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**[Rossano, Matt J. Ritual in human evolution and religion:
psychological and ritual resources]**

Religio. 2022, vol. 30, iss. 1, pp. 83-85

ISSN 1210-3640 (print); ISSN 2336-4475 (online)

Stable URL (DOI): <https://doi.org/10.5817/Rel2022-1-7>

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/145004>

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Access Date: 17. 02. 2024

Version: 20220831

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V časti venovanej podobnostiam medzi Humovým a Nágardžunovým poňatím kauzality Holba píše, že interpretácie Humovej kauzality sa od seba výrazne líšia a dokonca si až odporujú (s. 209). Preto je podľa Holbu sotva možné hovoriť o dosiahnutom konsenze. Domnievam sa, že vzhľadom na absenciu konsenzu týkajúceho sa obsahu Humovej filozofie je otázkou, či interpretácia Humovej kauzality, ktorá má vykazovať silnú podobnosť s tou Nágardžunovou, skutočne zodpovedá Humovej filozofii. Inými slovami: Je to, čo v Nágardžunovej filozofii nachádzame ako humovské, skutočne Humova filozofia? Jednou z provokatívnejších odpovedí by mohlo byť: Nestretáme sa pri porovnávaní oboch filozofií z pozície západnej filozofickej tradície s jednou z interpretačných chýb komparatívnej filozofie, pri ktorej západne ladený filozof či interpretátor hľadá v cudzej tradícii to, čo mu je známe z vlastnej tradície. Otázkou teda je, či pri takomto type komparácie nejde o akúsi zataženosť vlastným kontextom, z ktorého interpretátor vychádza a v ktorom žije a ktorý viac alebo menej nevedome premieta do cudzej myšlienkovkej tradície. Takejto myšlienkovkej predpojatosti by zodpovedal aj historicky rozmanitý diapazón interpretačných stratégií západnej filozofie voči Nágardžunovej filozofii za posledné storočie.

Nágardžunova filozofia bola totiž v minulom storočí interpretovaná z takých pozícií, ktoré boli dôležitou súčasťou svetového filozofického diskurzu ako napr.: z pozície kantovskej filozofie, analytickej filozofie a post-wittgensteinovskej filozofie.² Vzhľadom na takú výraznú interpretačnú rozmanitosť pri interpretácii ne-západných filozofií a pri ich komparácii so západnými filozofiami je relevantné zamýšľať sa aj nad tým, čo potom výsledky takýchto porovnaní zo strany filozofov trébovaných v západnej tradícii uvažovania vlastne hovoria

o samotnom predmete skúmania. Nehovoria viac o autoroch týchto skúmaní? Bez hľadania vyčerpávajúcich odpovedí na nastolené otázky, čo by zjavne prekročilo rámeček predmetnej recenzie, možno zodpovedne prehlásiť, že zaradenie komparatívnej časti do monografie je prínosné aj tým, že takéto a podobné otázky vôbec evokuje. Aj tie totiž prispievajú k premýšľaniu o súčasnom stave, možnostiach, metódach a cieľoch filozofie v globalizovanom svete, čo je téma v našom akademickom prostredí vysoko aktuálna. Holbova kniha je preto vítaným prínosom nielen k českej buddhológii, ale má mnoho ďalších rozmerov siahajúcich hlboko do súčasnej filozofie.

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Religio: Revue pro religionistiku

30/1, 2022, 81-83.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/Rel2022-1-6>

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Matt J. Rossano, Ritual in Human Evolution and Religion: Psychological and Ritual Resources,

New York, London: Routledge
2021, 167 s.

ISBN 9780367856922.

Rituals manage our psychological resources. In rituals, raw materials such as emotions and mental states are cultivated, which results in final products in the form of future confidence and (group) stability. This is the central proposition of Matt Rossano's new book *Ritual in Human Evolution and Religion: Psychological and Ritual Resources*, which is an extension of his paper in a thematic issue of *Philosophical*

² K interpretáciám Nágardžunovej filozofie z rôznych západných filozofických pozícií počas minulého storočia pozri bližšie Andrew P. Tuck, *Comparative Philosophy and the Philosophy of Scholarship: On the Western Interpretation of Nagarjuna*, New York: Oxford University Press 1990.

Transactions B.³ Rossano is an evolutionary psychologist, but his erudition includes the archaeology and anthropology of religion, which puts him in a perfect position to integrate evolutionary and psychological approaches into one comprehensive model of human rituals.

Rossano starts with the argument that psychological states are resources that can be cultivated to provide humans with benefits necessary for group living (e.g., loyalty to the group), similarly as trees provide benefits necessary for survival (e.g., trees can be processed into firewood to provide heat). At the same time, he argues that during hominin evolution, our predecessors' fitness began to be dependent on knowing the mental states of others. The ritual, in his view, became central to the evolution of humanity, because it allowed humans not only to access the mental states of others but also to cultivate them. In the following chapter, Rossano reviews the literature on how rituals promote cooperation and social bonding within groups. He offers a model of ritual resource management: "The one rendering the resource → the resource → the one receiving the resource → the product" (p. 35). According to this model, ritual participants render some resource, e.g., their emotional states. Ritual cultivates these emotional states by linking them to specific group values, which produces an important group-level product, namely group stability. Different rituals may cultivate different resources in different ways to obtain different products. For example, the ritual of sacrifice cultivates supernatural goodwill as a resource, which in turn results in greater future confidence.

