-provoking questions and recommended further readings. Despite these learning aids, students should not be lulled into a false sense of complacency that they are being given everything they need. To the contrary, understanding these 41 readings will require work, and, when working, students should be prepared to be as resourceful as need be.

The Early History of Anthropological Theory

Overview

Despite its technical vocabulary, special concepts, and unique intellectual history, anthropology is a collection of answers to fundamental questions about human existence, questions such as the following: Where did humanity come from? Why do people differ? What gives life meaning? Because these questions are fundamental, they have been asked by people in every cultural tradition. The tradition that gave rise to academic anthropology is the Western literate tradition, which begins with the period of antiquity.

Anthropology in Antiquity

Antiquity, the period of classical Greece and Rome, nurtured three systems of thought: theology, humanism, and science. These systems can be defined by being contrasted with one another in terms of gods, people, and nature. In theology, people and nature are known through gods, who are paramount; in humanism, gods and nature are known through people, who are paramount; and in science, gods and people are known through nature, which is paramount. In antiquity, anthropology, or proto-anthropology, was variously theological, humanistic, and scientific. The epic poems of Homer and other early storytellers were theological because they explained human activity in terms of the motivations and machinations of a pantheon of deities. The travelogues of Herodotus (B.C.484 — B.C.425) and other early geographers and

historians were humanistic because they explained human variation in human terms. And the materialistic schemes of Anaximander (B.C.611—B.C.547), Democritus (B.C.460—B.C.370), and other early philosophers were scientific because they explained the universe in terms of the transformation of natural elements. These early proto-anthropological examples of theological, humanistic, and scientific systems foreshadow later manifestations in anthropology.

The Golden Age of Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE was characterized by the distinguished philosophical lineage of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Socrates (B.C.469—B.C.399) pioneered a philosophy of self education, while Plato (B.C.427—B.C.347), his famous student, encouraged reflection on the otherworldly, or transcendental, "essences" of things. In contrast, Aristotle (B.C.384—B.C322), the equally famous student of Plato, stressed the importance of detailed natural observation, a position later called "empiricism." The difference between Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies can be illustrated by the difference between the medieval philosophies of realism and nominalism. Realists maintained that innate universal principles are more real than particular observations, while nominalists maintained that particular observations are more real than innate universal principles. Modern anthropological theory is more Aristotelian than Platonic, but this has not become true until recently.

Aristotle tutored Alexander the Great who consolidated Greece into an empire that stretched from ancient Persia to Egypt. During the Alexandrian period, Greek philosophy splintered into a variety of sects, each elaborating a Platonic or an Aristotelian theme. Aristotle's more scientific tradition was perpetuated by scholars in Alexandrian Egypt, while Plato's potentially more theological tradition was elaborated in the first century BCE by the Greek Stoics. The Stoics believed in logos, or cosmic world order, and maintained that humanity should accept worldly occurrences as the outcome of divine will. More than any other philosophy, Stoicism bridged the gap between ancient Greece and Rome, which in its early years stressed secular instead of theological pursuits. In the period of the Roman Empire, however, a growing number of religious sects preached allegiance to deities other than the Roman emperor. The most powerful of these sects was Christianity, which became the official religion of Rome under Emperor Constantine I (288—337).

The initial period of Christian Church history in Rome is known as the Patristic Age, during which Church "fathers" codified Church doctrine. According to the most influential Church father, Saint Augustine (354—430), humanity had been created by God, who was perfect, but humanity had become sinful. Therefore, God and humanity were in disharmony. God was omniscient, or all-knowing, and omnipotent, or all-powerful, but also fundamentally inscrutable, or unable to be known, except through revelations in scripture. This combination of tenets thwarted both humanism and science. Science presupposes human curiosity and a sense that nature presents mysteries to be solved. If God knows everything, but people cannot know God, why bother to be curious, and why develop a sense of mystery?

At the end of the fourth century CE, despite adopting Christianity, the Roman Empire declined and then fell to "barbarians." Europe entered the Dark and Middle Ages, during which time monastic scholars perpetuated the Western literate tradition dominated by the theological tenets of Augustine.

The Middle Ages

The Dark Ages are called dark because they followed the "illumination" of Rome, which, through conquest, had kept Europeans in contact with different kinds of peoples. The Middle Ages are called middle because they intervened between antiquity and the Renaissance, when Europeans renewed these different contacts. During this era, spanning almost 1,000 years, the locus of learning shifted to the Eastern Roman Empire, whose capitol Constantinople became the headquarters of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Contrasted with the vestigial Western Church, where Augustinian orthodoxy was infused with the transcendental otherworldliness of Plato, the Eastern Church was more open to the rational and empirical approach of Aristotle. Eastern scholars kept the Aristotelian tradition alive in centers of learning such as Alexandria, founded in 332 BCE by Alexander the Great.

