The Cambridge Encyclopedia of HUNTERS AND GATHERERS

Edited by RICHARD B. LEE AND RICHARD DALY

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The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers

Hunting and gathering was humanity's first and most successful adaptation, occupying at least 90 percent of human history. Until 12,000 years ago, all humans lived this way. Surprisingly in an increasingly urbanized and technological world, dozens of hunting and gathering societies have persisted and thrive world-wide, resilient in the face of change, their ancient ways now combined with the trappings of modernity.

The Encyclopedia is divided into two parts. The first contains case studies, by leading experts, of over fifty hunting and gathering peoples, in seven major world regions. There is a general introduction and an archaeological overview for each region. Part II contains thematic essays on prehistory, social life, gender, music and art, health, religion, and indigenous knowledge. A final section surveys the complex histories of hunter-gatherers' encounters with colonialism and the state, and their ongoing struggles for dignity and human rights as part of the world-wide movement of indigenous peoples.

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The Cambridge Encyclopedia of **Hunters and Gatherers**

Edited by Richard B. Lee and Richard Daly

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PREFACE TO THE PAPERBACK EDITION

In the five years since the publication of the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers*, the world has undergone dramatic changes. Of all the world's societies, few could have been more remote from the direct impact of the events of September 11, 2001, than the hunting and gathering peoples. Yet, no less surely, these societies have experienced their own social/cultural and political/economic upheavals. The forces of globalization, environmental degradation, state penetration, and cultural imperialism have continued to affect hunting and gathering societies and force them into closer and closer proximity with surrounding polities and civil societies. Like local cultures everywhere, foragers and former foragers have continued to grapple with new challenges through a complex interplay of resistance, accommodation, and adaptation.

In fact the themes of continuity and change, tradition and transformation, highlighted in the fifty case studies and fourteen essays in this volume remain extremely timely. With correction of typographical errors, this edition contains the entire contents of the original. This brief introduction pinpoints recent developments in the field and directs the reader to current literature.

More and more, the hunting and gathering peoples have appeared on the global stage under the rubric of "Indigenous Peoples," sharing the platform with such disparate (and non-foraging) peoples as the Mayans, the Masai, and the Maori. The United Nations declared the period 1993-2004 the "Decade of Indigenous People," and former foragers made common cause with other marginalized and encapsulated minorities: pastoral nomads, reindeer herders, fishers, and swidden horticulturalists. Collectively these peoples are estimated to number some 250 million, or four percent of the world's population.

Given the political traction afforded by this rubric, the concept of "indigenous" has become highly contested. Scholars have been divided into two camps, roughly corresponding to the labels *revisionist* and *indigenist* we adopted in the introduction to this volume (pp. 11–12). In a widely discussed article Adam Kuper (2003, 2004) questioned the reality of the term and asserted that *indigenous* is an empty category: poverty and marginality are the defining characteristics of being indigenous, not primordial ethnicity. To label them as "indigenous" is to commit the error of "essentialism," a cardinal sin in post-modern discourse. Going further he asserted that to invoke ethnicity in any political argument is to flirt with reactionary and even proto-fascist political rhetoric.

Ranged on the other side of the debate are those who see the assertion of the rights of people to be *indigenous* as acts of restitution and re-inclusion, completely at odds with the exclusionary politics of right-wing ethnic chauvinism (e.g., Ramos 2003; Kenrick and Lewis 2004a, 2004b; Asch and Samson 2004; Saugestad 2004; Turner 2004). These observers argue the case that "indigenous" histories include elements of political autonomy, linguistic distinctiveness, and long-term land occupation, though in varying degrees from case to case. While acknowledging that the modern nation-state (cf.

Benedict Anderson) may be an "imagined community" and that all ethnicities are to a degree fictional, they would argue that there is a world of difference between the reclaiming and restitution of rights by dispossessed San people in South Africa and the assertion of a greater German (or American) national destiny. To conflate the two is to erase critical differences between oppressor and oppressed.

In the current conjuncture, the people themselves, including many represented in this volume, self-identify as "indigenous" by employing a complex amalgam of their articulated histories (backed by scholarly evidence) and an emerging capacity for self-promotion. This may involve a process of *re-invention*, as an indigenous group recasts its identity in terms dictated by the politics and legal discourses of the nation-state. The term *strategic essentialism* has been applied to this political process, and supporters see this as a legitimate "weapon of the weak," a means of redressing genuine grievances in courts of public opinion in a language the wider public can understand.

For the hunting and gathering peoples discussed in this book, the arenas in which these struggles are played out include the politics of identity, traditional environmental knowledge (TEK), land and civil rights, governmentality, and spirituality. Building on themes addressed throughout the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers*, we offer a very brief sketch of some of the recent work.

Politics of identity

Identity politics is a theme that pervades many of the case studies and essays. The late Susan Kent (2002) edited a collection of papers that assessed the degree of autonomy/subordination of hunting and gathering peoples in the recent past. Contributors tended to support the "indigenist" position. This theme is developed further in the book *At the Risk of Being Heard* (2003) edited by Bart Dean and Jerome Levy. Susan Lobo and Steve Talbot (2001) and Marie Battiste (2000) have assembled excellent collections emphasizing the voices of indigenous peoples in the Americas. Ronald Niezen (2003) has written a masterful overview of the politics of indigenism in the late twentieth century, while Kirk Dombrowski (2001, 2002) and Renee Sylvain (2002) present informative case studies that critically assess both the indigenist and the revisionist positions.

Land, civil, and property rights

In addition to coverage in most of the case studies, issues of rights are central in the essays by Trigger (pp. 473–80) and Hitchcock (pp. 480–6). The fostering of land and civil rights remain central to the agendas of almost all former hunter-gatherers. Alison Brysk's *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America* (2000) and Curtis Cook and Juan Lindau's *Aboriginal Rights and Self-Government: The Canadian and Mexican Experience in North America* (2000) are recent collections surveying this topic. Schweitzer, Biesele, and Hitchcock (2000) explore these themes in an edited collection based on an earlier CHAGS conference. Thomas Widlok and Tadesse Wolde

(2004) have edited a major two-volume edition surveying property rights of peoples on the margins of capitalism, including many case studies of former foragers in Africa, Asia, Alaska, and Australia. These issues are also discussed by Lye (2004) for southeast Asia and Norström (2003) for

south Asia.

Governmentality

How foraging peoples articulate with their nation-states in ways that acknowledge their difference and preserve a semblance of political space is a major theme in the encyclopedia, covered in all seven regional introductions. One of the editors, Harvey Feit, has followed up on this ongoing discussion in *In the Way of Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects and Globalization* (Blaser, Feit, and McRae eds. 2004), as does Paul Nadasdy's (2003) *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon* and Colin Scott's (2001) *Aboriginal Autonomy and Development in Northern Quebec and Labrador*. Sidsel Saugestad's *The Inconvenient Indigenous* (2001) is a valuable study of the San peoples' relations with the Botswana state. Other recent sources include Hitchcock (2002) and Barnard and Kenrick (2001). Throughout its history, the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) based in Copenhagen has been a most effective advocate for the rights of indigenous peoples in international forums.

Traditional environmental knowledge (TEK)

A focus of the essay by Catherine Fowler and Nancy Turner (pp. 419–25), TEK continues to be a significant component of two linked processes in the current era of globalization: the search for sustainable development and the scramble for the genetic commons. Hunter-gatherers are part of this process. The environmental knowledge they possess can be used to find ways of establishing viable post-foraging economies; the same knowledge can be a source of useful pharmaceuticals and other products for world markets. In both cases the key questions remain if and how the indigenous people will retain the benefit. An edited volume by Ellen, Parkes, and Bicker (2000) explores these issues, while works by John Grim (2001) and Tim Ingold (2000) make important contributions to, respectively, the underlying ethics and anthropology.

Spirituality

The spiritual and ethico-religious roots of hunter-gatherer culture and lifeways addressed in several of the essays including Guenther on shamanism and mythology (pp. 426–33), Ingold on sociality (pp. 399–410), Karen Endicott on gender relations (pp. 411–18), and Barac and Morphy on music and art, respectively (pp. 434–48). Basic research on many of these themes continues to appear, including debates on shamanism (Lewis-Williams 2002a, 2002b; Narby 2001), art (Myers 2002; Morphy 1999), and other issues (Ingold 2000; Guenther 1999; Kratz 2002).

While the Cambridge Encyclopedia can be explored for the many ways in which current and former hunter-gatherers articulate with contemporary controversies, there are other ways to approach this book. It can also be valued as a source of the best available evidence on a vast array of peoples whose way of life once dominated the planet and whose footprints are still visible on most of the world's surfaces. Research on the hunting and gathering peoples, as part of humanity's heritage, continues to provide source material for debates in the cultural, political, and sociological imagination and for reflections on the human condition. The references cited also contain important

new research by encyclopedia authors.[1] With these themes in mind, the editors and authors are pleased to welcome a wider readership to the hunter-gatherer world.

Richard B. Lee and Richard H. Daly
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[1] See entries for Anderson, Bahuchet, Balee, Daly, Dussart, Eder, Gardner, Hitchcock, Keen, Kratz, Lee, Medicine, Rival, and A. B. Smith.

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FOREWORD

BEATRICE MEDICINE
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As an anthropologist, and perhaps seen in some circles as a residual artifact from a hunting and gathering society—the Lakota of the Great Plains of North America—I am honored to acknowledge the visibility of the cultures presented in this important volume. In my view, this innovative work addresses the best research of the past with an engagement with changes in anthropological theorizing for the present and future. Each of the many chapters delineates the rich ethnographic characteristics of societies in the indigenous world. Surprisingly, the "Past is the Present": the "ethnographic present" is reflected in the vitality and vibrancy of these societies so often considered as part of a distant past. These seminal papers investigate and demonstrate the continuity, adaptive strategies, and tenacious worldviews of hunters and gatherers throughout the planet. The world-wide scope offered by the contributors reflects an academic core of researchers who gathered periodically at the series of Conferences on Hunting and Gathering Societies (CHAGS) in Alaska, Australia, Russia, and elsewhere. Some papers have been enriched by discussions at these CHAGS meetings; others are new contributions. Some authors are themselves representatives of these indigenous foraging groups. In all, the CHAGS community of scholars forms a tenacious core who feel that hunting and gathering societies warrant continued anthropological investigation.

In view of the subtle—and not so subtle—disciplinary attacks upon anthropologists who study these groups, it is encouraging that a real dynamism persists. Hunting and gathering societies are often relegated to the distant past and romanticized realms as "has beens" or "mere" foragers. Despite their portrayal as disappearing groups pushed to the margins of "civilization" and living in a "culture of poverty," critical studies have shown the resilience of the adaptive strategies and survival mechanisms constructed by them and this has given new meaning to what we understand by culture contact and social change.

In this light, colonization, imperialism, and post-colonization assume new dimensions. The processes of collective action which people utilize to resist social forces impinging upon them challenge and deconstruct the notion of "dying societies." Within the larger framework of anthropological enterprise, these fresh theoretical approaches and innovative methodologies have provided a hopeful portrait for those of us who have been the focus of ethnographic and anthropological research. We hunters and gatherers are still here, based upon core characteristics—albeit in different cultural circumstances.

Some of the studies in this volume are directed to the interplay of power (colonialism, capitalism, technology) and its impact upon powerless enclaves of peoples. Yet, these analyses are not

conciliatory to the critiques of post-modernists and other detractors. Rather they are realistic, reflecting the dignity and purposiveness of their subjects. These contributions are based upon sustained fieldwork—the bedrock of the anthropological enterprise—and the evidence for culture contact is grounded in the sub-fields of archaeology, history and oral history, and ethnographic analysis. Recognizing the effects of colonization, ethnocide, and genocide, these authors salute the persistence of the foragers in the face of these threats to their survival, while maintaining an internal dynamic which shapes their lifeways and world-views. The commitments of these writers have not blinded them to new perspectives in anthropology. We see issues such as gender and power relations, as well as new interpretations of expressive elements of culture—language, music, and art—as reflective of the heritage which the descendants of foragers value and elaborate in the present.

The Encyclopedia documents the responses of foragers and post-foragers to indicate that persons in these groups are not victimized puppets. Through continued egalitarianism and spatial mobility, foragers have made necessary adjustments to new social forces.

Cultural values basic to their ethos live on in the transmitted world-view of contemporary peoples. Though sharing might seem anachronistic to the Western world, this is still a valued sentiment. The tie to the land with its sacredness and spiritual connotations is a prime characteristic, with enduring strength, and in some cases charged connotations. This deep-seated core is hauntingly evoked in many living people today. The Lakotas, for example, believe that *macoche ki le wankan* —"the land is sacred." A similar attitude appears to permeate most foraging groups. Dispossession seems to intensify this belief, as with the *Paha Sapa*—the Black Hills in South Dakota. Large monetary settlements have not dislodged Lakota claims for the return of sacred lands. The sense of the sacred is still ritualized in the recent revitalization of the sacred Sun Dance—long repressed by the US Government. Native languages and mythologies—such as the Trickster story-cycles—play an important role in a modernized world. Similar examples may be found throughout this volume. They dovetail with ecological concerns and political action. Surfacing in the lives of these "marginalized" people are bodies of indigenous knowledge of astronomical systems, medicinal plants, and healing modalities, as well as detailed knowledge of the land and other "lost universes" of the indigenous world. Many of these issues are politicized and have reached international fora, such as the United Nations and the World Court, in the form of land claims and charges of genocide. Basic to these actions is the underlying premise of "leaving something for our children and grandchildren."

In the native communities from the Arctic to the Amazon, in every continent, hunters and gatherers are emerging in the anthropological literature as dynamic and self-determining groups. Positive actions include land claims, revitalized rituals, the use of traditional healing modalities such as the sweat lodge to deal with such contemporary issues as substance abuse, and the reexamination of "parenting skills" for the effective transmission of culture in dual social systems.

In the wider world, the adaptability and persistence of foragers seem somehow validated by scores of urban sophisticates fleeing a spiritually jaded industrialized society and seeking solace in hunting and gathering societies. One result is that the Lakota are now attempting to control external participants in the Sun Dance.

Far from being culturally impoverished, marginalized people on the fringes of the Western world, hunters and gatherers seem poised effectively to enter the next millennium.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers had its genesis in the fertile mind of Richard Balkin in March 1994. He approached Richard Lee, and Lee agreed on condition that Richard Daly could be convinced to sign on to the project as the development editor. In a memorable week at the Chateau de Lesvaux in Burgundy, Lee and Daly finalized the general outline of the work. Between mid-1995 and 1996, the three Richards worked to assemble a list of authors, which eventually totaled eighty-nine experts from six continents, in the field of hunter-gatherer studies. The first vote of thanks must go to the eight regional editors who labored on many fronts to bring authors and editors together and to bring the volume to completion. David Anderson, Nurit Bird-David, Kirk Endicott, Harvey Feit, Robert Hitchcock, Nicolas Peterson, Laura Rival, and Victor Shnirelman, representing six nationalities, were themselves a mini-United Nations. The kudos also extend to Jessica Kuper, our editor at Cambridge, for midwifing this large and at times ungainly experiment in international anthropological cooperation, and to the production staff, particularly our copy-editor Frances Brown for the work she has done to bring consistency and continuity to this lengthy and multifaceted text.

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With the co-editors located on opposite sides of the Atlantic and most of the author correspondence conducted electronically, computer and general communications assistance was essential; in Oslo, Erling Asserson and Arya Gunei provided this, and in Toronto the Anthropology Department's Natalia Krencil and Annette Chan. The latter two also provided many hours of cheerful general assistance to both Lee and Daly. The sixteen excellent maps were drawn by Andrew Martindale of the University of Toronto Department of Anthropology.

Finally, we owe a special vote of thanks to all the writers for their immensely rich and varied contributions to the field of hunter-gatherer studies assembled here for the first time and for their

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INTRODUCTION

Foragers and others

RICHARD B. LEE AND RICHARD DALY

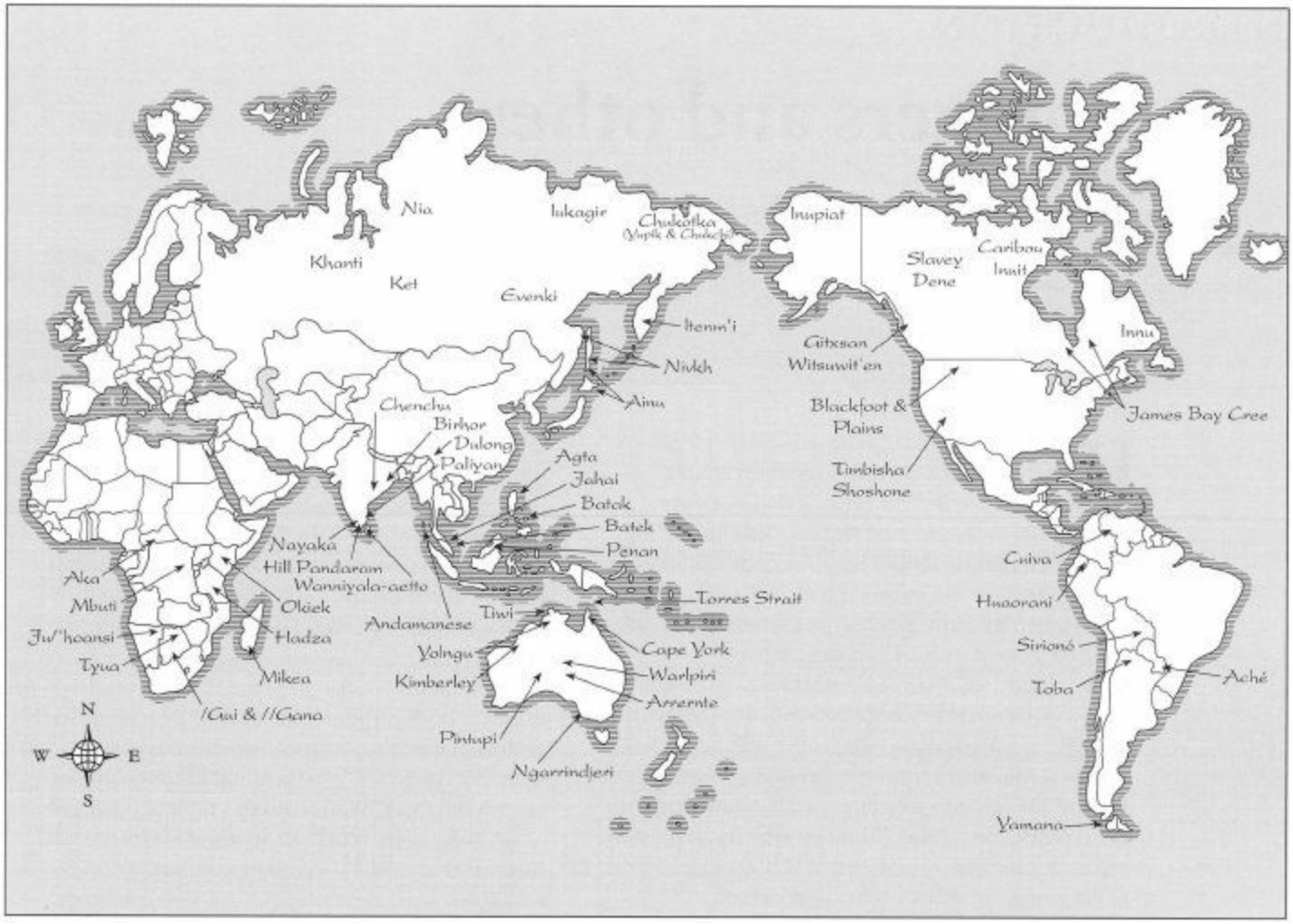
Recently an aboriginal guide was showing a group of tourists around Alberta's renowned Head-Smashed-In Buffalo-Jump, a UNESCO World Heritage Site staffed by First Nations personnel. The guide graphically described how in ancient times the buffalo would be driven over the edge of a fifteen meter precipice, to land in a gory heap at the base of the cliff. A diorama showed men and women clambering over the bodies to club and spear those still living. When one tourist expressed shock at the bloody nature of the enterprise, the guide responded simply but with conviction, "We were hunters!" connecting her own generation with those of the past. She then amended her statement with equal conviction, adding, "Humans were hunters!" thus expanding complicity in the act of carnage to the whole of humanity, not excluding her interlocutor.

This incident summarizes neatly the historical conjuncture that brings *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers* to fruition. The world's hunting and gathering peoples—the Arctic Inuit, Aboriginal Australians, Kalahari San, and similar groups—represent the oldest and perhaps most successful human adaptation. Until 12,000 years ago virtually all humanity lived as hunters and gatherers. In recent centuries hunters have retreated precipitously in the face of the steamroller of modernity. However, fascination with hunting peoples and their ways of life remains strong, a fascination tinged with ambivalence. The reason for public and academic interest is not hard to find. Hunters and gatherers stand at the opposite pole from the dense urban life experienced by most of humanity. Yet these same hunters may hold the key to some of the central questions about the human condition—about social life, politics, and gender, about diet and nutrition and living in nature: how people can live and have lived without the state; how to live without accumulated technology; the possibility of living in Nature without destroying it. This book offers no simple answers to these questions. Hunter-gatherers are a diverse group of peoples living in a wide range of conditions. One of the themes of the book is the exploration of that diversity. Yet within the range of variation, certain common motifs can be identified. Hunter-gatherers are generally peoples who have lived until recently without the overarching discipline imposed by the state. They have lived in relatively small groups, without centralized authority, standing armies, or bureaucratic systems. Yet the evidence indicates that they have lived together surprisingly well, solving their problems among themselves largely without recourse to authority figures and without a particular propensity for violence. It was *not* the situation that Thomas Hobbes, the great seventeenth-century philosopher, described in a famous phrase as "the war of all against all." By all accounts life was not "nasty, brutish and short." With relatively simple technology—wood, bone, stone, fibers—they were able to meet their material

needs without a great expenditure of energy, leading the American anthropologist and social critic Marshall Sahlins to call them, in another famous phrase, "the original affluent society." Most striking, the hunter-gatherers have demonstrated the remarkable ability to survive and thrive for long periods —in some cases thousands of years—without destroying their environment.

The contemporary industrial world lives in highly structured societies at immensely higher densities and enjoys luxuries of technology that foragers could hardly imagine. Yet all these same societies are sharply divided into haves and have-nots, and after only a few millennia of stewardship by agricultural and industrial civilizations, the environments of large parts of the planet lie in ruins. Therefore the hunter-gatherers may well be able to teach us something, not only about past ways of life but also about long-term human futures. If technological humanity is to survive it may have to learn the keys to longevity from fellow humans whose way of life has been around a lot longer than industrial commercial "civilization." As Burnum Burnum, the late Australian Aboriginal writer and lecturer, put it, "Modern ecology can learn a great deal from a people who managed and maintained their world so well for 50,000 years."

Hunter-gatherers in recent history have been surprisingly persistent. As recently as AD 1500 hunters occupied fully one third of the globe, including all of Australia and most of North America, as well as large tracts of South America, Africa, and Northeast Asia. The twentieth century has seen particularly dramatic changes in their life circumstances. The century began with dozens of hunting and gathering peoples still pursuing ancient (though not isolated) lifeways in small communities, as foragers with systems of local meaning centered on kin, plants, animals, and the spirit world. As the century proceeded, a wave of self-appointed civilizers washed over the world's foragers, bringing schools, clinics, and administrative structures, and, not incidentally, taking their land and resources.



Map 1 Case studies in the Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers

The year 2000 will have seen the vast majority of former foragers settled and encapsulated in the administrative structures of one state or another. And given their tragic history of forced acculturation one would imagine that the millennium will bring to a close a long chapter in human history. But will it? We believe not. Hunter-gatherers live on, not only in the pages of anthropological and historical texts, but also, in forty countries, in the presence of hundreds of thousands of descendants a generation or two removed from a foraging way of life, and these peoples and their supporters are creating a strong international voice for indigenous peoples and their human rights.

Among the public-at-large, images of hunters and gatherers have swung between two poles. For centuries they were regarded as "savages," variously ignorant or cunning, beyond the pale of "civilization." This distorted image was usually associated with settler societies who coveted the foragers' land; the negative stereotypes justified dispossession.

In recent years a different view has dominated, with hunter-less gatherers as the repository of virtues seemingly lacking in the materialism and marked inequalities of contemporary urban life. How to balance these two views? For many current observers the contrast between savage inequities of modernity and the relative egalitarianism of the so-called "primitives" gives the latter more weight on the scales of natural justice. Jack Weatherford's eloquently argued book, *Savages and civilization: who will survive*? (1994), draws on a long intellectual tradition dating from Rousseau which, contemplating the horrors of the modern world, raises the question of who are the truly civilized: the "savage" with his occasional blood-feud, or the "civilized" who gave the world the Inquisition, the Atlantic slave trade, the Gatling gun, napalm, Hiroshima, and the Holocaust? (For an opposing view

see Robert Edgerton's *Sick societies* [1992].)

The present work thus grows out of the intersection between three discourses: anthropological knowledge, public fascination, and indigenous peoples' own world-views. The Encyclopedia speaks to scholars, to general readers, and particularly to the members of the cultures themselves. The book offers an up-to-date and encyclopedic inventory of hunters and gatherers, written in accessible language by recognized authorities, some of whom are representatives of the cultures they write about.

Foraging defined

Foraging refers to subsistence based on hunting of wild animals, gathering of wild plant foods, and fishing, with no domestication of plants, and no domesticated animals except the dog. In contemporary theory this minimal definition is only the starting point in defining hunter-gatherers. Recent research has brought a more nuanced understanding of the issue of who the hunters are and why they have persisted. While it is true that hunting and gathering represent the original condition of humankind and 90 percent of human history, the contemporary people called hunter-gatherers arrived at their present condition by a variety of pathways.

At one end of a continuum are the areas of the world where modern hunter-gatherers have persisted in a more or less direct tradition of descent from ancient hunter-gatherer populations. This would characterize the aboriginal peoples of Australia, northwestern North America, the southern cone of South America, and pockets in other world areas. The Australian Pintupi, Arrernte, and Warlpiri, the North American Eskimo, Shoshone, and Cree, the South American Yamana, and the African Ju/'hoansi are examples of this first grouping, represented in case studies in this volume. In pre-colonial Australia and parts of North America we come closest to Marshall Sahlins' rubric of "hunters in a world of hunters" (Lee and DeVore 1968). But even here the histories offer examples of complex interrelations between foragers and others (see chapters by Peterson, M. Smith, Feit, and Cannon).

Along the middle of the continuum are hunting and gathering peoples who have lived in degrees of contact and integration with non-hunting societies, and these include a number whose own histories include life as farmers and/or herders in the past. South and Southeast Asian hunter-gatherers are linked to settled villagers and their markets, trading forest products: furs, honey, medicinal plants, and rattan, for rice, metals, and consumer goods. Some of these arrangements have persisted for millennia (see chapters by Bird-David, Morrison, Endicott, and Bellwood). Similar arrangements are seen in central Africa where Pygmies have lived for centuries in patron-client relations with settled villagers while still maintaining a period of the year when they lived more autonomously in the forest (see chapters by Bahuchet and Ichikawa). And in East Africa the foraging Okiek traditionally supplied honey and other forest products to neighboring Maasai and Kipsigis (see chapter by Cory Kratz).

South American hunter-gatherers present an even more interesting case, since archaeological evidence indicates that in Amazonia farming replaced foraging several millennia ago. In the view of Anna Roosevelt, much of the foraging observed in *tropical* South America represents a secondary readaptation. After the European conquests of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries many groups found that mobile hunting and gathering made them less vulnerable to colonial exploitation (see chapters by Rival and Roosevelt). Other groups had been operating this way far longer, back into the pre-colonial

period. And almost all *tropical* South American foragers today plant gardens as one part of their annual trek. There are parallels here with Siberia, where most of the "small peoples" classified as hunter-gatherers also herded reindeer, a practice which greatly expanded during the Soviet period.

Finally, at the other end of the continuum are peoples who once were hunters but who changed their subsistence in the more distant past. And that includes the rest of us: the 5 billion strong remainder of humanity.

Social life

In defining foragers we must recognize that contemporary foragers practice a mixed subsistence: gardening in tropical South America, reindeer herding in northern Asia, trading in South/Southeast Asia and parts of Africa. Given this diversity, what constitutes the category "hunter-gatherer"? The answer is that **subsistence is one part of a multi-faceted definition of hunter-gatherers: social organization forms a second major area of convergence, and cosmology and world-view a third. All three sets of criteria have to be taken into account in understanding hunting and gathering peoples today**.

The basic unit of social organization of most (but not all) hunting and gathering peoples is the *band*, a small-scale nomadic group of fifteen to fifty people related by kinship. Band societies are found throughout the Old and New Worlds and share a number of features in common. Most observers would agree that the social and economic life of *small-scale* hunter-gatherers shares the following features.

First they are relatively *egalitarian*. Leadership is less formal and more subject to constraints of popular opinion than in village societies governed by headmen and chiefs. Leadership in band societies tends to be by example, not by fiat. The leader can persuade but not command. This important aspect of their way of life allowed for a degree of freedom unheard of in more hierarchical societies but it has put them at a distinct disadvantage in their encounters with centrally organized colonial authorities.

Mobility is another characteristic of band societies. People tend to move their settlements frequently, several times a year or more, in search of food, and this mobility is an important element of their politics. People in band societies tend to "vote with their feet," moving away rather than submitting to the will of an unpopular leader. Mobility is also a means of resolving conflicts that would be more difficult for settled peoples.

A third characteristic is the remarkable fact that all band-organized peoples exhibit a pattern of *concentration and dispersion*. Rather than living in uniformly sized groupings throughout the year, band societies tend to spend part of the year dispersed into small foraging units and another part of the year aggregated into much larger units. The Innu (Naskapi) discussed by Mailhot would spend the winter dispersed in small foraging groups of ten to thirty, while in the summer they would aggregate in groups of up to 200-300 at lake or river fishing sites. It seems clear that the concentration/dispersion patterns of hunter-gatherers represent a dialectical interplay of social *and* ecological factors

A fourth characteristic common to almost all band societies (and hundreds of village-based societies as well) is a land tenure system based on a *common property regime (CPR)*. These regimes were, until recently, far more common world-wide than regimes based on private property. In

traditional CPRs, while movable property is held by individuals, land is held by a kinship-based collective. Rules of reciprocal access make it possible for each individual to draw on the resources of several territories. Rarer is the situation where the whole society has unrestricted access to all the land controlled by the group.

Ethos and world-view

Another broad area of commonalities lies in the domains of the quality of interpersonal relations and forms of consciousness.

Sharing is the central rule of social interaction among hunters and gatherers. There are strong injunctions on the importance of reciprocity. Generalized reciprocity, the giving of something without an immediate expectation of return, is the dominant form within face-to-face groups. Its presence in hunting and gathering societies is almost universal (Sahlins 1965). This, combined with an absence of private ownership of land, has led many observers from Lewis Henry Morgan forward to attribute to hunter-gatherers a way of life based on "primitive communism" (Morgan 1881, Testart 1985, Lee 1988; see Ingold, this volume).

Found among many but not all hunter-gatherers is the notion of the *giving environment*, the idea that the land around them is their spiritual home and the source of all good things (Bird-David 1990, Turnbull 1965). This view is the direct antithesis of the Western Judeo-Christian perspective on the natural environment as a "wilderness," a hostile space to be subdued and brought to heel by the force of will. This latter view is seen by many ecological humanists as the source of both the environmental crisis and the spiritual malaise afflicting contemporary humanity (Shiva 1988,1997, Suzuki 1989,1992,1997).

Hunter-gatherers are peoples who live with nature. When we examine the *cosmology* of hunting and gathering peoples, one striking commonality is the view of nature as animated with moral and mystical force, in Robert Bellah's phrase "the hovering closeness of the world of myth to the actual world" (1965:91). As discussed by Mathias Guenther (this volume), the world of hunter-gatherers is a multi-layered world, composed of two or more planes: an above/beyond zone and an underworld in addition to the present world inhabited by humans. There are invariably two temporal orders of existence, with an Early mythical or "dreamtime" preceding the present. In the former, nature and culture are not yet fully separated. Out of this Ur-existence, a veritable cauldron of cultural possibilities, crystallizes the distinction between humans and animals, the origin of fire, cooking, incest taboos, even mortality itself and virtually everything of cultural significance.

The world of the Past and the above-and-below world of myth are in intimate contact with the normal plane of existence. The Australian Aborigines present the most fully realized instance of this process of world-enchantment. The famous "songlines" of the Dreamtime crisscross the landscape and saturate it with significance. Every rock and feature has symbolic meaning and these are bound up in the reproduction of life itself. It is these totemic elements that are the sources of the spirit children that enter women's wombs and trigger conception. Parallels are found in many other hunter-gatherer groups.

The *Trickster* is a central figure in the myth worlds of many hunting and gathering societies. A divine figure, but deeply flawed and very human, the Trickster is found in myth cycles from the Americas, Africa, Australia, and Siberia. Similar figures grace the pantheons of most village farming

and herding peoples as well. The Trickster symbolizes the frailty and human qualities of the gods and their closeness to humans. These stand in pointed contrast to the omnipotent, all-knowing but distant deities that are central to the pantheons of state religions and their powerful ecclesiastical hierarchies (Radin 1956, Diamond 1974, Wallace 1966).

Shamanism is another major practice common to the great majority of hunting and gathering peoples. The word originates in eastern Siberia, from the Evenki/Tungus word *saman* meaning "one who is excited or raised." Throughout the hunter-gatherer world community-based ritual specialists (usually part-time) heal the sick and provide spiritual protection. They mediate between the social/human world and the dangerous and unpredictable world of the supernatural. Shamanism is performative, mixing theatre and instrumental acts in order to approach the plane of the sacred. Performances vary widely. Among the Ju/'hoansi the "owners of medicine," after a long and difficult training period, enter an altered state of consciousness called *!kia*, to heal the sick through a laying on of hands (Marshall 1968, Katz 1982). The northern Ojibwa practiced the famous shaking tent ceremony or *midewiwin*, while other shamans used dreams, psychoactive drugs, or intense mental concentration to reach the sacred plane. The brilliant use of language and metaphor in the form of powerful and moving verbal images is a central part of the shaman's craft (Rothenberg 1968). So powerful are these techniques that they have been widely and successfully adapted to the *visualization therapies* in the treatment of cancer and other conditions in Western medicine.

Ethos and social organization are both essential components of hunter-gatherer lifeways. Laura Rival (this volume) makes the point, that two South American tropical forest peoples may well have a rather similar subsistence mix, but different orientations: analyzing them on the basis of their social organization and mobility patterns, as well as mythology, rituals and interpersonal relations, the researcher finds that one has a clearly agricultural orientation, the other a foraging one.

What is remarkable is that, despite marked differences in historical circumstances, foragers seem to arrive at similar organizational and ideational solutions to the problems of living in groups, a convergence that Tim Ingold, the foremost authority on hunter-gatherer social life, has labeled "a distinct mode of sociality" (this volume).

Divergences

Despite these commonalities, there are a number of significant divergences among hunters and gatherers. And consideration of these must temper any attempt to present an idealized picture of foraging peoples. First the foragers as a group are not particularly peaceful. *Interpersonal violence* is documented for most and warfare is recorded for a number of hunting and gathering peoples. Although peaceful peoples such as the Malaysian Semang are celebrated in the literature (Dentan 1968), for many others (Inupiat, Warlpiri, Blackfoot, Aché, Agta) raids and blood-feuds are common occurrences, particularly before the pacification campaigns of the colonial authorities (see for example Bamforth 1994, Ember 1992, Moss 1992). But mention of the colonial context raises another important issue. Did high levels of "primitive" warfare represent a primordial condition, or were these exacerbated by the pressure of colonial conquest? The question remains an ongoing subject of debate (Divale and Harris 1976, Ferguson 1984).

Gender is another dimension in which hunting and gathering societies show considerable variation. As Karen Endicott argues (this volume), the women of hunter-gatherer societies *do* have

higher status than women in most of the world's societies, including industrial and post-industrial modernity. This status is expressed in greater freedom of movement and involvement in decision-making and a lower incidence of domestic violence against them when compared to women in farming, herding, and agrarian societies (Leacock 1978,1982, Lee 1982). Nevertheless variation exists: wife-beating and rape are recorded for societies as disparate as those of Alaska (Eskimo) and northern Australian Aborigines (Friedl 1975, Abler 1992) and are not unknown elsewhere; nowhere can it be said that women and men live in a state of perfect equality.

A third area of divergence is found in the important distinction between *simple vs. complex* hunter-gatherers. Price and Brown (1985) argued that not all hunting and gathering peoples—prehistoric and contemporary—lived in small mobile bands. Some, like the Indians of the Northwest Coast (Donald 1984,1997, Mitchell and Donald 1985) and the Calusa of Florida (Marquardt 1988), as well as many prehistoric peoples, lived in large semi-sedentary settlements with chiefs, commoners, and slaves, yet were entirely dependent on wild foods. In social organization and ethos these societies showed significant divergence from the patterns outlined above, yet in other ways a basic foraging pattern is discernible. For example the Northwest Coast peoples still maintained a concentration-dispersion pattern, breaking down their large permanent plank houses in the summer and incorporating them into temporary structures at seasonal fishing sites (Boas 1966, Daly, this volume). A related concept is James Woodburn's notion of *immediate-return vs. delayed-return societies* (1982). Although both were subsumed under the heading of "band society," in immediate-return societies food was consumed on the spot or soon after, while in delayed-return societies food and other resources might be stored for months or years, with marked effects on social organization and cultural notions of property (Woodburn 1982).

In a superb synthesis Robert L. Kelly has documented these divergences on many fronts in his book *The foraging spectrum: diversity in hunter-gatherer lifeways* (1995). Recently Susan Kent (1996b) has attempted a similar exercise for the diversity and variation in the hunting and gathering societies of a single continent, Africa. The point is that hunter-gatherers encompass a wide range of variability and analysts seeking to make sense of them ignore this diversity at their peril!

The importance of history

Any adequate representation of hunting and gathering peoples in the twenty-first century has to address the complex historical circumstances in which they are found. Foragers have persisted to the present for a variety of reasons but all have developed historical links with non-foraging peoples, some extending over centuries or millennia. And all have experienced the transformative effects of colonial conquest and incorporation into states. Situating the foraging peoples in history is thus essential to any deeper understanding of them, a point that was often lost on earlier observers who preferred to treat foragers as unmediated visions of the past.

One recent school of thought has questioned the validity of the very concept "hunter-gatherer." Starting from the fact that some hunter-gatherers have been dominated by more powerful outsiders for centuries, proponents of this school see contemporary foraging peoples more as victims of colonialism or subalterns at the bottom of a class structure than as exemplars of the hunting and gathering way of life (Wilmsen 1989, Wilmsen and Denbow 1990, Schrire 1984). This "revisionist" view sees the foragers' simple technology, nomadism, and sharing of food as part of a culture of

poverty generated by the larger political economy and not as institutions generated by the demands of foraging life. (There is a large and growing literature on both sides of this issue known in recent years as "the Kalahari Debate." Readers interested in pursuing this issue should begin with Barnard [1992a]).

While recognizing that many foraging peoples have suffered at the hands of more powerful neighbors and colonizers, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers* challenges the view that recent hunter-gatherers are simply victims of colonial forces. Autonomy and dependency are a continuum, not an either/or proposition, and as John Bodley documents (this volume), despite the damage brought by colonialism, foragers persist and show a surprising resilience. Foragers may persist for a variety of reasons. As illustrated by the example of the Kalahari San of southern Africa, where much of the debate has focused, some San *did* become early subordinates of Bantu-speaking overlords, but many others maintained viable and independent hunter-gatherer lifeways into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Solway and Lee 1990, Guenther 1993,1997, Kent 1996a; Robertshaw, this volume). Archaeological evidence reviewed by Sadr (1997) strongly supports the position that a number of San peoples maintained a classic Later Stone Age tool kit and a hunting and gathering lifeway into the late nineteenth century. When Ju/'hoan San people themselves are asked to reflect on their own history they insist that, prior to the arrival of the Europeans in the latter part of the nineteenth century, they lived as hunters on their own, without cattle, while maintaining links of trade to the wider world (Smith and Lee 1997).

The general point to be made is that outside links do not automatically make hunter-gatherers subordinate to the will of their trading partners. Exchange is a universal aspect of human culture; all peoples at all times have traded. In the case of recent foragers, trading relations may in fact have allowed foraging peoples to maintain a degree of autonomy and continue to practice a way of life that they valued (Peterson 1991,1993).

Another case in point is exemplified by the Toba of the western Argentinean Gran Chaco. Gastón Gordillo (this volume) notes how the foraging Toba have maintained their base in the Pilcomayo marshes as a partial haven against direct exploitation. As the Toba say, "At least we have the bush," seeing their Pilcomayo territory as a refuge to come home to after their annual trips to the plantations to earn necessary cash. The view of the "bush" as a refuge seems to be a common theme among many hunter-gatherers. What it brings home is that foragers believe in their way of life: foraging for them is a positive choice, not just a result of exclusion by the wider society.

To the contrary, the authors of this book, led by Lakota anthropologist Beatrice Medicine in the Foreword, question whether victimhood at the hands of more powerful peoples is the only or even the main issue of interest about hunters and gatherers. The authors start from the position that the first priority is to represent the life-worlds of contemporary hunter-gatherers faithfully. This invariably includes documenting the peoples' sense of themselves as having a collective history as hunter-gatherers. Whether this foraging represents a primary or secondary adaptation, it often continues because that way of life has meaning for its practitioners. It seems unwise, if not patronizing, to assume that all foragers are primarily so because they were forced into it by poverty or oppression.

It is more illuminating to understand hunter-gatherer history and culture as the product of a complex triple dynamic: part of their culture needs to be understood in terms of the dynamic of the foraging way of life itself, part from the dynamic of their interaction with (often more powerful) non-foraging neighbors, and part from the dynamic of their interaction with the dominant state

administrative structures (cf. Leacock and Lee 1982).

A brief history of hunter-gatherer studies

If a single long-term trend can be discerned in hunter-gatherer studies it is this: studies began with a vast gulf between observers and observed. Eighteenth-and nineteenth-century treatises on the subject objectified the hunters and treated them as external objects of scrutiny. With the development of field anthropology, observers began to know the foragers as people and the boundaries between observers and observed began to break down. Finally in the most recent period, the production of knowledge has become a two-way process; the role of observer has begun to merge with the role of advocate and the field of hunter-gatherer studies has come to be increasingly influenced by agendas set by the hunter-gatherers themselves (Lee 1992).

The more formal history of hunter-gatherer studies parallels the history of the discipline of anthropology. The peoples who much later were to become known as "hunters and gatherers" have been an important element in central debates of European social and political thought from the sixteenth century forward (Meek 1976, Barnes 1937,1938). As described in the chapter by Alan Barnard (this volume, Part II), philosophers from Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau onward have drawn upon contemporary accounts of "savages" as a starting point for speculations about life in the state of nature and what constitutes the good society.

These constructions became more detailed as more information accumulated from travelers' accounts, resulting in elaborate schemes for human social evolution in the works of the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment—Smith, Millar, and Ferguson—as well as on the continent—Diderot, Vico, and Voltaire (Barnes 1937, Harris 1968).

Well before the 1859 publication of Darwin's *The origin of species* the question of the antiquity of humanity became a central preoccupation of scholars, initiated in part by John Frere's famous 1800 essay which made the then heretical suggestion that teardrop-shaped, worked-stone objects found buried in river gravels at Hoxne, Suffolk, UK in association with extinct mammals may indeed not have been Zeus' thunderbolts, but instead implements made by humans that could be traced "to a very distant period, far more remote in time than the modern world" (quoted in Boule and Vallois 1957:11).

With the rise of European imperialism and the conquest of new lands came the beginnings of anthropology as a formal discipline. In the academic division of labor, while sociologists adopted as their mandate understanding urban society of the Western metropole, anthropologists took on the rest of the world: classifying diverse humanity and theorizing about its origins and present condition. The nineteenth-century classical evolutionists erected elaborate schemes correlating social forms, kinship, and marriage with mental development and levels of technology. The world's hunters were usually relegated to the bottom levels. In Lewis Henry Morgan's tripartite scheme, of "Savagery, Barbarism, and Civilization," hunters were either Lower or Middle Savages, depending on the absence or presence of the bow and arrow (Morgan 1877).

William Sollas was one of the first to define hunting and gathering as a specific lifeway, and in *Ancient hunters and their modern representatives* (1911) he linked ethnographies of recent hunters with their putative archaeological analogues. Modern Eskimo resembled Magdalenians, African Bushmen stood in for Aurignacians, and so on.

Essential to the development of modern anthropology was the decisive repudiation of the classical evolutionary schemes and their implicit (and often explicit) racism. Franz Boas' watershed study *Race, language and culture* (1911) demonstrated that the three core factors varied independently. A "simple" technology could be associated with a complex cosmology, members of one "race" could show a wide range of cultural achievements, and all languages possessed the capacity for conveying abstract thought. It was only on the twin foundations of Boasian cultural relativism and the emphasis on fieldwork that modern social and cultural anthropology could develop.

It is striking that most of the founders of the discipline both in North America and in Europe carried out landmark studies of hunters and gatherers. Boas himself went to the Canadian Arctic in 1886 as a physical geographer (his doctoral dissertation was on the color of sea water), but his ethnographic study of the Central Eskimo (1888) became one of the seminal works in American anthropology. He went on to carry out decades of research with the KwaKwaKa'wakw (Kwakiutl) on the Northwest Coast of British Columbia, a classic example of a *complex* hunter-gatherer group (Boas 1966). Boas' close associates A. L. Kroeber and Robert Lowie also established their reputations through major research on hunting and gathering peoples, Californian and Crow Indians respectively (Kroeber 1925, Lowie 1935).

Founders of British anthropology shared a similar early focus, beginning with A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's study of the Andaman Islanders in 1906–8 (1922, see Pandya this volume). The great Bronislaw Malinowski, before going to the Trobriand Islands, wrote his doctoral dissertation on the family among the Australian Aborigines (1913). In France, while neither did hunter-gatherer fieldwork, both Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss carried out intensive library research on foraging peoples, with the former writing about Australian aboriginal religion in *Elementary forms of the religious life* (Durkheim 1912) and the latter writing his seminal essay on the seasonal life of the Eskimo (Mauss 1906). Two decades later Claude Lévi-Strauss began his distinguished career with a 1930s field study of the hunting and gathering Nambicuara in the Brazilian Mato Grosso, before returning to Paris to write his influential works on the origins of kinship and mythology (1949,1962a, 1962b, 1987).

Mention should also be made of the 1898 British expedition, led by A. C. Haddon, to the Torres Strait Islanders with their affinities to the Australian Aborigines (see Beckett, this volume), of the American Museum of Natural History's Jesup North Pacific Expedition to Siberia in 1897 (see Grant 1995), and of the brilliant series of expeditions by Danish anthropologists to Greenland and the Canadian Arctic led by Mattiessen and Rasmussen (see Burch and Csonka, this volume). Important research traditions can also be discerned in Australia and Russia (see Peterson and Shnirelman, this volume).

Modern studies of hunting and gathering peoples can be traced arguably to two landmark studies of the 1930s. First is the 1936 essay by Julian Steward who, in a *festschrift* for his mentor, A. L. Kroeber, wrote on "The social and economic basis of primitive bands" (1936). After four decades of scholarly emphasis on careful description without theory building, Steward sought to revive an interest in placing hunter-gatherer studies in a broader theoretical framework. Steward argued that resource exploitation determined to a significant extent the shape and dynamics of band organization and this ecological approach became one of the two foundations of hunter-gatherer studies for the next thirty years.

The second base was the classic essay by Radcliffe-Brown on Australian Aboriginal social

organization (1930–1). The peripatetic R-B had begun his career in South Africa and from there moved to Sydney, São Paulo, and Chicago before taking up the chair in social anthropology at Oxford. During his Australian tenure he wrote a series of influential overviews of Aboriginal social organization. But unlike Steward, for whom *ecological* factors were paramount, R-B saw structural factors of *kinship* as primary. Australian Aboriginal societies were usually divided into moieties, and these dual divisions were often subdivided into four sections or eight subsections. These divisions had profound effects on marriage patterns, producing an intricate and elegant algebra of prescriptive alliances between intermarrying groups. Radcliffe-Brown was far less interested than Steward in what the Aborigines did for a living. While the clan and section membership ruled the kinship universe and nominally held the land, it was the more informal *horde*, a band-like entity, whose members lived together on a daily basis and shouldered the tasks of subsistence.

In the 1940s Radcliffe-Brown's kinship models were taken up by Lévi-Strauss, who placed Australian Aboriginal moieties at the center of his monumental work *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949). It is worthy of note that theories of band organization have continued to be dominated by these two alternative paradigms: an ecological or adaptationist approach which relies on material factors to account for forager social life, and a structural approach which sees kinship, marriage, and other such social factors as the primary determinants. The two approaches are by no means incompatible, and although the two tendencies are still discernible in hunter-gatherer studies, many analysts have posited a dialectic of social and ecological forces in the dynamics of forager life (see Ingold, this volume; also Leacock 1982, Sahlins 1972, Lee 1979, Peterson 1991, 1993, and others).

The Man the Hunter conference

In 1965, Sol Tax announced the convening of a conference on "Man the Hunter" at the University of Chicago; the conference, organized by Irven DeVore and Richard Lee, took place April 6–8,1966 and proved to be the starting point of a new era of systematic research on hunting and gathering peoples. One commentator called the Man the Hunter conference "the century's watershed for knowledge about hunter-gatherers" (Kelly 1995:14). Present at the conference were representatives of many of the major constituencies in the field of hunter-gatherer studies (though no hunter-gatherers themselves), including proponents of the *ecological and structural* schools. There were critics of the late Radcliffe-Brown's theories as well as supporters; there were archaeologists, demographers, and physical anthropologists, reflecting the revival of interest in evolutionary approaches then current in American anthropology. Among the key findings of the Man the Hunter conference were the papers focusing on the relative ease of foraging subsistence, epitomized in Marshall Sahlins' famous "Notes on the original affluent society" (1968). Gender and the importance of women's work was a second key theme of the conference. The name "Man the Hunter" was a misnomer since among tropical foragers plant foods, produced largely by women, were the dominant source of subsistence.

After Man the Hunter

A burst of research activity followed the convening of Man the Hunter and the publication of the book of the same title (Lee and DeVore 1968). Scholars present at the conference brought out their own

monographs and edited volumes (Balikci 1970, Bicchieri 1972, Binford 1978, Damas 1969, Helm 1981, Laughlin 1980, Lee 1979, Marshall 1976, Sahlins 1972,Suttles 1990,Watanabe 1973).

The field of hunter-gatherer studies has always been a fractious one and consensus is rarely achieved. After 1968 new work critiqued key theses from Man the Hunter. The irony of the mistitle was not lost on feminist anthropologists who produced a series of articles and books with the counter theme of "Woman the Gatherer" (Slocum 1975, Dahlberg 1981, Hiatt 1978). The feminist critics were certainly taking issue with the concept of Man the Hunter, and not necessarily with the book's content since the latter had gone a long way toward reestablishing the importance of women's work and women's roles in hunter-gatherer society. This last point was taken up in detail by Adrienne Zihlman and Nancy Tanner in an important article which drew upon the evidence assembled in Man the Hunter to place "woman the gatherer" at the center of human evolution (Tanner and Zihlman 1976).

At the same time a counter-counter-discourse developed among scholars who questioned whether women's subsistence contribution had been *overestimated*, and several cross-cultural studies were produced to argue this view, summarized in Kelly (1995:261–92). A related development was the discovery that women in hunter-gatherer societies *do* hunt, the most famous case being that of the Agta of the Philippines (Griffin and Griffin, this volume).

Original "affluence" came in for much discussion and critique, with a long series of debates over the definition of affluence and whether it applied to all hunters and gatherers at all times or even to all the !Kung (Altman 1984,1987, Bird-David 1992, Hill *et al*. 1985, Hawkes and O'Connell 1981,1985, Kelly 1995:15–23, Koyama and Thomas 1981). Seeking to rehabilitate the concept, Binford (1978) and Cohen (1977) addressed some of these issues, while James Woodburn's introduction of the distinction between immediate- and delayed-return societies (1982) helped to account for some of the variability in the level of work effort among hunter-gatherers.

A major development in hunter-gatherer research was stimulated by this debate. Struck by the often imprecise data on which arguments about affluence (or its absence) had been based, a group of younger scholars resolved to do better. They adopted from biology models about *optimal foraging* (Charnov 1976) and attempted to apply these rigorously to the actual foraging behaviors observed among the shrinking number of foraging peoples where it was still possible to observe actual hunting and gathering subsistence. Important work in this area was carried out by a close-knit group of scholars, often collaborating, and variously influenced by sociobiology and other neo-Darwinian approaches: Bailey (1991), Blurton Jones (1983), Hawkes (Hawkes, Hill, and O'Connell 1982, Hawkes, O'Connell, and Blurton Jones 1989), Hewlett (1991), Hill and Hurtado (1995 and this volume), Hurtado (Hurtado and Hill 1990), Kaplan (Kaplan and Hill 1985), O'Connell (O'Connell and Hawkes 1981), Eric Smith (1983,1991), and Winterhalder (1983,1986). Reviews and summaries of Optimal Foraging Theory are found in Winterhalder and Smith 1981, Smith and Winterhalder 1992, Bettinger 1991, and Kelly 1995. For critiques see Ingold (1992) and Martin (1983).

More classically oriented research on hunter-gatherers attempted to bring together much of the rich historical and ethnographic material that had accumulated since the 1940s. *The Handbook of North American Indians*, under the general editorship of William Sturtevant, chronicled the 500 Nations of the continent in a series of landmark regional volumes. Six of these deal largely if not exclusively with hunting and gathering peoples: *Northwest coast*, edited by Wayne Suttles (1990); *Subarctic*, edited by June Helm (1981); *The Great Basin*, edited by Warren D'Azevedo (1986); *California*, edited by Robert Heizer (1978); *Arctic*, edited by David Damas (1984); and *Northeast*,

edited by Bruce Trigger (1978) (see also Trigger and Washburn eds. 1996). On other continents Barnard (1992b) and Edwards (1987) produced overview volumes on the Khoisan peoples and Aboriginal Australians respectively.

A new generation of research

While the optimal foraging researchers based their work on models from biology and the natural sciences, a larger cohort of hunter-gatherer specialists were moving in quite different directions. Drawing on symbolic, interpretive, and historical frameworks this group of scholars grounded their studies in the lived experience of foragers and post-foragers seen as encapsulated minorities within nation-states, who still strongly adhered to traditional cosmologies and lifeways. Examples include Diane Bell's *Daughters of the dreaming* (1983), Hugh Brody's *Maps and dreams* (1981), Julie Cruikshank's *Life lived like a story* (1990), Fred Myers' *Pintupi country, Pintupi self* (1986), Elizabeth Povinelli's *Labor's lot* (1993), and Marjorie Shostak's *Nisa: The life and words of a !Kung woman* (1981).

The Conferences on Hunting and Gathering Societies (CHAGS)

One way of tracking broader trends in hunter-gatherer research is to follow the CHAGS series of conferences through the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. In 1978 Maurice Godelier convened a Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies in Paris to observe the tenth anniversary of the publication of *Man the hunter*. The conference brought together scholars from a dozen countries including the Dean of the Faculty of the University of Yakutia, himself an indigenous Siberian (Leacock and Lee 1982). The conference proved such a success that Laval University offered to host a follow-up conference in Quebec in 1980. Organized by Bernard Saladin d'Anglure and Bernard Arcand, the conference continued the tradition begun in Paris, wherein anyone who wanted to participate could do so as long as they were self-financing. Inuit broadcasters were among the several members of hunter-gatherer societies present.

By now it was becoming clear that a need existed for continuing the series, and Professor I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt of the Max Planck Institute in the Federal Republic of Germany took on the task of organizing CHAGS III. The Munich CHAGS in 1983 was a smaller, by-invitation affair, and the book that resulted reflected one particular school (revisionist) of hunter-gatherer studies (Schrire 1984). CHAGS IV, held at the London School of Economics in September 1986, returned to the more open policy with a wide range of constituencies represented. The active British organizing committee led by James Woodburn and Tim Ingold along with Alan Barnard, Barbara Bender, Brian Morris, and David Riches produced two strong thematically organized volumes of papers from the conference (Ingold *et al*. 1988a, 1988b).

CHAGS then moved to Australia. Hosted by Les Hiatt of Sydney University, CHAGS V convened in Darwin, capital of the Northern Territory, in August 1988. CHAGS V proved to be a marvelous world showcase for the active community of anthropologists, Aboriginal people, and activists working on indigenous issues in Australia.

Fairbanks, Alaska was the location of CHAGS VI (1990), the first of the CHAGS series to be held in the United States since the original 1966 Chicago conference. Convened by the late Linda

Ellanna, the Fairbanks conference was memorable for being the first CHAGS at which a large delegation of Russian anthropologists was present, flying in from Provedinya just across the Bering Straits in Chukotka. Indigenous Alaskans played a prominent role in Fairbanks as well (Burch and Ellanna 1994). CHAGS VII, in Moscow in August 1993, convened by Valeriy Tischkov and organized by Victor Shnirelman at the Russian Academy of Sciences, is discussed below. The international hunter-gatherer community convened for CHAGS VIII, at the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, Japan, in October, 1998, with future meetings projected in the new millennium for Scotland, India and southern Africa.

This ongoing series of CHAGS gatherings held on four continents has provided an excellent monitor on the state of hunter-gatherer research in recent decades, and a unique perspective on its increasingly international and cosmopolitan outlook.

While the theoretical debates of the Man the Hunter conference of 1966 had revolved around issues of the evolution of human behavior, the recent series has moved relatively far from evolutionary and ecological preoccupations. In their stead hunter-gatherer specialists have developed several major foci of inquiry.

At the Moscow CHAGS in August 1993 and at Osaka, 1998, a large and active scholarly contingent focused on foragers in relation to the state; papers on land rights, court battles, bureaucratic domination, and media representations documented the struggles of foragers and former foragers for viability and cultural identity in the era of Late Capitalism. Many of the research problematics grew out of close consultation with members of the societies in question. Increasingly it is they who are setting research agendas, and in some cases—Aleuts at Fairbanks, Evenkis at Moscow and Ainu at Osaka—presenting the actual papers. This branch of hunter-gatherer studies is closely aligned with the emerging worldwide movement for recognition of the significance of "indigenous peoples" and their rights (see chapters by Trigger and Hitchcock, this volume).

The humanistic wing of hunter-gatherer studies has been represented by a major focus at the recent CHAGS on symbolic and spiritual aspects of hunter-gatherer life. Here were found richly textured accounts of forms of consciousness, cosmology, and ritual, while other papers dealt with the changing world-views of foragers under the impact of ideologies of state and marketplace. To showcase the offering of the Moscow CHAGS there is an excellent volume of papers edited by Biesele *et al*. (1999), with an equally rich set of publications planned for Osaka.

One theme unifying these diverse scholars from many countries was that all were able to see in hunter-gatherer society *some* component of historical autonomy and distinctiveness. The notion of "pristine" hunter-gatherer was nowhere in sight, but neither did anyone argue that the cultural practices or cosmological beliefs observed were simply refractions of dominant outsiders, Soviet or Western. Refreshingly, the "other's" reality was not considered to be so alien that the ethnographer was incapable of representing it with some coherence.

Another unifying theme was the recognition that change was accelerating, and that the magnitude of the problems faced by these indigenous peoples was enormous, especially those in the Russian North, for whom ecologically destructive socialist industrialization has been followed directly by the advent of get-rich-quick capitalism. Similar conditions were replicated in most of the world's regions where foragers persist.

Hunter-gatherer studies today

As humankind approaches the millennium, what are some of the main currents in research about hunter-gatherers, present, past, and future? Four principal tendencies can be discerned. These are set out below with two provisos: first, none of these approaches has a monopoly on "the truth"; each has something to offer and each has its shortcomings. Second, none in practice is air-tight, and many scholars may participate in two or more.

1. *Classic*. The internal dynamics of hunter-gatherer society and ecology continue to interest many scholars. Kinship, social organization, land use, trade, material culture, and cosmology provide an ongoing source of ideas, models, and analogies for archaeologists and others reconstructing the past. When due account is taken of the historical circumstances, ethnographic analogies can be a valuable tool. Archaeologists are now arguably the largest "consumers" (and producers) of research on hunting and gathering peoples, even though the opportunities for basic ethnographic research are shrinking rapidly. Robert Kelly's book *The foraging spectrum* (1995) is an excellent example of work in the classic tradition (with a minor in behavioral ecology). Tim Ingold has authored several works which sought to integrate the social and the ecological through an application of neo-Marxist theory (1986), and Ernest Burch Jr. continues to produce meticulous ethnographies on arctic Alaska and Canada in the classic tradition (e.g. Burch 1998). Theorists *beyond* anthropology continue to turn to the hunter-gatherer evidence in constructing their own models about economics or gender roles or cosmology or many other subjects where a basic human substrate is sought. The results are highly variable.

2. *Adaptationist*. Discussed above, the second "tendency" is the area of behavioral ecology and Optimal Foraging Theory, with a strong presence in the US, particularly at the Universities of Utah and New Mexico. The adaptationists are the prime advocates of a strictly "scientific" paradigm within hunter-gatherer studies and this places them, to a degree, at odds with others in the field for whom humanistic and political economic approaches are primary (cf. Lee 1992). While some behavioral ecologists approach issues of demography and subsistence from a historically contextualized position, a significant number continue to march under the banner of neo-Darwinian sociobiology. And while some acknowledge the impact of outside forces—such as dam construction, logging, mining, rainforest destruction, bureaucracies, missionaries, and land alienation—on the people they study, others focus narrowly on quantitative models of foraging behaviors as if these existed in isolation. In addition to criticizing their science, critics of this school have argued that by treating foragers primarily as raw material for model building, the behavioral ecologists fail to acknowledge foragers' humanity and agency, as conscious actors living through tough times and facing the same challenges as the rest of the planet's beleaguered inhabitants. Having fought to maintain their scientific rigor as anthropology-at-large moves in a more humanistic direction, the challenge for the behavioral ecologists now is to make their work also relevant and useful to their subjects in their fight for cultural, economic, and ecological survival.

Within the field of behavioral ecology of hunter-gatherers, and in relation to the terms of this field, Kristen Hawkes has been the most articulate spokesperson, while Hill and Hurtado (1995) and Smith and Winterhalder (1992) offer some of the best recent work.

3. *Revisionist*. This school of thought argues that the peoples known as "hunter-gatherers" are something quite different: primarily ragged remnants of past ways of life largely transformed by subordination to stronger peoples and the steamroller of modernity. Two of the principal authors of this view are Schrire (1984) and Wilmsen (1989). Although the evidence presented in this volume challenges this thesis at a fundamental level, the "revisionists" do raise serious questions. For too

long students of hunter-gatherers and other pre-state societies tended to treat in isolation the peoples they researched, regarding them as unmediated visions of the past. Today history looms much larger in these studies. Hunter-gatherers arrive at their present condition by a variety of pathways. By acknowledging this fact and being sensitive to the impact of the wider political economy, the authors of this volume are responding to the challenges made by the revisionists. Beside the archaeological and historical evidence contra the revisionist position, the most eloquent testimony in the revisionist debate is the voices of the people (found in sidebars throughout the book) setting out their ongoing sense of themselves as *historically rooted* peoples with a tradition and identity as hunters and gatherers. Their eloquence, resilience, and strength demonstrate that even in this hardbitten age of "globalization" other ways of being are possible.

4. *Indigenist*. This fourth perspective brings the people studied, their goals and aspirations, firmly into the center of the scholarly equation. For many of the authors in this book the indigenist perspective represents the outcome of a long search for an anthropology of engagement that is also scientifically responsible. The long revolution in the ethics of anthropology has come to the present conjuncture in which the still-legitimate goals of careful scholarship must be situated *in tandem with ethical responsibilities* to the subjects of inquiry. This involves at the very least attempting to account for the forces impacting on peoples' lives in ways that valorize their choices and give them useful tools to work with.

For example, in the volume *Cash, commoditization, and changing foragers* (1991), co-edited with Toshio Matsuyama, Nicolas Peterson offers a coherent framework for understanding the complex impacts of the market economy on the internal dynamics of foraging peoples. This issue has tended to polarize the field of hunter-gatherer studies into two camps: the revisionists who see capitalism as having long ago destroyed the foraging economy, and the "pristinists" who deny or minimize these effects. Peterson's subtle and insightful analysis succeeds in bridging these two entrenched positions and showing areas of common ground. The market and the welfare state, in Peterson's view, have altered but not destroyed foraging economies; in many cases the impacts have been absorbed and put to use in reproducing forager communities and identity *within* the wider society. A similarly lucid and original analysis underlies Peterson's re-analysis of the subject of sharing and gift-giving (1993). He focuses on the ways in which sharing reproduces core values within foraging communities, enabling them to maintain independent identity in spite of the vastly greater power and reach of the enveloping market-based society.

Researchers in the indigenist perspective must perform a difficult balancing act: how to combine advocacy and good rigorous scholarship, without subsuming ethical obligations of the scholar to political expediency (or vice versa).

In addition to a number of authors in this volume, the "indigenist" perspective on hunter-gatherers is evident in the work of such scholars as Eugene Hunn (1990), Joe Jorgensen (1990), Basil Sansom (1980), Janet Siskind (1980), and Polly Wiessner (1982).

Given the growing political visibility of modern foragers within their respective nation-states and the world-wide movement for indigenous rights (see chapters by Trigger and Hitchcock), recent research has been based increasingly on agendas arising from within the communities themselves. Land claims, social disintegration, substance abuse, and the concomitant movements to reconstitute "traditional" culture and revitalize institutions have become central concerns.

About this book

Part I is arranged into seven sections, based on the world's principal geographical regions. Each is introduced by an overview of the region's foraging peoples by the regional editor, followed by an essay on the area's prehistory. The heart of the Encyclopedia is the individual case studies of the history, ethnography, and current status of over fifty of the world's best-documented hunter-gatherer groups. The goal here is to present a balanced account that includes both the traditional culture and social forms, and the contemporary circumstances and organization for resistance. Authors were chosen not only for their expertise as authorities but also for the contributions they have made as advocates for the well-being of the people they write about. Each chapter also contains a sidebar in which members of the society speak to the reader in direct quotations.

Part II contains thematic essays covering a broad array of topics: from mythology, religion, nutrition, gender, and social life, to experience at the hands of colonial forces and status in contemporary states and human rights. Other essays address the traditional and contemporary music of hunter-gatherers on the "Worldbeat" scene, and their current position in world art markets where works by aboriginal artists may fetch four and five figures. These essays thus situate the hunting and gathering peoples not only in their own world but also in the wider world's political economy and the emerging global culture.

The regions

1 North America (regional editor: Harvey A. Feit; archaeological background: Aubrey Cannon)

Prior to colonization about two-thirds of North America was occupied by hunters and gatherers, including most of what is now Canada and much of the United States west of the Mississippi. Some of the best-known recent foragers reported in the Encyclopedia include the James Bay Cree (Feit) and Labrador Innu (Mailhot), the Subarctic Dene in western Canada and Alaska (Asch and Smith), and the Inuit (Eskimo) of Arctic Canada (Burch and Csonka) and Alaska (Worl). The foragers of the Great Basin are represented by the Timbisha Shoshone of Nevada (Fowler). The mounted hunters of the Plains and intermontane West represent a successful secondary adaptation to big-game hunting by former farmers and foragers after the arrival of the horse in the seventeenth century (Kehoe). Complex foraging societies, with slavery and rank distinctions, occupied all of the west coast of North America from California to the Alaskan panhandle (Daly).

2 South America (regional editor: Laura M. Rival; archaeological background: Anna C. Roosevelt)

The southern cone of the South American continent was occupied by foragers including, at the extreme south, the Ona, Yamana, and Selknam of Tierra del Fuego (Vidal) and the Toba of the western Chaco (Gordillo). Some of the hunters of the southern cone became mounted hunters with the arrival of the horse, paralleling processes in North America. The numerous peoples of the Amazon and Orinoco basins combined foraging with shifting horticulture, with some like the Equadorean Huaorani (Rival) relying largely, and a few peoples like the Cuiva of Venezuela (Arcand) almost entirely, on foraging. South American foragers like the Sirionó (Balée) show evidence of having been more reliant on farming in the past. The Paraguayan Aché (Hill and Hurtado) are well known in anthropological circles for the detailed behavioral ecological studies made about them.

3 North Eurasia (regional editors: Victor A. Shnirelman and David G. Anderson, with Bruce Grant; archaeological background: Victor A. Shnirelman)

In northern Siberia and the Russian Far East a number of hunter-gatherer groups exist, combining foraging with small-scale reindeer herding. These groups vary widely in the timing of colonial encounter (some being reached only in the late nineteenth century), and in the degree to which they have suffered from the industrialization of the Soviet period. Notable among those who were primarily foragers are the Khanti (Nemysova, with Bartels and Bartels), Nia/Nganasan (Golovnev), Iukagir (Ivanov), Ket (Alekseenko), and the Chukchi and Siberian Yupik (Schweitzer), the latter close relatives of the Alaskan Eskimo. The Evenki of central Siberia (Anderson) and the Nivkh of Sakhalin Island (Grant) have been particularly hard hit by industrial pollution and the breakup of the Soviet Union. In addition Svensson discusses the well-known Ainu culture of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands.

4 Africa (regional editor: Robert K. Hitchcock; archaeological background: Peter Robertshaw)

Although most of the continent pre-colonially was occupied by farmers, herders, and agrarian states, Africa was home to several well-known foraging peoples. The Pygmies occupy the equatorial rainforest in a broad belt across central Africa from Cameroon to Rwanda, represented in the volume by the Mbuti of the Congolese Ituri Forest (Ichikawa) and the Aka of the Central African Republic (Bahuchet). In East Africa the Hadza of Tanzania (Kaare and Woodburn) have remained staunchly independent of neighboring farmer-herders, while the Okiek of Kenya (Kratz) have long-established trade relations with the Maasai. In the Kalahari Desert of Botswana, Namibia, and Angola live the well-known San or Bushmen peoples. Some, like the Ju/'hoansi (Biesele and Kxao Royal-/O/oo) and the central Kalahari /Gui of Botswana (Tanaka and Sugawara), remained relatively autonomous until recently; others like the Tyua of eastern Botswana (Hitchcock) have a long history of close contact. The Mikea of southeastern Madagascar became foragers in the nineteenth century, adopting the relative security of forest hunting and gathering during a period of instability and warfare (Kelly *et al*.).

5 South Asia (regional editor: Nurit Bird-David; archaeological background: Kathleen Morrison)

In this region of ancient civilizations a surprising number of foragers exist, occupying upland forested areas and providing forest products (honey, medicinal herbs, furs) to lowland markets. It is this economic niche presumably that has allowed the South Asian hunter-gatherers to persist to the present and remain viable. Examples include the Wanniyala-aetto (Veddah) of Sri Lanka (Stegeborn), the Nayaka of Kerala (Bird-David), the Paliyan (Gardner), and the Hill Pandaram (Morris) in the southern tip of the subcontinent, and the Birhor (Adhikary) and Chenchu (Turin) in central and eastern India. Most famous are the Andamanese, occupying a series of islands in the Bay of Bengal, who remained isolated into the late nineteenth century and in one case well into the twentieth (Pandya).

6. Southeast Asia (regional editor: Kirk Endicott; archaeological background: Peter Bellwood)

Orang Asli is a cover term for the indigenous non-agricultural peoples of the Malay peninsula and insular Southeast Asia. Among the best known are the Batek (Endicott) and Jahai (Van der Sluys) in the Malaysian forest and the Batak (Eder) on the Philippine island of Palawan. Other groups are

found in Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, and China's Yunnan province (Song and Shen). On the island of Borneo live the Penan of Sarawak (Brosius), firmly rooted in hunting and gathering until recent displacement by multi-national logging interests. The Philippine main islands have several pockets of foraging peoples, including the Agta of northeastern Luzon famous for their female hunters (Griffin and Griffin).

7. Australia (regional editor: Nicolas Peterson; archaeological background: Michael A. Smith)

Prior to European colonization in the late eighteenth century, Australia was entirely occupied by hunting and gathering peoples. These suffered a precipitous decline after 1788. Nevertheless in the centre, north, and west, Aboriginal people have persisted, the last nomadic Pintupi foragers in the Western Desert coming in to settlements in the 1950s and 1960s (Myers). Arnhem Land Aborigines such as the Yolngu (Keen) retain significant elements of social and ritual organization, as do some of the desert groups like the Warlpiri (Dussart), Pintupi (Myers), and Arrernte (Arunta) (Morton). The Aborigines of Cape York in northeast Queensland (Martin) and the Kimberleys (Toussaint) and the famous Tiwi of Bathurst and Melville Islands (Goodale) give a sense of the range of variation among contemporary Aboriginal peoples. A significant percentage of Aborigines are urbanized and, like the Ngarrindjeri in South Australia (Tonkinson), are struggling to preserve and revivify their cultures and land rights in the face of the indifference and tokenism of Australian society at large. The Torres Strait Islanders (Beckett) lie geographically and culturally midway between Australia and Papua-New Guinea. They are active partners with Aborigines in political movements, legal challenges, and administrative structures.

Although the main story of hunters and gatherers today is carried by the fifty-three case studies and their regional introductions, important themes cross-cut the focus on regions and cultures. The special topic essays focus attention on broader issues involving or affecting hunting and gathering peoples world-wide.

Alan Barnard traces the complex perceptions (and misperceptions) of hunter-gatherers through Western intellectual history. As noted above (p. 7), Barnard sensitizes us to the fact that foragers have always been viewed through a thick lens of ideology and this became even more pronounced when European colonialism and its oppositions became predominant sites of political and cultural discourse about foragers. Barnard documents how current debates are actually reprises of older controversies resurfacing anew.

Andrew Smith follows with a magisterial survey of the world prehistory of hunting and gathering peoples. Smith notes that for much of human history hunting and gathering was the universal mode of life. His overview offers a sense of the world-historical events that led first to the 2 million year ascendancy and then the eclipse of hunting and gathering as, continent by continent, farmers, herders, and states arose, ultimately to marginalize and encapsulate the foraging world.

John Gowdy represents a refreshing incursion by a sister discipline to the world of hunter-gatherers. An economist, Gowdy makes good use of hunter-gatherer materials to take a sharp look at the conventional wisdom economists (and the rest of us) live by. Gowdy questions in turn the economic concepts of scarcity, production, distribution, ownership, and capital and in each instance counterposes alternative examples from the hunter-gatherer literature. Following on Marshall Sahlins' pioneering work (1968, 1972), Gowdy portrays these economic core concepts more accurately as

culturally bound constructions specific to a time and place and not eternal expression of basic human nature. These themes are developed in greater depth in Gowdy (1998).

For over twenty years Tim Ingold has been reflecting on hunting and gathering as a way of life, a mode of production, and an ecological adaptation. Here he brings these lines of inquiry together to ponder the nature of hunter-gatherer sociality. Ingold asks whether hunter-gatherers, living in direct, face-to-face groupings, do not exhibit a form of sociality of a qualitatively different nature from that of the rest of humanity, living in hierarchical, often anonymous, often alienated circumstances. After reviewing theories of the patrilocal band and of "primitive communism" Ingold then draws out some of the profound implications of this line of inquiry for social theory more generally.

The second group of special essays surveys six major aspects of hunter-gather life in cross-cultural perspective. Karen Endicott addresses the large ethnographic and critical literature about gender in hunting and gathering societies. Noting the persistent male bias of older ethnographies that pushed women to the margins, Endicott discusses a number of recent studies that rectify this misperception. Women's roles in subsistence, kinship, and politics are explored. Drawing on her own familiarity with Southeast Asian foragers, Endicott considers the well-known views of Eleanor Leacock about women in foraging societies (1978, 1982) in opposing the doctrine of universal female subordination.

Catherine Fowler and Nancy Turner discuss Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK). Hunter-gatherers are notable for the intensity of their spirituality and connection to the land, a connection further intensified by the experience of dispossession. Fowler and Turner show how, among hunter-gatherers, systems in the natural world are incorporated into the spiritual and social worlds. "Particularly important," in their view, "is the sense of place and purpose communicated by the oral tradition, and the cumulative wisdom derived from knowledge of complex ecological relationships." The authors point to the negative consequences of breaking this connection, leading to loss of purpose, language, and culture. They also speak of groups in which the connection to land and foraging is being recaptured.

Mathias Guenther presents a rich account of the intellectual and spiritual world of hunter-gatherers, a vast continent of myth and practice that is a major world-historic heritage. While Fowler and Turner show how Nature is an encyclopedia of practical knowledge, Guenther views the cosmologies of foraging peoples as wellsprings of supernatural and ontological meanings. He explores the ubiquity of the Trickster figure in world mythology and traces the anthropological history of shamanism from its first documentation in eastern Siberia in the late nineteenth century to its recognition as a religious phenomenon found in every continent. Guenther also documents the successful adaptation of some shamanistic methods into healing practices of contemporary medicine.

In an original synthesis Victor Barac explores the world of hunter-gatherer music. Presenting examples from Africa, Australia, and North America, Barac documents the core features of this genre and its points of difference from the musics of non-foraging peoples. He then gives an account of the extraordinary impact made by hunting and gathering musicians and singers upon the "Worldbeat" and pop music scenes. In examples ranging from the Australian Aboriginal group Yothu Yindi to the Canadian Inuit artist Susan Aglukark, Barac documents the unique interweaving in the music of these artists of traditional elements along with profound reflections on contemporary themes of poverty, violence, racism, and loss.

Howard Morphy follows with an overview of the art of hunting and gathering peoples. He first

notes variation in artistic production and the wide variance in the permanence of this art—from body and sand painting which lasts a day to rock art lasting millennia. Morphy traces three cases of hunter-gatherer art which have reached world status: Northwest Coast art, Aboriginal Australian bark paintings, and Inuit soapstone carvings. Each has enjoyed extraordinary success on international art markets, as well as becoming part of the iconography of their respective nation-states.

One of the recurrent themes in hunter-gatherer research is the surprisingly good nutritional status of foraging peoples. As S. Boyd Eaton and Stanley Eaton point out, there are many lessons to be learned from the study of foragers' diet and exercise regime. In the pre-colonial period foragers led healthy outdoor lives with a diet consisting entirely of "natural" foods. Salt intake and refined carbohydrate consumption were low and obesity rare, as were many of the diseases associated with high-stress sedentary urban living such as diabetes, heart disease, and stroke. While infectious diseases took their toll, some of these were evidently introduced during the colonial period well before the colonists themselves arrived in local areas.

One of the strangest episodes in the history of hunter-gatherer studies began in 1972 when a Philippine-American team reported finding a "Stone Age people" who were claimed to have been living in caves on a diet of wild foods out of touch with the rest of the world for over five hundred years! The Tasaday, as they came to be known, became world-famous, featured in international media and in several *National Geographic* specials. Despite the public's acceptance, nagging doubts remained among scholars about the authenticity of such a seemingly far-fetched story. Gerald Berreman traces the history of the Tasaday from the beginning and reveals it as an elaborate hoax, probably the biggest anthropological hoax since the Piltdown fraud. With painstaking detail Berreman invites the reader to evaluate the evidence in what has become a fascinating detective story of greed in high places and otherwise blameless indigenous people drawn in as accomplices.

John Bodley chronicles the complex history of the encounter between hunting and gathering peoples and European colonialism. In the 500 years of European incursions into the rest of the world, band and village societies faced insurmountable odds and many succumbed to a combination of military predation, land loss, and the effects of introduced diseases. Yet despite the horrors of the colonial period, a surprising number of foragers survived and are present to witness the dawn of the third millennium. Bodley documents the tenacity and ingenuity of these survivors and how they combined resistance and accommodation to preserve a way of life they valued.

As long as they had the frontier, hunting and gathering peoples could survive by moving beyond the reach of the colonial authorities. But with the arrival of the modern nation-state, administrative structures reached everywhere. David Trigger surveys the ways in which states of the First, Second, and Third Worlds first pacified and censused and then divided and ruled foraging peoples, attempting to make them conform to the role of "good citizens." Trigger offers important insights into the lived realities of foragers and post-foragers today as they adjust to bureaucratic domination. He notes significant differences between the situation of former foragers in the Western capitalist states, and those in the developing world and the former USSR.

In the last chapter, Robert Hitchcock surveys the state of human rights for indigenous peoples. Given their new status as "wards" of states, foragers have undergone transformations in political consciousness. Foragers are increasingly coming to see themselves as encapsulated minorities, as ethnic groups, and as stakeholders within the civil societies of states. At a broader level they are coming to see themselves as part of the larger global community of indigenous peoples. Indigenous

peoples now are a force on the world stage, but despite the UN's declaration of the period 1995–2004 as the "Decade of Indigenous Peoples" the human rights of many continue to be abridged, violated, and denied. Hitchcock surveys the complex terrain on which foragers and post-foragers make claims on the political agendas of states and international organizations. Hitchcock appends a useful up-to-date list of over fifty indigenous organizations and advocacy groups.

An after word

These fourteen essays and the case studies that precede them convey a sense of what makes present-day hunters and gatherers so intriguing. Long the subject of myth and misconception, the hunting and gathering peoples have come into focus in recent years. Far from being simply the cast-offs of creation or victims of history, the foraging peoples have become political actors in their own right, mounting land claims cases, participating in the environmental movement, and lobbying for their rights with governments and the UN. Also they are being sought out by spiritual pilgrims from urban industrial societies seeking to recapture wholeness from an increasingly fragmented and alienated modernity.

As humanity marks the new millennium, there is an increasing preoccupation with where we have come from and where we are going. The accelerating pace of change and the ceaseless transformations brought about by economic forces have had the effect of obliterating history, creating a deepening spiritual malaise. For centuries philosophers have sought the answers to humanity's multiple problems in the search for the holy grail of "natural man," the search for our ancestors. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers* does not offer simple or pat answers to the questions of the social philosophers. Yet it is our hope that in the documentation of foragers' history, culture, and current situation, readers will find a rich source of ideas, concepts, and alternatives to fuel the political imagination.

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PART I

Ethnographies

I.I NORTH AMERICA

I.I.1

Introduction: North America

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The hunting and gathering peoples of the United States and Canada have complex histories of indigenous development and elaboration (see Cannon, this volume), and more recent histories profoundly shaped by the invasion of settlers from Europe. Among the hundreds of distinct Indigenous Peoples of North America there are very diverse societies, yet they have a widespread self-identification as a civilization distinct from those created by the settlers. (Anthropological approaches too, having concluded that the Indigenous societies in the Americas probably developed from but a few founding societies, acknowledge that they should be expected to share certain cultural features.) In the United States today they commonly call themselves American Indian Nations; in Canada, First Nations. (In Mexico, an Indian identity is appropriated by the settler state for the nation as a whole, and some Mexican elites identify themselves as the heirs of Indian empires of the region.) In this chapter I use the term Indigenous Nations or Indigenous Peoples of North America. (In the individual case study chapters that follow, the authors use terms appropriate to the particular context.) The hunter and gatherer nations of North America often identify themselves as hunters, but their identity and circumstances as American Indian and First Nations have greater salience. I will of necessity often discuss hunters and gatherers of North America as part of these wider processes.

The term "Indian" appears in Euro-American histories and images of discovery, conquest, and settlement. By contrast, there are indigenous histories, from each of the Indigenous societies, which often focus on spiritual happenings, coming to be, histories of generosity to newcomers followed by invasion and dispossession, enforced assimilation and subordination, and histories of Indigenous resistance, survival, and renewal. Often, the North American mainstream has not listened gladly to this long record of Indigenous resistance and renewal. The reason is partly because Canadian and US exploitation of Indigenous lands continues to expand, and the idea of "the Indian" continues to legitimate and justify these acts.

The idea of "the Indian" creates a unitary identity defined by what Indigenous Peoples of North America lacked with respect to emerging US and Canadian self-images; namely, the supposed tokens of civilization, like the wheel or writing. This could be a failure or a blessing in the commentator's eyes (see Berkhofer 1978), but nonetheless denigrating—an easy justification for dispossession, missionizing, and forced assimilation. The "uncivilized Indian" remained, by definition, ahistorically an "Indian," but was considered unlikely to survive because s/he was vulnerable to diseases, modernity, and assimilation to settler society (Dippie 1982, Hoxie 1984). These views were

intensified for hunter-gatherers. For example, Arctic Inuit (Eskimo), like mounted Plains buffalo hunters, the quintessential symbols of "Indians," were viewed as both eternal and poised on the edge of extinction.

Indigenous resistance has, however, come to the fore in recent decades as the surviving Indigenous Nations have opposed development schemes, for example in Alaska and northern Canada, and as long-standing grievances have led to armed confrontations, as at Wounded Knee and Oka.

North American hunter-gatherer diversity, by culture area

The variety among the five hundred Indigenous Nations of North America has always been difficult to grasp; anthropologists have typically grouped nations into "culture areas," variously drawn, which often try to correlate environmental regions and cultural patterns. This is a heuristic strategy so long as the categories are understood as broad generalizations and not sharp separations (as stressed by Kroeber 1939). The most simplified scheme identifies three major North American culture areas (see Kehoe 1992:11–14). A Continental Core includes Mexico, the southwestern USA, and North America east of the Rocky Mountains as far north as the St. Lawrence Valley, where farming based on the crops (maize, beans, and squashes) domesticated in Mexico was the basic economy. This includes many of the culture areas of Mexico, the Southwest, Plains, Prairies, Southeast, and Northeast. Hunting practices and traditions remain important for many peoples, but only a minority of nations may be spoken of as foragers. The Pacific Drainage, west of the Rockies from Baja California in Mexico, through British Columbia and southeastern Alaska, would include the Northwest Coast, Californian, Intermontane Plateau, and Great Basin culture areas. The economy in the southern portion of this area was based on cultivation and gathering indigenous plants, and in the north on salmon fishing. The third region, the high latitudes, included the Subarctic forests and the Arctic tundra where hunting and fishing were the economic base.

Map 2 Hunter-gatherers in North America

Most of the case studies in this volume come from the north of the continent: the Inupiat and Caribou Inuit of the Arctic, and the Innu, James Bay Cree, and Slavey Dene from the Subarctic. There are a number of case studies from the Pacific Drainage, including the Northwest Coast Tsimshianic Gitxsan and their Intermontane neighbors, the Witsuwit'en, and the Great Basin Timbisha Shoshone. The Blackfoot represent the Plains area of the Continental Core. Several groups of hunting and gathering societies are not represented in the case studies, especially the gatherers of California, and the gathering and fishing peoples of the Plateau area. Nor are there representatives from the maritime Gulf Coast, or East Coast peoples. I will highlight missing areas and indicate some of the variations within areas, as well as touching on maritime hunters of Central America. These comments are of necessity very brief. More extensive surveys and reviews can be found in the bibliography.

Californian region

California nations were diverse, with thousands of villages and over one hundred separate languages. Subsistence economies were based on gathering, harvesting, and hunting, with seasonal crops such as acorns playing an especially large role, along with some fish, game, seeds, fruit, and shellfish. Harvests of natural crops were processed and stored, and surpluses were used in extensive trade networks, providing wide access to diverse goods. Californian peoples regularly modified their habitats; some transplanted wild plants, others burned grasslands which enhanced deer populations. Permanent villages with relatively dense populations and clearly defined territories typically had chiefs, village curers, noble and wealthy families, and other classes of people including craft specialists, commoners, slaves (usually war captives who often eventually returned to their own peoples), people without family ties, and beggars. Visits from spirits were important among most peoples and frequently included performances by spirit impersonators and complex ceremonies. Among the numerous California nations were the Pomo, Mikwok, Wintun, Maidu, Patwin, Yana, Chumash, Salinas, Luiseño, and Castanoans.

California was first explored by Europeans in the mid-sixteenth century and then occupied from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries by Spaniards, and later Mexicans. Intense use was made of Indigenous estate labor (dependent on religious conversion and disruptive forced resettlement). This led to armed resistance, but continuing epidemics took high tolls in Indigenous villages. After establishment of US rule in 1848, the state government supported military and paramilitary campaigns by miners and settlers, who periodically pursued the removal or extermination of Indigenous Peoples, including women, children, and elders. Indigenous Californians survived in drastically reduced numbers, many concentrated in reservations. Population had declined 90 percent by the 1890s. Reservations, a diasporic setting that juxtaposed diverse groups, played host to both conflict and alliance. Some groupings survived in fragmented forms, while others perished.

Political reorganization saw threats and violence against emerging leaders, but renewal continued. Its diverse strategies included isolation, underground traditions, religious revivals, intermarriage and adoption between groups, and building alliances with other groups of laborers in the encapsulating society. After World War II, the US Federal government sought to impose a termination of Indian wardship, a policy largely reversed by Indigenous and state opposition in the 1960s. During this century, Indigenous people from many parts of the USA have also migrated to Californian urban centers. In recent decades there has been an expansion of the Indigenous organizations and political and cultural activities among the urban migrant residents and the Indigenous Nations of California, some thirty of whom seek recognition by the Federal government today.

Intermontane Plateau and Great Basin

Plateau nations live in a semi-arid floodplain surrounded by high mountains in northeastern California, parts of Idaho, western Montana, and Wyoming, and interior Oregon, Washington, and southern British Columbia. Indigenous Nations here have been known by European misnomers, including “Flathead,” “Nez Percé,” “Cœur d’Alenes,” as well as Lillooet, Okanagans, Yakima, Shuswap and Klamath, among others. Plateau nations, unlike the Great Basin peoples to the south, and like the Witsuwit’en to the north, generally had access to salmon runs in the major river systems. Characteristic of the region were winter villages surviving in valleys on salmon and root crops, both

of which can be dried and powdered. Seeds and game were supplements. These patterns were disrupted as salmon runs were blocked by dams and other developments. Concentrated on reservations, Indigenous Peoples here as elsewhere participated in nativist spiritual movements, Christian conversion, and state education. In the twentieth century, renewed political and cultural initiatives have developed.

By contrast, the peoples of the arid Great Basin to the south have served as models of simplicity in human societies. The region is inhabited by speakers of the Numic languages, including Paiute, Ute, Snake, and Shoshone (including Panamint and Gosiute dialects). Catherine Fowler's case study on the Timbisha Shoshone describes a people living in one of the harshest of the region's habitats, Death Valley in the Mojave Desert. Regional variations have occurred; for example, small-scale irrigation was practiced in the Owens Valley, and various Numa peoples modified environments to their benefit by differing means, some also transplanting useful plants.

Northwest Coast

Northwest Coast Nations developed stratified social classes, elaborate specialists, and an art admired around the world. This region also has a wide variety of distinct Nations, yet with shared cultural and economic features. In the northern-to-central areas are the Tlingit and Haida of Alaska; the Haida, Tsimshian, Heiltsuk-speakers, Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl), Salishan Bella Coola, Nuu-chah-nulth-aht (Nootka) in British Columbia; and the Makah in Washington State. In the central-to-southern areas are Coast Salish nations like the Sliammon, Sechelt, Squamish, Cowichan, Musqueam, and Sto:lo in British Columbia, and Lummi, Nisqually, Skagit, and Puyallup in Washington State; the region is home as well to the Quileute and former Chemakum; the Columbia River sub-area is home to the Tillamook, Seletz, and Lower Chinook; and northern California, to the Yurok and Wiyot.

Extensive research in the area, initiated by the Boas-Hunt and Barbeau-Beynon collaborations (see below), has provided an especially rich written record. Richard Daly's chapter describes the Tsimshianic-speaking Gitxsan, upriver from the coast, and the Athapaskan-speaking Witsuwit'en who share adjacent rivers. On the coast, where stratification was somewhat greater, potlatch feasts were more elaborate in the public recognition of status changes of upper-class people, while commemorating the deaths of individuals.

Cultural variations were found up and down the coast, for example among the Nuu-chah-nulth and Makah whaling was well-established. Northwest Coast societies have been an "anomaly" for those conceptualizing hunting and gathering societies as "simple," defying, as they do, facile evaluation on moral, technical, productive, spiritual, or artistic grounds.

The East and the Gulf Coast

The equally rich Indigenous variety and history on the buffalo-rich Plains are surveyed in Kehoe's chapter on the region and the Blackfoot, and will not be commented upon here. Elsewhere in the Continental Core, at specific locales on the Gulf of Mexico, and in North America's Eastern Woodlands, hunting societies continued into the contact period, whereupon those located along the coast faced the brunt of early European commercial and religious activity. Then the seventeenth century saw waves of settlement and land cessions (see Brasser 1978, Washburn 1978). Some of

these nations are now extinct, including Beothuk and Mahican, but many survive, including the Mikmac, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Abenaki, Virginia and North Carolina Algonquians, and, further inland, the Ojibwa/Chippewa, Ottawa, Algonquin, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, and Menominee, among others.

At one geographical and possibly social limit within this extensive region were the Calusa of southern Florida, known through ethnohistorical research on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents (Marquardt 1988). Here, a sedentary society based on fishing, gathering, and hunting included a centralized, stratified, and tributary system supporting a nobility with a royal family. Along the Gulf Coast of North and Central America, several hunting societies depended partly on marine resources, some known from archival documents, others from recent data. By contrast, the Seri (on the Pacific Coast of the Sonora Desert, Mexico) were a people about whom relatively little is known. The Miskito of the Gulf Coast of Nicaragua have a diverse economy, but declining sea turtle stocks in recent decades have shifted dependencies (Nietschmann 1973). The Miskito have increasingly struggled to survive closer relations with various central governments and regimes. The Cuna of San Bias, Panama, waged a resistance struggle earlier this century and achieved recognition of their relative autonomy. Land encroachments and developing tourism increasingly threaten their autonomy.

Subarctic

Peoples of the Subarctic occupy the largely boreal forested region of the northern continent, from Newfoundland to Alaska. There are two language families represented, Algonquian generally in the east, and Athabascan generally to the west. José Mailhot's and Harvey Feit's chapters, respectively on the Subarctic Innu and Cree, describe variations in that region: taiga caribou hunters versus forest-dwelling, moose beaver hunters, as well as French versus English trade and missionization areas. The Northern Athabascan subfamily includes languages which are spoken by Dene people from Alaska to northern Manitoba, including Koyukon, Ingalik, Tanaina, Ahtna, Kolchan (Upper Kuskokwim), Tanana, Kutchin, Kaska, Tutchone, Tahltan, Sekani, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Witsuwit'en, Beaver, Dogrib, Hare, Satudene, Slavey, and Chipweyan. Asch and Smith's case study provides an account of the Slavey Dene, and sets them briefly in the context of wider Dene history and politics. In the Alaskan and western Canadian Subarctic, salmon runs and potlatching are important practices.

