

El antropólogo como autor

Clifford Geertz,
Barcelona, Paidós, 1989

Desde el comienzo de *El antropólogo como autor*, C. Geertz nos advierte su propósito, su objeto y su apuesta teórica: «La relación entre *ars intelligendi*, arte de la comprensión, y *ars explicandi*, arte de la presentación, es, en antropología, tan íntima que ambas partes resultan básicamente inseparables.» Dejando un tanto de lado el debate entre las diversas corrientes metodológicas presentes en la antropología, el autor se concentra en estudiar las formas de escritura que han prevalecido y han creado nuevos «teatros discursivos».

El texto se acerca a cuatro de los más significativos autores de la antropología, Levi-Strassus, Evans Pritchard, Malinowski y R. Benedict, para intentar una aproximación sobre cómo se construye el discurso antropológico, para luego ver cómo se define el objeto «textual» y su lector arquetípico y cuáles son las relaciones que se establecen entre ellos.

Aceptar una vertiente literaria en la escritura antropológica es fácil. Lo difícil proviene de sus implicaciones teóricas, es decir, reconocer que una parte importante de la tarea consiste en la construcción de una identidad textual, la firma o medio por el cual el autor se manifiesta en el texto. Ello, unido a un discurso propio que, como modo específico, «autoriza» las historias narradas, queda muy alejado de las polémicas sobre la construcción de una ciencia de la cultura.

Una introducción tan abierta del aspecto literario, característico de la escritura en ciencias sociales, no hace sino reafirmar un espacio de incertidumbre, relativamente analizado en filosofía o historia, pero algo ignorado o silenciado en antropología. La explicación de este retraso puede encontrarse en el apego a una determinada tradición positivista que ha separado radicalmente *l'écrit* y *l'écriture* —lo que uno dice de cómo lo dice— en un deseo de evitar «contaminaciones» propias de la poesía o la novela.

Según Geertz la comprensión de los textos etnográficos proviene de un «contrato narrativo» que se establece entre el escritor y el lector y, que se soporta en unos presupuestos que son, a la vez, sociales, culturales y literarios.

Hoy en día la antropología asiste a una problematización acerca de cómo relatar, cómo resolver la dificultad de trasladar —contar acá— por medio de una historia lo ocurrido en un medio ajeno —allá—, reconociendo además que es estéril el recurso a la ciencia, a los discursos taxonómicos o a la tradición científico-natural que desea que los hechos hablen por sí mismos. Es posible que los hechos hablen, pero para comprenderlos deba hacerlo en nuestra lengua y remitir a nuestros parámetros. El problema de crear discursos convincentes —persuadir— es, si no estrictamente, en gran parte un problema literario.

Ello se hace evidente para cualquiera que utilice un enfoque «YO-TESTIFICIAL». Aquel que da cuenta de los hechos a modo de un testigo interior, alguien que somete la realidad a un «entente» sistemático con sus sucesivas redefiniciones

de «YO-AUTOR». En este sentido, las diferencias entre el «yo» que los autores crean —inventan— se corresponde con la forma textual empleada, al igual que esta última es definida por el yo.

Assumir plenamente la autoría de los textos etnográficos ha provocado el asistir a un momento marcado por un «YO-AUTOR-SATURADO» en que resulta difícil diferenciar el «yo que el texto crea y el yo que crea el texto». La recreación de un espacio narrativo, especialmente la creación de un tropo particular que reafirme el haber estado allí, acentúan la elección de unos recursos y tropos discursivos que estructuran y marcan el relato.

La contemporaneidad entre objeto y texto ha consistido para la antropología uno de sus mayores atractivos. El habitar mundos distantes tanto geográficos como culturalmente permitió siempre al texto etnográfico una relativa libertad para definir la extensión y proyección del otro —allá— en su relato. Esta situación ha variado. La labor se complica más aún si reconocemos la dependencia que sufre la antropología de su formalización como discurso académico —letrado—. De esta forma el estar aquí —teórica, personal y narrativamente— tiende a percibirse como una «intervención» sobre el objeto —allí.

La construcción del mundo supone, desde el punto de vista de la comunicación, el fin de la desconexión entre el público y el objeto, con la consiguiente quiebra —relativa— de la distancia y un repliegue del exotismo. Ello conlleva una redefinición del lector «ideal» del texto antropológico, que puede ubicarse indistintamente como objeto o sujeto. Siendo así, la incertidumbre narrativa («¿a quién hay que persuadir hoy?»).

En antropología, destaca Geertz... «el pasado no sólo no está muerto, sino que ni siquiera es pasado». Estas palabras condensan en sí una de las obsesiones antropológicas más genuinas. El encuentro colonial como generador de una disciplina que aspira, por una parte, a proyectarse en el tiempo, cuando las condiciones de origen han parecido o variado radicalmente y, por otra parte, debe asumir dicha producción como un momento previo a la entrega de nuevos aportes. Si la descolonización supuso un terremoto en las bases morales de la etnográfica respecto del «estar allí», los fundamentos epistemológicos han sufrido igual quiebra; ello se traduce en una «pérdida de fe en las historias aceptadas sobre la naturaleza de la representación, etnográfica o no, en lo que hace al «estar aquí».

Si el «estar allí», pasado y presente, sufre un cuestionamiento de fondo, y si además el «estar aquí» se empieza a estudiar y reconocer principalmente desde enfoques semióticos o estrictamente literarios, resulta urgente preguntarse sobre la naturaleza del conocimiento antropológico, es decir, saber cómo se sabe.

El objeto y medio han cambiado. Terminado el colonialismo, el modelo relacional «entre los que preguntan y miran y aquellos que son preguntados y mirados» debía cambiar necesariamente; en adelante, las convicciones sobre el qué hacer deberán ser administradas según el contexto de cada empeño, a su vez las conclusiones a las que se arribe deberán ser —necesariamente— individuales.

La propuesta de Geertz es clara. Si algún poder teórico emerge del accionar antropológico ello proviene de... «la conexión textual entre "Estar Allí" y "Estar Aquí" —(como) construcción imaginativa de un terreno común entre el "Escribir En" y "Escribir Acá De"». Es aquí, en la raíz de esta conexión donde se ubica la virtualidad explicativa y evocativa de dichos textos.

En adelante las implicaciones entre la escritura antropológica y la narrativa serán insoslayables. Debemos intentar «saber cómo se vinculan las palabras con el mundo, los textos con la experiencia, las obras con las vidas». Asimismo, deberemos ser conscientes de la posible ingenuidad de asimilar las

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