Meanwhile in the European West, monastic Christian commentators upheld the scriptural word of God. Although many modern intellectuals, certainly many anthropologists, regard the Middle Ages as regressive, the medieval church established at least one lasting intellectual foundation for modern anthropology: the concept of human history. It also established universities, of which anthropology became a part.

Because scriptures were revealed to a succession of human beings, the record of past human accomplishments became important. Moreover, human history was cumulative and linear, not discontinuous or cyclical, as conceptualized in other religions. This foundation underlies modern anthropological concepts such as prehistory and evolution.

In the sixth century CE, the prophet Muhammed (570—632) was born in what is now Saudi Arabia. This event had profound implications for the subsequent history of Christianity. Muhammed became the founder of Islam, a religion embracing the outlook of Aristotle. Islam spread rapidly across North Africa to Morocco from where, in the eighth century, Islamic Moors invaded Christian Spain. There, they introduced Aristotle to scholars who had been cloistered with Plato for centuries. The result was a revolutionary epistemological shift.

The blending of Aristotelian and Platonic outlooks revitalized medieval Christianity and led to a new orthodoxy formulated by Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225—1274). Contrasted with Augustinian Christianity, Thomistic Christianity, as the Christianity of Aquinas is called, encouraged human reasoning and observation. If God had created nature, then God could be known through nature, and studying nature would glorify God. Moreover, if God had created humanity, then humanity could, and should, use its God-given powers of reason to glorify God by studying nature. While the moral qualities professed in Augustinian Christianity were ignorance, supplication, and faith, the moral qualities professed in Thomistic Christianity were alertness, mental engagement, and reason. Aquinas even provided several rational "proofs" that God exists.

Thomistic Christianity was a medieval intellectual synthesis of the elements constituting the three major ancient systems of thought. In Thomism, God, humanity, and nature were harmonious, because humanity studied nature to glorify God. Theology, humanism, and science were also harmonious, because pursuit of one of these systems reinforced pursuit of them all. For the first time in centuries, humanity was curious and nature mysterious. The hidden danger in this self-contained system was that in exercising reason to study nature, humanity would make observations and reach conclusions that contradict God. In subsequent Western history, this is precisely what happened in the Renaissance, as a result of voyages of geographical discovery,

and in the Scientific Revolution.

The Renaissance

The Renaissance was the early post-medieval period during which premedieval arts and philosophy were rediscovered and then celebrated. Concentrated in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, and first expressed in the emerging city states of northern Italy, the Renaissance saw a proliferation of the integration of ancient into Christian worldviews. As if reawakened from a thousand-year slumber, Renaissance thinkers and practitioners of all kinds began to appreciate the writings and artifacts of classical Greece and Rome as richer and more satisfying than those of dogmatic medieval Christianity. In Italy, where the new city states sought to break out of the medieval hierarchy of governance, the past "glories" of Rome were especially attractive, because they demonstrated the viability of a form of governance that was, by contrast, secular. Wealthy leaders of the new city states patronized Renaissance scholars to create the trappings of a secular state culture. The result was a grand secular humanism.

The secular humanism of the Renaissance manifested itself in a wide range of intellectual pursuits in which human accomplishments and modes of conduct were evaluated on a human rather than a theological scale. When the human scale contradicted the theological scale, the authority of Christianity suffered. For example, Leonardo da Vinci (1452—1519), the quintessential "Renaissance man," showed what human genius could achieve in breathtaking feats of art and engineering. Scientist Andreas Vesalius (1514—1564) dissected human cadavers to learn human anatomy and in the process exposed errors in the text-based traditional anatomy of Galen (129—199). In the field of political philosophy, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469—1527) expounded the human qualities of character that would make a good secular leader in The Prince (1513); Saint Thomas More (1478—1535) critiqued the evils of modern society based on an ideal secularized world constructed in Utopia (1516); and Desiderius Erasmus (1466—1536) argued against the Christian concept of original sin in The Praise of Folly (1509). In undermining the authority of medieval Christianity, these and other Renaissance thinkers and practitioners paved the way for the active opposition to medieval Christianity that was manifested in the sixteenth century

Protestant Reformation.

The implications of the Renaissance for anthropological theory are subtle but important. By nurturing humanism, Renaissance artists, scientists, and intellectuals nurtured the study of humanity in human terms. Moreover, by contrasting ancient with medieval worldviews, they showed that the world was not static but had changed over time. They also practiced an early form of cross-cultural analysis, which anthropologists have used to counteract ethnocentrism, the sense of the absolute superiority of one culture over others. Until Europe expanded more geographically, however, this analysis was largely restricted to civilizations in the West.

Voyages of Geographical Discovery

Metaphorically, for European intellectuals the Renaissance was a voyage backward in time. Literally, the voyages of geographical discovery were voyages outward in space. In late Roman times, Saint Augustine had pronounced that no "antipodes"—places on the opposite side of the Earth — existed. In making this pronouncement, Augustine believed that Europeans already knew about all living peoples. He was mistaken. Beginning in earnest in the thirteenth century, Europeans journeyed to faraway places and discovered peoples whose appearance and behaviour exceeded some of their wildest expectations.