The Arctic

The northern periphery of North America is inhabited by people popularly known as "Eskimo," and speaking languages belonging to the Eskimo-Aleut family. Aleut is spoken on the Commander Islands in Russia, the Aleutian archipelago, and part of the Alaskan peninsula. The four surviving Yupik Eskimo languages are spoken in south central Alaska, southwestern Alaska, and easternmost Asia (Schweitzer, this volume). The Inuit Eskimo language is spoken from Bering Strait in the west to Greenland in the east. At the time of European contact, within this enormous geographical span, social structure varied considerably from region to region. The "typical Eskimo" of Western lore were the Inuit, who are represented here by the coast-dwelling Inupiat whalers of northern Alaska (see Worl's chapter), and the interior-dwelling Caribou Inuit (see Burch and Csonka's chapter). Most

Yupik and all Aleut live in areas that are comparatively warmer than the far north, and their maritime economies contributed to the growth of larger populations and the development of more complex social stratification, including slaves, relative to most hunter-gatherer groups. In 1977, northern Indigenous Peoples from several countries formed the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (which involves Yupik-speakers and others, in addition to Inuit). The organization has become an important force for addressing local and international northern cultural, social, political, and environmental concerns in diverse world arenas.

Contemporary struggles and resistance

In their struggles to survive and to continue to use and protect environments, Indigenous hunting peoples are mobilizing many strategies, of which three are discussed here. First, many focus upon contradictions deriving from the colonial history of Euro-American jurisprudence, in their struggle for recognition of Indigenous rights by the judiciary. They claim Indigenous law has legal standing *sui generis*, and in international law. Legal challenges have brought slow and contradictory results, but there have been significant judicial breakthroughs in both countries' recognition of aboriginal and treaty rights—which governments historically denied. This has forced governments to institute procedures for negotiating or adjudicating claims. Legal recognition of rights has assisted continuation and renewal of hunting and gathering economies where these can still exist, especially in the north, and along the Northwest Coast salmon rivers. There remains, however, a considerable gap between law and practice.

A second area of Indigenous initiative involves assertions of self-governance and self-development. A broadly held view asserts that Indigenous Nations have an inherent right to self-governance, and that they have been exercising such autonomy throughout the period of contact and dispossession by US and Canadian nations, albeit under increasing constraint, with declining resources, and therefore with increasing ties to the dominant nation-states. Some Indigenous Nations see themselves as citizens of the United States or Canada, with governance practices similar to municipalities; others consider themselves semi-autonomous nations; yet others assert autonomous nationhood, demanding state to state relations and diplomacy with the United States and Canada. Progress on these claims has received some national recognition, but little effective implementation, for obvious political and economic reasons (see Trigger, this volume).

The development of a draft United Nations protocol on rights of Indigenous Peoples internationally has enhanced world-wide awareness. In Canada the future status of Indigenous Nations has become a key issue in debates over Quebec secession, and whether Indigenous Nations and lands would be in a position to exercise a similar decision *vis-à-vis* a separating Quebec.

Self-administration has been the subject of more extensive developments in both countries. Both governments seek cost-saving decentralization of education, health, social services, environmental management, and some aspects of policing and justice. This has enhanced Indigenous Nations' administrative authority.

Decentralization to Indigenous governments is often a way of reducing governmental accountability, without providing adequate means to sustain services to rapidly growing populations.

Indigenous Nations themselves take managerial initiatives, for example expanding/reestablishing resource harvesting under traditional and adapted social forms, with or without legal recognition.

Where local lands and wildlife are depleted by long-term settlement or by recent developments, others find themselves very vulnerable. Peoples who have not cooperated with state development plans have been subjected to governmental economic deprivation, social deprivation and deteriorating health, and intentional rupture of local social relations.

A third broad area of Indigenous initiative has been a growing claim to having and renewing distinctive systems of practical and spiritual knowledge. Indigenous Nations and environmentalist allies often present Indigenous Peoples as sources of alternative values and wisdom to US, Canadian, and European civilizations. While these claims can sometimes be romantic (especially in relation to environmental movements) and highly ideological, it is an important and developing strategy (see Fowler and Turner, this volume).

For instance, local knowledge of Indigenous Peoples who use regional environments regularly can often out-perform applied scientific knowledge based on abstract models, incomplete data, and analogies to other regions and times (Freeman 1989, Pinkerton 1989). The development of Native American Studies or Native Studies programs in university curricula is a key step toward recognition of Indigenous realities and Indigenous cultural expression in the mainstream societies.

The rapid growth of an Indigenous literature, theatre, music, art, and cinema within North America is a broad cultural manifestation of these processes. A survey of these developments is beyond the scope of this introduction, but references to examples of recent contributions from members of Indigenous hunting and gathering societies are readily available: stories by women (Cruikshank 1990) and men (Blondin 1990); cultural analyses (Kawagley 1995); novels (Louise Erdrich 1993, 1996; Thomas King 1990,1993); theatre companies and drama (Muriel Miguel and the Red Earth Performing Arts Company, and Thompson Highway's plays [e.g., 1989]); music (Buffy Sainte-Marie and the Innu duo, Kashtin); and the visual arts (Bill Reid, Robert Davidson, Norval Morriseau), among others.

In these areas of initiative—recognition of land and legal rights, self-governance and economic development, and the recognition and renewal of Indigenous spirituality and knowledge—North American hunting societies have both elaborated and sought to transform implicitly the dominant image of "the Indian," and to recreate a present, open once again to possibilities.

Research on North American hunter-gatherers

These areas of initiative have provided important stimuli for the development of recent research. Land claims processes led to the development of new and highly developed studies of land use patterns (for example, Freeman 1976, Williams and Hunn 1982), of subsistence economies and domestic modes of production (Langdon 1986, Feit 1991a), and of revisionist ethnohistorical studies of trade relations with European, US, and Canadian economic institutions (Francis and Morantz 1983, Brody 1981), and to detailed research on the impacts of industrial developments and state administration (Salisbury 1986, Jorgenson 1990).

Research on self-governance has built upon earlier studies of leadership patterns, kinship and marriage systems, residential patterns, and principles of law, tenure, and knowledge among hunting and gathering peoples (Asch 1984, Scott 1989, Fienup-Riordan 1990). As Indigenous people have become more active as researchers, research partners, and initiators of independent research, the complex connections between Indigenous institutions and market and nation-state institutions have

revealed the interplay of constraint and autonomy that earlier studies tended to underanalyze or make overdetermining (Deloria and Lytle 1984, Dyck 1985, Wright 1992).

Such partnerships date back to early research on North American hunter-gatherers. After Boas' shift to anthropology (see General Introduction), he mounted the Jesup North Pacific Expeditions to the continental Northwest and eastern Siberia. Under that aegis, he began his long-term work with the Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl), where he collaborated (1893–1933) with George Hunt, a resident (of Scottish and Tlingit descent) of the village at Fort Rupert (Boas 1921). Boas also collaborated with Tsimshian Henry Tate, between 1902 and 1914. Similarly, Marius Barbeau of the National Museum of Canada worked closely from 1915 to 1955 with Tsimshian William Beynon (Halpin 1978).

Much of the early ethnography of the Indigenous Peoples of North America involved visiting societies already settled on reservations or clustered around trading and commercial posts, and much of the research focused primarily on recording traditions for posterity, as opposed to observing contemporary practices, circumstances, and initiatives (although the separation between types of studies is easily overdrawn).

Both the research that preceded Boas' (see the Plains and Southwest studies initiated by the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology under J. W. Powell from 1879 on) and work by Boas' colleagues (such as Wissler on the Blackfoot) and his students (such as Frederica de Laguna on Tlingit and Frank Speck on Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi) fit this pattern up to the post-World War II period.

North American anthropology developed partly through, and in response to, these patterns, as several efforts to get "beyond collecting" data as a research strategy emerged at mid-century (albeit that "collecting" was almost always informed by, and never separate from, ideas/theories of human behavior, and finding means to conduct the research). A key direction was the efforts by American anthropologists to renew evolutionary studies and to seek general patterns or principles of change. A second set of analyses sought to place North American Indigenous societies into a historical context in which their interactions with Europeans and North Americans could become a part of understanding their changes and contemporary conditions, thus breaking the conception of "Indians" as outside history and agency. A third consisted of efforts toward "applied research," often in ways that served the needs and goals of Indigenous communities.

The first of the above-mentioned approaches was partly pioneered by Julian Steward, the second by Eleanor Leacock, and both worked extensively with hunting and gathering societies: the Shoshone in the former case (Steward 1938), the Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi) in the latter (Leacock 1954). Applied research has been explored widely (for discussion of a relatively early case, see Feit 1991b).

Most of the case studies here can serve to "update" readers concisely about these "classical" hunter-gatherer studies by considering the same or adjacent peoples both in the light of their past and current circumstances and struggles, and in the light of contemporary scholarship.

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I.I.2

Archaeology of North American hunters and gatherers

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The archaeological history of hunter-gatherers in North America begins with the first migrants from northeast Asia. Although the timing of the initial crossing remains a topic of research and vigorous debate, the scholarly consensus is that precursors of the earliest widespread cultures, termed Palaeoindian, entered Alaska sometime not long before 14,000 years ago (Fiedel 1999). This was followed by subsequent migrations: first around 11,000 years ago by migrants considered ancestral to Na-Dene (Athabascan)-speaking peoples, who came to settle largely in the western Subarctic region of the continent; and then by ancestral Aleut-Inuit populations, who settled Arctic regions beginning around 4000 years ago. The early settlement of these small migratory groups of hunter-gatherers provided the basis for a diverse and complex array of subsequent histories that are the ongoing focus of archaeological research.

The growth in knowledge and new ideas that archaeology is currently experiencing makes a condensed summary of regional histories virtually impossible. At the same time, it does help to highlight common research themes that are changing the questions asked about the past, even though, as these unifying themes emerge, ongoing research continues to raise new questions and undermines attempts to discover uniform patterns in history.

Sophisticated new methods, a dramatic increase in the volume of field research, and increased efforts to develop more explicit theoretical approaches have allowed archaeology to move rapidly beyond the concerns of previous generations of researchers. The need simply to block out the long-term historical sequence and pattern of culture change has given way to more problem-oriented studies. As in other regions of the world, a major problem is the explanation of subsistence change, including the intensification of foraging economies and the relationships between foraging and farming. Other questions concern the origins of social inequality and the emergence of complex social organization, and transitions in land use and settlement. New studies are also looking more closely at the effects of short- and long-term climatic variability and other aspects of environmental change. The cumulative effect on North American studies is an accelerating trend toward extracting more and more detailed information from the rich and largely untapped record of the past 14,000 years.

Despite the emergence of new and specialized interests, hunter-gatherer archaeology, by definition, remains concerned with subsistence economies centered on hunting, fishing, and gathering, and on explaining long-term subsistence change. Among the most prominent concerns is the transition to horticulture, which, with recognition of the negative consequences of farming, has become directed

more toward explaining why cultures would ever relinquish foraging as a way of life. The answers that have been offered reflect differences in theoretical perspective, but also the unique historical circumstances of particular regions.

In southern Mexico, at the site of Guilá Naquitz in the valley of Oaxaca, for example, study of the Archaic Period (7,000-2,000 BC) settlement patterns and plant and animal remains left in dry rock shelters has suggested a combination of population growth and strategies of risk minimization as the reason for a gradual trend toward plant domestication and settled farming (Flannery 1986). In the American midcontinent, an interesting, but still largely speculative, Marxist-based model of increasing social demand for status symbols has been posited as the basis for increased production and the eventual adoption of horticulture (Bender 1985). As much as divergent theory may drive these different explanations, accumulating data also show that in these and other regions very different circumstances underlie trends toward horticulture.

The time when and extent to which agriculture becomes the central basis of subsistence also varies widely. The distinction between foraging and farming has become increasingly blurred in recent years, as studies reveal continued reliance on foraging long after the initial adoption of limited horticulture. Hopewell and other early horticulturalists of the Eastern Woodlands, for example, long recognized as relying heavily on wild food resources, have been shown through more precise isotopic analysis of human bone to have been even less reliant on maize for a much longer period than was once imagined (Bender *et al*. 1981). Other foragers are now recognized as having modified the growing conditions for plants to such an extent as to make them in many respects equivalent to horticulturalists. Acorn gatherers in California, for example, maintained and enhanced the growth of oak groves by continually burning the underbrush (Martin 1996).

Map 3 Archaeological sites in North America

In regions, such as California and the Pacific Northwest Coast, that did not see a transition to agriculture, research tends to center on developments leading toward more intensive foraging economies. The central question is when and why these economies developed to the point that they could support dense populations, complex social organization, and elaborate artistic specialization. Although some researchers still see economic intensification as a linear, technology or population-driven process (Matson 1992, Croes and Hackenberger 1988), greater consideration is being given to social processes (Ames 1994), and to more particular models based on combinations of social motives, environmental opportunities, and technological innovation and diffusion. The basic capability for mass harvest and storage was probably always present, and intensive production of salmon is indicated as early as 7000 years ago at the site of Namu on the coast of British Columbia

(Cannon 1996), while intensive harvesting of acorns occurs as early as 4000 years ago in some areas of California (Basgall 1987). The focus on overall trends toward intensification, which are apparent only on a gross regional scale, is therefore giving way to much more detailed study of the local economic histories that ultimately underlie broader regional trends.

Beyond traditional concerns with economic transition is an emerging interest in the historical dynamics of forager-farmer interaction, especially at the boundaries of environmental zones, as, for example, between Algonquian hunter-gatherers and Iroquoian horticulturalists on the southern boundary of the Canadian Shield. One of the most well-documented examples is the proto-historic (AD 1450-1600) trade in subsistence products between Plains bison hunters and Southwestern Pueblo farmers (Spielmann 1991). Zooarchaeological analysis of bison butchering sites on the Plains indicates selective removal of choice cuts, and these are the same elements most commonly found in the refuse of Pueblo communities. Bison meat was evidently exchanged for maize, which helped to balance the diets of Plains foragers. The mutual exchange of these specialized food products appears to have developed after AD 1450 as a result of dryer conditions that made Plains horticulture less viable.

This type of change in environmental conditions is one of a number of contingent circumstances now becoming more readily recognized as significant in the development of local and regional hunter-gatherer histories. Other examples include the expansion of cedar forests on the Northwest Coast 5000-6000 years ago and the correlated development of woodworking technologies (Hebda and Mathewes 1984), which were a key part of the region's later material culture. Technological innovation and diffusion is itself a significant element in regional prehistories. The adoption of efficient whaling technology, for example, which probably spread from northeast Siberia to Alaska, is thought to have played a major role in the rapid spread of Thule populations across the central and eastern Arctic around AD 1000 (Sheehan 1985). Other examples include the introduction of the bow and arrow and its effect on hunting and warfare in various regions.

Better dating of archaeological and natural events has also led to more precise understanding of the significant role of chance events in prehistory. A good example is the archaeological documentation of the effects of the devastating White River, Alaska volcanic eruption *c*. AD 400, which resulted in mass migrations out of the southern Yukon, and may have been the impetus leading to establishment of Apachean settlement in the desert Southwest (Perry 1991). A more specific example is the abandonment of large pithouse villages on the Fraser Plateau in British Columbia around 1100 years ago, which is attributed to a single major rock slide that blocked runs of migrating salmon (Hayden and Ryder 1991). These and similar documentations of the effects of specific events and of the local implications of more general trends such as major climatic change are all part of a wider trend toward much more particular studies of hunter-gatherer history.

The continent's hunter-gatherer archaeology is also becoming much broader in scope. Although subsistence has tended to dominate most research practice, the most rapidly growing interest in North America has been the study of inequality and social complexity among hunter-gatherers. Limited attention has also been paid to the study of gender roles (e.g., Claassen 1991), but most concern has been with the development of systematic differences in social and political status among individuals and family groups (Price and Brown 1985). The main focus has been in regions ethnographically recognized as the home of complex foragers (e.g., the Northwest Coast, California, Florida), but the same issues are also being explored in regions such as the Columbia-Fraser Plateau and the western

Arctic, as well as areas such as the American Midwest, where horticultural societies later developed. Many studies begin with the search for some general pattern of increasing social complexity, but the expansion of research has led to the discovery that complexity in some form is almost ubiquitous in the archaeological record. The result has been an almost equal emphasis on the unique patterns of local social history, while the term complexity has come to assume many different meanings.

Although notions of differential social power underlie most concepts of complexity, archaeological manifestations almost always involve measures of differential access to material symbols of wealth and status, or rare and nutritionally desirable food resources. The formation of large-scale residential groups, especially where these are variable in size, as at the Plateau site of Keatley Creek (Hayden 1997), is often seen as further evidence for the building of the corporate group support considered essential for the accumulation of wealth and the maintenance of social influence. Part of the difficulty in developing common interpretations of trends toward social complexity, however, has been that fine crafts and rare raw materials, such as those found among burials at the Ipiutak site in Northwest Alaska (AD 1-500) or at Port au Choix in Newfoundland (c. 2300 BC), and houses of variable size occur among hunter-gatherer cultures that span a vast time range throughout North America. The study of social complexity has therefore moved beyond documenting the simple presence of these material indicators toward understanding the conditions they represent, and the role they may have played in providing the incentive and opportunity for social differentiation. For example, conditions conducive to the exercise of control over labor have been stressed in the prehistory of coastal California (Arnold 1993), while control over food resources has been the focus of explanation in the Pacific Northwest (Matson 1992, Hayden 1997), and control over exotic trade goods is cited for the American midcontinent (Bender 1985). These explanations remain overly simple and are still very tentative, but research into these questions is pushing archaeology to explore the widest range of available evidence. It is also doing as much to reveal the complexities of hunter-gatherer social history as it is doing to reveal the basis for social complexity.

A similar process is evident among efforts to characterize patterns and trends in hunter-gatherer settlement. Two guiding concerns have shaped the majority of settlement studies in recent years. One has been to look at the apparent long-term trend toward increasing sedentism, while the other has built on Binford's (1980) attempt to characterize hunter-gatherer settlement in relation to a dichotomy between "forager" and "collector" modes. In both cases, attempts to define the nature of particular settlement patterns have revealed a much wider range of settlement options than was previously recognized.

The fact that sedentism is linked in so many ways to other variables, including population growth, economic intensification, and social complexity, has made this development a common focus of settlement studies. Apart from difficulties in measuring relative degrees of settlement mobility, however, efforts to define sedentism have also made it clear that it can vary according to the portion of the year, number of years, size of group, or portion of a group resident at a single location (Kelly 1992). Measures of the size, number, and permanence of houses, and clear evidence of seasonal activities are relevant to all of these dimensions of relative mobility, and archaeological study of even this limited range of evidence has shown that many combinations of settlement options are likely to have been present within any given region. A long sequence of Archaic Period hunter-gatherer occupation at the Koster site in central Illinois, for example, shows evidence of substantial houses

and occupation throughout most of the year dating to as early as 5500 BC (Struever and Holten 1979). Sedentary village settlement, as on the Northwest Coast, can also incorporate considerable mobility (Mitchell and Donald 1988), while mobile settlement patterns can incorporate periods of sedentary encampment, as evident at the Pre-Dorset (2500-800 BC) settlement at Back Bay, in the central Arctic (Ramsden and Murray 1995). Although a general trend toward reduced mobility is still recognized in many regions, the focus has shifted away from sedentarization as an inevitable long-term trend, to include sedentism as a strategic or contingent option, favored by historical circumstance, resource opportunities, or even tradition.

Binford's (1980) often-cited contrast between "foragers," who adjust their residential location and group size to match the availability of resources, and "collectors," who maintain residential base camps and gain access to resources through specially organized task groups, is less categorical than the simple mobile or sedentary dichotomy. Binford's scheme and similar characterizations stress variability in the number, size, and permanence of residences, and in the relative mobility of residential and task groups. They recognize that these are organizational components of resource and land use systems that vary in combination in different settings. Although some archaeologists have misused these schemes in trying to identify archaeological cultures as one type or another, more useful results have come from stressing contrasts in the degree of residential and logistical mobility.

One of the best studies of this kind has noted the contrast in prehistoric Great Basin settlement patterns, between what is described as an early Prenumic pattern and that associated with the Numic-speaking ancestors of the Ute, Shoshone, and Paiute (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982). The Numic pattern, which rapidly expanded to displace the Prenumic pattern 500-700 years ago, exploited essentially the same range of resources, but involved fewer long-distance hunting forays and more intensive exploitation of high-cost seed resources. This is seen as providing the necessary competitive advantage that allowed for Numic population expansion. This documentation of contrasts in settlement and land-use patterns within the same environment is interesting in itself, but it is also a good illustration of the type of cultural replacement that can result from unique historical circumstances. As such, it provides an important contrast to many evolutionary models that see culture change as primarily a process of local adaptation and transformation.

Although often directed to the study of common long-term trends toward economic intensification, increasing social complexity, or increasing sedentism, North American hunter-gatherer archaeology is beginning to reveal much more about the vast and interesting variety of local culture histories. One result has been a revival of an explicit historical particularism to rival some of the dominant cultural materialist, Marxist, and recent neo-Darwinian models of cultural evolution (Bettinger 1991). Archaeologists are also beginning to approach the long-term history of hunter-gatherers in North America from the perspective of dialectical (Marquardt 1992) and Braudelian (Duke 1991) models that fully recognize the influence of a complex array of elements and events in human history. These theoretical approaches have also promoted a much greater interest in the role of ideology in shaping technology, subsistence, settlement, and history in general.

Given the magnitude of North America and its 14,000 years of human history, and the relatively short time of active research, archaeology has already made remarkable progress in revealing the complex histories preceding ethnographic documentation of foraging cultures. Future research can only enrich the picture that is now beginning to emerge.

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I.I.3

Blackfoot and other hunters on the North American Plains

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Introduction

Thanks to Hollywood and the visual reconstructions of aboriginal life by photographer Edward Curtis, the image of the Plains warrior adorned with bow and arrows, war paint, and feathered headdress, and mounted on a spotted pony, has come to represent North America's hunter-gatherers to the world. "Indian spirituality" has been defined through the popularity of John Neihardt's poetic *Black Elk Speaks*, a version of Lakota beliefs transcribed from a cosmopolitan Oglala man. "Sacred pipes" and sweat lodges are purveyed by "plastic medicine men" to a gullible public. Such distortions affront members of the First Nations.

The popular image is misleading. The economic, cultural, and historical components producing nineteenth-century Plains hunting life were complex. This chapter seeks to unravel a number of these factors and present a brief case study of the Blackfoot people of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Plains History

The Plains in the nineteenth century, already well populated, became a refugium for midwestern Indigenous Nations forced out of their homelands by advancing invasions of Anglo/Euro-Americans. Add to this the refugees from Spanish invasions into the American Southwest, and Numa migrations out of the Great Basin. Now pepper the mix with European epidemics, entrepreneurs trafficking in horses, guns, slaves, ornaments, amulets, and foodstuffs; toss in gamblers and adventuring youths, and the task of disentangling ethnic histories is formidable. Wissler's list of Plains tribes (1941 [1912]:19) presents the situation *only as* it stood in the mid-nineteenth century; this shows how arbitrary the "ethnographic present" can be.

Wissler's "typical" Plains Nations include only those who were nomadic, dependent upon bison hunting, lived in tipis, used horses, policed camps with men recruited into soldier sodalities, and celebrated the Sun Dance (Wissler 1941 [1912]:18). His "typical" list included the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and Cheyenne (Algonquian speakers), the Assiniboin, Crow and Teton Dakota/Lakota (Siouan speakers), the Comanche (Numic speakers), and Kiowa (Kiowa-Tanoan phylum). He listed as "marginals" the Sarsi (Dene speakers), Kiowa-Apache (Plains Apache) (Apachean speakers), and the Plains Cree and Plains Ojibwa (Saulteaux or Bungee) (Algonquian

speakers).

There were, in addition, those who were not primarily hunters, the "village tribes" (living in earth lodges and farming the bottomlands of the Missouri and its tributaries). They traveled long distances twice a year to hunt bison (Mandan, Hidatsa [Siouan speakers], and Arikara and Pawnee [Caddoan speakers]). Wissler adds the farming prairie Siouans: the Iowa, Kansa, Missouri, Omaha, Osage, Oto, Ponca and (eastern) Dakota, and the Caddoan Wichita. He takes cognizance of the nations west of the Cordillera who traveled east to hunt on the Plains: the Bannock, Wind River, and Northern Shoshone (Numic speakers), the Ute (Uto-Aztecan speakers), and the Nez Percé (Sahaptin speakers). He could have added the Kutenai (language isolate, possibly Salishan) and Yakima (Sahaptin), and the Salish-speaking Flatheads, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles.

I present this extensive, varied list to emphasize that it holds barely true for the middle of the nineteenth century when the northern Plains Nations had possessed horses for only one hundred years. Around 1750, the Kutenai and Shoshone held the western Montana Plains, the Cheyenne occupied the eastern prairie, and the Hidatsa probably ranged the Missouri-Saskatchewan watershed.

Population

155,000 in the USA (1980 *US Census):* Blackfoot (22,000), Gros Ventre (2200), Arapaho (4500), Cheyenne (10,000), Assiniboin (4000, excluding those in Canada), Crow (7000), Teton Dakota/Lakota (78,000), Comanche (9000), Kiowa (7400), Kiowa-Apache (Plains Apache) (260), Plains Cree (7000 in the USA; about 20,000 in Canada).

Location

From Mexico—US border, into Canada, from steppe grasslands behind the Rockies to the Mississippi valley in the east, about 30° and 50° N, and from 98° W in the east, to the northwest-trending Rocky Mountains in the west.

1 Late nineteenth-century Plains Cree family with horse fitted with travois. Tipis in the background. Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

Two smallpox epidemics devastated the Plains, in 1780-1 and 1837-8 (before any of the Plains people subsequently interviewed by ethnographers had reached adulthood). When professional ethnography began, all informants (by then, reservation dwellers) had spent their entire lives in communities suffering endemic warfare promoted by government and private interests bent on an ethnic cleansing to ready the Plains for Euro-American settlement.

The post-contact Plains Nations adapted to radical depopulation, politics centered on armed defense/offense, destruction of pastures by wagon trains, the substitution of imported metal for indigenous raw materials (stone), and, just prior to conquest and forced settlement, an increased demand for women's labor to process bison hides. Historical contingencies powerfully affected the nations found living on the Plains.

The prehistoric Plains had been inhabited since the terminal Pleistocene (14,000 years ago) by nomadic bands hunting principally bison. They used the impoundment method of hunting for at least 2000 years. From Hopewell times (beginning of the first millennium AD), surpluses (probably pemmican) were produced and traded downriver into the Midwest region, and overland to the Southwest. It is likely that loosely structured bands moved through seasonal rounds in recognized territories, although distances moved and loads conveyed were probably more modest before horse transport. Farming towns appeared in the Missouri trench, westward to western North Dakota at the beginning of the second millennium AD.

Following the American Civil War, the campaign to "pacify" Native Nations, already decimated

by epidemics and the strain of endemic war, had succeeded by the 1880s. The final blow was the extermination of the wild bison herds, from overhunting (by native and non-native alike), the destruction of grazing patterns and pasture lands, and drought.

The Indian Nations were then confined to reservations; these were subsequently reduced in size, and reduced again. Reservations were allotted in severalty, contrary to local social structure, destroying Native social systems. Children were removed from families and incarcerated in boarding schools. Schools forbade children their languages and religions. Pupils were taught manual and menial trades thought useful for those at the bottom of the labor force. Reservation men were instructed in farming methods, but inept government agents often undermined successful farming or ranching ventures, selling stock, leasing land to immigrant settlers, and refusing credit.

The Collier New Deal (1930s) restored some land, reversed policies outlawing native languages and religions, but imposed the United States' "democratic" government model of elected district representatives in council. The ethos of consensus by persuasion (or dissenters separating) was replaced by majority rule. After a post-World War II policy of moving families into urban areas, the Nixon administration promulgated a policy of "self-determination" that, through many efforts and endless struggles, is slowly achieving some reality.

Ecological conditions

The vast Great Plains region is marked by the paucity of water. The western portion lies in the rainshadow of the Rocky Mountains. Rivers drain east to the Great Lakes, or southeast to the Mississippi basin which provides a conduit for moisture from the Gulf of Mexico. Some rivers disappear into underground aquifers. Agriculture is precarious except in larger river floodplains. Grazing animals are forced constantly to move, and formerly with them, dependent human societies like the Blackfoot. Herding remains ecologically feasible today, with bison herds now supplanted by cattle.

Major subsistence species included bison, cervids (also for clothing), and wild or partially cultivated plant foods. Population density was necessarily low. Kroeber (1939:78) argued that possibilities for a Plains culture did not exist before the horse, that the region was economically marginal. Archaeology contradicts this inference, except for reduced habitation during the Altithermal period (*c*. 3000-2000 BC) (Schlesier 1994). Archaeological work since the 1950s demonstrates the central importance of the bison drive in the long-term Plains economy. Impounding herds was the core of subsistence until conquest (Verbicky-Todd 1984).

The Blackfoot Nation

Let us now examine one of Wissler's "typical" mid-nineteenth-century Plains tribes, the *Nitsitapii* or Blackfoot, who occupied the northwestern Plains (present-day Alberta, Saskatchewan, Montana) from at least the fourteenth century.

Subsistence

The Blackfoot dwelt in tipis secured against the wind by rocks, which left innumerable "tipi rings."

Blackfoot moved in relation to the wild herds, transporting their shelters with dog-pulled travois (Bozell 1988). They relied upon the bison pound, a corral toward which a herd was enticed by a young man singing a spiritually potent song in the mode of a bleating calf; meanwhile, in camp, spiritually adept adults prayed over an *iniskim*, usually a fossilized ammonite possibly resembling a sleeping bison. Close to the pound, V-shaped lines of rock or brush piles hid the main hunting team. As the herd entered this funnel the whole band jumped up, waving robes and shouting, to stampede the herd either over a bluff or up a closed ravine to the corral where men waited to kill the milling animals with clubs and bows and arrows. From a few dozen to two hundred bison would be killed. There was no way to let the surplus escape.

All able-bodied adults worked to process the kill. One source reported six-person teams working on each carcass. Stomach contents and organs were eaten fresh. Most flesh was dried in thin strips, bones were cracked for marrow, chopped and boiled to extract fat. Pemmican (dried meat and rendered fat combined, often with dried berries) was packed into hide bags for storage. Pemmican, or simple dried meat, may have been a prehistoric trade item, downriver to farming towns (Brink 1990, Kehoe 1973). The historic fur trade brigades depended on tons of pemmican traded by Plains hunters.

Blackfoot women harvested plant foods (berries, camas bulbs, and prairie turnips) which they cultivated knowledgeably. (Among the eastern farming nations such as the Cheyenne, women cultivated maize, surpluses going for trade.) Not glamorous, nor often described by explorers, the care and harvesting of carbohydrates were tasks essential to the Plains diet.

Hunters or pastoralists?

Blackfoot bands, like other Plains Nations, burned large stretches of grassland to improve forage for the wild herds. In the less arid eastern prairies, burning also prevented reversion to forest. (Seasonal grass burning has been associated with the name "Blackfoot," from moccasin soles blackened by walking over burned land. One of the confederated Nitsitapii groups is the *Siksika* [Blackfoot].)

In the sense that the Blackfoot and other Plains Nations managed pasture and corraled herds in order to slaughter them, they could be considered pastoralists, although no one, including modern "buffalo ranchers," has succeeded in domesticating bison. The strategy of maximizing forage, moving with the herds' annual round, and seducing the lead cows to slaughter with a bleating calf song was highly efficient for exploiting this unique, rich, renewable resource.

When horses were adopted in the seventeenth (southern Plains) and eighteenth (northern Plains) centuries (Ewers 1955:3–10) families could carry more possessions further, but the horse elaborated, rather than supplanted, the basic impounding method of hunting (Morgan 1991:154–8). Politically, horses enabled rapid attacks and retreats, ideally far from home camps, during the years of endemic warfare of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Social relations and residential patterns

The band/residential group was the unit task force for obtaining bison. With ten to twenty tipis (80–160 persons), its nucleus was twenty to forty able-bodied men and an equal number of able-bodied women. The band followed its prey onto the grasslands in spring, rendezvoused with other bands in early summer, and returned to sheltered stream valleys in autumn (Epp 1988). Bands had a core of

close kin, though one was free to move, even to join a band of another Nation (Sharrock 1974).

Certain families considered themselves of higher status, training their children to exercise leadership; well dressed, they were absolved from daily drudgery. Such families maintained their relative economic advantage by lending horses to others, receiving in return a share of the hunted, raided, or harvested produce. I'nssimaa, daughter of one such family, recalled she accompanied cousins to the hunt because "Father would never get a chance to go because he had two fast buffalo horses and some one [*sic*] would ask to borrow them and they would bring him meat" (Kehoe 1996:392).

Mobility and political organization

In summer, both bison and Blackfoot aggregated. Bands met at a location well supplied with horse pasture, water, and wood. They engaged in trade/barter, performed spiritual ceremonies (including the Sun Dance, to bring health and prosperity), danced, gambled, adjudicated disputes, and discussed common concerns and policies toward outsiders. These rendezvous of several thousand people, Blackfoot and others, the majority sharing general language and beliefs, functioned in Aristotle's sense as a *polis* (Kehoe 1981:506–7), although the low-density migratory habits of the principal game put seasonal constraints on political organization.

Herds could not be owned, nor individuals bound to one leader or band. Families voted with their feet when leaders proved undiplomatic or stingy. Personal autonomy was highly prized. Even opinions of children were respected. Personal autonomy was linked to the gift of spiritual power. Health and prosperity signaled spiritual blessing; elders were the living proof of blessedness. Respect for the elderly reflected respect for spiritual powers.

It is saturated with holy power, this sweetgrass, take some of it.
I use it [as incense] for a holy purpose.
There he comes, Man of the Dawn of Time.
He is walking this way.
He is coming in.
Come in with safety.
Now then, that which is Above,
He knows me.
It is saturated with holy power.
This here, that which is below,
He knows me.
Woman of the Dawn of Time, she has come in with happiness.
Man of the Dawn of Time, he has come in with happiness.
Morning Star, he has come in with Happiness.
It is saturated with holy power.

Prayer Songs, Beaver Bundle Ritual, D. C. Duvall,
rec. and trans., 1911, from Tom Kyaiyo, Heart Butte,
Blackfeet Reservation, Montana.

Gender relations

Women were innately blessed with power to reproduce, both children and the whole society's materiality. Men were believed impulsive, poor at crafts, prone to disaster unless pitied by a manifestation of the Almighty (sought by vision quest, in the Lakota phrase "going crying for power" [Kehoe 1995]). Women created the camp, and fed, clothed, and sheltered everyone. Men dealt with outsiders, though it was not uncommon for Blackfoot women to go to war alongside their husbands. Blackfoot women were/are ritual intermediaries between spiritual power and men; they alone have power to unwrap and rewrap medicine bundles (tokens with which power was invoked with song and dance), and they lead the Sun Dance. No other Plains Nation gave women this role in the Sun Dance, though others had women's sodalities with ritual responsibilities.

Current situation

Much of the current "Plains renaissance" is fueled by a new, college-educated generation of Plains people. On the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana, a Harvard graduate has opened Blackfoot language immersion schools, while his colleague, directing the Head Start Program, introduces the Blackfoot language into her classrooms. Contemporary Plains leaders are frustrated by the marginal locations of reservations, rising populations too large to be accommodated by ranching, the inertia of federal programs that foster dependency, and lack of capital. Bison herds are being rebuilt on reservations, but a welter of wheat farms seriously constrains any return to the pre-conquest economy.

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I.I.4

James Bay Cree

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The James Bay Cree's determined non-violent struggles against Quebec's hydroelectric projects are widely known and have shown the international impact a hunting people can have. James Bay Cree representatives have also played a key role in the developing United Nations initiatives to recognize in international covenant Indigenous Peoples' rights. Cree negotiated the first modern treaty in Canada. They are a significant factor in the political conflicts over the possible separation of Quebec from Canada because of their insistence on their indigenous right to self-determination.

Originally a cluster of small hunting bands, the James Bay Cree have become, by the 1990s, a complex regional society committed to protecting lands and subsistence economies, to self-governance, and to economic development within a context of social reciprocities. Today, more James Bay Cree hunt than ever before; they also run schools and health care services and own a regional airline. Many Crees conduct local businesses.

History

Archaeological evidence suggests the Cree settled their lands as the last glaciers retreated 10,000 to 7000 years ago. Three hundred years ago the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) established its first trading posts in the region, ensuring a continuing fur trade. More than a century ago, when the HBC sold its land charter to Canada, and when these lands were later transferred to Quebec, the transactions were without Indigenous consultation. The full meaning of the government presence was not clear to most Cree until governments, claiming the land was theirs, started promoting large-scale development of natural resources in the 1960s.

Population and location

Twelve thousand James Bay Cree live in nine permanent settlements and many scattered forest homesites, occupying and hunting approximately 380,000 km^2, east and south of James Bay, in Subarctic northern Quebec. They speak closely related dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi in the Algonquian language family; nearly all speak English; many young also speak French.

Throughout the fur trade era, James Bay Cree remained in control of their lands and resources and the organization of their productive activities. Fur trapping was generally subordinate to subsistence hunting. Beaver was a mainstay of diet as well as the most sought after and numerous trade pelt. Other

fur-bearers were generally harvested only to satisfy domestic needs for trade goods. Cree hunters reshaped European trading practices to reflect proper reciprocity by, for example, requiring extensive gift-giving by traders prior to Cree fur barter. The trade survived more because of mutual benefits than because of one-sided dependencies, although it did generate market wealth, accumulated mainly by Europeans.

2 James Bay Cree, Ms. Emily Saganash stretches the pelt of a summer beaver, taken primarily for food. Her daughter-in-law, Annie Saganash, left, and mother, Sophie Otter, look on from their summer tent, on their hunting territory, 1979. The stretched pelt will be prepared and sold to pay for staples to supplement living on the land. Photo: Harvey A. Feit.

Ecological setting and population

The extreme winter climate of the region (shaped by the Arctic airmass) limited traders' winter mobility. The Temperate airmass, which creates an intense growing season from June to September, allowed summer travel by light, easily portaged canoes which could negotiate the numerous lakes and sinuous waterways. There are extreme climatic variations. July temperatures average 16°C at Mistassini, while snowfall is possible in any month; also, average monthly temperatures are below freezing half the year, though thaws can occur in any month. The variety of plant and animal species that survive here in the largely coniferous boreal forest is limited, yet the sometimes massive numbers of a particular species often surprise outsiders.

Cree populations were periodically decimated by the European disease epidemics which accompanied traders and missionaries. Recently, populations have grown rapidly, and have probably more than recovered. Today, 45 percent of James Bay Cree are under the age of twenty. Nearly 30 percent of family heads who hunt full-time are twenty-eight years old or younger. With this population

growth, not everyone can live on the land.

Economy

Three-quarters of the Cree live primarily in village settlements, sustained by wages and social programs. Yet virtually every able-bodied resident also hunts. Hunting near the settlements for fish and small game (hare and grouse) is done in the evenings. People access forest camps by road, canoes, or snowmobiles at weekends. School breaks are coordinated to coincide with geese migrations and autumn moose hunting. Many families with jobs manage to spend the equivalent of two to four months a year at forest camps.

Cree land is divided into almost 300 hunting territories averaging 1300 km^2, each inherited by a "hunting boss." A complementary system of "goose bosses" organizes hunting in the James Bay coastal bays along the main flyways. The antiquity of the former system (Speck 1935), and how it has been changed by the fur trade (Leacock 1954) and later by state intervention, have been major sources of anthropological debate (Bishop and Morantz 1986).

3 The winter camp of Mr. Philip Saganash and his brothers, *c*. 1990. To the left of the central tent over a wooden frame, is a second tent behind snowshoes and storage cache. Behind the firewood is a pile of spruce boughs which will be laid as an aromatic cushioned flooring to the tents. To the right, bedding and tarpaulins air on racks. Photo: Philip Saganash.

Forest homesites are typically occupied from September to April or June. Some families must travel hundreds of kilometers from the settlements by truck or small chartered airplane. Typical multi-family homesites have plywood and frame houses; log cabins, and tents over wooden frames are also common. Each family keeps a larder but extensive sharing is the norm. Hunters generally work in pairs; goose camps may involve coordinations of a dozen hunters. Moose are taken intensively in fall during the rut, and in winter as deep snow accumulations restrict their mobility. Beaver are hunted intensively in late fall and winter, mainly with traps set under ice up to 1 m thick. Fish nets too are commonly set under the ice throughout winter.

Animals are considered persons, with their own intelligence, wills, and idiosyncrasies. In the Cree view, animals give themselves to the hunters so that humans can survive. This self-sacrificing

gift places the hunters under obligation to act in ways that respect and benefit animals. This respect enables the animal souls to be reborn. Hunters' careful observations indicate trends in the frequency of pregnancies or litter sizes, and other biological indicators which are understood as communications from the game spirits about whether current harvests should continue, or less should be taken in the next season. For those species such as moose and beaver, of which hunters' harvests are a major factor in population dynamics, these practices generally maintain harvest levels which do not deplete game (as indicated by relatively stable game population estimates from government aerial surveys).

At communities inland from James Bay the largest quantities of "bush" food typically come from moose and beaver, supplemented by fish and small game. At coastal communities, geese and other waterfowl are the most important contributors to the larders; beavers are next in importance, except in the northernmost communities where both caribou and fish are especially plentiful. Limitations on the game harvests mean that even families at the forest sites must supplement "bush food," which is considered especially healthy and spiritually powerful, with purchased foods.

Social and economic relations

Reciprocity with animals is reflected in reciprocity among humans. Men do most of the hunting, although some women engage in each kind of hunting except for black bear, and women do much of the fishing and harvesting of small game. Women also often provide the vital firewood supply. When game is brought home it belongs to the women, and they are generally responsible for butchering it and for the extensive generalized reciprocities surrounding distribution of the meat. Typically, half of a large catch is distributed to co-resident families, or shipped back to the settlements. These reciprocities are vital to acknowledging, creating, and renewing social ties of family and friendship that form the fabric of a diversified regional society.

Settlement-based families often have greater access to cash from employment or social programs. This is vital in town to pay for housing and food, and in the forest for transportation and hunting equipment that can cost thousands of dollars a year. Reciprocities extend from sharing food, to labor, supplies, used equipment, transportation costs, and access to hunting camps. These ties thus link families making different occupational choices.

Jobs in the settlements are predominantly in Cree government administration and local businesses, but employment is far from sufficient for those who do not hunt full-time—over 40 percent are underemployed, especially the young.

Leadership, religion, current situation, and organization for resistance

Cree opposition to the James Bay hydroelectric scheme in 1971–5 led the Cree villages to join in establishing the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec) (Richardson 1991[1975]). Cree leaders forced the governments of Quebec and Canada to negotiate the first comprehensive Indigenous land claims settlement in Canada: the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA).

Because they had to negotiate while hydroelectric construction continued, the Cree were forced to acquiesce to completion of the ongoing Phase I project. The agreement was a difficult compromise also because it gave the Cree outright ownership of very restricted lands (only 1.5 percent of hunting

lands), but it did acknowledge extensive hunting rights over all lands, powers of new Cree governments in education, health and social services, policing, housing, and municipal affairs, as well as establishing a guaranteed income program for people who hunted from the bush, while also providing for a Cree voice in future development decisions and environmental management of the region (Vincent and Bowers 1988).

Cree control of their communities has been greatly enhanced by these changes, and it has created a Cree cadre of more than 300 administrators, primarily from among the growing number completing secondary or post-secondary education. Although most administrative boards are regional, including the Cree Regional Authority established by the JBNQA, local governments are also important foci of activity. Each community is governed by an elected chief, typically male, and an elected council, typically of mixed gender.

Local committees bring together diverse community members, and usually include unofficial leaders, often younger women who are renewing the forms of informal community leadership practiced by women elders. These leaders have generally sought to keep all sectors of a diverse Cree society, which value consensus, effectively involved in decision-making, although the different interests in land, administration, politics, and business are not always reconciled.

Despite the reduced numbers of kin who live together in the modern settlement (in housing planned for nuclear families), extended kin continue to be the basis of daily visits, exchanges, and joint activities, both on the land and in business and administration.

Religion too has united as well as divided families. Early in the twentieth century nearly all Cree became Christians, although this was, for many, not only a conversion, but also a synthesis. Many Cree elders, and some Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries, saw in Cree spirituality a broad coincidence with Christian revelation and values. Particular practices attacked by missionaries were abandoned (such as polygamy); others went "underground" (such as the "conjuring" shaking tent ceremony); yet others (such as rituals of respect for animals) openly coexisted with Christianity. In recent decades, many Cree have converted to Pentecostalism, and new changes are occurring.

Nearly all Cree have remained Christian, and a great many are active churchgoers. Some churchgoers also follow their dreams in which spirits, who are Jesus' helpers, reveal knowledge about future hunts and human relations. Cree ethos and world-view are based on a sense of participation in a world animated by God, whose spiritual helpers include every active entity, from north winds and thunder, to animals, tools, and humans. It is a world united by a spirit of respect and reciprocity that joins all beings through dreams, thoughts, and mutual relationships.

In the Cree world, autonomy is highly valued, not least because it is central to mutual responsibility. Whenever colonial practices or imposed developments have severely encroached upon the possibilities for responsible autonomy, then social problems (including increased alcoholism, drugs, and violent abuse) have intensified for individuals and especially youth. But reverses in these patterns have also occurred in response to concerted community healing, and the effects of reasserting enhanced community control of daily life.

Threats are widespread today as the land and economy are transformed. Protecting Cree lands from the continuing destruction brought by new phases of hydro-electric development and by logging is a priority. Logging has clear cut 75 percent of some hunting territories, seriously affecting their viability for hunting. Jobs are another priority vitally needed for the young. The government has prevented Crees from having fair allocations of both natural resources and the jobs which could be

created by the carefully implemented resource industries which Cree leaders are trying to develop.

Most Cree today think that the JBNQA has been systematically violated by the governments of Quebec and Canada. Some key provisions remain unimplemented after two decades. Nevertheless, James Bay Crees do receive steady but limited monetary benefits from the Agreement, which provide for vital services, improved living standards, and modest investment funds which allow Cree organizations to take independent political and business initiatives.

Their campaign against the plans for Phase II of hydroelectric development on the Great Whale River, which took them to the United States and Europe in alliance with international environmental organizations, led to the shelving of that project. This was a major victory for indigenous intervention in world marketplace decisions. But it is only a partial victory in face of the continuing and insufficiently regulated exploitation of their lands.

The James Bay Cree situation creates an unexpected mix of a relatively autonomous culture and society, but one also deeply connected, administratively and financially, to institutions of Quebec and Canada. The Cree must therefore constantly confront the external political and economic interests to which they are linked, in order to defend their land and renew an autonomy under continual challenge.

"He was hunting alone…He had a small camp, but didn't have any sleeping bag…He couldn't sleep it was too cold. He saw someone coming in, a man and woman. [The man] brought in a [fur robe] and he covered William. They slept in the same place and he woke up warm. They got up and left and he got up right after…He was walking around, he heard a noise like somebody yelling out. He knew where it was…He found the noise. He looked around and he saw a bear picking berries…a bear was yelling out for him…He's walking around, but he heard like people laughing at him, but he is not people but bear."

The late William Saganash, translated and transcribed, 1970

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I.I.5

Slavey Dene

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Introduction

The Slavey are part of the Dene nation, known in the anthropological literature as Northern Athapaskan-speakers. *Dene* means "people" in a number of their languages. Traditional Dene lands encompass an area of over 1.17 million km^2 in northwest Canada. Northern Dene related to the Slaveys include Hare, Dogrib, Gwich'in, Chipewyan, Yellowknives, and Mountain Dene.

Slavey inhabit the southern reaches of the Arctic drainage, particularly in the Mackenzie River system, their lands extending from Lake Athabasca (Alberta) northward along the Athabasca, Slave, Liard, Hay and Mackenzie Rivers to the Mackenzie's confluence with the Bear River, near Fort Norman. Today Slavey reside primarily in twelve communities in northern Alberta and British Columbia, and south-western Northwest Territories (NWT). The Dene nation in the NWT comprised approximately 12,000 people in 1973 (Berger 1977:8), with Slavey representing at least one fifth of the total. Additional Slavey live in northern British Columbia and Alberta.

4 Slavey Dene boys at Fort Providence. *Left to right:* Dino Elleze, Clifford Bonnetrouge, and Scotty Minoza. Photo: René Fumoleau.

History

Archaeologists estimate people speaking Athapaskan languages have continually occupied the upper Mackenzie River valley for at least 3000 years. Little detail is known from archaeological evidence of Athapaskan life prior to European contact. Both scholars and Slavey characterize the aboriginal

social organization as having consisted of small groupings or "bands." European trade items reached the Slavey by the mid-nineteenth century through Cree and Chipewyan middlemen.

Europeans arrived in 1789, encountering Slavey Dene near present-day Fort Norman (Mackenzie 1966:50). In the two decades thereafter, half a dozen fur traders established posts in Slavey territory. They were followed by Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century, the two denominations competing for converts.

The Hudson's Bay Company ceded to the government of Canada its extensive trading empire, Rupert's Land, in 1869. Government's lieutenant governor was appointed to the region in 1875, but government presence was not felt until early in the twentieth century. The first treaty (Treaty 8) was with Dene of the region in 1899 and 1900. Treaty 11 was made with Dene of the Northwest Territories in 1921 and 1922. Among other provisions, the written texts of these treaties called for surrender of Slavey land tenure in return for treaty payments and certain government services. Dene oral history of these treaties—and reports from non-Dene observers—differ significantly from the written treaties, denying land surrender and asserting the Crown's commitment to protecting Dene economic and political autonomy (Fumoleau 1973, Smith 1993).

Location
Canada's Northwest Territories and northern British Columbia and Alberta.

Population
(Late 1980s): approximately 2050.

5 At the Dene National Assembly in Fort Franklin, March 1978, the Dene demand to be recognized as the "Dene Nation." Photo: René Fumoleau.

During World War II, the Canadian and United States governments constructed airstrips and communications lines into formerly remote Dene settlements. In 1967, government began to transfer a number of administrative responsibilities to the new quasi-provincial government of the Northwest Territories, now located at Yellowknife.

Primary accounts of early European contact with Slavey Dene appear in Mackenzie's journals

(e.g., Mackenzie 1966). Traders' journals provide information on the early contact period, while missionary accounts are primary sources for the later nineteenth century. Major ethnographic studies of Slavey in the twentieth century are by Honigmann (1946), Helm (1961), and Asch (1988). A significant secondary source on Slavey/Dene treaty history is Fumoleau (1973). Since the 1970s, Dene have increasingly cooperated in, conducted, or commissioned their own historical and ethnographic research for purposes of defending their land, and economic and political rights, for projects such as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger 1977), the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, and litigation.

Ecological setting

Landforms are low-lying plains crosscut by numerous waterways and lakes. The climate features long, cold winters and short, intense summers with many daylight hours. These seasons are separated by brief periods of breakup and freezeup, during which transportation can be difficult. White spruce, birch, and jack pine forest predominates. People fish: lake trout, loche, grayling, whitefish, northern pike, and inconnu, among others; they take small game: beaver, muskrat, marten, hare, and lynx, as well as migratory waterfowl and large game: moose, woodland caribou, and bison (in the southern plains). Among the wide variety of plant resources are blueberries, rosehips, saskatoons, raspberries, and strawberries.

Economy

Archaeological evidence suggests that, prior to sustained contact with Europeans, Slavey subsistence economy involved small groups hunting and fishing for large and small game, birds, and fish using snares of babiche and sinew, as well as spears, bows and arrows, clubs, fish nets, weirs, traps, and deadfalls. These groups seasonally formed larger assemblages of 200 to 500 people at locations such as fish runs.

At the peak of the fur trade, Slavey satisfied most subsistence needs by hunting, fishing, and gathering. They traded trapped furs for items of new technology (rifles and steel traps), new dietary staples (flour, sugar, tea, and lard), and luxury consumables (tobacco, chocolate, and alcohol), and some clothing. The primary production/consumption unit continued to be the local band. The seasonal round of activities now included travel to trading posts along the Mackenzie River at least twice each winter and once in summer. The institutional framework remained unchanged from the pre-fur era. Communal control of productive technology and labor power continued. Slavey did not exert exclusive control of trapping areas by individuals or groups. Produce obtained from the bush was shared within local and, where appropriate, regional bands. It appears, however, that furs were the private property of the trapper or trapping family, while the meat from trapped animals was shared.

Following the collapse of the fur trade economy after World War II, Slavey needed new sources of cash. The new primary source became "family allowance" and pension payments. Government encouraged Dene sedentarization by promises of housing and improved medical care. This was coercive, tying family allowance payments to regular school attendance in new community schools. Settlements were placed for administrative efficiency rather than for prime hunting and trapping, yet Slavey continued to rely on bush resources for much of their economic well-being. Despite continuing

land use, the infrastructure and economic rationale of the capitalist mode of production exert increasing influence over Slavey lives. Many today live from wages or transfer payments and welfare (which generally alters productive relations by providing payments to individuals or nuclear family heads, stressing individual ownership and the discreteness of nuclear family or smaller units).

Settlement patterns, mobility, and land tenure

The primary unit of Slavey production and consumption was the local band, with periodic aggregations into larger regional bands. Productive resources (land included) are the property of the whole, with the caveat that produce derived from these resources be shared. In the late 1990s, aboriginal land title has not been extinguished; Slavey assert their title is recognized through their treaties. Governments and industry are under increasing pressure to terminate Slavey title (and other aboriginal and treaty rights) along with that of other Dene groups in the Northwest Territories. They advocate replacing these rights with fee simple title over a small fraction of traditional lands. Slavey lands are also threatened by encroachment through the comprehensive claims process, where neighboring peoples are permitted to claim Slavey lands and extinguish aboriginal title over them. In addition, industrial activity is frequently permitted on lands with unextinguished aboriginal title. This increases pressure to negotiate extinguishment agreements to control development on at least a small portion of their lands.

Kinship and domestic organization

Slavey kinship terminology has been described in the ethnographic literature as "Mackenzie Drainage Type" (Helm 1960). Briefly, "mother's brother" is differentiated from "father" and "father's brother"; "father's sister" is differentiated from "mother" and "mother's sister"; and a similar cross-parallel distinction occurs at the first descending generation. However, all cousins are referred to by sibling terms: the cross-parallel differentiation does not manifest in ego's generation. Helm (1960) hypothesized that this was the result of acculturation. Asch (1988) suggests that Slavey kinship is at base Dravidian, and the anomaly in ego's generation reflects the importance of residence in determining the Slavey group of orientation (the "local band"). There is a strong orientation to reside in adulthood with a group of same-sex siblings and their spouses, rather than opposite-sex siblings. Combined with the appropriateness of exogamy, there is a tendency to view members of the group of orientation as mutually unmarriageable: all children would be terminological siblings to each other, and in conventional speech a "Mackenzie Drainage Type" of kinship nomenclature results. Domestic organization consists of a core of parallel relatives of one sex. Flexible group composition was enabled by operationalizing real or classificatory parallel ties to a person of the same sex already in a group. This enables membership changes in times of social, economic, or individual stress.

Political organization

Traditional leadership in economic matters was provided by a successful hunter (generally male). Control of detailed kinship information (and hence marriage and local group composition) was by senior women. Healing, ritual, and a form of social control were provided by those with special

powers in "medicine." Elders were teachers, historians, political advisers, and leadership selectors. Disputes were generally settled within the local band, the ultimate sanction being banishment. Discord in normally amicable relations between local groups was resolved through hand-game competitions, contests between medicine men, and, in extreme cases, violence. Decision-making was consensual and constituents could "vote with their feet" (Asch 1981:342–3).

With the treaties in 1899 and 1921, chiefs and councils were inaugurated. These early Slavey chiefs were chosen from traditional leaders. Councillors were leaders of local bands or extended families. This system has been replaced, gradually, in many communities by leadership elected by majority rule. At times this is at odds with the principles of Slavey political and social organization.

In the 1960s, Slaveys entered a political alliance with other Dene when faced with megaprojects in their territories, notably the Mackenzie Valley petroleum pipeline. They formed the Dene Nation to seek political autonomy and greater control over traditional lands. They also formed a regional/Slavey organization of all of their communities within the NWT—the Deh Cho First Nation Council. In the 1990s, this body has similar ends, pursuing rights based on the original treaties. Currently they seek a regional Slavey government, competing for legitimacy with the Government of the Northwest Territories.

Religion and spirituality

The Slavey spiritual domain consists of animal spirits in individualized relationships with humans. These spirits assist humans in spiritual development and enhance social relations and land use abilities. Animal spirit helpers can be numerous and an individual's "powers" and social standing are related to the number and type of one's animal helpers. Specific food proscriptions result from such human—animal relationships. One's health is indicative of one's respect and conduct toward the animal domain (Alison de Pelham, personal communication, 1996). Animal spirits can inhabit certain landforms such as the mouth of the Mackenzie River (Mackenzie 1970:182ff), while others such as bushmen (*náhgane*) are represented as antisocial giants who steal careless children. Slavey share creation beliefs and various historical accounts and legends with other northern Dene, notably the story of the giant *Yamoria* (*Yamoja*) who traveled throughout Dene lands hunting malevolent giant beaver, creating notable landforms, and making the land what it is for Dene today. Dene spirituality involves a lifelong development, weaving individuals ever more intricately into the natural domain.

Since the advent of missionaries in 1858, the Catholic and Anglican faiths have competed for converts and set up schools and hospitals. As a result of government supported Christian residential schools, many Slavey were educated in isolation from their families. Many Dene, particularly older people, identify themselves as Catholic or Anglican. Social disruption and abusive behavior associated with Catholic residential schools has received considerable public attention recently.

Current situation

Today, most Slavey live in permanent communities serviced with electricity and some form of water and sewage systems. Children attend schools, traveling to larger communities for secondary schooling. Most Slavey speak fluent English, some as their first language. The local economy involves cash transfer payments, and employment and welfare benefits. There are social, economic,

and psychological problems: alcohol and substance abuse, a troubling level of violence and neglect, an economy that generates less cash than needed, and an insufficient quality of housing.

Yet, social difficulties and first impressions fail to capture the entire reality of Slavey life. There remains a significant reliance on bush resources for food, raw materials, and cultural purposes, and continued emphasis on the importance of Slavey family organization and the continuity of life with the land. Various Slavey political and social organizations seek to remedy social ills and promote Dene culture. Some of these are the Deh Cho First Nations Council, the Dene Cultural Institute, and healing programs. Slavey language and culture programs have been instituted in schools. These organizations work to ensure Canada fulfills its long-standing promises to implement agreed political relations with the Dene on the basis of justice and equity.

Declaration of Rights—Deh Cho First Nation

We, the Dene of the Deh Cho, have lived on our homeland according to our own laws and system of government since time immemorial.

Our homeland is comprised of the ancestral territories and waters of the Deh Cho Dene. We were put here by the Creator as keepers of our waters and lands…

Our laws from the Creator do not allow us to cede, release, surrender or extinguish our inherent rights. The leadership of the Deh Cho upholds the teachings of the elders as the guiding principles of Dene government now and in the future.

Today we reaffirm, assert and exercise our inherent rights and powers to govern ourselves as a nation…

(Deh Cho First Nation, August 13, 1993)

Organization for resistance

Slavey, along with other Dene, have resisted unilateral assertions of Canadian jurisdiction over their lands and peoples for most of the twentieth century. In the late 1960s, the Dene formed the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories (now the Dene Nation) to protect their rights. In the 1970s, they successfully demonstrated that legally the government may not have unchallenged ownership and jurisdiction, notwithstanding the written versions of treaties. They also mobilized to halt the proposed construction of a major pipeline corridor, arguing the issues of title and jurisdiction must be resolved first. In the 1980s, Dene worked to resolve these issues through negotiations with the federal government (Berger 1977). No settlement satisfactory to the Slavey was achieved. In the 1990s, Slavey are again mobilizing to resolve title and jurisdiction through negotiations based on their understanding of the original treaty terms.

Note

This description of Slavey Dene is drawn almost entirely from published accounts, whose viewpoints and interests reflect the time they were written. This piece does not comprise a definitive description of Slavey Dene. The authors gratefully acknowledge the critical reading of an earlier draft by Alison de Pelham, Executive Director, Deh Cho First Nations Council.

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I.I.6

The Innu of Quebec and Labrador

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Introduction

The Innu are an Algonquian people whose language belongs to the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi continuum. Called, by turns, Montagnais, Naskapi, or Montagnais-Naskapi, they are today recognized as the Innu, which means "humans" in their own language. Situated in the northeast of North America, their ancestral territory includes about one third of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula. The Innu live in twelve communities, two of which are located in Labrador, Newfoundland. Numbering some 13,500, they are experiencing a marked demographic expansion.

Because Innu contact with Europeans began very early, voluminous historical documentation exists. Numerous anthropological studies of Innu people have appeared since the beginning of the twentieth century. The Innu continued their semi-nomadic existence until about 1960.

In spite of four centuries of European contact, and the efforts of missionaries and governments for Innu assimilation, the Innu continue to conserve their own identity. Today they have their own modern dynamic culture. Their language is one of the most vital native languages in Canada. They are known internationally for the vigorous campaign they have been waging since 1985 against NATO low-level test flights which take off from the military air base at Goose Bay, Labrador (Wadden 1991).

Location
Innu ancestral territory on the Quebec-Labrador peninsula extends from the Saguenay River to the Atlantic coast. Their neighbors are the Cree to the west, the Mik'mac to the south and the Inuit to the north. Today they are sedentary, living in ten communities in Quebec and two in Labrador, Newfoundland.

Population
About 13,500, with a high rate of demographic expansion.

History

The Innu occupation of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula has been dated with certainty to 1800 BR Archaeologists cannot affirm that those occupying the coastal areas (since 8000 BP) and later the interior (since 3500 BP) were Innu ancestors.

The Innu were in contact with Portuguese, French, and Basque fishermen in the Gulf of St. Lawrence from the end of the fifteenth century, when they began exchanging furs for manufactured

goods. Half a century after the official French discovery of Canada (1534), they were partners with the French in the fur trade. By approximately 1625, missionaries undertook Innu Christianization. The Innu were allied militarily with France against the English and their Iroquois allies. Under the French regime, notables received land grants and seigneuries in order to carry on the fur trade and for the exploitation of salmon and seal.

After the British conquest (1760), the Hudson's Bay Company became the holder of all trading posts in Quebec and Labrador. The year 1840 marked the beginning of profound changes for the Innu: logging, colonization, the establishment of the new cod fishery, the creation of two reserves (1856 and 1862), government exploitation of river salmon, and the Christianization of Innu living in the hinterland, followed by subjection under the Indian Act (1876) which made them wards of the Canadian government.

Ecology

The Innu live in a Subarctic environment; winter lasts more than half the year. Their ancestral territory is so vast that it extends over three ecological zones: tundra, boreal forest, and mixed forest. Bordered to the south by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and to the east by the Atlantic, it includes several hundred kilometers of coastline where seal, salmon, and migratory birds abound in summer. The interior of the peninsula, criss-crossed by a complex network of rivers and lakes, offers varied but more dispersed resources: big game (caribou, moose), furbearing animals, and small furred or feathered game. In the tundra, the annual migration of the great herds of caribou is synonymous with abundance. Different species of freshwater fish constitute a reliable year-round resource throughout the territory. Between the high plateaux of the interior and the coastlines dozens of rivers serve as routes of communication (by canoe and snowshoe) between the interior and the coast.

6 The entire Innu population of the Mingan band, photographed about 1895. Courtesy of Les Archives

de la Côte-du-Sud et du Collège de Sainte-Anne, Fonds Famille Destroismaisons. F129/761/5 p.215.

7 Innus from the interior, photographed at the Sept-Iles mission, summer 1924. Photo: Frank G. Speck. Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian/Smithsonian Institution. 12144.

Economy

The economy of the Innu included big-game hunting (caribou or moose, bear, seal), fur trapping (marten, beaver, mink, lynx), small game (hare, partridge, migratory birds), fishing (salmon, trout), and gathering wild berries and medicinal plants. All groups took advantage of both coastal and inland resources, but to varying degrees. Those of the Gulf of St. Lawrence made the most of maritime resources while those in the north developed a veritable caribou culture (Henriksen 1973). In an environment characterized by countless unknowns, famines were not rare.

Only in the southwestern region where beaver abound (a food staple) were the Innu big fur producers. Elsewhere, they needed to ensure their subsistence before turning to the trapping of non-edible animals (marten, fox). They depended a great deal on caribou, the whole of which was used: meat, fat, skin, marrow, brain, bones, and antlers.

The Innu adopted the use of iron pots and implements, as well as cloth garments, very early on. At the time that they were described by anthropologists, cloth had replaced the skin or bark that covered tents and canoes. Caribou enclosures and nooses were no longer used. The Innu still made spears for hunting caribou, harpoons for salmon fishing, wooden clubs, canoes, snowshoes, caribou- or moose-hide moccasins and mittens, and various other items of wood, bone, antler, bark or skins.

In the past, the Innu traded in moose and caribou hides, seal oil, and goose and duck down, but in the twentieth century only furs were exchanged at the trading posts. From the end of the nineteenth century, the Innu occasionally have guided explorers and sport fishermen; they have been employed, as well, as loggers.

Settlement pattern and land tenure

The annual cycle for the Innu unfolded between the shores and the interior of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula. Every large river was identified with the local band (a few hundred individuals) who used

it as an access route into the interior. Each band broke into hunting groups in the hinterland during the winter, and aggregated near coastal trading posts and missions in summer. Time spent in each zone varied according to band; some spent the greater part of the year on the coast while others remained mostly in the interior. In certain cases, several local bands joined together around trading posts to form the regional bands known today.

Each local band retained collective rights to its territory and resources. Nonetheless, great mobility, structured according to complex kinship networks, existed between groups and territories. The circulation of individuals was favored by band exogamy and a strongly held ideology of mobility (Mailhot 1993). In the southwestern portion, where wildlife is more sedentary, a system of individual hunting territories developed at the end of the eighteenth century such that the animal resources of a defined portion of the band's territory belong to the leader of the hunting group.

Domestic organization, kinship, and marriage

The Innu have a system of bilateral kinship that includes several categories of classificatory kin. This, together with the generalized practice of adoption and with frequent remarriages, has the consequence of generating an extraordinarily extended network of horizontal kin. Residence is, as a rule, bilateral, with a tendency to matrilocality (Leacock 1981).

The hunting group was the unit of residence and economic cooperation (within which sharing and generalized exchange were practiced). Its composition was extremely flexible and changeable. Each hunting group had an *ad hoc* leader, the man possessing the greatest knowledge and experience of the group's territory. He had, by the same token, the power to communicate with invisible forces and to perform rituals related to the hunt.

Christianization had the effect of eliminating polygyny and cross-cousin marriages, practices which nonetheless carried on until the twentieth century among the northernmost groups. If relations were egalitarian between individuals and groups, they were not so between men and women. However, the domination of women by men is said to be the result of acculturation.

Political organization

Leadership among the Innu was subjected to the influences of colonial institutions very early on. Missionaries introduced "prayer chiefs" in the seventeenth century; a century later, die organization of trade instituted "post chiefs." At the end of the nineteenth century, the first resident missionaries selected right-hand men for themselves whom they called "chiefs." Thereafter, Canada's Department of Indian Affairs gradually put in place a standard, band-based administrative structure with chiefs and band councils elected by universal suffrage. For decades, however, these bodies functioned only as intermediaries and spokespersons, and sanctioned the *de facto* leadership functions fulfilled by missionaries.

It was only after 1970, with the birth of political organizations and the government's subsequent transfer of administrative powers to the bands, that chiefs and band councils gained any real power. Nowadays, political office gives access to economic and social privileges. Class distinctions are emergent in every community. Local politics is marked by tension, struggles between factions, and instability.

Religion and spirituality

According to the Innu philosophy, man (*sic*) is neither at the center nor at the summit of the universe. He is an integral part, on an equal footing with the animals, plants, and natural elements with whom he shares the world. The role of human beings is therefore not to overcome but rather to maintain relations based upon harmony and reciprocity with nature. Because humans depend upon nature for their survival, they have a responsibility to care for it.

Innu religion functions to regulate the privileged relationships existing between humans and animals. The animal species are controlled by spirit-masters who manifest themselves to humans through dreams and drumming chants and in ritual trembling and sweat lodges. In order for a spirit-master to grant a hunter the animals he needs to feed himself, the hunter must prove his respect for them by the manner in which he kills and makes use of them and disposes of their remains. Innu religion includes rituals of divination, allowing the hunter to locate the species prior to hunting.

The shaman functioned not only to communicate with good spirits, but also to neutralize the numerous evil beings who threatened the Innu. Explanations concerning the origins of the universe and the Order of Things are codified in myths and sacred stories.

Despite centuries of contact with Catholicism and the unremitting efforts of the missionaries, the Innu religion survives today. The Innu have adopted Catholic beliefs and rituals without abandoning their own. Catholicism was practiced on the coast, and Innu religion in the interior. We see among today's youth the emergence of a syncretic spirituality which draws on diverse Amerindian sources from Canada and the United States.

Contemporary situation

Although all Innu have been sedentarized on "reserves," they still produce a part of the food they consume. Many spend time (from a few days to a few months, depending on the group), living in tents in the bush. They remain committed to life on the land, which constitutes a powerful symbol of identity for them (Mark 1993). Any viable economy based on trapping having all but disappeared, revenue sources for the Innu are limited. Unemployment rates are high and more than half of the population resorts to social assistance. The service sector provides most available employment; the band council has become each community's most important employer. Some small Innu businesses are beginning to emerge.

Relations between the Innu and the state have undergone well-known changes since the 1980s. Most bands administer their own health, housing, education, and social services, but the cost of these services is still borne by the Canadian Government since bands have no other revenue sources available to them on reserve lands.

The Innu are beset by serious social problems. In recognition of this, communities have recently implemented mechanisms for intervention and prevention. Both modern psychological techniques and traditional healing rituals and learning about life on the land are used as therapy.

Contemporary cultural life is characterized by great dynamism, with community radios broadcasting in the Innu language, annual music and native cinema festivals, many musicians singing in their own tongue, dance troupes, film-makers, and writers publishing in the Innu language. The Montagnais Institute for Culture and Education devotes considerable funds to the development of the Innu language, the organization of cultural events, and the promotion of artists and artisans.

Organization for resistance

In the nineteenth century the Innu sent the government petitions denouncing the invasion of their lands and the leasing of their salmon rivers. In the twentieth century, instances of ecological despoilment have multiplied: hydroelectric dams (Charest 1982), mineral exploitation and logging, unfettered hunting and fishing, and military exercises. The Innu denounce these situations in print (Kapesh 1976), and in film and the media; they organize demonstrations, barricade roads, wage public opinion campaigns, and file injunctions with the courts.

With the creation of political organizations in the 1970s they acquired the lobby power that led to the emergence of a new style of relations with the provincial and federal governments. Following the universal land claims lodged with the Government of Canada, negotiations continue between the Innu, the federal government and the governments of Quebec and Newfoundland. At stake for the Innu is an assurance of greater economic and political autonomy. The Innu (who have always refused to see their aboriginal rights extinguished) lay claim, among other things, to forms of joint territorial management and tax revenues from the exploitation of natural resources. No settlement has been reached.

"We, the Innut [*sic*], proclaim that the whole of Canada is our country, that we wish to change nothing of our identity or the fact that we draw our subsistence from that which lives on our lands. Even our clothing comes from the skins of animals: moose, caribou, otter, beaver and others…That is why the Innu has a great respect for that which surrounds him. He [*sic*] respects his environment and those who live in it, and hunts only when necessary. He is happy with his condition and his way of conducting himself. I think he is proud of the magnificent places where he lived before the arrival of outsiders on this continent and on his land."

André 1984:45

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I.I.7

The Caribou Inuit

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Introduction

"Caribou Inuit" is a label assigned by ethnographers to a population of Inuit-speaking Eskimo living on and near the west coast of Hudson Bay. They first came to scientific attention as having the lowest population density in the entire ethnographic record. This was an historical accident: the census was taken in 1922, late in a ten-year famine when their numbers declined dramatically. More significantly (thanks to unique ethnohistoric sources), scholars have traced, at least in broad outline, Caribou Inuit history for the past three centuries.

The culturally conservative Caribou Inuit remained autonomous long after contact and, quite unique for foragers, increased numerically and expanded territorially for nearly two centuries after European contact. During this time, they experienced social fissioning, a process through which a single founder society (see *Domestic organization* below) increased to five, while the subsistence base shifted from generalized foraging (a broad array of resources) to specialized hunting, overwhelmingly focused on caribou; hence the name, "Caribou Inuit."

History

The first recorded European—Caribou Inuit contact occurred in 1718, with a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading vessel based at Churchill in 1718. The HBC was the major agent of contact for the next 200 years; other encounters featured American whalers and occasional explorers.

Permanent nation-state outposts were not established in Caribou Inuit territory until the early twentieth century, when the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) set up bases, the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches opened missions, and the HBC and various independents erected trading posts. These developments initiated the "contact-traditional" era (Damas 1988), which lasted until the late 1950s. Since then, the population has clustered in four modern hamlets, each of which possesses permanent houses, schools, government offices, medical facilities, and other contemporary amenities.

Birket-Smith (1929) and Rasmussen (1930) were the first ethnographers to visit the Caribou Inuit, in 1922. Their monographs constitute the "classic" early ethnographies. More recent studies (Burch 1978, 1988, Csonka 1995) supplement their findings and place them in historical perspective.

Setting

Caribou Inuit country is a treeless, heavily glaciated, low-elevation plain, with tundra vegetation and postglacial landforms. Water covers much of the land surface. The climate is cold both winter and summer, with frost occurring more than 260 days a year. Precipitation is light, the wind incessant. Important animal species include caribou, various fur-bearers and grizzly bears (on land), and seals, beluga whales, and polar bears in Hudson Bay itself. Muskoxen, walrus, and bowhead whales were numerous until overhunted. Arctic char, lake trout, and whitefish occur in the lakes and streams. Waterfowl abound in summer.

Demography

In the eighteenth century, the few hundred members of a "founder society" occupied the central portion of the coast and the adjacent interior. By 1915, the population had expanded to 1500 people distributed over a huge area, including part of the transitional forest/tundra zone south of their traditional homeland. Each of the five societies of the period was socially and territorially distinct. A prolonged famine subsequently destroyed the demographic foundations of these societies, and reduced the total population to about 500 by 1922 (today, 5000).

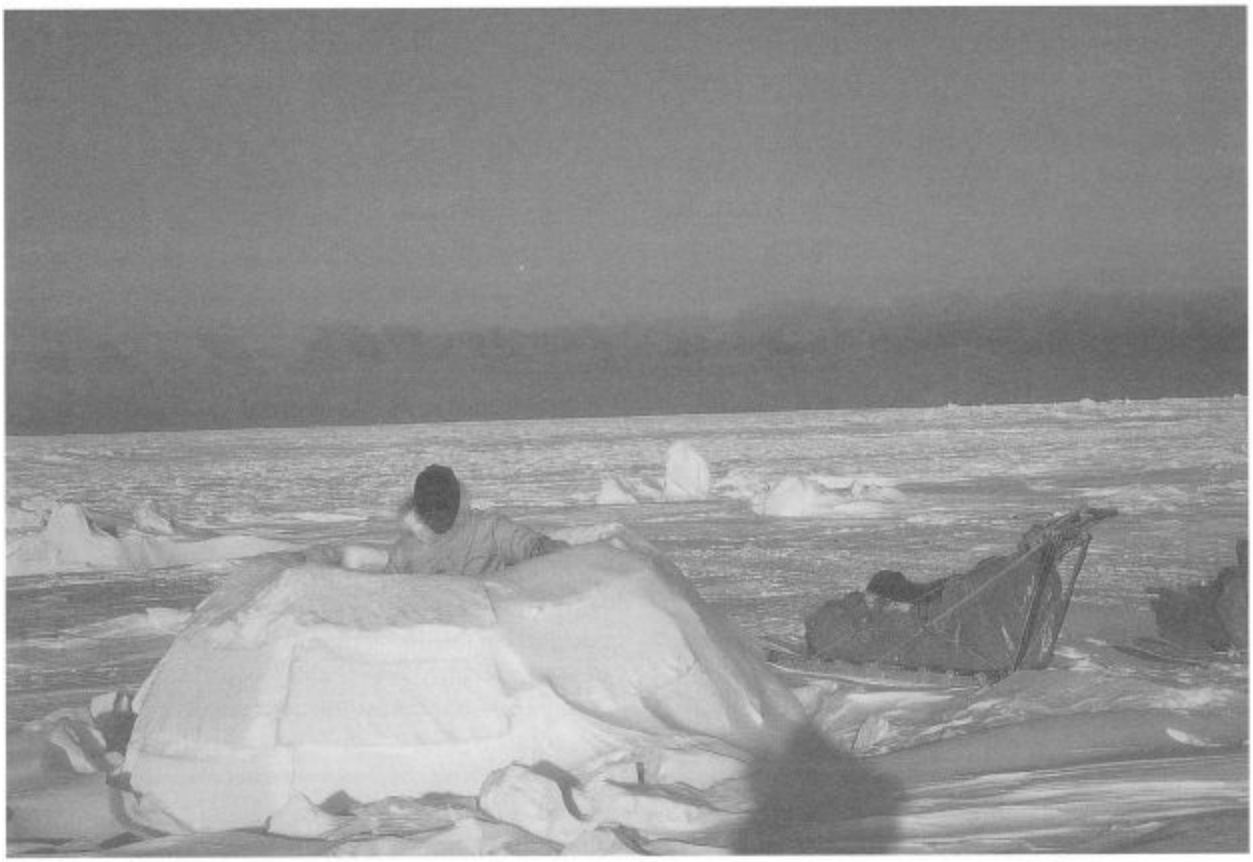
Location
Western shore of Hudson Bay, and adjacent interior, District of Keewatin, Northwest Territories, Canada. On April 1, 1999, they will become residents of the newly created territory of Nunavut. They live in the hamlets of Arviaq, Kangiqliniq, Qamanittuaq, and Tikirarjuaq.

Population
Since 1718 the population has fluctuated between 300 and the present figure of about 5000.

8 Caribou Inuit preparing to leave the trading post at Eskimo Point (Arviat) for camp inland, winter 1938. See typical Hudson's Bay Co. buildings, traditional bulky, light-weight, warm caribou skin clothing, and the long low Caribou Inuit sleds. Photo: Jean Gabus, courtesy of the Musée d'ethnographie, Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

Economy

The Caribou Inuit were primarily hunters. Their eighteenth-century mixed economy was based on appropriating terrestrial and marine mammals, fish, and migratory waterfowl (using harpoons, lances, and bows and arrows, augmented by snares and pitfalls). Fish were caught with weirs, spears, and hook and line. Gathering was limited to berries, and dwarf willow for fuel. Wood for tent poles, weapons, sleds, and boat frames and soapstone for pots were acquired in neighboring territories. Dwellings consisted of winter snow houses and summer tents.



9 Tony Ataatsiaq repairing a small snow house built on the sea ice for overnight shelter, west coast of Hudson Bay, April 14, 1989. Previous occupants had removed the dome to extract their gear. Cloud on the horizon indicates the presence of open water. Photo: Yvon Csonka.

During the nineteenth century the economy lost its diversity, becoming progressively more focused on terrestrial resources, particularly caribou, supplemented by muskoxen. Muzzle-loading guns were adopted but had little effect on hunting practices.

The Caribou Inuit became heavily involved in the fur trade in the 1920s because the price of white fox pelts had escalated, trading posts had been built nearby, and the caribou population had crashed. This last development necessitated the use of modern rifles for hunting the increasingly scarce prey. People trapped furs in order to purchase rifles and ammunition. Dependence on the fur trade continued until the late 1950s.

The Caribou Inuit still harvest country foods, particularly caribou and fish, although households vary widely in their degree of dependence on such resources. Trapping has declined, but polar bear and wolf hunting have increased. Wage employment and welfare have become the principal sources of cash.

Settlement pattern

The Caribou Inuit did not recognize territorial boundaries or the exclusive use and ownership of real property. Their land occupancy took the form of focused ranges, each with a well-established core area and vaguely defined outer limits.

People were highly mobile, moving from place to place according to expectation of the most productive harvest of fish and game. In the eighteenth century, this brought people to the coast for the spring and summer, and took them inland for the fall and winter. In winter, they traveled on foot with the aid of dogsleds; in summer, they used kayaks. This pattern persisted until well into the twentieth century, except that, in the 1840s, members of some societies (see below) began to spend the entire year inland. Many made annual visits to the HBC posts at Churchill (after 1792) and Brochet (after 1868), and seasonal visits to more northerly posts after 1910.

The population became concentrated in four settlements during the 1960s. Since then, they have shifted from camp life with occasional visits to trading centers, to living in trading centers from whence they make expeditions to hunt and fish. Motor-powered boats and snowmobiles have greatly facilitated this process. People make frequent trips between communities to visit, for cultural or sporting events, or on business.

Each family now has a house, and each person has a legal domicile in a hamlet. The land on which the houses stand is leased from the government (this may soon change). Many spend part of the year in family hunting or fishing camps.

Domestic organization

Each Caribou Inuit *society* was comprised of a number of bilaterally extended families, with considerable variation in unit composition. These families were linked to one another in the larger social system through kinship ties, co-marriages (spouse exchanges), namesake relationships, and joking (dancing) partnerships. The members of each society collectively held dominion over a territory with a well-defined core but vaguely defined border.

Spouses in first marriages were arranged through parentally organized child betrothal. The often elusive ideal was a brother—sister exchange among first cousins. Monogamy was the norm, but polygyny also occurred. Divorce was common.

Labor was generally divided along gender lines. However, some cross-gender socialization in childhood and pragmatic considerations could bend this rule. Men and women respectively exercised substantial authority over different spheres of life, all of which were necessary for survival. Both men and women could be shamans, but only men were extended family heads.

Traditional social organization is changing slowly in the modern hamlets. The cash economy and the construction of single-family dwellings have weakened traditional extended family bonds, but only slightly. Cousin and polygynous marriages have been reduced or halted. However, many traditional elements remain, including extended family networks of mutual assistance, namesake relationships, joking partnerships, and occasional co-marriages. Spousal assault is a problem; consequently, divorce is not uncommon.

Political organization

Each extended family was hierarchical, based on differences in generation, relative age, and gender. Parents had authority over children, older siblings and cousins had authority over younger ones, and, in certain spheres, men had authority over women. The family head, or *ihumataq*, was a man who wielded authority by virtue of his superior position in a number of hierarchical kin relationships, and by demonstrated competence. Shamans also were able to wield authority over many activities. There were no councils or other governing bodies. Relations between families and between different societies were handled on an *ad hoc* basis.

The RCMP began to establish outposts in, and to conduct patrols across, Caribou Inuit country early in the twentieth century. The authority of the police was imposed gradually—initially only in extreme situations. Later, missionaries and traders exercised a high level of influence over Inuit affairs. Nevertheless, most families retained considerable autonomy until moving into hamlets in the 1950s and 1960s.

Religion

The Caribou Inuit have practiced an animistic religion, believing that everything has a soul/energy source and a disposition/personality. Some spirits had souls and dispositions but no physical manifestation. One of the latter, *Hila*, constituted the supreme force to which all others were subordinate. *Hila* determined which acts were good and which were bad. However, it was a companion spirit, *Pinga*, who actually monitored human behavior and interfered from time to time in human affairs.

Hila promulgated rules, or taboos, to which humans had to conform in order to avoid calamities like famine, sickness, or death. The existence and nature of specific taboos were discovered by shamans (*aŋakkut*), each of whom was associated with a familiar spirit. When prolonged bad weather or an accident occurred, the shaman performed a ceremony during which the familiar spirit was asked to discover the source of the problem by communicating with other, more knowledgeable spirits. The answer always was that a taboo, often one previously unknown, had been broken. Once revealed, it was added to the general stock of prohibitions. Over the generations, this led to the accumulation of an enormous body of rules affecting practically everything a person did.

Christian missions were established in Caribou Inuit country approximately between 1910 and 1930. Missionaries attacked the animistic beliefs of the Inuit and challenged shamanistic authority. The Inuit are now Christian, but a strong undercurrent of traditional belief remains. Recently, people have been attracted to those Protestant denominations whose rituals involve visions and "speaking in tongues," and which therefore resemble traditional shamanistic performances.

Current situation

The Caribou Inuit arc now full citizens of the Northwest Territories, and indeed of Canada. Laws are promulgated by various levels of government, including locally elected hamlet councils chaired by mayors. Control of illegal behavior, under Canadian law, is an RCMP responsibility. There is also a Native "by-law officer" in each hamlet; sentences for minor infractions are handed out by Native justices following Inuit rather than Canadian customary law.

"Inuit and Qallunaat [whites] should not try to be the boss over animals that they have not made themselves [wildlife]. Animals were given to all the people in the world—like a welfare check—to help them. We have to treat the land and the animals the way we were told to treat them. That is the real Inuit way. [The Inuit] want cooperation between the white people and the Inuit concerning the land and its animals."

Suluk, Donald, 1987

Formal education is controlled by the territorial government and conducted in Inuktitut (the Inuit/Eskimo language) for pupils' first three years, thereafter in English with Inuktitut as a second language. Instruction has little traditional content, but recently this has changed somewhat. Inuit are encouraged to study, in the hope of replacing non-Inuit teachers and school principals.

The main employers are public (governmental) services, followed by private businesses owned by non-Inuit, as well as Inuit-owned firms. Art, clothing, and craft production at the individual and family levels provide additional income, as does fur hunting and the sale of country foods. Unemployment varies seasonally, but usually ranges between 20 percent and 30 percent. Welfare payments are widespread. Under the Nunavut Agreement (see below), it is intended that the public service should be the main employer by 1999, providing 30 percent of employment. It is hoped that at least 80 percent of the jobs will be filled by Inuit.

Modern medical health care provided by government is supplemented by elements of shamanistic healing. Public health programs are emphasized, but require major lifestyle changes. Individuals needing major or extended hospital care are sent to southern Canada.

Caribou Inuit communities are afflicted by an array of social problems stemming from rapid social change. Among these are domestic violence, sexual abuse, substance abuse, suicide, parental neglect, lack of motivation, and general anomie.

The primary threat to the cultural survival of the Caribou Inuit is language loss. Inuktitut is still the first language, but is rapidly losing the subtlety and elegance of former times. Most young people nowadays master neither English nor Inuktitut.

Organization for resistance

Inuits never signed treaties with or ceded land to the Canadian government. Canada merely asserted its sovereignty over Inuit country. When the present hamlets were founded in the late 1950s and 1960s, government administrators took control of many aspects of Inuit daily life. As government hegemony increased, a movement developed across the Canadian north to resist this trend. At issue were land ownership and self-government.

The Caribou Inuit joined with other Canadian Inuit to pursue their collective interests. Over many years, representatives from Canada's eastern and central Arctic successfully negotiated solutions with the federal government. These are now being implemented.

On April 1, 1999, a new territory, Nunavut, will be carved out of what is now the central and eastern Northwest Territories. Inuit (including Caribou people), comprising more than 80 percent of the new territory's population, will in effect be in control of the new government. (They currently have a substantial measure of self-government at the hamlet level.) Inuit living in various parts of the

future Nunavut have received fee simple title to some 350,000 km^2, and, in Nunavut, will have variable rights to use, manage, and receive income from a much larger area.

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I.I.8

Inupiat Arctic whalers

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Introduction

The North Slope Alaskan Inupiat (known in much of the literature as *Inupiaq*) living along the Chukchi and Beaufort Seas developed a core cultural tradition around the hunting of bowhead whales. For a thousand years or more hunters have intercepted and captured whales as they follow the receding ice pack northward through the Bering Strait to the Arctic Ocean. The development of aboriginal whale hunting arose from a complex interplay between climatic conditions affecting the sea ice conditions, the accessibility of whales to hunters, innovations in hunting technology, and the organization of social and economic productive units to hunt the whales cooperatively. Inupiats established large permanent coastal settlements along the northern migration route of the bowhead whale. During the spring migration of the whales the entire population devoted their energies to taking the mammoth whales. After the whale hunt, families dispersed to camps along the coast and to inland areas to hunt with interior Inupiats. Despite the rapid and extensive changes experienced by the North Slope Inupiat since the discovery of the rich Prudhoe Bay oil reserve in 1968, the cultural traditions associated with the bowhead whale complex and their annual hunting and fishing cycle persist.

History

Even before Inupiats encountered their first white person, they were familiar with Western manufactured goods from their participation in the Asiatic trade. The Russians arrived in Alaska in 1741, but it was not until 1826 that the Inupiats saw the people that their shamans had predicted would arrive. While the Inupiats were anxious to trade, they were not inclined to allow the explorers to land on their shores. Their reports of large numbers of bowhead whales in the Arctic soon lured commercial whalers, who arrived in the 1850s. By 1910, however, the market for whale oil and baleen collapsed. The commercial whalers left the bowhead whale, the walrus, and the caribou in a state of near-extinction. Starvation and epidemics of influenza and measles took a heavy toll. The aboriginal Inupiat population of approximately 4000 declined by 50 percent.

Location
Alaskan shores of the Chukchi and Beaufort Seas.

Population
North Slope communities: Population (1995) and Native percentage respectively.

Anaktuvik Pass, 282, 90.6; Atqasuk, 245, 94.1; Barrow, 4234, 60.8; Kaktovik, 239, 83.9; Nuiqsut, 457, 90.8; Point Hope, 726, 90.5; Point Lay, 205, 90.7; Wainwright, 630, 89.6.

Further commercialization of Inupiat resources arrived with the fur industry in the early 1900s. This was followed by petroleum exploration and the military "Distant Early Warning" Line construction program. Yet, it was the government seizure of aboriginal land which made the greatest impacts on Inupiat life. Through various legislative acts, the government withdrew more than 16 million hectares from their 23 million hectare land base.

Ecological setting

The homeland of North Slope Inupiats is wholly within the Arctic Circle. It is bounded on the south by the Brooks Range and on the north by the Arctic Ocean. The 1000 km glaciated mountain range separates the treeless Arctic coastal plain from the forested lands to the south. The Colville River and its tributaries bisect the Arctic plain; numerous lakes and marshes dot the entire region.

Temperatures during the long winter months average −34°C, although intense winds make the chill factor much more extreme. During the two months of summer, the temperature hovers slightly above freezing but may periodically soar to 17°C. The Arctic plain is a true desert, with annual precipitation less than 127 mm. Summer is marked by twenty-four hours of sunlight and winter by two months of total darkness, from mid-November.

Economy

Unlike most other maritime cultures, the Arctic hunters are governed by the presence, absence, or conditions of the sea ice. The ice environment is a separate and distinct ecological zone characterized by highly specialized subsistence patterns. Ice hunting occurs over an eight-month period. From November until April small hunting groups obtain seals and polar bears from the solid ice. When the offshore leads appear in late March, whaling crews camp on the ice and hunt the bowhead whales through May. They then turn their attention toward ringed, spotted, and bearded seals and walrus. When the sea ice disappears, villagers disperse to summer camps along the shore where fish and belugas are taken in nets. Some visit rookeries for birds and to gather eggs while others pursue caribou and fish. Duck hunting is the most important economic activity pursued on the shoreline. The effectiveness of the economic pursuits is made possible by a social organization that promotes cooperation. Collaborative efforts, which are especially evident in the whaling complex, demand cooperation between non-kin whaling crews.

In the spring and fall, hunters establish encampments to hunt the thousands of caribou migrating through the major passes of the Brooks Range. Throughout the remainder of the year the inland hunters range from their permanent settlements hunting the small bands of caribou and dall sheep. During the summer, some inland families hunt along the coast. Fox, wolf, and wolverine are hunted primarily for clothing.

10 Inupiat hunters hunting sheep in the Brooks Range, winter 1959. Photo: Daniel Gkostchodi.

Since the establishment of the North Slope Borough Government, the creation of Native corporations under the land claims settlement, and the development of the Prudhoe Bay oil fields, most working-age Inupiats have entered the wage economy. However, hunting and gathering activities remain a significant aspect of their economy.

11 Village of Kaktovik, late 1950s. Photo: Norman Chance.

Settlement patterns

The North Slope Inupiat inhabit both coastal and inland regions and, no matter where they live, they utilize resources from both ecological zones. They have been identified by names describing the topographic and geographic features of the region they occupied and utilized. The primary coastal

settlements are located at points where bowhead whales pass on their annual migration north each spring. On the eastern coast near the Canadian border is a community which hunts whale during the fall season. The last nomadic group of hunters in North America settled in Anaktuvuk Pass, the Brooks Range, in the mid-1950s. These inland hunters are primarily dependent on caribou. They range from the northern slopes of the Brooks Range to the coast.

Current hunters, in the manner of their ancestors, disperse from their permanent winter settlements to seasonal camps which may be located several miles out on the ocean ice, along the Chukchi and Beaufort Seas, or along riverbanks and inland locales. Each settlement group ranged within a fairly well-defined geographical boundary following a distinctive annual economic cycle. Today the North Slope Inupiat inhabit eight permanent communities and temporary fish camps dispersed throughout the entire region.

Domestic organization

Inupiat settlements are composed of extended families. The communities tend to be endogamous, but there is no formal requirement limiting marriage to community membership. Household membership tends to be more complex than the single conjugal family and includes grandparents, parents, and children, and occasionally spouses and offspring of children. Extended families are distributed among two or more households. Hunting activities are conducted by the extended family.

The Inupiats extend kinship through other patterns of affiliation. The most prominent includes adoption in which children maintain membership and relationship with both the biological and adopted parents. Names also carry a set of relationships and individuals who inherit names activate kinship associated with the name. Trading partnerships are also established between individuals from different families.

