

History: Anthropology

(Notes on P&B Chap.5)

- “Ethnoanthropology” -Each culture's classification of the "other," part of their “ethnoscience” of humans, an aspect of their semantics: 2 classifications:
 - “Auto/Alter-Designation;” one's own group versus the “other,” another culture, neighboring societies.

Auto-Designation (ex.)= "True People," e.g., *Shipibo* (from their totemic animal “ancestor,” the *Shipi*, a marmoset –a small monkey-like prosimian, *bo*, “group of”) or *Kuikuin Jonibo* (from *kuikuin*= “beautiful, true or real,” *n*=”possessed of”) versus their

- Alter-name perjorative for their enemies: *Cashinahua* (from *Cashi*=Vampire Bat/*Nahua*=“Sub- Human Savages;” the *Cashinahua* as the “blood-sucking vampire savage sub-humans!” a classic epithet of the “other.”

Ironically, the *Cashinahua* call themselves "*Junikuin*," “true or beautiful, possession of, people”). As fellow members of the Panoan language family, the words are “cognate” from shared ancestral forms (*Joni/Juni*; *kuikuin*= *kuin*). Reciprocally, they refer to the *Shipibo* as *Chama*, an ugly armor-headed catfish with all kinds of facial bumps & spines & a flat, wide face (from the *Shipibo* practice of frontal skull-deformation), e.g., “ugly catfish-faced savages”!

- Why the Greeks as the origin of anthropology?
 - A late civilization (new-comers) aware of the antiquity of the great civilizations of Syria-Iran-Iraq (Mesopotamia, the ancient Middle East) & Egypt (the latter via the linking Cretan=Minoan civilization); **the Greeks were as far removed in time from the Great Pyramid of Egypt as we are from the Greeks!** As “barbarians” they were aware they had much to learn from others!
 - As a trading=Maritime culture they traded with, and placed colonies among, diverse cultures, therefore had to know about them; although better in antiquity before environmental degradation, the Greek archipelago was a stony land, less suited to agriculture than to sea-oriented fishing & trading. Therefore, they expanded thruout the Mediterranean.
 - In contrast, the large, ancient, land-locked, self-sufficient multi-ethnic empires, like Egypt or Persia, were xenophobic (“a distrust of outsiders”); while the ancient Babylonians in the west & the ancient Chinese in the east were the 1st to invent archeology –a “roots” activity into the origins of one’s own society, neither culture, nor Egypt, had any interest in the customs of external “barbarians”).
 - The Greeks were a highly militarized, aggressive society that coupled forced outward migration (due to their poor agricultural prospects) with the city-state establishment of colonies in alien territory using their heavily-armored *hoplites*, free citizen soldiers with bronze-age spears, round shields & swords, in the 1st “scientific” tactical military formation, the closed-packed & invulnerable *phalanx*, as an expression of a very **androcentric**= male-oriented culture emphasizing bravery & warfare dependent upon *technology* (itself a Greek word) & competition-against the Persians & Phoenicians.
 - Why a Greek Historian?
 - History, in turn, is based on:
 - The "decoupling" of speculative thought on human society from theology= Philosophy (a Greek invention) e.g., Plato's Republic= **Utopia**), expression of a **secular** ethos even though the Greeks were polytheists (their gods & goddesses behave & mis-behave in a

singularly “human” fashion & can interact directly with humans).