The European voyages of geographical discovery, preceded by the Christian crusades, were sponsored by new city states and later by nations that competed with one another for access to routes for profitable trade. Beginning with Marco Polo (1254—1324), who spent many years at the court of Kublai Khan in China, and ending with Ferdinand Magellan (1480—1521), who first circumnavigated the globe, famous early explorers showed Europeans that riches awaited them to the east and could be accessed more quickly by sailing west. In 1492, the quest for a western route to Asia led Christopher Columbus (1451—1506) to discover the "New" World—new, of course, only to Europeans. The discovery of the New World had profound implications for anthropology. Once Europeans realized that the New World was not Asia, they realized that it was an antipode. They then had to make sense of a place supposedly nonexistent and to incorporate its inhabitants, or "Indians," into Christian theology.

At a time when Europeans understood race, language, and culture to be inextricably linked, the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World appeared innately and profoundly different. Were these inhabitants even human? A difference of such magnitude created a problem for Christian theology. Saint Thomas Aquinas had regarded aboriginal peoples as "natural slaves", but natural slaves lacked the quality of free agency, which was required if they were to convert to Christianity of their own volition. Without free agency, the efforts of Christian missionaries were futile. To solve this problem, after long deliberations by the Church, Spanish theologians Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474—1566) and José de Acosta (1539—1600) recast aboriginal peoples in the image of "natural children" endowed with the potential to become adults and make a valid conversion. This theological change brought aboriginal peoples and Europeans closer together. It led to the anthropological doctrine of monogenesis, the belief that human races share a common origin and constitute a single biological species. Monogenesis remained popular until the nineteenth century, when, as anthropology distanced itself from Christianity, the opposing doctrine of polygenesis became ascendant. Polygenesists believed that human races have separate origins and constitute separate biological species. The theoretical debate between monogenesists and polygenesists was a preoccupation of anthropology for centuries.

The voyages of geographical discovery launched an era of Western colonialism, imperialism, and political and economic global domination. Modern anthropology developed in this context, and anthropologists are currently deeply engaged in a discussion about its significance for theory.

The Scientific Revolution

Nowhere did the medieval synthesis unravel as clearly, if not as quickly, as in the sequence of events that constitute the Scientific Revolution. These events, which took place from the thirteenth through the seventeenth centuries, generated revolutionary changes in scientific cosmology, or views of the universe, and epistemology, or ways of knowing.

Thomistic Christianity embraced a cosmology that blended elements of medieval theology with ancient Aristotelian science. In this cosmology, which depicted

everything as static, the Earth was the centre of the universe. Surrounding the Earth were concentric layers made up of the natural elements of earth, water, air, and fire and, in the outer layers, of rarified elements that bordered the ultimate empyrean heavens. The Earth was stationary, and celestial bodies such as planets and stars rotated around it in fixed spheres, or orbs. The ancient astronomer Ptolemy (127—151) had calculated the number and velocity of the orbs in such a manner that they accommodated the celestial bodies known at that time. As new astronomical observations accumulated, however, it became difficult to keep the orbs and bodies in synchrony. Even by the time of Aquinas, the old cosmology was showing considerable signs of internal strain.

The now-famous scientists who contributed to the Scientific Revolution were motivated by a fundamental desire to preserve the old cosmology. This, they thought, could be accomplished if some of its features were altered. Nicholaus Copernicus (1473—1543) proposed that the Sun, not the Earth, is the centre of the universe and that the Earth rotates on its own axis and revolves around the Sun with other planets. Tycho Brahe (1546—1601), tackling the problem of intersecting orbs, decided simply that orbs do not exist. Johannes Kepler (1571—1630) described the orbits of planets as ellipses, not perfect circles. Galileo Galilei (1564—1642), reflecting on the views of his predecessors, systematically contrasted the Ptolemaic and Copernican views. Finally, Sir Isaac Newton (1642—1727), in his magnum opus Principles of Mathematics (1687), solved the problem of what caused planets to move by devising the law of universal gravitation. The end result of this sequence was a revolutionary new cosmology. According to historian of science Thomas Kuhn, author of The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962), the whole process amounts to a paradigm shift, during which one paradigm, or scientific model, is replaced by another when the former paradigm presents too many problems to solve in old ways.

Although the Scientific Revolution occurred primarily in astronomy and physics, there were equally revolutionary implications for anthropology. If the Earth was not the centre of the universe, how could humanity, for whom the Earth was created, be special? Might there be other earths? Other humanities? Moreover, in the medieval cosmology, everything had a fixed place in a universe in which God was actively involved. By contrast, in the Newtonian cosmology, everything in the universe was