Women, primarily wives of whaling captains and crew members, play an important role in the community. Their services are essential in the construction of skin boats. They also distribute shares of whale and other resources to other families. In the present-day period, the woman is also significant as a wage earner; her income supplements the costs necessary to support the hunting ventures.

Political organization

Although each whaling crew and caribou communal hunting unit had an *umealiq* (captain or rich man) there were no formally recognized chiefs. Prior to the establishment of community governments in the early 1900s, the basis of settlements was proximity of residence and blood relationship, rather than political organization. Family groups remained together in a village because of common interest and need for protection. The villages were integrated around the *karigi* (ceremonial house). This institution led to the formation of the community whaling captains' associations, which demonstrate a tie between the past and the ethnographic present. Whaling captains assumed positions of political leadership in the Western institutions they formed. In the 1960s the Inupiat organized themselves on a regional basis in response to the threats to their subsistence hunting and environmental degradation of their homeland. Their organizational efforts ultimately led to the formation of the North Slope Borough Government under which they were able to tax the oil industry and to enact zoning

ordinances to protect their hunting sites. It also gave them the vehicle and resources to modernize their communities and address the environmental impacts associated with oil development.

Religion and spirituality

In spite of conversion to Christianity in the early 1900s, Inupiats continue to adhere to their ancient beliefs and many of their traditional rites and ceremonies. They believe that animals and humans alike have spirits, and that it is the animal alone which makes the decision to give itself to the hunters. To appease the spirits of the animals, hunters and community members must comply with a range of ritual duties.

The woman traditionally played a paramount role in the religious practices surrounding the whale hunt. She was responsible for prescriptive rites surrounding ritual cleanliness and renewal which were an integral part of the whale quest. The new year began with women replacing the flame in the household lamps. While men refurbished the hunting gear, women made new clothing and accessories embellished with whale designs. They themselves wore special clothing. They were responsible for the ceremonial induction of young boys into the whaling cult. A woman had a strong spiritual bond to the whale and her ceremonial performance suggests that in fact she symbolically represented the whale. Ironically, however, after contact with Westerners, the first Inupiat who consciously chose to violate one of the whaling taboos was a woman.

The women have abandoned some of the rituals they formerly conducted; however, Inupiats continue to sponsor many of their ancient ceremonial activities associated with the whale hunt. They have the spring feast, the community-wide feasts after a whale has been taken, the summer feast, the blanket-toss and the fall slush-ice feast. They have integrated traditional and Christian elements into their ceremonial activities, some of which are conducted during Thanksgiving and Christmas. Recently, the Messenger Feast, which brings Inupiats from different communities together, was reinstituted.

Current situation

The North Slope has been subject to rapid and intense sociocultural change since the beginning of the early 1970s. Oil development both onshore and offshore brought physical changes to their environment as well as large numbers of non-Inupiat people. The major development activities were contained in enclave sites outside of the Native communities. However, the North Slope Borough, with its enormous levels of funding acquired through taxes on oil and gas development and the sale of municipal bonds on the New York market, implemented an unprecedented modernization program that had a more direct impact on the Inupiats. The Borough's Capital Improvement Program was also designed to provide increased employment and income levels for its Inupiat residents. The consequence was an economic boom and a physical and social transformation.

The physical landscape of communities with new housing, schools, health clinics, roads, and other governmental infrastructure displayed the most evident changes. The economic opportunities also stimulated an immigration of non-Inupiat into the region. By 1985, the Inupiat population in Barrow had dropped to 60 percent and, in the thirty to fifty age group, non-Inupiat outnumbered them. The Borough was the largest employer and generally any Inupiat who wanted to work was able to secure

employment.

Changes among Inupiat women were more pronounced than in any previous time. The regional government provided the first opportunity for Inupiat women to enter the wage economy in large numbers. The new institutions also became the base for Inupiat women to achieve political leadership, a role which had traditionally been held by men. The less positive change for women is reflected by the increased proportion of female Inupiat heads of households, with Inupiat women raising families without husbands.

Organization for resistance

The Inupiat united politically when extraneous forces threatened their hunting, their fishing, and their land ownership. The first event, called the "Duck-In," occurred in the spring of 1961 when 138 hunters shot eider ducks after two hunters had been arrested by federal agents for hunting fowl out of season. The government declined prosecution and the Inupiats learned the success of political unification and action. They formed the *Inupiat Paitot* (People's Heritage) in 1961 and identified aboriginal land and hunting rights and economic and social development as issues to address.

They settled their land claims effort in 1971 and promoted economic and social development through the North Slope Borough and the Native corporations established under their land claims settlement. They also expanded their political efforts to the international arena. They organized the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission and successfully challenged the moratorium on aboriginal whale hunting adopted by the International Whaling Commission in 1977. In the same year, they organized the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC). Delegates from Canada, Greenland, and Alaska met in Barrow to discuss the conservation and protection of the fragile circumpolar Arctic environment. The ICC continues to focus its energies on this issue and the survival of cultures.

"We are Inupiat on the shores of the seas…We hunt the animals of the seas and of the land. We exist because of those older than we are…When a caribou gets caught and dies, the caribou's living being leaves and goes to the other caribou…When a whale is caught just the body dies, but the whole whale gives itself to all the people…To the White people these stories of the Inupiat are unbelievable. We believe when you hunt the animals in harmony you won't have problems catching the animals. This is what needs to be thought about."

Kimmialuk (Patrick Attungana)
Translated by James Mumigana Nageak

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I.I.9

The Timbisha Shoshone of Death Valley

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Introduction

The Timbisha Shoshone live within Death Valley National Park, California. Their name is derived from one of their winter villages (*tímbisaka*: "(at) red ocher") (Dayley 1989:209). At the time of sustained contact in the 1840s, the Timbisha were part of a larger cultural/linguistic unit generally known as Panamint or Koso (Kroeber 1925, Thomas *et al*. 1986). In pre-contact times and into the 1940s, they were hunter-gatherers in one of the harshest environments in North America, the Mojave Desert. They were closely related in culture as well as language (Uto-Aztecan family, Numic branch) to various other Great Basin peoples, classically profiled by Steward (1938,1955) as representing "family level" societies. Knowledge of their early lifeways is based on scant fieldwork, but with historical reconstruction a picture emerges of unique adaptations to a difficult region. Recently, this small group has been waging a vigorous campaign to gain reservation lands with which to develop economic self-sufficiency.

History

Timbisha traditions hold that the people were brought, by Coyote, to northern Death Valley during "The Time When Animals Were People." He carried them to Ubehebe Crater (*wosa*: "cone basket"), a collapsed depression, and while he slept, they dispersed.

At the time of contact in the early 1800s, small family-based groups of Timbisha people lived in Death Valley and the adjacent environments. Their presence and activities were documented by early explorers, miners, and ranchers, and, after 1890, by scientists such as Coville (1892), Steward (1938), and Driver (1937).

Within Death Valley, gold and silver mining and borax processing were highly disruptive factors, requiring huge quantities of wood and water, scarce commodities in a desert. From the 1840s, miners appropriated the choicest springs, and began to deplete both large and small game. Woodcutting devastated pinyon pine and mesquite trees, both crucial to Timbisha subsistence.

Ranches, which began in the 1870s and 1880s at Grapevine Canyon and at Furnace Creek to feed miners, employed Timbisha people, and, together with the mines, encouraged their permanent settlement nearby. The Timbisha began gardening at this time, although there is evidence of its marginal practice prior to contact (Fowler *et al*. 1995).

Mining had diminished by 1910, and local non-natives looked to tourism for income. Furnace Creek Ranch became a tourist attraction owing to the attractive winter climate and the natural scenic

beauty. Death Valley National Monument was established in 1933. Federal regulations forced Timbisha people living within the Monument area to abandon their remaining native subsistence activities and their seasonal movements on Monument lands.

Ecological setting

The Mojave Desert is a land of contrasts and extremes. There is a wide range in elevation within 50 km, from 94 m below sea level to 3700 m above, in Death Valley, and extreme aridity: annual precipitation approximately 114 mm, with some areas near zero and others, in the high country, near 1270 mm. Temperatures range from below −18°C in the high country in winter, to 54.5° C in the lowlands in the summer.

Population
Approximately 250 persons on the official Timbisha tribal rolls in 1995, with another 100+ persons claiming some type of relationship through broader Panamint kinship connections.

Location
Aboriginal territory for Panamint Shoshone (including the Timbisha) was near 3,600,000 ha in the Mojave Desert (35°45′ N to 38° N, and 116°15′ W to 118°15′ W); Timbisha portion roughly the eastern 1,200,000 ha.

These conditions pose hardships for the plants and animals of the region, but many of the species became uniquely adapted. Zonal patterns of plants correlate with geologic and soil features, some of which are alkaline, and most of which lack effective moisture. Each plant community has characteristic mammal, bird, and reptile populations. Small game is more common than large. Migratory waterfowl are present seasonally in fresh- and saltwater marshes. Many other species of birds are either residents or visitants. Common reptiles include large and small lizards, snakes, and the desert tortoise.

Economy

The Timbisha and other Panamint people hunted and gathered diverse species common to the Mojave Desert. They followed a seasonal round that took them from the valley floors to the high country of the surrounding mountains. In the springtime valleys they collected mesquite pods (*Prosopis glandulosa*), and processed the starchy pulp into meal. This was prepared in many ways and stored for other seasons. Annual and perennial seed-producing plants usually ripened in spring and early summer (Coville 1892, Steward 1938). Most were collected in special baskets, then ground to meal on flat stone metates, using hand stones (*mano*). Leafy greens, fleshy stalks, and tubers were also common spring foods (Coville 1892, Irwin 1980), as were growth tips and fruits of the Mojave Desert endemic, the Joshua tree (*Yucca brevifolia*). These foods were picked by hand or pried up with digging sticks, then boiled in baskets with hot stones or in pots placed directly on the fire. While women worked with these foods, men took small game in various habitats.

Summer and fall plant resources included the pinyon pine (*Pinus monophylla*), prized for its nuts, as well as several species of berries; also, the fruits and occasionally pads of cacti. Pine nuts followed mesquite as the second staple plant food to be massively collected and stored. Summer, fall, and winter game included bighorn sheep, taken in the high country by single hunters stalking or from blinds, or occasionally by communal efforts. Deer were rare. Marmots, ground squirrels, and woodrats were shot with bow and arrow or trapped in deadfalls. Game was boiled or roasted, and some dried for later use. Fishing was infrequent.

Settlement patterns

Panamint Shoshone territory was divided into seven districts, each denned by a low-lying, large valley and a set of intervening mountain ranges. Death Valley, rimmed by the Panamint and Cottonwood Mountains on the west and the Funeral and Black Mountains on the east, was one district.

Seasonally transhumant, the Timbisha lived in the warm valley in winter and early spring; they moved to cooler high country to the west in late spring, remaining until after the fall pinyon harvest. Valley camps were in fixed locations, chosen for the proximity of wood and water. In historic times (1840s), there were approximately six Timbisha winter villages on the floor of Death Valley, and another two to three of close kinsmen in adjacent Panamint Valley. Other Panamint people camped in three to four villages in Saline Valley, and another ten to twelve elsewhere within the broader cultural area. Specific families' use of specific villages and camps was recognized by others, though ownership was not exclusive to these families. Hunting and collecting territories, too, were associated with families. A network of kinship ties extended throughout Panamint territory, linking almost all families. Low population density and the prohibition against marrying any kinsman created these linkages.

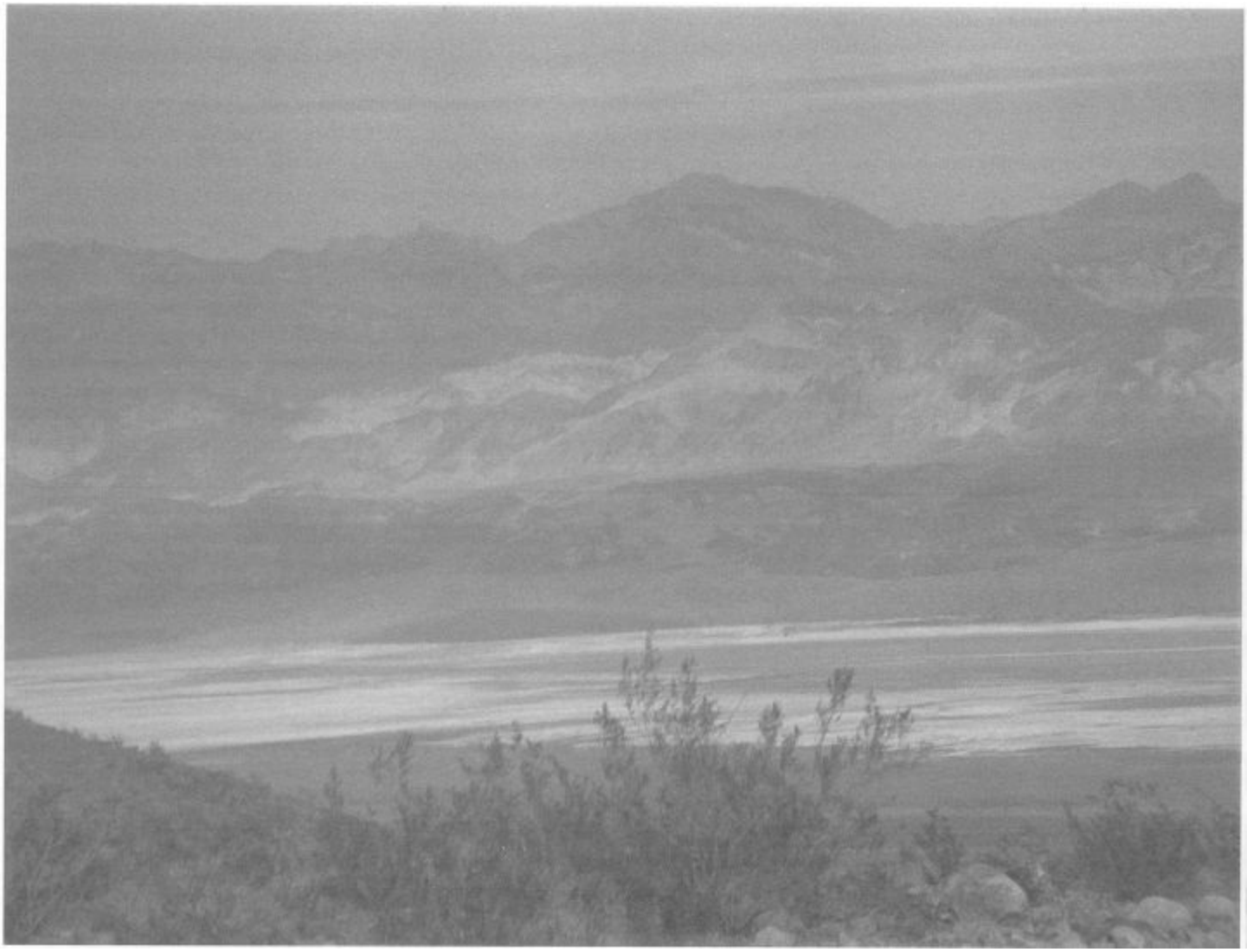
Domestic organization

Winter villages contained a few families; temporary camps might be composed of individual families or small groups of related men or women. The following lived and worked together: men who chose hunting partners from their kinsmen and friends; and women who chose female relatives and friends with whom to gather plant foods and trap small mammals and birds. Children, when old enough, accompanied adults. Infants and toddlers remained in camp with grandparents. The role of grandparents in raising young children and teaching them about the land and its resources was crucial. Children also learned the importance of the wider network of kinsmen with whom one shared weal and woe (Steward 1938).

Kinship was reckoned bilaterally, with marriage prohibitions extending to any kinsman related through connections as far back as could be remembered. Residence might be initially matrilocal, usually until the birth of a child. Households normally included one or more persons from the parental generation, or a visiting relative or friend. When divorce occurred, children normally remained with the mother but continued to visit the father's household.

Political organization

Political organization generally centered on land use. Local headmen often suggested that families move camp if food supplies were dwindling. They took responsibility for the care of any very old or young who lacked immediate kin. Some local headmen had specific power related to big game (bighorn sheep or deer) hunting, or to directing communal rabbit drives. They brought disputants together and helped reach solutions. Leaders' authority was based on upholding local values and working through consensus—activities which made them focal in land use matters.



12 Overview of Death Valley, California, looking east toward the Black Mountains. Photo: Catherine S. Fowler.

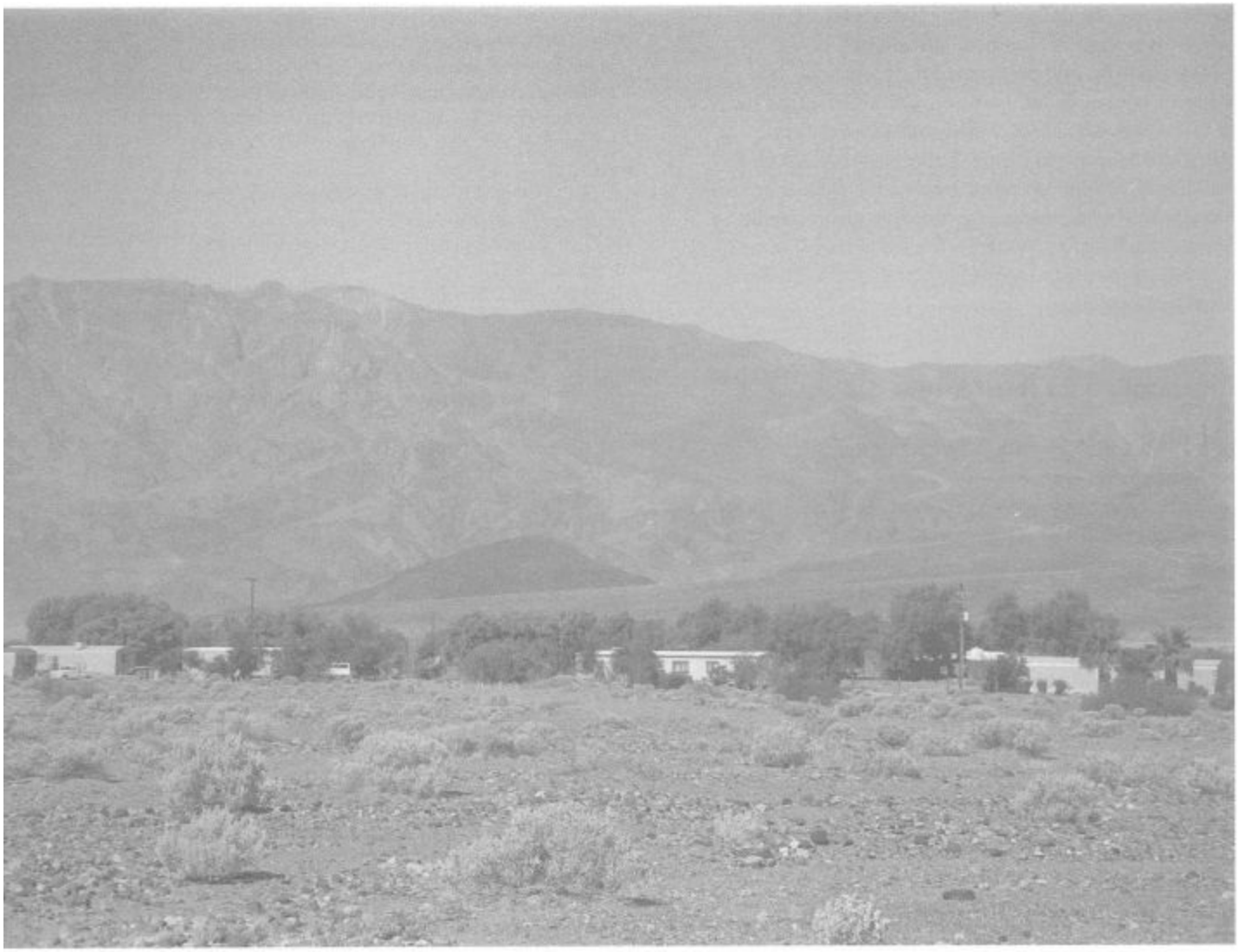
A headman's authority rarely extended beyond the winter village or summer camp. They often directed harvest festivals (pine nuts, mesquite, rabbits). In post-contact times they served as spokesmen for, and advisers to, their people in relation to the Europeans. Persons were also free to disagree, and move elsewhere.

Religion and spirituality

Religious concepts emphasized the sacredness of and respect for life, including the life force within the Earth (Driver 1937:105). All things in nature have a spiritual essence: whether plants, animals, rocks, water, fire, or weather. The individual developed his/her own relationships with the many

spirits of the world, some of which offered their help in dreams and visions (Steward 1941:322) which revealed why some would be great hunters; why some people would have the power and talent to doctor the sick; why certain plants could be called upon to furnish medicines; why the dead should not be disturbed or their burial places approached; why people should act properly toward plants and animals when they took them for food, not taking more than they needed and treating them with respect; why disrespect for the land and its resources would bring human disaster. Individuals normally prayed in the morning as the sun came up, and in the evening.

Many aspects of spirituality are encoded in a lively oral tradition, most of which is set in "The Time When Animals Were People," when these beings went about making a natural, social, and cultural world which humans would later inhabit, and in which they would behave "properly," in relation both to other species and to their own.



13 Timbisha village, near Furnace Creek, Death Valley. Photo: Catherine S. Fowler.

Religious concepts dictated the timing of ceremonies, those of the subsistence cycle among others. Most ceremonies focused on prayers of thanksgiving for important events, like the pine nut or mesquite harvests and communal rabbit drives. At the same time, prayers for rain and other necessary conditions for future prosperity and the people's health were offered (Steward 1938:75, 82). Curing ceremonies were held when needed (under the guidance of a person with reputable powers).

Current situation

With the statute creating Death Valley Monument in 1933, Timbisha land officially became US Federal Government Property. Land use and livelihoods were changed. The Bureau of Indian Affairs alternately ignored the people and awarded them some of its services. In the 1930s, however, the National Park Service (NPS) became involved. These agencies cooperated to construct a permanent village of eleven adobe homes on a 16 ha tract at Furnace Creek in 1936.

In 1981 the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe was federally recognized by the US Government, yet without "reservations" or title even to the 16 ha on Furnace Creek. Since 1981 the few remaining original houses have been stabilized and improved, and a limited number of mobile homes have been brought into the village. This has only been possible under Park Service authority and supervision.

The people of Timbisha Village (population about fifty) subsist on limited wage work and federal assistance funds. They pay the NPS for water, trash disposal, police protection, and other services. Health care is administered through the distant Bureau of Indian Affairs. Children attend a local grade school, and are bussed 135 km for secondary schooling. Education and employment levels are low. Alcohol consumption and related social problems are high in a number of families.

The Timbisha presently strive for cultural and language salvage. People have been effectively locked out of their lands, which have a near-total conservation status (the Monument); their chances to learn and renew traditional land-based knowledge, and the broader human—land relationships, are consequently thwarted. Subsistence-based knowledge is limited to those over fifty. No one under the age of fifty speaks the Timbisha Shoshone language.

Organization for resistance

In the 1980s, the Timbisha Tribe became a member of the Western Shoshone National Council, an overarching political organization with an agenda of land restoration, native rights, and anti-nuclear protest. The Tribe remains active in that organization. In 1994, in cooperation with California Indian Legal Services, the Tribe organized a Land Restoration Committee. Federal legislation passed in 1994 changed the status of the Monument to a National Park and provided Congress-supported feasibility studies for settlement of the Tribe's land question. The Land Restoration Committee chose twelve large areas of Panamint territory for potential restoration, ultimately narrowing its proposal to 360,000 ha. In 1995 negotiation meetings were held with the NPS and the other land managing agencies responsible for these lands. The agencies' offer (the village site and 2,400 ha of Nevada lands beyond Death Valley) was rejected. Negotiations are now continuing at a higher level.

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Broken treaty at Battle Mountain. 1973. (60 min.). Joel L. Freeman, dir. and prod., Cinnamon Productions, 19 Wild Rose Road, Westport CT 06880, USA.

To protect Mother Earth (sequel to *Broken treaty*). 1989. Joel L. Freeman, dir. and prod., Cinnamon Productions, 19 Wild Rose Road, Westport CT 06880, USA.

Regarding the hunting/gathering ban instituted by the US National Park Service: "My mother, she was very upset…she said maybe what we ought to do is get all our hunters and let them go up to wherever the mountain sheep are and kill the whole bunch of them…and then we women could go up there and set fire to the forest where the pine nuts are. Get rid of everything. Then see what they'll do to us…I heard it from several other people: why don't they come and just kill us off? The bighorn sheep and all the other things were just part of us, but they were protecting them. They said we had no meaning to the land at all. Therefore, we were useless, and they ought to come by and just kill us off."

(Pauline Esteves, 1994)

I.I.10

Witsuwit'en and Gitxsan of the Western Cordillera

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Introduction

The Athapaskan-speaking Witsuwit'en and Tsimshianic (Penutian)-speaking Gitxsan are neighbors in northwest Canada near southeast Alaska (Adams 1973, Barbcau and Beynon 1915–57, Duff 1959, Jenness 1943, Mills 1994). They name themselves from major rivers (*Widzenkwe*: Bulkley River, *T'en*: people; and *Git*: people, '*Ksan*: Skeena River). River systems host annual migrations of anadromous Pacific salmon and sea trout species. This regular food source has allowed them—like the Tlingit, Haisla, Coast Tsimshian, and Nisga'a on the adjacent coast, and the Inland Tlingit, Tahltan and Babine (Natowit'en) to the north and east—to develop a complex social and material culture.

The Gitxsan and Witsuwit'en have enjoyed a sophisticated material culture, well-developed land tenure, and matrilineal social organization of "house," clan, and moiety divisions arranging people into binary host/guest relationships in ceremonial and ritual life. They possess a marked degree of social ranking whose intensity appears to have accelerated during the nineteenth-century fur trade. Across the region, ranking was stronger toward the coast and weaker inland. Witsuwit'en hierarchies are less marked than Gitxsan hierarchies, which are in turn surpassed by those of coastal relatives.

At contact, the Witsuwit'en aggregated at one large summer village, dispersing in other seasons to home territory camps. Today, most live on three reserves. The Gitxsan had eight permanent villages, winter hunting camps, and sizeable river fishing stations where summers were spent. They now populate six reserve communities. Both cultures' oral traditions locate their golden age near the Skeena-Bulkley confluence, reputed dispersal point for many coastal and inland peoples.

Population

Approximately 8000 (about 2000 Witsuwit'en and 6000 Gitxsan). Government statistics are lower owing to restrictive definitions of eligibility for census inclusion.

Location

Northwest Canada, the upper Skeena, Nass and Fraser River systems (53°50′ to 56°20′ N, and 125°30′ to 128°30′ W). Land mass: 54,000 km^2.

History

Gitxsan tradition recounts complex movements of named, in-migrating groups from many directions, millennia ago. Witsuwit'en tradition affirms *in situ* population from Creation. Inter-clan relations probably matured about 3500 BP, possibly around the fabled settlement of Demlaxhamid (G.) or Dizkle (W). Tradition concludes this period with dispersals west and north, with subsequent returns to the homeland.

Prince Rupert Harbour excavations, and those in the Kitselas, Hagwilget, and Moricetown Canyons, reveal 5000 years of enduring habitation. Basketry analysis indicates a distinct Tsimshianic style surviving since 2000 BP.

Northwest Company traders arrived east of the Witsuwit'en shortly after 1800, while west of the Gitxsan the maritime fur trade began at Haida Gwai in 1774. By the 1820s, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) had posts on Bear Lake (northeast Gitxsan territory), and Babine Lake in neighboring Natowit'en country. Shortly thereafter, coastal Fort Simpson (HBC) facilitated the penetration of Tsimshian trader chiefs among the Gitxsan and Witsuwit'en ("Carriers").

The fur trade contributed to increased production, trade, and competition without radically altering social institutions. Change occurred dramatically with government administration and "reserves" (1880s). Traders' journals report "Men of Property" among the Witsuwet'en (*c*. 1820), who preferred distributing beaver in potlatch feasts to trading it for European goods.

Ecological setting

The Witsuwit'en and Gitxsan territories are composed of parallel mountain ranges bisected by east-west river valleys, forming a transition zone with biogeoclimatic characteristics intermediate between the moist Temperate coast to the west, the dry interior plateau to south and east, and the Boreal forest to the north. Most kin-groups have access to riverbanks (salmon, steelhead, occasional seals, bears, fur-bearers, cedar, birch, cottonwood, berries), and to valley bottom and low-elevation land (deer, bear, moose, woodland caribou, marten, hare, beaver, berries) as well as high-elevation (mountain) areas (medicinal plants, berries, marmot, mountain goat, and caribou). The year consists of snowy precipitation (mid-October-January), cold clear winter (January-March), wet spring (April-June), warm summer (late June-August), and frosty autumn (September-October). Traditional transport moved along the rivers, over water or ice, with canoes and packdogs.

14 Gitxsan sockeye salmon fishers use a modern beach seine at a Lax Xskiik (Eagle) clan fishing site on the Skeena River, 1997. Photo: Richard Overstall.

Economy

For at least 3000 years, foraged produce has been stored (Matson and Coupland 1995). Salmon, trout, eulachon (candlefish from Nisga'a and Haisla territories), and the above-mentioned land species have been dried, smoked, and maintained for subsistence use, hospitality, gift-exchange, and barter. Salmon runs enabled a semi-sedentary life, though dietary fat and barter requirements encouraged extensive hunting.

In the past millennium, permanent residences have been large cedar plank houses (in river valleys) and spruce pole lodges (at higher elevations); women fashioned clothing from hide and cedarbark/spruce root, fur capes, and tapestry-weave Chilkat robes of mountain goat wool; equipment and tools included canoes, caribou surrounds, fish weirs, basket traps, leisters, gaffs, nets, deadfalls, pit and other traps, spears, bows, arrows, and knives; stone-studded bearhides, wooden slat armor and fortified earthworks provided defense during periods of enmity; fish preparation involved microblades, stone and bone knives, smokehouses, pits, and elevated caches; tools were made of stone, bone, antler, and copper; woodwork, and its ornamentation, was a high art. The adoption of iron tools, blankets, and guns by 1800 supplemented, rather than replaced, traditional production activities for decades.

"Hunting ground is the Indian bank…When you want something—just enough—you get your marten and beaver. And you leave some for next year too. And for other people too. You will be rich."

Lelt, Ganeda Clan, 1986

"What we want is to be recognized as our ancestors. They own that territory and we want to follow their footsteps. Now Government has taken it away from us, all the timbers, even water. Taken it away from us."

Txemsim, Lax Samashu/
Gisg'aast Clan, 1988

"It was handed down to us by our forefathers. And we are brought up in those territories where we know that we belong to the land and the land belong to us."

Wigetimschol, Tsayu Clan, 1988

Interior products for trade and consumption across the region included berries and salmon (dried), hides, furs, birchbark containers, wood for arrows, red hematite, and obsidian. Coast products in regional use were aquatic items (including eulachon), canoes, and ceremonial objects. By the twentieth century, people joined the commercial fishery, ran small ranches, and operated sawmills until market forces terminated such ventures. More recently the anti-fur lobby eliminated trapping. Most people continue to supplement "store-bought foods" with foraged produce. The forest industry provides some employment; wild mushrooms are sold to Tokyo buyers; however, many have no economic alternative to government assistance. One reserve runs an art complex (museum, boutique, art and carving school, dance troupe) to facilitate traditional arts and tourism.

Settlement, mobility, and land tenure

House territories generally contain resources of all the region's ecological niches. In addition to those of their own House/clan, men sometimes access their fathers' House/clan lands. Strict laws of trespass were enforced into the twentieth century. Territorial control is legitimized by *wilnaat'ahl*/clan-owned oral narratives, songs, dances, crests, totem poles, names, and regalia. Ownership is legitimized by respectful land use and management, manifested by expending land-based wealth to fulfill feast obligations.

Different niches of each House's territory were utilized in the course of annual subsistence. Gitxsan harvested together in groups of extended matrikin (*wilnaat'ahl*) and affines; Witsuwit'en cooperation might include the whole clan and some affines. They gathered in late spring at lakeside fishing spots; then the whole nation, together with Natowit'en people, interacted at Kya Wiget, the summer canyon fishing village. A Witsuwit'en's "home" is his/her hunting territory. Gitxsans lived more permanently in their riverside villages, maintaining occupancy on their territories through family division of labor.

Domestic organization

Both peoples follow matrilineal descent and clan exogamy. Matrilineal kin lived under one large cedar roof into the 1840s. House leaders' preferred marriages are into "Houses" holding choice land such that the two families could/can consolidate control of whole watersheds. After residing for an initial period with the bride's family, a couple often moved to the groom's kin and village. Women

maintained strong ties to their natal House; some husbands stayed permanently under the bride's roof. Today, residence is in single-family dwellings which, collectively, remain spatial clusters of kinship and affinity.

15 Margaret Austin of the Gitxsan Lax Gibuu (Wolf Clan), Wilps Spookw, is the widow of Charles Austin, Witsuwit'en Laksilyu (Small Frog Clan) chief, Gitdumshanees. She heads a large family, is a craftswoman and adviser to the young, and holds a seat in both Gitxsan and Witsuwit'en feasts, 1993. Photo: Judy Blankenship.

Social status arises from reciprocity between father's and mother's "sides," particularly through feasting. Houses are ideally equal; members strive to keep their House up to ideal standards of inter-House equality that facilitate ongoing reciprocity. Formerly, some chiefs practiced polygyny; occasionally they could afford a bartered slave for status and childcare. Only families which fail/ed to pay back feasting debts fall/fell to low status. Rather than "aristocrats and commoners," the society was an inverted pyramid of elders, chiefs, wing chiefs, and "those born to be chiefs," below whom were dependants.

Men were trained for foodgetting, war, psychic awareness, and politics. Women continue to manage domestic life, food production and storage, funerals, feasting, and genealogies. Women assume "male" roles, including House leadership, as required. Marriages were arranged, and divorce, while possible, was rare.

Political organization

Leadership is hereditary but tends to alternate between matriline fragments within the House, as decided by gatherings of House/*wilnaat'ahl* (G.) and clan (W.) members. Social competition in the broader sphere is/was checked by an ideology of inter-House equality, reciprocity, and respect.

Only ceremonial headship could extend over the whole village, although temporary, crisis leadership of village or nation might be delegated. House chiefs could influence but not dominate others' internal affairs. A chief was/is constrained to consult the "wings" and elders before taking public positions. True local leaders make good the ancient name of their House through wise management and feast participation.

Guests were/are rewarded for validating the status changes which occur at feasts as new

incumbents assume ancient House names and roles (chosen by criteria of descent and aptitude). Feasts remain multifaceted political, ceremonial, psychic, jural, emotional, kinship events sanctioning incumbency to office.

Religion and spirituality

Both peoples privately strive to absorb psychic powers from the land in order to live with greater clarity and efficiency. Spiritual life of the Gitxsan is perhaps more ceremonial and secular than that of the Witsuwit'en, though both, when taking decisions, tend to consider dream prophecies, reincarnation, psychic conflict, and signs from guardian spirits.

House groups control esoteric knowledge and information based on long interaction with the land. Power is derived partly from spiritual energies said to emanate from named territories, and ancestral experiences there, which underpin family crests and narratives. In the nineteenth century, secret dance societies arrived from the central British Columbia coast but may not have been deeply rooted.

Lands were protected from trespass by means of psychic power. Malevolent power can still be sent into the body of enemies or removed from a victim's body by the specialist shaman, though this is generally not revealed to outsiders. Meditation/trance are often preparatory to hunting, sports competitions, and missions of danger such as political negotiations with government. Respect for the land, and the balance of life in nature, is at the core of people's ethos. The universe lives: its components have human and non-human identity intimated in dreams and trances, and expressed dramatically in the arts. The deceased may reincarnate in the young. Determining signs of deceased personalities in infants is integral to socialization.

Contemporary Witsuwit'ens are Catholics, having been converted by the Oblate Mission from the 1860s. The Gitxsans, from slightly later, followed the Church of England, the Methodists, the Salvation Army, and more recently the Pentecostal Assembly. Chiefly authority is associated with leadership in both Church affairs and non-Christian psychic matters.

Current situation

A majority of Gitxsans and Witsuwit'ens are underemployed. Today the youth receive considerable formal education, including computer literacy. Traditional territories are a major source of revenue (forest products, fishing, mining, agriculture, and tourism) for non-Indigenous inhabitants. These First Nations seek control of traditional lands and resources, in part to finance their needs and social services, thereby reducing dependence on government. They have assumed local administration of government services. Since 1880, they have sought recognition of traditional land entitlement. Communities have initiated language-immersion primary education, developing seasonal projects which instruct pupils *in situ*, on ancestral territories.

Elders voice concern over pollution and despoliation of the land by government-approved corporate activity. Changes toward self-government are not without local frictions. Levels of government have embarked upon land negotiations across Canada: most settlements involve aboriginal peoples agreeing to abandon assertions of aboriginal rights.

During the last two centuries, Gitxsans and Witsuwit'ens have resisted loss of their lands and way of life. They envision a future managing their territories by combining science and technology with

enduring cultural traditions.

Organization for resistance

In 1967, the Nisga'a neighbors began Canada's first court action on land rights. (Between 1927 and 1967 "First Nations" Canadians had no recourse to litigation.) Gitxsan—Witsuwit'en land actions include barricading national lines of transport and communication, blockading logging roads, and public defiance of foraging regulations. They took governments to court in 1987 (a 374-day trial). This case aimed to assist definition of aboriginal rights left unclear in the Canadian Constitution. Plaintiffs' claims, rejected by the trial judge (1991), were largely upheld in the Supreme Court of Canada decision (1997) which spelled out the scope and substance of "aboriginal rights," paving the way for more substantive negotiations. Political organizations have shifted somewhat from government-initiated "band council" structures toward more traditionally oriented House and clan groupings. Broader alliances are forged on certain issues, such as the Gitxsan Grizzly Bear Fish Company and Blonde Bear Fish and Ice (inland river fishery) expanding, through the "Gitwet Corp," into the commercial coastal fishery with the cooperation of other aboriginal nations.

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I.II SOUTH AMERICA

I.II.1

Introduction: South America

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Hunting and gathering in South America

The classical ethnographic literature on South America is, most notably, found in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (HSAI) edited by Julian Steward, and in the abridged version he wrote with Louis Faron (Steward and Faron 1959) to reach a wider, non-specialist audience. These works contrast South American foraging populations (based partly on evolutionist, partly on diffusionist assumptions) with three more complex forms of society: the irrigation civilizations of the central Andean empire, the circum-Caribbean chiefdoms, and the tropical forest farm communities along the Amazon River, the Orinoco River, and their main tributaries.

Steward and his collaborators define two broad categories of South American hunter-gatherers. The first contains aboriginal nomadic hunting-and-gathering peoples of the southern cone, namely the plain or pampean hunting bands of Argentina and Patagonia (Gordillo, this volume) and the seafood-gathering people of the south Chilean archipelago (Vidal, this volume). The second category includes a wide spectrum of nomadic forest communities scattered in the Amazon hinterlands away from main rivers and relying primarily (in some cases exclusively) on hunting and gathering, as well as a small number of "aquatic nomads" who, like the Warao studied by Johannes Wilbert (1958, 1997), adapted their subsistence activities to swampy areas. Steward and Faron called the former "foot nomads of the forest," and the latter "canoe people."

For Steward and his collaborators, the existence of hunting-gathering economies in South America requires two explanatory approaches: environmental and historical. They see the presence of coastal foragers in southern Chile as consequent to harsh environmental conditions that make farming entirely impossible (Steward and Faron 1959:44, 376; and the new archaeological evidence cited by Vidal, below). In their view, environmental constraints also explain, to some extent, the lack of intensive horticulture in the interfluvial lowland tropical forests, where hunter-gatherers occupy areas unfavorable to the cultivation of domestic plants, and where those who cultivate still rely heavily on game, fish, and other wild resources (Steward and Faron 1959:292, 346, 392). The situation of hinterland foragers, however, cannot be entirely derived from environmental conditions. In a number of cases, foragers were pushed by more aggressive and powerful tribes away from floodplains and other fertile riverine areas into less favorable environments. In extreme cases they have been pressed to abandon agriculture altogether. Their adaptation to new life conditions and survival as nomads must therefore be explained in historical terms (Steward and Faron 1959:378–9).

The environmental explanation, reformulated during the sixties and seventies, and now known as

the "Limitation Hypothesis" or the "Optimal Foraging Theory,'" is based on a range of cost/benefit models. With the evolution of human subsistence economies as its primary focus, it has largely ignored historical factors, but has guided some of the most influential North American research in the Amazon on caloric input, time allocation, energy expenditure, and productivity in subsistence behavior (see among others Gross 1975, Hames and Vickers 1983, Harris 1979, 1984, Hill and Hurtado 1996 and this volume). Eclipsed by the environmental paradigm until the eighties, historical explanations have had a more chequered trajectory, although today it looks as if they may become the dominant explanation (see Roosevelt 1993 and this volume, Carneiro 1995, Balée 1993, 1994 and his Sirionó case study, this volume).

At the landmark "Man the Hunter" conference, the cultural-historical argument predominated for South America, as both Claude Lévi-Strauss (1968) and Donald Lathrap (1968) rejected the idea that hunter-gatherer societies ever existed in Amazonia. They both argued that the marginal nomadic bands found in this region were in fact devolved agriculturalists who adopted a hunting-and-gathering mode of existence only recently. Neither Lévi-Strauss nor Lathrap mentioned the aboriginal nomadic hunting-and-gathering peoples of the subcontinent's southern cone who had been almost exterminated by white settlers in the early part of this century. The Ona, who numbered 4000 in 1875, were a mere 100 in 1930, and the Yaghan/Yamana, approximately 3000 in 1850, were reduced to 40–50 by 1930 (see Vidal this volume, Gusinde 1961, Lothrop 1928). Consequently, as the first category of foragers defined by Steward and his collaborators had literally become historical, and as those composing the second category were found to be "clearly regressive, not primitive" (Lévi-Strauss 1968), it was considered inappropriate to include South American Indians in the emerging field of hunter-gatherer studies. Whereas Africa, "the cradle of human-kind" (see Africa introductory and archaeological chapters, this volume), was to constitute the cornerstone of hunter-gatherer studies, Amazonia, with its contemporary egalitarian hunter-horticulturalists living in small villages and nomadic bands subsisting with few or no domesticates, was to be excluded, for, it was felt, Amazonian hunting and gathering was a "false archaism." Consequently, it could not serve a new field of studies dedicated to the exploration of the evolutionary potential of a way of life that had prevailed throughout most of humankind's prehistory and history. This is how South America, despite the enormous importance of hunting and gathering in the subsistence economies of most South American Indians, and despite the existence of groups like the Makú or the Cuiva who live as "pure" a form of foraging life as the Hadza or the San peoples, was never integrated in the cross-cultural comparative spectrum.

Map 4 Hunter-gatherers in South America

Adapted to environmental constraints or to historical causes?

Betty Meggers' (1996) model of cultural and social devolution was the first comprehensive formulation of the environmental determinist thesis. Her famous *Amazonia: man and culture in a counterfeit paradise*, like the series of works that followed, argued that low population density, incipient warfare, transient slash-and-burn horticulture, and food taboos were all manifestations of human adaptation to environmental limiting factors, particularly to the depletion of critical natural resources. For Meggers, the more complex societies of the lower Amazon described in Spanish chronicles were originally formed by Andean colonists unable to maintain the same degree of social and cultural sophistication in an environment too poor to sustain intensive maize cultivation.

Subsequent studies, while also attributing the lack of complex and hierarchical sociopolitical systems to a lack of resource potentials, departed from her narrow focus on soil fertility to look for other limiting factors in the environment (most notably Gross 1975, Harris 1984, Ross 1978). In particular, the form of Amazonian indigenous settlements (typically small, widely scattered, and often deserted for months by their trekker/forager residents) has been interpreted as a cultural adaptation to game scarcity.

These arguments have been widely discussed and criticized (see Balée in press, Descola 1994, Roosevelt 1993, and Sponsel 1989). Carneiro (1995), Lathrap (1970), Lévi-Strauss (1993), Roosevelt (1993, 1995 and this volume), and many others agree that independent foci of cultural innovation and social complexity developed in the floodplains of the Lower Amazon, where archaeologists have found pottery pre-dating central Andean pottery by 4000 years, and other traces of late prehistoric chiefdoms. We also know now (see Roosevelt, this volume) that Amazonia's first inhabitants were not Andean agriculturalists as previously thought, but Palaeoindian hunters and shellfish collectors of non-mongoloid Asian origin who moved into the area some 11,000 years ago. If most of the authors mentioned above reach similar conclusions, they emphasize different factors or bodies of data. For instance, whereas Lathrap (1968), faithful to the Stewardian tradition, stresses the link between environmental and historical factors, Lévi-Strauss, who notes a fundamental disharmony between rudimentary technological achievements on the one hand and complex kinship systems and sophisticated cosmologies on the other, argues that cultural devolution affected first and foremost productive practices, leaving the representation of social relations as encoded in kinship systems and myths intact. In other words, while Lathrap's historical argument, in the end, refers back to the environment (history decimated and displaced the advanced and stratified populations of the rich floodplains into environments less favorable to their cultural development), Lévi-Strauss' structural-symbolist argument denies all forms of environmental determinism (environmental conditions affect units of meaning, not the structural relations between units).

William Balée (1989, 1992, 1993) has tried to transcend the long-lived opposition between environmental and historical explanations. On the basis of the twin propositions that species distribution is a good indicator of human disturbance and that foraging bands have adapted to disturbed forests, Balée has shown that history affects not only post-conquest migratory movements, but also the very interaction between environment and society. For Balée (1994, and his case study below), Amazonian foraging bands such as the Guajá, the Kaingang, or the Sirionó are able to subsist in the rainforest without cultivated crops, thanks to a few essential "wild" resources (palms, fruit trees, or bamboo), which are, in fact, the products of the activities of ancient populations. Nomadic bands do not wander at random in the forest, but move their camps between palm forests, bamboo forests, or Brazil nut forests, all of them "cultural forests" which were ancient dwelling sites. Evidence (derived from observing contemporary gardening activities, the wide occurrence of charcoal and numerous potsherds in the forest soil, the greater concentration of palms, lianas, fruit trees and other heavily used forest resources on archaeological sites, as well as inductions regarding long-lasting effects of past human interference) has led Balée to argue that, far from being impeded by scarce resources, the indigenous people of the Amazon have created biotic niches since prehistoric times. In other words, they have created and exploited "anthropogenic forests." His conclusions can be related to those of Darrell Posey (1983), who characterizes Kayapo subsistence economy not as hunting-and-horticulture, but as "agroforestry": an integrated system of forest management in which

the limited, shifting, and periodic removal of the forest cover to cultivate food-crops represents *one* moment of a complex cycle.

Balée's "anthropogenic forests" and Posey's "agroforestry" are enlightened resolutions to the prevailing uncertainty regarding the typological status of Amazonian people who, like the Gê and Bororo tribes of central Brazil, were first classified as "tropical forest farm village type" in *The Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1946–50); then, from their extensive seasonal trekking activities away from their home villages, they were reclassified as "hunter-gatherers recently turned farmers" (Steward and Faron 1959:291–4). It now appears that such classificatory problems were linked to the concerns of earlier cultural ecologists who, anxious to draw clear evolutionary lines, saw swidden horticulture as an odd intermediary stage in the technological and sociological evolution from foraging to farming (see General Introduction, this volume). Consequently, the classificatory status of the Amazon "foot nomads" ultimately depends on the status of plant domestication (animal domestication is non-existent in tropical South America). The work of Balée and Posey echoes Lévi-Strauss' (1950) warning that indigenous Amazonians developed no pure domestication in Amazonia, but rather the widespread use of semi-wild species. The exact botanical status of a number of widely used palm species (Clement 1988, 1989), manioc (Boster 1984, McKey and Beckerman 1993), and forest fruit-bearing trees (Clement 1991) is currently under review. Although still in progress, this research seems to indicate that plant domestication in Amazonia, as elsewhere, is a non-linear, graded, complex, and diverse process, and that no clear behavioral or evolutionary discontinuity can be found between hunter-gatherer "food-procurement" (Bird-David 1992a, Ingold 1996, Cannon, this volume) and horticultural "food-production."

The use of cultivated plants

True hunter-gatherers are, according to most definitions, ecologically adapted to pre-Neolithic conditions; they live without domesticated plants or animals. But the dazzling progress of prehistoric subsistence research in the last twenty-five years has made it highly problematical to maintain a rigid distinction between hunter-gatherers using wild foods and agriculturalists cultivating domesticated plants. Authors such as Yen (1989) and Chase (1989) have shown, for instance, that hunter-gatherer populations have affected the distribution of plants and animals in local hearth-centered environments. Yen (1989) talks of "domiculture:" the domestication, not of particular species, but of the environment as a whole, or, to use Balée's terminology, the anthropomorphization of the natural environment through a series of intentional and non-intentional practices and activities (see also Fowler and Turner, this volume). It is now beyond contention that humans have intervened in the biology and behavior of plants and animals centuries before having actually domesticated them; that is, before species responded to human intervention genetically (Chase 1989, Harris 1989, 1990, Rindos 1984, Yen 1989). Domestication is now understood to be a historical and ecological process involving the dialectical interaction of humans and other species over long periods of time. The continued exploitation of wild species of, for example, mongongo trees by San hunter-gatherers (Lee 1979) or sago palm by Nuaulu horticulturalists (Ellen 1988) is bound to have affected the distribution and reproduction of these species. For David Harris, a world authority on domestication, a qualitative difference exists, not between wild plant procurement and food production, but rather between incipient cultivation within a mixed economy (in which hunting and gathering still play a

substantial role) and full-scale agriculture (Harris 1989). This is why he prefers to contrast systems based on the cultivation of predominantly wild plants and agricultural systems based on crop production, rather than domesticated crops versus wild plant use.

We do not know enough about Amazon ecology or pre-Columbian history to make a strong claim about the continuity or discontinuity between the pre-horticultural foragers who once occupied part of the Amazon and the "deculturated" agriculturalists studied by ethnographers. But the theoretical advances made by Harris and his colleagues on the one hand, and the striking and systematic economic, social, and cultural differences found by some authors (Good 1993, Mattei-Müller *et al*. 1995, Rival 1998) between forager and cultivator groups amongst contemporary northwest Amazonian populations on the other, lead to the reappraisal of the relationship between hunting, gathering, and horticulture in the region. Kenneth Good's (1993) study of a Yanomami group in Venezuela offers a particularly good illustration of the well-founded character of this hypothesis. He shows that the Yanomami, who are very mobile, spend between 40 and 60 percent of the year trekking, when garden produce makes up less than 10 percent of what they eat. They still gather and hunt a great deal when back at their villages. Moreover, they cultivate almost exclusively plantain which constitutes approximately two-thirds of their village diet. He calculates that the Yanomami, with whom he spent fourteen years, cultivate on average between 33 and 40 percent of their food, gathering and hunting the rest. But, more interestingly, he remarks that they often spend weeks without garden food. Good is convinced that the Yanomami adopted plantain (and banana) as their main crop because it requires little care (virtually no weeding, and the risk of destruction by pests and predators is minimal). Plantain is simple and quick to harvest and prepare, requiring no cumbersome equipment of the kind used for bitter manioc processing. As such, it is perfectly adapted to foraging existence. Good, who believes that hunter-gatherers could have subsisted in Amazonia without domesticated plants, does not rule out the possibility that the Yanomami lived a purely foraging life before discovering plantain in post-Columbian times: "they could have lived like hunters-and-gatherers as they are typically defined: small in number, migratory, keenly aware of a wide variety of food resources, and expert in exploiting a diversity of micro-environments" (Good 1993:6).

It might be that in other regions, particularly central Brazil, Amerindian foraging populations have been able to survive, as Balée argues, only with the intervention (past or present) of cultivators (for the debate on whether the rainforest is rich enough in wild crops to sustain a foraging way of life, see Bahuchet *et al*. 1991, and Bailey *et al*. 1989). Whatever the answer, the issue is not so much whether Amazonian foragers develop their subsistence activities in pristine or culturally transformed forests, whether they cultivate or not, or whether they could survive without any source of cultivated produce or not. What does matter, is *how* they cultivate and *why* (for which purposes), and the extent to which the answers to these questions differ from those obtained for neighboring groups who are more intensively involved in producing and trading food crops (see Rival's Huaorani case study, below). We now know that most of the world's contemporary hunter-gatherers are directly or indirectly involved in other economic activities such as marginal or sporadic farming activities and wage labor (Bird-David 1992a, Ichikawa 1996, Grinker 1994). What characterizes them is the way in which they practice these economic activities, as well as the distinctive social relations they maintain among themselves and with outsiders. Hunting and gathering is as much a social and cultural phenomenon as a form of ecological-economic adaptation. Is it that, to adopt Ingold's (1995) evocative phrase, the "dwelling" of hunters and gatherers (in whatever physical and sociopolitical environment) is

qualitatively different from that of other population types? If the regional context in which most Amazonian Indians live is hunter-horticulturalist, some are still living according to the hunter-gatherer mode, and it is time to examine the social and cultural distinctiveness of the latter without starting from the assumption that non-cultivating behavior is attributable to cultural loss, itself the result of historical conditions. Hunting and gathering is a way of life that human groups may choose to adopt and maintain.

The ways of life, ethos, and sociability of Amazonian trekkers and foragers

Hunting and gathering may be a form of adaptation to the environment, but above all it is a way of life, a way of organizing society and thinking about the world. The problem with Steward's cultural ecology is that it defines adaptation in terms of "increasing sociocultural complexity built on increasing population density and sedentariness" (Sponsel 1989:41), a view which automatically locates Amazon forest hunter-gatherers at the lowest stage of cultural evolution and progress, regardless of whether they are the survivors of a pre-agricultural period, or farmers who survived and adapted to their exclusion from riverine habitats by foraging. Lévi-Strauss' insistence on cultural complexity is similarly based on the premise that the mental life of hunters-and-gatherers is less complex or sophisticated than that of cultivators. Maximization theorists have avoided linking adaptation to levels of sociocultural development (see Hill and Hurtado's case study on the Aché), but they have failed to recognize any degree of autonomy regarding sociocultural phenomena. The action of hunter-gatherers on the environment is complex. They transform nature even if they do not produce in the sense that farmers do. Their choices and decisions are influenced by social considerations, political orientations, and cultural values.

Intense empirical research and theoretical elaboration over the last three decades have led to the reformulation of the five social characteristics identified at the "Man the Hunter" conference: egalitarianism linked to mobility and minimal amount of material property, small living groups, reciprocal access to food, lack of concern with storage, and conflict-resolution mobility (Lee and DeVore 1968). Three distinctive aspects are now seen to characterize the political economy of egalitarian hunter-gatherers: a particular type of transaction called "demand-sharing" (Peterson 1993, Bird-David 1992b, Rival in press); an "economy of procurement" distinguishable from both foraging and production, and based on disinvestment from future-oriented actions (Bird-David 1992a, 1992b, Ingold 1996 and this volume); and, finally, the perception of the environment as a generous, "giving" entity metaphorically identified as a parent (Bird-David 1990). Not all hunter-gatherer specialists would stress those aspects as being the most significant, but these are of great relevance for the analysis of contemporary Amazonian hunting and gathering societies (see case studies by Rival and Balée), and, more generally, of South American past and present hunters and gatherers. For instance, the retention of a foraging base, widespread sharing, and the ability to walk in and out of wage labor have been vital for the survival of the Toba (Gordillo, below).

Kaplan and Hill (1985; and Hill and Kaplan 1993), who have measured Aché sharing patterns, and compared them with those of other Amazonian nomadic groups such as the Yanomami and the Hiwi (Cuiva), have found that the greater part of the food eaten by Aché men, women, and children not only was not acquired or produced by themselves, but indeed was given to them by more distant relatives than (for adults) their spouses, and (for children) their parents. They have also found that

almost 90 percent of the meat men ate had not been hunted by themselves, and that all types of food, including store-bought, were widely shared in the manner of the meat. Rival (1992, and in the case study here) has made similar observations for the Huaorani, noting that food-sharing in the longhouse, characterized by a complete dissociation of giving and receiving actions, is not based on reciprocity. Consequently, social partners equally disengaged from property relate to one another by sharing food in a way which creates neither competition nor dependency. These non-reciprocal relations, typically initiated by recipients who see it as their right to receive a share, produce a collectivity in which givers never become creditors, nor receivers debtors. As almost all objects, goods, and artifacts circulate widely and continuously within the sharing community (composed of two or three related longhouses), and as the Huaorani put more value on transferability than on use-value, Rival concludes that the Huaorani sharing economy is highly political. Sharing transactions, with their emphasis on entitlement (the donor's obligation to share, and the recipient's right to receive), form the basis of personal autonomy and egalitarianism. The idea that people should share, not exchange, is fundamental to understanding how Amazon forest hunter-gatherers differ from their settled horticulturalist neighbors, particularly those who intensified their horticultural production to trade with missionaries, rubber tappers, river traders, and other non-indigenous immigrants. It is because they refuse trade and do not acknowledge generosity (which is donor-initiated, hence potentially coercive) that people like the Huaorani, the Makú, the Hiwi, and other marginal foragers have escaped debt-peonage and incorporation within inegalitarian socioeconomic structures (Rival forthcoming).

The denigration of foragers by cultivators (which may correspond to an old ethnic antagonism wherein cultivators opposed those who refused to submit to the authority of chiefdoms or to become "civilized," or simply favored autarky over trade and inter-ethnic exchange, and those who accepted their incorporation and historical transformation) is a widespread phenomenon throughout Amazonia. The most striking case is the "patron-client" or "symbiotic" relationship between some Tukanoan communities of the Vaupés or Río Negro and Makú bands. The Makú live deep in the forest, and hunt, collect, and garden marginally. They periodically visit the sedentary, fishing, and manioc cultivating communities of their Tukanoan trading partners, where they receive garden produce, tobacco, and manufactured goods in exchange for their forest produce (especially game), labor, baskets, and blowguns. This relationship, which has economic, political, and symbolic dimensions (Jackson 1983, Ramos 1980), is almost identical to that described by Grinker (1994) between the Efe Pygmies and Lese Bantus. The Tukanoan Indians despise the forest-dwelling, hunting Makú, whom they see as savages, incestuous and animal-like. They say: "human beings do not live in the forest, but make large clearings, build large elaborate houses" (Ramos 1980:166). This example clearly shows that foraging is not mere adaptation to the physical environment. The Makú do not simply "make a living," they also maintain a specific relational order, within their society, and with others. Within their communities, they emphasize egalitarianism and the collective appropriation of resources; outside, they comply to a certain extent with the Tukanos' commands and superior feelings, but do so only on their own, elusive terms. They may appear as constituting a subordinate class relative to their non-foraging neighbors, but they are not tied to them by any obligation, and enter and leave the Tukano villages as they please.

Bird-David (1992a) has convincingly argued that to approach a true understanding of the social dimension of hunting-gathering, it is necessary to look at the way in which hunter-gatherers carry out

their other subsistence activities, as well as at the way in which their neighbors hunt and gather. In this way, differences between "producing" and "procuring" become clear, and so does the link between an economy of procurement (a distinctive way of engaging in subsistence activities, whatever these are: wage work, trade, cultivation, stock keeping, hunting and gathering), personal autonomy, and demand-sharing. This is well illustrated by Renshaw (1986) for the indigenous population of the Paraguayan Chaco, whose integration in the market economy does not prevent them from rejecting market values and retaining their sharing ethos, the basis of their ethnic identity. Gordillo's contribution here similarly stresses that hunting, fishing, and gathering continue to play a role in defining Toba identities, and the social practices of people's lives.

For Bird-David (1990, 1992a), this economy of procurement is linked to a cultural framing of the environment as a generous parent. In this sense, demand-sharing is not practiced only among hunter-gatherers, but also with the environment, what she calls "cosmic sharing": "They see the environment to be peopled by human-like relatives who share food with its human inhabitants. It is a giving environment which provides for their needs. They conceive themselves to be part of a cosmic system of sharing" (Bird-David 1992a:39). The parent metaphor may not be applicable in all contexts. In their comprehensive study of Aché human ecology, Hill and Hurtado (1996) have shown how Aché foraging strategies are ecologically adapted to the particular conditions of their environment, and how they have overcome the disruptions of history to reestablish a healthy and well-nourished population without degrading the carrying capacity of the ecosystem. More research is needed to establish whether the Aché and other Amazonian foragers conserve natural resources, and whether resource conservation is the product of foraging efficiency or, rather, the product of a conservation ethic, itself the regulative expression of a "cosmic sharing" world-view, with procurement activities confined to anthropomorphic forest patches.

Current situation

Large-scale economic development in marginal areas of the world (and this entirely applies to Amazonia) is increasingly taking the form of natural resource extraction: mining, oil extraction, logging. The agriculture and cattle ranching frontier, which disrupted indigenous life-styles and caused so much environmental destruction (*c*. 1960–80), seems now to have slowed, even in Brazil. The impact of new forms of economic investment, such as bioprospecting and ecotourism, have been rather insignificant so far. The rapid expansion of oil exploration and development throughout the neotropics is arguably one of today's most serious threats to indigenous livelihoods. Oil development is directly threatening non-contacted indigenous groups in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela, some of whom have lived in isolation and with very little cultivation for many years.

Sizeable advances have been made in the recognition of indigenous territories throughout South America (see Arcand, Gordillo, Balée, and Rival below for recent successful cases, and Hill and Hurtado for a pending case), but governments (most notably Brazil) keep the right to retract land titling measures and territorial rights which, as they exclude sub-soil rights, fail to protect indigenous communities from oil extraction and mining. Foraging groups are particularly sensitive to the mixed benefits and acculturating effects of state intervention in the fields of education and health (see Gordillo, Balée, and Rival, below). Nationalism, which is particularly strong in South America, is most often expressed through development and progress ideologies, with action plans aimed to

"civilize" and modernize "backward" ethnic minorities. And if dominant indigenous peoples have successfully organized themselves into powerful bodies to defend their rights, these are sometimes insensitive to the different needs, claims, and aspirations of foraging minorities (Rival 1997).

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I.II.2

Archaeology of South American hunters and gatherers

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South America was once thought to have been colonized through the Andean chain by Palaeoindian big-game hunters of the Clovis tradition (11,200–8500 BP). Only after the megafaunal extinctions and post-glacial sea level rise, *c*. 10,000 BP, did the migrants supposedly take up the "Archaic" subsistence of broad-spectrum hunting, fishing, and gathering. As well, they were thought to have avoided the lowland tropical forest until the spread of agriculture 4000 years ago. Food production was thought to have permitted population growth, permanent settlement, and the rise of complex cultures 3000 years ago.

Recent research, however, documents the presence of diverse Palaeoindian cultures in South America by at least 11,000 BP, too early to be offshoots from Clovis. Although people must have arrived somewhat earlier, all sites substantially earlier than 11,000 BP remain problematic. Broad-spectrum foraging was much more common than big-game hunting. Even in the Andes highlands, important species were the medium-sized (guanaco or deer), and fishes were a major resource at rivers and coasts from the earliest occupations on. Foragers entered the tropical lowlands as early as other areas, and forest and river resources provided their foods. Once classified physically as mongoloid Amerindians, the earliest dated skeletons are from a distinct population of Asian origin.

Cultural and ecological adaptations of hunter-gatherers changed through time in South America, but not as had been thought. During the early-middle Holocene (7000–5000 BP), people along the west and south coasts intensified fishing and water mammal hunting, and those in the eastern tropical lowlands relied increasingly on fish and shellfish. Such aquatic resources, rather than agriculture, were the economic base for the first sedentary, complex communities. In Andean regions and the eastern lowlands, middle Holocene foragers built large and permanent settlements, sometimes with monumental architecture and art, before any sign of social hierarchies or political centralization. General health status, judged from skeletons, is good early on. With time, health deteriorates somewhat in the dry interior regions compared to the coasts and rivers.

The Andes

Andean environments

Between the continent's narrow coastal desert and seasonal rivers on the west and the rainforests and

permanent rivers on the east are the cold, rainy mountain ranges and temperate, semi-arid basins of the central Andes. Biological productivity is low on arid land but high in the nutrient-rich sea. In the more moist northern and southern Andes productivity is higher; in the far north it is limited by scarcity of moisture, in the far south by the short growing season.

The Pacific's huge populations of small fishes and their predators drop catastrophically during periodic weather shifts that increase moisture, plants, and game on the mineral-rich desert. On the arid coast, barren and uncultivable without irrigation, vegetation is concentrated in river galleries and fog-condensation forests. Now diminished by agriculture and urbanism, the early prehistoric forests yielded fuel, fiber, fruits, edible grasses, and game, as well as the first cotton, gourds, peppers, tubers, and tree fruits harvested by the mid-Holocene foragers.

In the highlands, Ice Age conditions increased rain and shifted habitats down, resulting in somewhat different plant and animal communities. Above 4000 m elevation, abundant rain-fed grasslands (*puna*) and perennial streams supported wild camelid herds. Below 4000 m, scarce and highly variable rain supported only sparse vegetation on the rocky hillsides. Wooded, cultivable floodplains were a very small part of the land surface.

Late Pleistocene cultures in the far north and south

No northern highland sites have megafauna securely associated with humans. Two lowland sites, Taima-Taima, Venezuela, and Monte Verde, Chile, had mastodon bones and willow-leaf spear points, but their slightly pre-Clovis dates (*c*. 13,000 BP) are problematic owing to carbon contamination. Otherwise, only two sites—Palestina and San Juan Bedout in the lowland Magdalena basin, Colombia—have secure Pleistocene dates (five assays from 10,400 to 10,200 BP). Rather than fluted points, they have triangular, stemmed projectile points and scrapers similar to Palaeoindian complexes in western and eastern South America. The only two northern sites with dating for fluted points (in highland Ecuador) are Holocene.

Map 5 Archaeological sites in South America

By contrast, numerous sites in the southern cone have Pleistocene dates. Widely distributed from Santa Cruz to Tierra del Fuego, in Argentina and Chile, they include painted caves, rock shelters, and open sites. Once thought related to Clovis, the "fishtail" points from these sites, dated 11,000–9500 BP, are too early and too distinct morphologically to be from Clovis. The sites also have scrapers with hide wear, blades, and ground disks, as well as awls, spatulas, and possible spear points or flakers made of bone. The only extinct game securely associated with humans are horse and camelid. Diverse modern game were hunted, of which guanaco was the most common. Plant foods were eaten, but rarely.

Late Pleistocene coastal cultures

The earliest coastal culture is Paijan of northern and central Peru. Its nineteen radiocarbon dates at *c*. 11,000 to 8500 BP reveal a long-lived culture, despite fluctuating environmental conditions. Paijan is represented by quarries and living sites at Cupisnique between the Chicama and Jequetepeque valleys, and at La Cumbre and Quirihuac rock shelter in the Moche valley. Campsites are small artifact clusters of about 200 m^2, dispersed over a square kilometer or less, suggesting recurrent occupations by small groups. Near-surface vestiges of small rounded huts or wind-breaks, garbage pits, hearths, and burials have been excavated, but no separate ceremonial areas.

Paijan points are large (9–14 cm), long, triangular, and stemmed. They are thought to be for fish spears. A few preforms are leaf-shaped, but none resembles Clovis points. There are large unifacial cutting tools (limaces), denticulates, but few side-scrapers. Lithic materials are mostly local. Other tools are milling stones, coral rasps, small round pebbles, a fish vertebra bead in a child's burial, and mats around burials. The people (a man, a woman, and two children) were relatively tall (168 cm male), and robust, with long heads and narrow faces, unlike modern mongoloids.

The broad-spectrum subsistence was oriented to the coast, and identifiable highland materials are lacking. Food came from ocean, river, and forest, which was more humid and luxuriant at that time. Beans of *algarrobo* are common, as are numerous river and ocean fish, terrestrial snails, and small land vertebrates such as lizards, *vizcacha*, fox, and small birds. Larger game is rare, and the few megafaunal bones appear to be collected fossils. There were no marine molluscs, which possibly were limited by the low ocean levels at the time.

Early Holocene coastal cultures

By 9000 years ago, more specialized fishing groups occupied fog forests at La Paloma, on the central Peruvian coast, reaching a peak occupation at 8000–5000 BP. Major zones exploited were the ocean and fog meadows, but many river sites may have been destroyed by modern development.

The shallow foundations of small (about 1.5 m diameter) rounded houses were found over a large area (about 10 ha). Easily rolled up and moved, the huts were of mat and pole construction, secured by stones or occasional whalebone struts. Inside were hearths for warmth; large cobble pavements for cooking were outside. Garbage was left in and around dwellings, a pattern more typical of shifting settlements, but fish-salting and storage features suggest relatively long-term occupations.

Material culture was simple but competent, and there were standard ritual practices. Burials were flexed and tied in twined reed mats and buried shallowly inside or just outside the house near small, grass-lined pits with offerings of animal hair wads in mussel shells. Grave goods included pebbles, pigment, clothing, gourd fragments, rock grinders, coral abraders, burnt rocks, single animal bones, fishhooks, cut shells, bone awls, bone spatulas, wooden stoppers or floats, and bone and stone beads and pendants. Stone projectile points were rare, smaller than 10 cm, bipointed, and percussion-flaked. A few knotted textiles, possibly for nets, and twined baskets have been found. People covered their heads with looped fabric, down, or animal fur, and wore rush skirts and looped loin coverings. They commonly suffered broken foot bones from walking barefoot.

Subsistence focused on marine resources: fish, sea mammals, and invertebrates. In the earliest period, women ate more fish and shellfish than men, to judge from bone chemistry. As the settlement grew, small fish and sea mammals were eaten more frequently than shellfish, and both men and women developed larger upper body muscles, possibly from hauling nets. Both had lower back arthritis from carrying heavy loads. Women ate more plants, which included cereals, fruits of cactus,

guava, *mito, algarrobo*, oca, perhaps tuberous begonia, and the medicinal plants *molle* and *alberjilla*. With time, use of hides and furs decreased and more plant fiber fabrics were used, despite the diminishing fog meadows.

Basic good health is indicated by people's stature (170 cm for men and 160 cm for women) and comparative rarity of infectious diseases and dietary problems. Teeth were worn, and caries rare (partly owing to the wear). Linear dental enamel defects (hypoplasias) indicate periodic but not chronic problems. Health improved during the peak occupation. Stature and life expectancy increased, and parasitic pathologies decreased. Natality appears to have decreased, women bore children later, and men became more numerous in the population.

Social organization was apparently household oriented and egalitarian, and burials differed by age, sex, and possibly personal achievements. The lack of cemeteries and communal structures suggests a lack of corporate descent groups. Houses continued to be occupied after most burials but were often abandoned after a central male burial. Some burials were weighted with stones, suggesting fear of the dead. Near the end, men's burials had become richer than women's, but children (especially females) had the richest. Unique, elaborate burials, earthworks, and evidence of war wounds are lacking.

The early Holocene coastal cultures in Ecuador, Chile, and Argentina also have broad-based, foraged subsistence, rich in seafoods, but the Chilean Chinchorros culture had a uniquely elaborate funerary ritual with decorated mummies.

Late Pleistocene central highland cultures

Well-documented Pleistocene human sites are rare in the central Andean highlands, possibly owing to difficult glacial conditions or to destruction by later geomorphological processes. As in the north, Pleistocene megafauna associated with humans has not been verified. Megafaunal sites such as Pikimachay, Peru, only have scantily dated flaked stones of doubtful human manufacture. The earliest well-documented culture is Puente, with five radiocarbon assays between about 11,000 and 9000 BP. In a habitat much like the present, people hunted deer, camelids, birds, rodents, and foxes, and collected diverse plant foods. Their tool kit included large, triangular, stemmed and lanceolate points, scrapers, bone tools, and rare grinding stones. Bone was used for awls, needles, and beads. There is little evidence of exchange with, or travel to, the coasts.

Early Holocene highland cultures

Early Holocene highland sites are distinctive culturally and usually lack fauna from the coast and tropical forest. In the intermontane basins, the early Holocene cultures continued many patterns of the Palaeoindian period. Subsistence differed somewhat within the highlands, but some general cultural patterns were shared.

Both puna and intermontane basin sites have projectile points, side-scrapers or knives, and large, bifacial hand tools. Small leaf-shaped and triangular forms replace the earlier large stemmed forms. Points were smaller than on the coast: seldom more than 5 cm. Rare bone items include awls, needles, flakers, fleshers, and beads. Also rare were milling stones, quartz crystals, paint, and beads. Desiccated wooden fire drills, cordage, baskets, textiles, and cultigens found in some caves may be intrusive.

Few domestic constructions are known from the central highlands and few burials. Among the

flexed burials at Lauricocha Cave, children had much richer furnishings than adults: food, lithics, pigment, and beads. In highland Colombia, rites involved decoration of bones and disposal in communal cemeteries, possible indication of corporate groups. In the puna, rock art depicts camelids with geometric decoration and hunters with spear-throwers.

In the puna grasslands, hunters at Pachamachay targeted deer and camelids, the latter not domesticated until *c*. 6000 years ago. Wild grains, cactus, and other plant foods were collected. Site occupations were relatively permanent, judging from the numerous, diverse tools, usually of local rock, and the systematic disposal of garbage at sites.

Tropical forest

Tropical lowland environments

Some authors have questioned whether the tropical lowlands were habitable before slash and burn farming, on the grounds that game and fruits were too scarce in dense, poor-soil forests. However, up to 25 percent of the lowlands has more favorable soils developed from calcareous and volcanic rocks and recent alluvium, according to geology and remote sensing. Average rainfall is about 2000 mm, and seasonal. Vegetation ranges from closed-canopy forest to herbs on floodplains and rocky or impermeable soils. Large stands of fruit and nut trees cluster on the better soils, attracting a variety of game. Some of the commonest trees with nutritious fruits, such as Brazil nuts and palms, flourish in response to moderate human disturbance. Furthermore, much of Greater Amazonia is crisscrossed by rivers carrying nutrient-rich wildlife, edible herbs, and fruits. Both fish and turtles are seasonally concentrated protein sources.

Late Pleistocene foragers

Sites such as Pedra Furada in northeastern Brazil have radiocarbon dates going back 40,000 years or more, but no widely accepted evidence of human presence. However, numerous sites with dates from 11,200 to 8000 BP put hunter-gatherers in the tropical savannas and rainforests at the same time as the Clovis tradition. Unlike Clovis, the early people here foraged for fruits, fish, shellfish, and smaller game species. Distinctive cultural markers through much of the area are fine triangular, tanged projectile points, large cutting tools (limaces), and polychrome rock art depicting geometric, human, and animal motifs. Perna, near Pedra Furada, has paintings dated to *c*. 10,500 BP by assays from the overlying strata. Its paintings include rows of people dancing and couples in sexual intercourse, as well as deer, rheas, and other animals. Robust human skeletons from Lagoa Santa, directly dated to 10,000–9,000 years ago, belong to a non-mongoloid population of Asian origin.

In the Monte Alegre rock art region of the Amazon, near Santarem, Caverna de Pedra Pintada was a campsite of early hunter-gatherers. The sixty-nine radiocarbon and luminescence dates, between 11,200 and 10,000 BP, show that people adapted to humid tropical habitats no later than to temperate or arid ones. Pigment in the layers of the same composition as wall paintings depict circles, animals, and humans. Both adults and children left handprints on rocks high above the cave. Among the tools in the cave, the triangular stemmed projectile points could have been harpoon and spear points, and the cutting tools (limaces and gravers) could have been for woodworking. The many layers and great abundance of tool detritus (some 30,000 flakes) suggest a recurring occupation.

The site held thousands of carbonized pits, nutshells, and wood from tropical forest trees, such as

Brazil nut, palms, and tree legumes, many of which fruit in the rainy season. Their stable carbon isotope ratios indicate closed canopy tropical forest. Prominent among the burned, fragmentary faunal remains were fish from rivers and lakes, nowadays exploited mainly in the dry season. Most were small, but some were very large (more than 1.5 m long). Rarer were medium-to-large rodents, snakes, toads, turtles (often juveniles), shellfish, and rare ungulates.

Early Holocene foragers

Although broad-spectrum collecting and hunting continued in the interior forests until the middle Holocene, foragers specializing in fishing and shellfishing settled down by rivers and along coasts and estuaries in northern and eastern South America soon after the end of the Pleistocene. Intensive use of aquatic resources was the economic basis for significant craft innovations: pottery in the north and figurative ground-stone containers in the south.

Shellmound sites in the eastern Amazon and adjacent coasts have pottery between *c*. 8000 to 5000 years ago, about 1500 years earlier than northern South America, and 4000 years earlier than the central Andes. Taperinha, Pedra Pintada, and eight other sites have forty radiocarbon assays on pottery and biological remains. The transition to ceramics and village life did not require staple agriculture, for cultigens have not been found. The simple early pottery bowls bear rare incised designs. In contrast to earlier lithics, the stone tools now were simple: flakes, mashers, unshaped grinders, and hearth rocks. Bones and shells were used for tools and ornaments, such as a bone plug, a zoomorphic toggle, an awl, turtle and mollusc shell scrapers, and shell beads. Small groups trekked seasonally to nearby forests and left pottery as well as fish and shellfish remains there.

The social organization at shellmounds is debated. Some researchers believe they are kitchen middens produced by a few families. However, some southern Brazilian pre-ceramic coastal sites are large, symmetrical shell platforms with mud and pole buildings. Large, well-built hearths, ritual structures, and fine stone *palettes* in the shapes of animals indicate relatively permanent occupation and cultural elaboration.

Epilogue: the change to farming and European conquest

By *c*. 5000 BP, Andeans cultivated several plants, initially more for raw materials than for food, and raised camelids. In the eastern tropical lowlands, the earliest-known ceramic griddles and food crop pollen appear between 5000 and 4000 BP. By 4000 BP manioc had become a staple calorie source in some areas, supplemented by protein from fish and game. At this time, central Andeans began to rely more on maize, potatoes, beans, and other crops, supplemented by hunting and herding, and began to make pottery. These mixed economies underwrote the first extensive monumental constructions and highly elaborate art styles of the "Formative" era.

Subsequently, agriculture and horticulture spread widely, replacing primary foraging in most places except the far south, where short growing seasons hinder cultivation. Archaeobotany and bone chemistry reveal that, from AD 500 to 1500, maize became the staple source of both calories and protein along the Amazon and Orinoco, and in the central and northern Andes. Large mound complexes and sizeable population centers were established in these areas. At *c*. AD 1550, conquest records document warring paramount chiefdoms in many of these areas, but bureaucratic states are only documented in the Andes.

Researchers have identified several lowland groups as relict primary foragers, including the Cuiva, Yaruro (Pume), Sirionó, Yuquí, Bororo, and Aché. Although all subsist primarily on domestic crops or animals, the hypothesis is that they only recently converted from exclusive hunting and gathering. However, existing evidence documents that their predecessors had agricultural or horticultural economies at the time of conquest and for thousands of years previously. They did not evolve *directly* from prehistoric hunting-gathering societies, and their adaptations cannot be understood apart from the national societies that they live in today. The poverty and "primitiveness" of some of these cultures seem associated with post-conquest destruction of native polities and the conversion of their lands to Europeans.

Paradoxically, conquest may have increased the importance of foraging at the expense of agriculture in the tropical lowlands, where some groups became less reliant on agriculture in response to disruptions. In areas where maize was the staple in late prehistory, modern groups such as the Shipibo, Jivaro, Huaorani, Cuiva, and Yaruro (Pume) obtain their calories from manioc or introduced crops and their protein from fish or game (less than 10 percent of calories). Some groups, such as the Makú, exchange forest products and horticultural labor for the crops with their neighbors. Others, such as the Yuquí, Sirionó, and Aché, live on ranches or missions, exchanging labor and craft products for food and/or wages. The Hiwi (Cuiva relatives) and the Yora live by "collecting" the crops and cattle of others.

Often relegated to ecologically marginal areas with the spread of farming and (since the conquest) cattle-raising, the surviving foragers had poorer living conditions than early prehistoric foragers. In the far south, the colonial impact was rapid and catastrophic. Not only were people hunted like animals by Europeans, but key coastal resources, such as aquatic mammals, were nearly extinguished by commercial hunting. Today, there remain only a few Tierra del Fuego people, the descendants of an 11,000-year old tradition of hunting and gathering in South America.

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I.II.3

The Aché of Paraguay

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Introduction

The Aché, a Tupí-speaking group, often called Guayaki in earlier literature, are foragers of the forested regions of eastern Paraguay, probably best known as the subjects of detailed quantitative ecological studies (from the 1980s). Early reports emphasized their practice of cannibalism, their white skin, light eye and hair color, beards, and Asian features. Their subsistence practices and technology were considered extremely simple; they were nomads, secretive and evasive. Cultural descriptions focused on high levels of intra-group violence, polyandry, and males who took on female roles. Biological studies have emphasized their genetic dissimilarity to most other lowland South American Indians. After contact the Aché became well known as victims of an alleged policy of genocide. Later work has dealt primarily with human ecology: resource acquisition, food sharing, time allocation, and life history patterns. Aché and Aché-like peoples may have inhabited much of the Parana River drainage in the pre-European era. Peoples like the Heta of Brazil are closely related to the Aché. Many such groups have become extinct. Four isolated, distinct linguistic groups of Aché survived to the twentieth century.

History

The first recorded descriptions of Aché peoples were made by Jesuit missionaries in the 1600s. Archaeological data suggest foragers with similar technology may have inhabited the area for 10,000 years. About 1000 BP, Guaraní horticulturalists migrated into the region and preyed on the less powerful foraging peoples, perhaps causing them to adopt a more nomadic lifestyle in forested hills away from navigable rivers. Until European conquest in the late twentieth century (peaceful contact period) no peaceful interactions between the Aché and other native groups had ever been reported. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the enslavement of the Guaraní and their removal to Brazil probably facilitated Aché population expansion. Subsequent extermination of the rural Paraguayan population in the nineteenth century's Triple Alliance War probably contributed to the Aché remaining foragers into the twentieth century (the forest period).

No significant ethnographies of the Aché existed before the present century. A German immigrant, Federico Mainthusen, had pacified one group of Aché by 1910 and published sparse but important observations about them before his World War I return to Germany. The four present-day Aché cultural isolates were first contacted in 1959, 1963, 1971, and 1979. These newly contacted groups were settled on government reservations where scores died in respiratory epidemics. Not until the

1970s were detailed ethnographic studies published. Most important among recent ethnographic research are the publications of Clastres (1972a, 1972b, 1974) and Cadogan (1965). Since the late 1970s ecological studies have resulted in more than forty publications by Hill, Hurtado, Hawkes, and Kaplan.

Ecological setting

The Aché home range is flat neotropical forest on old sedimentary soils, interrupted by small patches of grassland, *cerrado*, swamp, and *caatinga*. About 80 percent of the area is high mature forest, the preferred habitat of the Aché. Elevation varies from 100 to 300 m through most of the range. Mean yearly rainfall is about 1800 mm. October-February rainfall is triple that of May—September. Seasons are marked by consistent variations of temperature and rainfall, the mean daily high temperature being about 35°C (January) and mean low 10°C (July). Freezing temperatures occur several nights a year.

Population

In July 1989, there were 37 Nacunday Aché, 41 Ypety Aché, 54 Yvytyruzu Aché, 498 Northern Aché and 55 children of mixed Aché parents. Each group is distinguished culturally and dialectally. The population is growing at 3.6% per year.

Location

At the turn of the century the ancestors of individuals in these groups roamed some 60,000 km^2 of the western Parana River drainage. By 1955 their range had been reduced to some 22,000 km^2. In 1995 they lived on five reservations totaling 130 km^2. They continue to forage on neighboring private and public lands.

16 An Aché woman extracting palm fiber, 1982. Her ten-month-old infant is carried rather than being set on the forest floor. Photo: Kim Hill and A. Magdalena Hurtado.

The twentieth-century Aché range is bisected by numerous streams and small rivers, none of which exceeds 20 m in width. Forests contain valuable hardwoods but less species diversity than most Amazonian sites. Large emergent trees reach diameters of 1.5 m and heights of 35 m. Fruits are abundant in the warm wet season, and domestic oranges have naturalized throughout the forest in recent centuries. Vertebrate abundance and diversity is lower in Paraguay than most Amazonian sites but game species like armadillos, pacas, and Cebus monkeys are found at high densities.

Economy

The traditional Aché economy was based on hunting mammals, complemented by palm starch, honey extraction, and the collection of palm larvae. Game was hunted by hand or with bow and wood-tipped arrows, whereas palm products, honey, and larvae were all extracted using a celt-type stone axe. Observations on post-contact foraging bands suggest that meat contributes about 78 percent of caloric intake in the diet, and honey about 8 percent (both obtained by men). Only seven game species (in order of importance: nine-banded armadillo, Capuchin monkey, white-lipped peccary, paca, coati, brocket deer, collared peccary) make up over 90 percent of the game biomass appropriated, more than half being killed by hand. The remaining 14 percent of the diet is made up of palm starch, palm hearts, insect larvae, and fruits (collected mainly by women). Palm products may have been more important in the pre-contact diet. The total daily caloric intake exceeds 2700 calories per capita, making the Aché one of the best fed of foraging peoples.

17 An Aché man hunting white-lipped peccaries signals the direction the herd is moving, 1981. Photo: Kim Hill and A. Magdalena Hurtado.

Energy expenditure among the Aché is also correspondingly high. Men engage in seven strenuous hours of hunting per day. Women forage a mean of two hours per day, and, carrying heavy loads, they move camp an additional two hours per day. Women's remaining time is expended in high-quality childcare.

Resource redistribution within Aché bands is more widespread than that documented for any other group of foragers. Hunters do not usually eat from their own kill, and nuclear family or kin are no more likely than unrelated band members to receive a share of meat. Honey is also widely shared but vegetable resources and larvae are more likely to be eaten by close kin of the acquirer.

Settlement pattern

At the time of peaceful outsider contact in 1971, the Northern Aché (population 557) lived in ten to fifteen camps of flexible composition in a territory of 20,000 km^2. Adults had access to the entire home range; however, many spent most of their time in certain core areas. Interview census data show that forest residential camps ranged from three to more than one hundred persons at any point in time. The mean number of adult men per camp was 9.2 and the median was 7. Observed camps in the post-contact period have a mean of 11.4 adult men and a median of 9. In the post-contact period Aché camps move virtually every day of the year. Informants indicate that in the earlier forest period, camps often remained in the same location for seven to fifteen days.

Bands often formed around a core bilocal kin group and one or two important men whose names may have identified the band. Bands frequently dispersed temporarily into small, family-group camps

for a day or two before reuniting. Sometimes children would be left in a base camp for a day or two with grandparents serving as baby-sitters. Resources from these outings would then be carried back to the central camp. Bands generally camped within a few hours' walk of each other, although members might roam 50 to 100 km from the nearest neighbors for periods of up to two months.

Domestic organization

Aché kinship terms lump parents with aunts and uncles, and both cross- and parallel-cousins with siblings. There are no clans, moieties, or descent groups. Marriage is forbidden between siblings, cousins, and persons who stand in a "godparent—godchild" relationship (see below). There are no prescribed marriage partners or arranged marriages. Individuals choose their own partners. Most women were traditionally married at least once prior to menarche (first marriage mean age: 15.2 years); men were not allowed to marry until after completion of puberty rites (first marriage mean age: 20.2 years). Divorce was very common in the forest period, with post-reproductive women reporting a mean of twelve spouses in a lifetime. No first marriage ever lasted in our sample period, and most women had produced children with two to five different men by menopause. Post-marital residence is generally matrilocal when the bride is young, but older couples may reside in bands with any close kin. About 4 percent of all men were married polygynously in a random pre-contact marriage sample; and polyandry was occasionally observed (0.2 percent of marriages). No man in the twentieth century had more than two wives simultaneously.

Political organization

Aché bands had no formal leaders or leadership positions. One or two powerful men were often referred to as leaders of a band in the sense that they might more emphatically exercise their will on decisions important to them. Nevertheless, band decisions included input from most adult members of both sexes. Individuals who cared most about a particular outcome usually have had the most influence in the final decision. Today, reservation Aché communities have elected leadership positions. Reservation "chiefs" lead discussions about community problems but rarely make decisions without strong community consensus. Chiefs are elected by popular vote of all adults and can be removed whenever a significant minority of the reservation community demands a new election. Votes of confidence in current leadership take place about every four months. To date only men have served as elected community leaders.

Religion and ritual

Aché informants report that formerly they believed in supernatural beings and "spirits" with diverse properties. These spiritual beings appear not to have been associated with a moral system involving rewards and punishments for those who upheld or violated community moral standards. The most prominent supernatural being in Aché mythology, *Berendy* (burning-illuminating being), assumes both human and comet/meteor forms, and gives some animals their properties and powers. Another important spiritual power is *Krei'i* which sometimes takes the form of shadows or wind. *Krei'i* is involved in healing and dreams. *Anjave* is an evil spirit that causes people harm and accidents. It is

possible that these three beings are derived from Christian concepts that have reached the Aché in the 400 years since the Jesuits established a prominent presence in eastern Paraguay.

The most important Aché rituals take place at birth, puberty, death, and clubfights. Children are given the name of an animal that their mother cooked during her pregnancy (a species usually large, rare, or taken in sudden abundance). Birth rituals involve a man who cuts the umbilical cord, a woman who cares for the newborn child, and others who wash the baby and care for the mother. These birth helpers become the *jary* (godparents), and remain in a ritual relationship to the child and its parents for life. Puberty ceremonies for both sexes include body scarification. Young men's lower lips are pierced at puberty. They are subsequently required to participate in clubfights. Most adult males previously participated. Rituals following the clubfight involved adult female relatives of all participants. Funerary ceremonies involve burial, and the construction of a house over the grave. Some older or "angry" individuals were previously cremated. One of the Southern Aché groups practiced cannibalism into the 1960s.

Current situation

Two Aché reservations have resident Catholic missionaries; two others have Protestant missionaries, and the fifth, now independent, recently evicted Protestant missionaries. The reservation economy consists of swidden agriculture (primarily manioc, maize, and yams), foraging, and wage labor. Scan sampling shows time dedicated to multi-day foraging has diminished considerably in the past twenty years. The Aché experimented heavily with cash cropping in the 1980s; within a decade they had all but abandoned the activity as unproductive. Wage labor has produced little income recently. A study conducted on two reservations in 1992 showed that mean familial net worth was no greater than it had been in 1980 (Hill and Hurtado 1996). We calculated a mean net worth of $12 per nuclear family. This included the value of all housing material, clothing, food, tools, livestock, handicrafts, traditional tools, cash stores, and miscellaneous items. Recent economic developments include income-generating activities carried out on reservation lands, especially in the field of agroforestry.

Marriage is now monogamous and divorce rates have diminished considerably. Some ritual activities have been abandoned (lip-piercing, scarification, clubfighting). Other cultural traits are diminishing (puberty ceremonies, birth ceremonies, singing, body decorations). Evangelical Protestantism is the most pervasive religion, with Aché preachers leading Sunday and mid-week services. Supplanted by Guaraní, the lingua franca of rural Paraguay, the Aché language is disappearing. In a recent interview, community leaders said they intended to maintain only a few traditional customs, including the "godparenting" rituals, traditional diet preferences for game, honey, and insect larvae (not consumed by their Paraguayan neighbors), and an emphasis on extended food-sharing.

"We love to be on the move. We only sleep once in a place, but if it rains we might sleep several times before moving on. When the rain stops, we hit the undergrowth with our unstrung bows to shake down the waterdrops and frighten the jaguars. We are on the move again."

(Bepurangi, 1978)

"If you are hungry, don't think about it. If your child dies, don't think about it. Don't cry. Those who

cry a lot will be hit. Those who don't cry, soon will have another child."

(Japegi, 1995)

"My children may one day live in a place of many houses. I will not live there. Here, with the Aché, is my place."

(Achipurangi, 1996)

Organization for resistance

The Aché are not well organized to pursue their interests in national or international forums. Few are literate in Spanish; even community leaders are intimidated by low-level government officials. Catholic Church persons have organized regular pan-tribal meetings (with missionary-dominated agendas) between the five reservations. Aché representatives have rarely traveled outside Paraguay, and always accompanied by non-Aché friends/translators/guides. The Chupa Pou reservation has an outstanding land claim which will be settled when the Paraguayan Indian Institute pays the prior owner for expropriation of his land. The Chupa Pou chief also sits on the board of directors for the Mbaracayu Foundation, the organization responsible for the management of the Mbaracayu Forest Reserve adjoining two Aché reservations. Aché foragers have permanent use rights for traditional subsistence activities inside that reserve. The Paraguayan government has offered little in the way of resources or technical help; nevertheless, the Aché have fared well at the hands of Indian rights organizations, missionaries, and small-scale development agencies. Those closest to the Mbaracayu Reserve have obtained modest, long-term help from the Moises Bertoni Foundation, a conservation NGO involved in the management of the reserve. Both communities have also worked with anthropologists to obtain a large USAID grant designed to improve reservation infrastructure.

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I.II.4

The Cuiva

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Introduction

The term *Cuiva*, used both in the literature and among the local people, refers to six or seven distinct groups inhabiting the vast plains (*llanos*) which cover both sides of the border between Colombia and Venezuela. Each group considers itself unique, refers to itself as "our people," and is usually identified with reference to the major river within the group's territory. These territories are relatively large, but the total population is small. Linguistically, the Cuiva belong to the broad Guahibo complex, said to be related to the Arawak and Andean-Equatorial language family.

The Cuiva have always been a river people; rich environmental resources made them somewhat exceptional: they are a modern example of a truly affluent economy based solely on hunting and gathering. By contrast, their recent history of frequently brutal encounters with the outside world is all too familiar. This account focuses upon those groups living within the borders of Colombia.

History

Nomads who use tools made of wood, in a natural environment with no stones, leave very few traces, and we can only assume the Cuiva have lived for centuries where they are located today. Their territory lies at the crossroads of some of the main waterways linking the coast and the interior of the continent; the region has been visited regularly by Europeans since the beginning of their conquest of South America. Over the last four centuries diverse travelers crossed the region, with no intention of settling: explorers, conquistadores in search of "El Dorado," and probably traders en route to the Orinoco. Only Jesuit missionaries, during the first part of the eighteenth century, settled in the llanos and established permanent mission villages from which their horticultural, Christian converts (Guahibo and Saliva) aggressively waged war on the nomadic Cuiva, who remained hostile to the missionaries. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, all traces of their mission disappeared, except the memory of untold Indian deaths from new European diseases, and a general distrust and fear of all invaders.