Another part of the book is devoted to the evolution of ritual function. Rossano systematically reviews literature on the archaeology of ritual and, with an important caveat that data are not conclusive regarding the earliest hominin rituals, speculates that rituals emerged as collective activities performed at special places, with special

objects and images that cultivated emotional commitment to collective memory, which produced the product of tribal identity. Frequent individualized rituals then emerged, according to Rossano, together with the human transition to a settled life, when people became attached to and dependent on their possessions. Such frequent rituals serve to provide future confidence (pp. 80-81). The rest of the book is devoted to the detailed application of this model to different rituals across time and cultures. Overall, the book appears to be divided into two parts, the first developing the model and the second comparing the model to various rituals from the past and present.

In the first part, Rossano provides several interesting insights into the current state-of-the-art of the science of ritual. I see the most important insight in the definition of ritual itself (pp. 10-16). He starts with Bell's notion⁴ that ritual cannot be defined and that only specific aspects of our behavior may make the behavior more ritualized in our minds. Importantly, ritual is an activity that is intentionally impractical, such as washing already clean objects with too little or no water. This impracticality is allowed by the fact that ritual is always interwoven with symbols referring to systems of ideas and other rituals. Finally, many additional formal aspects such as stylization, rule-governance, and repetition contribute to the saliency of impracticality. Of particular note are the two small sections describing how such impracticality differentiates rituals from routines (e.g., teeth brushing, p. 14) which Rossano considers functional and how the symbolical anchoring of the behavior differentiates ritual from ritualized behavior which is not symbolically anchored and which humans share with other species such as chimpanzees. All this brings Rossano to Rappaport's⁵ differentiation between the indexical and canonical function of ritual (pp. 15-16), arguing that ritual, by definition, includes both, while ritualized

3 Matt J. Rossano, "Ritual as resource management," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 375/1805, 20190429, 2020.

4 Catherine Bell, *Ritual theory, ritual practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1992.

5 Roy R. Rappaport, *Ritual and religion in the making of humanity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999.

behavior is only indexical. This means that while ritualized behavior informs only about the current mental states of the performer, ritual provides deeper information about the mental states inferred from the systems of symbols behind it. These chapters are much needed in the literature, as they connect behavioral and cognitive approaches with anthropological theories of ritual, providing behavioral scientists with an updated definition of ritual.

However, I was confused about the concept of the ritual product, which is clearly illustrated in Rossano's discussion of Egyptian royal rituals (pp. 39-41). By continuously participating in rituals of purification, the pharaoh signaled to his people that he was committed to the office and to the community, which provided future confidence for the group. One could ask why this and not group stability. In the paper, Rossano admits that one of the functions of ritual – group stability – could be subsumed under the second, greater future confidence, “because group disintegration is a harbinger of future uncertainty”⁶. Without clarifying the concepts of group stability and future uncertainty and their distinguishable roles in the evolution of ritual, it was hard for me to follow the various applications of the model to real world examples. Often, as with the pharaoh example, the product could be both future confidence and stability and it is not clearly explained why the resources lead to one or the other product.

With respect to the second part of the book, Chapter Eight is devoted to “predictions about ritual survival and loss.” Rossano predicts that “[a]ttempts to forcibly alter this [adaptive] form will encounter resistance because altered forms will prove less adaptive” (p. 114). As a test, he offers a case study of how life-cycle rituals of the late Russian Empire resisted attempts of the Soviet government to artificially change these rituals. It is not clear, though, whether such a hypothesis could not also be offered by some of the previous theories that Rossano integrates within his model. If yes, the theoretical significance of his model

would be weakened. This part of the book could be strengthened by offering several hypothetical predictions on various levels of complexity, such as expected patterns that one should see in archaeological data and ethnographic databases. This would not only demonstrate the added theoretical value of Rossano's model but also force Rossano to operationalize the analytical concepts of the model to concrete measures. Such operationalization would also clarify the confusion regarding the concept of ritual product. Again, some predictions are offered in the original paper, but the book could develop them in more detail.

In sum, Rossano's aim is broad in scope, but he has only limited space (144 pages without references) and some concepts would deserve more in-depth discussion. Despite this limitation, the book offers a highly thought-provoking and very much needed analysis of ritual at the boundaries of psychology, evolutionary biology, and classic anthropology, with many important insights and potentially testable hypotheses.

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30/1, 2022, 83-85.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/Rel2022-1-7>

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⁶ M. J. Rossano, “Ritual...”, 4.