- Linear, cumulative time (Alvin Toffler, an American social philosopher), a trait also shared with the Semitic world-view, that other component of the Western tradition.
- Quantifiable, commutable time; time thought of as a spacio-temporal “tangible” entity (5 days, 5 miles, 5 apples; long day, a long house-something not shared with the Semites!)
- Quantifiable, commutable space & time, the original "Space-Time Matrix" (X axis=Time, Y axis=Space), the basic requirements for **chronology**, a Greek word!
- Social/Mythic Agency (Terrence Turner, American ethnologist), another Greek invention. If the theologians of other cultures have figures passively receive culture from the gods or spirits, “mythic agency” (Roe) versus active human agents who “invent” culture & are therefore known as “heroes” or “heroines”= “social agency. Named, significantly, from an actual Greek inventor, “Hero of Alexandria” (whose name became the generic for a famous & important person) & invented the *aeolipile*, (1st turbine) & lived in ancient Alexandria, a Hellenistic port city on the northern Mediterranean coast of Ptolemaic (Greek) Egypt, (“where”=space) in the 3rd century A.D. (“when”=time).
- This is our modern notion of history as the biography of Heroes/Heroines located in the Space-Time Matrix who acted in the past & therefore determined the present, hence we, emulating them as heros/heroines in the present can, using linear time, determine the future!
- Precursors=(“heroes”)=ancestors in the past who did something like modern anthropology, but who were culturally isolated (not connected in a scholarly tradition of teacher-student), and therefore “precocious,” before their time.
- @ 450 B.C.=Herodotus (484-425 B.C.), Persia & Egypt. Objectively described the customs of others, e.g., that the Persian cities, for ex., lacked an **Agora=a central marketplace**, characteristic of Greek Cities). Although skeptical, he reported River Don Goat-Footed People, *Homo monstrosus*, & a group that hibernates for 6 months like bears!
- @ 75 A.D.=Tacitus (A.D. 55-117), Roman Historian, **Germania**, the 1st “ethnography,” but “arm-chair,” of a single ethnic group, the Germanic tribes who were defeating Roman legions in the Black Forest.
- The “Dark Ages” hiatus after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the time of the spread of Christianity=Sacred world view (xenophobic, with no interest in the barbarians that threatened to invade & annihilate the Christian realm, like the Vikings)
- Late Middle Ages & the “Silk Road” @1250 A.D., 2 Franciscan Friars traveled to the Mongol courts in central Asia, laying basis for Marco Polo, 17 years in court of Kublai Khan=1300 A.D., a “travelogue” (Traveller's Tales) along the “Silk Road”=longest overland

trade route across Eurasia & the Gobi desert from Italy to northern China

- Classical Islam's Inclusion in the Western Tradition=@ 1350 A.D.= Ibn-Khaldun (Tunis 1332-1406, Cairo), *Muqaddimah*, the preface to "A Study of History," the 1st work of "ethnology," e.g., nomadic Bedouins versus sedentary city culture in the Middle East & their symbiotic relationship (nomads trading meat & leather to city-dwelling agriculturalists for their grain, fruits & manufactured goods-when the city is strong, trade, when the city is weak, raiding & conquest since the nomads are cavalry versus the city infantry & more effective militarily) .
- The "Columbian Exchange" & the Discovery of the "New World", the 1st break with the Semitic Tradition component of Western Civilization; a "new" world & a whole "new" people (American "Indians") unknown to the Bible! The 1st effort to understand these "Savages" was via a biblical extension, perhaps they were the sons of Noah's errant son Ham* or the "Lost (wandering) Tribes" of Israel who somehow took a wrong turn, as among present day Mormons, the last of the "Desert Religions," & the 1st religion created to account for the New World & its Denizens ("The New World Archaeological Foundation"). 2 responses within Christianity (the "Chroniclers") who wrote about native cultures:
 - Documentation=1494 A.D.=Fray Ramón Pané, the 1st problem-oriented, participant-observation fieldwork cross-culturally, an "ethnography" of Caribbean Taíno Religion, 1st one since Tacitus!
 - 15=Destruction of the Aztec Empire in Mexico, aided by disease.
 - 1545=Destruction of the Inca Empire in Peru
 - Destruction="Works of the Devil," burning of the Mesoamerican *codices*, melting of the Aztec & Inca gold for bullion & coins, @ 1575 A.D.=Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590), Florentine Codex, but he also burned native books as works of the Devil! Padre de las Casas defends the Indians against the "Black Legend" of Spanish genocide & slavery (sugar cane & "narcotic Foods").
 - The **Renaissance** is caused by the Columbian Exchange since it quadrupled the wealth in the Old World by flooding it with the gold of the Aztecs & then the Incas, ending up in Italy to pay the bankers back for financing Spain's wars & then used to fuel patronage of the arts & the reexamination of the rational Classical past in light of post-New World skepticism of the Biblical account. As the rebirth of rationalism & the beneficiary of greater world travel & cosmopolitanism, it saw the waning of *Homo monstrosus*, i.e., 1590 A.D.=Last report of a visit to Prestor John's Kingdom!
 - @ 1650 A.D.=Thomas Hobbes, English Philosopher (1588-1679), his book *Leviathan* (Start of the "Conservative" Ideology in West as a defense of the Divine Right of Kings over Man in the State of Nature="Nasty, Brutish & Short")
 - 1656 A.D.=Archbishop Ussher & "sacred chronology" (Irish) dies, a short or "collapsed cronology" of only some 5,000 yrs., i.e., creation at 4004 B.C. Oct. 23rd, 9:00 A.M. This (short chronology.)="Catastrophism" must be altered to give time for the diversity of the world & human cultures to be generated.
 - The **Enlightenment** & comparative thought, the 1st appearance of modern "science" as a continuation of the rationalism of the Renaissance, but now directed out into the world rather than back to the Classical era.
- @ 1715 A.D.= Father François Lafitau (1712-1717), Iroquois ethnography, 1st North Amerindian ethnography
- 1748 A.D.=Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, a proto-evolutionary scheme of savages =