Location

The majority live along the Meta, Casanare, Ariporo, and Agua Clara Rivers in Colombia, and the Cinaruco, Arauca, and Capanaparo Rivers in Venezuela (69° to 71° Wand 5° to 6° N).

Population

Between 1000 and 2000.

From *c*. 1850, small farmers and cattle ranchers moved east from the Andes to settle the lowlands. This was slow at first, but since the Colombian civil war of the 1950s the encroachment on Cuiva lands has steadily increased. First contacts with the settlers were often brutal (between 1850 and 1970 the colloquial Spanish word *cuiviar* was coined to describe expeditions to exterminate "Los Indios").

In the 1960s the situation changed, with the majority of Cuiva groups establishing somewhat permanent settlements and at least minimal manioc cultivation. They came under missionary influence (Catholics and Summer Institute of Linguistics). They were visited by a few anthropologists, journalists, and film-makers. The subsequent publicity resulted in persons involved in recent massacres of Cuiva being brought to trial, the Cuiva reaching the pages of *Time* magazine, and the Government of Colombia officially recognizing Cuiva rights to their own land.

Ecological setting

The plains of the Orinoco basin are covered by grassy savanna dotted with palms and shrubs, and broken by many rivers and streams, each accompanied by gallery forest. Accounting only for 10 percent of the area, this forest is where the Cuiva mostly live. These narrow riparian forests (from a few meters to a few kilometers wide) are where the people hang hammocks, eat, sleep, and spend much time. The river is the line of communication, the banks provide food, and the savanna, by contrast, offers little and is rarely visited. River travel is not impaired by rapids and cataracts owing to the mostly sandy soil and lack of rock formations. The diverse, abundant local flora and fauna is comparable to the wealth of the tropical rainforest a few hundred kilometers south.

The year is sharply divided into a dry season (December—April) and the rest of the year when it occasionally rains. These seasons modify hunting and gathering strategies and change the variety of foods available (vegetables ripen in the dry season, and fruits in the wet). Seasons affect travel considerably as canoeing is facilitated/hindered by rain-dependent currents and water levels.

Economy

The common stereotyped image of hunters and gatherers balanced on the edge of scarcity and forever on the brink of starvation stems from popular awareness that many foraging economies are located in relatively harsh environments. However, the favorable natural milieu and relative affluence of the Cuiva may be more typical of hunting-gathering conditions throughout history. Cuiva material culture (canoes, bows and arrows, hammocks, and hastily constructed shelters) appears impoverished; yet, on average, each person eats 400–500 g of meat daily, and a roughly similar weight in fruits or vegetables. The work effort does not exceed fifteen to twenty hours a week; the majority spend fifteen to sixteen hours a day in their hammocks.

Men hunt and produce meat, most often from the rivers and riverbanks. Women gather vegetables from the edge between savanna and forest. Typically, these products are shared; some of the food is offered to every person in camp. Four or five food sources are available at any time of the year at different locations; diet, in the group, becomes a matter of choice, discussion, and consensus.

Contrary to another common belief, hunting is not risky: the environment is minutely known and reliable; hunters tend to appropriate exactly what they intended.

Cuiva have long maintained relations with neighboring horticulturalist groups, with whom they exchange delicacies and rarities. These encounters are irregular and have no real economic significance, though they break routine and allow for encounters with new faces and novel stories.

Settlement, mobility, and land tenure

Though land is said to belong to all, groups are frequently identified with a specific area, and their local rights are largely respected by others. There is considerable movement within each group territory as campsites are changed weekly. One can strike camp in a few minutes; new camps are established in a half hour. Such moves are more frequent and shorter in the dry season when campsites are widely available than during the rainy season. Although some locations are visited annually, none is a permanent settlement. Despite specific locales and seasonal variations in food source maturity, Cuiva have no fixed annual migratory pattern, follow no great run of migratory animals, have no localized political or religious celebration. The occupation of any site at any time is expressed in relation to taste for certain foods and the present state of local social relations.

Social and domestic organization

A Cuiva enters a world where all humans are related under a set of broad, inclusive kinship labels. Members of a generation cohort are either "brothers/sisters" or "cousins" of either gender. A similar division occurs in the cohort's parental generation: "fathers/mothers," "uncles/aunts," and in the cohort's offsprings' generation: "sons/daughters," "nephews/nieces." Many rules of social behavior are based on these kinship relations, perhaps the most important stating that each generation is divided into "sides" that must intermarry: "uncles" marry "aunts"; "sisters" marry "cousins"; "daughters" marry "nephews."

Practically all adults are married and follow the rule of uxorilocal residence. Upon marriage the man leaves his family group and joins his spouse's parents. Typically, a first marriage occurs at puberty or soon thereafter. A couple living with their young children, their married daughters, and their husbands form the basic residential unit in Cuiva society. The twenty to forty near-inseparable people constituting a local group are composed of such extended families. Rarely will a family travel alone, away from society for days or weeks. In turn, the gatherings of all local groups create the largest social unit, the band (150–300 people). Cuiva tend to live in isolated local groups half the year, while the band may unite for three or four months, then split, first in two, then back into the local units.

Political organization

Political authority rests primarily on the separation of life into autonomous domains. Following the sexual division of labor, women have authority over those matters considered their responsibility; it would be impolite, for example, for women to tell men how to hunt. Similarly, relations between spouses are not considered the concern of others; family matters are to be resolved within the family;

decisions of the local group are the affair solely of that group. At the band level, collective matters can be discussed by all. Cuiva say that at each level, the authority structure reflects the respect due to age and experience. However, social life is also an arena for personal influence, subtle psychological pressures, and charismatic seduction. Tensions and conflicts find immediate solution in the flexibility of social bonds. Divorce is relatively easy. Members of a group can leave and attach themselves to another unit. Members of one band may leave to join another. Positive social pressure is manifest in the joy and pleasure of good company, and the negative in the form of shame or ridicule.

Religion and cosmology

Cuiva society is said to have emerged from the underground long ago. Life simply goes on. Animals and plants forever return to the earth; so too, human pregnancy is regarded as the return of the immaterial soul or spirit of a deceased person, who has temporarily been waiting in the Milky Way, where smoke accumulates from the earthly cremation of dead bodies. Life is an endless cycle; its beginning is assumed and never questioned. Cuiva philosophy muffles notions of descent and history: life is without gain and loss. Yet time is not denied; people age. Aging is said to be caused by stress from the hardships of life and the evil of others. Diseases brought by curses can be overcome with the help of a more knowledgeable and powerful friend. Being cumulative, more powerful knowledge is hard to come by for the elderly; this explains why they become vulnerable and so often die.

Current situation

During the past thirty years the Cuiva have progressively established themselves in villages with permanent houses and gardens. Distinctions are appearing between family groups, often articulated as religious differences between “traditionalists,” Catholics, and Evangelicals. The greatest changes have affected women: the incidence and frequency of pregnancy has increased greatly, and the communities’ growing reliance upon manioc and other cultigens has added considerably to the workload of women.

Official recognition of the Cuiva’s right to land title, as well as broader public concern for the fate of indigenous peoples, has reduced the flow of in-migrating settlers, thereby reducing the incidence of violent confrontations. The onset of oil exploitation a few hundred kilometers north of Cuiva territory in the 1980s attracted guerrilla activity to the region, which, in turn, caused the immediate cessation of all missionary activities. The area is not a combat zone, but the situation is nevertheless delicate, particularly for local peasants and the Cuiva, who try never to come into conflict with the respective armed forces.

Organization for resistance

The present situation continues to be unclear and the future uncertain. The physical distance from major centers of power is, at one and the same time, both a blessing and a curse: there has generally been little foreign interest in the region and the Cuiva have not been forced into the role of cheap labor, but also, the Cuiva are far from having influence on governmental decisions; their situation easily escapes notice and scrutiny. A multitude of different futures are equally likely, including

physical extermination at the hands of heavily armed persons in the region.

At present, it seems likely that the Cuiva will retain their land base and continue the slow transformation of their economy toward farming and ranching. For practical as well as historical reasons, this should imply a considerable degree of collaboration and mutual understanding; in other words, a praxis which is nothing short of perpetuating Cuiva society and culture.

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I.II.5

The Huaorani

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Introduction

Huaorani people have lived as forest hunters and gatherers in the heart of the Ecuadorian Amazon for hundreds of years. From their tragic encounter with North American missionaries in 1956 to this day, they have held a special place in journalistic and popular imagination, which portrays them as Ecuador's "last savages." Despite the "civilizing" efforts of missionaries, the Huaorani have largely retained their distinctive way of apprehending the world.

History

Called "Aucas," the Huaorani have been confused with the Zaparo and Aushiri Indians. Very little is known about their past except that they lived for centuries in the interstices between the great Zaparo, Shuar, and Tukanoan nations of the Upper Napo, where they constituted nomadic and autarkic (self-sufficient) enclaves fiercely refusing contact, trade, and exchange with their powerful neighbors. The core of Huaorani territory was the Tiputini River, from whence they expanded, in the aftermath of the rubber boom, east, west, and south, until they occupied most of the hinterland between the Napo and Curaray Rivers.

In 1969, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), who had contacted the Huaorani a decade earlier, was authorized to create a 66,570 ha protection zone ("the Protectorate") around its mission. By the early 1980s, 85 percent of the population were living in the Protectorate, which represents 10 percent of the traditional territory. In April 1990, the Huaorani were granted the largest Indian territory in Ecuador (679,130 ha). It includes the Protectorate, and is linked with the Yasuni National Park (982,300 ha).

Population
Approximately 1300 today, with 55 percent under the age of sixteen. Population at contact during the 1960s, about 600.

Location
Amazonian Ecuador, between the Napo and Curaray Rivers, and from the Andean foothills to the Peruvian border. Traditional territory: 20,000 km^2, 76 to 77 30′ W. Titled territory: 679,130 ha.

Ecological setting/demography

Like much of western Amazonia's rainforest, Huaorani land has no marked seasons. Annual precipitation, averaging 3500 mm, is evenly distributed throughout the year. Atmospheric humidity (80–90 percent) is constant, and soils, renowned as the least fertile in Ecuador, are permanently damp. On the western side, numerous streams and creeks cut across rugged terrain featuring sizeable hills, to form the Curaray's headwaters. On the eastern side, rivers meander through marshy lowlands. Game is abundant and biodiversity exceptionally high. Both the density of palms and bamboo groves and the frequency of potsherds and stone axes suggest that large tracts of forest are anthropogenic (the land reflects long-term human endeavor).

The current Huaorani population of 1300 has concentrated in a few settlements in the former Protectorate, where the formation of state schools has accelerated the process of sedentarization and riverine adaptation.

Economy

The Huaorani may have cultivated manioc and plantain sporadically for the preparation of ceremonial drinks, but it is through hunting and gathering that they have secured their daily subsistence. Until the recent introduction of new garden crops, shotguns, dogs, and Western medicine, as well as the intensive use of air transport and radio contacts which have undermined traditional foraging, they hunted almost exclusively monkeys (especially the woolly monkey [*Lagothrix lagotricha*], the howler monkey [*Alouatta seniculus*], and the spider monkey [*Ateles paniscus*], birds (the curassow [*Mitu salvini*] and the Spix guan [*Penelope jacquacu*]), and white-lipped peccaries (*Tajassu peccari*), with essentially two kinds of weapon: the blowpipe and the spear. Hunters rarely return without game. In fact, returns are high, and everyone consumes at least 200 g of meat each day. Fishing has traditionally been a marginal activity. Small fish are stunned in creeks with a variety of plant poisons before being scooped out in nets, or speared with long, flexible lances.

18 A Huaorani mother singing and weaving, 1989. Photo: Laura M Rival.

Gathered fruits form an important part of daily food intake. There is a clear dietary preference for fruit, particularly the peach palm (*Bactris gasipaes*), managed in forest groves. When in season, it is the main staple, and hunting is discontinued. Other important palm fruits include ungurahua (*Jessenia bataua*) and morete (*Mauritia flexuosa*). The fruits of at least 152 additional species (palms, trees, and epiphytes) are also regularly harvested and eaten. Most Huaorani now use trade goods and packaged food. These items, acquired and circulated according to demand-sharing, are rarely purchased or individually owned.

19 Huaorani husband and wife hunting monkeys, 1982. Photo: J. Wright.

Settlement pattern and mobility

The residential mobility of foraging Huaorani is high, albeit confined to particular areas. Groups from allied longhouses move continuously between their longhouses built on hilltops and a series of secondary residences and hunting shelters dispersed throughout their common territory. Such mobility is not unrelated to the fact that forest food is everywhere abundant, and valued resources, such as the *Curarea tecunarum* vine, are evenly distributed throughout Huaorani territory.

The overall population is divided into dispersed networks of intermarrying longhouses separated by vast stretches of unoccupied forest. For greater security and autonomy, house groups tend to isolate themselves from those with whom no marriage partners are exchanged.

Petroleum development, the expansion of agriculture, tourism, and the creation of airstrips and schools have all had an impact on settlement patterns. There are currently eighteen sedentarized villages. Traditional longhouses are on the wane. Although the 1990 land legalization has encouraged families to go back to their eastern territories, almost 80 percent of the population are still concentrated in the former Protectorate.

Domestic organization

The longhouse, the basic social unit, is typically composed of an older couple (often a man married to one, two, or three sisters), their daughters (with, when married, their husbands and children), and their unmarried sons. A longhouse may comprise between ten and thirty-five members, sometimes more. Relations between co-residents are characterized by great intimacy, sharing, and equality.

Social life is organized around the collective sharing of food individually produced. Food-sharing in the longhouse is not reciprocal: the actions of giving and receiving are entirely dissociated. Social partners equally disengaged from property relate to one another in a way which creates neither competition nor dependency. Such non-reciprocal relations produce a collectivity in which givers never become creditors, nor receivers debtors.

Husbands and wives complement each other and form productive units; yet, as each spouse remains an independent food sharer, marital reciprocity is subsumed within longhouse sharing. Conjugality alters production, but does not affect distribution patterns.

Political organization

Despite its political encapsulation today, this remains a profoundly autarkic and egalitarian society, where the predominant political goal is to achieve for one's longhouse complete self-sufficiency and autonomy. Contact, trade, and exchange with outsiders are avoided, and any binding relationship of domination or dependency is evaded. As the political nature of social links is primarily expressed in physical and spatial terms, fleeing, hiding, or killing potential invaders have been common expressions of political evasion. Leaders are those who initiate collective undertakings. To lead is not seen as a right to command, nor to follow as a duty to obey. All mature adults have the potential to initiate collective actions and create the conditions for abundant well-being.

Longhouse co-residents are themselves autonomous and self-sufficient producers from a very early age. Family members associate not in production, but rather in order to share the fruits of their labor; thus, the longhouse is a unit of consumption rather than of production. Sharing between equal

and consenting partners is basic to longhouse intimacy and identity.

Being exogamic, longhouses depend on others for marriage. Most marriages are uxorilocal and take place between cross-cousins. Cross-sex siblings pair themselves from an early age, and seek to remain socially and spatially close throughout their lives. The strong and lasting bond uniting them is strengthened when they exchange one or more children in marriage. Marriage alliances are fundamental to Huaorani politics, and the egalitarian nature of Huaorani society derives from brother—sister partnerships.

"Our land is the forest, it is full of beauty, it is bountiful, it is our home. But the oil company has come to live in our home. We do not want to share our home with a company. Let's organize, let's be one voice. We need to think for ourselves. We must find an answer to the question: What life do the Huaorani want to live?"

Bay Alvarado, Quehueire Ono, April, 1990, during a village assembly

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Religion and spirituality

Huaorani religious ideas are associated with their obsession to inject meaning into death and predation. Perceiving themselves as victims of dangerous cannibals, they view all deaths as a violent form of killing, a denial of the right to live, the only true obstacle to freedom of action.

Life, as a continuous process involving the right combination of elements and species, is also central to Huaorani spirituality. The myth of origin, which develops around the giant ceibo tree (*Ceiba pentranda*), container of all life forms, expresses the fundamental characteristics of the Amazon ecosystem, which largely depends on a delicate balance between heat, humidity, light, and shade. Shamans, who act as intermediaries between the living and the dead and have the power to see what is normally inaccessible to human consciousness, receive help from adopted jaguar "sons," who, among other deeds, keep the game close to humans. Shamanic power replicates symbolically the forest management practices through which Huaorani people transform the forest into a giving environment.

Two rituals encourage humans to grow, mature, and reproduce: the ear-piercing and wedding ceremonies. During weddings hosts and guests are compared to merry birds feeding on a fruiting tree. Weddings are celebrations of the forest's natural bounty.

Most Huaorani today say they are evangelical Christians. Since the early 1960s, SIL missionaries have vehemently advocated monogamy, sexual modesty, and extensive prayer. They strongly discourage feasts, chants, and dancing. However, the way in which Huaorani people talk about God, select stories from the Bible, or preach shows that they have certainly embraced Christianity on their own terms.

Current situation

Despite predictions that the national society would quickly absorb this reduced, egalitarian, and foraging group, Huaorani people are, twenty-five years on, flourishing. The population has expanded demographically and spatially, recuperating lost territories. Of course, their reality and identity have

become highly complex, but they cannot be said simply to have become Ecuadorian citizens, generic Indians, or civilized Christians.

Compared to other Amazonian Indians, the Huaorani have retained a substantial land base; their native language was never suppressed, nor was Spanish ever forced upon them. They have not experienced religious boarding schools, nor the alienation of *hacienda* life. They are surrounded by non-Huaorani migrant farmers whose unskilled labor is always on offer for the short periods when the oil industry requires manpower, and thus remain outside the wage labor market. Their settlements are too remote from urban centers, roads, and main rivers to market cash crops or forest products profitably. Tourism is limited for the same reasons.

Caught between the conflicting objectives of petroleum development and forest conservation, Huaorani people are confronted with pernicious and contradictory economic and political interests. Not unlike the SIL, the oil companies operating on their territory are trying to exercise complete control over the Huaorani, providing funds and coordinating all governmental and non-governmental actions concerning health, education, and economic improvement. Much paternalism and rhetoric accompany these "modernization" programs which, far from promoting self-development, are undermining what constitutes the core of Huaorani culture: their unique relationship to the forest and their hunting-and-gathering way of life.

Organization for resistance

In 1991, in the wake of receiving territorial rights from the government after a protracted international campaign, young schooled men formed the ONHAE (Organization of the Huaorani Nation of Amazonian Ecuador). Five years on, the organization operates almost entirely under the auspices of Maxus, the company presently exploiting petroleum in the Huaorani territory and the Yasuni National Park. Maxus pays a salary to ONHAE's leaders, rents an office equipped with telephone, fax, and electronic mail, and employs a secretary to run it. Given that political decisions are normally taken through consensus and not by majority votes, agreements passed between Maxus and elected representatives are often denounced and declared null and void in the communities. The local political influence of ONHAE leaders, who are viewed as too young and immature to deserve respect, remains somewhat limited. Conscious of the ONHAE's inadequacies, the Huaorani are searching for an organizational form more in tune with their own political dynamics.

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I.II.6

The Sirionó of the Llanos de Mojos, Bolivia

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Introduction

Early European observers considered the culture of the Sirionó of the Llanos de Mojos, eastern Bolivia, one of the world's most impoverished (Holmberg 1985 [1950]; Métraux 1942; Nordenskiöld 1924; Rydén 1941). Subsequent research disproved this view. Although lacking permanent settlements and fire-making technology, the Sirionó had domesticates (chiefly maize) and swidden fields. Their agricultural neighbors saw them as barbarians. Some European observers considered the Sirionó a prototypical people who had not advanced materially. They assumed the Tupí-Guaraní language had been imposed by the invasion of more developed societies, such as the Guaraní from Paraguay, who supposedly subjugated Sirionó more than two centuries ago (Nordenskiold 1924). Yet the Sirionó tongue exhibits no substratum influence from non-Tupí-Guaraní languages; Tupí-Guaraní languages are intrusive in Bolivia. The proto-language of Sirionó was associated with a society dependent on diversified horticulture, semi-permanent settlements, and other aspects of pre-Columbian development. The Sirionó, who call themselves *Mbía*, are best considered a people whose ancestors lost fire-making, some domesticated crops, and more stable settlement patterns for historical reasons. They are not a residual exemplar of failed sociocultural evolution (Stearman 1987, 1989). In reference to subsistence alone, and on a continuum between exclusive foraging and settled horticulture, the Sirionó of the early twentieth century were a trekking people whose domesticated crop inventory was small (focused upon maize) and whose seasonal mobility was high, although not entirely nomadic (Balée 1995).

Population

Total known Sirionó: about 600; unrecorded groups may exist on the Río Guaporé of Brazil and the basins of Ríos Blanco and Negro, eastern Bolivia, near the Brazilian border. Ibiato Sirionó (1993), 471; Ibiato Sirionó (1938), 140; total known Sirionó (1941), about 2000; Yuquí (1983), 73.

Location

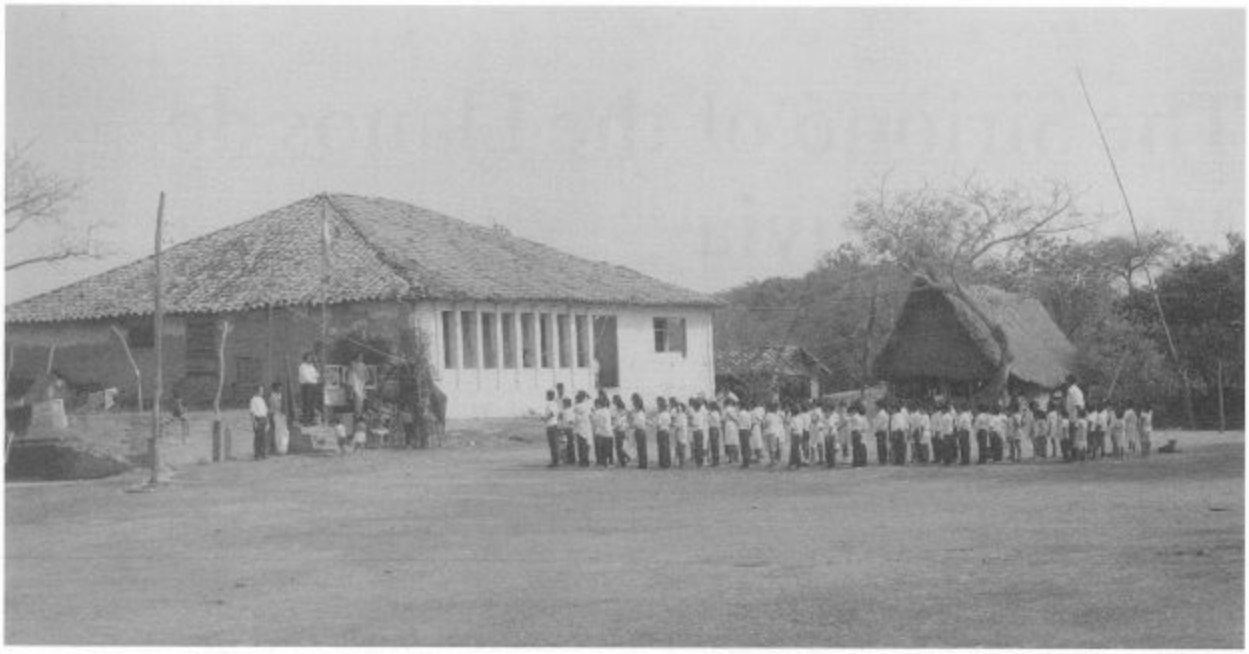
Llanos de Mojos, Beni State, eastern Bolivia; Mamoré and Guaporé (Itenez) river basins; largest settlement at Ibiato (14°49′48′ S, 64°22′45′ W).

History

The Sirionó are linguistically related to the Chiriguano, Guarayo, Guaraní, and Yuquí. Yuquí and

Sirionó seem most closely related: Sirionó informants claim near mutual intelligibility with Yuquí. Within the last 300 years Sirionó and Yuquí may have constituted a single language/people (Denevan 1966, *Scripta Ethnologica* 1987, Stearman 1989). As with the Sirionó, the Yuquí also lost fire-making technology. Unlike the Sirionó, the Yuquí had lost all domesticated crops, even though they retained cognate words for some, such as maize and annatto (*Bixa orellana*) (Stearman 1989).

The ancestors of these Tupí-Guaranian groups probably migrated severally from Paraguay to Bolivia for reasons not yet clear. The Sirionó, like the Yuquí, are sometimes called *choris*/*choriono* ("barbarians") by the neighboring Guarayo and *Cirioniens* (perhaps derived from *siríba* "peach palm" used by the Sirionó for bows or from *sirí* "palm heart, of *Astrocaryum murumuru* var. *murumuru*," a delicacy of the Sirionó). Although some Sirionó were probably missionized by early Jesuits, most reports dismissed them as uncivilized. This indicates that they and their habitat remained foreign to outsiders into the late nineteenth century. Sirionó contacts with non-Indians and Indians alike were limited mainly to raiding for iron tools and attempting to defend themselves from raids by the Ayoreo to the south, the Bauré to the north, and non-Indian ranchers and slavers from the south. By the 1880s many Sirionó were being settled in Franciscan missions. Others were transformed into debtor-peons and slave laborers on ranches and farms. Their descendants later assimilated into lowland Bolivian society. Many Sirionó succumbed to smallpox and influenza epidemics during the 1920s, and more recently to tuberculosis. Others eluded capture by retreating to the forests. Much of this population was coaxed to settle at Ibiato Mission, founded in 1931 by American evangelical Protestants.



20 Sirionó school children in the plaza of Ibiato, in assembly to commemorate Bolivian Independence Day on August 6, 1993. The plaza is situated on top of a prehistoric occupation mound. Photo: William Balée.

21 Don Chiro Cuellar, a Sirionó elder (*ererékwa*), inspects the flower of the *Tabebuia* genus of trees, called *táči* in Sirionó; the flower is believed to possess medicinal properties. Photo: William Balée.

The Bolivian government in 1932 allowed this mission to claim about 30,000 ha as foraging habitat for the Sirionó. When the mission collapsed in the 1960s, one third of this land was invaded by cattle ranchers. The Sirionó *ererékwa* (headmen) appealed to the Bolivian government to decree this land, and 30,000 ha more, an indigenous territory. In 1990, sixty Sirionó from Ibiato walked from Trinidad in Amazonia, up the Andes to La Paz, a distance of 630 km, to emphasize this demand. In 1994–5, with help from NGOs, Ibiato Sirionó produced a complete topographical delimitation of this land using GIS mapping, and in 1997 the Bolivian government decreed Sirionó title.

In 1825, the naturalist D'Orbigny described the Sirionó as non-agricultural (Holmberg 1985) [1950]. Nordenskiöld, the first anthropologist to meet a few Sirionó, concurred with D'Orbigny. Rydén spent some weeks with the Sirionó in and around Ibiato in 1938. He considered their horticulture to be recently adopted. Holmberg memorialized the Sirionó in *Nomads of the long bow* (1985 [1950])—their bow, the largest in South America, exceeds 2 m. Holmberg suggests the Sirionó lost much of their original culture through migrations northward into Bolivia. He was uncertain that the Sirionó possessed a venerable foraging tradition with a horticultural component. His assessment of Sirionó kinship stimulated others (see *Scripta Ethnologica* 1987) to publish structuralist and componential analyses of his data. In the early 1960s, Denevan carried out geographical research in the Llanos de Mojos, including the vicinity of Ibiato. Stearman conducted research on the Sirionó and Yuquí during the 1980s, suggesting they had a common ancestry in more complex, horticultural societies of the past. More recent archaeological and ethnological research in the region has focused on Sirionó landscapes altered by prehistoric peoples (Balée 1995, Erickson 1995).

Environment

The Sirionó inhabit lowland forests and savannas of eastern Bolivia (the Ríos Mamoré and Guaporé watersheds in southwestern Amazonia). The Llanos de Mojos consist of seasonally inundated savanna dotted with gallery forests, forest islands with prehistoric man-made causeways, raised fields, and mounds. The northern and southern limits of the Llanos are approximately 11° and 17° S. Much of the Ibiato area lies 200 m above sea level and receives about 1600 mm rainfall per year; there is a marked dry season (May—September) during which occasional Antarctic cold fronts (*surazos*) bring temperatures to 8° or 9°C. The average annual temperature is 24°C.

The Sirionó camped in well-drained forests (*k^{h}iáni*) noted for major prehistoric earthworks. Although not rich in plant species compared to the more northerly Amazonian forests (many deciduous trees are without canopy during the dry season), many species most common to these forests appear consistent with tree vegetation on natural levees and in old-growth fallow forests elsewhere in the region. These include: *kiri*"motacu" (*Attalea phalerata*), *ak^{y}acái*"hog plum" (*Spondias mombim*), *irate*"ochoó" (*Hura crepitans*), *táči*"tajibo" (*Tabebuia* spp.), *imbéi*"ambaibo" (*Cecropia* spp.), *iraríe*"kapok tree" *Ceiba pentandra*, and *síŋ^{y}a*"pacay" (*Inga* spp.). It seems likely that after the earthworks' abandonment, (*c*. AD 1000–1600) (Denevan 1966, Erickson 1995), tree vegetation from lower, unfelled zones gradually colonized the higher ground: land probably heavily settled (and deforested) by earlier populations. Sirionó camps and subsistence were conditioned by forests that originated in deliberate land accumulation, for drainage, agriculture, and settlement, by more complex native societies of the past (Erickson 1995). Sirionó hunted and gathered in these anthropogenic forests as well as in surrounding savanna; their horticulture was confined to well-drained ground on the ancient earthworks.

Economy

Although Holmberg (1985 [1950]) described the Sirionó habitat as depauperate of edible fauna and the people as chronically hungry, recent research suggests that the area is comparatively rich in game (Townsend 1995). Holmberg's adduced malnourishment may have been associated with contact and unrelated to the potential productivity of the landscape with traditional Sirionó technology.

In the past, men hunted mainly with the bow (made from *siríba*"peach palm" [*Bactris gasipaes*]) and arrow (shaft from *uúba*"arrowcane" [*Gynerium sagittatum*], point from *tákwa*"bamboo" [*Guadua* spp.] or peach palm). The major game species were white-lipped peccary, collared peccary, pampa deer, coati, paca, agouti, and armadillo. Hunters also captured the turtle, tortoise, caiman, and capuchin monkey. Birds taken by hunters included toucan, guan, curassow, tinamid, and heron. Fishing was less important than hunting; the most important fish were the armored catfish (*Hoplosternum littorale* and *Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus*) that thrive in swamps, ponds, and deoxygenated, sluggish waters (Townsend 1995). Fish were taken by bow and arrow and with fish poison (the sap of the ochoó tree [*Hura crepitans*]). Contemporary Sirionó use fishhooks and nets. Wild plant foods came, above all, from the palms: motacu (*Attalea phalerata*, fruits and palm heart), *tibái*"sumuque" (*Syagrus sancona*, fruits), *korondéi*"totaí" (*Acrocomia aculeata*, fruits), and  *^{y}isúi*"chonta" (*Astrocaryum murumuru* var. *murumuru*, palm heart). Non-domesticated fruit trees include hog plum (*Spondias mombim*), pacay (*Inga* spp.), *urúre*"mururé" (*Brosimum* cf. *acutifolium*),  *^{y}ai*"genipapo" (*Genipa americana*), *ibái*"coquino" (*Pouteria* sp. 1), and *ibarisái*"aguaí" (*Pouteria* sp. 2). Some naturalized citrus trees, probably introduced by Jesuits in the 1600s, were also utilized.

Before missionization and settlement at Ibiato, the Sirionó cultivated maize, calabash, tobacco, cotton, and annatto. Fields were usually not cleared with steel tools and fire; rather, branches in the canopy were broken to create a light gap on the forest floor where maize kernels and other crops

were planted with digging sticks. Soils on the mounds were evidently fertile, given a millennium's accumulation of organic refuse (Erickson 1995). Sirionó names for several of these crops as well as for many semi-domesticated trees of the mound forest seem cognate rather than borrowed, indicating Sirionó horticulture was not a recent adoption. At present, some families own a few free-range cattle. Some Sirionó work temporarily as ranch hands. Others grow rice, sugarcane, and other cash crops. Most Sirionó at Ibiato possess a new swidden (*koyásu*) or an old swidden (*kóke*) either in production or lying fallow.

Settlement patterns

In the early twentieth century Sirionó bands moved camp as they depleted local game supplies (Holmberg 1985 [1950]). Camp movements were more frequent in the dry season, probably the most productive period. Housing consisted of lean-tos covered by motacu palm fronds. A band of one or more uxorically extended families occupied a single large lean-to during the rainy months (December—April) when camps were of longer continuous occupation. Rainy season camps were located on forested, flood-free high ground (such as the prehistoric 18 m high mound of *ibi-báte* ("earth-high"), 6 km east of Ibiato) that had been built and occupied by a more complex society, possibly Arawakan people. In the barrow pits at the base of such mounds one finds perennial drinking water, even in the dry season. On these mounds, the Sirionó planted maize and other crops that produced fast yields (within three months) and, in the case of calabash, annatto, and cotton, did not require continuous care. Although bands were not associated with territories *per se*, camps were reused seasonally, especially those where old swiddens (*kóke*) had been situated. Today Sirionó are permanently settled at Ibiato.

Domestic and political organization

The Sirionó traditionally lived in uxorilocal bands. Although women could not become headmen, their status was relatively high. Marriage was evidently prescriptive between cross-cousins and allowable between a man and his (classificatory) sister's daughter. That *ari* equates "wife's mother" with "father's sister" and "mother's brother's wife," and that *yánde* refers to "mother's brother's daughter" and to "wife's sister" suggests an equation of consanguines and affines, a characteristic feature of Dravidian terminologies prescribing cross-cousin marriage (common among Tupí-Guaranian peoples). On the other hand, skewing in some Sirionó terms indicates a Crow-Omaha type of kin terminology, a local rarity. The Sirionó may have prescribed marriage between a man and his mother's brother's daughter at one time (Holmberg 1985 [1950]), but not today. The marriage rule is negative: all consanguines are prohibited from sexual/marital partnership (Stearman 1987). In the early twentieth century, each band of families had a headman (*ererékwa*). Headmanship is usually transmitted from father to son. These men speak for their community at public meetings. They seek consensus regarding issues involving land and the Bolivian government. They tend to cooperate in peacefully resolving both local quarrels, and those between Sirionó and nearby non-Indians (Stearman 1987). At present, Ibiato Sirionó seem to be acting in a corporative manner in their campaign for legally recognized territory (which they recently achieved).

Religion

In addition to viewing Sirionó as technologically backward and materially impoverished, some early observers assumed they also lacked religion. While they did lack shamanism at the time of contact, Sirionó had a rich body of myth concerning the moon ( *ʸási*). They recognized souls of the dead (*anā*) and living (*eíŋe*). Other divinities included the *abaciʸekwáya* and *eciróke*, believed to influence human affairs.

Although many Sirionó are nominally evangelical Protestant (*creyentes*), forest mounds are believed to harbor souls of ancient headmen. Some plant "medicines" (*iraísi*) are used for effects difficult to demonstrate scientifically: *urúku* (*Bixa orellana*) pigment protects one from witchcraft and eating the fruits of wild papaya ( *ʸkisiaí: Jacaratia spinosa*) catalyzes children's growth. Other foods are "taboo" (*ma*  *ʸái*) for persons in certain age and sex groups, such as tortoise liver for boys which if eaten could cause sterility. At present, a schism between Sirionó Protestants and self-described non-believers may seem to be weakening common identity. On the other hand, the persistence of a trend toward societal endogamy and the emergence of a corporate concept of a Sirionó reserve seem to be strengthening community solidarity.

Current situation

The Sirionó of Ibiato exhibit many features of lowland Bolivian society: they have a school and church; some raise cattle, pigs, chickens, and horses; some work for wages; nearly all speak Spanish. The community has a vacation period in the dry season when youths attend "camp" in the distant gardens, where elders recite stories and legends. Despite these changes from the trekking life, an aboriginal system of knowledge remains a substratum that can still be inferred, especially linguistically. That substratum will probably endure if Sirionó efforts at language preservation are successful. Sirionó group identity is most evident today in relation to their home lands, which they have now claimed successfully through legal processes, assisted by NGOs, especially CIDDEBENI of Trinidad, Bolivia. The Sirionó contact and land situation is one of few bright spots of its kind in Amazonia; it may serve as a model to be emulated elsewhere.

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I.II.7

The Toba of the Argentine Chaco

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Introduction

The Nachilamolek Toba are a subgroup of the Argentine Toba living today in ten villages located in northwest Formosa Province, Argentina, near the marshlands formed by the middle course of the Pilcomayo River, and in one small settlement in the outskirts of the town of Ingeniero Juárez (70 km southwest). The Toba belong to the Guaycurú linguistic family which nowadays includes the Pilagá, Mocoví, and Mbayá-Caduveo with a population of 30,000 in Argentina, most of whom fall into subgroupings inhabiting the mid-east of Chaco and Formosa Provinces. By contrast, those called Nachilamolek ("people up the river") by Pilagá live in the western Argentine Chaco. They are culturally and linguistically closer to the Pilagá than to eastern Toba, a link which led Alfred Métraux (1937) to refer to them as Toba-Pilagá. However, the people call themselves Toba. In addition to this self-identification as *Toba* ("forehead" in Guaraní, owing to the custom of Toba warriors shaving their foreheads), these people, in common with all Toba, name themselves *qom*, "people."

22 A Toba schoolteacher on ahunting trip, 1990. Photo: Gastón Gordilo.

History

The Gran Chaco is a vast, mostly semi-arid plain in southeastern Bolivia, western Paraguay, and part of northern Argentina. For centuries it was, for the Spaniards, a hostile and economically unattractive region inhabited mostly by foraging groups resistant to attempts at conquest and missionization. As part of this process since the seventeenth century, Guaycurú groups like the southern Toba, the Mocoví, and especially the Mbayá and Abipón, developed a highly militarized "horse complex" based on cattle rustling, looting, and trade.

In the Argentine section of the Chaco, the final conquest of the region occurred between 1880 and 1920 when the indigenous groups were defeated and incorporated as an underclass into the political economy of northern Argentina. This process occurred unevenly in different Argentine Chaco subregions. In the rich, humid mid-eastern Chaco regions most lands were distributed to large estates and immigrant farmers. Most indigenous groups were forced to settle as peasants on small tracts of land, to engage in wage labor, and to reduce their foraging to a minimum. By contrast, in semi-arid western Argentine Chaco regions poor soils and scarce rains did not encourage massive land expropriations. Here, most lands remained the formal property of the state, and here many indigenous groups, especially those living by the Pilcomayo River (the Nachilamolek Toba and Wichí, Chorote, and Nivaklé) were able to continue foraging, but under the new conditions imposed by their incorporation into the wider capitalist economy.

Population
About 1500 Nachilamolek Toba (1990s).

Location
Northern Argentina, mid-Pilcomayo River marshland, northwest Formosa Province, close to the Paraguayan border, 23°20′ to 23°33′ S, 61°24′ to 61°44′ W.

Among the Nachilamolek Toba, these conditions included their engagement in seasonal labor migrations to sugarcane plantations located more than 300 km to the west (in the foothills of the Andes) and the conflictive presence on their lands of poor *criollo* settlers (Argentines of Spanish and mixed ancestry) with herds of free-range cattle. In 1917, following conflicts with criollos, this Toba group was defeated by the Argentine army. In 1930, British Anglicans founded a Toba mission, which led to further social changes.

Seasonal migrations to the sugarcane plantations continued until the late 1960s, when the harvest was mechanized and the Toba were recruited into other capitalist sectors (Gordillo 1995a). The process of Anglican missionization was severely affected in 1982 with the Malvinas (Falklands) War between Argentina and Great Britain, an event which diminished Anglican presence in the region. Since 1984 and the return of democracy in Argentina, state institutional involvement in Toba life has sharply increased.

Economic practices

Current Toba household social reproduction depends heavily on access to the market (for staples, tools, packaged foods, and clothing); thus, economic practices are strongly constrained by the pressures and limits imposed by capitalist sectors through seasonal labor migrations and petty commodity production (Gordillo 1992). Still, access to land and means of production allows Tobas to maintain partial autonomy in the organization of everyday labor; a good part of their economy's dynamism hinges upon the seasonal availability of natural resources.

The natural landscape of the region has been severely transformed by the criollo settlers' cattle. Because of overgrazing, grasslands that once covered much of the territory have been gradually replaced by a forest cover of shrubs, cactus, and hardwoods (from seed disseminated over depleted soil by grazing cattle). Even when the bush is extensively used in their hunting and gathering trips, the Tobas' central source of daily livelihood is the Pilcomayo marshland (a broad web of streams and swamps, formed in the aftermath of a mid-1970s flooding of the Pilcomayo River) that expands several kilometers during the floods of the rainy season (December–May).

23 Toba woman pounding algarroba pods during the ripening season, 1991. Photo: Gastón Gordillo.

Toba access to land and natural resources is collective; when the households make use of individual farming plots this does not imply they are held as private property. Overall, non-cash subsistence activities provide 70 percent of food during most of the year, and even about 50 percent during the season of highest scarcity of natural resources (August-September) (Gordillo 1995b).

Fishing is the most important subsistence activity, reaching its peak between May and July when large schools migrate upstream. Practiced by men, fishing is performed individually with spears, nylon fishing lines, and small nets.

The gathering of wild fruits by women is a very important source of nourishment during the ripening season, especially between November and March. The main fruits are algarroba (especially of the white type, *Prosopis alba*), mistol (*Zizyphus mistol*), chañar (*Gourliea decorticans*), bola verde (*Capparis speciosa*) and poroto de monte (*Capparis retusa*), among others. Honey, highly valued, is usually sought by men, especially during the rainy season (October–May).

Subsistence hunting is of secondary importance now (owing to the depletion of game), and is practiced by men individually with shotguns, rifles, or simply hunting dogs. The main target species are rabbit (*Sylvilagus brasiliensis paraguarensis*), roe deer (*Mazama americana*), American ostrich

(*Rhea americana*), carpincho (*Hydrochoerus hydrochoeris notialis*, the largest rodent on Earth), and several bird species.

Farming (known by this group well before the arrival of the missionaries) is practiced by most households with rudimentary techniques and in fields not bigger than 1–2 ha. The Toba grow mostly watermelon (*Citrullus vulgaris*), pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima*), anco (*Cucurbita moschata*), melon (*Cucumis melo*), and maize (*Zea mays*). Owing to the adverse climatic conditions (poor soils, only 500 mm of rain, and high evaporation), some households sow in humid, marshy fields that are inundated during seasonal floods. Cash crops are important especially in villages located close to the marshland. Women herd goats and sheep, especially in households whose members are public employees able to afford such livestock. Petty commodity production also includes handicrafts made by women, commercial hunting (limited today to skins of iguana [*Tupinambis teguixin*]), and occasionally the sale of domestic animals. Incomes received from such items, however, are minimal and irregular.

Many households, especially those in precarious material conditions, engage in seasonal wage labor. Up to 250 men, women, and children migrate seasonally as harvest-laborers. Contractors transport them by truck to distant cotton farms and bean plantations where exploitative conditions are severe. Since the 1980s, the state has provided a limited number of pensions and jobs for political representatives, nurses, midwives, teaching assistants, and manual workers. This has created an incipient social differentiation with regard to the many households lacking regular cash income (Gordillo 1994).

Kinship and domestic organization

The household, the main unit of production, consumption, and residence, usually consists of a matrilocal extended family: an adult couple, their single children, and the nuclear families formed by their married daughters. The current sedentary villages encompass one or more exogamous webs of extended families, each of which acknowledges linkage with the old semi-nomadic bands. Exogamy is expressed in the prohibition against marrying *laqáya* (siblings and "first cousins"), *laqáya's* children (*yolé* [f.], *yolék* [m.]), and the *laqáya* of ego's parents (*yajódo* [f.], *tejóko* [m.]). Descent is bilateral: no defined system of descent privileges any one genealogical line.

The villages have a flexible composition; households frequently move from one village to another (often to solve conflicts and in search of better economic resources). Generalized reciprocity is the main means through which foodstuffs are socially distributed, often to meet the survival demands of those households suffering the harshest poverty. In this context, demand sharing has become an important "leveling mechanism" *vis-à-vis* state employees (Gordillo 1994).

Despite women's greater contribution to domestic production, men impose some forms of domination, which is particularly clear in the male control over the political arena. Still, this situation is not associated with sharp forms of gender domination. Women usually play an active and respected role in community affairs.

Religion and values

Prolonged Anglican missionization has deeply influenced this group. The values and symbols brought

by the missionaries have merged with those the Toba inherited from their ancestors. Both have been reformulated and resignified in this process. The old warrior rituals, dances, and summer festivities have been abandoned in favor of the regular, public ritual of the Sunday service. "Vices" like consumption of alcohol and coca leaves (widespread among criollos) and "improper" sexual behavior are usually regarded as threats to public morality. Sorcery is a permanent source of concern and conflict. Any serious disease is interpreted as the product of actions motivated by "envy," of a *piogonák* (shaman), or of a *konánagae* (female sorcerer). However, the *piogonák* have lost part of their symbolic and social capital, owing to missionary condemnation of shamanism, to the presence of Western health care, and the growing importance of syncretic healing practices based on collective prayer.

Prolonged experience of poverty and exploitation during seasonal wage laboring has also influenced the Toba's current subjectivity. The Toba have a strong sense of being "aborigines" and "poor," which appears in expressions emphasizing both their class experience and their practice of ethnically distinct activities. As some people argue: "We're poor, but we always share—not like white people." Or: "We're poor, we have nothing, but at least we have the bush."

A generic concept encompassing the whole natural environment, "the bush" (*viaq, el monte*), has been constructed by the Toba as a semi-haven from exploitation and poverty: as a collective space of their own, free from direct exploitation, that they know better than criollos do. The bush is inhabited by spiritual beings, *payák* ("devils"), which, despite their potentially evil character, protect the animal species on which the Toba subsist, and provide the shamans with the power to heal. By contrast, the Toba usually associate capitalist plantations with disease and "devils" that, unlike those of the bush, are considered alien and threatening.

"We're poor, but we always share. That's our custom. We get fish and we share it with our neighbors. That's the custom of the old people. Whites are rich, but they're stingy; they don't even share with their siblings. That's why they're rich. Our custom is not like that."

Nalijé, Pedro Martínez

Political mobilization

With the return of democracy in Argentina in 1984, the Toba began a campaign for the legal ownership of their land (held by the state). In 1989, this political mobilization articulated with ongoing indigenous land claims of Formosa, and led to the Toba receiving collective title to 35,000 ha of land, comprising much, but not all, of their current foraging territories.

Leaders are usually men who, because of their command of Spanish and their skills as mediators, enjoy a general consensus as the persons best suited to be the group's representatives. The degree of support held by these leaders depends on their capacity to express the majority's sentiment and on their public display of "generosity." Thus, major political decisions are usually taken, in an open meeting, in consultation with the adult (mostly male) members of the village. However, the most important leaders have also become well-paid members of the apparatus of the provincial government, a situation not free from internal tensions among the Toba. Since the early 1990s, the political struggles of the Toba have been molded by a tension between their growing dependence on

the resources of the government and their attempt to keep a critical distance from it.

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I.II.8

The Yamana of Tierra del Fuego

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Introduction

The Yamana of Tierra del Fuego, also called Yahgan (Bridges 1893), are the world's southernmost aboriginal people. They have often been considered archetypically "primitive" hunter-gatherers, characterized (in contrast to Arctic peoples [Lothrop 1928]) by what they lack: permanent dwellings, permanent settlements, formal political leadership, and complex technology. Furthermore, their language, physical appearance, and economic orientation contrasted sharply with those of their northerly neighbors, the mighty Selk'nam (Ona) terrestrial guanaco hunters (Bridges 1947). By linking these characteristics, classical studies featured the Yamana as stagnant survivors of a Palaeolithic past, driven into a harsh, marginal environment by more powerful groups (Orquera and Piana 1996).

Ethnographers had but fleeting occasion to challenge, with fieldwork, the alleged Yamana primitivism. Habitat alterations, changes in sociopolitical structure, and new diseases from early Criollo—European settlement prompted a dramatic plunge of population from the last decades of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of ethnographic work in Tierra del Fuego, in the 1920s, perhaps one hundred Yamana were extant. Sixty years earlier the estimated population was 3000 (Bridges 1893, Gusinde 1986 [1937]). Today, the handful of remaining Yamana dwell at Ukika (Navarino Island, Chile), with an unknown number of mestizo kinfolk (Stambuk 1986).

History

Archaeological research reveals that people with a Yamana-like way of life inhabited the Beagle Channel region from 6200 BP (Orquera and Piana 1996). While the excavation of deep, stratified shellmidden sites has revealed few key changes in subsistence and technology before 500 BP, further studies will probably show a more complex picture, perhaps explaining discontinuities between the latest archaeological and the ethnographic records. From the seventeenth century, Yamanas sporadically encountered sailing ships plying the Cape Horn route through peripheral archipelagos. In the 1820s, British expeditions led by Robert Fitz-Roy entered the inner channels. Records of these expeditions, and the extraordinary success of Darwin's Journal, consecrated the negative features of the Yamana, both within and beyond academe (Cooper 1917, Gusinde 1986 [1937]). European whalers and sealers, active in the south Atlantic from the late eighteenth century, subsequently worked the inner channels, decimating in a few decades a critical resource (Vidal and Winograd 1986).

The Anglican mission established in 1869 at Ushuaia, at the heart of Yamana territory, concentrated the Yamana, but with devastating consequences. Contagious diseases wrought havoc on

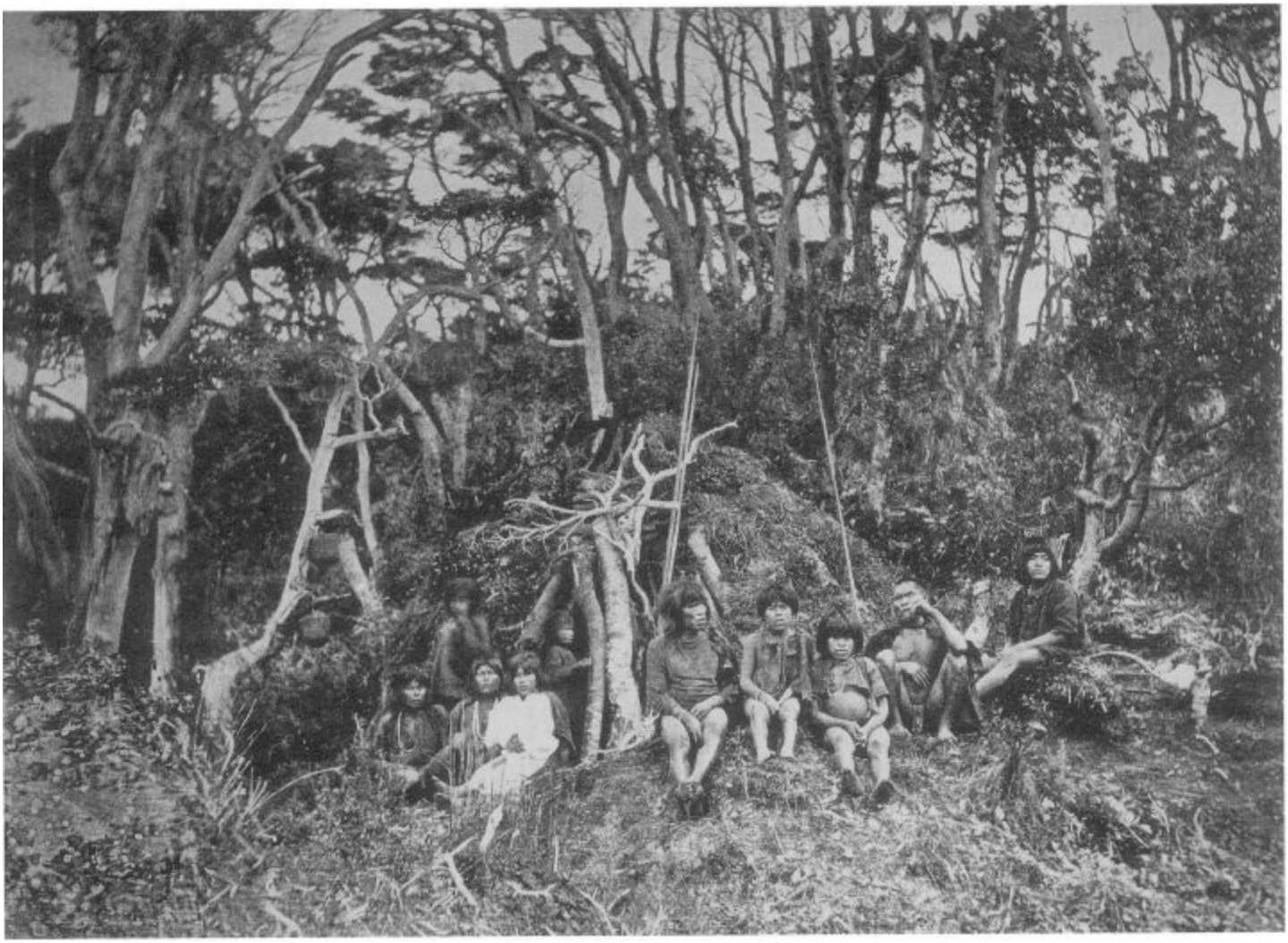
the “Christian Village”; infection was carried far and wide by those fleeing the mission. The missionaries gradually became sheep ranchers, incorporating some of the remaining Yamana in these ventures (Bridges 1947). Systematic ethnographic studies were conducted in the 1920s on such ranches (Gusinde 1986 [1937], Lothrop 1928).

Ecological setting and demography

The Andes chain plunges into the sea along the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego, creating a labyrinth of channels, fjords, and rugged islands. A dense beech forest (*Nothofagus* spp.) carpets the terrain, restricting habitation to stretches of rocky shore. Weather is consistently cold, windy, wet, and erratic. Average temperatures range from 1°C to 9.1°C; snow and frost may occur in any season.

Location
Southern archipelagos of Tierra del Fuego, in Chile and Argentina, from the Beagle Channel to Cape Horn, 55°/56° S and 66°/72° W. Estimated territory: 21,000 km^2.

Population
1860, about 3000; 1886, census, 400;
1929 census, 63; 1940 census, (Chile), 132;
1965 census, (Argentina), 3;
(Chile), 8 families; 1970 census, (Chile), 25 (mostly mestizos).



24 Yamana conical log dwelling and its occupants; seated front row from left to right: Oucilouchkowa Kipa, Mayachka Kipa, Taouala-Mayakou Kipa, Panach, Eraloentsis, Ouaromayentsis, and Tsingalais. Tsingalais' hair had been recently cut when members of the French expedition, la Mission scientifique du Cap Horn, 1882–3, took a cranial molding of his head. Photo: P. D. J. Hyades and J. Deniker, No. 2734/142, courtesy of the Musée de l'Homme, Paris.

As the forest supplied few, mostly seasonal resources, people have exploited the rich marine fauna, including several whale species, seals (*Artocephalus australia* and *Otaria favescens*), sea otters, and fishes. The littoral is also habitat for cormorants (*Phalacrocorax* spp.), penguins (*Spheniscus magellanicus*), and many other year-round resident seabirds, as well as dense shellfish beds.

Before European depredation (commercial hunting), the diversity and abundance of maritime resources supported a relatively large population; seasonal population distribution lessened the risk of food crises (Bridges 1893). Nevertheless, Yamana people did converge in the sheltered and richer inner channels. On his first day sailing the Beagle Channel, Fitz-Roy's boatswain reported more than a hundred canoes, each containing two to six people (Gusinde 1986 [1937]).

Economy

Yamana people were predominantly sea hunters. Seals yielded over half of the caloric ingestion in pre-ethnographic times, and probably still played the leading subsistence role in the 1920s, although

this remains a matter of debate (Gusinde 1986 [1937]:496, Orquera and Piana 1996). Seals and porpoises were typically approached by boat and harpooned on the water. Both archaeological and ethnographic data suggest seal hunting was pursued more actively in winter. Whales were sometimes chased on the open sea, though the Yamana more frequently utilized those fortuitously stranded. Whale blubber was the only major storable food resource.

Men also hunted guanacos (*Lama guanicoe*) during the cold season, when the animals grazed near the seashore, as well as sea otters, mainly for their fur. Women's main contribution to subsistence (besides paddling and maneuvering the canoes) was fishing and collecting shellfish on the shoreline or, in calm weather, from a canoe. Both men and women also pursued various bird species year-round. Women's participation in coastal foraging significantly increased during later contact times when resource competition with sealers and ranchers forced greater dependence on intertidal resources. The changing strategies also demanded greater mobility. Families moved almost daily. Many days were spent entirely on the water.

The emerging settlers' market did not offer an alternative source of income or goods. Wage labor was seasonal: while Selk'nam men proved better suited to ranching, former missionaries repeatedly employed Yamana during sheep shearing (Gusinde 1986 [1937]:343). Yamana men occasionally joined seal hunting expeditions (Stambuk 1986). Handicraft production was introduced early by the missionaries; it rendered a steady but negligible income. Waged work demand was sparse and seasonal.

Settlement patterns

The lack of predictable surpluses and major storing facilities compelled the Yamana to be constantly on the move, collecting food daily. Boats were crucial to this mobile life. Nuclear families usually moved about on their own, carrying their belongings. Sometimes two or three families traveled and camped together for a period. Strategically located campsites, accessible to shellfish beds and boat shelter, were briefly but repeatedly occupied by several families at different times. Dwellings were simple wood or grass huts constructed in minutes; newcomers often used the pole framework of former huts.

Multi-family settlements only occurred when a whale washed ashore, or, in ethnographic times, at the former missionaries' ranches in summer. Such occasions afforded opportunities for socializing and collective ceremonies, although such encampments lacked any special pattern or distribution. Encampments were rarely used for more than a two-week period.

Domestic organization

Daily pursuits, like sea hunting, required intimate man-woman cooperation, since the woman maneuvered the canoe to give her husband the best possible shot. Every activity related to the canoe except its construction was the woman's responsibility. She gave orders to her crew (Gusinde 1986 [1937]:597). Remarriage among widows/widowers, and the conjugal prospects of single adults, had everything to do with preserving the vital balance on the "canoe-holds." When a man died, his brother had to take his widowed sister-in-law and her children. While polygyny was rarely practiced, second wives were usually either widows, or sisters of the first wife.

25 Ouchpoukate Kerenentsis and his two wives, Kita Maoyoelis Kipa on the left, and Cifara Kouchowaeli Kipa, who was an Alacaluf, on the right. The child is his daughter by Kita Maoyoelis Kipa. Mission scientifique du Cap Horn, 1882-3. Photo: P. D. J. Hyades and J. Deniker, No. 2669/113, courtesy of the Musee de I'Homme, Paris.

The residence of new couples depended on the needs of the two parental units. They lived in proximity to the wife's parents if the latter were old, infirm, and alone; otherwise, they favored the husband's native district. Descent was calculated through both parents. Marriage prohibitions included primary relatives in both lines (in effect, territorial exogamy); paternal kin categories approximately coincided with actual local clusters. The web of kinship was slightly weighted in the paternal side; descriptive kinship terms distinguished maternal relatives by geographical location.

Political organization

Geographical barriers (mainly the vertical, rocky coastline) divided the Yamana territory into five districts (Gusinde 1986 [1937]:437fn.,Lothrop 1928:120). Restricted social interaction engendered dialectal, cultural, and economic differences, and mutual antagonisms. Yamanas usually introduced themselves as members of one of the larger dialectal groups, but it is not possible, at least in ethnographic times, to designate these as "bands," in terms of either territoriality or marriage and residential conventions. Rather, the society was a fluid network of highly mobile and independent individual families linked by similar language and custom, loosely clustered in flexible local groups by bonds of kinship, marriage, and friendship with other families. Local groups typically encompassed fifteen to twenty canoes, and recognized a section of coastline to be their homeland, though they did not claim exclusive tenure. Nor did they recognize any centralized leadership. The social importance of local groups was reflected in personal names (composed of a birthplace toponym and a gender suffix).

Differentiation and conflicts among large dialect groups were exacerbated by exchanges between peripheral groups and neighboring aliens. Mixed Selk'nam—Yamana marriages were probably frequent in the east; as well, eastern Yamana hunted guanaco in the continental interior during winter, although the ethnographic record affords little elaboration.

Religion and spirituality

The Yamanas' complex spiritual life centered on shamanism and initiation ceremonies (*kina* and *ciexaus*). Shamans could be women or, more often, men. They cured the sick, influenced the weather, and predicted hunting fortunes. The most powerful could also kill enemies from a distance and "call" whales to the shore. Although respected, feared, and given food and goods for services rendered, shamans lived ordinary lives. Novices came to their calling through personal visions and were trained by older specialists.

The *kina* and *ciexaus* were collective initiation rituals oriented to instilling proper adult outlooks in adolescent boys and girls. The inclusion of women (in sharp contrast to the male-only initiations of the Selk'nam) is attributed to the relatively higher social status and economic role of Yamana women. These ceremonies were held consecutively, sometimes culminating in shamanistic competitions among famed shamans. When food supplies were sufficient, such activities might last several months. The ceremonies were hosted by a local group, but attracted people, including aspirants and their relatives, from other regions. Trained, prestigious persons played several roles in the complex rituals. A large, ceremonial hut was collectively built to house the initiated, who thereby enjoyed the otherwise rare opportunity to socialize widely.

"I am alone, but I can live this way. Who knows, maybe I will start dreaming the things of my race and singing as I did before. I have not been able to sing nor dream, since I married [a Chilote]. I joined him and everything came to an end."
"There is nobody else to talk to. Paisanos are not interested in the stuff of their race. Very few know the language, and even we are forgetting. There will be no more villages. Ukika will be the last. We, the latest, are dying, and we cannot fill our land with Yahganes again."

Rosa Yagán, 1983

Gusinde (1986 [1937]) was the first European to participate in, and describe these ceremonies (in 1919–21), which the Yamana had carefully concealed from the missionaries for six decades (Gusinde 1986 [1937]: 143, 778). While Yamanas acknowledge that the mission mitigated the violence of the European disruption, they nonetheless resented the authoritarian paternalism, and constant missionary intervention in their intimate affairs (Gusinde 1986 [1937], Stambuk 1986). The missionaries, walking in Darwin's (1986:242) foot-steps, considered the lack of social differentiation to be the main obstacle to Yamana "progress." Missionary activities, therefore, contested Yamana reciprocal, egalitarian social relations, in order to establish local hierarchic Christian leaders, mission-trained and intended to instil notions of private property and gender differentiation among their expected followers.

Current situation

Ethnographic field research on the Yamana came to a sudden end in the late 1920s. The Yamana people, now intensely assimilated, and working on ranches and for timber companies, lost their identity as "authentic Indians." After the definitive withdrawal of the Anglican mission in 1916,

Yamana women increasingly married non-Yamana (Gusinde 1986 [1937]:234, 245fn.), especially Chilotes, men from a despised ethnic group on Chiloé, an island off the Chilean coast (Stambuk 1986:74, 93). Many of the subsequent mestizo offspring continue to live among the remaining Yamana, perhaps slightly enlarging the population in the 1940s. This tarnished the image of Yamana ethnic purity, for both officials and academics. Since 1925, Chile has made several attempts to remove people from the Puerto Mejillones reservation, although it continued to shelter a population of one hundred in 1927, and fifty in 1965.

In addition to seasonal ranch and forestry work, men occasionally joined commercial sealing expeditions, where their nautical skills were valued. They did not forsake hunting and gathering however. Many maintained their nomadism into the 1950s, augmenting foraging by keeping some sheep on islands, where no fences were needed (Stambuk 1986).

The 1930s and 1940s also witnessed some embryonic attempts at innovative political organization. Lanamutekensh, christened José Milicich Yahgan, a literate and relatively prosperous Yamana, was designated

Cacique ["judge"] (Stambuk 1986:76, interview with M.O.,Ushuaia, 1992).

The years of relative autonomy and extreme poverty did not last long. Since the 1940s, increasingly contentious boundary disputes between Argentina and Chile have launched massive militarization of the Beagle Channel region. Most of the settlers, on whose ranches the Yamana had worked (including former missionaries), were evicted, and navigation between the Argentine and Chilean coasts was severely restricted. Most remaining Yamana were concentrated in Ukika, a hamlet built in 1958 beside a Chilean naval base on Navarino Island. As the missionaries had, a century earlier, navy commanders now supplied the Ukika people with some food and other supplies, and controlled every aspect of Yamanas' lives, from the selection of spouses to travel destinations (Stambuk 1986:94).

Ukika still shelters a handful of people of Yamana descent who identify themselves as Yahgan, the term coined by Thomas Bridges. Among them, Ursula and Cristina Calder (sisters in their sixties) still speak some Yamana. Access to Ukika has been facilitated since the 1980s, and Yamanas have participated in some recent research and economic development projects, though the results are still unpublished.

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I.III NORTH EURASIA

I.III.1

Introduction: North Eurasia

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Introduction

Russia is one of a few regions of the world where hunter-gatherer communities survived in the remote Arctic and Subarctic until very recently. Their subsistence economies were based mainly on hunting and fishing, and since long ago they had employed dogs and reindeer for transport and hunting purposes. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the majority of the indigenous Arctic populations shifted their main subsistence occupation to reindeer pastoralism. However, they maintained their old pre-pastoral customs and traditions for a much longer period.

By 1990, the indigenous populations of the Russian north numbered approximately 184,500. While occupying a vast territory of about 11.1 million km^2 (58 percent of Russian territory in general) they accounted for only 0.06 percent of the entire population of the Russian Federation. The territory in question is very rich in mineral and oil resources, which has resulted in intensive industrial exploitation of the north in the 1960s through 1980s. During the last few decades the lands which have historically been sparsely populated have experienced an enormous influx of newcomers (ethnic Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, and others). This has changed the ethnic composition of the local population drastically and produced the consequent features of "an internal colony": inter-ethnic marriages; urbanization; Russification; changes in lifestyle; heavy cultural and linguistic losses; alcoholism; and the growth of the rate of social pathologies including suicides and homicides.

In 1925, the Government defined the twenty-six peoples of northern Eurasia within the Soviet Union as "the numerically small peoples" with distinct, official Russian language appellations. It is important to note that this special category did not encompass the so-called "numerically large" Siberian peoples such as the *yakuty, komi*, or *buriaty*. This special status helped them, at least to a certain extent, retain some measure of autonomy. The peoples in question lived in the Arctic tundra zone as well as in the vast Subarctic taiga or boreal forest regions. They occupied themselves primarily with hunting land and sea mammals, fishing, and reindeer herding. Consequently, they led a nomadic or semi-settled way of life associated with specific social and cultural patterns. In this chapter, official Russian language appellations will be used. The remaining chapters will use the term that the people use to refer to themselves.

In terms of their native languages, the peoples originally belonged to at least seven different language families:

Eskimo-Aleutian (*eskimosy, aleuty*)

Chukotko-Kamchatkan (*chukchi, koriaki, itelmeny*)
Tungus-Manchurian (*eveny, evenki, nanaitsy, ul'chi, orochi, oroky, negidaltsy, udegetsy*)
Ugrian (*khanti, mansi*)
Samoedian (*nenty, entsy, nganasany, sel'kupy*)
Sino-Caucasian (*ketys*)
Turk (*tofolary, dolgany*).

Other groups include the *iukagiry* whose language is distantly related to the Uralic super-family (Finno-Ugric and Samoedian languages), and the *nivkhi* whose language demonstrates remote links to both the Altaic and Sino-Caucasian language families. The language of the *saami* is relatively isolated within the Finno-Ugric family of languages.

The northern peoples developed original, efficient systems of adaptation to their particularly harsh surroundings. They are well known for their rich folklore, indigenous customs, and specific world-views. By the end of the twentieth century a substantial majority of them had been modernized, urbanized, and Russified. However, given economic difficulties in Russia in the 1990s, many of them are attempting to restore their subsistence and cultural traditions.

With regard to their traditional subsistence economies "the northern peoples" can be classified in the following way (cf. Sokolova 1989: 14):

1. tundra reindeer herders: *nenetsy, saami*, and some *chukchi* and *koriaki*, with *iukagiry, entsy*, and *nganasany* occupying an intermediate position between the reindeer herders and the tundra and taiga-tundra hunters;
2. taiga hunters: *evenki, eveny, dolgany, tofolary*, forest *nentsy*, northern *sel'kupy*, and *kety* who formerly used domesticated reindeer only as a means of transport; it is also possible to include here the taiga and taiga-tundra reindeer herders, hunters, and fishermen (northern *khanti, mansi, orochi, oroky*), and the taiga and taiga-tundra hunters and fishermen (the *udegetsy*, some *kety, iukagiry* and some *evenki*) as intermediate types;
3. settled or semi-settled river fishermen: the *khanti*, the *mansi*, the *sel'kupy, itelmeny, nivkhi, ul'chi*, and *nanaitsy*;
4. sea mammal hunters and part fishermen: *eskimosy, aleuty*, coastal *chukchi* and coastal *koriaki*.

Map 6 Hunter-gathers in North Eurasia

In order to protect subsistence economies and traditional cultures of the northern peoples, Autonomous Districts were established for some of them in the 1930s, including the Nenets, the Iamal-Nenets, the Khanti-Mansi, the Taimyr (Dolgan-Nenets), the Evenk, the Chukchi, and the Koriak Autonomous Districts. As later became evident, this ethnic autonomy was more formal and declarative than it was real. In formal terms indigenous politicians were members of the local authoritative bodies (Soviets) and sometimes formed the majority there. Their real participation in the decisions concerning various political and socioeconomic issues was, however, extremely limited. All the most important political and economic decisions were made by the central authorities in Moscow and had to be followed without challenge.

However, the existence of the Autonomous Districts did help respective peoples to maintain their traditions and languages. Native languages survived much better among the titled peoples of the Autonomous Districts than among other indigenous populations of these districts, or among those who had no administrative autonomy at all. Native languages also tended to survive in the less urbanized and less industrialized areas, and among the largest of the indigenous populations. At the other end of the continuum, some particularly small populations, like the *aleuty, itelmeny, orochi*, and *nivkhi* among others, are in danger of the complete loss of their native languages, now used mainly by elderly and, to a lesser extent, middle-aged people.

Since the late 1980s, activists of indigenous origin (mainly writers) have voiced concern about the disastrous effects of modernization on the north, asserting the need for greater local political rights in order to protect the local natural and cultural environments. In 1989–90 Local Associations of

Northern Peoples were established such as "Rescue of the Ugra" in the Khanti-Mansi Autonomous District, "Iamal for the descendants" in the Iamal-Nenets Autonomous District, and "Iasavei" in the Nenets Autonomous District. On March 30–31, 1990, the Meeting of the Numerically Small Peoples took place in the Kremlin where the program for economic and cultural development of the northern peoples was critically discussed and reformulated. Owing to the collapse of the USSR by the end of 1991 and the resulting economic crisis in the Russian Federation, this program was never implemented.

Since that time the northern peoples have had to fight for survival by themselves, employing various strategies in order to do so. Some of them actively seek to restore forms of traditional social organization, based on kin-groups, with shamanism at the core of their intellectual life and world-view. Most of the chapters in this section emphasize the traditional importance of shamanism within the communities they describe. Furthermore, Mathias Guenther's essay on hunter-gatherer mythology (II.II.3) suggests the pervasiveness of shamanism in hunter-gatherer communities world-wide.

In the early 1990s, several new ethnic administrative units were established elsewhere for indigenous groups—the Evenk-Bytanai in Sakha (Iakutiia), and Krasnoiarsk (for *evenki*) and *udegetsy*. In February 1993, the list of the Numerically Small Northern Peoples was augmented by the addition of peoples of the Altai region (the *shortsy, teluety, kumandintsy*). Since 1990 the Russian parliament has been working with the northern authorities in an attempt to provide better protection for the northern environment and cultures. Measures were also implemented to establish territories where traditional subsistence could be developed securely. Simultaneously, however, some Russian bureaucrats began to misappropriate traditional subsistence grounds and pastures.

History of ethnographic studies

Studies of the indigenous peoples of the north developed as an important field within Russian scholarship in the eighteenth century with the first scientific investigations to explore the newly integrated lands and their inhabitants encouraged and supported by the Russian authorities (see, for instance, Krasheninnikov 1949). Since that time both Russians and Westerners (see, for instance, Shrenk 1883–1903) have been involved in these explorations. The Russian ethnographers of this century made valuable contributions to studies of subsistence economics, social structure, customs and beliefs, and, particularly, the origins and ethnic composition of the northern peoples (see bibliography). It is worth noting that among those listed in the bibliography are several scholars of indigenous origin (e.g. Gaier 1991, Sem 1973, Starkova 1976, and Taksami 1967,1975).

The prehistory of the northern lands and the origins of the indigenous populations have been studied intensively by Russian archaeologists and physical anthropologists (Aksianova 1991, Arutiunov and Sergeev 1975, Arkhipov 1989, Brodianskii 1987, Chernetsov 1953, 1957, Dikov 1993, *Dvesti let* 1990, Gurina 1982, Kosarev 1993, Mochanov 1992, Rudenko 1947, Shavkunov 1990, Vasil'evskii 1971, among others).

A less studied area has been cultural ecology, with the notable exceptions of Krupnik's seminal book of 1989 which was followed by Shnirelman (1994b), and *Ekologiia* (1995). (A different approach to the subject is offered in Ivanov 1995.)

During the Soviet period, the field in question was almost inaccessible to foreigners. Two outstanding Russian scholars of early this century—Bogoras (1904) and Jochelson (1913,1928)—

introduced ethnography of the northern peoples of Russia to Westerners partly as a result of the American Museum of Natural History's famous Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Since the 1980s a number of young Western scholars have started their own explorations of the northern peoples (among them see Anderson 1993, Balzer 1983, Fondahl 1993, Grant 1993, Schindler 1991, 1992, 1993, Schweitzer 1993, Slezkine 1994). Bruce Grant provides a more detailed look at the contributions of Western scholars to the ethnography of the northern peoples in the addendum to this introduction.

Prehistory and history

Sporadic trips to the northern lands were already underway by the Lower Palaeolithic (evidence of this exists at the Duktai site in the Lena River valley for example). More regular exploitation of the north did not begin until much later, however, and a more permanent population only established itself there in the early Holocene. Prehistoric communities appropriated the rich resources of the north through hunting, fishing, and gathering.

Originally people were highly nomadic but in time some communities became more sedentary as they developed more sophisticated subsistence technologies, based on highly efficient fishing and sea mammal hunting. About 2000 years ago people began to domesticate wild reindeer, which originally served as decoys in hunting and as methods of transport. Reindeer pastoralism emerged as a major subsistence activity much later (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and only in the Arctic tundra regions. Economic patterns in the north were by no means stable, and the main trend in the evolution of subsistence systems was a growth of diversification which resulted in the formation of several different subsistence types by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The northern lands have never been completely isolated from what was happening in the south. Periodically the north experienced influxes of newcomers with different languages, new technologies, and their own beliefs. There is, for instance, a hypothesis that shamanism in the north was strongly influenced by some southern religious beliefs and rites, and it is a well-established archaeological fact that many more Sassanian silver plates were discovered in the Ural region than in Iran itself. Northern cultures integrated new knowledge and new people where the latter could improve the adaptive strategies which helped survival within a harsh environment.

The Russians began to visit the northern territories in the middle ages when they established close contacts with the indigenous populations of the northernmost part of eastern Europe. Russian expansion eastward from the late sixteenth century ultimately resulted in the integration of Siberia into the Russian Empire—the Lower Amur River area and Primorie near the Pacific coast being, in 1860, the last territories conquered by the Russians.

Foremost among the Russian colonial goals was the expansion of the fur trade and the prime instrument was the notorious *iasak* tax, a form of tribute in furs that was enforced with varying degrees of coercion. The conquest of Siberia was thus met with resistance on the part of aboriginal populations and was accompanied by bloodshed; in areas like Kamchatka, Russian colonial forces exterminated entire communities. Moreover, Russian expansion aggravated existing local rivalries.

Since exploiting fur resources and establishing tax (*iasak*) relationships with local inhabitants were the primary goals of Russian expansion, the complete extermination of the aboriginal peoples would have been counter-productive. Thus, although expansion was led by the militaristic Russian Cossacks, the majority of newcomers were more peaceful Russian peasants seeking to homestead by

building farms and herds.

The impact of the arrival of the Russians was dramatic and pervasive. New subsistence practices (gardening and cattle-breeding), and technologies (guns, heavy sledges, and log dwellings) were introduced, along with new diseases like smallpox. Local sovereign power systems (for instance, chiefdoms among the Ob' Ugrians) were destroyed and replaced by highly corrupt Russian bureaucracies. Some ethnic territories shifted spatially, for example those of the *nentsy, chukchi*, and *evenki*. Some territories were enlarged (e.g. *eveny*), while populations like the *entsy, iukagiry, koriaki, itelmeny*, and *eskimosy* lost significant portions of their former territories. By the early twentieth century the northern indigenous peoples had become the exploited hostages of the fur traders.

In the early days of Soviet rule after 1920 there were attempts to improve the situation in the north and to protect its indigenous inhabitants from the encroachment of newcomers. To this end ethnic territories of various orders ("national areas" and "national districts") were established by the early 1930s. However, the trend toward autonomy was sharply at odds with different and more powerful state policies and agencies: first, with the activities of various ministries dedicated to the appropriation of local resources—oil, gas, wood, and minerals—and, second, with the official doctrine of integration of indigenous populations into the dominant culture regardless of the differences in their cultural identities. As a result, by the late 1980s many northern territories had been devastated by the predatory activities of industrial enterprise, and their indigenous inhabitants felt in danger of losing their mother tongues, cultures, and bases of subsistence. Since that time they have tried to mobilize all their resources in order to prevent the realization of such a fate.

Demography

The northern peoples of Eurasia have relatively small populations. Apart from the Ainu of Japan (see Svensson, this volume), in the late twentieth century only six of the Russian-based groups—Nenets, Khanti, Evenki, Chukchi, Evens, and Nanais—had more than 10,000 persons each. The other groups ranged in size from several hundred to several thousand persons only. The total population density of the region (indigenes and settlers) is also low. In the 1970s, there were 0.03 people per km^2 in the Evenk Autonomous District, 0.1 people per km^2 in the Koriak Autonomous District, 0.2 people per km in Chukchi Autonomous District, and 0.4 and 2.1 people per km^2 in Magadan and Khabarovsk provinces respectively. These numbers were much lower than in the USSR as a whole (12.2 people per km^2) for the same period.

According to the Russian National Census of 1989, the northern peoples were recorded as having the following populations. It should also be noted that ethnic identities are complex and shifting so that figures presented here may vary from those given in the following chapters:

nentsy—34,665

evenki—30,233

khanti—22,521

eveny—17,199

chukchi—15,183

nanaitsy—12,017

koriaki—9242

mansi—8459

dolgany—6929

nivkhi—4673

sel'kupy—3612

ul'chi—3233

udegetsy—2011

saami—1890

eskimosy—1718

chuvantsy—1511

itelmeny—1431

nganasany—1278

yukagiry—1142

kety—1113

orochi—915

aleuty—702

tofolary—731

negidaltsy—622

entsy—209

oroky—190

Slightly over half (51.6 percent) of indigenous people lived in the seven Autonomous Districts in

1989–13.5 percent alone in the Sakha (Iakutiia) territory. About 35 percent of all indigenous people lived outside any native autonomous administrative unit.

Following a huge flow of newcomers during the 1960s–1980s, in most Autonomous Districts, the percentage of indigenous inhabitants has dropped drastically. During this period indigenous people experienced a high rate of urbanization, from 10 percent in 1959 up to 26 percent in 1989. Nowadays about 40 percent of the northern peoples are urbanized. For some—the *nanaitsy, mansi, nivkhi, saami, udegetsy, itelmeny, orochi*, and *negidaltsy*—the rate is even higher. At the same time competence of indigenous people in their mother tongues has dropped dramatically. Less than 50 percent of the *evenki, eveny, nanaitsy, mansi, sel'kupy, ul'chi, saami, kety, tofolary, iukagiry, negidaltsy*, and *oroky* can speak their own languages. Among the *nivkhi, udegetsy, itelmeny, orochi, aleuty* and *chuvantsy*, this figure is less than 25 percent. Further details about present circumstances and future prospects are found in the individual case studies.

The chapters in this section deal with indigenous groups who have different origins and linguistic affiliations and also practiced very different subsistence strategies. They will henceforth be referred to not by their official Russian language names; the singular forms of their vernacular appellations will be used, following the style for this volume. The Ainu (*ainy*), the Chukotka peoples (most significantly, *chukchi*), the Evenki (*evenki*), the Itenm'i (*itelmeny*), the Ket (*kety*), the Khanti (*khanti*) the Nia (*nganasany*), and the Iukagir (*iukagiry*).

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Siberian ethnography in the West since 1980

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Tidal shifts have transformed Siberian studies in the West almost as much as they have transformed Siberia itself. Yet some of the most influential works remain those produced before the rise of perestroika in the mid-1980s. Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer's extensive fieldwork (1981, 1992) among northwest Siberian Khanti and eastern Siberian Sakha (*iakuty*) provides English readers with considerable commentary on Soviet ethnographic data. Caroline Humphrey's *Karl Marx Collective* (1983), based on her fieldwork among the Buriat, remains a classic study of Soviet economic and social thinking within non-Russian Siberian populations. Stephen and Ethel Dunn's *Introduction to Soviet ethnography* (1974), Ernest Gellner's *Soviet and western anthropology* (1980), and his later *State and society in Soviet thought* (1988) opened new theoretical dialogues with Soviet colleagues.

In Paris, the Emigre anthropologist Boris Chichlo founded the Center for Siberian Studies through the CNRS.

Since perestroika, new field access and funding programs have reconfigured research projects for both Western and Russian scholars, often working in tandem. Among the new English-language ethnographic and ethnohistorical projects are David Anderson's study of politics and identity among the Evenki (1991,1996); Dennis and Alice Bartels' work on native education policies in the Soviet north (1995); Gail Fondahl's work on the effects of industrialization on Evenki herders (1998); Bruce Grant's work on sovietization among the Nivkh (1995); Anna Kertulla's work in a Yupik (*eskimosy*)and Chukchi whaling community (1991); David Koester's study of Itenm'i cultural revival movements (1997); Igor Krupnik and Nikolai Vakhtin's work on Yupik ecology (1997); Heonik Kwon's study of ideologies of place among the Orok (1993); Petra Rethmann's work on gender and power among Koriak women (1996); Peter Schweitzer's Chukchi ethnohistories (1993); Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov's analysis of sovietization among the Evenki (1998); and Piers Vitebsky's work among Even pastoralists (1990). This list begins to chart a field which grows year by year.

Note on orthography

For hunter-gatherers in the Russian Federation, most official names of aboriginal groups are based on Russified versions of the name that people use to call themselves. In this volume we have attempted to use the word or root from the aboriginal language, except in cases where there is a clear consensus that the Russian term is preferable.

In many cases, Cyrillic characters have been transliterated using the Library of Congress system (which represents iotized vowels with an "I"), except in cases where individual authors have insisted on any other different system.

The Editors.

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I.III.2

Archaeology of North Eurasian hunters and gatherers

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Traces of some of the oldest periods of human activity are found across northern Eurasia. Scholars from more temperate climates may well ask, how did humans adapt themselves to the dramatic local environment; how were the original northern cultures formed and developed; how did they manage to survive in the given natural conditions; and to what extent were the traditional adaptive strategies efficient through many generations of northern habitation? All these issues are under investigation by archaeological research.

It is well established that the first humans emerged in Africa under temperate/warm climatic conditions. It was thus a considerable surprise when, at the recently discovered Diring Site in Iakutiia, stone artifacts were found which closely resembled the African pebble culture (Mochanov 1992). It seems that some human groups had already begun to settle far beyond the primary African center in the interglacial periods, in the Lower Palaeolithic. The process was in progress in the Upper Palaeolithic as well; at that period humans visited Subarctic lands (Byzovaia Site in the Pechora River valley and Bereliokh Site in northern Iakutiia) owing to temporary climatic amelioration (Kanivets 1976, Mochanov 1977). *Homo sapiens* was well adapted for living under glacial conditions, and specific cultural groups formed in the Upper Palaeolithic based on the specialized hunting of mammoths, reindeer, and other cold-adapted mammals. The latter were hunted with spears; bows and arrows appeared during the Terminal Palaeolithic. People lived in subterranean dwellings at base camps and in light shelters at the temporary stations. They wore warm fur clothes, and were highly skilled in the production of ornaments and mobile art. The deceased were buried under the dwelling floors (Rybakov 1984:302-46).

During the glacial epoch (30,000–25,000 BP), when the sea level dropped, people resettled from the mainland to Sakhalin Island while following mammoths (Golubev and Lavrov 1988). In the Terminal Pleistocene, hunters crossed the Bering Bridge and entered North America. Some of the new settlers originated from eastern Siberia, others from the easternmost areas of Asia (Dikov 1977).

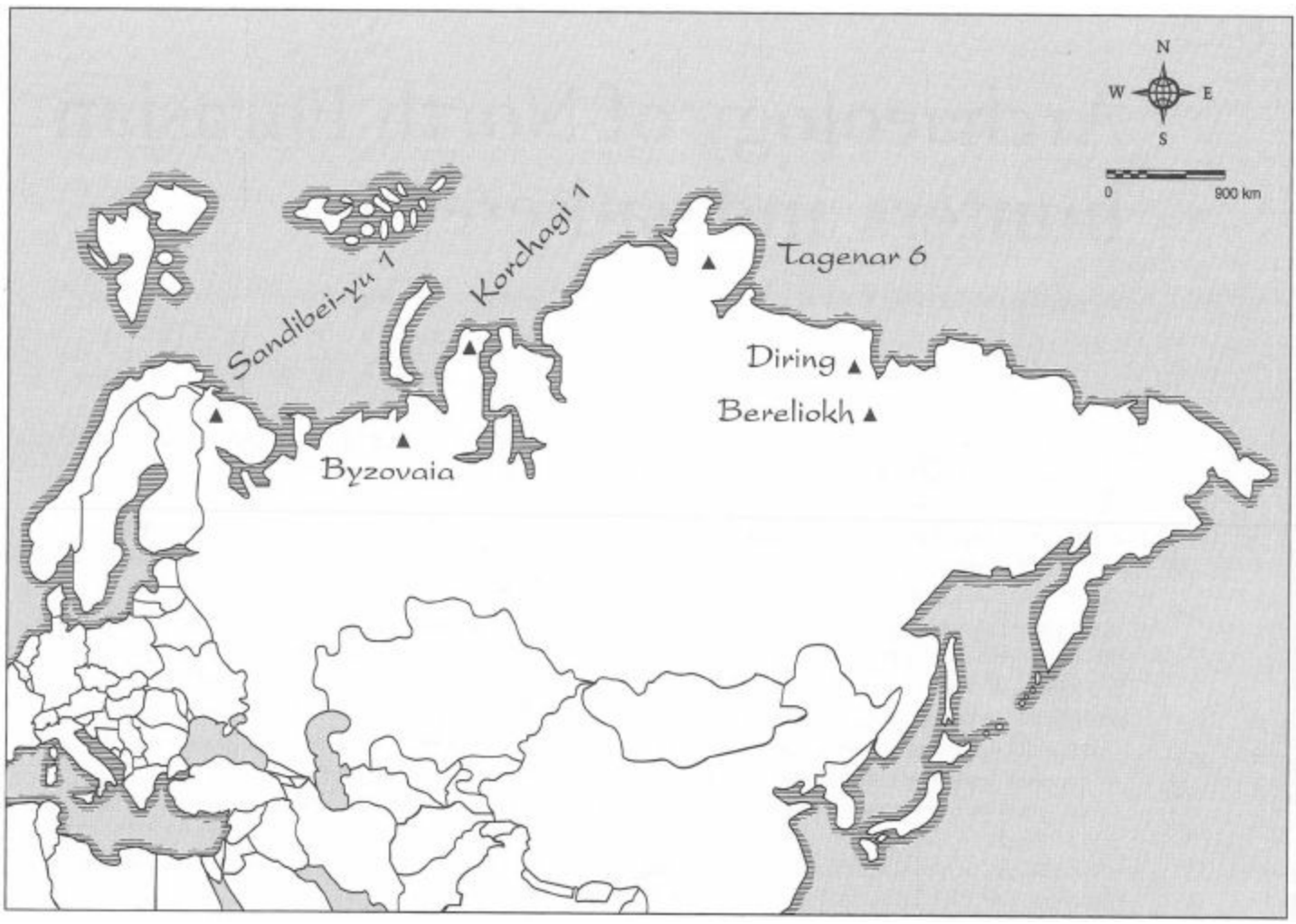
Greenberg et al. 1986). Wolves were domesticated by that time, and the migrants brought domesticated dogs to the New World (Shnirelman 1985).

During the Holocene (12,000–10,000 BP), people began to settle in the north more permanently. Until very recently, some authors advocated a hypothesis regarding a “circumpolar culture,” as if the latter had been established and disseminated widely over the Polar territories by certain newcomers from the south (e.g., Simchenko 1976). However, according to the most recent evidence, the northern

lands were settled from various directions and in a more complex way.

People began to exploit the Polar zone and adjacent territories permanently between 10,000 and 7000 BP. At that time, the first sites were established in northern Scandinavia (Cosma culture) and the Kola Peninsula, in BoPshezemel'skaia Tundra (Sandibei-yu 1 Site), Iamal Peninsula (Korchagi 1 Site), Taimyr Peninsula (Tagenar 6 Site), and in the Lower Kolyma River basin (Sumnagin culture). All these migrations embarked from different areas: central Europe, the Volga–Oka and Volga–Kama basins, the western Siberian taiga zone, and the Lena River valley. These routes of migration and directions of cultural contact played a continuous and important role up to the Early Iron Age.

Latitudinal migrations and contacts were of lesser importance. They played a significant role in the taiga-tundra zone from the Lower Ob' River westward up to the White Sea from the very late third millennium BC onward. It was along this route that some innovations and, sometimes, groups of migrants moved from the distant northern trans-Ural areas. In Eurasia's far east, and in the American north, eastward migrations were of major importance. Settlement on Sakhalin Island began around 12,000–10,000 BP, moving from the interior taiga toward the coast of the Okhotsk Sea, to the Kamchatka and Chukot Peninsulas between the second and first millennia BC. Conquest of the Kurile Islands and the American Arctic happened in the late third to second millennium BC, and a dispersal of Inuit ancestors all over the Canadian north occurred in the second millennium AD. Extensive cultural unity embracing vast Arctic territories emerged only among the Inuit of North America.



Map 7 Archaeological sities in North Eurasia

The ancient inhabitants of the Eurasian Subarctic and Arctic zones were hunters, fishers, and

gatherers. They hunted moose in the taiga and visited the tundra seasonally to hunt reindeer (e.g. the Korshak culture of the northern Urals [Stokolos 1988]). More specialized reindeer hunters emerged in the Taimyr Peninsula in the fourth millennium BC (Khlobystin 1982) and in Chukotka in the second (Dikov 1971,1974). They hunted along migratory routes, especially at river crossings, with the help of boats. A heavy long-bow was introduced in the eastern European taiga between 9000 and 8000 BP. Domesticated dogs became widespread in the Mesolithic. Dogs were generally raised for meat, but sometimes served as hunting assistants (Burov 1965, Oshibkina 1983).

Besides hunting, many taiga inhabitants had occupied themselves with fishing since the Mesolithic. As fishing techniques became more efficient and the catchments more plentiful and stable, sedentary life became more common. This process started first in the northern part of eastern Europe where plant fiber nets, fishhooks, and harpoons were used as early as the seventh to sixth millennia BC (Burov 1965, Oshibkina 1983). Specialized fishing emerged in Siberia between the fifth and third millennia BC, as it did along the Lower Amur River between the third and second millennia BC, and on Sakhalin Island during the first millennium BC (and slightly later in the Primorie region, at Kamchatka, and along the Lower Ob' River). Highly elaborate circular stone fishing traps were constructed in northern Scandinavia and on the Kola Peninsula in the first millennium BC (Gurina 1948). As well, the taiga fishermen of eastern Europe built weirs on the rivers from 5000 to 4000 BP (Burov 1974).

In time, the maritime inhabitants of the Eurasian Arctic and Subarctic specialized in sea mammal hunting techniques. They did so at the Kola Peninsula and in the White Sea area between the second and early first millennia BC (petroglyphs from the White Sea). Sea mammal hunting started at the Kurile Islands at the same time. From about 3000 BP, this activity became popular all over the Okhotsk Sea basin and in the Bering Sea; it gradually spread across the American Arctic as well. In the first millennium AD, sea mammal hunting started at the Iamal Peninsula.

Sophisticated fishing and sea mammal hunting could not evolve without transport means. Hence the development of these activities was accompanied by the construction of various types of boats. Manually drawn sledges were introduced in the eastern region between 9000 and 8000 BP (Burov 1981). Dog teams became popular much later since only settled or semi-settled fishermen and sea mammal hunters were able to feed the dogs regularly. The most ancient traces of dog transport (2000 years ago) have been discovered at the Lower Ob' River (Chernetsov 1953). It is possible that the bearers of the Okhotsk culture and the ancient Kerek used dog teams by the time of Christ (Orekhov 1987). Ancestors of the Saami began using dog transport during the first millennium AD, ancient Koriak about a thousand years ago, and the Itenm'i and Asiatic Eskimo during the last 200-300 years. Large heavy sledges spread over Siberia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the course of Russian expansion. Many indigenous populations used manually drawn sledges until very recently.

The efficiency of maritime fishing and sea mammal hunting strongly depended on the climatic features and natural environment and was very sensitive to concomitant shifts and fluctuations. The respective subsistence systems experienced periodic crises which caused economic and social instability. In archaeological terms, this phenomenon was reflected in the periods of cultural efflorescence and decline. At times of climatic amelioration, settled Arctic maritime communities were prosperous because the migratory routes of the salmon species and sea mammals shifted northward. In contrast, the same conditions found far eastern fishermen experiencing famines; simultaneously, tundra pasture lands became impoverished and reindeer populations decreased. On

the other hand, the habitats of cold-adapted faunal species would shift southward with the increase of cold conditions. These were the most favorable times for far eastern fishermen and for the hunters of the interior tundra areas. Yet the cold fluctuations simultaneously produced the worst hunting conditions in the Arctic maritime regions. Many local inhabitants would migrate southward or to the interior tundra areas, where they changed subsistence strategies.

