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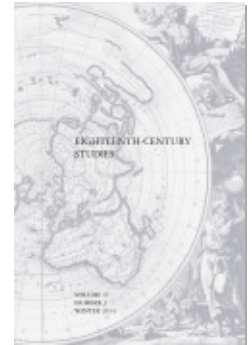
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## The Anthropology of the Enlightenment (review)

Alan Barnard

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the question of gender, her case studies could also use broader contextualization. In none of the chapters on famous literary women does Brock engage with the field of eighteenth-century literary biography, either directly or through the important work of Margaret Ezell. The chapter on Robinson is minutely detailed, but would have gained depth and nuance through comparative reference to, for instance, Charlotte Smith, Letitia Landon, and Felicia Hemans as women writers who both manipulated and feared the operations of “the fame machine.” The microscopic focus of Brock’s exhaustively researched chapters leaves the reader feeling rather overwhelmed by information, and finally unconvinced by the book’s ostensible thesis.

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Larry Wolff and Marco Cipolloni, eds. *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007). Pp xvii, 414. \$70.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper.

This volume brings together sixteen contributors from history, philosophy, and literary studies to explore the roots of ethnographic enquiry and philosophical debates that were to grow into anthropology. There is a fine introduction by Larry Wolff and a thought-provoking conclusion by Marco Cipolloni that reflects on recent as well as eighteenth-century questions about “old” and “new” worlds, the idea of the “modern,” and the legacy of the eighteenth century in the nineteenth. Although the discipline of anthropology itself has virtually no representation among the authors, the volume comprehensively covers the three themes into which the book is divided: philosophical history, ethnography, and human nature.

Philosophical history is represented with chapters by J. G. A. Pocock (on Gibbon and the redefinition of Europe), Anthony Pagden (on Orientalism and Occidentalism), Sunil Agnani (on Diderot and the “two Indies”), Christian Maraouby (on Adam Smith), Neil Hargraves (on William Robertson), and Nicholas A. Germana (on Herder’s India). The most intriguing essays are those of Pagden and Hargraves. Pagden situates Enlightenment concerns with Asia amid broader historical concerns and with an eye to perceptions of Asia in comparison to views of Africa and the Americas. Hargraves compares Robertson’s representations of supposedly passive Peruvians and more ferocious Mexicans to expose the contradictions and complexities in Enlightenment perceptions of Native American character.

Ethnography is represented by John Gascoigne (on German anthropology in the Pacific), Michael Harbsmeier (on northern perspectives on Europe), Giulia Cecere (on Russian “Orientalism”), and Jean-Philippe E. Belleau (on Haiti). Among these, Harbsmeier’s account of the “real” *Persian Letters* stands out. Harbsmeier discusses the records of the journey of Greenlanders Pooq and Qiperoq to Copenhagen in 1724, and subsequent visits by Greenlanders in 1728 and 1731, 1746 and 1776. The Greenlanders reported the cleverness and the engineering skills of the Danes, but also noted the ill effects of alcohol on Danish sailors and the presence of madmen who had to be locked up for the whole of their lives. Harbsmeier contrasts these reports with those of Canadian Inuit in London in 1772 and further distinguishes their representation by Europeans. In the Greenlandic case, we have

records of real dialogues between the protagonists themselves and therefore have a unique source akin to Montesquieu's fictitious account of non-Europeans on the continent.

Human nature is discussed by Mary Baine Campbell (on the Jesuits in Nouvelle France), Michael Kempe (on debates on Pufendorf in the Enlightenment), Philippe Huneman (on psychiatry), and Jonathan Lamb (on incipient anthropology and colonial settlement). This is an odd collection, reflecting as it does respectively on Cartesian thought in the *Jesuit Relations*, Pufendorf's natural law in eighteenth-century France and Germany, the physiological and psychiatric notion of "animal economy" in diverse Enlightenment traditions, and philosophical ideas elucidated in colonial reflections.

The blurb on the back of the book states that "the modern enterprise of anthropology, with all of its important implications for cross-cultural perceptions, perspectives, and self-consciousness, emerged from the eighteenth-century intellectual context of the Enlightenment." That is of course true in some sense, but it cannot be taken simply at face value. Neither the English word "anthropology" nor its equivalents in French or German meant anything like what "anthropology" means today, except loosely in the case of some branches of physical or biological anthropology. Johnson's *Dictionary*, for example, defines anthropology simply as "the doctrine of anatomy," while the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* gives "a discourse on human nature." As John Gascoigne mentions in his chapter, German equivalents of "ethnology" and "ethnography" are found in German-language texts produced in St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Göttingen (144–45). It is certainly true that there were anthropological ideas floating among the philosophes, and notions of "anthropology" and "ethnology" existed in France when the English language had only "natural history" and "moral philosophy" as rough equivalents.