hunters / barbarians = herdsmen! based on subsistence types.

- 1762 A.D.=Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Drew on Caribs of Venezuela for the "Noble Savage" (Start of the "Liberal" Ideology), kings aren't necessary (& revolution becomes inevitable)! This is the opposite of Hobbes, showing the static dualism of the West (either the natives are sub-human savages or they are super-human "noble" savages).
- **The Age of Discovery**-the end of the Enlightenment and the beginning of the scientific "naturalist" investigation of the world associated with the early English and French Empires. An example is:
- 1774 A.D.=Captain James Cook & Polynesia (the "discovery" of the last "new world" unknown to Westerners, vast Oceania [Polynesia, Micronesia & Melanesia]) & the entry of tattooing into the West after its Christian expulsion since the Iron Age!)

-END OF "TEXTBOOK HISTORY"

- 1778 A.D.="BIOLOGY" Carl von Linné (Linnaeus), Swedish anatomist, classifies all life forms based on their shape=morphology, based on the skeletons and prepared specimens sent back by the naturalists, giving us the modern scientific "binomial" ("two name") system of genus & species, e.g., *Homo sapiens*, pointing to the similarities of human & non-human life forms long before the modern theory of evolution emerged, but an essential prerequisite for it.
- 1798 [1800], Thomas Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, read by Darwin, pointed out that not only was human physical structure like other animals, particularly the great apes (Linnaeus), but that their population growth behaved in the same way, specifically that populations grow geometrically (by ever-increasing factors), but that food resources grow only arithmetically (by the same factor), therefore falling behind to produce the "Malthusian projection" that famine & population crashes would result (e.g., the "Irish Potato Famine")
- 1820 A.D.="GEOLOGY" Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, the 1st modern "anti-diluvian" geology, i.e., "before the flood," based on two elements:
 - gradualism, that all earth-processes take a long time to happen, adopted by Darwin +
 - uniformitarianism, that they happened in the past the same way they happen today, the combination of the 2 meant a "long, secular chronology" within which all life can evolve); the time frame within which Darwin could function (then thought to be only hundreds of thousands of years, now life dates to 3.8 billion (each billion=100 million!))
- 1840s A.D.="HUMAN PALEONTOLOGY," the Neander Valley, Germany, limestone miners discovering the 1st pre-modern human fossil, "Neanderthal,"* now *Homo neanderthalensis*, 300,000-30,000 B.P. in Europe, showing that human physical structure had evolved.
- 1848 A.D.="ARCHEOLOGY" C.J. Thomsen, a Dane, initiates the "Victorian Chronology" of "relative chronology" still in use today: Stone-Bronze-Iron "Ages" (human technology evolves), Copenhagen, the Danish Royal Museum, whose collections he organizes for display to the public. The 1st Natural History Museum (of which the Smithsonian & the American Museum of Natural History [NYC] or the Field Museum [Chicago] are all US examples).
- @ 1850 A.D.="HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS," Max Müller a German philologist (origin or etymologies) of words, working in England (1823-1900); helped show that Human Languages evolve; *Zeus=Dyaus* in Sanskrit (ancient north Indian religion of Hinduism) and

the Greek pantheon were “cognate,” derivative from early “Aryan” words of central Asia, creating the **Indo-European Language Family**, East meets West for 1st time, for now India, before regarded as a classic “Asiatic” culture now becomes “Western”!