Reindeer herding emerged rather late in the north, developing through several important stages (Shnirelman 1980:175–90, Krupnik 1989). Originally, people tamed individual reindeer as hunting aids; decoy reindeer were in use in the Lower Ob' River valley by 2000 BP (Chernetsov 1953). Later on, small reindeer herds were raised for transport. This sort of reindeer pastoralism, actually a minor aspect of the broad spectrum of activities in the regional foraging economy, became common in the taiga zone with the expansion of the Samoedians and the Tunguses in the first and early second millennia AD. Simultaneously, reindeer pastoralism was introduced to the highland Saami.

Reindeer pastoralism with large herds only became a major economic strategy in tundra areas during the last two and a half centuries among such populations as the Nenets, Saami, Chukchi, and Koriak. The success of reindeer pastoralism as a reliable basis for subsistence depended considerably on local environmental conditions.

The archaeological record indicates that pottery making and metallurgy were well known in the north from the remote past. The most ancient pottery making center in the world emerged in the Russian far east and Japan 12,000–10,000 BP. Pottery making was introduced from the south to the taiga belt of eastern Europe and Siberia in the fourth millennium BC. At the Okhotsk Sea coast and in the areas of the most ancient Eskimo cultures, pottery appeared regularly in the course of the first millennium BC.

Northern cultures were also acquainted with metallurgy from the very late third millennium BC, when copper and bronze artifacts from the south began appearing. In time, northerners began to adopt metal technology themselves. The earliest stages of the metallurgical process have been traced in the northern areas of eastern Europe; this later spread to Siberia. By the first millennium BC, metallurgy was already well known in the Taimyr Peninsula, in eastern Siberia, in Chukotka, and in Primorie. The Samoedians produced bronze artifacts well into the second millennium AD (Khlobystin and Ovsiannikov 1973).

From the late first millennium BC, the Arctic and Subarctic zones were gradually influenced by Iron Age cultures. Taimyr Peninsula inhabitants were among the first to become acquainted with iron; by the very late first millennium BC, iron artifacts had been introduced along the Okhotsk Sea coast. By the very late first millennium AD, the bearers of the ancient Eskimo cultures began to use iron as well. The introduction of metal tools led to progress in technology and increased the efficiency of subsistence activities. Simultaneously, stone tool production experienced a decline.

Thus, during the last 2000–3000 years, northern populations were progressively affected by intensive contacts with southern cultures. In some areas, as among the Saami, this resulted in permanent exchange relations with southerners. As a result of these processes, some northern groups stopped local production of necessary items, receiving them from the south. Pottery making disappeared among the Saami 2000 years ago, in the Lower Ob' River valley, 1000 years ago. In the course of the second millennium local metallurgy disappeared from the north as well. The absence of these technologies in the historic period led many observers to the erroneous conclusion that northern peoples had neither ceramics nor metallurgy in pre-colonial times. Nevertheless northerners *did*

become dependent in later centuries on southern trade for these essentials.

The highly efficient subsistence of settled or semi-sedentary riverine fishermen and maritime sea mammal hunters stimulated a high rate of population density and growth. The emergence and development of the subsistence systems in question were thus accompanied by growth in the number and size of settlements, and by the development of solid subterranean dwellings. One can observe some regularity in the development of the latter, from the oldest round and oval buildings to more recent square and rectangular ones. Dwelling size progressively increased as well, up to 150–300 m^2 in the later periods. Settlements might be composed of several dozen such dwellings.

A growth in population density, together with subsistence crises caused by climatic fluctuations, led to armed struggle for control of subsistence grounds. This struggle was fueled as well by constant migrations from the south, especially during the last 2000-3000 years. In archaeological terms, the armed clashes can be traced to the first millennium BC in the taiga belt of eastern Europe and western Siberia, when fortified sites emerged everywhere, together with weaponry and armor.

Simultaneously, metal weapons spread into eastern Siberia and Primorie. About a thousand years ago they spread to Chukotka's Okhotsk Sea coast, and along the Bering Sea. A scaled, mail armor became popular in eastern Siberia and the Bering Sea area more than a thousand years ago, evidently introduced from southern regions. In these ways, we see that northern Eurasia has never been isolated from world processes. Northern Eurasia was continuously settled and resettled by migrants from the south, and such southern contacts were constant. This strongly affected the region's social and cultural development. Consequently, ethnogenetic processes were very complex, involving descendants of both earlier and later migrants. This has resulted in the multiplex composition of contemporary indigenous north Eurasian populations (Gurvich 1980).

It is by no means easy to trace ethnogenetic processes archaeologically. Scholars assume that Saami ethnogenesis started with the Asbestos-ware culture which flourished in Karelia and the Kola Peninsula in the late third to early first millennia BC (Karpellan 1982, Aksianova 1991). The Ob' Ugrians have been traced from the Ust' Polui culture of the Lower Ob' River valley of 2000 years ago (Chernetsov 1953,1957); the Samoedian northward migration is associated with the Kulai and Relka cultures of western Siberia of the first millennium AD (Chindina 1977,1984); the Iukagir expansion in eastern Siberia may be related to the Ymyiakhtakh and Ust' Mil' cultures of the second to first millennia BC (Fedoseeva 1980, Ertiukov 1990); Tungus ethnogenesis is rooted in the Circum-Baikal Neolithic cultures; the ancestors of the Lower Amur River's settled fishermen (in particular the Nivkh) were builders of the Neolithic Kondon culture (Okladnikov 1983); the ancient Koriak communities emerged at the Okhotsk Sea coast in the first millennium BC (Vasil'evskii 1971, Lebedintsev 1990); and the ancient Itenm'i populations in Kamchatka appeared at the same time (Ponomarenko 1985). Finally, Eskimo cultures were formed originally in the Bering Sea region, where they are traced from the first millennium BC (Rudenko 1947, Chard 1974, Arutiunov and Sergeev 1975).

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I.III.3

The Ainu

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Introduction

Distinct Ainu groups have populated Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands, as well as northern Honshu, the main island of Japan. Ainus were fishers, hunters, and gatherers on the edge of the Subarctic. Their core activity was river fishing. The word *Ainu* means "most humanly being." For several hundred years they were known as the *Ezo* by the Japanese. The old Japanese name for Hokkaido is also Ezo.

First recorded as a distinct people in 660 AD, Ainus developed trading contact with different neighboring peoples: most intensely with the Japanese to the south, the Manchurians to the west, the Orok and Nivkh to the north in Sakhalin, and the Itenm'i (Itel'meni) in Kamchatka to the east/northeast.

Ainus are known for their rich exploration of the supernatural world and their ceremonial life, especially *iyomante*, the bear festival. Ainu is unrelated to other languages in the region. The number of Ainu-speaking people has rapidly decreased, although the last decade has seen an increasing interest in the newly established Ainu language classes across Hokkaido.

History

Ainu culture emerged about the end of the twelfth century; Japan began to incorporate *Ainu Moshir*, "The Ainu Land," into its nation-state in the 1500s. Ainus attempted to resist this pressure from the south; the Shakushain War (1669) was the most serious confrontation, described (by both historians and contemporary Ainu) as a war of independence against the Japanese state. The primary dispute (over trading privileges) led to a war in which Shakushain was defeated. In recent times, he has become the primary Ainu culture hero, whose uprising is annually commemorated in a ceremony held before his gigantic statue in Shizunai.

The Meiji Restoration (1868) marks the next significant period in Ainu history. The colonization process escalated; Ezo, renamed Hokkaido, was officially annexed to Japan. Ainu land, *iwor*, hitherto used for hunting and fishing, was redistributed to Japanese settlers: Ainus, now declared "former aborigines," were encouraged to become farmers. This assimilation policy caused a severe loss of land and language, and led to the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act of 1899, paternalistic legislation legitimizing the state's assimilation of Ainus. Subsequent Ainu ethnopolitics has targeted this Act and its negative consequences.

Important studies, dealing particularly with Ainu history, include Batchelor (1901), Kodama

(1970), Munro (1962), Takakura (1960), and Watanabe (1973).

Ecological setting

Hokkaido stretches from 41°21′ to 45°33′ N and consists mainly of mountains and forests. Of the entire area of original Ainu habitation, Hokkaido, adjacent to more southerly temperate zones, has a more favorable climate than the more northerly territories. Climatic conditions in Sakhalin and the Kuriles become Subarctic as one moves north. The ecological setting can be divided into four zones: coastal, river valley, forested, and mountainous. Fishing was carried out both along the coast and in the rivers, the five Pacific salmon species being the main food source. In the forests and mountains, Ainu predominantly hunted deer and bear. An indispensable activity was the collection of edible plants; Ainus also practiced small-scale cultivation.

Population

In 1991, 24,381 Japanese citizens registered themselves as Ainu. The actual number is far higher; figures up to 300,000 have been estimated. Most Ainus live in Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost island.

Location

Traditional locations are (Japan) all of Hokkaido and the northern part of Honshu, and (Russia) the southern half of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands south of the Kamchatka Peninsula. Most Ainus in Sakhalin and the Kuriles have been relocated to Hokkaido, the last great migration occurring after World War II. As well, Ainus live in Khabarosk Territory, Siberia.

26 Fishing was a core feature of traditional Ainu foraging life. The fishing spear, *marep*, with its loose hook, was a most useful tool. Photo courtesty of the Ainu Museum, Shiraoi.

Inland Ainus parceled out land such that people had access to all five ecological zones essential to local subsistence: the river and its tributaries, the river banks, the river terraces, the hills, and the mountains. The pattern of resource appropriation differed by season and ecological zone.

Economy

Ainus traditionally engaged in a subsistence economy. Economic activities were based on seasonal variation, with a fairly strict division of labor between men and women. Men did all the hunting and fishing; they made weapons and tools as well as objects for offerings; they also engaged in trade. Women gathered edible and medicinal plants; they were responsible for cultivating the land, child-rearing, preparing food, and making clothes. Fishing was a spring/autumn activity with the two main Pacific salmon species for Ainu staple food: the cherry salmon, a subspecies of silver/coho, in July-August and the dog/chum salmon in September-December. Implements used in fishing were: the characteristic fishing spear, *marep*, with a big hook attached with a mobile rope; clubs; nets and fishing traps. Torchlight fishing was practiced at night.

Deer hunting took place in spring and autumn; bear hunting had a similar pattern, with spring being the most important season. Predominant hunting tools were bows and arrows of two kinds: hand-bows and string-bows. Ainus may have been the only people to hunt the brown bear with only bows and arrows. To make the hunt efficient the arrowheads were coated with aconite poison. Fences and dogs were also used in deer hunting.

From spring through autumn, women collected a great variety of plants which were put to different uses. In the same season they were also occupied with cultivation, particularly several species of millet.

Ainu local groups possessed specified rights to hunting and fishing sites called *Ainu iwor*. Surplus products (fish, bear livers, seal skins, and eagle feathers) were traded with other ethnic groups, and for rice, sugar, sake, and lacquer-ware from Japan. They also traded with Russia and neighboring aboriginal peoples (Nanaises, Ulches, Orochis, Udekes, Nivkhs, and Oroks). The “Santan trade route,” from China, along the Amur River to Sakhalin, Hokkaido (terminating in the former capital, Kyoto), was an important link for cross-cultural/cross-national contacts.

27 The bear festival, *iyomante*, has always been, and still is, the most important Ainu ritual, during which offerings are made to the deities, *kamuy*. Photo courtesy of the Ainu Museum, Shiraoi.

Settlement patterns

Ainus were relatively sedentary, with varying degrees of mobility for optimal resource extraction. Sakhalin Ainus moved between winter and summer locations, while Kurile Ainus lived in permanent villages (*kotan-ba*) but also moved to summer camps on other islands. In Hokkaido the Ainu developed a river/forest lifestyle with permanent, riverside settlements (*kotan*), each located near the crucial salmon spawning grounds. The settlement pattern was semi-sedentary with the kotan as base, between trips to the mountains where people lived in deer/bear-hunting huts, and to the sea for saltwater fishing. They also built huts near distant salmon grounds.

Four levels of social aggregation could be discerned: the *family*, or household unit, lived in the special Ainu house called *chisei; cooperative groups*, consisting of up to ten households, worked as hunting and fishing teams and lived in rather scattered kotan settlements; several kotan formed a patrilineal *local group* (*shine utaru* or *shine itokpa*)*;* and finally, all local groups along a particular river constituted a *river group* (of no special designation). The sense of unity decreased as the scale of these groupings became wider.

Domestic organization

The nuclear family is the basic social unit among the Ainu. Basically, the kinship structure is bilateral with reference to marriage exogamy, classification of kinsmen, and kinship terminology; however, with reference to territoriality and inheritance, unilineal features predominate. Both descent and inheritance are through either the patrilineal (male) or the matrilineal (female) line. Exogamy is matrilineal: a man should not marry a woman of the same *huchi ikiru* as his mother (marriage is prohibited among those whose mothers are descended from a common ancestress). Marriage regulation is symbolically expressed in *kut* exogamy, the kut being women's secret girdles. No woman could marry a man whose mother had the same type of kut as herself. The kut is inherited matrilineally. Two sisters are of one kut, and a man could never take more than one bride from a kut. Each local group, *shine ekashi ikiru*, is composed of a core of patrilineal kinsmen, descended from a common male ancestor. Some male members may be semi-adopted through marriage, although virilocality is preferred.

The traditional family dwelling, *chisei*, was a rectangular, wood-framed single-room house with a thatched, gabled roof. In the center was a sunken hearth around which all family activity took place: cooking, eating, working with crafts, praying, and offering to the deities.

Political organization

The highest level of political integration was centered on the kotan and its chief, or headman, *kotan-koro-guru*, who was central in most decision-making. He settled local disputes and preserved order in the community, directed communal hunting and fishing activities, and led the ceremonial life. Externally he controlled iworbased rights and had strong influence in the settlement of quarrels over hunting and fishing rights between different kotans. Chiefs who were known to possess special power called themselves descendants of God. The position of headman was inherited patrilineally. In addition to the headman there were village patrilineal elders, *ekashi*, who were knowledgeable about traditional concerns and could direct rites and ceremonies.

The *local group*, usually consisting of several kotans, had its leader, *sapane-guru*. The unity of such local groups depended on the skills of the headman, the collective ownership of spawning grounds, and joint participation in certain rituals and housebuilding. The most revered quality of the leader was his *generosity*, no matter what other skills he might possess, a miserly leader would be rejected. Kotan autonomy depended on such leadership. If no replacement could be found the kotan would be merged into another—one with a generous, capable headman.

"We are not 'former aborigines.' We are a nation who lived in Hokkaido, on the national land called *Ainu Moshir*, which means 'a peaceful land for humans.' 'The Japanese people,' who belonged to 'the nation of Japan,' invaded our national land. *Ainu Moshir*, beyond any doubt, was a territory indigenous to the Ainu people."

Shigeru Kayano

"December 10, 1992, should be remembered as a red-letter day for the Ainu people, whose existence had not been recognized by the Japanese government until a few years ago, as the day when we were officially recognized by the United Nations."

Religion and spirituality

The Ainu are animistic. They worship the sanctity of nature itself. The indispensable contact between human beings and the spiritual powers is expressed by prayer and offerings to the gods, *kamuy*. Food and drink, prayers, and *inaus* are offered. An inau is an offering staff, from which different shavings are used ceremonially. They are gifts to gods and spirit messengers. Being the most sacred cult objects, inaus may even be transformed to kamuy, as they are loaded with invisible spiritual power called *ramat*. Another sacred object is *iku-pasuy*, a prayer stick, elaborately ornamented, used in ceremonial drinking, making offerings, and delivering prayers. These sticks are also infused with ramat. Ramat invests all objects with life, with meaning and soul. The *hearth* is the place where the ramat of *kamuy-fuchi*, the fire goddess, dwells. Each chisei had an altar, *nusa*, situated outside the sacred eastern window. Altars were fashioned from several inaus. Everything transported between kamuy-fuchi and nusa should go through this eastern window.

These beliefs are integral to all ceremonial life, such as *chisei-nomi* (housewarming ceremony) and *kamuy-chep-nomi* (welcoming the first salmon). The most famous and sacred Ainu ritual is *iyomante*, in which a bear cub is sent as a special messenger to its ancestors in the kamuy world, with a request that it be replaced by another. In iyomante, inau and iky-pasuy are frequently used; and a nusa is constructed for the occasion. Traditional prayers, songs, and dances are integral to this, the essential core of Ainu culture and its transmission.

In a rich oral tradition epic poems, *yukar*, and old tales, *uwepekere*, are forms of verbal expression which celebrate and explore in depth the people/nature relationship. Shamanism, *tusu ainu*, was highly developed in Sakhalin. Both men and women act as shamans with varying degrees of spiritual power. They provide a conduit between people and deities/ancestors; they heal the afflicted and perform miracles. In Hokkaido their position has been less important, their primary function being to assist elders, the *ekashi*.

Current situation and resistance movements

Economically, contemporary Ainus are post-foragers. Their economy consists of commercial farming and fishing, wage labor in forestry, transportation and construction, and engagement in the tourist industry (operating shops, restaurants and guesthouses, and craft-work production [souvenirs and art] based on the traditions of wood carving, weaving, and embroidery).

The educational system adopted after 1899 was firmly assimilatory, with the aim being the elimination of the Ainu language. Through education, it was thought, Ainu children would become proper Japanese citizens. The era of special Ainu education ended in 1945, but not before Ainu language and culture had been virtually destroyed. As part of Ainu cultural revival, initiatives have been taken for formal training in cultural (including language) competence. From a slow start ten years ago, there are now eleven language classes in Hokkaido, the most recent in Sapporo. The reinforcement of the Ainu language is essential for the people's self-respect, and for obtaining recognition as a distinct "people."

Cultural revival also deals with traditions of music, dance, and art. Ainus have recovered much of

their original cultural repertoire, and they possess a remarkable ability to modify and reshape their cultural expression. Recently established Ainu museums play a significant role as cultural transmitters. Singing and dancing are expressions of cultural solidarity, at once educational, spiritual, and entertaining. Nevertheless, "traditional" cultural significance continues to be modified in response to contemporary social reality. Much Ainu tradition has disappeared in direct proportion to the disappearance of its natural setting. Some old practices are revived, and new ones are created, like *isharpa*, rituals in memory of Shakushain, and the memorial rites performed at Hokudai University to honor Ainu remains once brought to the university for research purposes.

About 1930, Ainus began organizing resistance to assimilation. The movement, under the name *Utari Kyokai*, is the most active Ainu political voice. In 1982, Utari Kyokai defined ethnopolitical goals and worked out an action program, its ultimate aims being recognition as indigenous people within Japan, obtaining rights to self-determination, and recognition of rights to language and culture, including limited rights to a forest way of life. In pursuing these goals Ainus work both nationally and internationally. They refer to legal principles embedded in international law, particularly regarding collective human rights. To date, their status as indigenous people is staunchly acknowledged by the UN. The Ainus participate regularly in the UN Working Group in Geneva; however, at home, they still await similar recognition. A new Ainu Law, *Ainu Shinpo*, is currently the most urgent Ainu goal. Litigation has recently brought about a legal recognition of Ainu indigenous status in Japan. This breakthrough is expected to influence the struggle toward improved political rights.

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I.III.4

The Chukchi and Siberian Yupik of the Chukchi Peninsula, Russia

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Introduction

The Chukchi Peninsula on Russia's northeast fringe is separated from Alaska only by the 70 km of the Bering Strait. The boundaries roughly coincide with those of the Providenia and Chukchi Districts within the Chukotka Autonomous Region. The indigenous inhabitants of the Chukchi Peninsula gained a fierce reputation during the first half of the eighteenth century, when they successfully withstood Russian attempts at military pacification. Only in the twentieth century did Russia/the Soviet Union achieve full control over the region.

While the first European explorers delineated the indigenous peoples of Chukotka only by their primary subsistence activities (reindeer herding/sea mammal hunting), twentieth-century scholarship has created two mutually exclusive ethnic labels based on linguistic criteria: the Chukchi (closely related dialects within the Chukotko-Kamchatkan language family) and the Siberian Yupik (three different languages as part of the Eskimo-Aleut language family). Self-appellations are *Luorawetlan* for Chukchi, and *Iupigyt* (*Iuit*, sing.) for Yupik. In Russia, the official appellation of Yupik is *eskimosy*, while *Siberian Eskimos* is found in Western sources. To communicate the shared regional context here, both groups will be discussed in this essay by focusing on Chukchi and Yupik sea mammal hunters without neglecting their important interaction with pastoral reindeer-herding Chukchi.

The ethnographic present here is the early twentieth century (1900–30), a period characterized by largely self-determined hunting and gathering subsistence activities for which we have a reasonably good ethnographic record. The full incorporation into the Soviet state in subsequent decades led to far-reaching transformations, explained below.

Population

(*Figures are for 1926–7* and *1989 respectively*.)
Chukchi (total), 12,364, 15,200; Chukchi on Chukchi Peninsula, about 3000 and 4532; Siberian Yupik (total), 1292 and 1700; Siberian Yupik on Chukchi Peninsula, about 1100 and 1148; Non-native "incomers" on Chukchi Peninsula, >50 and 11,213.

Location

57,500 km^2, 64°30′ to 67°10′ N and 169°60′ to 176° W.

History

While human occupation of the Chukchi Peninsula dates back at least 10,000 years, the appearance of specialized sea mammal hunting equipment and technology, approximately 5000–3000 BP, provided the basis for economic activities which extended into recent centuries. It is generally assumed that these archaeological remains were created by ancestors of contemporary Yupik groups and that the Chukchi arrived later. Nevertheless, close social and economic interaction over several centuries has diminished cultural (though not linguistic) differences between the coastal villages of both groups.

Chukotkan reindeer pastoralism, documented from first Russian contact in 1648, only reached its fullest development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Russian Cossacks and fur traders tried unsuccessfully for the next 150 years to subdue the inhabitants of the Chukchi Peninsula. Although military conquest failed, the area became firmly incorporated into the economic sphere of the Russian Empire, with inhabitants of the coastal villages closest to the Bering Strait serving as successful middlemen, and providing the neighboring Alaskan region with Russian and indigenous goods. The arrival of commercial whalers in the mid-nineteenth century heavily impacted upon the larger whaling villages (bowhead whales were decimated, and local "rich men" emerged). The establishment of Soviet power in the 1920s gradually brought the peoples under Russian cultural dominance.

The first truly ethnographic research was conducted by Waldemar Bogoras (1904–9). In the 1920s and 1930s a number of young Soviet anthropologists initiated important research which was ended by Stalinist purges and World War II. However, subsequent generations of Soviet anthropologists have provided excellent anthropological treatises (e.g. Vdovin 1965, Krupnik 1993). Since 1989, anthropologists from outside the Soviet Union have been permitted to work in Chukotka and native scholars and cultural activists have begun to play a more active role in studying the area (e.g. Achirgina-Arsiak 1992, Tein 1994).

28 Partial view of Novoe Chaplino, July 1990. Photo: Peter P. Schweitzer.

29 Chukchi sea mammal hunter, Timofei Gematagin. Ianrakynnot, July, 1990. Photo: Peter P. Schweitzer.

Ecological Setting

The entire Chukchi Peninsula is situated north of the treeline; its vegetation is typical tundra flora, with only intermittent brush tundra. A low mountain range traverses the land mass from northwest to southeast. The few lowlands are covered by lakes and bogs, while the coastline is indented by small and large bays. Surrounded on three sides by the sea, the region has high atmospheric humidity with relatively warm winter temperatures. The maritime climate gives rise not only to high snowfall but also to severe wind-chill factors. During the short summer, rain and fog are characteristic of the coastal region.

The Bering Strait is a major transit route for migrating sea mammal species. Locally, the most important sea mammals are whales (especially the bowhead and the grey) and seals (bearded, common, ribbon, ringed, etc.), and the Pacific walrus. Most land animals are small mammals (voles, lemmings, hares, mice), while the most prevalent larger mammals are wolves and foxes. Wild reindeer, once abundant, have given way to domestic herds, and are almost extinct.

Economy and settlement patterns

Under the prevailing ecological conditions, sea mammal hunting accounts for the major share of economic production in all coastal setdements. Forms of individual hunting prevail during the winter (especially seal hunting at ice holes). Boats crewed by six to ten adult male hunters provide the framework for the organization of labor during summer and fall hunting. Depending on the size and location of the settlement, different species of sea mammals constitute the main prey. Large villages (more than 100 people) are able to maintain several boat crews. They have strategically been situated close to large sea mammal migration routes (Uelen, Nuvuqaq, Ungaziq, Sireniki), with the emphasis on the pursuit of Pacific walrus and bowhead whales. Smaller settlements of up to fifty residents (Kivak, Ianrakynnot, Inchoun), located in bays out of reach of larger sea mammals, concentrate on seal hunting. The gathering of tundra plants (berries, grasses) and bird/duck/goose eggs, as well as river fishing, are necessary but auxiliary subsistence activities in all coastal villages of the Chukchi

Peninsula.

Sea mammal hunting is clearly defined as a male activity, although it happens that women fulfill the social roles of male hunters if a particular family or kin group does not have enough eligible males for the task. Plant gathering, the preparation and distribution of meat, the processing of hides and the production and maintenance of clothing and skin-sewn gear are among the prime responsibilities of women.

Interaction between the Chukchi reindeer herders of the inland tundras and the coastal villagers has taken place for at least several centuries. The two occupational groups are economically interdependent. Reindeer herders are in constant need of sea mammal fat and hides, while coastal residents relish reindeer meat and hides. Social mobility between coastal and inland settlements is limited for the Yupik residents and occurs mainly among different Chukchi groups.

Coastal peoples of the Chukchi Peninsula had permanent settlements inhabited year-round, which distinguished them from most other circumpolar hunting and gathering communities. The only seasonal shift occurred from winter to summer houses, located in the same village, and was more an expression of changing climatic conditions than of seasonal subsistence strategies.

Domestic and political organization

The village was the most important social and political unit for the inhabitants of the coastal areas of the Chukchi Peninsula. Larger political units (groupings composed of several adjacent villages and called "tribes" in the literature) rarely seem to have acted in corporate and/or united fashion. Larger villages tended to have two or more subgroupings, each generally named after current or previous places of residence. These subgroups, among the Siberian Yupik, appear as quasi-clans with predominant patrifiliation (as much the result of patrilocal postnuptial residence as of unilineal descent).

While there is a marked difference in kinship terminologies (Chukchi systems are generally of the "Eskimo" type and Siberian Yupik systems are variants of the "Iroquois" type), the kinship systems on the Chukchi Peninsula are characterized by a common pattern of bilaterality with a high degree of patrifocal emphasis. Both linguistic groups have mechanisms such as spouse exchange to extend kinship links beyond what Euro-American call "relatives." Initiated not by a wedding but rather by bride-service, marriages are generally monogamous, with limited polygyny and rare cases of polyandry. There are no explicit rules of endogamy or exogamy, but there is a statistical tendency toward village endogamy. Marriages between coastal residents and reindeer herders are frequent among the Chukchi, but are generally limited to coastal women moving inland among the Siberian Yupik.

Despite a highly sedentary lifestyle and an affluent environment there have been no traces of social ranking or stratification. While many settlements had a few dominant personalities ("rich" or "strong" men, usually boat captains), their *de facto* authority was highly limited. Most status positions were limited to men, but it is inappropriate to postulate gender stratification. A rather clearcut gender division of labor put men in positions of high visibility and frequent contact with outsiders, but this occurred without denying the essential and valuable contributions to production and reproduction by women.

Religion and spirituality

The entire non-human environment is considered to be animated and endowed with the abilities to act and speak (Bogoras 1904–9). Animals and humans possess souls, making them similar but different, with a permeable dividing line. Species of wild animals and trees, lakes, rivers, etc., have "owners" or "masters" (spiritual entities controlling resources with whom humans must engage reciprocally for their material success in life). Male and female shamans had privileged access to the spirit world in order to cure the sick, prevent misfortune, and predict weather.

Bowhead whales were the most prominent animals in the rituals of the coastal hunters of the Chukchi Peninsula. The Ceremony of Boats marked the opening of the hunting season in May. In addition, every harvested whale was ritually greeted. The Yupik settlement of Nuvuqaq had a special month-long Whaling Festival, celebrated in winter after the whale season closed. The theme of whale rituals among maritime hunters of Chukotka was the "resurrection of the animals," a way of guiding them back to their home country. Seals and walruses, despite their major economic importance, played only a minor role in the ceremonies.

The Chukchi Peninsula is exceptional within the circumpolar world, in that until recently there had been almost no missionary proselytizing. Owing to the lack of governmental social control in the area, the Russian Orthodox Church had no significant presence prior to the early twentieth century, and even this ceased after the Russian Revolution of 1917. Since 1990, missionary influx from Alaska has been clearly out-performing the Russian Orthodox Church in financial and personnel investment.

Current situation and organization for resistance

From the 1930s, the Soviet state gradually came to control every aspect of daily life on the Chukchi Peninsula. Economic activities, previously determined by individuals, families, or larger kin groups, were incorporated first into consumer collectives and later into state farms, which turned the hunters and gatherers of the area into wage laborers who, while technically continuing predominantly to hunt, gather, and fish, no longer had control over the processes of production and distribution. At the same time, the more beneficial aspects of state incorporation (schools with native language components, health care, paid vacations, libraries, etc.) guaranteed a certain level of acceptance of the radical changes. From the late 1950s, a massive inmigration of Soviet citizens (predominantly Russian and Ukrainian) changed the social fabric of the coastal villages. Indigenous residents gradually became a minority in their own settlements, received lower-ranking jobs and lower wages, and found it necessary to adopt the migrants' Russian language for public communication. A number of prominent and mostly Yupik coastal villages were forcibly closed and their residents relocated. A sharp increase in suicide and other violent deaths, alcoholism and other social problems followed.

When Soviet perestroika politics reached the shores of the Bering Strait in the late 1980s new local opportunities arose. In 1989, an American—Soviet agreement made visa-free travel for indigenous peoples once more possible (after forty years of the Cold War) on both sides of the Strait. From the Russian side, Yupik residents actively use this opportunity to visit friends and relatives on St. Lawrence Island and Seward Peninsula, Alaska. The Chukchi are less involved in these visits.

Local community leaders have recently begun organizing for renewed self-determination. In August 1990, the Regional Society of the Eskimos of Chukotka was founded. Other predominantly Yupik organizations followed. Siberian Yupik, few in number and internally divided between

Chaplino and Naukan linguistic and cultural affiliations, see their political survival in terms of close affiliation with the larger Inuit world involving Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. For the Chukchi, the numerically dominant indigenous people in Chukotka, whose regional affiliations link them to peoples south and west of the Peninsula, such political activism seems less compelling. While such differing strategies are understandable, they introduce an inter-ethnic (Yupik vs. Chukchi) distinction not characteristic of previous centuries. At the close of the twentieth century, however, desperate economic conditions threaten all indigenous groups the same way. Previous advances in the direction of self-determination are now overshadowed by the sheer necessity of physical and social survival.

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"All that exists lives. The lamp walks around. The walls of the house have voices of their own. The skins sleeping in the bags talk at night."

Chukchi shaman, nineteenth century
(Bogoras 1904–9:281)

"If you have not been at your homeland, in Nuvuqaq, for a long time, then after returning you will, of course, feed the spirits. The hunters, at the beginning of the walrus season, had to feed the ancestors… then they began to destroy everything. The future communists worked so hard they threw the ritual stones right into the sea."

Hunter from Nuvuqaq, September 1993, Uelen

Films

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Traveling in the Arctic. 1980. (48 min.). Includes footage of Sakari Palsi's 1917–18 expedition to Chukotka. Hanu and Sakari Palsi, dirs. Purchase/rental information: Finnish Film Archive, Box 177,00151 Helsinki, Finland.

Copies of these films are housed at the Alaska Native Heritage Film Center, University of Alaska Museum, PO Box 756960, Fairbanks, AK 99775–6960, USA, and the Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution, NHB 307, MRC 112, Washington DC 20560, USA.

I.III.5

The Evenki of the lower Enisei Valley

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Introduction

The Evenki are one of the most widely dispersed nationalities in eastern Eurasia. Substantial numbers live in China and Mongolia; within the Russian Federation they populate a wide arc descending southward from the mouth of the Enisei River, which curves eastward across the Lake Baikal region, and ascends the coast of the Okhotsk Sea to the beginning of the Kamchatka Peninsula. Evenki individuals most commonly refer to themselves in their own language as *Evenki* (*Evenkil*, pl.) but in specific regions may call themselves *bae, ile, orochon*, or *khamnigan*. Since the 1930s they have been called *Evenk* (*Evenki*, pl.) in Russian-language ethnography. They are best known for their skill as hunters, and as herders of domesticated reindeer. English-language ethnography has adopted their word *shaman*, to describe Arctic ritual specialization generally. The Evenki are known in English as the Tungus. Lower Enisei Valley Evenki speak the northern dialect of this Tungus-Manchu language. They are renowned for their epic movements across the vast plateau between the Enisei and Lena Rivers. The legacy of these extensive travels (aspects of which interpenetrate with Samoed and Turkic ethnographic clusters) is reflected in the local dialect, and in hunting and herding techniques.

History

Evenki artifice has been associated with the Glazkovo culture of 1800–1300 BP (Okladnikov 1964). Some scholars credit Evenkis with pioneering the harnessing of wild reindeer in the Lake Baikal region. This skill diffused northwards from 1000 BP, reaching the shores of the Polar sea in the 1600s. The first historic record of Evenkis as herders comes from fifth-century Chinese chronicles (Pomishin 1990). Views differ about how Evenki occupation of the east Asia interior was ceded to Sakha (Iakut). Some argue superior Sakha cultural forms beat out or assimilated Evenkis. Others argue Evenki resistance to the arrival of Russian Cossacks (1600s) weakened them before Sakhas.

The first Russian Cossack tribute posts were established in the Lower Enisei Valley during the seventeenth century. The Russian tribute economy did not impinge greatly upon Evenki autonomy owing to their mobility, a regular frustration to tribute takers. The explorer Middendorf (in 1860), the statistician Patkanov (in 1897), and early Bolshevik activists (in 1929), remarked upon the epic journeys of Evenkis in the Enisei—Lena watershed. Today, elders remember their homelands in territories bordering the Sakha Republic, or as far away as Lake Baikal. Fixed settlements were first established by the Soviet state in the late 1930s, together with trading posts and residential schools. A literary dialect (Podkamenno-Tunguska) was authorized in 1932. By the 1940s Soviet institutions had

limited Evenki extensive land use by confining their perambulations within large farms. In 1959, national identities in the area were standardized. In 1969, national homogenization continued with the consolidation of smaller collective farms into large multi-ethnic settlements. Resettlement, supplemented by generous affirmative action and education, assisted some members of Evenki settlements to obtain higher education and respected professions. Evenki mobility has contributed to the scanty documentation of their Lower Enisei Valley culture (Tugolukov 1985, Vasilevich 1969). Classic studies were undertaken by Vasil'ev [1908] and Rychkov [1917, 1922–3]). Sovietera studies were somewhat hampered by the ethnographic emphasis on reifying ethnic boundaries of neighboring groups such as Nias, Dolgans, Enetses, and Nenetses.

Location

Within the Lower Enisei Valley, 474 Evenki (1990) live primarily at Potapovo and Khantaiskoe Ozero, Dudinka County, Taimyr Autonomous District, and in Sovetskaia Rechka, Turukhansk County, Krasnoiarsk Territory. Since 1959, some lakut-speaking Evenki have statistically become Dolgan; up to 700 others have migrated to the Evenk Autonomous District.

Population

In 1989, 29,900 Evenki in thirty-three counties lived in the Russian Federation, and 3500 in the Evenk Autonomous District; some 20,853 Evenki and 2793 Orochen reside in the People's Republic of China (Inner Mongolia); and several thousand in Mongolia.

30 An *argish* (caravan) of the Number One Reindeer Brigade moving to their central pastures along the front ranges of the Putoran plateau above Igarka. The mobile homes (*balkf*) are a recent replacement of the traditional Evenki conical tent (*d'iu*). Photo: David Anderson.

Ecology and demography

The Lower Enisei Valley hosts several climatic zones in close succession. Evenkis here position themselves at the line between the Arctic/Alpine tundras and the Boreal forest zones. Dominant larch forests become interspersed with birch and fir toward the Evenk Autonomous District boundary. The tundra is rich in reindeer moss and dwarf willow. This succession of zones has been essential for both pasturing domesticated reindeer and pursuing migratory wild deer and fur-bearers (Arctic fox, ermine, wolverine, and sable).

Since World War II, Lower Enisei Evenkis have enjoyed a stable population. A low infant mortality rate has compensated for an accidental death rate higher than the Russian average. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, rates of both infant mortality and accidental/ violent death have jumped dramatically, with a tendency toward a regressive population structure.

Economy

The Lower Enisei Evenkis can be distinguished from their southern cousins by a passion for hunting

migrating wild deer. Before Soviet era reforms, the winter staple was wild reindeer meat (with supplements of ptarmigan, capercaillie, and rabbit). The summer diet consisted mainly of berries, fish (salmon, grayling, whitefish), and waterfowl. Imported staples included tea, tobacco, and flour for bread (*omo*). Since the arrival of Soviet officials in the 1920s, various campaigns have aimed to restructure the local hunting and fishing pursuits into a ranching economy.

31 Neru Khutukagir, a veteran Evenki reindeer herder, poses with his sons in front of his home in the settlement Khantaiskoe Ozero. His family was forcibly resettled from the Volochanka region of Taimyr in 1971. Photo: David Anderson.

By 1935 most of the region's Evenkis were members of collective farms, nominally herding domestic reindeer. In practice, these reindeer were held in individual tenure, and hunting wild deer continued unabated. All collective farms were transformed into centralized state farms (1969–71) with a renewed mandate to conduct intensive reindeer ranching (with some helicopter transport), fishing with motorboats, and fur-trapping with snow machines. State transfer payments, based on a section's output, paid for electricity and heating in the enlarged settlements. Those not employed in state production brigades were encouraged to work for salaries as seamstresses, accountants, laborers, or teachers. Despite thirty years of industrialized trapping, fishing, and herding, wild reindeer hunting remains a significant source of meat for those with access to motorized or reindeer transport.

Settlements and extensive travel

Since 1960 Evenki land use patterns have changed dramatically. Before the great resettlements,

Lower Enisei Evenkis hunted and traded extensively. In winter, small herds of domesticated reindeer (averaging fifty head) moved people and goods by caravan (*argish*) over distances up to 1000 km. The men provisioned these caravans, hunting migrating wild deer with their harness stock, and checking lines of deadfall traps. In summer, Evenkis and their transport herds sought the wide escarpments and high tundra to escape harassment by blood-sucking insects. Those remaining in the Boreal zone fished or tended camps with infants (Vasil'ev 1908). By the late 1970s, the majority of the population lived in settlements, working for wages or studying. A small, primarily male section began to orbit the settlements with large herds of reindeer (averaging 900 head). Other lone Evenki men managed traplines with snow machines. Intensive engagement with either the sedentary or the highly mobile lifestyle has become so pronounced it is reflected in vernacular appellations. One hears more references to differences between "villagers" and "tundramen" than to differences between nationalities.

Households, kinship, and gender

Officially, nuclear family households, dwelling in timber-walled flats, are the socioeconomic base of Evenki settlements and production brigades. In practice, bilateral kinship relations weave extensive webs of mutual aid. Classically, Evenki kinship structure was based upon patrilineal clans with exogamy calculated from four to eleven generations, depending upon the region. Two clans may exchange men and women in cross-cousin marriage alliance. In the Lower Enisei Valley descent reckoning usually does not exceed four generations; kin are thereafter forgotten or new clans established. The elaboration of bilateral descent seems recent, to cope with the vagaries of a centralized redistributive economy and unreliable market distribution. The reckoning of long, lateral descent ties within the confines of recent settlements poses difficulties for young people to find partners to whom they are not related. A high rate of adoption (due to the death of parents) further tangles the kinship net. The labor division of Evenkis into intensely sedentary "villagers" and highly mobile units of bachelor men is another hindrance to contracting and maintaining marriages. Since the 1970s, many female single-parent households have appeared. They are considered stable and desirable owing to generous support payments from the state and the relatively high income of some salaried female office employees. In general, Evenki women predominate in professions demanding higher formal education.

Political organization

Evenki traditionally organized political life through lineages and clan assemblies. Until the revolution, clan membership was in part regulated by the Tsarist state through "administrative clans." Senior patrilineal males made decisions as to the movements of the household and the division of labor among junior members, and negotiated the exchange of wealth in reindeer through marriages (Shirokogoroff 1933). The senior man's wife coordinated household chores and fur processing. Cooperation and mutual aid between Evenki clans and their counterparts among Sakhas, Dolgans, Enetses, and Sel'kups was arranged during "visits," when alliances were reinforced with gifts of furs, tools, or harness reindeer. Regional clan assemblies (*suglan*) were held in the early summer when Evenkis gathered from vast distances at tribute posts to trade and pay their fur taxes.

"We were welcomed [at the Evenki Suglan] like special guests…At first I was very shy to speak at all… But when I listened closely I found they spoke just like us! I was really nervous before my speech. Afterwards, two old women congratulated me, saying, 'You speak so well. Just like we speak.' I never before realized we had so much in common."

Tatiana Vasilivena Bolina, Evenki language teacher

"The talk about privatization is just greed. Already I heard on the radio that those Ukrainians were shooting over on Lake Delamakit. Shooting on the tundra!… It is wrong that [newcomers] are asking for land. This is our land. I have traveled all over this land. If they try to take it from us I will fight for it."

Nikolai Savelevich Utukogir, Brigadier,
Number One Reindeer Brigade

With the implementation of local, Soviet-style political structure, the clans gave way to production brigades, though the latter are frequently headed by senior clansmen. The *suglan* gave way to the "congress" of hunters or herders. Evenkis distinguished themselves with pedigrees of support for the Communist Party. Soviet reforms did much to liberate poorer Evenki clans from domination by Sakha reindeer ranchers. Political solidarity tends to be discussed today in an idiom of national identity, with conflictual overtones such as "Evenkis v. Newcomers" or "Evenkis v. Dolgans" (Anderson 1996).

Spirituality

Evenkis are famous for their *s'amanil* (shamans). Evenki shamans managed a complex sentient world of spirit-helpers and territorial masters who assisted the shaman to "fly" vast distances, healing, hurting, or negotiating successful hunts (Shirokogoroff 1935, Suslov 1983). Shamanic knowledge was not confined to ritual specialists. Contemporary Evenki hunters carefully watch their dreams for information on game movements. After a successful hunt (or upon entering new lands) they repay the sentient world with gifts of wild deer fat or coins. They carefully avoid "bad" places where they say malevolent forces lurk. Most hunters have their own "place" where they have established a good working relationship with the land.

Russian Orthodox missionaries came to the Lower Enisei Valley in the eighteenth century from Tomsk Diocese. Thereafter, chapels were seemingly abandoned until the mid-1800s when the region was re-missionized from Krasnoiarsk. Some baptisms were conducted covertly during the Soviet period. Owing to these hiatuses, syncretic practices developed and continue today. The dead are buried and mourned with periodic wakes in the Orthodox fashion. Graves are marked with "shamanic trees" which resemble crosses but are not connected to the Crucifixion. Personal possessions are broken at the gravesite and the heads of the deceased's reindeer are placed on poles by a tree.

Current challenges and social movements

With the collapse of the Soviet order, the Lower Enisei Evenkis faced a challenge as great as the

hardships of both the Russian Civil War and World War II. Central state subsidies for electricity, heat, and medical services have become greatly reduced or unreliable. Monitoring of contagious diseases such as tuberculosis or hepatitis no longer occurs. Alcoholism and consequent violent deaths have reached unprecedented levels in every settlement. A lack of freight transport bifurcates Evenki settlements: those within the compass of the Taimyr Autonomous District are provisioned by the wealthy Noril'sk Mining and Metallurgical Combine (one of the world's largest nickel and copper smelting monopolies); others, such as Sovetskaia Rechka, are effectively severed from the wider Russian division of labor and barely subsist. The extensive transhumance of pre-Soviet Evenki hunters was curtailed by the central administrative state, and current inequities of monopolistic market reform make them dependants of a crumbling welfare state. Some Evenkis are fortunate to be supported by the mineral combine, but the same smelter pollutes the land with heavy metals and acid rain. Such ecological damage further reduces Evenki autonomy and threatens the wild deer hunt.

The Association of the Northern Peoples of Taimyr (formed in 1989) and the Dudinka City Association of the Northern Peoples (formed in 1992) press for better social welfare assistance and resist attempts by Russian and Ukrainian newcomers to privatize traditional lands. In 1993, Evenki from Khantaiskoe Ozero sent delegates to the first Evenki *suglan* in Tura. They returned eager to form privatized "clan communities." Socioeconomic challenges have also supported a burgeoning Evenki national consciousness and suspicion of non-Evenki newcomers. Young people seek to activate passive knowledge of the Evenki language, instruction in which is hindered by materials written in the literary Podkamenno-Tunguska dialect. Evenki future vision is to gain control of their land through nationally homogeneous cooperative enterprises modeled on early Soviet collective farms.

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Lingren Photographic Collection. Haddon Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Cambridge. Ethel John Lingren. (A large collection of black and white photographs as well as a 16mm film of Evenkis in Manchuria, *c*. 1930.)

I.III.6

The Itenm'i

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Introduction

The Itenm'i formerly inhabited the southern and central portions of the Kamchatka Peninsula, northeastern Russian Federation (Krushanov 1990), while today they are concentrated in western Kamchatka. Their close neighbors are Chavchyvs (Koriaks) and Evenses in the central Kamchatka range and the Chukchi groups to the north. In Russian they are known as *Itelmeny* derived from *Itenm'i* ("he who lives" or "indigenous inhabitant"). The Itenm'i language is a component of the Chukotka-Kamchatka language group. Traditionally Itenm'is were semi-sedentary fishers, hunters, and gatherers with seasonal fishing as their core subsistence activity. This predetermined the location of their river valley settlements. Itenm'is had a well-developed kin-based social organization and a rich material culture, and were rather bellicose. Itenm'i ethnography has been recorded over the last 250 years of social and economic change. Even now they remain linked to their traditional subsistence economy.

History

The ancestors of the Itenm'i settled in Kamchatka by 3000 BP at the latest (Tariinskaia Archaeological Culture: Ponomarenko 1985). Contact with Russian Cossacks started between 1697 and 1699 when, despite strong Itenm'i resistance, the Cossacks overwhelmed the Peninsula. Until 1910, Russian expansion was restricted by the authorities; by the early 1900s there were only 2500 Russians in Kamchatka, a factor favoring traditional Itenm'i land tenure. In 1912 immigration restrictions were abandoned—and a wave of Russian peasants moved to Kamchatka.

Population
Seventeenth century, about 12,000–13,000; 1750, about 8000–8500; 1850, about <2000; 1959, 1109; 1970, 1301; 1979, 1370; 1990, 1431.

Location
Tigil' County, Koriak Autonomous District, Russian Federation.

The demographic and political situation changed drastically during Kamchatka's contact period (Ogryzko 1973). Itenm'i depopulation was caused mainly by a brutal policy of physical

extermination, and epidemics of foreign diseases like smallpox which accompanied the colonists. The Russians replaced the local political system with their own administration. Itenm'is were forced to pay tax (*iasak*) and to serve as drivers (*kaiur*) for officials. The Russian merchants exploited the natives heavily. Missionaries brought the Orthodox Church to Kamchatka together with formal education and consequent Russification. Only about 1000 Itenm'is spoke their mother tongue by 1900. They adopted Russian gardening, stock-keeping, log dwellings, firearms, and heavy sledges. Mixed marriages led to the emergence of a mixed population (Kamchadals). Since Itenm'is were on the verge of extinction in the early twentieth century, the Soviet Government followed a policy of paternalism in the 1920s to rescue the indigenous peoples from ethnocide. In 1927 Itenm'is were awarded legal rights to their subsistence grounds, and hunting privileges.

32 An Itenm'i girl dressed traditionally for *Alkhalalai*, Kovran Village, September 1992. Photo: Victor Shnirelman.

33 An Itenm'i storage house, pile-construction, Kovran village, September 1992. Photo: Victor A. Shnirelman.

Initially Kamchatka was ruled by the military until local Itenm'i self-government was established in the late 1920s, when they were incorporated into the newly established Koriak National District. The authorities introduced collective farms based on the former local subsistence communities. From 1962 the authorities attempted unsuccessfully to introduce an industrial fishery among Itenm'i. The collective farms were enlarged, resulting in power shifting to the newcomers, and the Itenm'is were forced out of their customary economic activities. Between 1920 and 1960 the population dropped drastically again, but since then it has gradually increased.

Itenm'i studies began with the Second Kamchatka Scientific Expedition (1733–43), whose members, Krasheninnikov (1949) and Steller (1774), wrote unsurpassed descriptions of Kamchatka's indigenous cultures. Since then, Russian and foreign scholars and travelers (e.g., J. Lesseps, K. Ditmar, N. Sliunin, V. Tiushov, and V. Margaritov) have collected additional substantial data. Considerable research was carried out during the Soviet era as well.

Ecological setting

Bisected by the north—south Central Range (2000–2500 m) Kamchatka is bordered by marshy coastal plains formed by numerous east—west rivers flowing into the Okhotsk and Bering Seas. Many of the rivers are spawning grounds for different species of anadromous Pacific salmon. Itenm'is fished intensively from May until October when annual runs of chinook, coho, pink, and chum salmon occurred.

Meadow and taiga landscapes dominate southern and central Kamchatka, while forest-tundra is dominant in the north. The scanty land fauna is represented mainly by bighorn sheep and moose. Bird species abound, both forest-dwellers (partridge) and waterfowl (geese, ducks, swans). The tidal zone is rich in sea mammals (bearded and ringed seals, etc.) which were skillfully exploited by the northwest Itenm'is. Forests and marshes are habitats for numerous berries (raspberry, currant, dog-rose).

Kamchatka is known for its vigorous climate: January/February mean temperature,—15°C to—16°C; July/August, 11°C to 12°C. Frosts occur from mid-September to mid-June; annual precipitation is 370–550 mm, falling mainly in August.

Economy

Fishing was the Itenm'is' core subsistence activity (Shnirelman 1994). People began to fish in late spring; important runs of the staple chums and pinks occurred between May and October. The best runs occurred in a period of a few weeks when people worked intensively to collect sufficient supplies for winter. Everybody worked: women processed the catch; old people and children helped hang the fish to dry. People used two types of fish preserving: dried (in Russian: *iukola*) and fermented. They used weirs, nettle-fiber seine nets, dip nets and fishing spears. Iukola was the main daily staple. Fermented salmon was a delicacy for feasting. Winter footwear was made from fish skin.

Northwestern Itenm'is hunted sea mammals and the southerners were skilled in whaling, with poisoned harpoon points. Nets, weirs, spears, clubs, and later firearms, were used in sea mammal hunts. All flesh and fat were consumed; the hides became clothing, footwear, belts, and utensils. Itenm'is bartered extensively with Chavchyvs (Koriaks), supplying them with sea mammal skins, furs, dog skins, and amanito fungi, in exchange for reindeer meat, hides, and sinew. Earlier, Itenm'is hunted sables, foxes and other fur-bearers whose importance grew during the contact period. Taxes were paid in furs, the medium of exchange recognized by Russian merchants.

"If you find a lizard on her back on the road, with flexed feet, and she cries, it's a death omen. You have to cut her to pieces. Put them in an empty plant stem…You shouldn't be always waiting for somebody, otherwise an evil spirit as someone's double will come in. He can strangle you."

Klavdiia Khaloimova (Kovran)

"They fought Koriaks [Chavchyvs] in the past, so Itenm'is look on Koriaks somewhat haughtily and treat them as inferior…Itenm'is were always peaceful…They bartered with Koriaks. I made a sealskin belt. They liked that very much. They used to give a whole reindeer carcass for a belt."

Nikita Zaporotskii (Kovran)

Itenm'i women collected molluscs, berries, nuts, grasses, and roots. They excelled in botanical knowledge, utilizing many plant species. In particular, they made fine utensils and nets from various grasses.

Goods were moved by dogteams and light sledges, and since contact, large sledges. The dugout

canoe (*bat*) was the main method of water transport. The material culture was composed of stone, various skins, bone, clay and wood (for bowls, baskets, bags, nets, clothing, knives, spears, bows and arrows, armor, canoes, and sledges). Villages were defended by palisades or ramparts (Starkova 1976). The use of iron tools was adopted shortly after contact, as were gardening and the raising of cattle and horses. The high concentration of the population in contemporary settlements hinders the success of traditional intensive fishing and the industrial fishery has not succeeded; catches in the Kovran River have dropped. Many Itenm'is are employed, however, in the canning industry, and in the education and health care sectors.

Settlement patterns

The main population was found in western Kamchatka, including the Kamchatka River basin. Winter villages were established some distance from the cold sea coast; summer sites were located close to the fishing on river estuaries. People lived in semi-subterranean winter houses; in summer they moved into storage houses constructed from poles. One entered a winter dwelling (November to May) down a notched log ladder. In summer the able-bodied population moved to the fishing grounds. Old people, young children, and cripples might remain year round in the winter settlement.

Usually a community owned part or all the river valley, in which groups of kin built fishing weirs. The catch was divided among all the fishery participants. Each domestic unit collected a store sufficient for winter consumption. Since contact, Itenm'i territory has shrunk drastically. While a dozen villages were still occupied in Tigil' District in the 1950s, this was reduced to five settlements by 1991 (Kovran, Tigil', Khairiuzovo, Ust' Khairiuzovo, and Sedanka).

Domestic organization

The population of Itenm'i communities ranged from a few dozen to 200 plus, organized by a kinship ideology with matrilineal elements, clan exogamy, and patrilocality. Bride-service was customary. A groom lived for a period with the bride's parents prior to the wedding. Women enjoyed considerable respect: "a woman is mistress of the house and keeper of all valuables" (Steller 1927:47). Polygynous marriage (up to three wives, frequently the sororate) was practiced by the wealthy. Wealth was computed in wives and dogs. Men fished and hunted, provided fuel, made sledges and canoes, built weirs, and prepared food for humans and dogs. Women cared for the young, made clothes, footwear, basketry and nets, and gathered, preserved, and stored the foodstuffs. Transvestite men (*koekchuch*) could wear women's clothing and do women's work.

Political organization

A community was led by a mature, respected, wealthy man (*toion*) who possessed the largest, most well-appointed dwelling. Here he offered hospitality. Elders sanctioned political decisions although their authority was limited to moral persuasion. Skilled warriors directed military actions and the often endemic blood feuds between villages. Victors seized women, children, food, and valuables from the vanquished, but never territory. Hospitality and formal gift-exchange between partners from different communities offset seasonal food insecurities. Public rituals and ceremonies with attendant

feasts and competitions linked a number of communities.

Religion

Itenm'is have long respected the powers of supernatural forces, especially *Mitg*, "Master of the Sea," said to control fishing resources. Represented as a fish, *Mitg* was honored in the *Alkhalalai* purification ceremony each November. Fire was always ritually important. After a successful hunt, "the master of animals," *Piliachuch*, was celebrated. Each bear kill was followed by the veneration of the skull, and venerable wooden figures were placed at important subsistence locales. The world was eternal, the soul immortal. *Kutkha*, Raven, was creator and progenitor.

At the outset of any subsistence activity people sought spiritual assistance through sacrifice and shamanic procedures. One was enjoined to leave something for the spirits at sacred sites. Itenm'is regarded fire-breathing mountains as "the dwelling of the deceased." Side by side with *Gaiech*, "Master of the Afterworld," stood *Pl'khlen*, "Master of Wealth." One ought to avoid and pacify the malevolent forces, the most powerful being *Kannu*. Amulets were worn for protection. Two figures lodged with each family: a firekeeper, and the protector of the dwelling from forest spirits. Shamans, who worked with drums and amanito hallucinogens, were either women or transvestites. They were consulted to cure bad luck and illness. Today shamanism is in revival.

Itenm'i behavior was regulated by numerous psychic beliefs related particularly to economic activities. Like other indigenous Siberians, Itenm'is did not help a drowning person. To do so would incur the vengeance of aquatic spirits, who would lose their prey. People could will themselves to die. Christianization began with church building in Kamchatka in 1727. Itenm'is resisted baptism and killed Orthodox priests. In the 1740s a special mission, with orders to convert the natives at any cost, suppressed resistance and baptized 5000 Itenm'is by 1750.

Current situation

Most Itenm'is worked at the Krasnyi Oktiabr Collective Farm and Russian-run state enterprises, but since 1990 they have established a few non-state cooperative ventures which suffer from under-capitalization and hostility from state enterprises. Today unemployment is high, especially among the young. Employees and pensioners suffer long delays receiving their pay/pensions. The death rate, alcoholism, and alcohol-related accidents and suicides are rising. Tuberculosis, cancer, pulmonary and gastro-enteric diseases are increasing, partly because of poor nutrition. Until recently Itenm'is attended the Russian public school system. Thus, only a few know their mother tongue.

Formally, each people in the Koriak Autonomous District have equal political rights, yet Koriaks, the titular people, and the Russians as the dominant majority have better access to power and resources. Itenm'i dissatisfaction has grown since 1990 when the district seceded from Kamchatka Province. Itenm'is complain that the authorities in Palana, the capital, appropriate the lion's share of state subsidies; they would prefer to rejoin Kamchatka Province. They feel animosity toward the Russians who appropriated the land and exploit the fishing and hunting grounds.

Organization for resistance

In February 1989, Tkhsanom, the Council for the Revival of Kamchatka Itenm'is, was established at Kovran, its goal being to rescue the people from physical and cultural assimilation. The program includes the protection of the environment from predatory industrial use, encouragement of Itenm'i independent economic activity, and the revitalization of language and traditional culture. Since 1987 a folklore team, "El'vel," together with the children's dance group, "Suzvai," has been active. The traditional November *Alkhalalai* festival has been revived; the Palana radio station broadcasts a program in the Itenm'i language; and there are attempts to introduce primary education in the mother tongue. Despite staffing problems, language classes have begun.

Itenm'is want ethnoterritorial self-government. They claim lands in the Tigil' District between the Utkholok and Sopochnaia Rivers. Koriaks oppose these claims since, during the Soviet era, the lands were pasture for Koriak reindeer. In June 1992, Koriak District authorities decided to transfer territories to "individuals, families, and clan communities" for traditional subsistence activities. Itenm'is are trying to repopulate the deserted villages of Sopochnoie and Moroshechnoie, but they lack funding. The state enterprise, Tigil'skii, opposes the allotment of subsistence lands to the Itenm'i cooperatives.

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I.III.7

The Iukagir

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Introduction

Iukagir history and ethnography are of fundamental interest for several reasons: the people live in the coldest environment in the northern hemisphere; linguistically, the Iukagir language has very few original stems (evidence of a protracted interaction with neighboring peoples); and, Iukagir environmental ethics appear to be among the most ancient cultural features of hunter-gatherers in Eurasia. In contrast to their life in nature, and their well-preserved mythology and folklore, contemporary Iukagir life is a highly negative example of modernization.

The more numerous seventeenth-century Iukagirs consisted of northern peoples (Iandyri, Khoromoi, Oliubenzi, Ianga, Alai, Omoki, Tchuvantsi) and southern peoples (Onoidi, Shoromba, Kolymtsi, Lavrentsi, Anauli, Khodyntsi) (Dolgikh 1960:385–419)). Most were Arctic taiga hunters and fishers. Northerners with close economic/cultural ties to the Chukchi groups adopted reindeer herding, though largely to supplement indigenous dogsled transportation. Iukagirs are most commonly known by the Russian term *Iukagir* (*Iukagiry*, pl.) assigned them by Cossack tribute takers. An older colonial term is *Omok*. In the western tundra areas they refer to themselves as *Vadul* and in the eastern taiga area they call themseles *Odul*. No general self-appellation exists at present.

Recent history

The first European settler, Cossack Ivan Rebrov, collected 560 sable skins, the first *iasak* (tax) from Iukagirs, in 1635, and founded a *zimovie* (winter fort). The Cossacks seized Iukagir hostages to ensure payment of taxes; despite this, soldiers were often better neighbors than the notorious Russian-Sakha merchant traders. Iukagir population plunged to 544 after smallpox epidemics (in 1669,1690–3,1884, and 1889). Conducted shortly after the epidemics, the 1897 census records only 544 Iukagirs.

Ethnographic studies were initiated by W. Jochelson, who lived among Iukagirs of the Upper Kolyma in 1894–7 during an expedition organized by the Imperial Russian Geographic Society. In the early 1900s, Jochelson participated in the second field study (Jesup North Pacific Expedition), that helped fill in gaps regarding the northern groups. In 1959, the USSR Academy of Sciences organized the third serious study of this people (see works of A. Okladnikov, B. Dolgikh, S. Tokarev, I. Gurvich, E. Kreinovich, M. Zhornitskaia, I. Zolotareva, Z. Gogolev). In 1959 as well, O. Tailleur published his major Iukagir linguistic study.

Especially during Stalin's rule, Iukagir territory was host to concentration camps where thousands were executed or died from the cold. During the 1930s, Iukagirs experienced collectivization, a

forced transition to a semi-settled way of life, and the introduction of central planning. These changes undermined their self-reliance and egalitarianism, and created significant psychological stress. The very notion of self-governance and egalitarian tribal structure has been abandoned.

Ecological setting

Iukagir territories are uplands, river lowlands, and tundra lowlands. Climate is sharply continental, with permafrost, and a long, frigid, cloudless winter: absolute January low is—63°C. Stable snow cover (early October) remains into late May. Summers have seventy to eighty frost-free days. The landscape is dotted with lakes, especially to the north. Some are separated only by thin strips of land. Rivers and lakes are bounded by larch taiga and northern willows.

Location and population
In 1989, 697 Iukagirs were living in the Sakha Republic (lakutiia) in two compact settlements: Verkhnekolymskii Ulus (Nelemnoe Village) and Nizhnekolymskii Ulus (Andriushkino Village). Some data suggest a population of 1000 plus; however, many people with different ethnic backgrounds register themselves as "Iukagir" for benefits and welfare programs for which Iukagirs are currently eligible. Iukagirs with no ethnically mixed marriages in their ancestry are fewer than 100 (25 in Nelemnoe and Zyrianka settlements). Archival data suggest an early population of 4500–5000, from the Lena River to the Ohkotsk Sea.

During midwinter frosts the taiga is noted for an absolute silence that causes auditory hallucinations. Small game and fowl (hare, grouse, ptarmigan) often dwell under snow. Predators (foxes and occasional wolves) become less active. The wolf population plummeted because of an extermination policy aimed at protecting reindeer herding. Bears are abundant and widespread, and often approach human dwellings.

Today's primary game is the healthy moose population; wild reindeer are presently on the verge of extinction. Among the river and lake species, whitefish and trout are especially valued. Mosquitoes, dangerous to unprotected flesh owing to sheer size and numbers, appear in May, climax June-July, and disappear with the August frosts.

Economy

Iukagirs have long been hunters and fishers. Reindeer herding (northern group) was less intensive than among the Chukchi groups or Evenses. The main prey was wild reindeer, hunted by *pokolka*: animals being dispatched from canoes during water crossings. This method implies precise knowledge of reindeer migratory routes, exact timing, and high mobility. Another important prey was moose, often hunted from skis, or occasionally shot during encounters when a hunter was checking sable traps, which are set on trees, approximately a meter above ground. Owing to the sable's acute sense of smell, trappers wash well and do not smoke.

The communally hunted bear was highly revered. Iukagirs used the carcass in various ways; respectful rituals appeased the animal and its spirit-owner, thus avoiding psychic vengeance and

allowing the life-essence to return to Mother Earth. Similar procedures followed the slaying of moose and reindeer. In spring Iukagirs hunted ducks, geese, and swans with blinds and birdcalls. Skilled marksmen, they rarely missed, despite inferior weapons. Hare and white grouse were caught with hoop snares. Today fishing remains as important as hunting. Traditionally Iukagir built weirs on minor tributaries and set bucket-shaped *mordy* made of willow twigs, and woven *merezhy*. Today small nets and hook and line ice fishing are used. Preferred species include whitefish, trout, pike, and burbot.

Iukagirs have not actively participated in European commerce, nor has craftwork been a source of income. Crafts served hunting and gathering activities. Gathering was limited to some species of berries and wild onion. The Iukagir berry collector, *choghol*, was a bark basket; part of the rim formed the handle.

Settlement patterns

Iukagir traditionally spent winter in their villages and followed reindeer migrations in summer. The *urasa* dwelling could be easily erected and disassembled; excavations of a more ancient dwelling type, the *chandal*, revealed a subterranean winter dwelling, and thus long settlement continuity. Today, Iukagir live in wooden bungalows and cabins. Most have central heating, at least minimal appliances, and living conditions comparable to other rural areas in the Russian Federation. During the winter hunting season Iukagir live in log cabins, their home base in the taiga, with tents set along regular sable traplines. Some Iukagir set up ancient *urasa* next to their permanent house to pay tribute to their heritage. Land use is characterized by an ethical approach to the environment, marked by participation in the natural world and its spiritual dimensions. The major ethic is to appropriate only that which is necessary to support life. The hitherto unknown notions of comfort and material progress become increasingly prevalent. Traditional spiritual values are being eclipsed by stereotypical mass culture.

Domestic organization

Clan identity predominated until the collectivization of the Iukagir settlements and active enforcement of a new, unified ethnicity among both northern and southern groups. Despite the heated rhetoric of Iukagirs themselves, strong ethnic identity has still not emerged. Kinship and clan affiliation continue to eclipse broader cultural identities. Strict exogamy was characteristic of Iukagir clans. With the pool of marriage candidates meager, Iukagir have intermarried with neighboring Evens, Russians, and Sakhas. Some matrilocal residence survived until recently and coexisted with bilateral kinship. Marriages occurred in early autumn, at interclan feasts.

Gender differences were not pronounced. Men and women performed similar roles during hunting and fishing seasons, although women faced some taboos (they were prohibited from gazing at a moose head or touching a bear carcass). Pre-marital relations were rather relaxed. Women could become shamans at any age, as could men. Daily life of a family unit consisted of participation in clan hunting. The catch was distributed by elders and other authority figures. The successful hunter did not enjoy special rights. He was expected to submit the catch to the elders. In times of famine, families often hunted separately but helped one another survive.

Political organization

The clan and clan associations were run by elders who were not necessarily the best hunters. Power rose from spiritual authority and knowledge about effective coexistence with nature. Those who could predict how human action would impact on relations with spirit-owners and other beings of the cultural landscape (survival wisdom) were the most authoritative. Iukagirs did not have longterm relations with neighboring ethnic groups (Evens, Evenkis, and Sakhas, and later Russians). There are many narratives of war with Chavchyvs (Koriaks), and sometimes Evens, over hunting territories; these were not protracted as Iukagir were hunters while Evens were mainly herders. Iukagirs were good warriors despite their lack of mobility compared to the herders who launched sudden raids, though these were not catastrophic owing to dispersed settlement. Relations within the clans were largely egalitarian. Hunting weapons doubled as implements of war, with the addition of wooden and leather armor. There were no major military clashes between Iukagirs and Russians. Relations with Sakhas were largely peaceful as well. Peculiar and indirect power among Iukagirs belonged to shamans and other "people with open bodies."

Religion and spirituality

Iukagir shamanism is one of the most ancient in northeast Siberia. Despite Orthodox baptism, Iukagir preserved their shamanic world-view, incorporating certain Christian features. The Iukagir cosmos is tripartite: the Lower, Middle, and Upper Worlds. The Upper World is inhabited by the creator, *Khoil*, who defines destiny and embodies nature's mysteries (the *Pon*, Mothers of the Land, and the supreme spirit-owners). The Middle World is the home of humans, animals, and spirit-owners of sentient beings and places, like Fire, and Owner of the Taiga. The many-tiered Lower World includes the uninhabited Bottom Land. *Yodiesieniulben* is the most powerful evil spirit.

Paidoobae Stairway leads from the Middle to the Upper World. *Aibidyi* Road leads from the Middle to the Lower World. The Middle World is crossed by the road of the living. Sun, a deity, is the embodiment of beauty. Moon is the sun of the Lower World, associated with fire. The Iukagir consider the Lower World to be in the west, and the Upper in the east (the sacred dawn and sunset). Iukagir mythology stresses *old ice men*, demonic creatures hostile to humans, and *old women* living near waterways, accompanied by dogs, and able to transform into maidens after crossing the water. They are positive, vital earth-mother figures. Those who live and die in one territory are the land's prospective local spirit-owners.

Shamans obtain their gift from external forces like Owner of the Taiga. There are few shamanic tree images, although some exist to this day. Iukagir shamans neither wear special clothing nor normally use drums. Ordinary people can acquire shamanic gifts in crisis circumstances or following retreat in the taiga. Every human being can assimilate nine "spirits" or "truths" (enlightenments). Most Iukagir obtain a maximum of four; those who manage all nine come to embody spirits, or even Sun.

Current situation

New technology and transportation have shifted the balance from subsistence to commercial hunting (fur trapping). Sable, while profitable, has not improved Iukagir well-being (because of artificially low prices and ineffective economic policy). The Soviet planned hunting (1930–89) stood in

dramatic contradiction to values of indigenous environmental ethics, contributing to alcohol and other social problems. Timber and gold extraction in Iukagir territories have severely undermined environmental sustainability.

Rhetoric abounds about resource compensation and royalties, but Iukagir communities do not even receive wages on time. Authorities consider Iukagir ecological ethics as an obstacle to industrial development. Deep economic recession grips the Sakha Republic. Nonetheless, education and health care systems are adequately funded and function normally. Work on the revival of the Iukagir language (northern and southern dialects) has recently been initiated, with the first primer in 1993. (The Iukagir language formerly used "Shongar-Shorile," an original pictographic script, which is occasionally used during hunting as a form of laconic mapping.) Many elders contribute to local authorities' Iukagir courses, arranging classes for those who desire in-depth training in relation to taiga survival and hunting. The current ideology of "ethnic revival" provides for economic and cultural assistance; however, Iukagir more urgently require land than "cultural revival." Their land is taken for "more effective utilization" (mineral extraction).

"Not every bird that I see is a real bird. Some are shamans just pretending to be birds. Some shamans fly a long way to see what's happening."

"We used to talk to the fire a lot in the olden days. Addressing our ancestors through the fire. Asking them what to do. You should always feed the fire in the taiga. Otherwise you will have no luck."

"I watch no TV. Taiga for me is TV. When I sleep in the taiga I can see what is around me, like daylight. Everything is where it should be and like it should be, beautiful and right, like all things put away on shelves. Every beast goes along its own path and everything follows the law."

Vassilii Gavrilievich Shalugin, Iukagir hunter and story-teller

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Organization for resistance

Political activity of the Iukagir people is very limited. There are no political organizations because of the remoteness of ethnic territories from major centers of political life. There is one political group engaged in lobbying for Iukagir economic and cultural interests in Iakutsk. Tekki Odulok (N. Spiridonov [1906–38]), a famous Iukagir writer, wrote Russian-language books about Iukagirs. Iukagir philologist Dr. G. Kurilov and the modern Iukagir writer S. Kurilov are also known. Among the most prominent story-tellers and connoisseurs of mythology and folklore are V. Shalugin and N. Likhachev, residents of Nelemnoe Village, Verkhnekolymskii Ulus, Sakha Republic. Here, as well there is a folk dance school that tours extensively, performing among others the traditional round dance, *londol*. N. Kurilov, of Andriushkino Village, Nizhnekolymskii Region, is a Iukagir artist whose paintings have been exhibited in Moscow. His work reflects environmental and shamanic ideas set against Iukagir modernity. Traditional Iukagir art development has not been preserved. Figures of the natural spirits, to bring luck and well-being, are carved mainly by hunters and have some parallels with images of *Khoil* described by Jochelson (1900:110–11).

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I.III.8

The Ket (Ostyk) of the upper and middle Enisei River

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Introduction

The Ket (*Ket* [sing, "human being"]) are the indigenous inhabitants of the Upper and Middle Enisei Valley. Formerly known as the Enisei Osty, they speak a unique tongue, an isolated remnant of the Enisei language family. In their own language they most commonly refer to themselves as *ostyg* (*ostyk*, pl.). Traditional Ket culture is a mixture of elements from the hunter-fisher culture of the taiga, and from the steppe nomads. There were 1113 Kets in the former USSR, and 1084 in the Russian Federation (1989). Most Kets live rural lives. Together with the southernmost Sel'kups and Evenkis, Kets are an ethnic minority in the predominantly Russian-speaking Krasnoiarsk Territory.

Kets are highly dispersed, with local groups dwelling far from one another. There are four such groups in Turukhansk County: (a) Elogui—Kellog Village, Elogui River valley, (b) Surgutikha—Surgutikha Village, Lower Surgutikha River valley; (c) Pakulikha—Baklanikha Village, Enisei River valley; and (d) Kureika—Serkovo Village, Kureika River valley, and Maduika village at Mundeiskoie Lake. Kets form the majority only in Kellog Village. There are Ket families in other villages of the district as well. A fifth local group, Podkamenno—Tunguska: Sulomai Village at Podkamennaia Tunguska River, was incorporated into Baikitsk County (Evenk Autonomous District) in the early 1960s.

History

Ket ancestors moved to the Enisei area from the taiga highlands of southern and southwestern Siberia in the late first millennium AD. They first appeared in the written documents of the early seventeenth century when small kin-based Ket communities (about 1500 people) lived in the lower courses of the tributaries of the Enisei River (Sym, Podkamennaia Tunguska, Bakhta, Elogui [Dolgikh 1982:84–132]). Encouraged by the fur trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Kets moved northward to the Kureika River. In the eighteenth century, Russian newcomers, mainly from the Pomorie region, established permanent villages (Aleksandrov 1964). Most Kets lived in the remote areas and interacted with the Russian officials, traders, and missionaries only at annual markets. Kets remained generally unschooled and illiterate in Russian.

The Soviet administration, beginning in 1920, took measures to restore the destroyed subsistence

economies of the indigenous peoples. Fur taxes were abolished and native northerners received some privileges, including the release from obligatory state duties, monetary subsidies, and directed redistribution of consumer goods. Until 1934 the local branch of the state committee in charge of the welfare of native northerners (the Committee of the North) established Soviet ethnic councils, demarcated traditional lands, resolved territorial disputes between Kets and Russian peasants, and improved health care. The establishment of economic cooperatives (for seasonal fishing) meshed with traditional Ket economic practices and way of life.

M. A. Kastren initiated academic studies into the Ket language and their origin from 1840 to 1890. Russian scholars V. I. Anuchin and P. E. Ostrovskikh entered this field from the late nineteenth century. Ethnographic studies were resumed in the late 1920s by G. N. Prokofiev, N. K. Karger, G. M. Korsakov, K. Donner, and H. Findeisen. After World War II, the ethnographies of B. O. Dolgikh, S. I. Vainstein, R. V Nikolaev and E. A. Alekseenko were supplemented by studies in linguistics (A. P. Dul'zon, E. A. Kreinovich, and G. K. Verner), and physical anthropology (I. I. Gokhman). V V. Ivanov and V. N. Toporov prepared and published a substantial number of folklore texts for the first time.

Population
1926, 1046; 1959, 1019; 1979, 1182; 1989, 1113.

Location
Turukhansk County and Baikitsk County (Evenk Autonomous District) of Krasnoiarsk Territory, Russian Federation.

34 A Ket woman processing fish at Niakol'da Lake, 1990s. Photo: Evgeniia A. Alekseenko.

Ecological setting

The Kureika group of Kets live under Subarctic conditions. The Enisei River separates the lowlands (western Siberia) from the plateau (middle Siberia). The Enisei's right-bank tributaries (Lower and Podkamennaia Tunguska, Kureika, Bakhta) are noted for their rapids, while the left-bank tributaries (such as the Sym, Elogui, and Surgutikha) are meandering shallow waterways that break into numerous lakes and marshes. The predominant coniferous taiga (cedar, fir, and larch) intersperses with taiga-tundra to the north.

Dominant wildlife includes moose, deer, bears, furbearers (sable, squirrel, and polar fox), and wild fowl (especially hazel-grouse, black grouse, geese, swans, and ducks). Notable among the rich variety of fish stocks are sturgeon, salmon, and pike. Human misuse has impoverished the flora and fauna of the region. The beaver disappeared, the squirrel population fell as a result of logging and forest-fires, and sturgeon became a rare species. Sable was exterminated in the late eighteenth century, though reintroduced 150 years later.

"Originally there was no ground, only water. *Es'* and the Devil decided to bathe. Es' dived, took earth [slime] into his cheek pouches. He returned to the surface, blew, and the earth appeared. The Devil turned around, created nothing. Es' dived once again, got more slime; blew. A cedar forest grew up. The Devil dived, achieved nothing. The Devil is the Devil!

Afterwards Es' collected 'all the creeping rubbish' [insects], dug a hole and put them there. He pushed in a long pole so they couldn't creep out and disturb humans. The Devil, running around, saw this pole. 'Let me pull it out!' He has pulled it out. Something is creeping. He shoved the pole back, but something was left, and lots of them still run around in the forest."

P. N. Kamenskii, Sulomai Village, Podkamennaia Tunguska River

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Economy

The mixed subsistence economy of the Kets was partially determined by ecological setting. The main occupations were moose hunting, the pursuit of waterfowl, and intensive fishing using a weir (*kotets*). These activities provided a staple diet and supplied raw materials for clothing, footwear, and utensils. The hunting and fishing equipment was not specialized. Kets used the bow and arrow to shoot both birds and animals; traps and dead-falls captured various large animals and forest birds. Nets were used both for fishing and for ensnaring waterfowl. Before the Soviet era, taxes (*iasak*) were paid in furs; barter was the main form of exchange. Hunting and trapping fur-bearers predominated as Kets became involved in the market economy. A new season of winter hunting was introduced (which required the family to be out on the land for up to three months). During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, some households began using reindeer transport in order to access more remote hunting grounds. However, some Kets, including the Podkamenno-Tunguska group, did not use reindeer. Both manual sledges and travois and reindeer sledges were used by Kets. Russian traps were introduced such as the deadfall and the snare. Owing to the scarcity of funds, Kets adopted firearms slowly. A bow served as principal weapon in many housholds (33 percent) as late as the 1920s, and disappeared only in the 1930s (Alekseenko 1967:31). Gathering, important in the quiet seasons, satisfied other dietary needs, especially vitamins. It also provided medicines, dyes,

and raw materials.

35 Ket husband and wife going hunting by sled and travois, near Kellog village. Photo: Evgeniia A. Alekseenko.

Sarana (wild lily) bulbs were harvested with digging sticks in early summer. They could be eaten raw or baked in ash, though most were dried for winter. Men participated in this activity, although gathering in general is the occupation of women, children, and the aged. Fir tree inner bark was dried and pounded for storage; it was used as a flour, and more recently would be mixed with grain flour.

Kets picked berries (bilberry, bird-cherry [stored in fish grease]; and red bilberry and cranberry which were eaten fresh). Medicines and teas were prepared from berry leaves and dog-rose roots. Birch sap was collected in spring for the children. Mushrooms, with the exception of the amanito (considered to be "champagne"), were avoided, for reasons which arose from mythology. Footwear was made from sedges.

Settlement patterns

Several families dwelling at one location formed the basic economic unit among Kets. Before the era of commercial hunting, settlements were occupied year round. People gathered seasonally at particular sites to pursue fish and waterfowl collectively; while immediate families appropriated furs for themselves. Hunting large ungulates also demanded collective effort. People left their permanent

settlements of subterranean dwellings (used at least nine months of the year) only temporarily for intensive summer fishing at the Enisei River. Men would leave home for large hunts of perhaps three nights. Whole families became involved in winter movement with the intensification of the fur trade, especially after the sable had been depleted. The ownership of hunting and fishing grounds required permanent subsistence use and was inherited from the father's side.

Domestic organization

Social organization was based on moieties, patrilineal kinship, exogamy, and kin-regulated production, consumption, inheritance, and ideology. In the seventeenth century one moiety was represented by the Elogui group (*Inbaks*), the other, by both *Zemshaks* (at Podkamennaia Tunguska) and *Bogdens* (Lower Bakhta River). Later, territorial groups were formed which included people from both moieties, who retained special names for themselves into the 1950s. People with the same name formed exogamous groups whose members could use the same subsistence grounds and the same weirs. They shared their produce and assisted one another in house and canoe construction. Economic ties were very strong in the local groups. A common ideology was based on a sense of blood-relationship, as well as belief in common ancestors, shamanic powers, and guardian-spirits.

In the seventeenth century extended families of up to thirty persons were common. Two hundred years later the family size had reduced to five or seven persons. A seventeenth-century patriclan, either localized or dispersed, was composed of several nuclear family units linked through the male line. Men and elders, both male and female, enjoyed high social status. Women had real equality with men, and elderly women enjoyed high "male" status. Families desired numerous children and suffered high infant mortality. Children participated in domestic life from an early age.

The small population, combined with strict adherence to exogamy, led to a high degree of interethnic marriage. From the 1790s to the 1950s Kets intermarried mainly with Sel'kups. More recently, Ket—Russian marriages have predominated. The children of ethnically mixed marriages identified themselves with the father's kin. Today the child's identity depends on the dominant ethnic group, the parents' socioprofessional status, the level of parental ethnic commitment, and the privileges awarded indigenous peoples.

Political organization

We have no data on traditional political organization prior to the eighteenth century. After that time, the Russians introduced regional (*volost'*) administrations in order to facilitate tax collecting. The areas coincided with the indigenous local groups and maintained some features of traditional political organization. A leader ("petty prince") was elected at the council (*suglan*). Leaders appealed to the sense of collective responsibility to overcome delayed payments of taxes or repayment of debts. Conflicts and disputes were resolved by councils of elders.

Religion

Officially Kets are baptized Christians. The Orthodox missionaries began proselytizing in Turukhansk County in the early seventeenth century, although, among some local people, they gained only

perfunctory observation of Orthodox ritual. The aspects of Christianity most attractive to Kets were the ideas and rituals which corresponded most closely to their own spirituality. A strong duality pervaded the Ket world-view. Their myths reflect upon the origin of the world and its structure, the actions both of culture heroes of the distant past, and of more recent humans. The supreme being, *Es'* (sky, god), was identified with the sky and the phenomena of nature. He was opposed by the evil mistress of both the north and the land of the dead: *Khosedam*. The south was the realm of the mistress of birds of passage: *Tomem*. The earth, water, and fire were "mothers." Success in hunting depended on the support of the master/mistress of the forest animals, *Kaigus'*. Intensive hunting and fishing were accompanied by ceremonies intended to assist the regeneration of the species taken. The ritual cycle, closely connected with the bear hunt, stressed the "bear feast," as bears were identified with deceased relatives.

Shamanism was not a formal professional role. Shamanic practices centered on protection of kinsmen and health care by searching for the life substance, *ul'vei*, which had left the body. Shamanic ideology had to do with the inheritance of the powers, the twenty-one-year cycle of these powers, the assistants, and the spirit protectors of the upper and lower worlds. These beliefs were materialized in the shaman's insignia, dress, and other attributes. Shamanism and folk cults related to nature, subsistence, and guardian-spirits were still prevalent in the 1920s when the church was banned. Shamanism also suffered from subsequent anti-religious campaigns, but shamanic practices were still observed among Kets in the 1960s–1970s.

Subsistence cults, veneration of domestic guardian-spirits (including shamanic beliefs), and individual rituals persist, along with myth-supported norms, which are manifested in behavioral stereotypes. Kets regard their religion and rituals as integral to their ethnic identity. Ket folklore includes cosmogony, and legends of culture heroes and the great shaman, *Dog* (Nikolaev 1985). There are tales of the evil *Kelbesam*, of various animal and human narratives. Riddles, magical tales, and spontaneous, improvised songs are especially popular. The *vargan* (drum) of bone or wood frame is a common musical instrument. Mobile art includes reindeer hair embroidery, wood and bone carving, and fur decorations.

Current situation

Contemporary Ket life is suffering heavy cultural losses and damage, a process which has accelerated since the economic structural reorganization of the 1960s. When people were resettled in large nucleated villages, traditional sites were devastated by the influx of newcomers. Ket participation in hunting and fishing declined, and the practice of reindeer herding was abandoned. Urbanized clothing, equipment, and domestic accoutrements penetrated deeply into everyday life. Some cultural features have survived: traditional means of transport (skis, manual sledges, dugout canoes), winter footwear, and some implements, but the young do not have the skills necessary for their manufacture. The socioprofessional structure has changed: in 1989, 17.8 percent of Kets were urbanized, and an intelligentsia had emerged. In part, Kets are oriented toward non-subsistence occupations, use the Russian language, and intermarry with Russians. A decline of native-language competence and traditional knowledge, and heavy material and intellectual losses, have led to distortion of ethnic self-awareness. Maladaptive processes have been active in the past decade, alienating Kets from the neighboring majority, with an increase in the rates of alchoholism, accidental death, and generally

antisocial behavior. On the other hand, intellectuals encourage Ket pride in their ethnic past. Ket language classes and new language books have been restored, fifty years after their abolition. Rural museums and cultural centers are being established. In spring 1995, the Association of Ket People, whose aim is local self-government, was established.

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I.III.9

The Khanti of the West Siberian Plain

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Introduction

The Khanti are widely dispersed over the West Siberian Plain. Together with the neighboring Mansi, and the Hungarians of central Europe, they constitute the Ugrian branch of the Ural family of languages. Khanti were known as *Ostiaki* (*Ostiak*, sing.) before 1917, and were called *Iugra* by the first European explorers. Khantis call themselves *Khandi* or *Khande*. The bulk of the Khanti population (14,223 persons [1995]) inhabits the Khanti-Mansi Autonomous District together with other numerically small peoples of the north (Mansis, Nenetses, Evenkis). Other Khantis (more than 8000) live in the Iamal-Nenets Autonomous District, in Tomsk Province, and in other areas of Russia. Forty-four percent of the Khanti-Mansi Autonomous District (1500 km. × 820 km) is covered by forests and 31 percent by marsh/muskeg. The old severe but generous Trans-Ural Territory, initially called Iugra, was "famous for its soft gold, furs, numerous animals and fish" (Filipenko 1995:43). Khantis' traditional occupation was hunting, the vital source for the maintenance and development of their way of life and culture.

Recent history

The Ugrian peoples were first mentioned in Russian chronicles of the fourteenth century. Some data about *Ostiaki* were collected by N. Witsen who studied the peoples of northern and central Asia between 1664 and 1667. The Ob' Ugrians of the very late seventeenth century and their way of life were described by Ides and Brand (1957); and the Russian missionary Grigorii Novitskii wrote on pre-Christian beliefs, rituals, and sacrifices and also on the baptism of Khantis and Mansis.

Population
12,983 in 1926; 19,410 in 1959; 21,138 in 1970; 20,934 in 1979; and 22,283 in 1989.

Location
Khanti-Mansi Autonomous District, Western Siberia, Russian Federation.

Ecological setting

The small Khanti groups were widely dispersed over the vast Iugra region, which comprised taiga,

forest-tundra and tundra zones. The local continental climate is characterized by heavy winter frosts (−40°C to −50°C. and snow storms, while summer temperatures rise to 25°C to 39°C). The west Siberian taiga consists of conifers (fir, silver spruce, cedar, pine) and deciduous trees (birch, aspen, willow); and there are currant, bird-cherry, and mountain ash along the waterways. People collect many varieties of berries and mushrooms in the forest and muskeg. There are many animal (more than 100 species) and 350 bird species; those important for hunting are the wild reindeer, moose, bear, and fur-bearers (sable, squirrel, marten, fox, and badger). In the 1930s–1950s, new fur species were introduced: otter, European mink, and Barguzin sable. The indigenous sable were especially attractive to the Zyrian-Komi and Russians between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries.

When, in the late nineteenth century, D. Samokvasov was collecting data on traditional culture and society he remarked that the hunting peoples from the Ob' River eastward to the Okhotsk Sea shared ancient hunting ethics which relaxed intergroup tensions.

Economy

Hunting and fishing were the basis of Khanti subsistence in the past, and they remain so among certain traditionally oriented Khantis. Images and symbols of hunting and fishing are important to the culture (Kulemzin 1995:65–76) and are central to the people's system of land tenure. The territory belonged to indigenous people before Siberia was conquered by Tsarist Russia in the seventeenth century. This land tenure persisted through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was based on group usufruct rights, not on private property. Khantis upheld their land ownership system and respected the hunting and fishing rights of others, and their land.

36 A Khanti mother and children preparing to travel by reindeer sleigh. Photo: Evdokiia A. Nemysova.

All produce appropriated by collective hunting or fishing was equally divided among the participants. Family property included large nets, seines, large boats, dwellings, and a section of the reindeer herd. Individuals owned weapons and implements made by themselves or received through barter. Men manufactured all their hunting equipment personally: skis, arrows, bows, knives, dwellings, hearths, footwear, clothes, sledges, and harnesses. Khantis treated a person and a tool or artifact as one and the same substance. The artifacts came alive when they were in action in subsistence pursuits, or when they protected people from cold or heat—and were used to maintain human life.

Settlement patterns

For centuries Khantis appropriated foodstuffs by working in small kin groups, in immediate families, or, frequently, individually. In order to minimize ecological depredation, they lived in small groups distant from one another, often separated by hundreds of miles of forest, muskeg, and rivers. The subsistence grounds were close to the residential base; at least, not as far away as they became after the enlargement of settlements in the present century. Hunters and fishermen had winter and summer dwellings, special sites for spring and fall, and sometimes a permanent dwelling.

"I was born in a hunter-fisher family. My father, Nemas Ai Vuntary, was an outstanding hunter with his own skis, gun, sledge, traps, hunting dogs, and hunting grounds. He followed the ways inherited from his elder brothers, his father and grandfather. Unfortunately, he died at home in 1942 from a serious illness contracted in the war and was replaced by my new step-father, Ivan Tas'manov…They lived at the mouth of the Kazym River. Egor Iki is situated on a beautiful hill.

During the forties and fifties Ivan was a hunter in the Polnovat Collective Farm, for squirrels, hare, foxes, polar-fox, and moose. He made skis, sledges, handles for knives and axes. My mother produced warm clothes for him including fine decorated Khanti shirts. Hunting grounds were far away. Sometimes Ivan had to cover a long distance while following a fox, and came home very late… He was a single child in the family and has found happiness with my mother.

I remember 1948, the time of the flood. The Ob' waters flooded the small river valleys and lakes. It was July. My mother had given birth to a son and there was a food shortage. The fish catch was low and we had to go to remote grounds. Ivan took me fishing with him.

…we had to use paddles. I tried hard in order to put up the nets at a good time, to check them, to come back and to feed my mum so she'd have milk for the baby. Besides fish, Ivan hunted waterfowl and collected birds' eggs. In this way we rescued our family from hunger that summer."

Evdokiia A. Nemysova

37 A Khanti woman in traditional winter dress, near a bread oven. Photo: Evdokiia A. Nemysova.

Domestic organization

Domestic life, kinship, and marriage patterns have been described by Kulemzin and Lukina (1992). Here is an example. A family lives at the Malyi Iugan River. One hunter, Spiridon Kiniamin, is fifty-six years of age. He has a log house with a wooden roof, where he lives with his youngest son, Iurii, and his wife. His other four sons live with their families in separate houses which together constitute the Kiniaminii site. Until the 1930s–1940s there were many such villages in the old Iugra territory. Some of them still survive—with skis nearby, and traps, guns, and furs in the entrance chambers. This pattern survives till the end of hunting season. The hunters are taciturn, concentrated, quiet, thoughtful, industrious—all necessary survival features for the taiga and tundra environmental conditions.

Religion

Khantis knew and observed the traditions of their great grandfathers; they lived in balance with nature, animated and worshiped it, and transmitted their experience in the form of heroic songs, legends, and tales, observing the important rituals of clan, family, and nation. A notion of invisible souls and spirits had a special place in Khanti beliefs. Objects, animals, fish, and birds were endowed with supernatural abilities. In the past people observed special rituals of respect for bears, moose, and (in some clans and families) beaver, ermine, birds, frogs, and other living creatures.

Fire was an object of special admiration and demanded the observation of special rules while handling it. A bear could protect people from illnesses, resolve disputes, and ensure success in moose hunting. The moose stood for wealth and prosperity. People were careful not to talk

disparagingly about bears or moose, or refer to their names. A frog could provide family happiness. The very essence of human life depended on affinity with particular animals and birds. Fire foretold the future. One could neither throw trash nor spit into a fire; if one touched it with an iron object one risked insulting or injuring its essence, and could face its retribution. Injured fire must be pacified with sacrifices.

Gods took human form. The main goddess, an invisible mother of all the humans, was *Kaltas'-Angki*. She was responsible for the duration of individual lives. *Muv keratty hu* ("the man watching the world") rode a white horse all around the earth, helping the needy. The goddess *Kasum-Imi* protected Khantis of the Kazym River. She was so powerful that Khantis of the neighboring rivers began to worship her. *Urt* was a legendary warrior who defended the Khantis in their struggle against Nenetses.

A bear kill would be followed by a feast. This ceremony has survived, as demonstrated at the International Finno-Ugrian Congress in Debretzen, Hungary, in 1990, and at the International Finno-Ugrian Festival in Khanti-Mansiisk in 1993.

Current situation

Nowadays the territory of the Khanti-Mansi Autonomous District is an ecological disaster area, caused especially by intensive oil and gas extraction in western Siberia during the 1970s–1980s. The cost of this "development" reached 450 billion rubles (at 1990 rates). Today these practices continue to undermine the very basis of the traditional Khanti way of life. Diet has deteriorated; diseases are spreading; the rate of homicide is growing; the natural resources are declining; the Khanti language, traditional material and intellectual culture, and way of life are disappearing.