Michael Kempe presents a wonderful discussion of debates on Pufendorf's ideas of natural law in the Enlightenment, including an excellent discussion of Pufendorf's Latin usage. However, it has long puzzled me why Pufendorf's seventeenth-century Latin word *socialitas* is still translated by scholars today, including Kempe, with the eighteenth-century English term "sociability," when the modern scientific term "sociality" is almost completely absent either in eighteenth-century English or in recent writings about the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. I suspect the reason for this is that eighteenth-century historians are probably often ignorant of anthropological and related debates on human and animal sociality over the last thirty years, just as social and biological scientists are generally ignorant of Pufendorf. This is a pity, because anthropology would benefit from greater awareness of the discipline's roots in this crucial period.

But it is equally a pity that *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment* includes among its sixteen contributors apparently only one who studied anthropology before turning to the history of the discipline (Michael Harbsmeier), and no one who has ever practiced as an ethnographer, ethnologist, or anthropological theorist. Thus the book is missing a dialogue that would have been mutually beneficial in both these quite different worlds: Enlightenment studies, and modern anthropology. Moreover, a crucial issue in the discipline of the history of anthropology remains untouched: how "early" (nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century) anthropologists read and incorporated Enlightenment ideas into their work, or in some cases explicitly rejected such ideas. These, no doubt, are challenges that must be taken up in a future book or conference, but as far as it goes this is a book that many in

eighteenth-century studies will find of interest and many in anthropology should but will not. Sadly, few anthropologists will pick it up, even though it well serves the needs of many in its target audience in Enlightenment studies.

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A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005). Pp. xxxii, 447. \$16.95.

This book offers a formidable coverage of early modern night in literature, epistolary prose, and the popular press, with a comprehensive treatment of social, economic, and cultural domains shaped by and during nighttime. It is divided into four parts (or twelve chapters) that treat night as a phenomenon with profound social consequences and as a trope with the capacity to inform ideas, behaviors, morality, and social practices of all description. The larger portion of the text examines the nocturnal aspects of European and American early modernity. It is a fascinating exercise that draws on numerous textual and visual sources and that enables Ekirch to see night as something that “revolutionized the social landscape” (227) by creating “an alternate reality, a realm of its own that challenged the institutions of the workaday world” (255). A host of examples substantiate this claim—starting from those exhibiting the social, ethical, and institutional role of visual communication to those defining the nocturnal regimes of labor and rest, to those effecting varied semiotics and supernatural engagements with the entities of benighted realms. The interest here seems to be to provide the thickest possible description of nighttime’s potential to generate an “alternate reality” by drawing on sources that show how night links ocular with social obscurity. The repertoire is so expansive that it sometimes feels overwhelming, ranging from what Hermann Muthesius called the history of the obvious—injuries in night accidents, night sounds, disorientation, fatigue, sleep, fear of darkness, night smells, the changing sense of time and space—to those related to curfews, night watch, crime, arson, debauchery, prostitution, dissent, night labor, and night bacchanal.

Ekirch moves rapidly (sometimes too rapidly) across space, time, and latitude to provide a compelling but also a complex account of early modern night. On the one hand, it is a depopulated sphere, ruled by retreat, privacy, and rest. On the other, it is a sphere teeming with activity and protest of those for whom darkness was a preferred stage of action. For miscreants, vandals, scholars, dissenters, gamblers, and fugitives, night was the “part of day” that enabled rather than thwarted. It was a refuge for those vampiric actions otherwise instantly annihilated by light. It helped break ties of subordination and inferiority, poverty and shame, and hid sin and physical disfigurement to the point that, Ekirch asserts, “one finds lower orders in de facto control of the nocturnal landscape” (249) even though “the threat of nighttime violence enforced conformity” (254). Such seemingly opposite statements reveal the composite nature of nightlife that might invite rethinking of the usual accounts of historical (and environmental) origins of social subversion. But could the origins of dissent and class struggle be associated with the licence usurped by the silent minorities fighting for rights in low light? Or had early mod-