- 1859 A.D.=“PHYSICAL ANTHROLOGY,”=Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, only 1/2 of modern theory of evolution, that is, “natural selection,” that all life forms, including humans, have physically evolved from earlier forms, but led to **Social Darwinism** which interpreted “Survival of the Fittest” as physical **struggle of the biggest & strongest**, not Darwin’s sense of **Reproductive Fitness**. + Linked Evolution with **Progress** (despite the fact that biological evolution has no **teleology** (no “goal,” it is “opportuinitic” therefore “reversible”), though things have generally gone from 1.) simple to complex and (2.) generalized to specialized. Thus, they always thought that **earliest=simplest** & that non-Western natives are “precivilized”* or cases of “under”*- or “arrested development,” i.e.,* “Living Fossils,” or, even worse, “savages”=“degenerates”*
- 1861 A.D.=“UNILINEAL EVOLUTIONISM,” Johann Bachofen, Swiss Jurist, like most of these “armchair anthropologists of the 19th cen., a lawyer, believes 1st society is “gynocracy,” *Das Mutterrecht*, “Mother Right”=Primitive Matriarchy” or the rule of women [now known to be mythical, but adopted by Marxism)/Sir Henry Maine, a Scotch jurist, whose *Ancient Law*, posited exactly the opposite (thus showing how “speculative” these reconstructions about unknowable “origins” were), or primitive patriarchy.
- 1865 A.D.=“TRAVELER’S TALES,” e.g., George Catlin, Alexander von Humboldt; ethnographic data flows in at increasing rates as Europe does reconnaissances of the world, both allying scientific curiosity but also scouting for resources for its Industrial Revolution.
- 1871 A.D.=Sir Edward Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (1st modern use of the concept of “culture” + the “psychic Origin of Mankind,” making comparison possible & refuting racism), e.g., “Unilineal Cultural Evolutionism,” but regarding peasant & primitive peoples as “survivals” of some past (for Europeans) state & regarding them as living fossils. His most famous unilinear evolutionary scheme was in:
 - **Religious Evolution=3 Phases: 1.) Animism (2.) Polytheism (3.) Monotheism**
- 1877 A.D.=Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society* (kinship & property, e.g., descriptive terms = personal property/ classificatory terms = communal property), & linked cultural evolution to subsistence, therefore influencing Marx & Engles, who plagiarized from him.
 - He is the first to have done “applied anthropology” in that like many other 19th century figures he was a lawyer, but unlike them he defended a traditional people, the Iroquois, in their land claims against the U.S. Government.
 - He also began an early form of fieldwork, catching the train from New York City on the week-ends to go to upper New York State where the Iroquois had (and still have) their reservation.
- 1884 A.D.=Marxism & Materialism, e.g., Friedrich Engles, *The Origin of Private Property and the State*, co-author (with Marx) of the *Communist Manifesto*. They copied their notion of the economic basis of evolutionary stages from Morgan because they were material (subsistence) in nature and Marxism wished to be Historical Materialism, jettisoning Hegel’s idea of Spirit but retaining his thesis-antithesis-synthesis system and placing economics as the Prime Mover of human culture since they were writing during the time of early Sweat Shop and Robber Baron industrial Capitalism.
- 1886 A.D.=The 1st U.S. Department of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania!
- 1890 A.D.=“DIFFUSIONISM”, e.g., G. Eliot Smith, & the “Heliocentric School”, Father

Wilhelm Schmidt, *Kulturkreise*, (“Culture-Circle=Age/Area Hypothesis”) "Master Races" bringing culture to the more benighted around the world & Racism (prominent in the 19th century-earlier it was not your race that mattered but whether you were a Christian or not). It has been suggested that this new emphasis on race was related to the powerful new machine technology, especially that of war (repeating rifles, Gatling guns, field artillery, steamships) that allowed Westerners to conquer traditional peoples. Machines Became the “Measure of Man,” the proof that non-Westerners were intellectually inferior to Westerners, since the West had them and the rest of the world did not.