In comparison with 1955–66, the volume of faunal resources had decreased by a third by the 1990s. Basic hunting resources decreased 1.7 times between 1955 and 1983; fur resources fell 1.5 to 14.6 times depending on the species. A hunter, fisher, and reindeer herder cannot understand many phenomena of contemporary life. He cannot understand why beautiful forests are cut and transformed to sandy desert, why people fill rivers and lakes with sand, why they leave mounds of iron waste (tubes, cisterns, trucks) on the devastated territory, why they extract oil which destroys rivers.

Organization for resistance

Ownership of subsistence grounds and compensation for their alienation is extremely important for the Khantis' future under the new market conditions. Land title is the major issue. The traditional subsistence economy (hunting, fishing, reindeer herding) is the age-old foundation for the whole culture, language, and physical and social well-being, for being master of one's destiny on one's own land. The main aim of Khantis and other indigenous peoples is to stop the rapacious oil industry before there are no forests, animals, fish, or reindeer left. Without these fruits of nature the indigenous peoples will not survive (Aipin 1989).

In 1989, a public political organization, *Spaseniie Iugry* (Rescue of the Iugra), was established in the Khanti-Mansi Autonomous District. This was followed by the inauguration of the Association of Numerically Small Peoples of the North, Siberia and Far Eastern Russian Federation; and then, the Deputy Assembly of Numerically Small Peoples of the North. In 1991, the Khantis and Mansis

organized the Scientific Research Institute for Revival of the Ob'-Ugrian Peoples. All the aforementioned organizations are advocates of the native northern cultures, customs, and languages. They struggle for the indigenous peoples' rights to maintain their cultures and ways of life in their ethnic territories, to restore a system of ethnic education, to study and to describe their own unique world-views and philosophies which served as vital strategies for centuries and could be used by the numerically small peoples to achieve self-reliance and self-government under current economic conditions, and especially to solve socioeconomic problems of those people who persist in their traditional way of life.

Khanti domestic and political organization

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Domestic and political organization of the Khantis and Mansis before systematic Tsarist collection of fur tribute in the sixteenth century is largely unknown. According to Soviet ethnographers, the Khantis were divided into loose territorial-linguistic groupings of patrilineal clans along the Konda, Irtysh, Ob', and Sosva Rivers. The Ob' groups were organized in exogamous phratries and, later, in exogamous clans. Clan groupings would periodically congregate for festivals, or to form military alliances. Khanti-Mansi revolts against Tsarist authorities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were led by "princelings" and, despite general subordination of women, a Mansi "princess."

Although there was much variation in marriage and residence patterns, most marriages were arranged without bridal consent. Male heads of kin groups demanded heavy bride-prices or bride-service. Sometimes poor suitors would abduct brides. Obligation for vengeance could be inherited through the male or female line.

According to the late Khanti linguist, N. I. Terioshkin (1913–85), in pre-revolutionary times all significant wealth and power were held by rich male elders and shamans who, despite kin obligations, used poor people "like slaves."

Implementation of Soviet policies in the 1930s involved outlawing arranged marriage, bride-price, polygyny, and blood feuds. Khanti women gained access to political and legal institutions. Early attempts to expropriate the animals of Khanti "kulaks" led to conflict between "traditional" and "Soviet" Khanti. Traditional occupations of hunting, fishing, and reindeer breeding were eventually collectivized, and most Khanti became workers on collective and state farms. Work brigades were often composed of relatives. Many Khanti women became waged workers, and the numbers thus employed increased when Khanti men joined the Soviet Army during World War II.

During the late Soviet period, fewer Khanti young people pursued traditional occupations, and fewer Khanti women married Khanti men who were engaged in traditional occupations, particularly reindeer breeding. Khanti political activists saw these developments as results of boarding school education which removed young people from traditional occupations, and of the resettlement programs of the late 1950s during which residents of smaller Khanti settlements were moved to larger centers. Industrial development projects also interfered with traditional occupations. Resettlement of abandoned villages, training of young people for traditional occupations, and devolution of control of industrial development to Khanti-controlled local Soviets were seen as remedies by some Khanti political activists. None of these proposals was implemented before the end of the USSR.

The late 1980s saw the introduction of family contracts among the Khanti and other northern groups. A particular family would agree to provide a specified amount of goods or services—e.g., reindeer breeding—to an enterprise over a specified period of time. It was unclear who would be responsible, however, if contracts could not be fulfilled because a particular family member decided to get a divorce or to pursue a different occupation.

In the post-Soviet period, extensive resource development in Siberia has been allowed to proceed, often with Western corporate participation, without respect to environmental damage and disruption of traditional occupations. Northern activists, including the Khanti writer Eremei Aipin (1989), have appealed for international assistance to save their cultures.

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I.III.10

The Nia (Nganasan)

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Introduction

The Nia (*Nia* [pl.] "human beings") are indigenous inhabitants of the Taimyr Peninsula. They are commonly known in English and Russian as *Nganasany* (*ngansan* [sing.] "adult man"). Formerly they were also known as Samoeds or *Tavgiitsy*. They are the northernmost of the indigenous peoples of Eurasia to have maintained traits of the ancient Arctic reindeer culture. Nias include the Avam (western) and the Vandei (eastern) groups. Their population has remained relatively stable for several centuries. The Nia language belongs to the Samoed grouping in the Ural language family and is closely related to the Enets, Nenets, and Sel'kup tongues. In 1989, 83.2 percent of Nias spoke their native language. In physical appearance they belong to the Baikal Mongolian stock.

To the west live Enetses and Nenetses, to the east, Evenses and Sakhas, and to the south, Evenkis, Dolgans, and old Russian settlers (*sel'diuky*). The northern territories are barren grounds, adjacent to the present Northern Sea Route. Today's Nias live mainly in a few villages of the Taimyr Autonomous District. Noril'sk, with its huge nickel corporation, is situated in the southern part of the District.

Recent history

In 1618, the Russian Cossacks reached the Piasina River, Taimyr Peninsula, and demanded the *iasak* fur tax from the "Piasina" Samoeds. In 1666, a Russian winter settlement was established at Avam River around which the Avam Samoeds (ancestors to most contemporary Nias) gathered. Between 1650 and 1850 the population decreased several times owing to the introduction of smallpox. Some Avam Nias joined the Vandei group which came into being through intermarriage between Nias and "the pagan Vandei Tungus." Later, the birthrate settled into a relative equilibrium, until the recent increase in the latter part of this century.

Initially Nias traded with the Russians, paid taxes, and were loosely controlled by Russian officials. In the late nineteenth century a new, dispersed ethnic entity emerged: the Dolgans, the product of Sel'diuk—Evenki—Sakha inter-marriage. The Dolgans (middlemen in the Russian—Nia trade) established a chain of settlements in the central Taimyr tundra. Dolgans encouraged Nias to trap polar foxes, using new Russian deadfall traps. In moving north, Dolgans adopted Nia reindeer hunting techniques and occupied important Nia hunting grounds.

The first Nia data collection was carried out by P. I. Tret'iakov, A. F. Middendorf, and L. N. Dobrova-Adrintseva before the Revolution. In the Soviet era, the major ethographers were B. O.

Dolgikh, A. A. Popov, I. B. Simchenko, G. N. Gracheva, and G. M. Afanas'eva. Taimyr archaeology was conducted by L. P. Khlobystin, and physical anthropology by V. P. Alekseev, I. M. Zolotareva, V. B. Spitsyn, and V. A. Sukernik.

Ecological setting

The Taimyr Peninsula, 400,000 km^2 bounded by Enisei Bay (west) and Khatanga Bay (east), is the northernmost continental peninsula in the world. It is contained completely within the Taimyr Autonomous District, situated above the Arctic Circle. Although the district also includes forested territory to the south of the peninsula, the dominant ecological feature is the tundra, its barrens bounded by the Byrranga Plateau to the North and the Putoran Plateau to the South. At 73° N (Khatanga River basin), Taimyr has the northernmost forest in the world, with fir, pine, larch, and birch.

Population
Late seventeenth century 1040; late eighteenth century 870; late nineteenth century 876; 1926, 867; 1959, 748; 1970, 953; 1989, 1278.

Location
Villages of Ust'-Avam, Volochanka, and others in the Taimyr Autonomous District, Krasnoiarsk Territory, Russian Federation.

There are several rivers (Khatanga, Piasina, Upper and Lower Taimyra) and lakes with rich fishing resources (sturgeon and Pacific salmon species), and sea mammals in Enisei Bay and the northern seas. Terrestrial species include wild reindeer, polar fox, ermine, wolf, hare, white and brown bears, and bighorn sheep, as well as geese, ducks, partridges, and owls. There is a wildlife reserve in Khatanga District.

Economy

Traditionally Nias subsisted on wild reindeer, waterfowl (mainly, geese), polar fox (96 percent of fur-taking), fishing, and domestic reindeer herding. They occasionally gathered roots in the spring when there was danger of starvation. Before Nias adopted guns late in the nineteenth century, they hunted wild reindeer with bow and spear. In the spring and autumn they slaughtered the migrating herds from canoes at water crossings. In summer and fall, they drove the wild reindeer into a surround (of stakes topped with partridge wings) for slaughter with spears. In winter the surround terminated with a net where the animals entangled their antlers and were then dispatched. Dispersed reindeer were hunted from blinds.

Geese and ducks were caught with large nets suspended in the channels between ponds. Waterfowl were hunted with dogs. Snares and deadfalls were used to capture polar foxes. Vandei Nias made game and fish nets from imported horsehair. Wild reindeer dominated the fall and winter diet, as did fish and fowl in summer. Flesh was preserved by smoking or freezing. Tea, tobacco, flour,

and alcohol were imported.

From the late nineteenth century Nias adapted to reindeer herding. Domesticated reindeer were used for year-round transport, two to eight animals being hitched to sledges. Domesticated reindeer were eaten only in emergency. Clothing and the conical tent were made from the hides. Since the 1950s the wild reindeer population has grown steadily to become the world's largest (600,000 plus). The chaotic migrations of the growing herds have disrupted traditional reindeer breeding such that Nias in Ust' Avam and Volochanka have lost their domestic reindeer and must rely on mechanical transport.

Settlement patterns

Before Nias turned to reindeer herding they traveled on foot, hauling their sledges manually. They normally lived in wood and mud subterranean dwellings (*golomo*). Prior to herding, they did not penetrate far into the tundra. After the mid-seventeenth century, when they adopted Nenets reindeer transport teams, they migrated to the central Taimyr tundra to avoid paying Russian taxes.

Seasonal movements were adapted to the wild reindeer migrations. Winter found them on the forest margins. In spring they moved northward, following herds deep into the barrens. In summer some hunters went even further north to the Byrranga Plateau while others fished and caught geese. In autumn they moved to the wild herds' southern water crossings. After the fall hunts and ice fishing, they returned to the forest margins. Some groups (composed of two/three domestic units) wintered in the tundra, ice-fishing, and sheltered by dwellings of stone slabs, wood, and turf.

Once they began herding, the Nias covered vast distances—right to the north end of the peninsula. Poor families joined wealthy herders, using the latter's animals for transport, paying the owners in meat and fish. The migratory routes were discussed by and decided among the wealthy herders. Nomadic bands (*malir* or *maia*) consisted of five to seven domestic units cooperating as much from economic interest as kinship.

The most popular spring and fall reindeer hunting areas (the river basins of the Piasina, Dudypta, and Upper Taimyra, and their outflows at Taimyr Lake) were common property to the bands. Hunting with firearms was forbidden so as not to disturb wild animals. Firearm users had to compensate failed communal hunts from their own livestock.

Domestic organization

Women did the domestic work: tent construction and removal, fire control, hide-processing, weaving, rope-making, cooking, and childcare. Men were the hunters, fishers, and herders who manufactured wooden implements and made lassoes. Women did not hunt, but they herded in autumn when the men left for remote hunting grounds. Women transported slaughtered animals to the homesite. Men were forbidden to watch women butchering.

Male social status centered on hunting. A youth passed into maturity at his first reindeer kill. Thereafter, his clothes carried a special decoration *(leraky*), and he participated fully in male rituals.

The community's "distaff" (*ny-tansa*) was comprised of three age-groups: elder women (*ini'e*), married women (*nt*), and unmarried/childless women (*kokopto*). The first controlled distribution of foodstuffs within the community, helped women give birth, and organized ritual observances. The

second group carried out major domestic tasks. The kokopto assisted the *ini'e*, the mature women, and provided fuel, and they were forbidden to make clothes for others.

Avam Nias had bilateral descent and patrilocal residence. Men could not marry women from either parent's clan. Wealthy men had up to four wives. Exogamy was calculated from three to four generations. Marriage partners were often sought from among neighbors (tundra Enetses or northern Evenkis).

Political organization

Wealthy reindeer herders and skillful hunters were community leaders, while those who organized hunts enjoyed no privileges, and were elected by the hunters themselves. A special warrior group (*tankaga*), composed of brave, strong youngsters, defended the community and raided enemies. Oral culture tells of military leaders (*kondiuma*) who led several clans against neighboring groups of Nenetses or Evenkis.

In the early 1600s, Avam Nias consisted of four groups: Piasids (Niamde Clan descendants), Kuraks (Ngamtuso Clan descendants), Tidiris (Linanchera Clan descendants), and Tavgs (Chunachera and Ninonde Clan descendants). The famous leaders of those days were Udamul Sonitsu (Tavg), Toroi (Kurak), and Soliudu (Kurak). Traditional leadership was egalitarian and democratic. The status category of "prince" was introduced by the Russians who appointed local rulers in order to collect taxes, to negotiate with Russian officials, and to establish courts and effect corporal punishment. Princes gradually acquired inherited status.

Religion and spirituality

The traditional Nia world-view is based on the idea of the universal progenitors represented by various mother-spirits. Sun (*Kou-niamy*) and Earth (*Mou-niamy*) are the primary ones. Mother Earth gave birth to everything on the Earth, including her motherly daughters: Fire (*Tuiniamy*), Water (*Bydy-niamy*), and Tree (*Hua-niamy*). Sometimes the Earth is represented by a wild reindeer cow (or cow moose) upon whose back Nias live. In one legend, Nias were born of her wool. In her turn, Water-mother gives birth to the fish, Wolf-mother to the wolves, Polar fox-mother to polar foxes, etc. Sun-mother creates her own representations which give Light (*Dialy-niamy*) and Life (*Nilu-niamy*). In order to impregnate the Mothers, the culture hero, *Sirota-nia*, stays with each of them for a night.

The main annual rite was a celebration of "the clean *chum*" (*madusia*) or the substitute ritual of "the stone gate" (*fala-futu*) which usually took place in February when the sun first rose above the forest after the long polar night. A large chum was erected where a shaman appealed to the Creator from three to nine days for the well-being of the people. In the "stone gate" rite, a shaman and all the participants had to move three times through a gate made of stone slabs.

Nia shamans were not ranked. The shamanic talents were inherited. The genealogies of the famous shamans were carefully recorded. Every clan wanted its own shaman. Every shaman had a whole set of spirit-assistants (*diamada*). In the Nia view, the shamans represented the people before all the spirits of life (*nguo*) and death (*barusi*).

Current situation

Nowadays, almost all Nias live in large multi-ethnic settlements. This is the focal problem in respect to the health of Nia culture. Indigenous inhabitants are progressively forced out of the traditional economic spheres (hunting, fishing, reindeer herding) by newcomers. In Khatanga County of Taimyr wild reindeer hunting and fur trapping are dominated by newcomers. Indigenous people take part in hunting and fishing only in the fall. Since the 1970s, the pastures of the domesticated reindeer herds have been selected by external experts to the exclusion of local experience.

The departure of the indigenous inhabitants from tundra regions was the result of the administrative policy of "sedentarization." Since the 1950s, schools, hospitals, and dwellings have been built only in large settlements where Nias were obliged to send their children to boarding schools. Thus, children lost their real ties to tundra life. Parents (initially mothers) followed their children and moved to these settlements. Many families disintegrated. Men kept to their work on the land while the women were sedentarized.

Later, owing to the plunge in the reindeer population, the bulk of indigenous peoples moved into the large settlements. These settled Nias are involved in heavy manual labor around the settlements or are unemployed. In this situation apathy and alcoholism are increasing. The younger generations have no intention of returning to the tundra. Restoration of the traditional way of life is near impossible under these circumstances, and Nia culture is in crisis.

"In the former days there were many shamans, and there were many people. There are no shamans at all now but me. There are only bad shamans…They cannot travel [to the Upper World] with the spirit of trees. I am the only main shaman. Small shamans cannot celebrate 'clean chum' for many days… When I was shamaning, my Devil-mother used to say, 'There are many deaths because the shamans have died. When there were more shamans, there were fewer burials.'

Initially, when the Earth was being created, seven loons supported the Earth's feet. The seven loons were devils. They held the Earth's feet, and the devils' trees were alive. They were supports of the Earth. When the shamans disappeared, many burials appeared, the loons' feet were being broken, the Devil began to gnaw the Earth, the Devil's trees began to fall down."

Ivan Gornoka, shaman, 1936
(Popov 1984:81–2)

Private firms have been established in some settlements recently. In 1993, a Nia, Alexander Porbin, organized a family-clan cooperative, *Nia Mou* ("Nia-land") in Ust'-Avam to develop commercial hunting and fishing in the Piasina River area. In the early 1990s there were about fifteen such cooperatives in Taimyr, yet they remain financially and administratively dependent on state organizations, and are oriented toward state needs, rather than toward the restoration and growth of traditional subsistence economies.

Organization for resistance

The Association of the Taimyr Peoples headed by the Dolgan, N. N. Bol'shakov, was established in December 1989, as part of the administrative structure of Taimyr. Its program stressed the negative effect of modern industry and its policies toward indigenous peoples. The Association proposed

establishing monoethnic settlements and districts, to introduce a two-chamber structure of local government, to reserve deputy seats for representatives of indigenous peoples, to reestablish the independent Avam County, to develop traditional subsistence economies and property rights (individual, family, clan, and cooperative), to restrict immigration into the region, and to abolish, for indigenous inhabitants, moratoria on fishing and wild reindeer hunting.

Some Nias have managed to adapt themselves to modern "industrial culture." A shaman from a famous Ngamtuso Clan dynasty, Demnime Kosterkin, who died in 1980, called himself an actor; in December 1973, he demonstrated his shamanic abilities at the International Folklore Conference (Moscow). In 1977, he took part in the performance of the Taimyr Folkloric Dancers "Kheiro" in Irkutsk. Nia artist Matiumiak Turdagin is also famous in Russia.

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I.III.11

The Nivkh of Sakhalin Island

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Introduction

Now a diminutive group of some 5000 fishermen, farmers, clerks and service workers living on the Russian Pacific coast, Nivkhs have long occupied a central hold on the Russian imagination as the quintessential primitives of pre-communist life. Renowned nineteenth-century accounts of Nivkh life by Anton Chekhov and Friedrich Engels lamented their respectively degraded or exalted states. But, until the end of the Soviet period, Nivkhs remained a fixture of evolutionist discourse. When interviewed on Soviet television in July 1990, one Russian official looked back on the history of Soviet medicine and said, "You have to understand the difficulties posed by a country as diverse as ours. In 1917, Nivkhs were living in caves and Russians were in palaces."

38 Dmitrii Somenko at work on a Nivkh dugout canoe in the central Sakhalin village of Chir-Unvd,

1990. Photo: Bruce Grant.

In fact, Nivkhs have never lived the lives of prosaic penury or purity that generations of scribes have assigned to them, but their image as the most famous primitives who passed up cave life for communism is one which they encounter still today.

History

Given their location at the crossroads of the Asian Pacific coast and the Russian mainland, Nivkhs have long acted in a cosmopolitan sphere. The earliest archaeological records date a stylistically Nivkh material culture on Sakhalin and the Amur River delta to 7000 years ago, and potentially further back (Shubina 1990). More recent accounts trace a history of trading relations with the Chinese from the twelfth century, to Manchu domination in the nineteenth century, to a broad pattern of trade and intermarriage with Chinese, Japanese, and Korean neighbors, up to the arrival of the Soviets in the 1920s (Stephan 1971). The homogenizing force of Soviet administration dramatically transformed the Nivkh landscape by purging Asian influence wherever possible, but it also won over many Nivkhs to the proletarian cause.

Population
Slightly fewer than 5000 Nivkhs live throughout the former USSR: 2200 on northern Sakhalin Island off the Russian Pacific coast, and 2600 living along the banks of the Amur River delta. Nivkhs are known in contemporary Russian as *Nivkhi* (pl.), and in pre-revolutionary times were called as *Giliaki*. In their own language they are *Nivghu* (*Nivkh*, sing.). Despite extensive intermarriage and periodic epidemics, the number of Nivkhs living in the area has remained more or less constant since the nineteenth century

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39 Delivering the winter mails outside Chaivo on Sakhalin's east coast, 1955. The government closed this village (one of the most prosperous Nivkh fishing communities on the island) in the early 1970s. Photo: Courtesy of the Sakhalin Regional Museum, Nogliki Branch.

Soviet power did not become entrenched on Sakhalin until 1925, eight years after the October Revolution. The Japanese, who had won the southern half of the island in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, assumed control of the entire island from 1920 to 1925, employing some Nivkhs in fishing and mining interests. As such, many of the early liberal experiments of the Leninist period passed quickly. Whereas pre-revolutionary Russian Orthodox missionaries had hounded Nivkhs for their pagan ways, the new Leninist reformers praised their forbearance, and cultivated a syncretism between new Soviet political organs and native autonomy. Accordingly, many Nivkhs look back on the late 1920s as a golden period: the state founded hospitals, schools, cultural centers, and small enterprises in the remotest of areas, and sought out the most promising young men and women for education in Vladivostok, Moscow, and Leningrad. As early as 1930, however, these fledgling freedoms faded. Nivkhs were not exempt from the Stalinist juggernaut: in 1937 alone, the state liquidated one third of all Nivkh men in a single county, according to one NKVD (KGB) source. World War II saw the widespread integration of Nivkh men and women into the workforce, and the relative prosperity that marked the decades that followed was marred only by the slow decline of the Soviet economy under Brezhnev in the 1970s (Grant 1995).

Ecological setting

Stretching 956 km along a north-south axis, and varying from only 26 km to 161 km in width,

Sakhalin's landscape ranges from lush bamboo forests in the south to stunted spruce and larch groves in the more barren north. Nivkhs live along both coasts on the northern half of the island, as well as along the banks of the Tym' and Poronai rivers in the island's center. Temperatures range from −40° C in January to as high as 18° C in July.

Poor soil has inhibited agricultural development in the north, but well into the twentieth century many Nivkhs regarded the island anthropomorphically and considered it sinful to plow the surface of the land. Salmon, which run annually through the Tatar Strait and Bay of Sakhalin, have given rise to a large fishing industry. Fewer Nivkhs have found jobs as technicians and clerks in the island's massive and more lucrative petroleum industry.

Economic structure

Fishing dominated Nivkh life well into the establishment of Soviet power, and continues to play a major role today. Where the Nivkhs once crafted their nets from nettle fibers, most now participate in the larger mechanized fishing collectives, or kolkhozes, that have survived into the post-Soviet age. Soviet cultural planners took pains to diminish traditional Nivkh resource practices as backward; however, it is ironic that, for want of alternatives, the disarray of the post-Soviet period has inspired a revival of many such traditions. Greater numbers of younger Nivkhs have taken to drying winter supplies of pink and chum salmon, known in Nivkh as *ma*, and in Russian as *iukola*, in order to support their families. Sea mammal hunting, and the use of derivative products such as seal fat in particular, has seen a large resurgence.

Settlement and social organization

Until the 1920s, Nivkhs lived in scores of villages that lined the Sakhalin coast and local river basins at approximately every 10 km. Nivkhs were semi-nomadic in that they divided their time seasonally between semi-subterranean log winter homes, set inland, and elevated wooden summer houses on the coasts. Contrary to the image of Nivkhs as model communitarians, hunting and fishing grounds were considered to be the property of clan lineages (Shternberg 1999). Engels stressed Nivkh communal social relations in his well-known article, "A recently discovered case of group marriage." Actual practice, however, was far more conservative, following an unusual form of Punaluan-style trilateral cross-cousin marriage that divided the "wife-givers" from the "wife-takers" (Black 1973).

The centralizing trend of the Soviet period meant a dramatic series of resettlements that continued into the 1970s, when Brezhnev's government oversaw the reduction of settlements on Sakhalin from over 1000 to 329 (Grant 1995). Such relocations were among the many factors that made it near impossible to follow traditional clan-based marriage rules, though such marriages were observed generally through to the 1950s.

Political organization

The very decentralized nature of Nivkh society before the Soviet period evinced few formal modes of power and authority beyond a ritual deference to male clan elders. Tsarist administrators, in turn, reached to the younger, multi-lingual Nivkh fur traders by appointing them as *starosty*, or native

overseers who reported to the state. As with other native peoples of Siberia and the Russian Far East, the first decade of the Soviet state was the most productive politically, inaugurating a high degree of native autonomy through native clan councils. Stalin abolished these Sovietized native structures in the 1930s, and by World War II the quasi-feudal kolkhoz system and the broader Soviet political apparatus adjudicated most Nivkh concerns.

Religion and spirituality

Though the Soviets commonly pronounced religion to be "a waste of social energy," Nivkh spiritual values have been among the most enduring aspects of their culture this century. Many maintain that every natural phenomenon, such as the mountains, the taiga, and the sea, has a master, or *yz*, who is placated through feeding rituals. Before entering the forest to hunt or collect berries, for example, older Nivkhs often leave vodka, cigarettes, or sweets at the foot of trees. Nivkhs observed the height of the ritual season each winter with a bear festival, normally held in February. Clan leaders, among others, often raised bear cubs for several years in honor of a dead kinsman, sacrificing the bear at the conclusion of up to a month's festivities (Black 1973, Ivanov *et al*. 1964). Outside religious organizations, such as the Russian Orthodox missionaries who preceded the Soviet period or the scores of evangelists who have followed it, have never converted the Nivkhs in any numbers. The vast majority identify themselves as atheist.

Current situation

Since the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1991, many Nivkhs have taken advantage of the new political and economic freedoms. Yet with such rapid and dramatic changes underway, each passing year has been almost an epoch unto itself, with the attendant shifts in prospects. Many Nivkhs, like loyal Soviet citizens elsewhere, resisted the efforts to privatize the economy. Two fledgling Nivkh cooperatives have survived the first post-Soviet years. The first, called "Our Land," organizes high-quality fish processing and handicraft production, while the second, "Sakhalin Aborigine," has aggressively fielded marketing courses for young Nivkh entrepreneurs. On a smaller scale, many Nivkhs have established small family fishing enterprises, known in Russian as *rodovye khoziaistva*, on ancestral clan grounds. A newspaper, *Nivkh Dif*, and local radio programs make efforts to redress the low level of Nivkh language fluency. And in their most notable gesture, the Russian state dedicated funds to the renovation of two predominantly Nivkh villages closed down in the 1960s.

"Dressed in a black dog fur coat, belted at the waist, against which, in effective contrast, is the soft gray skirt made of the skins of young seals, shod in boots with narrow tips, elegantly tailored in a hat of fox paws with earmuffs, and fur gloves that cover the sleeve edges, a Giliak makes a really dashing impression."

Lev Shternberg, nineteenth-century ethnographer

"Overcoming the past is a prerequisite for full membership in the family of peoples of the USSR."

From the masthead of the Nivkh newspaper, *Bolshevik Fish Run*, 1930s

"The state has resettled us so many times, you can't tell who is who anymore. Ask any Nivkh. We are all from somewhere else."

Maria Pukhta, Nivkh schoolteacher, 1990

Since these first cardinal efforts, however, the whirling collapse of industries and social services coupled with stunning rises in corruption at all levels have contributed to the impoverishment of once prosperous communities. In an atmosphere where salaries are frequently not dispensed for months at a time, most are cast into a cycle of moneyless exchange and barter to maintain the most modest of subsistence lifestyles. Many Nivkhs look again to their Asian neighbors as possible sponsors for economic development, but for the time being, their fate remains tied to that of the Russian state that has so long overseen them.

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I.IV AFRICA

I.IV.1

Introduction: Africa

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Africa, the cradle of humankind, is the locale of two of the best-known hunter-gatherer groups—the San—and the Pygmies—as well as others, less known but of equal interest. However, for over two millennia, most of the African continent has been occupied by farmers, herders, and urban dwellers.

Rural populations in Africa are both heterogeneous and highly differentiated. Tens of millions live in the continent's rapidly growing cities; over 60 million rural villagers engage primarily in wage labor. There are also some 300 million farmers, and between 24 and 40 million pastoralists. Up to a half a million Africans identify themselves as hunter-gatherers or former hunter-gatherers, but only a tiny portion, between 20,000 and 30,000, continue to subsist primarily by hunting and gathering.

Hunter-gatherers in Africa are strikingly diverse socially, ethnically, and economically. They range from tropical forest foragers and part-time foragers living symbiotically close to agricultural villagers (the various groups of Pygmies) to tiny, dispersed savanna and dry-forest hunter-gatherer groups in Angola, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, and Zambia. Most contemporary foragers are struggling to retain distinct identities while interacting extensively with non-foraging neighbors; they trade with them, work as hunters, herders, and field hands, and perform specialized tasks such as honey-gathering, craft production, and traditional healing.

With the rise of Green politics and the growing interest in the plight of indigenous peoples, hunter-gatherer populations in Africa have become an important political focal point in recent years (Miller 1993, Veber *et al*. 1993). Concern about their survival has also expanded as a result of the rising numbers of reports of violations of their civil, political, and socioeconomic rights (Mogwe 1992, Scarritt 1993, US Department of State 1993).

But accurate information is hard to come by. Largely unnoted, for example, in the media coverage of the recent Rwanda tragedy was the fact that as many as three-quarters of Rwanda's 30,000 Batwa Pygmies may have died during the genocidal actions between April and July 1994 (*The New York Times*, August 25, 1994, Lewis and Knight 1996).

Africa's hunter-gatherers tend to cluster in central, eastern, and southern Africa. West Africa has few, if any foragers, other than people who have fallen back on foraging as a result of drought, crop failure, or civil conflict.

In the mid-1960s, there were twenty-seven different African hunter-gatherer groups listed by Murdock (1968:15–16). Since then the number of known full- and part-time hunter-gatherers has actually increased, as a result in part of expanded research coverage and better identification of

ethnic groups (Table 1).

Recent multidisciplinary studies of African foragers have been conducted among Pygmies (Cavalli-Sforza 1986, Bailey and DeVore 1989) and San (Lee and DeVore 1976, Marshall 1976, Lee 1979, 1993, Biesele *et al*. 1989, Barnard 1992). Relatively intensive research has also been done on the Hadza of northern Tanzania (Woodburn 1970, Blurton Jones *et al*. 1989, Ndagala 1988). Some specific studies have been carried out among the Boni of Kenya (Stiles 1981a, 1981b), the Okiek (Dorobo) of Kenya (Blackburn 1982, Kratz 1994), the Kwandu of southwestern Zambia (Reynolds 1972a, 1972b), and the Eyle of Somalia. Little, if any, recent work has been done among the various Bushman and non-Bushman groups in Angola, the Kakas of Cameroon, who, like the Hadza, are savanna hunter-gatherers, the Fuga of Ethiopia, and the Ik, one-time mountain agriculturalists of the border region between Uganda, Kenya, and Sudan who readapted to foraging as a result of drought, warfare, and dispossession (Turnbull 1972).

The historical status of African hunters and gatherers is a subject of ongoing discussion among archaeologists and anthropologists (Clark and Brandt 1984). Before the rise of agriculture, the whole of Africa (and the world) was occupied by hunter-gatherers. At least some of the contemporary African foragers are linked by archaeology, rock art, and oral traditions to ancient hunter-gatherers. However, others may represent more recent readaptations to hunting and gathering. At times of civil strife and rapid change, hunter-gatherer groups may have functioned as refuges from war and famine.

Whether of primary or secondary origins, all hunter-gatherers in Africa have maintained some contact with the wider African scene. Trade and traditional forms of exchange have characterized the relations between all African peoples, though not all peoples have been involved to the same degree. It is most useful to think of African foragers existing on a continuum ranging from relatively autonomous and independent foragers to fully dependent groups subordinated to local and regional power-holders.

The two African forager groups that have been most intensely documented by anthropologists and have captured the imagination of the wider public are the 200,000 Pygmies of central Africa, and the approximately 100,000 San of the semi-arid savannas of southern Africa. Like many African peoples, hunter-gatherer groups are not necessarily restricted to specific countries. The San currently reside in six: Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The various Pygmy groups live in the rainforest regions of eight and possibly nine central African countries: Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Guinea, Rwanda, Uganda, Zambia, and perhaps Angola.

Table 1 Population sizes of indigenous African peoples who are or were hunter-gatherers

Name of group	Location	Population size	Reference(s)
Kwankhwala (San)	Angola	8000	De Almeida 1965; Burger 1987:166
San (Basarwa)	Botswana	48,400	Silberbauer 1981; Lee and DeVore 1976
Pygmies (Batwa)	Central Africa	200,000	Turnbull 1961, 1983; Cavalli-Sforza 1986
Aka		30,000	Bahuchet 1988, 1991; Hewlett 1996
Baka		25,000	Hewlett 1996
Mbuti		27,000	Ichikawa 1978, 1993
Efe		3000	Bailey 1991
Boni (Aweer)	Kenya	2000	Stiles 1981a, b, 1993a
Dahalo	Kenya	1000	Stiles 1981a, 1993a, b
Okiek (Dorobo)	Kenya	40,000	Blackburn 1974, 1982, 1996; Kratz 1994
Waata	Kenya	2000	Grimes 1992; Stiles 1981a, 1993b
Mikea	Madagascar	1000	Stiles 1991; Kelly and Poyer 1993
Ovatjimba	Namibia	500	MacCalman and Grobelaar 1965; Jacobsohn pers. comm.
San (Bushmen)	Namibia	38,000	L. Marshall 1976; J. Marshall 1989; Gordon 1992; Hitchcock 1992, 1996; Biesele 1994
Eyle	Somalia	450	Brandt pers. comm.
Kilii	Somalia	1500	Stiles 1981a, 1993b
San (Bushmen)	South	4500	South African San Institute pers. comm.; White 1995
Okiek	Tanzania	2000	Blackburn pers. comm.
Hadza	Tanzania	1000	Woodburn 1964, 1970; Ndagala 1988, 1993; Blurton Jones *et al* 1989; Bartram pers. comm.
Kwandu	Zambia	5500	Clark 1951; Reynolds 1972a, 1972b

Map 8 Hunter-gatherers in Africa

Pygmies

The Pygmies are considered the classic "forest peoples" as described by Colin Turnbull (1961, 1965, 1983). The various Pygmy groups (Mbuti, Efe, Aka, Baka, Abanyanda, Babenzele, Gjelli, Bongo, Basua, and Twa) are distributed discontinuously across central Africa between 4° S. and 4° N. To the world, they are known for their diminutive size, with the smallest recorded human statures (150 cm for males, 140 cm for females). The genetic causes of their small stature remain in dispute (Cavalli-Sforza 1986), but it is worth noting that similar short stature is found among hunter-gatherer groups elsewhere, such as the Andaman Islanders and other "Negrito" populations of Southeast Asia.

Of greater interest is the fact that the Pygmies have made their home in one of the world's most

challenging environments, hunting and gathering in the tropical rainforest. Until recently archaeologists assumed that the Pygmies were the "original" inhabitants of the rainforest, where they had lived for millennia as hunters and gatherers before the arrival of agricultural peoples. But current opinion questions whether humans indeed *can* live exclusively by foraging the wild products of the rainforest, or whether some form of symbiosis with farmers is a necessary part of the Pygmies' adaptation (Bailey *et al*. 1989; Bahuchet 1991). Whatever the answer, Pygmies identify closely with the forest; they live partially but not exclusively on the wild products of the rainforest ecosystem, and make the forest the center of their intellectual and spiritual life. Many Pygmy groups practice a variety of rituals, some associated with elephant hunting.

All Pygmy populations relate in complex ways to non-Pygmy village peoples for whom they work or with whom they exchange goods and services. These diverse interactions range from relative autonomy with occasional contact, to long-term hereditary servitude. Today some Pygmies do live self-sufficiently, but not strictly on the forest itself; rather they subsist on a combination of wage labor, barter, food production, and wild resource exploitation (Hewlett 1993, 1996, Grinker 1994). Colin Turnbull's thoughtful studies of the Mbuti Pygmies made this group famous to thousands of readers. He noted how diffident the Mbuti were toward outsiders when residing in the villages, and how their demeanor changed and their personalities blossomed when they entered the forest for a period of extended foraging. The non-Pygmy villagers feared the forest and rarely entered it, while the Mbuti regarded it with great affection as the source of their well-being, and celebrated it in their myths and ceremonials (Turnbull 1965).

Pygmy groups speak a number of different languages, some of them similar to their farming neighbors, others quite distinct. The 30,000 Aka and 27,000 Mbuti both speak Bantu languages, whereas the 25,000 Baka speak a non-Bantu language that is derived from the Adamawa-Oubanguian family. The 6000 Efe speak a Sudanic language not unlike that of their neighbors, the Lese (Grinker 1994). While it has been postulated that there was an original forager language in central Africa, all known contemporary Pygmy populations speak languages related to those of their farming neighbors, or else they can communicate with their neighbors through using languages such as Lingala, the national language of Congo (Zaire), or KiNgwana, a dialect of Swahili.

As hunters, the Pygmies use diverse techniques, with the Mbuti and the Aka using nets, the Efe bows and arrows, and the Baka spears. While the Mbuti net hunters still obtain a significant portion of their subsistence from wild foods, the bulk of the diet of most Pygmy populations today is obtained from domestic sources. They receive payments in kind for the work done for villagers, as well as tending their own gardens, and barter and purchase. Generally, the Efe and Baka tend to reside in closer proximity to the villages of farmers, and they tend to consume greater amounts of cultivated foods. There is a substantial amount of variation, however, in the degree to which various Pygmy groups are dependent upon villagers for their subsistence and income. Case studies in this section include two Pygmy groups, the Mbuti (Ichikawa) and the Aka (Bahuchet).

San

Known to millions as leather-clad foragers, the San (Bushmen or Basarwa) of southern Africa numbered around 250,000 pre-colonially, and still number close to 100,000 today. Previously, the San occupied most of the subcontinent south of the Zambezi River; archaeologically their presence is

attested to in hundreds of rock painting and engraving sites associated with Later Stone Age tool assemblages, a legacy of world-historic proportions (Lewis-Williams 1981, Dowson and Lewis-Williams 1994). Even during the last two millennia they have been the exclusive occupants of significant portions of southern Africa, living as autonomous hunter-gatherers in parts of the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. For much of this period there is evidence of trade relations between the San peoples and their non-San neighbors (Phillipson 1985, Wilmsen 1989). To the southwest they interacted with the closely related Khoi (Hottentot) pastoralists from whom they became differentiated in the first millennium BC; in fact over half of all the San today speak Khoi languages. In the east and southeast they coexisted and intermarried with and were eventually assimilated to, powerful Bantu-speaking kingdoms and chiefdoms which now form the bulk of South Africa's population. The legacy of this interaction may be heard in the numerous click sounds found in modern Zulu, Swazi, and Xhosa languages.

San peoples played a major role in the colonial history of South Africa. They met the early explorers at the Cape, guided them into the interior and later fought tenaciously to preserve their land in the face of European expansion (Marks 1972, Wright 1971). Their art, myth, and folklore became part of the South African historical and literary canon, in the works of such writers as Eugene Marais, W. H. I. Bleek, J. M. Stow, George McCall Theal, and Laurens van der Post.

When the San had been hounded almost to extinction in South Africa proper, it was believed, at the turn of the century, that they were a "dying race." However in the Kalahari Desert thousands of San remained, speaking as many as eighty different dialects, and existing in a wide variety of socioeconomic situations (Schapera 1930).

Namibia has over 35,000 Bushmen including the Hai//om and Ju/'hoansi, who today are found on white farms, in urban areas, in former government-sponsored settlements such as the famous Tjum!kui located in Bushmanland, and in small communities where people make their living through a mixture of foraging, herding, and rural industries (Marshall and Ritchie 1984, Hitchcock 1992, Biesele 1994). Inside South Africa itself the Bushmen are making something of a comeback: today some 4500 reside there, in refugee camps of former soldiers and their dependants, and on freehold farms where they are visited by tourists (Hitchcock 1996).

The Republic of Botswana is unusual in Africa in that it has had a program aimed directly at assisting its indigenous hunting-gathering minority, the San, or, as known in Botswana, the Baswara (Guenther 1986, Lee 1979, 1993, Hitchcock 1996). There are approximately 48,000 Bushmen in Botswana, divided into several major groups (Table 2). The best known include the !Kung (Ju/'hoansi) and related //Au//ei (Auen) and Nharo in the northwest, the central/Gui, //Gana, and !Xo, the northeastern Kua, Tyua, and Hiechware, the River Basarwa in the Okavango delta and Botletle River areas, and the Kwengo and the Kxoe in northern Botswana and the Caprivi Strip of Namibia.

Table 2 San (Basarwa) peoples in Botswana

In spite of the Botswana government's Remote Area Development Program, the socioeconomic status of San and other rural people has declined considerably in recent years. Part of the reason is environmental; Botswana is regularly faced with serious droughts and in the 1980s San received up to

90 percent of their food from drought relief programs sponsored by the Botswana government and international donor agencies. From the 1970s to the 1990s, malnutrition has risen among San populations, especially those in settlements (Nurse and Jenkins 1977, Hitchcock 1997a). A second problem is economic: employment opportunities for rural people have been few and far between, and more and more rural Basarwa have become dependent upon cattle ranchers and Tswana villagers for cash and food. The most vulnerable members of the population—women, children, the physically challenged, the dispossessed—bear the heaviest burdens of recession, poverty, and environmental decline in Botswana. Particular problems exist among vulnerable groups in rural Ngamiland (North West District) where the cattle herds were destroyed by government to prevent the spread of lung sickness, contagious bovine pleuropneumonia (CBPP) in 1996 (Hitchcock 1997b).

The Encyclopedia features case studies of three San groups: the Nyae Nyae-Dobe Ju/'hoansi (Biesele and Kxao Royal-/o//oo), the central Kalahari /Gui and //Gana (Tanaka and Sugawara), and the Tyua Basarwa of north-eastern Botswana and western Zimbabwe (Hitchcock).

East African hunter-gatherers

In East Africa sizeable numbers of hunter-gatherers still exist, in and near the Rift Valley (Okiek and Hadza, this volume), along the East African coast (the Degere, Wata, and Dahalo), and around the Juba and Tana Rivers near the Kenya-Somali border (the Boni, Kilii [Aweer], and Eyle).

Okiek

The Okiek (Dorobo) of Kenya and Tanzania, numbering about 40,000, are made up of about two dozen different named groups. They occupy forested areas in or adjacent to the Rift Valley of central Kenya south to northern Tanzania (van Zwanenburg 1976, Blackburn 1982, 1996, Kratz 1994). Today the majority of Okiek are engaged in farming, livestock production, and wage labor; they also participate extensively in exchanges and entrepreneurial activities of various kinds (e.g., bee-keeping, manufacturing).

Like many African hunter-gatherers, the Okiek were not recognized officially, by either the colonial administration or the post-colonial African governments; consequently, they frequently were denied land or resource access rights. Eviction from their traditional areas was common as a result both of competition with other groups and of the allocation of land for alternative purposes such as game reserves. Destruction of their forest habitat has occurred as a result of agricultural expansion, overgrazing, or natural environmental processes.

Hadza

The 1,000 Hadza (Hadzabe) of the region around Lake Eyasi in northern Tanzania are foragers who, despite interactions with their neighbors, have maintained a fierce independence, owning few livestock, not cultivating crops, and remaining in remote areas (Woodburn 1970, Blurton Jones *et al*. 1989; McDowell 1981a, 1981b). At various times the government of Tanzania has made attempts to contact the Hadza and settle them, usually with disastrous results; the Hadza then returned to the life in the bush (Ndagala 1988). The Hadza have also been affected by the expansion of herders and

farmers into their area, the imposition of wildlife laws, and the expanding tourism and contract farming industries.

Like the Bushmen, the Hadza are click-speaking peoples who differ significantly from their neighbors both linguistically and socioeconomically. They identified themselves and were identified by others as Hadza. They were also known by other names. The Hadza intermarried only rarely with non-Hadza. Hypergamy (marrying up) did occur, with Hadza women sometimes marrying non-Hadza men, especially in drought periods. Stress on the system, therefore, led in some cases to greater gene flow and population movement.

The establishment of settlements, especially after 1964–5, was an important process in Hadza country. These settlements included housing, agricultural extension, and social services (Ndagala 1988). Many of them served to attract non-Hadza as well. Social conflict levels were high in these places, and it was not uncommon for the Hadza simply to walk away from the settlements and return to life in the bush. A major comparative question is why the Hadza have repeatedly deserted the settlements, while other African foragers like the Bushmen and Okiek have involved themselves quite extensively and voluntarily in economic and other interactions with their herder neighbors.

Boni and Dahalo

The 1200 Boni of northern Kenya are part-time foragers who today are engaged in slash-and-burn cultivation supplemented with wage labor and the exchange of wild products (Stiles 1981a, 1981b). In the past, they exploited a wide variety of wild plants and animals, especially in the dry forests north of the Tana River. They speak a Cushitic language, but like most hunter-gatherers they tend to be bilingual or multilingual. Rising numbers of settlements, roads, irrigation schemes, and other development activities have seriously affected the Boni's ability to survive by foraging.

The Dahalo, who number approximately 3000, reside near the mouth of the Tana River in the Lamu and Tana River Districts of Kenya. Their language, like that of the Boni, is southern Cushitic, and contains clicks. They tend to live in dispersed family groups and work for other people, supplementing their subsistence through hunting and gathering.

There are several different hunter-gatherer groups in southern Somalia, including the Kilii (Aweer), who number about 1500–2000, and the Eyle, who number approximately 450 (Stiles 1981a, 1981b). The Kilii live along the Juba River while the Eyle tend to reside in the sandy plains and rocky hill zone of the Bay Region between the Juba and Shebelle Rivers. The Kilii are sometimes called Somali Boni. They share some cultural characteristics, the major difference being that they tend to be oriented more toward pastoralism than toward horticulture. The Eyle exchange wild products for milk, pottery, and other necessities. Both the Kilii and the Eyle were affected by the tremendous changes that have occurred over the past few years in Somalia, including famine, militarization, civil war, and relief operations.

The Somali hunter-gatherer populations underscore the fact that people may become foragers out of both choice and necessity. In some cases, individuals turned to foraging because their domestic subsistence base was destroyed. In other cases, people chose to be foragers because it ensured that they could avoid being caught in the crossfire towns where feuding subclans engaged in firefights and stole food from one another. Foraging groups could and did settle in towns, villages, and refugee camps when they decided this strategy was to their advantage. They also returned to the bush at a

moment's notice, particularly when social, economic, or environmental conditions deteriorated. The foraging peoples of East Africa today shift in and out of other modes of subsistence, including depending on the relief efforts of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and other international bodies.

Mikea of Madagascar

A group of hunter-gatherers known collectively as the Mikea exists in the dry tropical forests of southwestern Madagascar. They reside for part of the year in dry season camps in the forest and spend part of their time either cultivating gardens themselves or working in the fields of others. The Mikea's origins were probably in the nineteenth century, when a period of warfare and dislocation caused a number of agricultural peoples to take refuge in the forest to escape the conflicts. As is the case with many African hunter-gatherers, there is a continuum among the approximately 1000 Mikea from mobile foraging to sedentary agriculture, fishing, and wage labor. A major constraint that the Malagasy-speaking Mikea face is access to water; some depend on moisture from plant tubers for survival (Stiles 1991, Kelly and Poyer 1993, Kelly *et al*, this volume). In 1993, some of the Mikea engaged in commercial hunting, while others continued to forage and to take part in farm work.

Conclusion

The hunter-gatherers of Africa represent diverse origins and variable present circumstances. However a few general points can be made. In some ways African foragers display the characteristics common to other societies in their regions, speaking local languages and adopting local customs. In other important ways they have maintained distinct identities. Most of the hunter-gatherers exhibit a pattern of flexible and relatively egalitarian band organization common to hunter-gatherers elsewhere. In their internal sociopolitical organization they tend to be far less rigid and hierarchical than the norm of their agricultural and pastoral neighbors.

Their flexibility and mobility have worked to both their advantage and disadvantage. In the event of war or famine, they have had the desert or the rainforest to fall back upon—they have survived outside the "system." On the other hand, their lack of hierarchy has meant that when outsiders have presented sufficient political or military force, the foragers have not been able easily to resist and sooner or later have succumbed to the domination of others.

While it is true that historically hunter-gatherers in Africa have not certainly been isolated (they have been a part of wider socioeconomic and political systems), this is not to suggest that they were at all times subordinated to the whims of their farming and herding neighbors. Foragers have often worked for agriculturalists in their fields or herded their cattle. But they have also provided wild resources such as honey, meat, and medicines, in exchange for pottery, grains, and livestock, and trade terms have been relatively favorable to them.Whenever outside pressures have proved too great they have been able to melt into the bush or the forest to live on their own, much to the chagrin of their nominal overlords.

Some foragers have taken on the cultural characteristics of those with whom they have interacted, adopting not only their language but also their material culture, names, and ideology, while still maintaining as distinct a part of their identity and inner life. The Okiek, for example, have been linked

to the Maasai, performing rituals which the Maasai highly value, including hunting rites, circumcision, traditional healing, and rainmaking (Kratz 1994). Among some east African pastoralists, hunting, especially of lions, has been associated with courage, and thus they have regarded with admiration people who hunt, despite considering them socially inferior.

A third characteristic common to all African hunters and gatherers is in the area of *land rights*. In most of Africa, land has been held communally, with little overall tendency for the consolidation of land rights in the hands of a few. Instead, varied rights over land with multiple forms of control and access have existed. In important ways these forms of tenure have preserved a space for foragers to maintain access to traditional resources. However, recent land reform efforts of many governments have led to dispossession of foragers and their neighbors, as in Tanzania, Kenya, Somalia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and South Africa.

The status of forager groups in several countries has declined so seriously that a number of them have sought assistance from development agencies, church groups, or philanthropists. Others have become environmental activists, protesting against ill-advised development projects such as the ranching, mining, and irrigation schemes initiated by governments and international donor agencies. Still others have initiated their own self-help efforts, as can be seen in the case of the Ju/'hoansi of north-eastern Namibia (Biesele 1994). A number of advocacy groups exist (see II.III.5 below) for supporting African hunters and gatherers in their struggles to find their place in a continent beset by crises and challenges resulting from environmental, sociopolitical and economic change.

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I.IV.2

Archaeology of African hunters and gatherers

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In Africa, modern humans and their hominid precursors have been using tools to acquire food for at least 2.4 million years. Evidence from archaeological sites, like those at Olduvai Gorge and Koobi Fora, has been used to reconstruct early hominid foraging patterns. Opinion has varied as to whether the animal bones on these sites represent substantial consumption of meat or, rather, scavenging, primarily for marrow. Analogs for early hominid foraging have included modern carnivores, recent hunter-gatherers of the Kalahari, and the behaviors of modern non-human primates.

Given the small brains and rudimentary technology of our early ancestors, it seems unlikely that they were carbon copies of modern foraging peoples. Their foraging patterns may well have been distinctly different also from those of any living primate; they may perhaps be reconstructed using models derived from theories of evolutionary ecology.

The earliest stone tool assemblages are grouped within the Oldowan Industrial Complex, which was succeeded by the Acheulian with its characteristic handaxes. Acheulian tool kits show remarkably few changes over a timespan of more than a million years (about 1.5 million years ago to about 200,000 years ago). Manufactured by *Homo ergaster* and archaic *Homo sapiens*, Acheulian tools are found throughout most of non-rainforest Africa, and are the archaeological expression of remarkably successful adaptive strategies. Judging by the animal bones found on many sites, meat was an important component of the diet in some areas, though it may have been obtained by scavenging rather than hunting. Plant foods—particularly fruits and seeds—have been fortuitously preserved at a couple of sites, like Kalambo Falls.

The Acheulian was replaced by more heterogeneous lithic tool kits about 200,000 or more years ago. These include the tool kits of the earliest anatomically modern humans, who had evolved in Africa by 100,000 years ago. Modern human behaviors are intertwined with less developed subsistence strategies. On the one hand, technologically sophisticated stone blades have been found at sites in Kenya dated to over 200,000 BP; tanged and obviously hafted spear points characterize the Aterian of North Africa; barbed bone points like those known from Europe in only the last 14,000 years have been discovered on sites in eastern Zaire dating back more than 80,000 years; the first exploitation of shellfish and other marine resources is recorded at both ends of the continent. On the other hand, peoples of this period have been characterized as relatively ineffective hunter-foragers, who, at the well-investigated site of Klasies River Mouth, lacked the technology to catch fish and flying birds, and who hunted the rare but docile eland, yet avoided tangling with the common but dangerous buffalo and bushpig. With one controversial exception, there is no evidence for burial of the dead or of art or other symbolic behavior which, along with other modern human behaviors,

appear in the last 40,000 years.

Stone slabs with painted animals over 20,000 years old have been discovered in Namibia; shell and bone ornaments are ubiquitous; and rich traditions of rock painting and engraving are known from various parts of the continent. There is a remarkable variety of technology, much of it characterized by microlithic hafted tools, including bows and arrows. Cordage, nets, mats, and bone and wooden tools have survived in exceptional circumstances, as at Melkhoutboom Cave.

Culture was clearly the primary means of adaptation to the changing environments of the last 40,000 years, which included the drier and cooler conditions that prevailed over most of Africa during the Last Glacial Maximum (LGM), 18,000 BP, and the warmer and wetter phase that followed the end of the last glaciation. New subsistence and settlement strategies emerged, some of which are known ethnographically while others are no longer practiced in Africa. For example, in the severe conditions of the LGM in the southern African interior, hunting was undertaken by large, highly mobile groups with low population densities and extensive territorial ranges.

During the same period the hyper-arid Sahara was abandoned and sedentary foragers lived at high densities in the Nile valley, fishing and harvesting wild plants, fighting with their neighbors, and burying their dead in cemeteries. In the more hospitable environments of the early postglacial, foragers spread out across the Sahara, where they invented pottery and later domesticated wild cattle. Many African lakes rose well above their modern levels and people settled on the lake shores, fishing and perhaps hunting with barbed bone harpoons. Indeed, there was a broadening of the resource base in many regions, with seasonal concentrations on different foods such as shellfish and rhizomes.

Map 9 Archaeological sites in Africa

The earliest evidence of plant domestication in Africa is found in the Nile valley and at adjacent desert oases early in the postglacial. Domestic animals are first recorded in the more verdant Sahara and neighboring regions, and later spread south as drier conditions prevailed after 4500 BP. The development of farming set in motion changes in the distributions of languages and peoples that resulted in the modern ethnographic map of Africa. Hunter-gatherer groups developed, adopted, or rejected aspects of the farming economy in accordance with their environmental, social, and cultural circumstances. Furthermore, beginning in the first millennium BC, iron metallurgy diffused across Africa in the hands of farmers. The pace at which hunter-gatherers replaced their flaked stone tools with iron equivalents depended in large part on the nature of their relationships with farming neighbors.

In North and West Africa, hunter-gatherers adopted pastoralism or agriculture or were submerged within farming societies in prehistory such that there were no autonomous hunting and gathering groups by the time of European contact. Over the rest of Africa more complicated processes of assimilation and independence prevailed. Two factors (the existence of twentieth-century hunter-gatherers of small stature in both southern and central Africa and knowledge that Bantu-speaking farmers spread relatively recently across the southern half of Africa) encouraged the view that the whole of the subcontinent had been populated, in earlier times, by short, yellow-skinned hunter-

gatherers, of whom the "Pygmies" of the central African rainforests represented one extreme.

This hypothesis was further fueled by the discovery that Sandawe and Hadza hunter-gatherers in Tanzania speak languages with click sounds classified within the Khoisan language family that includes Kalahari foragers. However, recent skeletal and genetic research has shown that prehistoric Africans were biologically heterogeneous; as well, the linguistic debates are far from resolved.

The suggestion has been advanced that it has been impossible to survive entirely by hunting and gathering within tropical rainforests. This view sees the adaptations of "Pygmy" groups in central Africa as post-dating the spread of farming. Resolution of this problem by archaeological research is complicated by the fact that the rainforest has contracted and expanded in accord with changing climates. Thus, sites now located in the rainforest may have been in savannah or on ecotones when occupied in earlier periods. While the rock shelters of Shum Laka and Matupi were in rainforests during part of their postglacial occupational history, they could have been visited during a seasonal round that included other environments. On archaeological evidence, farmers began to spread through the rainforest in the latter half of the first millennium BC, so that the symbiotic relations between "Pygmy" groups and farmers in the forests developed no earlier than that date.

Stone-tool-using Cushitic-speakers introduced domestic animals and perhaps agriculture into eastern Africa around the late third millennium BC. While many hunter-gatherer groups adopted herding or were themselves assimilated into pastoralist societies, others engaged the new economies in such a manner that they maintained their hunter-gatherer identity. For example, excavations in Enkapune Ya Muto, a rock shelter on the Mau Escarpment of the Rift Valley, revealed that hunter-gatherers making distinctive Eburran lithic tools concentrated upon the hunting of small bovids prior to 3000 years ago. However, beginning about 4000 years ago, they obtained small numbers of caprines (sheep or goats) from herders on the floor of the valley. After 3000 BP, the occupants of the site (who continued to make Eburran tools) abandoned hunting in favor of the herding of caprines. Until this time, Enkapune Ya Muto had been located at an ecotone between bush and forest, but the eventual expansion of grasslands, as a result of both climatic and anthropogenic factors, rendered traditional hunting no longer viable at this site. The hunting way of life continued in the higher-elevation forests. Indeed, the material culture of these hunters shows continuity from the Eburran archaeological industry to Okiek ethnography. Nevertheless, economic changes occurred as the hunting of small bovids was replaced by the trapping of large mammals, perhaps as the Okiek were incorporated into the global economy of the early 1900s. Okiek culture and economy were also shaped by symbiotic relationships with farmers and pastoralists, particularly the Maasai.

Similar symbiotic relationships between hunter-gatherers and neighboring farmers seem to have developed elsewhere in East Africa: hunter-gatherers like the Hadza, Boni, and Elmolo maintained or created distinctive ethnic identities even while, in some cases, they adopted the languages of their neighbors. Unfortunately, there is little archaeological evidence of these interactions, though excavations in the Laikipia region of northern Kenya are revealing the process whereby Mukogodo hunter-gatherers became herders in the 1930s.

In the first centuries AD, indigenous stone-tool-using foragers, from central Tanzania southward, encountered immigrant metal-working farmers, who were preceded in some areas by a diffusion of domestic livestock and ceramics. The nature of forager-farmer interactions varied.

In parts of Zambia, the two communities retained their separate identities until as late as the nineteenth century. Indeed, it has even been suggested that there was virtually no contact, with hunter-

gatherers only making use of potsherds that they found in abandoned farming villages. Further west, in the Copperbelt, competition between foragers and farmers for resources located in the vicinity of seasonally moist grasslands may have led to conflict and the disappearance of the foragers. Elsewhere in southern Africa, some hunter-gatherer communities survived by retreating into mountainous areas unsuitable for agriculture. More complex interactions occurred in the Kalahari and on its fringes where some foragers adopted herding in the last centuries BC. They then spread south and west to the Cape, where their descendants were to be called "Hottentots" by early European travelers. Other foragers remained in the Kalahari: some adopted pastoralism; others were subordinated to immigrant farmers; still others continued to hunt and gather, exchanging some of their products for glass beads, cowries, metal tools, grain, and domestic animals.

40 Enkapune ya Muto rock shelter, Kenya. Photo: Stanley Ambrose.

The advent of domestic animals to the Cape increased stress on indigenous hunter-gatherers as they competed with herders for resources on the coastal plain. Responses to this stress included dietary changes, smaller group sizes, escape to areas inhospitable for the keeping of livestock, and an intensification of ritual activity, which is evident in rock paintings. This reconstruction assumes that hunters and herders possessed two distinct ethnic identities, often referred to as San (Bushmen) and Khoikhoi (Hottentots), which can be recognized archaeologically on the basis of stone tools, ostrich eggshell bead sizes, ceramic densities, faunal remains, and rock art. An alternative scenario suggests that hunters and herders possessed only a single identity and that livestock holdings varied as a result of ecological factors.

Changing patterns of interaction between hunter-gatherers and Bantu-speaking farmers in southeastern Africa have been reconstructed from archaeological evidence. Hunter-gatherers of the first millennium AD in the Thukela basin altered their settlement patterns in order to engage in symbiotic relationships with farmers that included exchanges of stone tools, pottery, iron, and beads. During the second millennium, increasing inequality within farming societies led also to the subordination of hunter-gatherers, who became clients rather than trading partners. The complexity of hunter-farmer interactions is illustrated in the rock paintings of the Drakensberg, where hunters borrowed aspects of the ritual practices and ideology of their farming neighbors, but also served as rainmakers for the farmers. Hunter-gatherers survived in these mountains until the twentieth century, increasingly as refugees from the often murderous intent of Europeans, as is poignantly depicted in rock paintings. Finally, excavations in rock shelters in the Seacow Valley have revealed the gradual adoption by surviving hunter-gatherers of European clothing and artifacts during the course of the nineteenth century, while stone tool technology fell into disuse as the use of guns and muskets signaled the end of the game.

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I.IV.3

Aka Pygmies

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Introduction

The Aka live in the southwestern regions of the Republic of Central Africa and northern Congo, between the Oubangi and Sangha Rivers, in an area of approximately 100,000 km^2. The Aka language belongs to the Bantu family (Zone C10) but is spoken by no other group. Renowned for their skills as elephant hunters, the Aka are also noted by their neighbors as honey collectors and powerful magicians. For Europeans, these nomadic Pygmies are better known for their rich and complex polyphonic music (Arom 1987). The Aka share the overall area, and interact, with more than twenty agricultural peoples speaking a variety of languages.

The Aka ethnonym is *mo-Aka, ba-Aka* being the plural form. Outsiders generally call them Aka, omitting the Bantu prefix (Cloarec-Heiss and Thomas 1978). Some authors refer to them as *Bayaka* (Lalouel 1950). They are also known as the *Babinga*, or *Bambenga*, the term most commonly used by their farming neighbors (Hauser 1953, Demesse 1980). The group furthest west is called *ba-Mbenzele* (Arom and Martin 1992). The ethnographic present in this study is the 1970s.

History

Ethnolinguistic studies indicate a common origin for the Aka and the Baka in Cameroon, prior to their common life with the Bantu, from whom they borrowed a language of the Bantu C10 family several centuries ago. From about 1880, the first European explorers occasionally encountered the Aka. However, the Aka were involved in long-distance trade in pre-colonial times through exchanges with neighboring populations. As early as the seventeenth century, a "nation of Bakke Bakke dwarfs" was providing elephant ivory for the "Jagos," who sold it, in turn, to Europeans on the coast.

Under European suzerainty, the forest was divided into concessions for the exploitation of natural rubber and ivory. The Aka were involved in hunting elephants but, being nomadic, they were able to avoid forced labor. From the 1930s onward, several attempts were made to settle them ("domestication" policies) but to no effect.

Scientific studies began in the 1960s (A. Hauser, L. Demesse) and expanded in the 1970s with several large interdisciplinary programs ((J. M. C. Thomas, S. Arom, S. Bahuchet, and others; B. Hewlett, L. L. Cavalli-Sforza and others).

Ecological setting, demography

Situated between the Equator and 3°N, Aka country is entirely covered with a dense humid forest environment. The southern half of the territory is characterized by swampy forests in the low valleys of the Oubangui and Likouala Rivers. A tropical climate with two seasons predominates in the north, and a subequatorial climate with four seasons in the south. Rainfall is average (approximately 1700 mm).

The population is predominantly young; the average age is twenty-one, with 50 percent of Aka under the age of fifteen. Fertility is high with an average of five live births per woman. The birth interval is approximately four years. Infant mortality is high, at 20 percent (Cavalli-Sforza 1986, Hewlett 1991).

Economy

A wide range of techniques are used in hunting; most mammals are game targets. Choice of game depends upon the men available in the camp at any time of year. In the rainy season, men from a single camp, armed with spears, track large mammals (elephants, antelopes, river hogs, gorillas, and chimpanzees). During the dry season, when several camps come together, the whole community of men, women, and children organizes "beats" to catch duiker. Mornings and evenings, men set out alone to kill monkeys with cross-bows and poisoned darts. Finally, when a camp is small and reduced to only a few households, couples set off with dogs to look for the burrows of porcupines while picking oleaginous nuts or fungi. Traps are rarely used.

Population
About 30,000–40,000. No census data available.

Location
Republic of Central Africa: Lobaye, Sangha-Mbére prefectures and parts of Mambére-Kadei prefecture (Berberati sub-prefecture). Congo Republic: Likouala and parts of the Sangha regions (Ouesso district).

41 An Aka camp: huts are built under the trees, in the middle of the undergrowth (rainy season, August 1976). Photo: Serge Bahuchet.

A third of the diet consists of the fruits of gathering activities carried out in the forest: tubers such as wild yam (*Dioscorea* spp.), the leaves of *Gnetum africanum*, various fungi (those preferred are the *Termitomyces*), and several nuts and almonds (*Irvingia* spp., *Panda oleosa, Antrocaryon micraster, Treculia africana*). Snails (*Achatinas*) and tortoises are collected at the same time as vegetable products. Dead tree-trunks are searched for weevils (*Rhynchophorus*), longicorns, and beetles.

Two seasons are particularly important: at the height of the rainy season (August-September), moth caterpillars fall from large trees and bury themselves in the ground to form chrysalides; the Aka

choose this moment to gather large quantities of caterpillars. Some will be dried and kept for several months. During the dry season, Aka men search for bees' nests in treetops. Climbing the tree and gathering the honey requires specific implements (an axe, a belt and a basket woven from liana, and a box made of bark). The bees are smoked out and the honey poured into a bark box to be brought back to the camp and shared.

The Aka do little fishing; agriculture is a recent activity and remains very limited. They do not produce any metal artifacts or pottery, obtaining them instead through exchanges with farmers for whom they carry out seasonal work.

42 Mask of an ancestor soul. Aka rituals involve the dance of various masks made of leaves which represent diverse forest spirits. This one appears when successive hunting parties have failed (January 1975). Photo: Serge Bahuchet.

Settlement patterns, mobility and land tenure

Camps containing about thirty persons are composed of half a dozen huts of branches and leaves, in a semi-circle around a patch of bare ground. The residential group moves several times in the course of the year (approximately every two months), depending on its activities. These moves and all hunting and gathering activities are carried out within a limited area. This is understood to be the group's own domain or territory. There is always a village of "Grands Noirs" at one end of the territory, sedentary farming populations with whom the Pygmies will maintain economic relations over several generations. Several camps (three to ten camps constitute groups of approximately one hundred people) share any single territory, coming together or disbanding with the seasons.

Groups tend to remain stable over time but numerous visitors (other Akas) constantly alter their composition; couples travel with their family to stay with in-laws for several weeks or months; at other times distant relatives come to stay with them. Visitors build their own hut and participate in the camp's life as fully fledged members during the whole of their stay.

Each individual has access to territories in which members of his/her father's, his mother's, and all female ancestors' lineages reside.

Kinship, marriage, domesticity, and gender

The members of a camp form a community, a family group in which the eldest has moral responsibility. Collaboration is the basis of all activities. The rules for sharing out animals killed in hunting and the general distribution of cooked food ensure group cohesion. Young people choose their partners freely, respecting the taboos imposed by lineage. Marriage is based on an agreement between the parents of the couple; the young girl is paid for with goods (metal tools, hunting nets) and natural products (meat, honey). After marriage, the bridegroom lives in his wife's camp for several years, giving the product of hunting to her father. After the birth of the first children, the young couple return to the husband's camp. However, it is not unusual for a man to remain in his in-laws' community where he may be joined by one of his brothers or sisters. Elderly widowed women often

return to their brothers' camp. Filiation is patrilineal and residence is virilocal, with a strong tendency to bilocality.

The basic family group is the conjugal family; monogamy prevails. Within a couple, the man hunts while the woman gathers, but not exclusively since a number of activities are carried out jointly (hunting with nets, hunting porcupines, collecting caterpillars and nuts, etc.). The woman builds the hut and does the cooking, but men take an active part in child-rearing (Hewlett 1991).

Political organization

There is no constraining overall hierarchy and individuals choose activities on the basis of those carried out by others, preparing their own tools to participate in providing supplies; Aka society is acephalous. There are, however, three fundamental roles that provide the basis of spiritual life and they can be taken on by several men or by one individual: the *mbai* elder answers for the group's moral standards—his opinions are valued and tend to prevail; the *tuma* master-hunter ensures material and spiritual success in elephant hunting; finally, the *nganga* diviner-healer communicates with the world of spirits, cures illnesses, and seeks the causes of disorder. Each role requires very different skills and involves taking responsibility for specific rites and ceremonies.

Each Pygmy family has exclusive economic relations with a family of farmers. The Aka provide the villagers with game, forest products, and seasonal agricultural labor (for forest clearing and harvesting). In return, they obtain metal tools and agricultural products. But the two communities are quite independent, with different systems of kinship, and social and religious organizations. The relationship between the two populations is comparable to the "patron—client" relationship in ancient Rome. Farmers will often consult Aka healers in times of illness because of their good reputation: the magical power of the Aka is seen to come from their intimate knowledge of the occult forces of the forest (Bahuchet and Guillaume 1982, Delobeau 1989).

Religion and spirituality

The forest is the world of spirits. The souls of deceased Pygmies form an undifferentiated entity mediating between the living and the Spirit of the Forest, *Ezengi*, "active god," to be distinguished from *Bembe*, the distant creator god. "The spirits" are responsible for the forest products, allowing a peaceful community to collect them and guiding animals toward the hunters. In times of conflict, humans must organize large dancing ceremonies to placate the spirits and thus ensure the group's well-being.

The Aka perform two types of rituals: large public ceremonies which involve the whole community, and more intimate rites, on a much smaller scale, to deal with private matters. Three fundamental functions determine which ritual is appropriate: *propitiation*, to appropriate to oneself the forest's abundance and fertility; *divination*, to find the cause of strife or predict how future actions will evolve; and *expiation*, to appease irate spirits, either ancestors (who react in times of shortage or social conflict) or animal spirits after a "murder" (i.e., the death of an animal in the course of hunting).

The rites marking the end of periods of mourning appear to be the most sacred ceremonies. Here, the Supreme Spirit itself intervenes and the unity of the community is reasserted after the severe

disruption caused by death. These public ceremonies are a collective act in which all spectators participate by dancing and, more importantly, by singing the polyphonic chants characteristic of Pygmy liturgy. Several large rituals are linked to hunting with assegais, and here the Spirit of the Elephant appears as a mask made of leaves and dances amidst the hunters. During the various collective dancing ceremonies, the diviner reads the flames of the fire to seek the causes of misfortunes. Finally, there is a remarkable ritual linked to honey collecting: unlike hunting rituals that are carried out before or after each hunt, *mobandi* is the only seasonal ritual; it is carried out before the rains when the *mbaso* tree flowers. It is a collective purification act during which members of the group will gently hit themselves with branches thus transferring onto them the evil forces, *kose*, carried by all individuals and which might otherwise harm the community. This ritual illustrates the Aka ethos: it is human misconduct which jeopardizes the help of the spirits.

Current situation

The Aka forests are increasingly exploited for wood and this is the main cause of problems for Pygmies. Roads are opened, which bring vehicle transport, farmers, and hunters. Small towns emerge around the sawmills owned by companies exploiting the forest. All these factors constitute a disrupting influx of population. Some conservationist projects have been set up in opposition to forest exploitation, but the consequences are no less dangerous for the Aka when they lead to constraints on Aka access to forest territories, and to social changes wrought by ecotourism.

The mobility of the Aka is considered detrimental to development. Programs exist which aim to settle Pygmies, as part of government policies or private initiatives (religious missions or international organizations), and they are increasing in numbers. There are still few formal relations with the authorities: the majority of Aka do not have access to schools or medical centers (poorly stocked and equipped where they do exist); nor do Aka usually have any formal national identification or civil status.

Today, although many Aka are still nomads, it is clear that a settled lifestyle is increasing, despite a lack of hygiene and bad housing conditions in settlements. There is clearly an interest in monetary activities but, being neither numerate nor literate, Aka are highly vulnerable to those willing to exploit their candidness and lack of formal education.

Organization for resistance

Having carried out exchanges with farming populations for centuries, the Aka have developed elaborate forms of passive resistance composed of evasion, mobility, and polite refusals. Despite very close links with some farming groups, they have retained their own language, music, and cosmology. At present, this attitude still prevails. They have no political organization or any other activity that might enable them to mobilize an opposition to the external forces confronting them. And it is actually uncertain whether the Aka are aware of how precarious their future is, or whether they could see themselves living in isolation and not as part of the symbiotic relationship they have always had with farming populations.

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I.IV.4

The /Gui and //Gana of Botswana

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Introduction

The /Gui and //Gana of central Botswana are closely related dialect groups among Khoi-speaking San peoples. They were introduced to the Western world in 1958 with the publication of Laurens van der Post's famous book, *The Lost World of the Kalahari*. The San, once believed extinct, had been "rediscovered" on Van der Post's successive expeditions to the Kalahari in 1950, 1952, and 1955.

The central Kalaharian habitat of the /Gui-//Gana lacks permanent bodies of water. Surface water is rare except following heavy downpours during the rainy season (November–March). When surface water is unavailable, /Gui-//Gana obtain most of their water from vegetable matter.

Approximately 1000 /Gui-//Gana were living a hunting and gathering way of life in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) at its inception in 1961. These peoples have lived in close association with the Bantu-speaking Kgalagadi who migrated into this area in the early part of the nineteenth century, practicing goat husbandry and extensive agriculture. /Gui-//Gana life and society have greatly changed since the government's sedentarization policy was implemented and social facilities such as permanent water supplies, school education, and a clinic were introduced in 1979. The ethnological present used here is the 1960s–1970s.

History

Some glotto-chronological studies assume ancestors of the Khoi-speaking peoples migrated from the northeast through Zimbabwe about 2000 years ago. Though the most conspicuous difference between the /Gui and //Gana dialects is the ongoing diminution of alveolar click in the latter (Nakagawa 1995), the processes of divergence and subsequent contact between the two dialects are unknown. According to the narrative of the eldest /Gui man (died, 1994), their ancestors were frightened by bellicose Bantu-speaking people, whereupon they took refuge in the central Kalahari; this is not, to date, corroborated by historical evidence. Several written records suggest the /Gui and //Gana were encompassed within the tribute system of the Tswana chiefdomship in the nineteenth century.

Population
About 3000 (about 2000 in the Ghanzi farming area and Kgalagadi villages; about 1000 in Central Kalahari Game Reserve).

Location
Central Botswana, CKGR, and its surroundings (21° to 24° S, 22° to 25° E). Nomadic range in CKGR is some 4000 km^2.

Modern history of Xade area began in 1958 with the initiation of anthropological survey work by G. B. Silberbauer, who was active in the establishment of the CKGR (Silberbauer 1981). The borehole at !Koi!kom drilled under his supervision had, within fifteen years, become the center of settlement. Shortly after Silberbauer's departure in 1967, J. Tanaka began fieldwork in the region. From 1982, Tanaka organized a succession of research projects which are ongoing, and which are the source for the present description.

Ecological setting

The central Kalahari is an extremely flat plateau about 1100 m in elevation. Its topographical monotony is broken only by the pans and fossil rivers (*molapo*) and a few traces of sand-dunes. Rainfall is concentrated in the summer months (November–March), with about 400 mm annually. The summer midday heat tops 40°C, while in winter (May–August) cold winds blow in from the Antarctic Ocean, driving temperatures below freezing.

The Xade area of CKGR in which Tanaka conducted research in 1967–8 exhibits the following three vegetation types: open scrub plain populated chiefly by grasses of the family Gramineae, with a mixture of such shrubs as *Grewia, Terminalia*, and *Commiphora;* acacia woodland mainly composed of the genera *Acacia* and *Albizia* of the family Mimosaceae, with sparsely scattered tall trees; and Caesalpiniaceae plain consisting of distinct communities of two species of the genera *Bauhinia* and *Tylosema: B. petersiana* (a shrub) and *T. esculentum* (a creeper), both species of the family Caesalpiniaceae.

Economy

The /Gui-//Gana in CKGR obtained almost 100 percent of their food by hunting animals and gathering wild plants until sedentary life started in 1979. Hunting was done by men and gathering by women. Gathering was the more important activity in their economic life: 80 percent of the total food intake was composed of plant foods gathered by women; the requisite water was also obtained from gathered plants. The basic diet was built around eleven major foods from among more than one hundred edible plant species: the tubers, *Cucumis kalahariensis* and *Coccinia rehmannii;* the nuts, *Bauhinia petersiana* and *Tylosema esculentum;* the berries, *Grewia flava, G. retinervis*, and *Ochna pulchra;* the melons, *Citrullus lanatus* and *Acanthosicyos naudiniana*; the truffle, *Terfezia* spp. and *Ledebouria* spp. of the lily family. The combination of the food plants changed in response to seasonal growth cycles.

Meat was of secondary importance, comprising only 20 percent of the diet. The men hunted more than fifty species, primarily mammals and birds. Representative hunting methods included shooting large game with bow and poisoned arrow, snaring small antelopes, and hunting the springhare with a hooked pole. They also hunted with spears, with the help of dogs, and tracked small animals, catching them by hand. The women went gathering from one to five hours almost every day, while the men

hunted three to five days a week for five to twelve hours. The daily average work time per person was 4 hours 39 minutes (Tanaka 1980).

Settlement, mobility, and land use

The residential group, or camp, was composed of from one to twenty families (on average ten families, about forty people) usually connected by bilaterally traced kinship and affinity. People moved from place to place in accordance with the distribution and schedule of each of the major ripening food plants.

Though some related families, often connected by parent—child or sibling ties, tended to form a relatively enduring cluster throughout the process of fission and fusion of groups, any clearcut boundary between sociological entities, or bands, with exclusive membership is difficult to discern.

43 Roasting *Tylosema esculentum* nuts. Photo: Jiro Tanaka.

The timing and destination of a move by the /Gui-//Gana were almost totally determined by the availability of vegetable food. Only during the rainy season, when water accumulated in the pans and *molapo*, did waterholes replace plant food as determinants of migration. The /Gui-//Gana of the Xade area had a range of about 50 km, centering on the Okwa River; their yearly peregrinations probably covered, on average, 300 km^2.

Several clusters of families formed larger aggregations, each with its own core area. However, owing to dramatic fluctuations in ecological conditions, such clusters dared not tie themselves to a fixed segment of land perpetually. Periodic concentration on particular sites with abundant food, as well as constant intercourse among camps, has blurred the local concept of territoriality.

44 Preparing for a /Gui-//Gana hunting and gathering trip. Photo: Jiro Tanaka.

Domestic organization

/Gui-//Gana kinship terminology has been categorized as Iroquois type, classifying parallel-cousins as siblings and distinguishing them from cross-cousins. The social attitude toward kin remains loosely guided by a joking-avoidance principle. While this avoidance tendency, either verbal or nonverbal, toward consanguines of adjacent generations is not conspicuous, it is most noticeable between primary affines.

The menarche has been celebrated by a girl's adult female kin who have conducted appropriate rituals, including "the eland dance." The unity of the conjugal pair was symbolically marked by a marriage ceremony called "mixing the blood" of groom and bride. The most striking feature of /Gui-//Gana sexuality was the prevalence of persistent extra-marital relationships called *zããku* (Tanaka 1989). Some relations have either ended in divorce or lead to polygyny; others have developed into

an economic mutualism where two couples have engaged in mate-swapping. Children were named after a memorable event which occurred during the pregnancy or infancy. The episodes of social conflict, especially derived from the *záãku* relationship, have frequently been memorialized in names.

"If you visit where we are living, you enter our house, and sit to eat. Never complain! I used to make a mortar, and whenever my relative came with ǂnanǂke beans which were peeled, I would lift it to give him. Thus it remains mine. Even when he has taken it away, I still own it!"

Dialogue excerpt between two /Gui men,
Siekhoe and Tsuud?uma.

"If you hide anything from people, it extinguishes the camp. In this way, this camp and that camp were extinguished. Such a thing killed my grandfather and his people."

!Khae//khae, an old /Gui man.

In most aspects of social life women continue to enjoy equal status with men, though a kind of male-centered ideology regarding women's bodies as the source of pollution is sometimes made explicit (Sugawara 1990).

Political organization

Micro-political processes within a camp were closely articulated with the peculiar organization of everyday conversation. All sorts of conflict continue to be incessantly argued about and criticized in informal talk studded with unique interactional or rhetorical devices such as simultaneous discourse, redundant narrative, and direct quotation of past speech. Such openness of discussion is backed by the belief that hiding anything is an abominable vice which will extinguish the community. People do not like to exert explicit coercive force over other persons; thus, communal decision-making and consensus may be formed in quite a gradual and implicit way. This does not mean that the /Gui and //Gana today, or in the recent past, lacked formal institutions for mediation and reconciliation. The Tswana local court (*kgotla*) had been instituted by the 1930s. People resorted to this court for redress of serious troubles: theft, violence, or adultery. The guilty may occasionally have been condemned to whipping, or enjoined to pay an indemnity.

The /Gui-//Gana vocabulary has the term "chief" (*ayako*). This status had originally been integral to transactions with Kgalagadi agropastoralists. The Kgalagadi mounted hunting parties often hired /Gui and //Gana men as trackers. The local /Gui-//Gana "chief" systematically collected hides from the group, to be exchanged with Kgalagadi patrons in return for novelties.

Religion and spirituality

The /Gui were said to believe in two kinds of supreme being: *!Nari*, creator of the universe, and *//Gama*, the source of evil and misfortune. However, as *!nari* is a loan word from the neighboring Nharo San, the basic theological belief of /Gui-//Gana is considered to have been monotheistic. All matters beyond human understanding were attributed to the inscrutable will of *//Gama*. In the myth,

//Gama is nicknamed *biisi/koãgo* and is depicted as a trickster playing with ancestors of various animal species.

The healing dance, usually performed through the night, is the most ecstatic of the rituals. Here, core religious beliefs and deep aesthetic sensibilities are condensed. At the dance's culmination, adept, skillful male dancers may fall into a trance, and begin to cure the afflicted. Though the repertoire includes various songs, most of which have been incorporated from other cultures, the "gemsbok" dance is considered the most curative. Both the dance and the healing are called by the same word, */kii*, which has a multitude of supernatural connotations.

There have been other magical healing practices. A ritual called "medicine" was intended to prevent or cure illness attributed to the *záãku* relation. Another remedy called "hand-dirt" coped with the illness attributed to *qhaba:* someone's resentment against the sick person. The common symbolism to these devices has been basically metonymical, focusing on the mixing of excretions from the bodies of those involved.

Until approximately World War II, /Gui men sporadically held a male initiation ("making the masculinity"), during the best harvest season. This ritual is named after the crown plume of the kori bustard, the most strictly forbidden food to all but the aged. Inculcation of moral sanctions and food taboos on novices were reinforced with mystical procedures such as tattooing and the use of the bullroarer.

Current situation

In 1974, the Botswana government instituted its Remote Area Development Programme; this was extended to the Xade area in 1975 when a borehole, which had been unused by the inhabitants since it was put down in 1962, was improved and water became permanently available.

To ameliorate the effects of a series of droughts that began in 1981, the government of Botswana distributed relief goods to the inhabitants. A school, houses for the school teachers, and a clinic were begun in 1982 and construction was completed in 1983. The primary school and medical clinic were officially opened in 1984. In 1983, Ghanzi Craft, a handicraft trade organization, was established.

Construction of a new straight road between Ghanzi and Xade was started in 1983. As the infrastructure improved, the population concentrated around the borehole at Xade, creating many changes in the residential pattern and social relationships. Depletion of wild food resources, the introduction of agriculture, the raising of domestic animals, and the distribution of rations have also created fundamental changes to the traditional economic system, including a modification not only of hunting method but also of the people's reciprocal exchange system and borrowing patterns. Until 1984, the population fluctuated between 500 and 600 but it increased to 750 in 1987, and to around 800 in 1996.

By the 1980s, the construction of buildings and roads, the laying of water piping, and the establishment of the folkcraft trade provided the people with lasting sources of cash income. Sedentarization around the water bore, the new availability of sugar for brewing, and dramatic changes in the lifestyle contributed to the rapid spread of alcohol consumption and attendant social problems such as community violence.

Organization for resistance

Although the Kgalagadi tend to look down on "Kua" (a generic term for /Gui-//Gana and neighboring San groups), the /Gui-//Gana relationship with the Kgalagadi has been generally symbiotic. In the Xade area, there have been a number of influential people, most of whom are //Gana-speaking and half-Kgalagadi. Recent political supervision by the government to appoint several of them to chief and counsellor positions has accelerated the differentiation of these people from the others. The majority, however, put little value on the authority of the chief or the government.

The most serious problem with which contemporary /Gui-//Gana people are faced is the relocation to a new settlement outside the CKGR. This policy, whose aim is wildlife conservation, was decided by the Botswana cabinet in 1980s. Many people were tempted by the government's promise to provide compensation and cattle. In 1997 all Xade residents moved to a new settlement, Kxoenshakene, 70 km west of Xade. The concentrated life at Kxoenshakene has resulted in many difficulties, such as lack of wild plant food, and alcoholism. A few people have begun to claim land rights but there has not yet arisen any organized movement for challenging governmental initiatives.

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I.IV.5

The Hadza of Tanzania

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Introduction

The Hadza are a hunter-gatherer people in northern Tanzania who, throughout their known history, have sought to maintain a degree of autonomy and isolation in relation to the many neighboring ethnic groups appropriating their lands. They are also known as *Tindiga* (Swahili) and *Kindiga* (Isanzu) but dislike these terms for their derogatory and discriminatory connotations. They speak a click language, an isolate with no proven linkages with other languages.

Many researchers, Tanzanian and foreign, have worked among the Hadza during the past forty years. It sometimes becomes difficult for so small a community to cope with the constant questioning associated with much of this research.

45 A Hadza hunter carrying meat back to camp, 1981. Photo: James Woodburn.

History

The Hadza proudly assert that their ancestors have been hunter-gatherers since the dawn of time. They are confident of the merits of their way of life, strongly rejecting views of neighboring agricultural and pastoral peoples that hunting and gathering is a backward way of life.

Hadza view history as a struggle to maintain their life in the face of great pressures to change. European colonial powers came late to this part of East Africa. In the process of asserting colonial control, the Germans fought with the Isanzu, Bantu-speaking neighbors of the Hadza. Some Isanzu subsequently became refugees among the Hadza. This is the only known in-migration among the Hadza, and there has been no significant out-migration.

Through the periods of German and British administration, the Hadza were largely ignored by the authorities. The first prolonged contact did not occur until 1911, when German geographer Erich Obst walked through their country. The Hadza remained untaxed and without chiefs or courts. They, and a few other small groups, were given some exemptions from the game laws by the British authorities, although they were not permitted to live free of outside interference.

The British administration twice (in 1927 and 1939) made short-lived attempts to force groups of Hadza to settle down as agriculturalists. Both attempts led to disease and several deaths in the

community. They confirmed the view of Hadza people that contact with outsiders was dangerous, and reinforced their policy of minimizing such contact. After independence from Britain, pressure to adopt agriculture increased. Since 1964, the Tanzanian government has adopted a systematic policy of sedentarization. Hadza continue to object to settlement, especially when it involves living near non-Hadza people.

Population
Approximately 1000. Precise numbers are difficult to determine owing to the flexible ethnicity of peripheral persons.

Location
The hills and valleys east and southwest of Lake Eyasi, due south of Ngorongoro Crater, northern Tanzania.

46 Hadza women roast roots on a root-digging expedition. Photo: James Woodburn.

Ecological setting

Hadza country is in the dry savannah of East Africa, part grassland, part thorn bush. Rocky hills are interspersed with plains areas. Apart from Lake Eyasi (a salt lake) and Yaida swamp, surface water is scarce, especially in the dry season. The landscape is dominated by the fan acacias and baobab trees which are so familiar to viewers of television wildlife documentaries. Tsetse flies are abundant almost everywhere, but very few cases of human sleeping sickness have been recorded.

A wide range of game animals live in the area and are still hunted by some Hadza with bows and poisoned arrows. Game populations which were never at risk from Hadza hunters have in recent years become increasingly threatened by commercial poachers from outside Hadza country, who have killed off the rhinoceros population and most of the elephants. The Hadza have also been threatened by the encroachment of pastoral and agricultural peoples who fence water sources and block game migration routes.

The evidence suggests that many of the open areas were in the past kept open by the feeding and trampling of elephants and rhinoceroses. The recent dramatic decline in their population is expected to lead to an increase in dense stands of thorn trees and a decline in grazing game animal populations, and in the wild food plants on which the Hadza depend.

Economy

The Hadza obtain their food requirements from wild roots, fruits, the honey of wild bees, and the flesh of game animals, currently supplemented by the fruits of their small plots of maize and sweet potato. They also occasionally persuade government and aid agencies to donate lorry loads of maize. Impala, zebra, buffalo, eland, wildebeest, and many animals large and small are felled with bow and

arrow, or scavenged from lion kills. Hadza are denied access to guns and they use no traps, pits, or snares. Roots, berries, and baobab fruit are generally gathered by groups of women. Few Hadza work for outsiders or are engaged in trade.

In areas where Hadza have retained their land, food is obtained relatively easily. Here, nutritional status is high by East African standards. Like all human populations, the Hadza do not eat all potential foods in their region. They reject almost all insects, reptiles, fish, and freshwater molluscs. However, they attach particular value to meat and honey. Meat must be shared by everyone in the camp. It cannot be reserved for the hunter and his family.

Accumulation, whether of food or of more enduring material objects, is seen as immoral and unacceptable. Successful hunters or traders are obliged to share the yield of their labor and their skill. Poisoned arrows, knives, stone pipes, and other objects circulate in the *lukucuko* gambling game. Exchange or barter with other Hadza is usually deprecated. Hadza strongly believe that people should share and not expect recompense.

Settlement, mobility, and land tenure

Until the early 1960s, almost all Hadza lived in small nomadic camps (averaging eighteen adults) and moved every two or three weeks. These camps moved for all sorts of reasons, not only to improve access to food, water, and material needs, but also to abandon areas where persons had fallen ill or died. They moved to where the gambling game was in session, to visit friends, or to avoid persons with whom they were in dispute. Camp composition was flexible. Individuals and families constantly moved in and out, for all sorts of personal reasons.

More recently they have been under pressure from the Tanzanian authorities to settle and grow crops. Some have done so, but many still lead a nomadic life for much of the year. Their movements are now more restricted as a result of the very serious loss of land in recent years.

Every Hadza can live, hunt, and gather wherever he/she chooses, within Hadza country. People are associated with territories they and their close kin mainly use, but they never seek to exclude other Hadza from these regions.

Kinship, marriage, gender, and domestic organization

Hadza treat all other Hadza as kin and address them by kinship terms. They stress the importance of informal mutuality and sharing between kin and reject the notion that kin are bound to each other by ties of authority and dependency, or formally differentiated obligations. Individual choice and personal autonomy are highly respected. Women, like men, usually make their own decisions about who they will marry (with minimal intervention from parents and other kin). Husband and wife each have the right of immediate divorce. Post-marital residence is usually with the wife's mother and sisters; female solidarity is important for a wife in her dealings with a domineering husband. Households of husband, wife, and small children merge into the camp community in most daily activities, including childcare and much of the cooking and eating.

Political organization

Hadza ideology strongly stresses the importance of equality of power, wealth, and status among men. The Hadza differ from their pastoralist neighbors in so far as age differentiation is unimportant to them, and principles of equality apply even between close male kin, including father and son. Leveling mechanisms, the most important being to share and not to accumulate, prevent men from exercising authority or making others dependent on them. There are no chiefs or formal leaders.

Religion

Hadza men and women are differentiated in religious contexts. Men are initiated into an egalitarian community of men which has privileged rights over certain portions of the best meat or most game animals. Initiated men meet on their own and have secrets from women and children. Men are liable to respond violently to perceived encroachment on their secret activities.

Women too have secrets from men. Female circumcision, in which the men have little interest, is organized by the women alone, and is seen as a matter entirely for women. After the operation, the newly circumcised young women chase after and violently attack the men, especially their potential husbands, with specially decorated staves. There are at present some indications that Hadza women may, on their own initiative, soon decide to give up circumcision.

The most important Hadza ritual, the *Epeme* Dance, is a solemn affair carried out in total darkness on moonless nights. The men become sacred beings and dance, one by one, communicating with the women, who sing sacred accompaniment in a special whistling language reserved for this context. The men are secretive about what is going on and sit apart from the women and children. Despite this, the ritual emphasizes the shared interests of men and women, especially as parents of children. This ritual is considered indispensable for Hadza well-being. It may be interpreted as a recurring ceremonial reconciliation of men and women, and indeed all Hadza. Attendance is obligatory for all the camp's dwellers.

Current situation and organization for resistance

The independent post-colonial governments of Tanzania have, for more than thirty years, pursued an assimilationist policy designed to create an integrated, unified country in which ethnic distinctions are reduced. In practice, the focus for this integration has been a sedentary agricultural way of life, which the major population follows. Nomadic pastoralists and particularly nomadic hunter-gatherers have been treated as backward. Efforts are constantly made to persuade them to settle and adopt agriculture.

Either openly or covertly, most Hadza consistently reject this policy. They wish to retain their way of life and modernize according to their own needs. As they constitute a political threat to no one, they do not see why they should be pressed to give up their way of life. Despite government and NGOs, most Hadza are reluctant to remain in government settlements for long. The few Hadza who have completed secondary education are entrapped. The only paid work normally available to them in their region is as government employees, responsible for applying government policies in Hadza country. At times, Hadza have been subjected to strong measures directed by their educated brothers seeking to enforce government policy.

The Hadza currently face three major threats. The first is land loss. Throughout the colonial and

post-colonial eras, governments have treated Hadza hunting lands as unoccupied, and have encouraged agricultural and pastoral peoples to settle on them. The Hadza have lost most of their territory. In 1994, after efforts by Hadza and volunteers working with CUSO, a Canadian NGO committed to land rights issues, some traditional territory was registered as Hadza land, the area around a village settlement in which Hadza constitute the majority. However, they are entitled to, and deserve, an area ten times that which is presently registered. To acquire more government registered land the Hadza face a much more difficult struggle.

The second threat is at least as serious. Most Hadza children of primary school age, as young as six, have been taken from their families and placed in a boarding school on the edge of Hadza country. On the whole, people want education for their children, for the new opportunities that this may afford, and to develop literate advocates to defend against further Hadza losses. Rather than residential schooling, the Hadza want primary day schools locally, in their own settled and nomadic communities. At present, young children away from home most of the year cannot learn properly their subsistence skills, language, or culture.

The third threat lies in the hunting leases and licenses granted by the government to commercial hunting companies on Hadza land. These constitute an overt breach of Hadza land rights and endanger the Hadza's continuing land use, as the Hadza know so well.

Hadza have attended indigenous rights meetings organized by the United Nations in Geneva. However, they have not found it easy to organize themselves and present their common viewpoint. What, then, do they want? They want what other citizens of Tanzania are entitled to. They want to be appreciated as valued citizens, and their way of life considered valuable and worthy, rather than as a curiosity, a primitive relic to be abolished. They want the same primary day schools as other Tanzanians. They want the recognition of their land rights, the right to hunt, and the right to exclude commercial hunters from their territories.

The danger is that they may become a stigmatized, dispossessed, impoverished, landless group of laborers, as has happened, only a few hundred miles away, to the Batwa of Rwanda and Burundi.

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I.IV.6

The Ju/'hoansi of Botswana and Namibia

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Introduction

The Ju/'hoansi, a !Kung-speaking group divided between Botswana and Namibia, are well known ethnographically and to the general public. Famous for their sharing, ecologically adaptive foraging way of life, the Ju/'hoansi have been romanticized in films such as *The Gods must be crazy*, and more realistically portrayed in ethnographic films like John Marshall's *N!ai: the story of a !Kung woman*. Most Ju/'hoansi have lived in close association with blacks and whites since at least 1900. However, in the Dobe area of Botswana and the Nyae Nyae area of Namibia a significant number chose to maintain their foraging way of life into the 1950s and 1960s.

History

Divided between nations, Ju/'hoan colonial history is a study of contrasts: British influences predominate in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Afrikaner culture in the South African-controlled South West Africa (Namibia). Differences in the post-independence national governments (Botswana since 1966 and Namibia since 1990) have continued to divide the Ju/'hoansi, even though the pre-colonial experiences of Ju/'hoan people and their ancestors were quite similar over the whole region. Prior to colonial times they lived relatively isolated lives in small groups, trading wild produce and meat with distant farmer-herders, or, in some cases, performing services for the pastoralists.

Ju/'hoan historical links to the wider African world have been the subject of debate. Were Nyae Nyae and Dobe areas foraging strongholds prehistorically, or did they have mixed subsistence dominated by pastoralism? Historical/archaeological research supports the foraging stronghold view: there is no evidence for non-Ju/'hoansi *occupying the* Nyae Nyae-Dobe area prior to the twentieth century, although the Ju/'hoansi have maintained trading relations with Iron Age neighbors on their periphery for at least 1000 years (Smith and Lee 1997).

Location

Northern Namibia and Botswana, and southern Angola. Nyae Nyae and Dobe area: about 20,000 km^2

Population

Ju/'hoansi population: Nyae Nyae, 1955, about 1000; 1997, about 2000; Dobe, 1965 about 500; 1997, about 800. Total !Kung-speakers: 15,000.

The 1870s arrival of European hunters and traders initiated a brief era of prosperity for the Ju/'hoansi, followed by gradual economic decline as game animals were decimated. Since 1920, when black pastoralists began digging wells for cattle, the Ju/'hoansi and their resources have come under increasing pressure. While even in the 1950s there were fewer than one hundred non-Ju/'hoansi in the Nyae Nyae—Dobe area, Ju/'hoan history in the twentieth century, like that of virtually all Bushman peoples, has been dominated by land dispossession and marginalization.

Ecological setting

Blessed by a number of permanent waters in limestone outcrops, pans, seasonal river courses and springs, the Nyae Nyae and Dobe areas lie in semi-arid savannah about 1100 m above sea level. The region is traversed by parallel sandy dunes running east to west and supporting distinctive edible vegetation. The international border bisects the Aha Hills which provide another economically important micro-environment. Annual rainfall is about 400 mm, mainly in summer (November–March). Winter (May–August) can produce freezing temperatures by night and bitter south winds by day.

Economy

In the past, and to some extent today, Ju/'hoan people have depended on wild plants and animals to feed themselves. The sandy savannah is home to over one hundred edible plant species, dominated by a few highly nutritious staples, like the *mongongo* or *mangetti* nut. Mongongo trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii Schinz*) grow in abundant groves along dunes, producing a delicious nut which is roasted after the purplish fruit is boiled off into edible porridge. Other major foods include the *tsin* or *momma* bean, *baobab* fruit, the *marula* nut, and eight species of *grewia* berries.

47 A group of Ju/'hoansi women socializing while preparing to leave on a day's gathering trip from Dobe, Botswana, winter 1964. Photo: Richard B. Lee.

In the 1960s, detailed studies of the Dobe camp documented the dynamics of hunting and gathering subsistence (Lee and DeVore 1976, Lee 1979). Two-thirds of the diet was vegetable foods gathered by women, confirming women's economic and decision-making power. Meat was of secondary importance, although much desired and the result of great skill, strength, and knowledge. Men hunted up to fifty-five animal species, often assisted in tracking by their wives. In the 1990s, Ju still eat bush foods, gathering at weekends and hunting as allowed by game conservation departments.

The Ju/'hoansi (1960s) had a favorable demographic profile. Although infant mortality was high, those who survived childhood had a reasonable life expectancy (Howell 1979). Overall, the quality of Ju/'hoan life as hunter-gatherers was relatively good. Their diet and level of exercise have been characterized as among the world's healthiest (see Eaton and Eaton, this volume). They had few of the "civilized" world's diseases like cancer, heart disease, arthritis, or high blood pressure. They

suffered mainly from introduced infectious illnesses like tuberculosis.

Thus, Ju/'hoansi contradict the popular belief that hunting and gathering is a risky or unreliable form of existence. Though strenuous at times, the way of life involves plenty of leisure time. For example, Ju/'hoan adults could provide the group's food by working two or three days a week. This led Sahlins (1968) to call Ju/'hoansi and other hunter-gatherers "the original affluent society." They were affluent, however, only when they controlled their environment and way of life.

Settlement patterns

Today as in past times, Ju/'hoan local groups do not have exclusive rights to resources. Instead, groups share access using agreed rules. The frequent visiting and sharing among the different groups smooths out local disparities. Groups related by marriage cooperate, coming together in a given area when there is sufficient food and water, living apart when sources of food and water are scarce and elusive.

Today, despite changes wrought by economic and governmental pressures toward permanent settlement, much of the reliable sharing system remains. When food is brought into camp, it is distributed widely. Many *hxaro* gifts of tools and clothing are given and received among group members, so that an individual can still rely on the community's resources.

48 A group of young adults converse at one of the residential compounds of Baraka, headquarters of the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative, Otjozondjupa district, Namibia, winter 1996. Photo: Richard B. Lee.

Domestic organization

Settlements were small (about 15–50 persons), arranged in a circle of grass dwellings around a central plaza. During winter, people aggregated at larger camps close to permanent water. In summer, they dispersed in smaller groups to occupy seasonal water points. Land was inalienable and was owned collectively by a group of male and female kin. Core composition of local groups tended to be several siblings of both sexes, with their in-marrying spouses. Marriage was important, with most living monogamously. Girls were betrothed young and married in their mid-teens. Divorce, not infrequent, was usually initiated by women. The large majority of Ju settled into permanent unions by their mid-twenties. They are known for their gender egalitarianism. Women's status was based partly on their economic contribution (gathering). Men often joined the wife's family group upon marriage.

Ju kinship is of the Eskimo type (similar to Euro-Americans'), where parents are terminologically distinguished from aunts and uncles, and siblings from first cousins. Relatives are divided roughly by generation into *joking* and *avoidance* relations. Elaborate rules of etiquette apply to each category. One joked with one's own generation and that of grandparents and grandchildren. One avoided one's parents' and children's generations. But the genius stroke of Ju kinship revolves around their well-documented "name relationship" (Marshall 1957). There is a limited repertoire of personal names, about fifty for males, and fifty for females. These are transmitted between generations by strict rules.

There were no surnames until recently. All Ju were named after relatives: first children after grandparents, subsequent children for aunts, uncles, and other kin.

A special relationship obtained between name-takers and namesakes. Regardless of actual relationship, they called one another "Old Name" and "Young Name." Despite their age differences they enjoyed the warmth of the joking relationship. The name relationship was widely applied in social life. Owing to the limited number of personal names and rules of inheritance, the same names were used over and over in different families. A man called ǂoma might, for example, meet up to thirty other ǂomas in his travels around the Dobe—Nyae Nyae area. For each of these the name relation rules applied. This institution remains of vital importance today.

Political organization

Ju/'hoan political ethos abhorred wealth and status differences. No one should stand out from the rest of the group. If someone returned from a successful hunt showing excessive pride, he was put firmly in place, even if the kill was large. Emphasis on sharing and lack of status roles produced a high degree of egalitarianism. These rules, based on living in small groups of kin, worked successfully. Anger and resentment were low as each person's opinion was respected. Conflicts could be terminated by a disputant leaving to join another group.

Ju/'hoan bands used the resources of their own *n!ores*: named, collectively owned territories which provided sufficient annual food and water. Visiting arrangements gave band members access to resources of other *n!ores*, especially useful when rains were spotty and food species appeared unevenly. Hosts expected to pay return visits when other *n!ores* were able to reciprocate. Agreements regarding access to various territories were based on well-known kinship rules.

Equality and sharing remain important. Social techniques like "leveling" hunters help maintain harmony. *N!ore* ownership remains non-exclusive: each has core siblings with the right to share its resources, and the duty to share produce with others. Such stewards ensure a region is not overexploited. However, today Ju say they follow their black neighbors, with "chiefs" and status differences emerging. In response to government demands, *n!ore* ownership is more circumscribed.

Religion and spirituality

Ju/'hoansi have a great god, known as *!Xu, Old G?kao*, or *Kaoha*, who created the earth and all that is in it, including death and evil. This creation includes a supernatural world (parallel to that of the living) populated by spirits of deceased kin. This god has a wife, *Koba*, deities include a lesser god, *G//aoan*, who lives in the western sky, sending misfortune to the living, via their ancestors. The dead follow the doings of the living; they are considered sources of sickness and misfortune.

To counter these forces, Ju healers have access to supernatural power such as *n/om*, magical energy/potency with which Ju/'hoansi can counter malevolent ghosts, heal the sick, and resolve conflicts. When one sings special songs, Ju say, *n/om* comes out. Ju/'hoan ceremonies feature intense, exhilarating, all-night healing dances, where the power of *n/om* heals, protects, and gives well-being. Despite the use of medicinal herbs and some access to antibiotics, Ju/'hoansi treat virtually every illness with the healing dance. Dances also mark general celebration because, as the Ju say, "with food in the camp our hearts are sweet."

Current situation

The pace of change in Ju/'hoan life has accelerated rapidly since the 1950s. Boreholes, tractors, and vehicle transport have impacted both the society and the fragile ecosystem. The growth of inequality, domination by neighbors, and land loss have made life less and less secure. Ju/'hoansi are less confident of their future. Nation-states and other outside forces increasingly control their lives.

Following Botswana's independence in 1966, a store, schools, a clinic, and an airstrip soon appeared in the Dobe area. By the mid-1980s many Ju lived in semi-permanent villages with livestock. Yet Tswana and Herero with large herds dominated the water sources, grazing, and government services. Government drought relief led to further dependency in the 1980s.

Under the South West African administration's "Odendaal" plan for apartheid "homelands" more than 900 Ju/'hoansi were induced to leave their *n!ores* (on Nyae Nyae land), in the 1960s and settle in the administrative center, Tjumlkui. Here a school, clinic, church, jail, and store were built. There was some construction wage labor for men, but the local gatherable resources were soon depleted and the population became government dependents, with crowded conditions, hunger, enforced idleness, public health problems, drinking, and family violence.

When Odendaal had taken 70 percent of their land (late 1970s), Ju/'hoansi began to move back to save their remaining territory. Three groups returned in 1981, and by 1997, thirty-five. Emulating the "Outstation Movement" of Australian Aborigines, the Ju/'hoan communities sought to combine foraging with pastoralism, wage labor and ecotourism. In 1985, John Marshall and Claire Ritchie began a foundation which became the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation of Namibia (NNDFN), with international funding for Ju/'hoan boreholes and cattle herds, and generally assists Ju/'hoansi to counter the disintegration, poverty, and illness which had ravaged their former self-sufficiency.

Ironically, the cattle program had strict limits and some pressures the Ju/'hoansi now face arise from their good environmental stewardship. Cattle-owners look covetously at the unspoiled grasslands of San areas and try to invade with their herds. Despite encroachment, the Nyae Nyae Ju/'hoansi have held part of their land, and in the process have had to reinvent themselves as politicians, nationally and internationally.

Organization for resistance

In the 1970s South Africa recruited Ju/'hoan trackers for the war against the South West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), which eventually liberated Namibia from South African rule. Soldiers' pay and alcohol led to further inequities, drunkenness, and violence among Ju/'hoansi. In 1986 the community started the Ju/wa (Ju/'hoan) Farmers' Union (JFU), signaling their intention to be considered active planners of their own future. Their traditional form of leadership being unknown to outsiders, they used JFU (later NNFC: Nyae Nyae Farmers' Cooperative) to develop leadership and management skills for the new political context. Formalized in 1988, NNFC had two representatives from each community to act on land allocation, cattle, infrastructure, and new *n!ore* applications. With Namibian independence, NNFC accomplished an effective public awareness program in their settlements, about UN Resolution 435, SWAPO's war of liberation, and apartheid South Africa's anti-liberation propaganda. The National Conference on Land Reform (1991) promised special protection to Ju communal land rights and recognized the *n!ore* system as the basis for future land allocation in Nyae Nyae (although yet to be written into law).

As Nyae Nyae people drill boreholes, build stronger kraals against lions and elephants, and expand dryland farming, irrigation, and craftwork, the once-egalitarian communities face the frictions of ceding decision-making to elected representatives, who in turn must find ways to maintain community roots. In 1991, at NNFC's request, a professional orthography and grammar of Ju/'hoansi made possible a growing, community-based indigenous education program, enhancing the prognosis for Ju/'hoan language, culture, land, and human rights.

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I.IV.7

The Mbuti of northern Congo

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Introduction

The Mbuti are Bantu-speaking hunter-gatherers living in the southern part of the Ituri Forest of the northeast part of the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire). They and their Sudanic-speaking neighbors, the Efe and Aka to the north, are probably the best-known hunter-gatherers in central Africa. Ancient Egyptian dynasties called them the "dancers of God," and the "brave elephant hunters." Like other "Pygmy" groups in central Africa, they have kept close contact with Bantu-speakers (Bira and Ndaka cultivators) for at least several centuries. Perhaps, even, they did not live in the forest prior to the introduction of agriculture to the region. The long history of contact with agricultural societies has not, however, resulted in the loss of hunting-gathering lifeways; these have been reinforced by the Mbuti's role in the wider society as forest specialists. In the 1970s when the first research was carried out, the Mbuti in Teturi area spent several months a year in nomadic forest camps, in spite of the increasing prevalence of the monetary economy and other waves of development.

49 An Mbuti camp in the southern part of the Ituri forest. Photo: Mitsuo Ichikawa.

History

In 2600 BC, the Egyptians wrote about a tiny people living in the great forest in the upper Nile, a fact suggesting Mbuti ancestors probably inhabited the forest near the present Congo (Zaire)—Sudan border. The German explorer Georg Schweinfurth "discovered" the Pygmy (calling themselves Aka) in northern Ituri during the nineteenth century. Their "discoverer" also found they had a well-entrenched interdependent relationship with neighboring Mangbetu cultivators. In 1887, Stanley met the Mbuti on the Ituri River, on his way to "rescue" Emin Pasha, who was then isolated in southern Sudan by Mahdists. The area had been occupied by Arab slavers, ivory hunters, and their local dependants, the Maniema. The Mbuti soon became famous as elephant hunters: their first step into the world economy. In the Congo Free State, and during Belgian colonialism, the villagers were forced to collect wild rubber, or to labor in mines and on road construction. The Mbuti helped villagers to meet the rubber quota, hunt for ivories, and provide the forced laborers with forest meat.

Population
At present, about 15,000 Mbuti (excluding Efe) in Mambasa and Beni Districts, and about 850 (1985) in Teturi; about 600 in 1975.

Location
Ituri Forest, northeast Congo (former Zaire); Teturi region: 1500 km^2.

During the Simba (meaning "lion") Rebellion which swept across the area in 1964–5, both government and rebels recruited the Mbuti as forest guides. Some died during operations. Their association with the rebels is remembered by the clan name *Bamasimba* (Simba people) in the southern part of the forest.

Ecological setting

The Ituri Forest is habitat to fourteen primate and fourteen ungulate species, including the prevalent giraffe-like ungulates called *okapis*. The elephants and buffaloes are classified as subspecies of a forest type, while some savannah species like spotted hyenas and Anubis baboons are also found in the forest. The Mbuti select for use from the forest's diverse species, 230 animal species and more than one hundred plants.

The primary forest is dominated by high trees of the Caesalpiniaceae family, and contains scattered patches of secondary growth. There are many light-demanding food trees or escaped crops like oil palms in the secondary forest regenerated from abandoned fields and settlements. These human-derived secondary forest resources are an important ecological component of Mbuti subsistence (Ichikawa 1996). The climate is divided into a rainy season from April to November and a dry season from December to March. The rain falls two out of three days in the rainy season and one out of three in the dry season. The Mbuti mainly stay near villages in the rainy season, working as field hands for the villagers, and hunting and gathering in the nearby forest, sometimes moving to forest camps for intensive net hunting (Harako 1976).

Economy

The most important hunting method is collective net hunting. Hunting nets are made from the inner bark of forest vines called kusa (*Manniophyton fulvum*), and owned by each family. Nets are 1 m high and 30–50 m long. About ten of them are joined together in a large semicircle, toward which the prey is beaten. Men handle the nets and kill the animals entangled in them, whereas women beat the bush and transport the animals to the camp. The major targets are small to medium-sized mammals, forest duikers in particular, which account for 90 percent of the total catch (Tanno 1976). Unlike other hunting methods, net hunting yields a fairly stable catch, often used for commercial meat trading. Traditional hunting with bows is now found mainly in secondary forest lands where arboreal monkeys are shot with poisoned arrows. The Mbuti spear has a large head, 8–10 cm wide and between 35 and 45 cm long. The spear is used for large mammals such as bushpigs, buffaloes, and elephants.

50 An Mbuti man is sharpening a spearhead before going hunting. Photo: Mitsuo Ichikawa.

While hunting is the major subsistence activity, Mbuti obtain more than 60 percent of their food in the form of cassava, plantain, and other agricultural crops from their villager neighbors. These items are exchanged for meat and agricultural labor, or for items foraged in the villagers' abandoned fields. These transactions occur through gift-exchange in the traditional *kpara* patron—client relationship. Direct exchanges of meat or daily-hired labor ("par jour") for agricultural food are also common. Wild vegetables occupy only a minor portion of the Mbuti diet, though some, like *Landolphia* and *Canarium* fruits and *Irvingia* nuts, are highly prized. Mbutis also collect more than thirty species of non-vertebrates and their products. Of these, honey is by far the most important, providing more than 80 percent of calorific intake in the peak honey season.

Settlement, mobility, and land tenure

The Mbuti settlements consist of a semi-sedentary base camp near the *kpara* (patron) village, nomadic hunting camps in the forest, and small camps for collecting honey. The camps are mostly composed of kin-related members of the same band, although two or more bands occasionally form a large joint camp, especially for net hunts. The base camp is located behind the *kpara* villages, 0.5–2 km into the forest, along a hunting path to the interior forest. From five to seven camps are situated along the path at intervals of 3–7 km. During forest hunts, Mbutis move from one camp to another for one or two months, depending on the catch. The hunting path and its surrounding area comprise their hunting territory. While the boundary of a territory is not always clear, people distinguish their territories by saying "we use our own path" (Ichikawa 1978). All band members have free access to the resources in this territory. There is no private ownership of land. Individuals have, however, rights over the natural beehives or termite mounds which they have located and marked.

Domestic organization

The Mbuti hunting camp is composed often to twenty-five semi-spherical, leaf-thatched huts arranged in a circle around the central plaza. Each hut shelters a husband, wife, and offspring. Polygamous families build either more than one hut or a hump-shaped hut of two rooms. Hut residents compose a consumption unit, cooking with its own fire in front of the hut. Men communally eat the meal prepared by their wives at the gathering place (*tele*) in the central plaza, while women and children eat separately at their own family hearth.

Mbuti marriage involves the payment of bridewealth, or the exchange of sisters or other close female relatives. Bridewealth was formerly paid in iron implements or bark cloths; today, in cash. With the Congo/Zairian national economy's soaring inflation, exchange marriages are often preferred to bridewealth; today they account for nearly half of the marriages in some bands. A legitimately married couple usually lives virilocally, which results in the band composition of patrilineally related males and their wives and children. Families are enmeshed in clans with specific clan names and totemic animals avoided by members. Actual band composition is, however, more composite,

with uxorilocal residence, and band fission and fusion (Ichikawa 1978). The kinship terminology is of the Iroquois type, distinguishing cross-cousins from parallel-cousins, though actual terms of address are flexible, often employing namesake relationships, frequent use of Active kin terms, and an indifference to genealogical relationships beyond the first ascending generation.

Political organization

Each band has a spokesperson, the *kapita*, an institution apparently introduced from outside. Until recently, the kapha's role was confined to liaison work with horticultural villagers and regional administrators. Administrative demands, like tax-collection, census taking, and corvée labor services are made through the kapita; if such demands are not met, the kapita is called into the local administrative office. Ironically, kapita authority is acknowledged by other band members, not through privilege, but through recognition of his sufferings on behalf of the community. Internal social relations are regulated mainly through face-to-face interaction, especially in sharing related to labor, food, material culture, bridewealth, and other forms of mutual aid. Decisions concerning the entire band, such as camp movement or selection of hunting grounds, are made in the course of men's gatherings in the *tele*. Here, opinions of the elderly and the experienced are respected. Aged women may sometimes join these discussions; younger women listen quietly from their family hearths. When intolerable conflicts arise, one of the disputants simply moves to another camp to "cool off the head." Injury or other serious cases are submitted to the court in the local village, or to *la gendarmerie* in cases of serious injury or murder.

Religion and spirituality

While forest animals are important sources of food, some of them may cause dreadful diseases and other misfortunes if eaten carelessly. Pregnant women and newborn babies are particularly vulnerable to such dangerous animals, called, as a category, *kuweri*. Eighty percent of the sixty edible mammals are avoided for this reason at least for a part of the life-cycle.

The Mbuti conceptualize the forest as a womb, the most comfortable place to stay before birth; it is, as well, the territory where their ancestors roam. The forest is thus ambivalent: the source of good and evil; the place Mbutis come from before birth, and return to after death (Ichikawa 1996). The forest as such is controlled by *Apakumandura* (literally, "Father of Forest"). In case of prolonged failure in hunting, they perform a singing and dancing ritual, *surya*, for the forest father, saying that "he has closed the forest."

Dancing and singing, for which the Mbuti have been famed since the ancient era, are performed not only for amusement, but also as an essential part of the *rites de passage* like circumcision, girls' puberty, marriages, and funerals. They also communicate with dead ancestors, who cause the living to dance and sing, after people have encountered the ancestors in dreams. Different kinds of songs are associated with different types of subsistence activities, for example songs for net hunting, for elephant hunting and for honey collecting.

Current situation

The commercial meat trade, which began in the 1950s and intensified in the 1970s, has stimulated market-oriented hunting among the Mbuti (Hart 1978). Before this development, Mbutis had links to the external economy only indirectly through their villager patrons. In the meat trade, by contrast, traders from outside the forest visit Mbuti camps and directly transact with the hunters, thus avoiding the traditional *kpara* relationship. Moreover, the newly immigrating Nandes from the eastern hill country introduced new employment ("par jour"), paying the Mbuti in kind on each workday. The kpara relationship has declined as its economic basis of meat and labor has lost its former importance (Ichikawa 1991).

Since the early 1980s when gold dust mining was opened, immigration into the region has accelerated. The villager population in Teturi more than doubled between 1975 and 1985. The Mbuti population also increased by 40 percent during the same period. These population increases have led to deforestation and degradation of the resource base, particularly along the roads connecting the major villages in the area. Under such conditions, some Mbuti have abandoned their former hunting-gathering life, working as wage laborers on plantations, or as forest guides and porters for gold prospectors. Others have themselves begun to prospect for gold dust.

As the Mbuti become increasingly involved in the market economy, they become subject to government taxation; formerly, they were exempted as the *citoyen premier* of the Zairian nation-state. Most Mbuti men in the Teturi area now pay half the tax paid by villagers, and hold their own national identity cards. In addition to tax collectors, there are soldiers and civil servants demanding meat and labor from Mbutis. A major reason for the failure of the sedentarization plan attempted in the 1970s was the flight of Mbutis from officials and government agents.

Lack of organization for resistance

The Mbuti are gradually becoming incorporated into the Zaire/Congo state through taxation, national identity cards, elections, and participation in other national events. They feel such involvement in the state system is a heavy burden. There is as yet little way opened for them to express their ethnic identity, or represent themselves politically in the state system. On the national identity cards, they are classified as part of their villager patrons' grouping, and are considered followers of the chief elected by the settled villagers. Among their Efe neighbors, there is the so-called *Président des Pygmées*, who is said to have been nominated by ex-President Mobutu, and who periodically has attended meetings at the administration center in Mambasa or Bunia, though his authority is not fully acknowledged by the Pygmies themselves. The Mbuti have never had such formal representation in one person. The only form of protest used by Mbutis is to escape into the interior forest, as they did when the government tried to induce them to settle along the major roads.

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I.IV.8

The Mikea of Madagascar

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Introduction

The thin coastal strip of spiny forest in southwestern Madagascar is home to the maritime Vezo, the agropastoralist Masikoro, and the foraging-horticulturalist Mikea. All speak closely related dialects of Malagasy and share a basic cultural pattern, although ethnic identity is linked to economic activity (Astuti 1995). Foraging, pastoralism, agriculture, and fishing form a shifting mosaic of resource use today as market pressures encourage deforestation.

The Mikea respond to environmental and economic pressures by adjusting their mobility, their foraging and non-foraging subsistence activities, economic and social interactions with sedentary neighbors, and their identity as forest-dwelling hunter-gatherers. The term Mikea is used more by people outside the forest than by those so designated.

Villagers and city-dwellers propound mythic stories about the Mikea, said to be diminutive, naked forest-dwellers who avoid direct contact with outsiders and who have no impact on their environment. Others say they are the Vazimba, descendants of the pre-Austronesian inhabitants of Madagascar. There is no evidence for any of these claims.

Population

Stiles (1991) estimates 1500, and Poirier and Dez (1963) give "several hundred" for the 1950s, but the basis of these estimates is unclear. The Mikea population is hard to estimate, since the forest's population varies seasonally, and the designation of "Mikea" is very flexible.

Location

Southwest Madagascar, in the coastal Mikea Forest (Alan'ny Mikea), between the cities of Morombe and Toliary (22°30′15″ to 21°30′30″ S, and 43°15′ to 43°30′15″ W), an area of 2500 km^2. The Mikea may once have extended south to the Fiherenana River. There are early reports of hunter-gatherers living north of the Mangoky River, but these remain unverified (Stiles 1991). Others live west and southwest of Lake *Ihotry*.

History

Madagascar was occupied at least by 400 AD, with the arrival of Austronesian horticulturalists from Indonesia. Evidence of African trade on the north coast dates to 1100 AD. In the following centuries,

Portuguese, Dutch, British, French, and Arabs visited and/or attempted to colonize Madagascar. Indigenous kingdoms, notably the Merina in the highlands and the Sakalava in the west, struggled to dominate it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. British, French, and Merina contested for control until France took the island by force in 1895. Madagascar gained independence in 1960.

The Mikea are not ancient hunter-gatherers, although we do not know when forest foragers appeared. By 1901, the Mikea are mentioned by name, and explicitly described as hunter-gatherers in a French provincial report. Today's Mikea may be the descendants of Masikoro villagers who retreated into the forest to escape Merina and Sakalava, or who fled during the anti-French rebellion in 1947. Other villagers moved into the forest to escape the First Malagasy Republic's (1960–72) heavy taxes. Roads cut through the trackless forest for oil exploration in the 1950s and 1960s may have led to increased forest settlement.

Most Mikea research is based on brief excursions (Birkeli 1936, Dina and Hoerner 1976, Fanony 1986, Stiles 1991). Louis Molet (1958,1966) noted that the Mikea were involved in minor maize cultivation (maize has been present since at least the 1890s), and suggested that they were beginning a shift toward an agricultural lifeway. But the situation he described resembles that of today: Mikea vary their economy (foraging, farming, and wage labor) in response to environmental and market forces.

Ecological setting

The spiny forest is a level region of porous, sandy soil overlying a karstic limestone through which water drains. Combined with an average precipitation of less than 600 mm, this makes surface water limited. The dry, cool season (May–October) forces reliance on water-filled tubers and scarce wells; in the hot, rainy season (November–April), rain is collected in hollowed logs placed beneath house eaves. Temperatures exceed 38° C in the wet season.

51 A Masikoro-Mikea family at a dry season camp, 1993. Photo: Robert L. Kelly.

The dense scrub and vine forest contains open habitat (some created through swidden horticulture), savannah, groves of tall baobabs, sand-dunes, and, in the north (west of Lake Ihotry), saline lakes that shrink and expand seasonally.

Economy

With traps, snares, blowguns, spears, throwing sticks, and slingshots, the Mikea hunt two or three lemur species, feral cats, and rarely wild boar. More important sources of flesh are birds, and especially tenrecs, ranging in size from the 0.4 kg *tambotrika* to the 2–3 kg *trandraka*. The smaller tenrec is caught year-round; it is easily removed with an axe from tree hollows where it estivates during the dry season. The larger tenrec remains deep in its burrow, and is sought primarily in the wet season.

The Mikea also keep a few zebu. These play an important role in ceremonies and kin obligations.

They acquire zebu by guarding the larger herds belonging to Masikoro villagers. Other animals raised by Mikea include dogs (for hunting), goats, chickens, and guinea fowl. Some dogs are used to hunt pigs; others are used in ceremonies, or marketed.

In the dry season, men, women, and children gather tubers (mostly *Dioscorea* spp.). Two of the most important are *babo* (or *baboho*), a long water-gorged tuber usually eaten raw, that in places is the only source of water, and *ovy*, a long, potato-like tuber roasted in coals or boiled in *babo* water. These occur about 75 cm below the surface and are removed with a metal spade-tipped digging stick, *antsoro*, and a hand-sized digging bowl, *kipao*. A small tuber, *tavolo*, grows just below the surface; it is ground, leached, dried, and powdered before (normally) being marketed.

The Mikea eat a variety of other sporadically gathered foods including small, thick-rinded melons, tree nuts and fruits, and small fish (in the northern saline lakes, normally taken with a hook and line). Honey is also important. Some individuals own the rights to particular trees, and honey is an especially important market product.

Small amounts of manioc are grown, but maize horticulture is essential to Mikea subsistence. New maize fields are cut in the dry season, burned in October, planted with maize in November or December, and harvested three months later. The Mikea rely on foraged foods in the dry season, saving surplus maize for the wet season when tubers are no longer available.

52 The market at Vorehe, where Mikea sell forest products, 1995. Photo: Robert L. Kelly.

Much of the maize harvest is sold to traders who process and sell it internationally. The Mikea sell many forest products, including honey, *tambotrika*, guinea fowl, *tavolo* powder, and *ovy*, in weekly markets at Masikoro and Vezo villages. Some also weave and sell mats. Wage labor is another source of cash. In addition to tending villagers' zebu, men are hired to cut forest for villagers' (or other Mikeas') maize fields, or they spend parts of their lives working in villages or Morombe.

Settlement

Some Mikea remain in the forest year-round, moving from their wet-season horticultural hamlets of thirty to fifty people, into dry-season foraging camps which may be smaller. The former consist of widely spaced small, square houses of poles, thatch, and bark occupied for three to five years before being relocated in open areas near virgin forest. Dry-season dwellings, if any, consist of expedient brush shelters or sunshades. Temporary foraging camps are normally located near patches of *babo* (which often do not occur with *ovy*). Wet-season settlements rely on rainfall for water, or transport it by foot or ox-cart from natural or excavated wells.

When not called by wage labor or the maize harvest, some Mikea remain in their wet-season foraging hamlets year-round. Others move into Vezo or Masikoro villages and live with relatives. Conversely, Vezo and Masikoro villagers may move into forest hamlets in the wet season to grow maize.

There are small villages located near the northern saline lakes, where maize and manioc are raised, while fish and birds are taken from the lakes for local use and sale.

Social organization

Mikea share kinship and social organization with neighboring Masikoro and Vezo, including kin terms: *baba* (father), *reny* (mother), *anaka* (offspring), and *dady* (grandparents). Further ascending generations are termed *matoe;* offspring of a son or daughter are called *zafy*.

Forest hamlets and camps consist of an elder male and his wife, their sons, daughters-in-law, unmarried daughters, and grandchildren. Married couples may have several residences, living for a year or more with the husband's or the wife's parents. Families form a group, which may or may not reside together, around a *mpitoka hazomanga*, a lineage "priest," who officiates during ceremonies dedicated to the ancestors.

Mikea practice *fandeo*, a type of engagement in the course of which the young man is presented to the young woman's parents. If they accept him, the marriage is officially recognized. Either spouse may initiate divorce and remarry; there are some cases of polygamy. A man is expected to legitimize his offspring by giving gifts to his wife's parents. The maternal uncle (*renilahy*, "male mother") exerts great influence on his sister's children, and may adopt children not legitimized by their father.

Mikea lineages have members in Masikoro and/or Vezo villages as well. Three lineages are of special importance in the northern, central, and southern parts of the forest. Some Mikea consider particular villages or locales in each of these to be the points of origin of their ancestors. But any individual has relatives who live in Masikoro and/or Vezo villages; others move between these villages and forest hamlets.

An important pole of social organization is a person's identification as Mikea. Here, ethnic affiliation is defined by what a person does, especially how that person acquires food. Vezo are people who "know the sea"; Masikoro are people who live in open areas and grow manioc; Mikea are people who "know the forest." Many of those called Mikea by outsiders are not comfortable with the name, preferring Vezo-Mikea or Masikoro-Mikea.

Political organization

Mikea fall under the same political organization as other Malagasy, but escape censuses and fees by living in the forest. Besides this, little is known of Mikea political organization. Forest camps are generally egalitarian, with authority falling primarily to the eldest male, especially if he belongs to the locally perceived founding lineage.

Religion

There has been no thorough study of Mikea spiritual life. Like other Malagasy, Mikea request aid from their ancestors. They also express belief in *Andrianazanahary* and in creator gods; they have recourse to forest spirits. Throughout the forest there are sacred spots, associated with forest spirits (*koko*). *Ndrianazo* is said to be the spiritual master of the forest. Rum is an important ingredient of religious ceremonies.

In nearly every Mikea lineage group or settlement, at least one person (male or female) is a spirit medium or *ombiasy*. These individuals play important roles in: (1) ceremonies dedicated to the dead, rituals for the ancestors, funerals, blessings, and marriage; (2) the possession cults of *tromba*, a healing ceremony, and *bilo;* (3) daily life, as in spiritual assistance for those hunting or seeking

difficult resources such as honey.

A few *ombiasy are* experienced in the use of *sikidy* oracles (a reading of the patterns laid out in *sikidy* seeds). Such divination may be used to direct the timing of residential movements to the forest (*mihemotse*) and implies a control of nature, or linkage between people and nature. Mikea world-view and religious life reflect their interaction with the forest.

Current situation

Many forest people desire to live in villages and to have the material goods that villagers have, especially good clothing. Yet forest dwellers tend to be exploited by villagers; in the past, for example, a tuber-buying "cartel" fixed the price of tubers that Mikea brought to market.

The Mikea are plagued by high rates of tuberculosis, leprosy, and skin diseases brought on primarily by the scarcity of bathing water. There is only one small medical clinic in Mikea territory, in addition to a few poorly supplied government health workers.

Although few Mikea have them, all rural people are supposed to carry internal passports, a holdover from Madagascar's former socialist regimes, that are stamped as the holder moves between villages. Changes in the national government have not altered overt restrictions on travel, but in reality these affect travel less than do financial considerations.

Most importantly, as elsewhere in Madagascar, the Mikea region is being deforested. A new maize field only produces for three years, after which it is overrun with weeds and more forest is cut. There is no intentional reuse or fallowing of fields; some Mikea deny that the forest ever regenerates. The rate of deforestation is unknown, but is thought to be increasing as the cash market extends outward from Morombe and Toliary. Much of the maize produced is sold to middlemen who process and sell it overseas. Some Mikea are aware that they are deforesting their environment and consequently destroying their source of foraged foods. As the foraged food base disappears so will the dietary diversity that compensates for the deficiencies of an all-maize diet. Through deforestation, both the foraged food base and the maize-producing base will be lost. The Mikea will then have no choice but to move to cities in search of wage labor.

"I'm real Mikea. If I weren't, I wouldn't be living here in the forest."

Karate, a young man, 1993

"There are no real Mikea; but we here, wearing clothes, are Mikea. The real Mikea of before lived only from forest products but now they are cultivators."

Rengomboke, an elder, 1993

"The forest people bring provisions to the village people. If not for the forest people, what would the villagers eat… we cultivate and eat what's in the forest, as city people eat what is found in the city. Don't forget that forest people bring their food to the village people."

A young man, 1994

Organization for resistance

There is no sign of formal resistance to environmental degradation. As we were once told, "You *vazaha* (foreigners) are here to solve that problem." Wells have been drilled at some of the villages along the Toliary-Morombe road that borders the east side of the forest, but these are of limited value to forest people. Few Mikea, if any, can afford the permit that is required to cut down forest (or bribes to officials), and so they proceed without them. It is unlikely that the police would pursue unpermitted forest inhabitants, but the possibility does exist.

The nature of the economy is such that the Mikea have less access to cash than those living in villages. For some, the resulting frustration is expressed symbolically by refusing to be labeled as Mikea.

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I.IV.9

The Okiek of Kenya

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Introduction

The name *Okiek* (*Okiot*—sing.) includes roughly two dozen groups of hunters and honey-gatherers, mostly living in forested highlands in west central Kenya. Local groups also have more specific names, e.g., Kaplelach, Kipsang'any', Kapchepkendi. One group, the Akie, live much further south, around the Maasai Steppe in Tanzania (Kaare 1997, in press). Okiek is also the mother tongue of most Okiek people, a Kalenjin language of the Southern Nilotic group. Several groups (e.g., Digiri, Omotik, and some eastern Mau groups) now speak Maasai as their first language.

53 Naoroy enole Kwonyo, a skilled Okiek potter, making a cooking pot, 1983. Photo: Corinne A. Kratz.

Okiek have often been called Torobbo, Dorobo, Ndorobo, or Wandorobo, all derogatory names deriving from "Il Torobbo," the Maasai term for hunters and poor people without cattle. Torobbo names have also been applied to other hunting peoples in eastern Africa and to Maasai who have lost their cattle, confusing efforts to determine relations among these peoples.

One of Kenya's smallest ethnic groups, Okiek live in local groups dispersed throughout the highlands, typically near one or more other Okiek groups and adjacent to more populous ethnic groups. In some areas these non-Okiek neighbors are Maasai, in others Kipsigis, Nandi, or Kikuyu; many Okieks learn their neighbors' language in addition to their own. Okiek groups thus have distinctive histories of interaction with one another, with their neighbors, and with local government administration. Modes of social organization and linguistic patterns also vary among Okiek groups. This chapter concentrates on two Okiek groups in Narok District, on the western Mau Escarpment: Kaplelach and Kipchornwonek Okiek. Some contrasts with other Okiek groups will be noted. The baseline for description is the mid-1980s.

History

Knowledge of Okiek history before 1900 is limited. Some Okiek, for example the Kipchornwonek, recount short migrations southward in the late 1800s; others, like the Kaplelach, recall no other place of residence. Okiek participated in regional trading networks wherever they lived. Those near Mount

Kenya provided ivory, through middlemen, for early traders.

Population
The total Okiek population is difficult to estimate because national census information combines Okiek with other people who have been called "Dorobo." Okiek live in about two dozen dispersed local groups of about 600–900 people each.

Location
Most Okiek live in forested highlands in west central Kenya (Mau Escarpment, Tindiret area, highlands north of Nakuru). A few groups live on savannah plains near Maasai. One group, the Akie, live in Tanzania near the Maasai Steppe.

Colonial administration affected Okiek groups in very different ways. Between the 1920s and 1940s, many northern Okiek lost land to colonial game and forest reserves, and to European settlement. Some returned home repeatedly, despite being removed to other areas (Huntingford 1929). Further south, in a different district, Kaplelach and Kipchornwonek retained their land. Initially they had limited direct government interaction, but felt colonial policies directed at their neighbors. Colonial treaties in 1904 and 1911 moved their Maasai neighbors. Okiek groups gradually diversified their economy, adding agriculture and/or herding after about 1930. The timing and history of these changes varied among Okiek groups, in response to specific regional and government relations.

Huntingford first published extended descriptions of Okiek life in articles on Kipkururek and Kapchepkendi north of Nakuru (1929, 1954). Blackburn's later research in 1968–9 produced articles on Okiek on the Mau Escarpment (1976, 1982). Field research by Kratz on Kaplelach and Kipchornwonek is the most extensive to date (1981, 1994). Recently, Marshall studied ethnoarchaeology with Piik aap Oom (1994).

Ecological setting

The western Mau Escarpment where Kaplelach, Kipchornwonek, and several other Okiek groups live is a forested slope, roughly 66 km long, rising in altitude from 1800 to 2800 m. Okiek recognize five altitudinally related ecological zones. Ranging from open bush forest below 2100 m (*soyua*) to high, dense bamboo forest between 2400 and 2600 m (*sisiyuet*), each zone is distinguished by its most common plant and animal species. Zones have different honey-producing species and honey seasons which have determined Okiek patterns of mobility.

South and east of the escarpment stretch savannah plains where pastoral Maasai live. Agropastoralist Kipsigis and Nandi live in open, rolling hills to the escarpment's west and north.

Settlement patterns, economy, and land tenure

Until recent land reforms, Kaplelach and Kipchornwonek divided land into lineage-owned tracts (*konoito*) stretching along the escarpment slope. Tracts transected four or five ecological zones,

giving families access to honey during each season. Some Okiek, e.g., Piik aap Oom, had similar arrangements based on clan membership.

54 Kishoyian and Sanare leboo climbing a tree in pursuit of wild honey. Kishoyian is blowing bees from a comb before handing it down to Sanare, 1985. Photo: Corinne A. Kratz.

Okiek moved to different forest zones according to three main honey seasons, sometimes moving within zones. They hunted animals available where honey was ripe. Residence groups were small extended families, patrilineal cores that might be joined by affines and matrilateral relatives. Six to ten adjacent lineages constituted a named local group, a significant unit of cultural identity and history, though not associated with unique rights.

Making beehives, collecting honey, and hunting were all considered men's work. Honey was eaten, stored for future use, brewed into beer, traded, and sold. The animals hunted once included bushbuck, buffalo, elephant, duiker, hyrax, bongo, and giant forest hog (the most common quarry). Okiek hunted with dogs, bows and arrows, spears, and clubs, using poison for buffalo and elephant. Men also set traps. Women's work included processing and cooking food, building traditional houses, maintaining firewood and water supplies, most childcare, and making leather bags, straps, and, at one time, clothing. Unlike many other hunter-gatherers, Okiek gathered little plant food; they relied on a diet of meat and honey, supplemented by traded grains. With abundant rain and rich volcanic soil on the escarpment, few plants require the large tubers, nuts, and meaty fruits so important to hunter-gatherer diets in drier areas.

Kipchornwonek and Kaplelach began diversifying their hunting and honey-gathering life in parallel ways, ten to fifteen years apart. Kipchornwonek planted small millet gardens in the late 1930s–1940s; Kaplelach began later with maize. Initially, this made little difference in their living patterns. Over the next twenty years, however, agriculture became more important. Okiek began to settle more permanently in mid-altitude forest and to keep their few domestic animals at home. During these decades, men continued to hunt and collect honey regularly, traveling out from these settlements.

Kenya legislated general land demarcation in 1969. Before that, a group-owned ranch policy was developed for Maasai-dominated districts. Located in Narok District, Kaplelach and Kipchornwonek land was included, though their forests differ from semi-arid Maasai grasslands. Group-ranch demarcation began in the 1970s, crossing lineage land boundaries, incorporating non-Okiek into some groups, and registering some Okiek land to individuals who had never lived there. The highest forests became forest reserves. In the 1980s, Okiek began subdividing group-ranches into individually owned plots. Settlement patterns shifted again as people moved to live on their own land. Subdivision enables individuals to sell or lease land; most have done so, attracting many settlers from other parts of Kenya.

Domestic organization, kinship, marriage, and gender

For Kaplelach and Kipchornwonek, patrilineages are central in land holding and residence, legal matters, inheritance, and marriage arrangement. Matrilateral and affinal relations are important for

ceremonial occasions, in some residential and work groups, and in emotional terms. For some Okiek groups, for example the Kapchepkendi, patricians define social life and land rights more than patrilineages.

Until the late 1980s, lineage representatives arranged most Kipchornwonek and Kaplelach marriages. Women married soon after initiation into adulthood, at about age sixteen, living with the husband's family; men usually married in their twenties. Families arranged marriages during visits to the bride's family, discussing the match and bridewealth property given by the groom's family (today an average of six or seven cows). Elopement—not always successful—was one alternative to arranged marriage. Recently, more young Okiek have refused arranged marriages, instead eloping or delaying marriage. These shifts are related to demographic and economic changes in the area.

Household labor is allocated largely by gender and age. Division of forest-related labor was discussed above; agricultural work such as planting, weeding, and harvesting can be done by men and women alike. Men do most heavy garden clearing and manage family herds. Children help with farming, domestic work, and tending herds. Wives in polygynous families have their own houses and fields.

Political organization

As discussed above, lineages, clans, and local groups are the main sociopolitical units of daily Okiek life above the household level. Further units are the age-sets, named cohorts of men, all initiated into adulthood within a specified period of time, usually at age fourteen. Age-sets create relationships of friendship and respect among members, crosscutting relations defined by lineage and clan. Women have no separate age-sets, but become associated with male age-sets through relatives.

Political and legal matters are discussed in meetings of men. Depending on the issue, gatherings involve men from one lineage, several lineages, or a large neighborhood. All adult men have the right to attend and speak at meetings, though older men often speak more extensively. Women were traditionally excluded from formal councils; they recently began to attend some meetings called by government officers. Okiek had no ranked political offices until a few individuals became government officers. An Okiot assistant chief was first appointed among Kipchornwonek and Kaplelach in the late 1970s.

Religion and aesthetics

Okiek believe in a beneficent god (*Torooret* or *Asiista*) and ancestor spirits who can bring misfortune if they are forgotten or if wrongs are committed. Major Okiek ceremonies celebrate stages of social maturation: a head-shaving ceremony where a child receives a new name; an ear-piercing ceremony at age twelve to fourteen (now rarely practiced); and initiation into adulthood. Performed around age fifteen, initiation is composed of four ceremonies. The first is the most important, elaborate, and dramatic ceremony (Kratz 1994). Boys and girls are both initiated, though separately. Gender-specific secrets and appropriate adult behavior are taught during initiation seclusion. Other Okiek ceremonies concern peace-making, marriage, and pouring libations to ancestor spirits.

Christian missionary activity is relatively recent in Kaplelach and Kipchornwonek areas, quickening after 1980 with the influx of new settlers who purchased land. Churches have had greater

influence on Kipchornwonek. Other Okiek groups have had longer involvements with Christian churches.

Okiek artistry produces a rich range of verbal art, oratory, and song as well as diverse material objects. Beaded personal ornament, made by women and worn by men and women, is among their most aesthetically striking creations (Klumpp and Kratz 1993). Okiek women also make tightly woven baskets and a variety of rouletted ceramics. Men's craftsmanship centers on weapons and tools, though they once fashioned bangles, animal ornaments, and snuff and tobacco containers from wood, horn, and ivory. On ceremonial occasions, young Okiek now paint and decorate houses elaborately.

Current situation

The first primary school opened in the Kipchornwonek area in 1978; schools in the Kaplelach area followed in the early 1980s. Prior to this, children had to leave home to attend school. Schools are poorly equipped, but general attendance has increased since the late 1980s. A handful of Okiek from these areas have now gone to secondary school, a few continuing to trade school or university. Other Okiek groups, for example Maresionik, had earlier involvement in schooling.

The increase in Kipchornwonek and Kaplelach schools has gone hand in hand with the establishment of small trading centers and the planning and building of roads. Government services for agriculture, livestock, and development usually follow these changes. Some Okiek have taken up small-scale trading or opened kiosks. New settlers in these areas have given impetus in all of these developments.

Within five years of purchasing Kipchornwonek and Kaplelach land, which began about 1980, buyers started to settle and clear their new farms. The process began among Kipchornwonek; in some cases they helped Kaplelach find clients. Many buyers were Kipsigis people from further west, though Okiek in other areas sold land to Kikuyu. By 1990, the forests were severely reduced. Once virtually alone in the forests, Okiek were outnumbered by settlers by three or four to one.

"If you see these forests in future, phuuu! They will be lost."

Kirutari araap Meitukut, February 1985.

"Any Kipsigis [buyer] that comes, I usually tell them, 'Aya, so you've come now to buy your children a farm. And my own? Where will they go? There is no other place [left]. The high forest there has become forest reserve. Where indeed will we still go to ourselves?'…Do the children know now that the money of the land has been eaten? A very big argument is coming."

Laato enole Leboo, September 1993.

Many land sales are technically illegal, made before group-ranches were divided (in 1994 some ranches still were not divided). Many sales were at ridiculously low prices, before Okiek learned about the market value of their land. Many Okiek sold land without knowing how much ranch land division would bring them. The future is sure to bring protracted disputes and severe land shortage for the Okiek.

Okiek have used some income from land sales to build tin-roofed houses, to invest in small businesses, and to satisfy household needs and clothing. Much of the income, received in small installments, has been spent on liquor. The amount of drinking has skyrocketed, especially among Okiek men; in Kipchornwonek areas, church influence tempered alcoholism to some extent in the 1990s.

Other Okiek groups are in different situations, having lost their territory during colonial times, and have been involved in the land struggle for decades. Again, in 1990, Okiek were chased from their homes in what had become the Southwest Mau Nature Reserve. Various government settlement schemes have been implemented or promised, but many Okiek have found no resolution to their land problems.

Organization for resistance

Kaplelach and Kipchornwonek have yet to take community action to arrest land sales and forest clearing in their areas. In theory, individual Okiek women could protest with government offices to prevent their husbands from selling more land, but in practice this is difficult to do. On several occasions in the 1990s, Nairobi newspapers reported that elders from Okiek groups near Nakuru had protested about delayed settlement schemes and distribution of their settlement land to non-Okiek, even marching to State House. There is no organized resistance at a pan-Okiek level yet, though in the mid-1990s some Okiek from that area formed an organization to work for community and land rights.

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Film

No commercial or educational films have been made about Okiek. C. Kratz has deposited raw Super 8 footage from her research with Kaplelach and Kipchornwonek Okiek in the Human Studies Film Archives at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History.

I.IV.10

The Tyua of Northeastern Botswana and Western Zimbabwe

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Introduction

The Tyua (Tshwa, Shua) of northeastern Botswana and western Zimbabwe are foragers and former foragers, now largely agropastoralists and wage laborers. Sometimes called River Bushmen or Black Basarwa, the Tyua are Central Bush-, or Khoi-speaking. They are divided into many named groups (e.g., Danisan, /Taise, //Gwaochu). Tyua have had longstanding associations with Bantu-speakers.

History

Judging from archaeological evidence, the Tyua interacted extensively with non-Khoisan populations in the northern Kalahari for some 1500–2000 years. These interactions were complex. They ranged from trading meat, salt, and palm leaves with Iron Age populations, to working for them as specialized hunters, herders, and field hands. A century ago, Tyua were known as superb hunting guides; some served as professional elephant hunters for African and European hunting parties. The Tyua were involved in a complicated patron—client system for generations. They provided goods and services to other groups in exchange for food, clothing, ammunition, and protection.

In Zimbabwe, the establishment of Wankie Game Reserve (now Hwange National Park) led to the removal of indigenous Tyua in 1929. Sizeable numbers were arrested and jailed by government authorities for supposedly poaching in the game reserve. Some of the removed Tyuas worked for Ndebele cattle owners. Others retreated into the remote borderlands between Botswana and Zimbabwe, where foraging continued.

Population
About 6500 in Botswana and 1000 in Zimbabwe.

Location
Scattered across the northern and northeastern Kalahari Desert of Botswana and western Zimbabwe, from Ngamiland in the west to Central (Ngwato) District, Botswana, to Bulalima-Mangwe and Tsholotsho Districts, Zimbabwe.

In the 1940s, many Botswana Tyua were rounded up by Ngwato and British Protectorate police,

and forcibly resettled following the disappearance, and presumed murder by Ganade Tyua of two Royal Air Force pilots. A large-scale commercial cattle operation was established on the former Tyua land, by the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC). Some Tyua worked as herders and domestics on CDC ranches. One Tyua recalled, "We were forced to depend on other people, or to eat grass, because they took away our land and our weapons."

Early Tyua research was done by Dornan (1917), and survey studies were carried out in Ngwato District in the 1930s (e.g., Joyce 1938), as a response to charges of slavery and mistreatment. Tyua languages were studied in the 1960s by Ernst Weshphal of South Africa. The University of New Mexico Kalahari Project's interdisciplinary studies began in the 1970s (Cashdan 1977, 1986, Hitchcock 1988, 1995). The 1980s and 1990s saw Tyua research conducted from the University of Botswana (e.g., Gadibolae 1985). Development-related research has been done by the Remote Area Development Project and other units of the Botswana government.

Environment

Gently undulating sandy plains bisected by east—west trending fixed dunes and drainages mark the northern Kalahari. Vegetation varies from riverine gallery forest (along the Nata and other seasonal rivers) to open savannah grasslands, interspersed occasionally with stands of *mopane* (*Colophospermum mopane*). Important topographical features include pans: shallow elliptical or circular depressions that hold water after rain, and the Makgadikgadi Pans, a huge drainage basin of saline flats surrounded by scarps and extinct beach ridges. Regional climate is semi-arid, with highly variable (in both time and space) precipitation from 200 to 700 mm, averaging 415 mm annually.

55 Tyua men meeting and discussing land rights issues. Tyua have institutionalized leaders who have authority to make decisions. The leadership position is passed down patrilineally (i.e. through the male line). Photo take by Robert K. Hitchcock, November 1976, Manxotae, Nata River region, Central District, Botswana.

Habitat change and hunting have made inroads on a number of faunal species (especially elephant and rhinoceros) and larger predators. Migratory herds (like wildebeest and zebra) have declined as a result of veterinary cordon fencing and of bush encroachment resulting partly from overgrazing by current domestic livestock.

Economy

Most Tyua households have diverse subsistence. Food and income are derived from foraging, food production, exchange and wage work. Many floral and faunal species are exploited: more than eight-three plants, fifty-two mammals, eighteen birds, seven reptiles, eight insects and three fishes. Ninety percent of 1970s Tyua households grew crops (maize, sorghum, millet, beans, and melons). More than half surveyed had some domestic livestock.

Game laws have affected Tyua hunting practices and household security. Faunal legislation by

colonial governments in both countries made hunter-gatherers' hunting illegal. Colonial and post-colonial governments set aside conservation lands, further limiting Tyua resource access. In 1979, Botswana established a special game license for subsistence hunters, but Tyua and others continued to face arrest and sometimes mistreatment by game scouts and police. Tyua consequently diversified their economy, shifting to fishing, agriculture, and pastoralism, or joining the migratory labor of southern Africa.

Most Tyua now reside in scattered homesteads or small villages of from ten to 120 persons. Population growth is relatively high (2.5 to 3.2 percent per annum). Completed family size is the highest for the Khoisan groups (from four to ten children). Infant mortality is also relatively high (200–300/1000 births), partly owing to gastroenteritis and malaria.

"Our lives depend mostly on meat, and the laws have kept us from eating. I believe that when Cod created man, he provided wild animals to be the food of the Masarwa. The Bamangwato depend on their cattle to provide their food. The Kalanga depend on their crops. White people live on money, bread and sugar. These are the traditional foods of these groups of people, so it can be seen that the law is against us, the Masarwa, because it has prevented us from eating. The people who made the law knew they were depriving us of our food. If we raise cattle, we cannot do it as well as the Bamangwato. We cannot raise crops like the Kalanga. We cannot make money like the white people do. These are the ways of other people. The tradition that God gave us, the Masarwa, is to eat meat. Meat is our life. Small animals to us are not important; we eat kudu, duiker, steenbok and birds every morning. What we really care about is *big* animals. These are our food. They are what we care about. Depriving us of meat is depriving us of life, and the tradition that God gave us."

Mmiseng Debe, Segoro, Botswana

Settlement patterns, mobility, and land tenure

Tyua resided in small villages or camps (many located near water sources or, during the rains, near pans), from which they ranged in logistically organized task groups: women gathering plants and men hunting. Sizeable groups of men sometimes mounted long-distance expeditions, with donkeys, horses, and dogs. After dispatching game they would send back to the settlement for everybody to come to assist in the preparation (smoking, drying) and transport of the carcasses. They made biltong (jerky) which was taken back to their camps.

Compared to other desert-dwelling Khoisan, Tyua were relatively territorial. Rights to land and resources like baobab trees were passed from one generation to the next, either patrilineally or bilaterally. Territories were modest (200–400 km^2). *//Kaiha* (headmen/women with long-standing occupancy and use) as "owners" could award land and resource use rights. Such rights were usual, although disputes could occur in stress times, as during drought.

Domestic organization

Kinship and marriage systems resemble those of Khoisan groups residing in and around the Okavango Delta, the Caprivi Strip of Namibia, southwestern Angola and southern Zambia, and the /Gui and

//Gana in the central Kalahari. Cross- and parallel-cousins are distinguished, with reported preference for marrying parallel-cousins. Marrying early, Tyuas are generally monogamous, though polygyny is higher than among other Khoisans.

The groom's family makes payment (meat, skins, other goods) to the bride's family. Prospective grooms should engage in bride-service for the bride's father: hunting, cutting poles, and so on. Post-marriage residence is generally virilocal, although there has been great variation. Children tend to receive grandparent names; today, father's first name is adopted as surname.

An unusual feature is the division of Tyua into totemic groups (Dornan 1917:53, Cashdan 1986:157–8,168–70), which were exogamous and entailed food taboos concerning totemic species. This possibly provided fictive kin links with other persons and their respective resources.

56 Tyua woman pounding sorghum in a wooden mortar. Tyua women work for other people, mainly Kalanga and Ngwato, in the fields and as domestic labor, for which they are paid in kind, usually grain. 1976. Photo: Robert K. Hitchcock.

Political organization

The Tyua were more tightly organized than other Khoisan peoples, with recognized leaders with some decision-making authority in matters involving land and resource management, and subsequent conflict and dispute resolution. Outsiders seeking resources, workers for development and other projects, dealt with these traditional leaders. Division of labor was by age and sex, with some occupational specialization, including hunt leaders (*dzimba*), and others engaged in metalworking and craft production.

Religion and spirituality

The Tyua have a rich, complex spiritual and religious life. Traditional healers, *cho k'ao*, cure ills and perform ritual acts by various means (e.g., using medicinal herbs, trance dancing, and divination). Healers are respected and sometimes feared for their interactions with the spirit world and the use of what some call "magic." The healers, locally regarded as traditional doctors, may go into trance during lengthy nocturnal dancing and healing sessions. They supply information and spiritual guidance to youths engaged in rites of passage at puberty.

Youths, and sometime young women apprentice to *cho k'ao*. Over a ten-year period they learn to contact spirits and heal sickness. They receive goods and money for service. Tyua doctors are also approached by foreign patients interested to locate sources of bewitchment or to have spells cast. Tyua doctors do well, some accumulating goat and cattle herds, and occasionally motor vehicles.

Tyua have a god with both male and female forms. God made heaven and earth and all the species, including the Tyua. One respects God by managing land and resources carefully, and treating Tyua and non-Tyua alike with kindness. Some Tyua are members of Christian (especially Protestant) congregations. Yet the majority have an eclectic attitude to the spiritual life. They seek help, spiritual and otherwise, wherever they can find it.

Current situation

Like many in southern Africa, the Tyua have faced major challenges. They lost much land to others, both blacks and whites. The 1895 international boundary between today's Botswana and Zimbabwe divided Tyua families. Both countries changed land holding from communal to individual freehold in the twentieth century. Many Tyua were dispossessed from lands they had held for centuries, and were forced into "tribal areas" where they were subject to the authority of others, primarily the Ngwato, Kalanga, and Ndebele.

While Tyuas have long participated in multi-tiered sociopolitical structures, twentieth-century events have seen their position at the bottom of the hierarchy institutionalized. Tyua land and resource rights have not been recognized by colonial or later governments. Dispossessed, they sell their labor as herders, field hands, and domestic servants; others become dependent upon the state for food and short-term employment.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Tyuas participated in the Zimbabwean war of independence; some were killed, many imprisoned. Yet, after independence and black majority rule, dissent broke out in Matabeleland, where most Zimbabwe Tyua live, with forces opposed to Robert Mugabe's government attacking villages where leaders, including Tyua, were captured and disappeared. Subsequently dispatched government troops were reportedly repressive of villagers as well. Many Tyua disappeared. It is believed that they were killed and that their bodies were either buried or thrown down the old mineshafts that dot the area. Some escaped to Botswana. Tyua refugees returning to Zimbabwe were placed in strategic hamlets modeled after those of recent decades in Vietnam and Guatemala.

In Botswana, Tyua saw some of their land allocated to non-local people in the form of leasehold ranches (the Nata Ranches) and large-scale agricultural plots (notably in Pandametenga). In the area east of Nata Village, the 236 km^2 Nata Sanctuary was established to protect habitats supporting wild fauna and birds, especially flamingos and pelicans which feed and breed here. Within the Sanctuary's boundaries lie the salt beds which were essential to Tyua domestic and exchange purposes for centuries. Thus they have lost access to a major source of income, and without compensation.

There have been some positive developments. Western Zimbabwe's Tyua have participated in community-based natural resource management projects and live in two areas where CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources) is being implemented. Here, NGOs like the Zimbabwe Trust, and grants from organizations like USAID, have enabled Tyua and their neighbors to participate in training and capacity-building activities. They have benefited from some of the rural development projects funded by returns from safari hunting and tourism. A number of Tyua women have been able to supplement their income with handicraft sales to tourists and marketing organizations.

Roads and water points have been expanded on both sides of the border. New industries, like the Sua Soda Ash operation in the northern part of Sua Pan, employ Tyuas. Botswana has established schools, health posts, and some help to enhance rural industries and agricultural activities.

Organization for resistance

Tyua have fought hard in the 1990s for land and resource rights recognition, before both district and national institutions such as land boards, though the issues are still not resolved. They have sought

help from San advocacy groups like Kgeikani Kweni (First People of the Kalahari); they have set up grassroots organizations to diversify incomes and improve nutrition and health. It remains to be seen whether or not the Tyua will successfully bring about legal recognition of their rights. There is no question, however, that the Tyua people are strongly committed to social justice, equity, and democratic participation.

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I.V SOUTH ASIA

I.V.1

Introduction: South Asia

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This section of the Encyclopedia introduces seven forest-living groups of South Asia: Birhor and Chenchu of central India; Nayaka, Paliyan, and Hill Pandaram of south India; Wanniyala-aetto (Veddahs) of Sri Lanka; and the Andamanese Ongee of the Bay of Bengal. These studies have not been collated before, although Richard Fox, in a brief article (1969), compared several groups (Birhor, Chenchu, Kadar, and Veddahs), relying on early twentieth-century literature. The entries in the present section, with the exception of the Chenchu data, are based largely on fieldwork conducted since the 1960s: Paliyan in 1962 and 1978 (and more recently by C. Nordström of Stockholm University); Pandaram during 1972–3; Birhor during 1971–76 (for fourteen months), and by B. J. Williams prior to 1968; Nayaka during 1978–9 and 1989; Andamanese Ongee during 1983–4, and by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1906–8 (1952 [1922]); and, most lengthily, the Wanniyala-aetto, on and off between 1975 and 1995 (see also Seligman and Seligman 1911). The Chenchu, studied by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (1943), are described by Mark Turin, who is researching Fürer-Haimendorf's field diaries, letters, and vast photographic archive.

These peoples, often as local clusters of communities, are locally encapsulated and integrated in the wider society. We are not clear about the extent of overarching racial and linguistic links between them. Possibly there are close links between the southern Paliyan and Pandaram (Peter Gardner, pers. comm.). Cross-continental links between the groups are yet to be explored (notably, upon visiting the southern Nayaka in 1951, Fürer-Haimendorf noted how much they reminded him of the central Chenchu [1952:20]). There are, of course, other "hunter-gatherers" in the South Asia ethnographic region who are not presented in this section. These include Jenu-Kurumba (Demmer 1997), Irula (Zvelebil 1988), Cholanaicken (Bhanu 1982a,b, 1992), Yanadi (Raghaviah 1962) and Kadar (Ehrenfels 1952). The Jarwa and the Sentinelese of the Andaman Islands, hostile to outsiders, have not yet been studied.

The seven South Asian groups presented here can be considered a regional class of hunter-gatherers. It is hoped that ethnographers will cooperatively explore issues of common interest to advance our understanding of this region.

These South Asian communities are generally small. As estimated by the Census of India (1981), and by ethnographers (at the time of study), population figures vary from a low figure of 350 for the Andamanese, to 1400 for the Nayaka, 2000 each for Chenchu, Hill Pandaram, and Wanniyala-aetto, 3300 for Paliyan, and 5950 for Birhor. Unless otherwise indicated, information is drawn from the

chapters in this section of the present volume. Altogether these forest communities number fewer than 20,000, and constitute, however inaccurate the estimates, a tiny fraction of the over 1.1 billion inhabitants of South Asia.

Their distinct existence does not arise from isolation, except for the Jarwas and the Sentinelese of the Andaman Islands who remain resistant to contact attempts; rather, these hunter-gatherers live within close reach of agricultural villages and large urban centers of great antiquity. Nayakas live about 70 km from Mysore, while Paliyans can see the old city of Madurai from some of their camps. With the exception of the Wanniyala-aetto and the Andamanese, these peoples live in the midst of Hindu civilization, which by common estimates dates to the third millennium BC. Forest communities had been part of the early Dravidian kingdoms at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era. Royalties were levied on minor forest produce gathered by foragers, especially exotic spices, highly prized goods in international trade with Europe (Morris 1982). Centuries-old pilgrimage sites stand in the midst of these peoples' habitats. Paliyans and Chenchus have traditionally guided pilgrims to such sites (Paliyans, even, officiate as hereditary guardians of a certain forest temple [Gardner 1982]). Nayakas and Birhors officiate as magico-religious experts for surrounding Hindu villagers. Some minor forest produce, like soapnut, is industrially processed, and forest communities are drawn into trading networks reaching major Indian manufacturing centers. Such considerable proximity to, and integration within, a developed civilization is perhaps exceptional among hunter-gatherers. One might argue that only now are Australian and North American foraging peoples becoming similarly "hunter-gatherers in nation-states."

Map 10 Hunter-gatherers in South Asia

It is within an ancient and highly developed civilization that South Asian forest communities have continuously engaged in "hunting and gathering." Andamanese, Birhor, Pandaram, and Wanniyala-aetto have engaged in hunting more extensively than Nayaka, Chenchu, and Paliyan, who have concentrated more on gathering, fishing, and collecting honey (although the former peoples also engaged in these activities). Pandaram and Wanniyala-aetto have adopted muzzle-loading guns and shot-guns; Birhor have used nets, mainly to hunt monkeys. Wild yam (*Dioscorea*) has been commonly gathered by these communities. Honey has been a sought-after resource for consumption and sale, its procurement being regulated, socially and ritually, as much as, and in some cases more than, hunting itself.

Hunting and gathering have constituted the fixed core of a mode of subsistence which has been highly fluid. These communities (*contra* wishes fed by our own ideological fascination with that elusive creature: "the contemporary *and* pure hunter-gatherer") do not exclusively subsist on resources from the wild, and, as far as we can know, probably have not done so for a long time (Morris 1982, Morrison and Junker forthcoming). The possible exceptions are the Jarwas and Sentinelese of the Andaman Islands, of whom, owing to their hostility towards outsiders, little is known. In common, these peoples have traded now and then in minor forest produce and have provided forest-related services to neighbors and forest contractors of all sorts. The Wanniyala-aetto and Birhor have regularly practiced shifting cultivation in combination with hunting and gathering.

During the past few decades, Nayakas, Paliyans, and Chenchus have sporadically engaged in plantation work, and Pandarams have taken up wage labor for the Forestry Department. Andamanese Ongees have in recent years worked on coconut plantations introduced by the Department of Welfare.

Conversely, many of the "scheduled tribes of India" nominally agriculturalists (Singh 1994) are forest dwellers who at least seasonally "hunt and gather." Many of these peoples possess a quality of social relations and spiritual-sentient attitudes toward the forests that are similar to those of peoples normally classified as "hunter-gatherers." Features of their way of life are much like those of peoples included in this volume, yet they are excluded from consideration because they also practice subsistence activities like shifting agriculture or animal husbandry. The degree of overlap between domesticative and foraging activities is considerable in the forests of South Asia.

In light of this situation, in what sense are the South Asia forest communities included here "hunter-gatherers" in any meaningful sense? The question is pertinent to communities classed as "hunter-gatherers" generally—namely to most if not all the ethnic populations discussed in this encyclopedia. These South Asian cases do bring the question to a head because of the extent of their regional integration. Richard Fox (1969) argued that these are peoples who specialized economically in the collection and trade of minor forest produce within the Hindu caste structure. Their nucleated social organization, he suggested, is an adaptation to the trade. Furthermore, he argued, they hunt and gather only because of this "professional" occupation, which requires them to live in the forest. In his view, they are "professional primitives," not "hunter-gatherers." More recent ethnography exposes this argument to review, and does not support it.

We should not let the section-by-section organization of these studies—from "ecological setting" and "economy," through "social organization," to "religion and spirituality"—delude us. These are analytically dissected aspects (by our own schemes of things) of a holistic phenomenon, namely a total life-form. We should consider that whole entity and, before we pursue the question of whether these communities are "hunter-gatherers," prefigure how these peoples generally relate to, and engage with, their environment, and how hunting-gathering, and other pursuits, fit into *their* schemes of things.

Although the writers use their own favored terms, their presentations reveal commonalities in the indigenous understandings of the world, and especially in peoples' relationships with the forest. In common, these peoples powerfully identify with the forest, within and with which they live. They appear to perceive what we regard as natural objects—the forest, hills, stones, etc.—as neighboring moral agents and, in a certain (local) sense, as relatives and kin. They keep close contact with these "other-than-human persons," to borrow Hallowell's phrase (1960), and with their dead relatives, seeing the two classes as closely connected and even merged. The Nayaka, Pandaram, and Paliyan are particularly concerned with mountain and hill beings (Morris 1981, Gardner 1991, Bird-David 1996). The Chenchu, and also the Nayaka, relate specially to stones. The Ongee are specially concerned with wind spirits, and spirits of such phenomena as earthquakes, thunder, rainbows, and storms which signal the winds' departure and arrival (Pandya 1993). The Nayaka, Pandaram, and Chenchu engage with neighbors' deities as well, especially local minor Hindu deities. The Wanniyala-aetto honor additionally heroes/heroines and great hunters of the past. Generally, both predecessors and other-than-human persons are benign in the eyes of these peoples, while souls of persons who died accidentally, or who were not buried properly, are malevolent. It is commonly believed that the latter roam in the forest harming people until they are helped properly into the

afterlife.

These forest communities *share their lives* with the predecessors and other-than-human beings in "neighboring" time and space. They commonly view their continuity and well-being as contingent upon such relations, neglect of which leads to disease and other mishaps. Health and well-being require communication with the spiritual realm, and the healing of such relationships. Spirit-possession is a practice associated with this goal. Typically, it involves frequent, spontaneous, and informal conversation with the spirits. Ongee and Chenchu additionally diagnose dreams; Ongee, Nayaka, Paliyan, and Chenchu also use divinatory means of various sorts. Exceptionally, Chenchu practice black magic, which the other groups do not appear to do, perhaps owing to greater assimilation of Hindu practices.

The principal ceremonial activities in all these groups involve socializing with the other-than-human beings. Feasts in which (among other activities) people sing and dance with, and for, these beings, thanking and requesting them for help, are common. It is in these ceremonies, I suggest, that a sense of collective identity is produced and reproduced: an identity woven from relationships with fellow-humans *and* forest-beings. The fabric of communal life, as much as the reproduction of a distinctive identity, is embedded in sustaining intimacy with the forest and its beings.

This intimacy is sustained also by the living arrangements that are common among these peoples. They live in small encampments (two to ten huts), dispersed or, in the Andamanese case, in a circle, at least at some points in the annual cycle; there are shifts between styles of abode, related to season and/or work opportunities. Each hut, at this point, has the forest as well as other huts as its direct "neighbors." No fence, or other form of separation, is inserted between huts and the surrounding forest. The physical abode itself appears to lack symbolic value, with the possible exception of the Ongee, who at a certain time of the year live in permanent clan huts containing up to twenty sleeping platforms. Often enough, the hut is flimsily built—just a grass-thatched lean-to. Domestic life is frequently carried out in the open, outside the hut, even when a hut is built more solidly. Nayaka and Paliyan, and perhaps some of the other peoples too, frequently sleep in the open air beside their fires, except during the rainy season.

Attachment, not to particular abodes within the forest but to the forest itself, is further promoted by their mobility. These South Asian peoples move from place to place, the frequency ranging from weekly in the Pandaram forest encampments, through every four weeks in the Birhor case, seasonally among the Ongee, and up to every year or so among the Nayaka and the Wanniyala-aetto. The people closely engage with multiple and shifting places in the forest.

It is the persistent engagement with the forest that these South Asian communities hold dear, namely the freedom to live and move in the forest, not only to hunt and gather there but also to communicate with the place itself. They seem easily to adopt diverse subsistence pursuits, voluntarily in many cases. At the same time, they strongly resist expulsion from the forest and relocation to fixed and substantial abodes. Wanniyala-aetto, when forced out of their forest, claimed at the United Nations in Geneva "the right to maintain their lives as '*forest beings*'; the right to formal recognition as a people and a culture, located back in the forest they call home" (Stegeborn, this volume, who helped to broadcast their plea internationally). The Birhor and Pandaram resisted attempts to sedentarize them away from the forest; many Pandaram leased out plots they were given and returned to the forest. When the Paliyan, Pandaram, and Ongee have been provided with permanent housing by government and welfare agents, most of them have moved back to forest huts, the Ongee using the

provided dwellings of wood and tin for storage. The Birhor have preferred to remain in the forest, even though it has been depleted by outside exploiters. They have supplemented their livelihood with increased provision of forest-related magico-ritual services to surrounding peasant villagers. The Paliyan sometimes move closer to the fringes of the forest and of Tamil society, but these are oscillations, movements from and back to forest life (Gardner 1985). Persistent engagement with the forest is critical to Paliyan because it reproduces their sense of kinship with the forest, the place which is an integral part of their being, which reproduces their sense of distinct identity, and their communal life. Gathering and hunting compose only one of the means by which their persistent engagement with the forest is achieved.

The identification with the forest is expressed by their names—both names given by outsiders, and their own names for themselves. As the following case studies indicate, Chenchu possibly means "a person who lives under a Chettu (tree)"; Birhor means "jungle man"; the name by which those we call Veddah call themselves, is Wanniyala-aetto (forest-beings). In the South Asianist discourse, these communities are mostly referred to as "forest communities" (forest people or forest tribes). This term finely captures their sense of themselves and does not raise as many questions as the term "hunter-gatherers."

We ought also to pay brief attention to the analytical category "hunter-gatherers" in order to determine whether or not this term can correctly be applied to these peoples. In sociocultural anthropology, "hunter-gatherer" serves as a signifier/signified for a contemporary referent, certain contemporary ethnic minorities who are aggregatively designated by this label for certain analytical purposes. The term entered common usage in the wake of the "notorious" symposium "Man the Hunter" (Lee and DeVore 1968). The symposium was animated by the question of whether, and to what extent, such peoples give a window, however opaque, on the life of hunting-gathering populations of the Palaeolithic past. Cultural ecology provided the general approach taken, with assumptions, and efforts to demonstrate from fieldwork data, that hunting-gathering *qua* "technical means of adaptation" brings about a certain way of life. The development of this approach, and this objective, led to the practices of hunting and gathering, in and of themselves, becoming the critical facet in the set of meanings attached to the ways of life associated with "hunter-gatherers."

Ethnographic research among contemporary referents grew in scope, depth, and quantity. The ethnographers who originally presented cases in *Man the hunter* further analyzed them from broader perspectives. Subsequent generations of ethnographers introduced new cases into the class. The peoples under study—who continued leading their contemporary lives—themselves underwent changes, which threw new light on their lifeways. General paradigmatic shifts in sociocultural anthropology demoted the cultural ecological approach from its earlier centrality and opened the door to other approaches. The meanings attached to the sociocultural category "hunter-gatherers" underwent changes in this process.

The ethnographic work, starting with the research presented in *Man the hunter*, has increasingly shown that the referents, the ethnic groups designated "hunter-gatherers," commonly have a distinctive mode of sociality, a fluid "band" organization. (This mode was seen in the 1960s-70s, however, mostly as the dependent variable, the independent one being "hunting-gathering" [Bird-David 1994].) This mode involves (among other things) valuing simultaneously individual autonomy and social relatedness (see the Pintupi case study, this volume; also Myers 1986, Ingold, this volume). The relatedness is maintained (among other means) by resource-sharing and what Alan Barnard called

universal kinship (1981). These peoples' perceptions of the world later drew scholarly attention. It has become apparent that, commonly, these societies do not critically split between "culture" and "nature," between the human and non-human worlds (see Ingold 1996, Bird-David 1992). It also became clear—once the genre's constraints associated with the culture-ecological approach loosened—that these groups can easily adopt additional subsistence pursuits, and just as easily drop them again—from one day to the next even. It appeared that what is more deeply seated and far slower to change is how they relate to each other, to themselves as a people, and to the world (see, for instance, case studies in this volume on the Cree, Iukagir, Hadza, and Ju'/hoansi, and Tanner 1979).

In the course of thirty years discursive usage, the category "hunter-gatherer" has thus acquired a broader set of meanings, a gestalt which includes: engagement with the natural environment (by hunting-gathering and other means); a certain mode of sociality; and a kind of environmental perception and ideology. The pursuit of hunting and gathering in and of itself—let alone its pursuit in exclusion of other activities—must not, and cannot, any longer be the crucial criterion for membership in the category of classification.

I have already discussed above these South Asian peoples' engagement with the forest, which clearly conforms to the type, and I turn now to their mode of sociality. As the case studies show, the South Asian groups are egalitarian, and lack formal authority structure, except for the Chenchu who, while "intensely democratic," now have a council of tribal elders. Individuals officiate as ritual experts (shamans, healers, or priests), but this role carries little influence and few if any special rights in other spheres of life. Gender equality is pronounced in everyday life, but for the Chenchu, described by Turin as "patriarchal." In all the other cases, women take an important part in family and campsite decision-making. Domestic work, including child care, is commonly shared. Among the Paliyan, women even enter into trance and officiate as "shamans," the way men do.

The autonomy of the individual and the independence of nuclear families are commonly valued, while organization beyond the family shows a great variety. Southern Indian peoples like the Paliyan, Pandaram, and Nayaka are bilateral, with a bilocal or neolocal residence after marriage. The Ongee are bilateral and bilocal too (with initial post-nuptial residence being matrilocal until the birth of the first child). By contrast, central Indian groups like the Chenchu and Birhor are patrilineal and patrilocal; the Wanniyala-aetto are bilateral, with patrilocal marriage and family/place names passing through the matriline. The Chenchu and Birhor, furthermore, are organized into clans—though the nuclear family in the Birhor case is still independent: a son upon his marriage is allowed to form a "minimal lineage of his own" (Adhikar case study below). The ties which are most enduring and consequential in each case greatly vary: sibling, affinal, and conjugal ties respectively among the Birhor, Paliyan, and Nayaka. Marriage patterns vary too: preferred patrilateral marriage, cross-cousin marriage, sister and daughter exchange marriage respectively among the Wanniyala-aetto, Chenchu, and Birhor, yet spontaneous marriages among the southern groups, the Paliyan, Pandaram, and Nayaka. This diversity does not obscure the common emphasis which is placed upon the autonomy of individuals and families in all these groups. The diversity may reflect varied local influences (or, perhaps—it must not be ruled out—our own habitual attempt to force what may be a fluid reality into such fixed organizational types).

Aside from the nature of interfamily organizational structure, researchers find that these peoples value resource-sharing, although variations show themselves here too. The Ongee, every evening, place all the food they gather and hunt in a central place; each then picks up what he or she needs

(Pandya 1993:18). Nayakas, on the other hand, routinely share large game, which is divided equally between families, by quality of meat and weight, and taking into consideration the size of the family, including adult and young members. Nayakas share other things when requested to, to reaffirm relatedness and mutual care (Bird-David 1994). Pandarams share any game, large or small, but men take the choicest morsels, and usually get larger portions of meat than women; younger children must often take the leftovers (Morris 1982:103).

All in all, if we view the life-form of these South Asian communities as a whole, and the category "hunter-gatherers" as an analytical construct of our own, the South Asian "forest communities" can be regarded as "hunter-gatherers" as much as other so-considered communities are—while, obviously, having particularities to be explored. The important question becomes: how have they socially reproduced their distinctive cultures, under these conditions of deep integration into a developed economy and society?

Richard Fox's argument that they are "professional primitives," who hunt and gather only because they live in the forest for their trade, privileges the wider economy to the exclusion of the local economic and social consensus. The situation is more complex. The outside demand which has arisen for the goods providable by these groups has tended to safeguard ecological niches within which the peoples can lead their lives, at once integrated into and separated from the broader system. From the outsider's perspective the forest dwellers appear as the providers of these required goods. From the insider's perspective, people engage with the forest (living and moving in it) in the course of collecting minor forest produce for sale and consumption. In the course of these practices they reproduce their forest-related identity and community.

Moreover, the regional milieu (Hinduism in most cases) is animistic in its own ways, and can encompass the forest communities' animistic ideas. As described by Fuller (1992), in popular Hinduism devotees sometimes worship stones, metal pots, and natural phenomena, including rivers and certain animals, in addition to sculpted images and pictures. Popular Hindu worship (*puja*) entails undressing, bathing, and decorating icons; entertaining them by music and dances; and offering them (among other things) food, half-coconuts, water, and lit incense sticks. Icons are commonly regarded by Hindu devotees as both containers *of* the deities' powers, and deities in themselves. Even spirit-possession is practiced in some Hindu contexts: non-Brahmin ritual specialists may become possessed by lesser Hindu deities. The forest communities' ways of engaging with the forest, the hills, and the stones gently merge at the borders with these Hindu practices, providing scope for different and compatible interpretations. The forest communities effortlessly read their own meanings into popular Hindu practices, which they adopt or participate in, while "taming" them to their own schemes. The Nayaka do what, on the face of it, appears as making *puja* to hill-beings and predecessors, but they themselves see it as sharing with, and not entering a state of humility to service, these beings (Bird-David 1996). The Hindu neighbors, meanwhile, equally easily read their meanings into the forest communities' practices. The Paliyans' austere forest life is seen by their Tamil neighbors as a path to purity (Gardner 1982). The regional and local perspectives do not clash, and can be co-reproduced, although they do not converge.

It is the Western-oriented perspective that, in affecting recent regional policy and action, has brought great pressure into the life of the South Asian forest communities. By the occidental scheme of things, their hunting-gathering "is" the lowest rung of a developmental ladder (progressing from nomadic life based on hunting-gathering, through settled life based on agriculture, to urban life based

on manufacture, commerce, and industry). These peoples' material standards and practices are seen as examples of "poverty," backwardness, and a sore in the eye of a "modern" nation. The forest peoples' animistic notions are read as devoid of enlightenment, as evidence of blind superstition and ignorance, if not cognitive deficiency. Attempts have accordingly been made to "help them develop," usually into a settled agricultural modernity (by giving them permanent housing, plots of land, seeds, and instruction). Regional "development" in the form of new plantations, roads, dams, and national parks and reserves in some cases have exerted more pressure, distancing these peoples from their forest habitat and habitus. Perhaps new models that are in the making in North America and Australia, through emergent dialogues between the "hunter-gatherers" and the dominant Euro-American populations, can change the models that influence the "development" work of governments and NGOs in South Asia. Or perhaps, better still, South Asia will find its own authentic ways of dealing with the forest communities, as it, by its own efforts, becomes "modern" in its own ways, in continuity with its own traditions.

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I.V.2

Archaeology of South Asian hunters and gatherers

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In South Asia, humans and their ancestors have made a living by gathering and hunting for perhaps as long as 2 million and certainly as long as half a million years. This long record incorporates a significant degree of diversity in lifestyles through time and across space. Pleistocene and earlier inhabitants of South Asia (the subcontinent and island that today includes India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Sri Lanka) lived in a sparsely populated world of hunter-gatherers. Holocene hunter-gatherers, by contrast, had to co-exist with agriculturalists, and later with pastoralists, states, armies, and traders. Thus, the later archaeological record of South Asia is a record of integration between hunter-gatherers and others, including a certain fluidity in subsistence practices so that the same people may have at different times hunted and gathered for their own subsistence and trade; grown food or commodity crops in their own garden plots; worked for a wage; or paid tribute to distant kings.

The Lower and Middle Palaeolithic

The British Archaeological Mission to Pakistan has presented controversial new evidence for very early hominid occupation of South Asia. This is based on the discovery of flaked stone artifacts from the Potwar Plateau dating back 2 million years. This debate may be resolved by ongoing work on the chronology of *Homoerectus* finds across Asia. However, most of mainland South Asia was certainly occupied during the Lower Palaeolithic, a period falling within the Middle Pleistocene or about 500,000 to 50,000 before the present. Climatic conditions during this period were broadly similar to those of today. Excavated sites include rock shelters such as Adamgarh Hill and Bhimbefka, a series of sites containing artifacts spanning the Lower Palaeolithic to the Mesolithic. Lower Palaeolithic tools at Bhimbetka, as elsewhere, are made of locally available raw materials and consist of Acheulian assemblages dominated by flake tools. Lower Palaeolithic open-air sites include those in the Hunsgi Valley in southern India and the Madras coastal sites (a continuous spread of artifacts over tens of square kilometers). These coastal assemblages include many finished artifacts and represent continuous reuse of, and movement over, a large region.

The Middle Palaeolithic falls during the Upper Pleistocene, approximately 40,000 to 17,000 years BP, a period of increasing regional diversity in stone tool forms, which was also a more humid climatic phase in parts of the subcontinent; settlement seems to have expanded accordingly.

Technologically, Middle Palaeolithic stone tools show more complex reduction techniques and an increasing use of higher-quality lithic raw materials. During the Middle Palaeolithic, sites are again located all across mainland South Asia, but in this period there is also good evidence for occupation of Sri Lanka by fully modern *Homo sapiens* at the sites of Batadombalena and Fa Hien Cave (*c*. 31,000 BP). Specialized sites such as the factory sites of the Rohri Hills in Sind (used as late as the first millennium BC) are also known, indicating specialized procurement of high-quality flint. Large workshops covering several hectares and containing thousands of finished tools as well as flaking debris are also found near Bhimbetka.

The Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic

Although the categories Lower and Middle Palaeolithic fit South Asian data reasonably well, Eurocentric categories have been resisted by many researchers, particularly in light of the difficulty of defining an Upper Palaeolithic period matching that of Europe. In 1961, participants in an international conference agreed to adopt the terms Early, Middle, and Late Stone Ages, corresponding to Lower and Middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic in the European scheme. Since then, however, Upper Palaeolithic blade and burin assemblages have been identified in India. The presence of this blade-based lithic technology (blades are long, straight-sided flakes), stratigraphically superimposed over flake-based Middle Palaeolithic tools, prompted archaeologists to revert to the older terminology. In any case, the new terms had only been partially adopted, with the term Microlithic often used in place of Late Stone Age. Hence there remains a confusing and inconsistent use of terminology. Coupled with a scarcity of absolute dates, this situation leads one to suggest caution since the same term may be used to refer, for example, to either a time period, a lithic technology, or both.

Map 11 Archaeological sites in South Asia

The recently defined Upper Palaeolithic begins around the end of the Middle Pleistocene humid phase and extends into a major dry period. Upper Palaeolithic sites include Bhimbetka, where the stone tools include short, thin blades along with “older” tool forms made on flakes. At Renigunta, stone tools are accompanied by some bone tools. Batadombalena, in Sri Lanka, dates to about 28,000 BR Although this date falls within the period defined as Upper Palaeolithic, Batadombalena has a microlithic stone tool industry. Microliths are small tools made out of blades, usually blades that have been snapped into several pieces. Clearly, blade tools and microliths are closely related technologically. This distinction is important, however, in understanding the confusion over the Mesolithic period (below), and illustrates why there has been resistance to using European categories that create a sharp break between Palaeolithic and Mesolithic.

The elaborate bone artifacts and other mobilary and parietal (occurring on natural walls) art of the European Upper Palaeolithic have no parallel in South Asia. This is not to say that decorative artifacts are absent: in stratified gravel deposits of the Belan valley, G. R. Sharma and colleagues have identified an Upper Palaeolithic stratum containing blade tools and what they call a “mother

goddess" figurine, although others have described this object as a bone harpoon. There is also good evidence for production and use of non-lithic artifacts, including ornaments. At a site in western India, Sheila Mishra and the Archaeological Survey of India have located an Upper Palaeolithic ostrich eggshell bead manufacturing site containing beads in various stages of the manufacturing process. Drills of chalcedony and carnelian were also found, as were microlithic stone tools. Other specialized sites include Baghor I, where a feature hypothesized to be a shrine has been dated to the late Upper Palaeolithic.

Mesolithic/microlithic: hunter-gatherers in a changing world

The Mesolithic is used here to refer to a time period that begins with the Holocene, about 10,000 years ago. The term *microlithic* is sometimes used as a synonym for Mesolithic, but will here refer only to a form of stone tool technology. This distinction is important because *microlithic* sites evince a very broad range of dates and need not belong to the Mesolithic. In fact, a large number of the sites that have been identified as Mesolithic seem to have been produced by small-scale groups of microlith-using people who gathered and hunted, but who also maintained close relationships with non-hunter-gatherers.

The Early Holocene: diverging ways of making a living

The Early Holocene was marked by world-wide climatic changes. In India, the aridity of the Upper Palaeolithic ended; pollen data from western India show a climate slightly wetter and more favorable than that of today. Lakes in Rajasthan that are now saline were freshwater, but the typical monsoon pattern with seasonal dry periods continued. In this period, the earliest part of the Mesolithic, there were still no agricultural communities and we see a continuation of (but a greater diversity in) hunting and gathering ways of life. The Mesolithic also saw the expansion of occupation into new areas and a large increase in the number of sites, probably reflecting larger regional populations.

Microliths, many formed into geometric shapes, were made from small blades, mass produced by the pressure flaking technique. These geometric microliths (some of them amazingly small) were probably hafted to form sophisticated composite tools with multiple small blades that could be repaired or replaced as needed. Across South Asia, stone tools show significant regional differences in size, shape, and raw material, pointing to the increasing differentiation of strategies and traditions of those living in this part of the world. Occupied environments range from dry to humid. This range is certainly reflected in material culture. At several sites we see grinding stones for the first time, as well as doughnut-shaped ground stones that may have been used as digging stick weights. Pottery also appears in some Early Holocene contexts, replacing or supplementing less bulky containers such as baskets or woven bags.

Although we know little about how people made a living during the various Palaeolithic periods, it is at least clear that South Asians were mobile gatherers and hunters. In the Holocene, some hunter-gatherers were sedentary, particularly along the southern coasts where they engaged in fishing as well as gathering and hunting terrestrial game. Elsewhere, seasonal mobility continued. The Mesolithic levels at Baghor II, for example, date to between 8600 and 7600 BC and were repeatedly occupied on a semi-permanent basis. Many of the cave and rock shelter sites of central and western India

(Bagor, Langhnaj, Adamgarh, Bhimbetka) were occupied seasonally, some filling with blown sand in the dry season. Both Adamgarh and Bhimbetka contain bones of domesticated animals, suggesting that they were occupied by people not totally dependent upon wild taxa (see below). There has been little work devoted to reconstructing patterns of mobility, but it is interesting that some Mesolithic sites contain stone floors, and at Sarai Nahar Rai there was a floor of rammed burnt clay nodules. Some rock shelters contain small walls, and possibly huts, suggesting a more long-term occupation of or investment in these locations.

The Holocene also saw an explosion of rock art in South Asia. The various caves of Bhimbetka contain thousands of paintings. The early paintings are more naturalistic, while later ones are more abstract. Common themes include animals and gathering and hunting scenes. Rock art has only recently become a popular topic of enquiry in South Asia and we can expect much more scholarship on this material in the future.