- 1900 A.D.=“HISTORICAL PARTICULARISM”* rejected unilineal evolutionism, founded by Franz Boas, a German Jewish physicist immigrant who taught at Columbia Univ., New York, the “father of American Anthropology since he had many students, like Margaret Mead, whereas Morgan did not. He was skeptical of the models developed by the armchair anthropologists and urged fieldwork. His main contributions were:
 - “Cultural Relativism” (the Unique), e.g., the "American Historical Approach," that is, rather than comparing cultures (ethnology) one should concentrate on documenting their unique features, each a product of their own history and environment, +
 - "Salvage Anthropology," the realization that many Indian societies were in the act of disappearing (the Indian Wars of the 1880s were now over, the tribes “Pacified” & demoralized on marginal reservations) and that their cultural knowledge would be lost forever, therefore they should be documented.
 - Even if to do so involved "Memory Culture" (George Hunt-Kwakiutl), the interviewing of the last surviving member of a group. This latter approach has two difficulties:
 - Any given person will not know all aspects of a traditional culture, especially since knowledge is age-dependent and gender-related, and
 - The memories of the aged tend to be “normative,” that is how people should have acted, rather than how they actually did, an idealized version of the culture, “edited” by memory—that is why participant-observation fieldwork is needed, to chart the behavioral differences from the norms.
 - + Linguistic Competence, learning the local language (which the armchair investigators did not do). He worked first among the Eskimo and then the tribes of the Northwest Coast, collecting many artifacts for the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. That museum-orientation was common among anthropologists of the time, but now involves the question of:
 - Artifactual “repatriation,” Boas' legacy, the tribes are now trying to get their ancestral artifacts back!
 - Boas saw cultures as symbolic systems, not in the material way Morgan saw them.
- The impact of the First World War, the first truly world war that placed contesting Europeans in exotic cultural settings from Africa to Asia, had a major impact in modernizing anthropology. It also saw the 1st entry of women into the work force as they filled factory jobs vacated by men-turned-soldiers, thereby giving economic and educational impetus to the status of women in the West.
- 1920s=Australopithecines discovered in South Africa, confirming Darwin*
- 1921 A.D.=“FUNCTIONALISM”, ex.=A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, an Englishman who worked among the Adaman Islanders, in the Indian Ocean,

- He too, like Boas, distrusted "conjectural history," the generalizations of the 19th century Unilineal Anthropologists, in favor of the current functioning of society, something that could be investigated in non-literate groups via fieldwork.
 - This led him to place excessive importance on the **equilibrium of society** as a social system, particularly its,
 - "social structure," the maintenance of the formal way society is structured (the statuses and roles), viewing society as a kind of "social body,"* like the "body politic," a static* view
 - & the comparative "anatomy" of societies. Another British functionalist (actually a Pole, but educated in England) was a figure we will hear about again,
 - Bronislaw Malinowski, who also co-invents (along with Boas in the U.S. and Radcliffe-Brown in England), modern participant-observation fieldwork.
 - His *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, about the Trobriand Islands, an archipelago to the northeast of New Guinea, and like it, a member of the Melanesian culture-geographic area, is still read. In it he presents an
 - **emic view*** social "skeleton" & biological needs, that is, that culture must answer all human needs, from clothing to shelter and subsistence, as well as psychological needs, centering on religion & magic; from his work comes,
 - Social organization, the dynamic functioning of the static social structure=**Holism***
 - Also the differences between static social "status" and the dynamic social role = social relations in a community (bounded, self-recognized, a camp or village).
- 1928 A.D.=**"CULTURE & PERSONALITY"** Margaret Mead, the impact of the new discipline of Psychology (remember Freud and Jung split only in 1912) on Anthropology, her classic *Coming of Age in Samoa*, her 1st fieldwork in Samoa @ 1920, was the 1st fieldwork by a female anthropologist, and one which challenged the ethnocentric psychology of the day, particularly its emphasis on the "storm and stress" of adolescence as a normal stage in all human society, by arguing for a natural and stress-free transition in Samoa. This view will, in turn, be challenged in the 1990s.
- 1939 A.D.=another student of Franz Boas, Alfred L. Kroeber-"Culture Geographic Areas" & Germanic "Culture History" (the use of all the sub-fields to reconstruct history, from ethnology to archaeology, particularly useful in non-literate societies).
- @1940=HRAF (Yale) & George Peter Murdock and the 1st data bank in anthropology produced from cataloging and cross-indexing all the data in the world's ethnographies, to find correlations between traits, e.g., (1.) Sodalities & Masking or (2.) Male Child sleeping with mother 1-2yrs & Horrific Rites of Passage for males
- The even greater effects of World War II, the 1st war between European powers and a non-Western power (Japan) on a level of technological parity. Not only were Americans and Brits, among others, exposed to a truly distinctive culture, that of the Japanese, but they were so exposed in far-flung regions of Asia, from Malaysia to the South Pacific, as well as Southeast Asia from Burma to China. Moreover, via the G.I. Bill, many returning soldiers could be the first in their families to enter college, many moved by their exotic experiences to enter anthropology; the expansion of anthropology into many different state universities dates to this post-war movement. Meanwhile, the entry into wage labor of women

(remember “Rosie the Riveter”), and into higher education, was even greater than during the 1st world war, fundamentally changing Western society.

- 1946="CONFIGURATIONALISM" Ruth Benedict, another Boas student, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, a study of Japanese personality and culture, produced as a result of the war viewed whole societies as expressing a common psychological profile, personality writ large.
 - New “Projective Tests” are employed to investigate personality cross-culturally, like:
 - Rorschach Test (the famous “Ink Blot” test based on some 10 designs) & TAT (“Thematic Apperception Test”)
- The 1940s-50s=Breakdown of colonial empires after WWII set anthropologists to questioning synchronic functionalism & heeding Radcliffe-Brown's injunctions against "conjectural history" by doing ethnohistory = E.E. Evans-Pritchard & M.G. Smith ("plural society") + urban anthropology (Africans into English cities, e.g., A.L. Epstein), as new countries are created out of the colonial possessions and many people from them flood into the capitals of their former colonial overlords.
- 1949 A.D."CULTURAL ECOLOGY" & "MULTI-LINEAL EVOLUTIONISM", Julian Steward* (environment-subsistence-socio-political organ.="culture core" types (each having different trajectory of evolution, the multi-lineal pattern, unlike the simplic unilineal 19th century variety.)
- 1959 A.D.="UNIVERSAL EVOLUTIONISM"=Leslie White* *The Evolution Of Culture*, techno- determinism* & energy capture per capita used as a base to retool unilinear evolutionism.
- 1960 A.D.="CULTURAL MATERIALISM" (Infrastructural determinism), Marxism without the dialectic (Thesis/Antithesis/Synthesis); eg., Marvin Harris, an American* "intensification"*=ex. of Yanomamö infanticide & Raiding (actually borrowed from the agronomist Esther Boserup) + "resources" which they wrongly consider "self evident," ex.,
 - Marshall Sahlins & Elman Service (reconcile White & Steward) = (Specific / General Evolutionism-a general over-all pattern versus local multi-linear deviations).
- 1962 A.D.=Idealism* (not "Idealistic"), a true “systems” view of culture, not one of Prime Movers, which gives equal weight to ideas as well as behavior
 - i.e., materialist's "resources" are self-evident (Western), idealists say "resources" are culturally constructed, in order to "fish" you have to believe fish are edible!, a variety based on the revolution in linguistics, especially the Swiss School of de Saussure, was:
 - “STRUCTURALISM" e.g., the French Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (the notion that one must accept a few “truths” as self-evident, that is all one must know, producing a “closed” world-view. This is characteristic of religious world-views. In contrast is the “scientific” or “civilized” mind, which is an open world-view that believes in “progress” and states that every day and in every way we know more, but that we still have much to learn, an “open” and dis-confirmable world-view.
 - The notion of “structure” is that there are two levels of consciousness, the sub-conscious level of “deep structure,” which is rule-bound and accessible to the anthropologist via inference, and the perceivable level of “surface structure” which is conscious on the part of the participant, but imperfect.
 - The former is pan-human and the latter is culture-bound, but perceivable via dualistic analysis of “dyadic opposites” like night/day, man/woman,

good/bad, etc. Thus structuralism would take a highly structured complex phenomenon like a myth or a ceremony and break it down into its hidden symmetries and contradictions. This form of anthropology has had a major impact, particularly in literary criticism and the study of myth.

- It was based on the "Logic of the Concrete," that is, the analysis of analogy using the senses, as duality-of-patterning "codes," like the "olefactory Code, the Visual Code, the Culinary Code (hence his famous contrast of the "Raw and the Cooked"), etc.
- Unlike materialists, idealists like structuralists believe that **Humans are self-aware!**
- 1964 A.D.= "ETHNOSCIENCE" Charles Frake, the related field of Cognitive Anthropology, how traditional peoples classify and categorize their world, from everything from firewood to color terminology. It was related to both linguistics and artificial intelligence.
- 1970= Interpretative/Explanatory* "SYMBOLIC ANTHROPOLOGY"= Clifford Geertz*, all behavior is partly symbolic* + don't "explain" a cultural element, rather "explicate" it by
- reference to other elements **in that culture** + "thick description" & Mary Douglas, an English woman anthropologist, ("Natural Symbols").
- 1975= **Sociobiology**, the publication of Edward O. Wilson's *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis*, inaugurates the new discipline that will impact physical & then social anthropology, from the noted entomologist (student of ants) & discoverer of pheromones at Harvard. He emphasized the fact that all life, including humans, is present on earth to reproduce & increase genes via Darwinian reproductive fitness & altruism, an implicitly political antithesis (the "selfish genes" are everything) to the "social constructivist" *tabula rasa* viewpoint of traditional social science (everything is a product of social experience and therefore "engineerable"), basically the Right (inherent traits, the "Old Adam" resistant to social engineering) versus the Left ("blank slate," all social ills are capable of being "cured" or eliminated by the state).
- 1977= **Post Modernist*** (all is relative, Anthropology is not a social science, but merely Western ethnocentrism, an ex.=
 - Francois Bourdieu, the French philosopher's concept of **praxis** ("practice"), individual choices being continuously reworked by social action (everything is political). Another form is+
 - 1980= "REFLEXIVE & Hermeneutical (postmodernist) ANTHROPOLOGY," Paul Rabinow (Phenomenology) & Richard Price- Saramanka elder's history & his own;
 - ethnography as a humanist discipline, in their own words, not science, closer to literary criticism than to physics, based on 2 elements:
 - **Phenomenological**= what happens after a social phenomenon, like a curing episode, a wedding, a feast, etc., not a prediction before the fact. The anthropologist goes about "picking up the pieces" after something happens, like Rabinow does after the feat for the Beni Yaghra, rather than predicting it beforehand.
- Why Can't all these Anthropologists agree, like the physicists do?
- People are **alive**, not inert (inorganic) substances subject just to physical forces & processes
- People are conscious, like other life-forms (biology), unlike inorganic forces (physics) or earth processes (geology, climatology, hydrology)
- But, unlike biology, only the great apes, the bottle-nosed dolphin and people are **self-**

conscious, and therefore prey to **self-delusion** as well as **self-realization**.

- Moreover, there is a natural “division of labor” between these perspectives based on what it is that is of interest to the investigator:
 - If one’s research focus is a material concern like subsistence or economics, then materialist perspectives might be most attractive (though ideological concerns will still be involved), similarly,
 - If one’s research focus is an mental phenomenon like art, religion, magic or social relations, then idealist perspectives might be most attractive (though, again, materialist aspects will also be involved).