The Mesolithic continues into the period of initial plant and animal domestication. Agriculture changed the conditions of life quite dramatically for some people, less so for others, but no group remained fully outside the changes brought about by this shift. It is useful to think of the process of domestication as a mosaic; the earliest domesticates are found in the northwest where, at the site of Mehrgarh, agriculture based on wheat and barley was present by the seventh millennium BC. In west/central India, domesticates were well established by the sixth-fifth millennia, in north/central India cultivation of barley (and later rice) by the fifth millennium, and in the south millet-based agriculture by the third millennium BC. Further, the sequence of subsistence change was different in different places. For example, at Bagor, hunting and gathering gave way to a way of life based largely on animal husbandry; this must be seen in the context of a region also inhabited by agriculturalists. In short, the variability of Mesolithic sites shows us that while some people were subsisting entirely by hunting and gathering, others were also keeping domestic animals, planting some crops, and/or trading with village agriculturalists and (by the third millennium BC) urban dwellers.

Hunting and gathering in a larger world

If one considers microlithic sites from all time periods, it is clear that much of this material represents the remains of small-scale communities who were very much a part of the larger economic, ecological, and political contexts of their day. Sites include the rock shelter of Langhnaj, dating to *c*. 2000 BC. In the middle levels of the site, amid microlithic stone tools, excavators found a copper knife, probably obtained in trade from the Harappans of Gujarat. Similarly, Phase II deposits from Bagor contained Harappan-style copper arrowheads as well as handmade pottery and stone beads. There is abundant evidence of trade by such small-scale groups with nearby agricultural communities, including the urban Harappans, a situation which prompted Possehl to suggest that the urban site of Lothal was located to take advantage of the specialized procurement of raw materials by hunter-gatherers for manufacture by urban artisans (Possehl 1976).

In addition to metal and ceramics, hunter-gatherers obtained domestic plants and animals from their agricultural neighbors. Bones of domestic Indian cattle (*Bos indicus*) are found at Adamgarh, Sarai Nahar Rai, Bagor, and other Mesolithic sites from about 5000 BC onward, as are domestic sheep, goats, and pigs. At Tilwara, pig bones came from both domestic pigs and wild boar, suggesting both animal husbandry and hunting. Microlithic Bagor has a faunal assemblage containing some 65

percent sheep, interpreted as reflecting a pastoral way of life.

Unfortunately, archaeological sites from later periods are less well studied than earlier ones and there are at present no reliable links between contemporary hunting and gathering groups and specific archaeological sites. The identification of specific ethnic groups is simply not possible before the advent of written records and then only with relatively recent ones. Early texts do, however, mention gathering and hunting groups. Among the earliest deciphered written texts in India are inscriptions commissioned by the Mauryan emperor, Ashoka, in the third century BC. These inscriptions note the presence of undefeated forest tribes on the borders of the Mauryan empire in east/central India. Similarly, early historic Sangam poetry of the far south describes different ecological zones and their inhabitants. Mountains are said to be the abode of hunters, and lower elevation forests and brush lands the home of herding peoples and dry farmers. Hunters and herders are said to share religious beliefs but to maintain rather strained relationships.

Later inscriptional records from south India make references to hill peoples and note their role in the specialized procurement of forest products such as honey and medicinal and aromatic plants. Other historical data from southwestern India indicate that some gathering and hunting peoples had regular relationships of obligation to lowland kings, supplying them with tribute in the form of forest products, including elephants. Beginning around the sixteenth century AD, there was an expansion of the international trade in spices, particularly black pepper from southwest India. The demand for both cultivated and wild products of the western forests, combined with expansion of agriculturalists into the foothills of the western mountains, may have increasingly forced gatherers and hunters into marginal economic and social positions in this expanding world economy.

The degree to which ethnographically and historically known hunter-gatherers of the South Asian mainland and Sri Lanka are integrated into the economies, polities, and religious practices of their agricultural neighbors has prompted many anthropologists and historians to view them as economic specialists. Richard Fox, for example, referred to South Asian hunter-gatherers as "professional primitives," in recognition of their integration into the larger society. This recognition should not, however, be taken to mean that South Asian hunter-gatherers are somehow not "real." Instead, we might recognize that diversity and flexibility in lifestyle and subsistence have been features of South Asian life for a very long time, and that gathering and hunting have been (and still are) important parts of this broad economic repertoire. Archaeology will probably never provide a direct link between material remains and specific contemporary peoples who, among other things, hunt and gather, but there is certainly the promise that archaeologists will begin to focus on more recent time periods and thus round out our rather sketchy vision of the long-term histories of South Asian gatherers and hunters.

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I.V.3

The Andaman Islanders of the Bay of Bengal

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Introduction

Prior to colonization (1789–1947), the 348 tropical Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal were home to thirteen groups of hunter-gatherers: Chariar, Tabo, Yere, Kora, Kede, Kol, Juwai, Bojigyab, Jarwa, Bea, Balwa, Sentinelese, and Ongee. All thirteen possessed distinct territories and languages. Their cultures are believed to have an affinity with those of Orang Asli peoples of insular Southeast Asia. Andamanese origins remain a subject of scholarly speculation. During British colonial occupation, many foragers were relocated in administrative camps ("Andaman Homes") with the aim of pacifying their opposition to the newcomers, and saving them from physical extinction. Only four of the thirteen groups have survived: Ongee of Little Andaman Island, Sentinelese of North Sentinel Island, Jarwa of Middle Andaman, and the Great Andamanese resettled on Strait Island. The Jarwa and Sentinelese persist in a life totally dependent on foraging. They resist administrative efforts of the Government of India to appropriate land and introduce social welfare programs.

History

The region's rapid trade wind changes, monsoons, and coral reefs caused many shipwrecks during the trade and commerce of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Shipwreck survivors were generally killed by the Andamanese. To establish a safe harbor for their ships, the invading British attempted repeatedly to pacify the islanders. In 1859, they established a penal settlement on Middle Andaman for Indian freedom fighters; the location was chosen for defensive features: both insular isolation and Andamanese hostility. Over time, the Great Andamanese, who occupied the forests around Port Blair, were pacified. Beginning to cooperate with British authorities, they helped recapture escaped convicts.

Population
1800, about 3575; 1901, about 1895; 1990, about 300–400.

Location
The 348 islands have a land mass of 8293 km^2, located in the Bay of Bengal, Republic of India, from 9° 30′ to 14° 20′ N, and from 92° to 94° E.

By 1875, when these peoples were perilously close to extinction, the Andaman cultures came

under scientific scrutiny. After 1879, Andaman cultures were subject to British-directed documentation, particularly by linguistic and physical anthropologists. In 1888, “friendly relations” were established with Ongees through organized gift-giving contacts. Today the islands fall within the Union Territory of India. Jarwas and Sentinelese continue to resist outsider contact. Those who encroach on the Jarwa reserve forests are met with extreme hostility and violence. As recently as 1985–92, government contacts have been initiated with Jarwas and Sentinelese through gift-giving, a contact procedure much like that carried out during British rule.

57 An Ongee woman of Little Andaman Island, her body freshly painted with clay designs. Photo: Vishvajit Pandya.

58 Jarwas of Middle Andaman Island collecting gifts brought to them by an Indian administration contact party. Photo: Vishvajit Pandya.

Since Indian independence (1947), socioeconomic and development plans for the islands, the immigrants, and native islanders have been implemented. The extant Andamanese fall under a government administration which faces the dilemma of determining the changes to be effected in the tribal outlook and way of life. The “acculturated” Great Andamanese are the most dependent on goverment. They are the smallest group, with practically no memory of their language and traditions. The Ongee, a relatively larger group, confined to reserves, are experiencing a transition to greater dependence on outside goods and culture. The Jarwa and Sentinelese have largely refused overtures to welfare dependency.

Environment and population

Eighty percent of the land mass supports tropical forest. The northern and central islands are hilly; the southern are surrounded by offshore coral reefs. Southern islands are criss-crossed by tidal creeks. Recently, increasing numbers of settlers from mainland India, urbanization, forest clearance, and diverse land use have diminished dramatically the amount of forest available for foraging. Some forest regions are designated as restricted tribal reserves protected by “bush police.” Historically, the intrusion of outsiders and their infections (measles, ophthalmia, and venereal diseases) directly contributed to population decline and the disproportionate sex ratio (in favor of males). The 1983 population figures show 157,552 settlers and 269 Andamanese. (These census figures were accurate only for the nine Great Andamanese and the ninety-eight Ongees.)

Settlement pattern

Seasonal translocation conforms to hunting and gathering patterns. During the relatively dry season (October—February) simple thatched lean-to huts for four or more families are set up in a circle near

the coast. Separate huts for unmarried males and newly-weds do not form part of the residential circle. During the monsoon season (May—September), the Andamanese disperse into the forest to hunt pigs and gather honey, fruit, and tubers. Violent rainstorms make it impossible to hunt turtles and dugongs or to fish at that season. The forest camps, while similar to those on the coast, house fewer people. As the wet season ends, families move to their clan's thatched, circular hut (diameter 5–7 m) which shelters fifteen to twenty sleeping platforms. While clan huts are permanent, and maintained by male clansmen, other dwellings are temporary, being dismantled prior to seasonal moves. The government administration supplies the Great Andamanese and Ongees with wood and tin housing which the Ongees find uncomfortable and use for storage.

Economy

Throughout the year people depend upon gathering turtle eggs, honey, yams, larvae, jackfruit, wild citrus fruit, berries, and other items. Coconut plantations were introduced in 1958 among the Ongees. Ongee coconut labor is paid (by welfare) in food rations and industrial products, which increasingly replace forest goods. The Great Andamanese forage only occasionally, receiving monthly welfare allowances, and wages in citrus plantations.

In the different languages, "fish" and "food" are the same word. Coastal fishers are active year-round; they use bows and arrows, while standing in knee-deep water at low tide. Fish, crabs, and shellfish are taken from the islands' creeks with hand nets. The northern groups formerly caught sea turtles in large nets. Ongees paddle out to sea in outrigger dugout canoes to hunt sea turtles and dugongs with harpoons. During the wet season pigs are hunted in the forest with bows, and arrows with detachable heads. Dogs, introduced in 1850, are the only domestic animal. They are occasionally used to track pigs.

Traditional internal exchange was conducted between bands known as pig hunters (forest dwellers) and turtle hunters (coastal dwellers). The pig hunter band exchanged clay paint, ceramic clay, honey, bow and arrow wood, canoe logs and betel nuts for the turtle hunters' metal (gathered along the shore), shells for ornaments, ropes and string, and edible wild lime. The bands took turns hosting exchange ceremonies. External trade included honey, shells, bird-nests, and ambergris, for which they received clothing, metal implements, and cosmetics. During British rule this external trade saw the entry of opium and liquor into the northern islands. The Ongees say their ancestors traveled by canoe to Port Blair to exchange with other Andamanese and obtain British tobacco.

Territories were held by specific bands. In the north and middle regions, people had frequently to cross one another's lands. Such travelers were obliged to behave as guests; in return, the territory owners were obliged to behave as cordial hosts. This fostered mutual interdependence and interregional sharing of production and consumption.

Kinship and family

The present low population and the limited information available from the Northern and Middle Andamans has limited comprehensive kinship documentation. Early ethnographic accounts say the basic kin group was the "sept," although Radcliffe-Brown's observations (1922) indicate that groups greater than immediate kin joined to ensure friendly relations. All activities revolved around the

nuclear family (husband, wife, offspring, and adopted children). Normative descent is bilateral with both kinship and its terminology being cognatic. Classificatory relations are socially important, as is the system of age precedence.

Marriage is arranged by elders, between turtle hunters and pig hunters. Mature widows/widowers have priority for available spouses; levirates are acceptable. Newly-weds live with the wife's matrikin at least until a child is born. Boys and girls learn in the forest and accompany elders in foraging activities. Men hunt pigs, dugongs, and turtles. Both men and women perform all other daily activities, including child care, cooking, and gathering most foodstuffs and materials. Women are particularly influential in the family and married women often collectively influence major campsite decisions.

Political organization

Different language communities used to live as autonomous groups in specific parts of the islands. Especially in middle and northern areas these groupings were subdivided into units of twenty to fifty persons following the annual coast—forest foraging cycle. Marriage alliances between the regions and intervention by elders helped control conflict. In times of dispute, women were instrumental channels of negotiation and resolution. Dispute resolution continues to be marked by feasting. The British acknowledged certain authoritative elders and introduced titles such as *raja*, and hence functionary chiefs (those who could speak the administrative language). This continues today.

Religion and spirituality

The Andamanese universe is a multi-layered configuration of locales through which spirits move, together with the smell and breath of humans, animals, and plants. Restriction of movement is a major threat to the order of nature since all spatial locations are associated with unique spirits that permit/restrict the movements of living things. The spirits are associated either with natural phenomena or with the deceased. Spirits of earthquakes, thunder, rainbows, waterspouts at sea, and storms mark the arrival/departure of the different directional wind powers. Spirits of the dead are either benevolent or malevolent. At death, the "body internal" is believed to escape to the forest or the sea. Those dying of accidents or who failed to receive due mortuary rites take to malevolence, causing sickness and death. During secondary burial, the bones of the dead are recovered and fashioned into amulets and body ornaments to attract benevolent ancestral protection.

The people, especially the Ongee, share the world with spirits, and compete with them in the harvest of foraged resources. Frequent spiritual contact, through dreams and altered states of mind, can endow one with unseen powers. Such persons become spirit mediums, consulted by the community to locate resources, cure the sick, and plan everyday and ceremonial activities. They diagnose illnesses and pursue cures through the application of clay paints mixed with other substances, and either cut the affected body part or tie it off with cord.

Major rituals involve male and female initiation, and mortuary ceremonies. Initiation completes the child, who is closer to the spirits prior to initiation, and makes him/her a full human; funerary ceremonies transform the human into a full spirit. Song, dance, and feast are integral to these rites. Ceremonial song and dance may accompany changes of residence and season. Special occasions are

marked by elaborate body and face clay painting. Women execute lineage-specific designs on the faces of family members. The paint is made of red, white, or yellow clay, with water and/or pig fat. Geometric patterns are applied to body and face with fingers or wooden comb-like implements. Adults make and wear ornaments of shell and plant matter, especially for rituals and song sessions (call and response singing). Any individual may lead the songs. Ongees regard traditional songs, from their style of execution, as "crying." Dramatic, acted narratives and stylized discourse transmit tradition and bind members, particularly the children, to the culture. The Great Andamanese used sounding boards to accompany song and dance. Elsewhere no musical instruments were/are used. The dance steps are old choreographies performed separately by men and women on specific occasions.

Present situation

The Ongee continue to greet outsiders with ceremonial performances, especially the dignitaries and administrators of reserve camps. Government contact parties among the Jarwa are also received by decorated, singing, dancing people. These are occasions when the people receive "gifts" from government (coconuts, bananas, metal tools, plastic implements). There remains a hiatus between Andamanese and the mainstream Indian society. The former regard the latter with anger, frustration, and despair, and the latter regard the Andamanese with condescension, often regarding them as "Stone Age people." Given this hiatus, scholars still have much to learn about the complexities of Anadaman responses to contemporary life. Why do Jarwas sometimes "attack" the villages around the forest reserves, and what is the rationale for attacking and killing some of the outsiders illegally entering Jarwa territory? Jarwa experience of continuing colonization and disruption remains inchoate, and generally unvoiced, despite the massive exploitation of tropical forest resources in recent decades. It remains to be seen whether, and how, the militant Jarwas and Sentinelese will meet the mainstream society whose ways have decimated the Great Andamanese and the nine extinct Andamanese groups. With the powerful presence and encroachment by immigrants, government, and forest enterprises, it is remarkable that the Jarwas and Sentinelese manage to maintain their way of life to the extent that they do.

"When Ongee ancestors first went to Port Blair for tea and tobacco, greed welled up. Spirits got very angry. Winds and thunder from all directions. All the spirits came down. They made war on the people and turned Ongees into stones in the sea. Outsiders followed these rocks. They came to Little Andaman in large ships that threw fire with loud noise and smoke. Just like the spirits. Again there was war. Ongees and outsiders died. More rocks were formed. We found iron on the shore among the rocks. We started to forget that we must share first with the spirits. More outsiders came to live on our islands. Angry, the spirits took away more Ongees.

Only the spirits of the rains and winds can cut the rocks and wash them away. That will bring better times. Death will go away. Things the Ongees bind together will never come loose. The Ongees will be happy and heavy like the rocks that cannot be carried away, even by the spirits.

Today our life is different…So few are left. If we do not live and share with the spirits, we all will die. There are men but not enough girls to marry. Angry spirits have made more deaths than births. It has been like this ever since the wars, the deaths and the rocks. Soon, all the spirits will leave. Outsiders share nothing with them. Life is hide and seek, give and take until the rocks go away.

When the wind and rain spirits have cut the rocks, it will then be good. No outsiders to cut us. Then death also will go away. Outsiders cut the forest, never the perilous rocks. Our neighbors the Jarwas and Sentinelese are right when they try to cut the outsiders."

The late Kanchu of Dugong Creek, Little Andaman Island, 1983

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I.V.4

The Birhor

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Introduction

The Birhor live in eastern and central regions of mainland India. They move regularly around the jungle land which forms a continuous geographical region across the provinces. The Birhor also have a close affinity with large agricultural tribes of the region (the Santals and Mundas). They use both Santali and Mundari words in their speech and often mix with them the dialects of local Hindi, Orya, and Bengali.

59 Small Birhor boys searching for squirrels in a treetop. Photo: Ashim K. Adhikary.

The term *Birhor* means "jungle man" (*bir*. jungle, *hor*. man). They are best known, however, as adepts in ensnaring monkeys with charms. Consequently, in Orissa the Birhor are called *Mankria, Mankar-khia-Kol*, or *Mankirdia*, which refer to their habit of sharing and eating monkeys. In Orya, *mankar* means monkey, and *khia*, eating. This account of the Birhor is based on fourteen months of fieldwork in Orissa between 1971 and 1976. My initial encounters showed that, unlike the primary hunters of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Birhor survive with an economic symbiosis with the settled peasantry and market economy of the larger society.

History

Birhor hunting and gathering technology may be considered a case of "devolution." Originally, they belonged to the Mundari group of tribes who, in the past, practiced shifting cultivation combined with hunting and gathering in the forests on hill slopes. With the encroachment of the peasantry and subsequent deforestation, they found shifting cultivation untenable, and adopted hunting and gathering as their primary mode of subsistence. In the early nineteenth century, British administrator-scholars directly interacted with these people and put on record their preliminary observations. Since then, several reports have been published, most portraying Birhor life and culture either as an archaic base for human development in India, or as a forest enclave (Roy 1925, Sinha 1958). Some contrasting observations are found in Bose (1956), who describes the Birhor as "a nomadic caste" specializing in jungle crafts and operating in the broad framework of the agrarian economic structure of India's

caste-based Hindu peasantry. This caste-like specialization has been noted as well by Fox (1969).

Population
5950, of which 4377 live in Bihar (1981 Census of India).

Location
The broad band of forest across central India in the states of Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra.

Ecological setting

The forests spreading across the eastern and central regions of India provide the main corridor of predation for the Birhor. The climate in this area is characterized by heavy rainfall in the wet season, severe cold in winter, and extreme heat in summer. The ecology is rich in the flora and fauna of a tropical climate. In these hilly forested regions there are also many valleys and cultivated plains dotted with clusters of tribal and non-tribal peasant hamlets, including weekly/biweekly market centers. Principal crops cultivated by local peasants include rice, wheat, maize, and varieties of pulses and oil seeds. The peasants also collect forest products for consumption and domestic use. The Birhor, too, depend for survival on both the natural products of the forest ecology, and the agricultural products of the settled peasantry.

Economy

The Birhor hunt two varieties of monkeys, *Maccacus rhesus* and *Presbytes entellus*, with rope-net traps. The nets are handmade of rope from bark fiber of the *Bauhinia* creeper. The elongated rectangular nets are set in jungles in a semi-circular manner by the members of a hunting party which normally consists of seven to ten members. The hunters then take strategic positions in the jungle and drive the monkeys to the net traps by beating the trees. The owners of the nets have title to the game but must share it with all members of the party.

Two kinds of nets (*gari jhari* and *tur jhari*) are used in hunting. The former are for monkeys (*gari*) and the latter for ensnaring rats (tur) and other small animals. Hunting is pursued both individually and communally by the men. Game is hunted primarily for consumption; live monkeys are sometimes sold if customers come to their camp. Skins of langur (*Presbytes entellus*) are taken for sale in the local markets. Hunting occurs mainly in winter and summer seasons. The making of ropes and rope-products carries on throughout the year. This is the principal economic (cash) pursuit of contemporary Birhor. They peel fibers from the bark of the *Bauhinia* creeper and weave them into various kinds of rope and rope products. Normally, the men of the household collect bark from the jungle while the women prepare the articles and take them to villages for barter and sale. On market days, however, both men and women trade at the local markets. Women weave the rope products by hand, using only common knives and wooden clubs. Some Birhor men work as magico-religious experts for the surrounding villages, and some deal in various rare jungle products.

60 A Birhor man cutting *Bauhinia* creepers in the jungle. Photo: Ashim K. Adhikary.

Patterns of settlement and movement

In the course of their forest predation, the Birhor make temporary settlements at the outskirts of some peasant hamlets. The people dwell in conical leaf huts with a circular base. Huts are dispersed such that the settlement gives the appearance of natural bush when seen from a distance. Normally, six to eight households settle together.

The duration of a Birhor band in any location does not exceed four weeks. During the rains, their camps may last for a longer period however. Dwindling forest resources and a decrease of market demand for their commodities, in a particular region, normally compel a band to shift camp. One or two households may also move independently, joining another band, visiting relatives, or arranging marriages.

The forests, villages, and markets that the members of a Birhor band exploit are carefully avoided by other bands. They obtain information about one another through their occasional gatherings in markets. The area which a band normally covers in a year is not confined to any particular administrative zone. An annual cycle may even take Birhor into different provinces.

Domestic organization

Household and band groupings of the Birhor always underline a pattern of kinship. The household is built around the nuclear family while the band comprises a number of small patrilineal descent families and is dispersed over a number of local groups. Customarily, a son, on marriage, sets up a separate household with his wife. At that point, the father ritually initiates his son to the ancestral shrine. The son is now allowed to form a minimal lineage of his own.

The patrilineal "clans" (*killi*) are divided into smaller exogamous units called *bansa*. Marriage arrangements are the business of nuclear families or minimal lineages from different *bansa;* marriages frequently involve sister exchanges and daughter exchanges.

Brother—brother, sister—sister, and brother—sister ties are the most enduring kinship links. These relationships pervade the lifespan and everyday activities. Birhor newly-weds choose their residence through the ties of either spouse. Though the Birhor are marked as a patrilineal/patrilocal people, their present-day activities do not show perceptible gender bias. In contemporary life, male dominance is very muted.

Political organization

The Birhor do not have formal leaders. Every band has one or two men whose opinions are consulted regarding the selection of a settlement site or a hunting party. The Birhor depend on such persons for their knowledge of the locality. Their leadership stems from experience rather than office. However, the Birhor do have hereditary priests (*pahan*). Before communal hunts the priest offers sacrifices to the presiding jungle deities, seeking protection and success for the hunters. He performs only a

religious function and does not enjoy particularly high social status.

The Birhor are an egalitarian people; local and descent groups recognize no hierarchy. They are bound to one another through a pan-tribal network of kinship, and a strong in-group sentiment. Communal living and reciprocal sharing are emphasized; breaches of these norms are said to lead to supernatural punishment. Public ridicule is a further negative sanction against the violation of customary rules. Outsiders look upon the Birhor as "a mystic jungle people." This impression is carefully manipulated by the people themselves to preserve their social polity.

Religion and spirituality

The Birhor perceive a universe in which humans, nature, and supernature are bound together to form a moral community. All natural phenomena are animated and presided over by supernatural beings. Though they possess a profound practical knowledge of natural phenomena, they feel neither need nor ability to dominate or harness these phenomena. Ultimately, power is considered to lie in the supernatural realm.

The Birhor identify three broad categories of supernatural entities: *bongo, hapram*, and *churgin*. The *bonga* include all personified supernatural entities of non-human origin, while the *hapram* are the spirits of their ancestors. Both are benevolent. All the evil spirits (including the spirits of those who died in an unnatural manner) are categorized as *churgin*. The idea of unnatural death is not based on any strong sense of morality.

The *hapram* live close to the *bonga*, and work as intermediaries between the *bonga* and the Birhor. They protect their descendants from the *churgin*. The relationship between the Birhor and the *hapram* is both contractual and ethical. A Birhor joins the *hapram* in afterlife only after having lived community values to the hilt. Living relatives ritually initiate the departed soul into the *hapram* world. The *hapram* in turn, look after their descendants' well-being.

The Birhor consider jungles to be both their traditional homes and sacred locales. They celebrate an annual "Flower Festival" (*Baha Parab*) with communal dancing and singing at the time when trees and plants bloom in the jungle. Thus they commune with nature's ecstasy, and experience integration between human and non-human worlds. Spirituality finds little ritual expression apart from the communal *Baha Parab* Festival in March—April.

Current situation

It has been noted earlier that the Birhor derive their principal income from the neighboring peasant villages and markets, where they not only sell rope and other handicrafts and forest produce, but also procure their staple foodstuffs: rice and other necessaries. Nevertheless, their interaction with the market is peripheral. They feel nervous and constrained haggling and bargaining in the markets. The market's primary use is as venue for social interaction and information exchange. Most of their sales and purchases are made in villages or in their own camps. Birhors' exposure to the political, judicial, and educational systems of the state is minimal. During the Second Five Year Plan, the state governments of Bihar and Orissa launched two welfare programs: one to settle the Birhor as cultivators, and the other to give them nutritious food and medical care. The people refused to be evicted from their jungle habitat; nor were they induced to adopt modern medicine and foodstuffs.

The forest ecology, which the Birhor bank upon most, is now extensively exploited by the larger society. Small quarries and factories abound in the entire forest-belt of the region. Contractors roam in the forests and collect creepers. These are threats to the resource base and the very habitat. Though the Birhor are partly aware of these modern forces they do not believe jungle scarcities are anything but short term. The Birhor are peaceful, basically withdrawn and introverted; they are addicted neither to drugs nor to abusive, violent behavior, though they prepare and drink rice beer on festive occasions or sometimes on market days.

Organization for resistance

The Birhor persist in their distinct sociocultural identity, focused on the tropical forest ecology. Their small population and their lack of control over their jungle resources lead to unfavorable conditions for organizing collective resistance to government programs and incursions by outsiders. Yet the people continue, in rather *ad hoc* ways, to organize themselves culturally to maintain their identity in the face of external pressures. Their small social units are bonded not only by kinship but also by their moral relations with the forest. Their in-group sentiment is reinforced by their lack of any meaningful place in the mainstream society's sociocultural life. The Birhor have developed different adaptive strategies: one in the context of *disum*, their own territory in the forest, and the other in their relations with *muluk*, the territories dominated by caste peasants and the market economy.

The Birhor carefully weave their own perceptions of the larger society into a world-view that is a model for the community. The people utilize their ideological spiritual life strategically, and work as professional magico-religious experts for the surrounding peasant villagers. The adoption of their occupational strategy based on their perceptions of the sociocultural environment of the larger society helps them to maintain their "mystic jungle" image and reinforces their cultural legitimacy at the heart of the forest ecology.

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I.V.5

The Chenchu of the Indian Deccan

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Introduction

The Chenchus are a "scheduled tribal population" of the Deccan of Andhra Pradesh, formerly the State of Hyderabad, who speak a dialect of Telugu, a Dravidian language. Mostly concentrated in the districts of Mahaboobnagar, Guntur, and Prakasam, they are one of the most cited food-gathering and hunting peoples of the Indian subcontinent despite being the subject of only two major ethnographic studies (Fürer-Haimendorf 1943, Bhowmick 1992). The origin of their name is disputed—researchers believe the word "Chenchu" to be derived from "a person who lives under a *Chettu* (tree)," while many Chenchus relate themselves to the Lord Mallikarjuna, the presiding Hindu deity of the nearby Srisailam Temple, thereby associating Chenchu religion with the greater Indian tradition. The overall population is scattered throughout the region in dispersed groups (much has been made of the differences between the *Konda* [mountain or hill] and the *Uru* [village or plains] Chenchus), and has not declined significantly in the last quarter of the twentieth century. This may well reflect the willingness of Chenchus to accommodate to the ever-changing economic and political situation of present-day India.

61 Vidama, of the Chenchu Nallapoteru clan, Andhra Pradesh. Photo: Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf.

62 Gangaru, of the Nimal clan, in conversation. Photo: Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf.

History

The stone circles, menhirs, and dolmens found in the Amrabad region indicate a megalithic culture penetrated prehistorically well into the Plateau. The Shiva temple of Srisailam, probably of the same era as the grave mounds and ruined settlements, dates to the seventh century AD. While the Chenchu seem to be autochthonous, the archaeological remains are largely not their work but rather that of the invading plains people with their dominant Hindu culture and Telugu language. The Chenchu share two clan names with the neighboring Yanadis which may allude to a common origin. The gradual

socioeconomic adaptation to the culture of the settlers played a part in Chenchu early transformation and assimilation.

In 1880, the Forest Law of the British Administration crippled the fragile Chenchu economy by denying Chenchus foraging access to their homelands. Bereft of their livelihood and displaced from their territory, some turned to crime, and they were consequently demonized by the authorities as an officially notified Criminal Tribe. Soon thereafter a Special Officer was appointed to oversee rehabilitation and acculturation programmes in which Chenchus were employed on a salary basis and thereby incorporated into the wider Indian economy.

According to Firishta (1794), the Chenchus were described by a Muhammadan army which encountered them in 1694 as shy hunter-gatherers. The great ethnographer Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf conducted field research among the Chenchus in 1940. At that time the Chenchus were subjects of the Nizam of Hyderabad, a state which, after Independence, became Andhra Pradesh in 1953.

Ecological setting

The Plateau region is a geological formation made up of Irlaconda sandstone-quartzites belonging to the Archaean Age. The Nallamalai Hills are part of the Eastern Ghats, rising to over 800 m and are interspersed with narrow river valleys cutting through the hills from northeast to southwest. The climate is typical of the Central Deccan: a hot and dry summer (February—May), intermittent rain and storms (June—September) and a cool winter (October—February). Rainfall averages about 500 mm annually. Forests range from scrub to open deciduous depending upon elevation and, despite the poor-quality soil, provide bamboo, teak, timber, and tubers (all of which the Chenchus depend on for food, shelter, and survival). Bears, panthers, hyenas, antelopes, sambhur, wild cats, dogs and pigs, peacocks and wildfowl, and tigers on the southern slopes, constitute the local fauna. Consequently, the upper plateau was declared a game sanctuary in 1941 by the Forest Department, even though the real threat to wild animals has been posed by hunting for sport by officials rather than selective hunting by Chenchus.

Economy

The Chenchus practice little hunting; rather, they rely on the collection of jungle produce supplemented by wage earning as forest laborers. Hunting is with bow and arrow, and men track wild game such as deer, sambhur, rabbit, squirrel, and fowl. But meat does not form a regular part of their diet, especially since prohibitive game laws were introduced, which many Chenchus say curtail their economic freedom. Hunting is mainly a personal or small-group effort lasting a few days and is a source of neither ritual celebration nor income. It merely provides food; all surplus meat is dried and preserved for future use.

Fishing is sporadic and nutritionally insignificant. Both men and women land fish by scattering poisonous bark over still pools to stupefy the fish, as well as with hook and line, but opportunities for either are scarce. By far the most important part of their traditional subsistence economy is foraging for edible botanical produce. The backbone of their diet is the sweet, fiberous, aromatic flower of the *mohua* (*Bassia latifolia*) tree, invaluable both as food and drink (being the raw material for their

distilled liquor), and various tubers. Tamarind, gum, bamboo, soap nuts, cashew nuts, and bidi leaf are also gathered both for use and for sale to merchants and shops. Income from the sale of foraged produce is assuming an ever-greater commercial importance for the Chenchu economy. Honey is of seasonal importance and is collected mainly for sale but also for use. Honey collection is a hazardous activity and is imbued with much symbolic and ritual importance.

Chenchus are also employed as forest laborers on bamboo, timber, and teak plantations. Such waged labor is eroding the traditional reliance on gathered produce. Chenchus have derived additional income collecting *metta* fees, charges for guiding and portering pilgrims to Srisailam Temple. Agriculture and animal husbandry are minimal in the Chenchu economy. Although the administration provided land and bullock carts to encourage cultivation, most Chenchus have leased their land out or manage it as share-croppers.

Settlement, mobility, and land tenure

Until the 1940s, Chenchus migrated both seasonally and annually; the few permanent settlements were only occupied during the rains. Today only the interior settlers of the forest still practice a form of flexible nomadic seasonal migration according to the availability of water, grubs, and tubers. Social groupings for foraging are fluid and the "local group" at any one time shares common rights to collecting grounds. Overall, mobility has declined with the advent of rehabilitation programs aiming to settle Chenchus in government hamlets, often close to newly laid roads.

Yet today many Chenchus live in small settlements known as *gudem* or *penta*, which consist of clusters of conical huts grouped according to kinship patterns. Within a foraging group, access to resources and land (and property inheritance) is unreserved and equal, with an emphasis on blood relations rather than gender. Foraging grounds are owned communally, while movable properties such as clothes, tools, and cattle belong to individuals. The takeover of Chenchu land as "Reserved State Forest" in the 1930s deprived them of their most valuable asset. Family size ranges from three to ten members, with smaller families being the norm. Forty percent of the population is under the age of fifteen.

Domestic organization

Chenchu society is patriarchal, with patrilineal descent and, largely, patrilocal residence. The monogamous nuclear family is the basic and most commonly occurring (80 percent) Chenchu social unit. Joint and polygynous families are rare and occur only in more permanent settlements practicing incipient agriculture. The Chenchus are an endogamous people with twenty-six exogamous *kulam* (clans) of equal status. The clans were once regional units in possession of clearly defined land tracts but this system has largely disintegrated in the face of changing forest laws. Clans are seen as unilineal groups sharing common mythical ancestors and are the determining factor in choosing a partner, with cross-cousin marriage within a village being the most preferred alliance (37 percent of all marriages). Marriageable age ranges from sixteen to nineteen for women and from twenty to twenty-four for men, and a previously negotiated bride-price is usually paid to the bride's maternal or paternal uncle unless the couple decide to elope. Divorce can be initiated by either partner and requires no ritual or ceremony. Infidelity and drunkenness (among men) are the most commonly cited

reasons for seeking divorce. Chenchu kinship terminology is of both the classificatory and denotative types, and the characteristic features of Chenchu social organization fit closely with the Dakota type as described by Murdock (1949).

Political organization

Chenchu society is intensely democratic; historical evidence suggests that when the Chenchus lived only by gathering and hunting, effective political organization was minimal. Owing to a changing economic environment and increased contact with Sugalis and other caste Hindus, a Council of Chenchu Tribal Elders, known locally as *Kula Panchayat* or *Nasab*, emerged to protect codes of conduct and settle disputes. This Council has sole authority over the village, comprises four to six members (*paddamanusulu*), and is presided over by the village headman (*raju*) whose position is hereditary. The *raju's* role is also socioreligious; he is entirely responsible for the success of worship to local deities. There are no broader political units beyond village councils. Upon judgment, a transgressor pays a penalty and provides a punitive feast for the *Panchayat*, to which he is also invited. In the absence of direct evidence, a suspect is asked to undergo a trial by ordeal like touching boiling water with his palms to demonstrate his innocence. Major crimes, although rare, are reported directly to the police. Each village has a *peddamanchi*, or "big man," who, though prominent in the community's dealings with outsiders, actually has little authority. The institution of *peddamanchi* is a recent administrative development for streamlining relations with the Chenchus.

Religion and spirituality

The Chenchus draw no sharp distinction between the human and non-human worlds. They remain largely devoid of mysticism, religious fervor or supernatural fear. Chenchu religion is an elastic and expansive network of beliefs and rituals free of rigid theological systems. Indigenous Chenchu religion has been displaced by the Telugu language-culture and confounded with the deities of the Hindu pantheon. Vestiges of ancient, non-Hindu beliefs remain: one important indigenous deity (*devudu*) is *Garelamaisama*, who controls the activities of wild animals and determines the success of hunting. Invocation of the deities is informal and spontaneous. There are no priests; individuals address gods directly when necessary. The village headman temporarily appoints a man to fulfill priestly duties on the occasion of community worship. The Chenchus have no creation mythology; their stories and traditions are similar to Indo-European fairy tales. They believe that the soul (*jiv*) of every individual comes from the benevolent god *Bhagavantaru* and returns to him at death. *Bhagavantaru* may refuse the souls of evil men; such *jiv* turn into *dayam*, malignant ghosts who haunt the house. Food offerings are made to the *jiv* of ancestors in a cult of the dead which appeases an angry jiv if a kinsman is especially forgetful.

Chenchus perform rites by divination and their powers are of two types: white (protective) magic and the black (destructive) kind. Local expert practitioners of the former are *gaddecheppuvaru* and, as healers, they diagnose the cause of disease through spirit possession, then suggest herbal or ritual cures. Any Chenchu can perform black magic by praying to a relevant deity to do harm to his rival or enemy. The Chenchus have adopted omens and portents from local Hindus, and have specific interpretations of the consequences of dreams. Many deities are said to reside in local stones around

villages where animals are sacrificed. Chenchus celebrate seasonal and religious festivals (*pandagalu*) along with their Hindu neighbors; the most important is *Dasara*, which lasts two days.

Current situation

The Forest Conservation Laws (1860) severely curtailed the Chenchus' freedom to gather, although certain concessionary rights were granted in the Madras Forest Act (1865). From 1905 until 1917, large-scale forest plantation projects enticed Chenchu laborers with the promise of a cash income. By the 1940s, when village Chenchus and those in the Madras Presidency had changed from nomadic to settled life, the jungle Chenchus clung tenaciously to foraging. The introduction of the forest conservancy crippled their economic potentialities and forced them into greater contact with outsiders. To rehabilitate properly the "interior tribes," the administration constructed roads, buildings, bridges, hydroelectric plants, and new settlements, permanently changing the habitat and the ecology. After the construction of the State Highway in 1958, even the traditional Chenchu livelihood of carrying and guiding pilgrims to Srisailam Temple ended; the pilgrims were now conveyed by bus. The Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute was established to recommend development strategies, such as the Family Benefit Scheme, to enable Chenchus to compete economically with more "advanced" peoples. Since Independence, huts have been remodeled, water supplied, schools, Ashram hostels, and hospitals introduced. Girijan Co-operative Multipurpose Societies have been established, supplying Chenchus with foodstuffs and other consumer goods at fair prices, while jungle products now have a more extensive market through processing and transport (liquor is now produced for sale). Semi-formal employment and wage labor are of growing importance to the Chenchu economy, with Chenchus often working eight to ten months a year as watchmen, school attendants, cooks, medical assistants, and postmen. Paradoxically, children are sent to school by their parents for the food they receive; education is a secondary consideration. The recently established Tiger Sanctuary Project threatens to displace over 2000 Chenchus living in the designated "core area" out of bounds to humans. A new colony is expected to be established for these displaced persons.

Organization for resistance

The *Panchayat Raj* system was introduced by the government to encourage indigenous participation in the developmental process by electing leaders with limited powers. This has had little impact on Chenchu life and has failed to influence or change the traditional political structure owing to an ineffectual leadership and an ongoing faith in the Tribal Council for dispensing justice. The new political system could not diminish the role of the traditional council as the former was development-oriented while the latter was an organization for social control. The *Panchayat Raj* system merely became an addendum to the traditional political system.

Although some Chenchus are suspicious of development, most share an openness to learn from the ideas and techniques of their neighbors. Hostility, insurgency, and stubborn insularity against other cultures have not been the hallmarks of Chenchu life. These factors, as well as the generally supportive (if often heavy-handed and over-zealous) approach of the Hindu authorities, have prevented the breakout of any separatist resistance movement among the Chenchus.

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I.V.6

The Nayaka of the Wynaad, South India

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Introduction

At the time of my fieldwork in 1978–9 and again in 1989 in the Wynaad region, the Nilgiri Hills, south India, the Nayaka were widely scattered amidst other tribal and non-tribal populations, living in small communities (between three and thirty nuclear families) in forests and at the edges of small market villages along the Gudalur—Mysore and Gudalur—Cherambode routes. The study community was composed of five clusters of huts where seventy forest-dwelling people lived. The Nayakas have been called by various names, including Naiken, Naicken, Naikr, Kattu Naikr, Kattu Nayaka, Sola Nayaka, Jenu-Kurumba, and Jenu-Koyyo-Shola-Nayaka. These names, given by outsiders, indicate two features that strike visitors most: the people live in the forest and collect honey from wild bees (*kattu* and *sola* mean "forest," while *jenu* means "honey"). The name *Nayaka* probably originated in Malayalam. Nayakas refer to their own people by the phrase *nama sonta*, which roughly translates as "our family" (Bird-David 1994a:593–4). They speak a distinct dialect, which they themselves call *nama basha*, "our language," which contains elements of Kannada, Tamil, and Malayalam (Kannada predominating) and belongs to the Kannadoid subgroup of the Nilgiri South Dravidian languages. Most Nayakas additionally speak at least one of the three major South Dravidian languages, Malayalam, Kannada, or Tamil. The Census of India (1981) puts the Nayaka population at 1400. The ethnographic present used here is roughly the period 1978–90.

Population:
1981 Census of India: 1400.

Location:
Western slopes, Nilgiri Hills, southwest India (11° N, 75° E).

History

It has been suggested that the food-gatherer groups of the Nilgiri are the descendants of the powerful Kuruma (Pallavas), who fled to the wild during the ascension of the Chola Dynasty, around 900 AD. More commonly, however, they are regarded as the indigenous inhabitants of the area. As part of the Nilgiri, the Wynaad was part of the eighteenth-century Kingdom of Mysore, ruled by Haidar Ali, and later by his son Tipu Sultan. In 1803, British troops of the East India Company seized and ruled over this kingdom.

Malaria-ridden, the Wynaad was not popular with immigrants, who crossed the area and settled higher in the hills. These immigrants include, first, the agricultural Badaga in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; second, the British during the nineteenth century; and subsequently, Indians of various castes and regions. In the 1830s, exploration for Wynaad gold began, culminating in a brief but devastating goldrush during the 1880s. In the 1860s, coffee, tea, and rubber plantations were opened; most remained marginal at the low elevations of much of this region. The effects on Nayakas varied from place to place. The study community, next to which a rubber plantation was established about 1900, has been involved in sporadic casual wage labor since the 1950s; such wages supplement traditional forest pursuits.

Ecological setting

Located on the western jungle slopes of the Nilgiri Hills at elevations between 300 and 1000 m, the Nayaka region is subject to a monsoon season, the height of which comes in July. The area is naturally covered by evergreen and deciduous tropical forests and in some places by bamboo groves (increasingly interspersed with plantations and villages). Fauna and flora are exceptionally rich in the area, which was chosen to be India's first biosphere reserve under the "Man and the Environment" Program launched by UNESCO.

63 Nayaka women working the plantation. Photo: Nurit Bird-David.

Economy

Nayaka people view the forest as a generous provider of food and all other material requirements. They combine their foraging with other occupations (mostly wage work) in a carefree, opportunistic manner. Each family operates independently, the conjugal pair often working together; a heterogeneous economy constantly changes around the core of the traditional food gathering, which persists not only as a means of subsistence but also as a means of keeping in touch with ancestors and non-human naturalistic spirits. Resources are always shared within the family, and between families if requested. Core traditional foraging pursuits include digging roots of *Dioscorea*, nine varieties of which Nayaka recognize (*oppositifolia, hispida, hamiltonii, tomentosa, wallichii, bulbifera, alata, pentaphyllia*, and *pentaphyllia* (var.) *linneai*)*;* these are excavated with wooden and metal digging sticks, the latter found in deserted mining and plantation sites. These yams, along with rice purchased or bartered, constitute the bulk of the diet. Second, Nayakas collect soap nut (*Sapindus trifoliatus*) for barter and sale, by climbing trees and shaking the branches with long bamboo poles; third, they collect honey from combs in bamboo hollows, or attached to small trees and bushes, and hanging from cliffsides and tall trees (the latter rising to 18–22 m) which men climb with agility, assisted by bamboo poles; and fourth, they catch fish, mainly with their hands, after intoxicating them with various vegetal materials. Hunting is a rare activity. Game species include the common deer, monitor lizards, and wild pigs. These are pursued with sticks, billhooks, and dogs. As often as not, Nayakas rescued game from the claws of forest predators, mostly wild dogs.

Settlement patterns

Nayakas tend to remain within certain localities, each associated with naturalistic and ancestral spirits. They move within these localities, rebuilding huts every six to eighteen months, making frequent forays to other areas for days or several months at a time. One to five huts usually constitute a residential community. Huts in the forest are often located on hillsides or rock cliffs overlooking streams. They vary considerably, the most substantial having a wooden frame of bamboo strips which rest on a low mud base, and a roof of grass thatch. Occasionally, several huts are joined to each other in a row. The more casual huts are simply lean-tos resting against a rock, or another hut, with no walls. Each living space has a little-used firepit, and a few articles lying casually on the ground. People tend to sleep, cook, and eat outside their huts except during the rains.

Marriage and gender

Nayakas generally find spouses for themselves within the local community, although sometimes from more spatially distant kin. Following courtship, the couple begin sleeping together, establishing their hearth, and increasingly sharing subsistence pursuits and domestic chores. There is no formal wedding ceremony. Marriage gradually emerges into public recognition. Some marriages, especially for long-standing single persons, are arranged by a maternal uncle or other relative; the spouse in these cases is usually from another community. Such unions are sometimes celebrated by a meal offered to a small gathering of guests and passers-by. Nayakas express a preference for cross-cousin marriage (perhaps owing to the prevailing Dravidian influence), and secondarily for spouses outside the close circle of relatives. Marriages are mostly monogamous. A new conjugal family is independent and free to choose its place of residence. Some couples reside with the wife's parents during the initial period of marriage. Separation is common in the first years, effected by one of the parties leaving the other. A marriage that survives the early years is likely to endure and become remarkably close-knit.

Conjugal partners are in each other's company most of the time, sharing domestic chores, subsistence pursuits, and decisions. The spouse is one's best friend. A man, a woman, and their young offspring constitute the domestic unit and usually sleep, cook, eat, and work together. From an early age, children visit other families, increasing the frequency and length of visits as they grow older. In the course of these visits, they often meet their future spouses. Nayakas are expected to engage in conjugal relationships; there are few exceptions. Age at marriage ranges between fifteen and twenty-two for women, and between eighteen and twenty-five for men.

Kinship and political organization

Nayakas regard each other as kin. In everyday conversation, they refer to and address each other by kinship terms rather than names. These terms reflect Dravidian kinship terminology. Yet in everyday practice they do not strictly maintain the distinctions between affinal and consanguineal relations in the first ascending and first descending generations. They stretch the application of terms to incorporate as kin anybody within the local community. Kinship is the backbone of political organization. The political community is *nama sonta*, "we, relatives," whose constituent units are autonomous families. Between these units, kin links of whatever nature aggregated the larger groups

into *nama sonta*. The community is egalitarian; people pay respect and attention to those they regard as worth heeding. Outsiders may also approach these individuals on matters concerning all Nayakas and this sometimes reinforces their position within the community; nevertheless, the situation remains fluid; attention and respect easily shift from person to person.

64 Nayaka men collecting honey. Photo: Nurit Bird-David.

World-view and ritual life

Nayakas consider that each locale is populated not only by human persons but also by non-human ones. These include deceased Nayakas and non-Nayakas who had lived in the area, mythic ancestors, naturalistic spirits (the most important being hill spirits called *male devaru*), and the deities of non-Nayaka neighbors (mostly Hindu minor deities). Missionary influence, while strong in the upper Nilgiri Plateau, had not at the time of study reached the Wynaad Nayakas.

Regular contact is maintained with other-than-human beings, not only in the course of foraging, but also through rituals of possession held annually at each cluster of huts. These sessions are attended by Nayaka from surrounding areas, and last a full twenty-four hours, beginning in the afternoon. Drum and flute music is played intermittently; dancing occurs in two gender-segregated circles; men, and a few women, fall into trances and become mediums to the other-than-human powers, who are engaged in conversation by the non-entranced participants. Such conversations are informal and friendly, both sides nagging, teasing, praising, blaming, and cajoling one another, expressing reciprocal care and concern. Nayakas demand from predecessors cures for and protection from illnesses. In the course of the day, Nayakas share food with one another, offering some to the spirits as well.

Recent situation

During the 1980s, the Nilgiri-Wynaad regional population grew substantially owing to in-migration of both Tamil-speaking refugees from Sri Lanka and land-hungry immigrants from neighboring Kerala. Though at differing tempos and intensities, tribal peoples in the region (Mulla-Kurumba, Betta Kurumba, Paniya, and Nayaka) were generally losing land to the newcomers. Up to 1989, the studied community had not lost its foraging grounds, most of which consisted of a privatized forest whose ownership had been entangled in litigation for over two decades, thus putting a temporary halt to changes in land use. At the same time, owing to regional economic growth, demands for Nayaka labor and minor forest produce have grown.

Organization for resistance

ACTRT (Accord Centre for Tribal Research and Training) has been operating in Gudalur, the administrative center of the Nilgiri-Wynaad. Initiated and directed by non-tribal volunteers, its aim has been to train young tribal people to take leadership and control. The activities of this organization include mobilizing large tribal demonstrations and petitions to government for land rights, providing

health care in tribal settlements, organizing festivals of tribal performances, and giving technical instruction and know-how for growing cash crops. The general aim has been to reach and involve all "tribal" peoples in the region, and it has met with some success with all groups, except the Nayakas.

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"Wherever there are Nayakas there are also other-than-human beings (*devaru*), for Nayakas want to be with them and always find them."

Karriyen, 1978

I.V.7

The Paliyan

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Introduction

The Paliyan are Tamil-speaking foragers inhabiting the lower, eastern slopes of the ranges separating India's two southernmost states. They are best known for honey and yam collecting and for elusiveness. First-to third-century Tamil poems describe equipment and practices of honey and yam gatherers in the same hills, yet are mute about the people; their very invisibility suggests long-standing shyness. Groups are strung intermittently along the ranges from Palni Malai to Ashambu Malai in Tamil Nadu state; a few also reside on the east-facing slopes of Elamalai (the Cardamom Hills), Kerala. They are found within an area 195 km from north to south and 95 km east to west. Most of the published information on Paliyans was collected between 1962 and 1978, the period which serves as the ethnographic present.

Paliyan is a singular noun or adjective (pi. PaLiyar; "L" indicates retroflection). Etymology of the word is unclear. The people view it simply as their label. Tamil and Malayalam dictionaries offer various, possibly related words, meaning "the ancients"; "[people of a] hamlet, hermitage; small settlement of jungle tribes"; and "[people who are] short and stocky." New official spellings, Palliyan/Palliyar, could be etymologically correct, but do not reflect Paliyan pronunciation.

History

Some camps overlook age-old cities, most notably Madurai, which traded with imperial Rome yet is now a center of modernization. Early culture contact surely involved forest temples, wandering ascetics, dacoits, herders, woodcutters, and forest produce traders, but we lack accounts. The British annexed the region in 1801, began regulating forest exploitation by 1852, and specified hunting, gathering, and (limited) forest clearing rights for some Paliyans in land and revenue settlements of the late nineteenth century. Such policy changes probably meant little to Paliyans. Indeed, Markham reported Paliyans warily persisting in silent trade of honey for cotton and grain in 1862. Of growing consequence are mid-and low-altitude plantations that appeared after 1838. They provide jobs, but displace Paliyans from some better-watered valleys. Indian independence in 1947 brought health and development specialists to the forest, along with ever more woodcutters, hunters, and produce contractors.

Population

Field data for 1962–4 and other records identified eighty-four Paliyan groups or subgroups. If groups

of known size were representative, the total Paliyan population was about 3,300. The 1971 Census of India lists 3122 “Palliyans” and “Palliyar” in Tamil Nadu state and 281 in Kerala state.

Location
Lower eastern slopes of the Western Ghats separating the states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

An intimate ethnographic sketch was published by a Jesuit coffee planter (Dahmen 1908). Tribal inventories (Thurston and Rangachari 1909, Faulkes 1933, Luiz 1962) and a Gandhian account (Annahaamu 1961) followed, then my own general ethnography in 1962–4 and 1978. C. Nordström has recently undertaken field study of Paliyan—NGO relations.

65 After the hunt. A small female pig, wounded by a predator sent by the *caamis*, has been tracked for ten hours. Western Ghats. Photo: Peter M. Gardner.

66 A settled Paliyan community on the plains. Photo: Peter M. Gardner.

Ecological setting

The southern ranges peak at 2000–2555 m. Depending on their orientations, slopes get rain during the monsoon (June—August), or in October—December, or both. One twice-watered summit receives a mean of 1680 mm; local officials say one rainshadow area has rainfall ranging regularly down to 250 mm. Most rivers dry up seasonally. Paliyans are generally found in relatively dry monsoon forest where yams and small game abound, between plain level (300–500 m) and about 1,200 m. There is little external competition for subsistence resources other than water, and the thorny, yet rich, ecotone at the foot of the forested slope supports up to 0.75 foragers/km^2. Disease is a problem: a study of sixty-seven births shows only 54 percent of children survive infancy. Despite small groups and mobility, Paliyans have sufficient contact with dense plains populations to be affected occasionally by epidemics.

Economy

When foraging, Paliyans subsist largely on yams, especially *Dioscorea oppositifolia, D. pentaphylla*, and *D. tomentosa*, which both sexes extract with digging sticks. These and other yams comprise at least 80 percent of the bulk of foraged food. Sago (*Caryota urens*) provides a higher-altitude alternative. Foods include fifteen roots or bulbs, two trunks or stems, eight leaves, thirty fruits, eight seeds/nuts, five fungi, and sap from a vine. Paliyans relish two monitor lizards (both *Varanus*) and the diminutive chevrotain (*Tragulus meminna*) and barking deer (*Muntiacus muntjac*). Individuals encounter small game daily, but several times a year a group delights in hunting large sambar (*Cervus*

unicolor niger) or wild pig (*Sus scrofa cristatus*). Using sharpened sticks, borrowed iron-tipped spears, billhooks, stone missiles, and stone deadfalls, they hunt twenty-seven mammals, two lizards, a tortoise, and fourteen birds. Dogs help track and chase. In large groups, four to ten men may track an injured pig or sambar. In smaller bands and task groups, two/three married couples can cooperate: as when men chase a sambar into a women's ambush, or both sexes indiscriminately dig for mole-rats and block their escape routes. Paliyans take fourteen fish species, using hands, cloth "nets," or poison in pools and propped cloths in rivers. They collect honey from four bee species, using ladders and smoke to approach 1.5 m wide combs of *Apis dorsata* on cliffs or large trees.

Individuals who are accessible to the mainstream are coaxed periodically into plantation, agricultural, or forest labor, in exchange for cash, rice, condiments, tobacco, tools, and cloth. Plantation and forestry jobs are few but attractive. For contractors, forestry officers, and private individuals, Paliyans today collect fifteen foods, thirteen medicines, eleven incense and toiletry ingredients, six construction materials, three precious woods, and thirteen substances used in dyes, glues, etc. Interest in employment varies personally and seasonally.

Settlement patterns and mobility

Most Paliyan settlements (whether temporary, intermittent, or lasting) are close to Tamil footpaths in a frontier zone near the forest's edge. The exceptional, aloof groups, far from being unacculturated, tend to be fleeing frontier bullying, their youngest members alone lacking contact experience. Fragmentary histories of twenty-four groups evidence a cycle: circumspect exploitation of the frontier, flight from harassment, semi-nomadic foraging, then inching back into frontier living (with its rich yam beds and jobs for those desiring them). Additional individual and family movement results from intragroup stress, and families may disperse in the dry season.

Frontier and isolated settlements are diverse in size and form because individuals move and build according to personal decisions. Settlements contain twenty to sixty (even eighty) people; more mobile groups, fifteen to thirty. People sleep in the open, or in one-sided lean-tos in rock shelters, dispersed oval huts, and two-sided lean-tos, ordered rows of durable houses in Tamil fashion, and mixes. They come and go daily, but a couple is unlikely to live where neither member has primary relatives. Sometimes the families of siblings migrate together; their children's local marriages eventually award them a sense of belonging in their new community.

Domestic organization, gender, marriage, and kinship

Families are customarily nuclear, with one out of three supplemented by an elderly parent, a sibling of one partner, or (briefly) a recently married child and spouse. Despite much voluntary coordination of foraging, employment, cooking, child care, and recreation, household organization is flexible, for cooperation is valued less than the individual rights of young and old, male and female. Each person must be respected. A seven-year-old wishing to leave home cannot be ordered or coerced to stay. Spouses have equal divorce and property rights, equal behavioral independence. Marriages are fragile because separation is the proper response to a raised voice (and weddings and divorces are economically uninvolved). Even so, many partnerships are durable and some entail playfulness for decades. Spouses average fourteen years age difference (women being older 28 percent of the time,

men 69 percent). Indeed, 12 percent of marriages evolve from adoptions (31 percent with stepmothers, 69 percent stepfathers). There is occasional polygyny and polyandry; some adults opt to remain single. It is personal choice which results in such variation. Post-marital residence is bilocal, descent bilateral, and generational categorizing breaks through at times when Paliyans employ too hastily the Tamil kin terms (Murdock's "Iroquoian") which they are pressed to use in contact settings.

"If one strikes [a man], the struck man keeps still. It is our main motto."

"It is not my business…" (words from a Paliyan discussing his wife's ongoing extramarital affair).

(Blueprint for Paliyan respect)

Political organization

Paliyans admit to no one having authority over others, so presence of so-called "headmen" in this egalitarian anarchy is best interpreted in relation to culture contact. Headmen have no administrative, judicial, or ritual functions or prerogatives (except in Tamil-style weddings where, in actuality, these are ignored). It appears that two roles have been conflated, the same traits qualifying people for both. First, during crises, Paliyans have an informal role for anyone able to conciliate, soothe, or deflect attention with wit such as Freudian puns, and second, Tamils recruiting Paliyan laborers need foremen and, by trial and error, they appoint those adept at coaxing or teasing their fellows into coordinated effort. Paliyans now use "headman" for both kinds of facilitator; Tamils use the term for foreman, then assume some Paliyans have indigenous authority.

Bands, named for their focal locales, lack precisely specified territories in the usual sense of the term. Migrants from one band to another are usually tolerated, but are remembered for decades as being of a certain origin. Marriage links nearby groups into chains, with a few discontinuities. At one such break, mock horror was expressed over uncleanliness of Paliyans to the north. Intermarriage and interdining were inconceivable.

Ethos, religion, and spirituality

Paliyans are playful socially, yet calm, self-reliant, and spare with words. Believing retaliation wrong, most retreat quietly when experiencing disrespect. Interaction with *caamis* (gods and ancestral spirits), is different; Paliyans ask them boldly, even argumentatively, for help or protection.

There are protecting *caamis* and gamekeeping *caamis*. Male and female protecting *caamis*, often seven in number, are petitioned several times a month. Their concern for the living prompts them to visit. About 28 percent of men and women experience occasional possession trances, usually at night, after protracted drumming and chanting with held breath. *Caamis* are called when persistence or seriousness of an illness suggests that its ultimate cause is an attacking "darkened wind being" (i.e., spirit), a sorcerer, or a punishing *caami*. *Caamis* diagnose causes and offer protection. Sometimes, they descend on people spontaneously. Male/female pairs of gamekeeping *caamis* are more aloof. They tend bees or game animals and make them available for Paliyans.

Ritual thanks for yams are offered annually, between November and January, familially or, most often, communally. Many yams are dug; half are roasted and half stone baked; they are heaped and

decorated with yam flowers. Then some are thrown in four directions and *caamis* are asked for protection. Multiple possession follows.

Other important rituals are annual offerings to particular *caamis*, variably performed; menarche rites, with fifteen days isolation followed by bathing; weddings (optional), entailing exchanges of salt, betel leaves, and vows; and funerals, the deceased being washed, buried seated in the side chamber of an L-shaped grave, and provided food offerings several days later.

Workers at a Jesuit coffee estate are exposed to Christianity. Some have been baptized with little instruction and few changed practices except for avoiding *caami* rituals. Hindus, by contrast, have drawn Paliyans into tending shrines and even conducting worship (Gardner 1982).

Current situation

Threatening situations abound, but not all are wholly new. A honey contractor allegedly killed three recalcitrant workers about 1960, an extreme instance of an old problem. Wielding a new kind of threat, a junior forest guard was heard telling Paliyans, untruthfully, that they could be barred from the forest if they refused to work when the Forest Department needed them. Paliyans subjected to rapid change or planned assimilation find that the facade of Tamil orthopraxy they display in contact settings provides insufficient protection from today's harassment. Even *caamis* speak threateningly against new practices and mingling with outsiders.

Situations differ greatly by community. In 1962, some Paliyans were given a school near their previous frontier camp site, with solid one-room houses for pupils' families—which the families helped build. A visiting state minister, in 1963, discussed providing them with bee hives to ensure their future autonomy in a changing economy; nothing eventuated. Troubled by increased exposure to what they deemed abusive and authoritarian Tamil behavior, they left, taking up an elusive forest life. By 1978, their former houses lay in ruins. A few children, left in a teacher's care seasonally, were more forest oriented than their parents had been.

A large group of Paliyans, long settled just outside the forest, petitioned in 1963 for a school. A decade later, to accommodate a dam, they were relocated one kilometer from the forest in a newly constructed, largely Tamil community, with concrete houses and a school. Overwhelmed by ridicule and school violence, two thirds soon left in various directions, seeking the privacy needed to resume proper living.

With increased contact, one sees continuing avoidance of alcohol (it unleashes anger) and level rates of intra-communal conflict (costly, delayed Tamilized weddings may discourage impulsive first unions, thereby reducing affairs and jealousy). But, there is creeping gender stratification (as in Tamil orthopraxy).

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I.V.8

The Hill Pandaram of Kerala

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Introduction

The Malapantaram (hereafter described as the Hill Pandaram) are a nomadic community living in the montane forests of Kerala, south India. With a current population of around 2000, they are found mainly in the forested Ghat Mountains between Sabarimala Temple and Shenkottah, tending to reside at the margins of the evergreen forests. Having long-established cultural and economic links with the Hindus of the plains, their basic economic life combines subsistence food gathering with the collection of forest products for trading purposes. Early writers described them as "wild jungle men" or as "wandering hillmen of sorts," for throughout the past two centuries they have lived a nomadic existence, practicing no agriculture and having no livestock other than the domestic dog. The basic pattern of social organization, which still largely pertains, was succinctly described by Krishna Iyer some sixty years ago (Krishna Iyer 1937) when he noted that they lived in families of two or three in a locality, and did not remain in one place but were constantly on the move. They are recognized as a Scheduled Tribe by the Indian government, which has attempted to "settle" the Hill Pandaram for many years. The Hill Pandaram have largely been reluctant to take up agriculture, and largely retain a nomadic hunting-gathering way of life.

History

It is evident, from the historical record, that tribal communities have inhabited the forested hills of the Ghat Mountains since earliest times, and that such communities, whether shifting cultivators or foragers, had important trading contacts with their agricultural neighbors. The forests, and the communities that inhabited them, came under the political jurisdiction of the early Tamil kingdoms, and from ancient times "royalties" were levied on such important forest products as cardamom, ivory, bamboos, honey, and wax. Consequently, the forest communities of southern India, like the Hill Pandaram, cannot be considered social "isolates," with little history of contact and intercourse with the plains people. Trade between Europe and the Malabar Coast, involving such important forest products as sandalwood, ivory, pepper, ginger, cardamom, and myrobalam, was noted at the beginning of the Christian era. But though intrinsically connected with the wider economy through the collection and trading of forest products, the forest communities were not considered to be a part of the caste system. Unlike some nomadic and agricultural castes such as the Nayadis and Pulliyans, the forest communities like the Hill Pandaram were therefore not considered ritually polluting.

Population
About 2000.

Location
In the Western Chats, between Sabarimala Temple and Shenkottah, Kerala State, southern India; 9° to 9°30′ N, 77° to 77°30′ E.

67 A young Hill Pandaram boy with a giant hornbill, Achencoil, Kerala, 1973. Photo: Brian Morris.

68 A typical Hill Pandaram family beside their leaf shelter. Achencoil, Kerala, 1973. Photo: Brian Morris.

With the establishment of colonial rule and the Travancore State, the forested hills became reserves under the jurisdiction of the Forest Department; all tribal communities living within the forests were deemed to be under the "control" of the Department. Rules were drawn up for the "Treatment and Management of Hillmen" (1911). After Independence the Hill Pandaram and other forest communities came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Harijan Welfare, and efforts have been made to promote the welfare of the community through the establishment of schools and health centers, and through efforts to "settle" them and induce them to adopt agriculture.

Ecological setting

The majority of the Hill Pandaram live in the forested Western Ghat mountains, which form the boundary between Kerala and Tamil Nadu. Forming an almost continuous range between 600 and 2400m high, the Ghats are subject to two monsoon seasons, and consequent high rainfall areas where precipitation may well exceed 250 cm. The Ghats are clothed in dense tropical evergreen forest, while the lower altitudes have deciduous forests. Teak and jackfruit trees are common, and such mammals as elephant, sambar, wild pig, chevrotain, sloth bear, and three species of monkey are still frequent. Smaller wild life is found in abundance; the Ghat forests have been described as a botanist's paradise.

Economy

Although the Hill Pandaram may cultivate small patches of tapioca around their "settlements," and may also engage in casual paid labor for the Forest Department (tree surveying and collecting teak seeds, both tasks being consonant with their gathering proclivities), their basic economic system combines subsistence food gathering with the collection of minor forest products for trading purposes. Practicing little or no agriculture, the majority of Hill Pandaram thus depend for their

livelihood on hunting and foraging activities. Economic activities are structured around a gender division of labor. Women engage in the gathering and processing of wild vegetables: yams, kalinga nuts (*Cycas cincinalis*), and the flour of the palm, azha pana (*Arenga wightii*), are the more important staples. Men are the main hunters and the collectors of honey and wax. Hunting parties consist either of a single man or a small group of men. Mammals are "gathered" from the forest by eclectic foraging parties. These may consist either of a family group or of a mixed foraging party. Hunting is done by means of old muzzle-loading guns, and a hunting or family party is always accompanied by a dog.

Custom forbids the eating of wild bison, pig, and elephant, and the animals usually taken are small game: tortoise, squirrels, monkeys (the Nilgiri langur [*Macaca radiata*] is an important trade item), chevrotain, monitor lizard and the giant hornbill. The division of labor is not rigid, and both sexes are involved in the collection of minor forest produce. The more important of these are honey and wax collected from the outer branches of large evergreen trees, wild cardamom, ginger, the resin and bark from various trees which are utilized for their oil or for tanning, and many species of medicinal plants. These were "bartered" through a contractual trading system under the control of a local merchant, who leased from the Forest Department a particular forest area, the lease giving him sole rights to the minor forest products. More recently, the Harijan Welfare Department has monitored this trade. Through this trading system the Hill Pandaram obtain necessary commodities—tapioca, beverages, salt and condiments, clothing, tobacco and chewing materials, cooking oil, billhooks, and cooking utensils. All the basic material possessions of the Hill Pandaram are thus obtained from their trading activities. Although infant mortality is high, the Hill Pandaram have a fairly varied diet, and both sexes, though short in stature, have enormous strength and endurance, as well as exceptional climbing abilities.

Settlement patterns

Although the Hill Pandaram have established "settlements" in various localities on the periphery of their range (consisting of from six to ten grass-thatched huts), the majority of the community's members spend most of their life living in forest encampments occupied by one to four families. These encampments consist of two to five small leaf shelters, made from palm fronds or the leaves of wild plantains, or occasionally (in the deciduous forests) of grass. Camps are frequently located on rock cliffs, or atop large boulders overhanging streams, as such places are generally mosquito free and protected from elephants. These camps are temporary; people reside in a particular locality only for about a week, before moving elsewhere, even though the distance moved may only be a few kilometers. Although individuals and families are associated with particular forest ranges, there is no assertion of territorial rights, and people, including young children, move freely over a wide area, often residing with several families. Each leaf shelter is associated with a conjugal family, which has its own hearth and forms a commensal unit.

Kinship and domestic organization

At any given time, most adult Hill Pandaram are cohabiting with a person of the opposite sex, and such a couple form, together with their younger children, a distinct social and economic unit. The conjugal family is thus the basic economic and commensal unit, although marriage ties are frequently

transient. There is no elaborate marriage rite, and many Hill Pandaram have experienced a series of marriages during their lifetime. Although often ephemeral, conjugal relationships are generally warm and affectionate, essentially reciprocal and complementary. The kinship system of the Hill Pandaram is of the Dravidian type, common throughout southern India. Together with the rule of cross-cousin marriage, this implies that the children a person normally encounters are equivalent either to his or her own children, or to a cross-sex sibling. All people a Hill Pandaram encounters are thus close relatives. Encampments are structured around affinal ties, and brothers rarely hunt or camp together. Relations between "affines" are warm and intimate. Children are independent from an early age, and marriages develop spontaneously from existing kinship links between conjugal families who regularly camp together. There is an important and pervasive cultural emphasis both on sharing and on individual self-sufficiency and autonomy.

Political organization

The social organization of the Hill Pandaram is based essentially on the unity of local groups (the family and forest camps) and a classificatory system of kinship. Within the community there are no centralized political structures, and even the notion of "chiefs" is quite contrary to their egalitarian ethos. Disputes are normally resolved informally, and the institution of "headman," found at some of the settlements, is part of a system of control introduced by administrative agencies to facilitate efficient communication with members of a particular community, and plays no part in their normal social life.

Religion and spirituality

Although the Hill Pandaram mainly speak a dialect of Malayalam (which is not intelligible to outsiders) and share many cultural features with the wider Hindu society, their culture and religious system is distinctive in a number of ways. There is little systematic elaboration of culture in the form of ritual symbolism or "totemic" classificatory schemas; life-cycle rituals (birth, initiation, death) are not highly elaborated, and their religious system is "un-iconic." This leads local agriculturalists, particularly members of high-caste communities, to suggest that the Hill Pandaram have "no religion" and to be rather derogatory and disparaging toward their culture. Hill Pandaram religion is focused upon three broad categories of spiritual beings: the ancestral ghosts or spirits (*chavu*), the mountain spirits (*mala devi*), and the gods of the Hindu pantheon (*Aiyappan* and *Karuppaswami* being the two principal local deities approached). It is the *mala devi*, however, which are of particular importance, and almost every hill of any size is associated with one of these spiritual beings. Human interaction with the mountain deities follows three essential patterns; through prayer and meditation, through offerings of honey or betel leaves, and through possession rites. Contact with the deities is made usually at times of crisis or misfortune—a serious illness, perhaps, or lack of hunting success. Possession rites are undertaken by certain men or women known as *tullakaran/i*, who have the ability to induce a trance-like state and who become possessed by the deities as they dance. The rite usually takes place shortly after dusk, and involves drumming and much singing—songs being an important dimension of Hill Pandaram culture. Misfortunes are often related, in the possession seance, to a neglect of the ancestors or mountain deities, or to a violation of taboos relating to hunting and

menstruation.

Current situation

Attempts to “settle” the Hill Pandaram go back many years, but in recent decades the Department of Harijan Welfare has made a sustained effort to induce the Hill Pandaram to become settled agriculturists. However, the people tend to lease out the land allotted to them to local entrepreneurs as the Hill Pandaram are reluctant to take up agriculture and sever the links that bind them to the forest, the place with which they so powerfully identify.

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I.V.9

The Wanniyala-aetto (Veddahs) of Sri Lanka

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Introduction

"Veddah" (var. Vedda), from Sanskrit *vyadha*, hunter, is a term applied to various tribes of India, Sri Lanka, Borneo, and Sumatra (Kennedy 1974:96). In Sri Lanka, any agricultural community with a supplementary foraging economy is "Veddah." Veddahs who have adopted an exclusively farming economy are considered Sinhalese or Tamil. There is a distinct Veddah phenotype, however, identified from human remains that pre-date the arrival of the Sinhalese and Tamil populations *c*. 2500 years ago.

Veddahs of Sri Lanka described in this chapter are often labeled "jungle" or "wild Veddahs" by outsiders. These people, calling themselves *Wanniyala-aetto (wanniyalätto:* "forest beings"; *me-ätto:* "this being" [Sugathapala de Silva 1972:27]), live in forests east of the central mountains, between Mahiyangana and Maha Oya, where they hunt, gather, and engage in swiddening. In 1996, the Wanniyala-aetto numbered approximately 2000 persons.

History

Archaeological and palaeontological data suggest ancestors of present-day Wanniyala-aetto were *in situ* 31,000 years ago. Hominids were probably present in Sri Lanka by 130,000 BP, possibly by 300,000 BP (Deraniyagala 1992). The first record of indigenous people in Sri Lanka appears in two quasi-historical scriptures, the *Dipavamsa* (fourth century AD) and the *Mahavamsa* (sixth century AD). These chronicles, written by Sinhalese from northeast India, are religious justifications for Sinhalese appropriation of Sri Lanka. The writings describe an heroic conquest of the indigenous population, called the *Yakkahs* (demons/evil spirits), and narrate the Buddha's blessing of the invaders. The *Mahavamsa* states that Buddha chose the Sinhalese as guardians of his teachings, and protected them against "the demons." The "demons" withdrew into the dense tropical forests.

Population

Dambana (1994), 342; Gurukumbere (1994), 210; Henannegala, Rehab. Village (1993), 780; Kottabakinne (1994), 56; Pollebedda (1995), about 450; Ratugala (1995), about 50; Vattuyaya (1994), 223; Total, about 2111.

Location

East side of the central mountain range, Sri Lanka, between Mahiyangana and Maha Oya.

According to Tennent (1860:282–318) the first Sinhalese on Sri Lanka encouraged agriculturalists from south India to join them, although recent archaeological findings support the presence of south Indian farmers on Sri Lanka much earlier than the Sinhalese (4800 BP). In-migrants quickly appropriated much of the island's arable land.

Additional pressures came with three European colonizations: the Portuguese (1500s), Dutch (1600s), and British (1800s). In the twentieth century, massive development projects resulted in the indigenes losing their remaining territory. Today, Sri Lanka's hunters and gatherers are relocated in "rehabilitation villages" or in buffer zones outside the boundaries of their last forest retreat.

69 Schooling for the hunt. Uru Warige Wanniya talks to his son at home in Kotabakinne, Uva Province, 1992. Photo: Wiveca Stegeborn.

70 A Wanniyala-aetto mother cuts and binds grass for roof thatch, 1996. Collecting and preparing plant foods and medicines, tending the *chena*, and offering insight and wisdom to younger women fill the days of Morana Warige Sudumenika. Photo: Wiveca Stegeborn.

Ecological setting

Sri Lanka lies 48 km southeast of the tip of India. The equatorial environment is humid; annually, two monsoon periods alternate with dry periods. The Wanniyala-aetto live in the Tropical Dry Zone monsoon forest, some 200 m above sea level, in Uva Province, east of the central mountain massif. Their land is bounded on the east by Eastern Province and on the west by the Mahaweli River. The terrain is divided into highlands and lowlands drained by meandering rivers and streams, and punctuated by reservoirs. Tropical rainforest covers the mountains and lowlands, interspersed with rocky hills jutting through deciduous trees. There are thirty-nine genera and 109 subspecies of land mammals. Exclusive to the Tropical Dry Zone are the spotted deer, water buffalo, sloth bear, and star tortoise. Hundreds of bird species also abound.

The northeast monsoon (November through January) annually brings rain to the Wanniyala-aetto territory. The monsoons of June, July, and August fall on southwestern Sri Lanka. In the east, where the Wanniyala-aetto live, these are the dry season months, when temperatures can exceed 37°C. Rain and thunderstorms may occur during the two inter-monsoon periods, September-October, April-May.

Economy

The average Wanniyala-aetto family size is six persons. The *chena*, a plot of land encompassing about 5 ha cleared from the forest, is the source of most food. Harvests are made twice each growing season, which begins in August; crops are watered by the fall monsoon, though rains end by April. After the harvest, the *chena* is left fallow. Seven to eight years later the same family will return to cultivate once again.

The Wanniyala-aetto plant many different grains, vegetables, and tubers. Staples include maize, finger millet *(Eleusine coracana)*, and dryland rice. They obtain wetland rice from Sinhalese shops. The forest supplements *chena* produce. The summer dry season is the principal collecting time. Both women and men gather. Only men hunt and trap large animals; women snare small animals and birds. The spotted deer, the Asian sambhur deer *(Cervus unicolor)*, and wild boar are favorite game animals. Monkeys or langurs, mouse deer, pangolins, birds, mongoose, and hares are also taken.

In the dry season, trees blossom and bees are active. The men search for honey and beeswax, principal items of trade. They also collect barks, sap, and resins, while women gather medicinal herbs, leaves, berries, and nuts, most of which are sold to Sinhalese pedlars. For family consumption, women prepare curries from a variety of wild plants, fruit, and tubers. Digging sticks and long, forked implements are used by women to dig roots and harvest fruits and berries. Men's tool kits include axes for everyday use, fishnets and hooks for fishing; muzzle-loaders and shotguns now replace the traditional bows and arrows. Snares and traps are made of natural materials found in the forest.

Settlement patterns and domestic organization

The Wanniyala-aetto live in extended families which together plant a *chena* and forage. Residential relocation occurs with the *chena* cycle. A new *chena* is accompanied by a new house, close by, to guard it. Dwellings of married sons are built near the parents' house.

Each compound is autonomous. All have access to forest resources within family-based usufruct rights to territory. There *was* forest enough for all the Wanniyala-aetto until a national park, created from their land in 1983, denied the Wanniyala-aetto access. The former hunting grounds now are reserved for the use of tourists and wildlife.

Generally, residence is patrilocal. Descent is traced bilaterally. Marriage is preferred between patrilateral cousins, although anyone but the father's brother's child can be a potential spouse. Intermarriage between Sinhalese men and Wanniyala-aetto women has increased, encouraged by Sri Lanka's assimilation policies. Sinhalese women, however, do not marry Wanniyala-aetto men.

The Wanniyala-aetto do not have a generic term for indigenous people of the island. Each group is named for local topography. Those dwelling near *mora* berries *(Nephelium longana)* are the *Morana Warige* [varige]. The people of the grasslands (*talawa)* are the *Tala Warige*. The *Uru Warige* (wild boar) and the *Una Pana Warige* bear names that commemorate historical events. A family/place name denotes the extended family and any kin and friends who live in the compound. Currently, the four names listed above are the only designations remaining from a previously longer list.

The family/place name was transferred from mother to child. According to the Wanniyala-aetto this tradition began at least 2500 years ago, when the legendary forest woman, Kuveni, bore two children to Prince Vijaya, the Sinhalese conqueror. Kuveni was abandoned by Vijaya, then put to death by her own people when she returned to them. In memory of their slain mother, the children took her name. The practice survived until 1989, when the Sri Lanka government prohibited the use of any but patrilineal surnames.

A wife, while not a public person, is the beating heart of the household. Ideologically she is mild, shy, and sweet, and generally she is so in practice. Her opinions are important in a husband's decision-making. Her social life centers on gender specific activities in the *chena*.

Political organization

Wanniyala-aetto society is egalitarian. There is no common authority ruling over all; nobody from one compound can exercise power in another. There are no records of intergroup violence, although their skill as bowmen is reflected in the seventeenth-century account of Sinhalese recruiting Wanniyala-aetto to fight for the Portuguese against the Dutch (Knox 1681:62).

"I was born in the forest. My forefathers came from here. We are the Wanniyala-aetto and I want to live and die here. Even if I were to be reborn as only a fly or as an ant, I would still be happy as long as I knew I would come back to live here in the forest."

Kotabakinne chief, Uru Warige Tissahamy, underscoring his passionate desire to remain in the forest. 1992.

Leadership emerges where several compounds are located in proximity. The senior male exercises minimal authority, though he dissolves disputes, mediates quarrels, dispenses justice, and leads ceremonies. He retains followers through influence rather than authority. People support him as long as they respect his judgment. In some circumstances the compound agrees that another volunteer should assume his responsibilities. A major transgression which headmen/"chiefs" may adjudicate is foraging trespass on a family's territory. The offender's prey is confiscated; he must make restitution by performing community service: rethatch a roof or clear and weed the *chena*.

All labor in this society is valued equally. Three activities involve special skills practiced only by men: shamanism, healing, and drumming. Once such services have been rendered to the community, the individual resumes everyday life.

Religion and spirituality

The Wanniyala-aetto share a complex moral universe of fellow visible and invisible beings in an environment where everything is alive. Animals, insects, birds, the great hunting spirits, and the deceased are all conscious, reflective neighbors. They honor heroes, heroines, and hunters of the past, such as Kande Yakkha, the spirit of Kande Wanniya, a celebrated hunter who lived many generations ago; or Kalu Bandara Deviyo, elder brother of legendary great-grandmother, Kuveni.

The dead live on in another dimension, yet are not truly deceased until all who knew and loved them have also died. The spirits of departed family members live on Unakirigala Mountain, where their everyday life is intimated from husks and debris dancing down the creeks from the otherwise uninhabited mountain. Other spirits inhabit trees, hills, streams, caves, and rocks.

Spirits are generally benevolent, although ancestors sometimes may feel hurt or offended; they communicate their discomfort by sending elephants, wild boars, or monkeys to rampage in their descendants' garden, deprive the hunter of his prey or let bears or leopards attack the hunters. On such occasions, the family must determine who and what is causing this anger, so as to appease it. The living invite the dead to a healing ritual, offering food in hope of conciliating the spirits. As memory of the dead person fades, the name is forgotten; the spirit enters into the realm of the long-forgotten forefathers.

One of the major ceremonies is the thanksgiving, *Hätme*, held for two nights and one day sometime between the full moons of June and September. Gods, goddesses, and ancestors are thanked for generosity in previous years, and receive prayers for future prosperity.

Current situation

In 1983, Wanniyala-aetto traditional subsistence activities became a criminal offense in Sri Lanka. The last of their forests was decreed the Maduru Oya National Park. Wanniyala-aettos were removed to "rehabilitation villages" to be "assimilated." They were given small plots with instructions to till rice paddies. Their children were taught Sinhalese, Buddhism, and a way of life fully dependent on agriculture and the market economy. The few not sent to such villages were confined to a buffer zone (3 km wide) between the national park boundary and the main road.

As the soil on the allotments is poor and unproductive, many Wanniyala-aetto in the rehabilitation villages lease their land to neighboring Sinhalese farmers, from whom they then seek employment. To replace the resources/cash income lost when their forest became off-limits, some Wanniyala-aetto turned to tourism, accepting cash to perform sacred ceremonies for outsiders. Others are cattle herders for Sinhalese farmers, while some engage in menial labor on roads or in rice paddies. The most desperate give their young to affluent families on the west coast where their child labor is exploited. Some younger Wanniyala-aetto receive welfare, but the majority of middle-aged and elderly lack birth certificates, and are not eligible for government assistance.

The native diet has changed considerably. Canned fish and meat replace fresh produce; sugar replaces honey; fewer vegetables are eaten. The termination of their autonomy and changes in diet contribute to new diseases: obesity, high blood pressure, heart problems, alcoholism.

Frustrated at the usurpation of their way of life, the Wanniyala-aetto also suffer psychologically. They believe their bad fortune is caused by bad spirits. The healing rituals, held with increasing frequency now, place an additional heavy material burden on the people.

Organization for resistance

Wanniyala-aetto society is disintegrating. Their identity as "forest beings" is jeopardized by forest destruction. Perhaps unfortunately, the Wanniyala-aetto do not perceive themselves as a political entity. They do not commonly unite and lobby in their common interest. As free-standing individualists, they avoid competition and interference with others. Nonetheless, following recent pressures from government, group self-consciousness is emerging. Uru Warige Tissahamy, leader of Dambana, resisted the removal of his family from its compound in 1983, and finally forced the government to change the national park boundary to exclude his settlement. In 1996, aged ninety, old and ill, he hung on to life to assist his kinsmen who wanted to return to their former hunting grounds inside the Maduru Oya National Park. Outside supporters have recently become advocates for the Wanniyala-aetto cause with the government of Sri Lanka and major international conservation organizations. In 1996, three Wanniyala-aetto representatives (a concept new to them) journeyed to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, to bring their story to the world. They hope that international public opinion will convince the government of Sri Lanka to concede, to the 2000 Wanniyala-aetto, the right to maintain their lives as "forest beings": the right to formal recognition as

a people and a culture, located back in the forest they call home.

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I.VI SOUTHEAST ASIA

I.VI.1

Introduction: Southeast Asia

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Southeast Asia, stretching from the mountains of Myanmar to the islands of eastern Indonesia, is a region of enormous cultural complexity. For at least 40,000 years modern humans have been moving into or through the area, their cultures diverging, converging, and mixing. During the last two millennia, international trade brought influences from India, China, and the Middle East. Five European countries and the United States later colonized much of the region, further modifying local cultures. Today most Southeast Asian nations are undergoing rapid economic development. Hunter-gatherers are a tiny fraction of the population, scattered among farmers and participants in modern industrial economies.

Archaeological and linguistic evidence (Bellwood, this volume) shows two categories of foragers in Southeast Asia: those with a continuous history of foraging since pre-agricultural times and those whose ancestors respecialized in foraging by giving up the agricultural and animal-rearing components of an earlier mixed economy. The "continuous foragers" include the Philippine Negritos, the Semang of peninsular Malaysia, and probably the Dulong and similar groups in Yunnan, southwestern China. Having continuity with a foraging past does not mean their way of life has remained unchanged since the Pleistocene. For example, both Negritos and Semang apparently adopted languages of immigrant agriculturalists who began arriving in the Philippines and Malay peninsula at least 3000 years ago (Reid 1987, Headland and Reid 1989). This suggests that foragers and farmers maintained close relations, probably centering on trade of forest products for agricultural products. Benjamin (1985) argues that such trade made it possible for each group to benefit from the activities and expertise of the other and enabled each to specialize still further in their complementary methods of exploiting the tropical rainforest (see also Hutterer 1988). This would partially explain why some Negritos and Semang continued nomadic foraging into the late twentieth century, long after they knew how to grow crops. However, some former continuous foragers, such as the Lanoh of peninsular Malaysia and the Ayta Negritos of western Luzon (Brosius 1990), have become full-time swidden farmers. The Dulong and similar groups in southwestern China, on the other hand, developed economies that combine agriculture and foraging as alternating seasonal phases (Song and Shen, this volume).

Most "respecialized foragers" descend from Austronesian-speaking peoples who began moving from Taiwan into island Southeast Asia about 5000 years ago (Bellwood, this volume). Their original economy included agriculture and animal husbandry together with hunting, gathering, fishing, and

trade (Blust 1976, Bellwood 1997). Some of their descendants gave up farming and raising animals and thus became hunter-gatherers. Respecialized foragers include the Punan of central Borneo; the sea nomads, who frequent islands and coastlines from southern Myanmar to eastern Indonesia; the Kubu of southern Sumatra; the Semaq Beri of peninsular Malaysia, and probably the Mlabri of northeastern Thailand. Some scholars consider the Tasaday of southern Mindanao, Philippines, to be respecialized foragers (Headland 1992), but others regard them as a hoax (Berreman, this volume).

Most respecialized foragers apparently gave up food production to exploit environments, like mangrove forests, in which harvesting wild resources was easier than farming (Sather 1995). Others gave up farming as a result of conflict with more powerful groups. Conflict also reinforced the nomadic habits of some continuous foragers. Interior rainforests and coastal mangrove forests were refuges in which people - especially nomads - could hide from enemies. Some groups, like the Kubu of Sumatra, apparently became foragers to preserve their political and economic independence from expanding kingdoms, which tended to absorb hinterland peoples as serfs or slaves. Over the last 500 years, slave-raiders and aggressive immigrants probably drove some swidden farmers, like the Mlabri of Thailand, into the deep forest, where nomadism protected them from outside aggressors. In historical times many Southeast Asian foragers, both continuous and respecialized, have feared outsiders, even while desiring to trade with them. These contradictory strains are well expressed in the widely reported practice of "silent trade," in which hostile parties exchange products without meeting face-to-face.

Map 12 Hunter-gatherers in Southeast Asia

Despite their different developmental histories, the continuous and respecialized foragers have converged in important ways. Most are nomadic and live in small, flexible groups. They have a simple division of labor based mainly on sex and age. Most follow indigenous religions, in contrast to their agricultural neighbors, who often subscribe to world religions like Islam, Theravada Buddhism, and Christianity. Except for the Kubu, their political and social systems are basically egalitarian. All engage in some trade with agricultural peoples or commercial traders.

Some scholars (Headland 1987, Bailey *et al*. 1989) have hypothesized that hunter-gatherers cannot survive in undisturbed tropical rainforests without trading for carbohydrates or growing some crops of their own, because the sources of carbohydrates are too scanty, hard to extract, or irregularly available to support even small, mobile groups. Evidence from Southeast Asia generally contradicts this hypothesis. Archaeological evidence indicates that broad-spectrum foragers (the Hoabinhians) lived in the rainforests of mainland Southeast Asia well before the advent of agriculture in that region (Bellwood, this volume). Evidence from recent foragers, like the Batek of peninsular Malaysia (Endicott and Bellwood 1991, Dentan 1991), supports the claim that broad-spectrum foragers can survive on wild resources alone at least in some Southeast Asian rainforests. In central Borneo and the islands of eastern Indonesia, hunter-gatherers achieve nutritional self-sufficiency by exploiting starch from the trunks of wild sago palms (Brosius 1991, Sellato 1994).

The earliest systematic accounts of Southeast Asian foragers are the scholarly and official reports of colonial administrators (e.g., Skeat and Blagden 1906, Evans 1937, Reed 1904), based on brief

expeditions, surveys, or extended but superficial administrative contact. Other early research was motivated by theories that the Philippine Negritos, Malayan Semang, Andamanese, and African Pygmies were remnants of a once widespread race of "primitive" human foragers (Quatrefages 1894, Schmidt 1910). Those studies (e.g., Schebesta 1928,1952, 1954,1957,Vanoverbergh 1937–8) discredited the Africa—Asia connection, though some scholars still consider the Negritos and Semang (and possibly the Andamanese) to have a common ancestry. After a hiatus during World War II and the following period of independence struggles, professionally trained anthropologists began conducting modern problem-oriented studies among a number of foraging peoples (see the bibliographies of this chapter and the case studies).

Philippine Negritos or Aeta

In the Philippines, the people most associated with foraging are termed, as a group, "Negritos" (Spanish for "little blacks") or Aeta (Griffin and Griffin, this volume). About 15,000 Negritos, comprising roughly twenty-five distinct ethnolinguistic groups, live in small, scattered communities on the islands of Luzon, Palawan, Panay, Negros, Cebu, and Mindanao (Headland 1993). Many Negritos, especially in Luzon, are phenotypically distinct from the majority population of Christian Filipinos and "non-Christian tribes," being short in stature and dark-skinned, with woolly black hair and broad flat noses. But other groups designated as Negritos are physically variable, with few individuals showing the "classical Negrito" features. Some scholars attribute some of these physical differences and variations to descent from a distinct ancestral population (e.g., Bellwood 1997), while others hypothesize *in situ* microevolution (e.g., Headland 1993).

Most authorities believe that the Negritos were originally hunter-gatherers, although many groups have practiced swidden horticulture for hundreds of years (Reed 1904, Fox 1952, Schebesta 1952,1954,1957, Garvan 1964, Maceda 1964, Shimizu 1989, Brosius 1990). Today most Negritos have become farmers and casual laborers living in small semi-permanent villages. Practicing foragers, like the Agta of northeastern Luzon (Griffin and Griffin, this volume; Peterson 1978, Griffin and Estioko-Griffin 1985, Headland 1986), also plant some crops, and their foraging has taken on a commercial character, as they obtain most of their carbohydrates by trading meat and forest products to local Filipino farmers.

The population of identifiable Negritos is rapidly declining owing partly to intermarriage and assimilation into other groups, and partly to reproductive breakdown (Eder 1987, Headland 1989). Negritos are losing out in the competition with Filipinos for land and resources, as the forested areas are rapidly logged off and taken over by settlers. Malnutrition, disease, alcohol abuse, homicide, and demoralization are among the factors that have caused Negritos to have low birth rates and high death rates.

Semang and Semaq Beri of peninsular Malaysia

In peninsular Malaysia the people generally identified with hunting and gathering are the Semang (Malayan Negritos) (Skeat and Blagden 1906, Evans 1937, Schebesta 1928, 1952, 1954, 1957, Endicott 1979, 1993). There are eight linguistically distinct groups in Malaysia, and more in southern Thailand. With a total population of about 2500, the Semang live in widely scattered clusters on both

sides of the Titiwangsa mountain range, which bisects the northern half of the peninsula. They prefer the rainforest-covered foothills between the mountains, occupied by aboriginal (Orang Asli) swiddeners, and the coastal plains, where most Malays, Chinese, and Indians live. Until the end of the nineteenth century, most Semang were broad-spectrum foragers like their Hoabinhian ancestors. But they probably also traded with farmers from the advent of agriculture in the peninsula in the second millennium BC. For at least the last 1500 years, Semang have supplied forest products like resins to the international trade network through Malay and, later, Chinese middlemen (Dunn 1975).

Today, only a few Jahai (van der Sluys, this volume) and Batek De' (Endicott, this volume) still practice nomadic foraging and trade. Even early in this century several groups - Lanoh, Mendriq, and Batek Nong - had become semi-settled swidden horticulturalists. Since about 1970, the Malaysian government has settled most other Semang at "regroupment schemes," where they eke out a living growing subsistence and cash crops, collecting forest products for trade in the little forest that has not been logged off, and working as casual laborers (Dentan *et al*. 1997).

Until the mid- 1970s some members of a non-Negrito aboriginal group, the Semaq Beri, also practiced nomadic foraging and trade (Endicott 1975, Kuchikura 1987, Ramie 1993). The Semaq Beri, numbering about 2100 persons, inhabited a large contiguous area in the interior forest of northeastern Pahang, southeastern Kelantan, and western Terengganu. While some Semaq Beri were full-time forager-traders, the majority combined foraging and collecting for trade with swidden farming at small villages. Some Semaq Beri apparently were once prosperous farmers living near the Terengganu coast, but were driven out of that area by some sort of conflict (Endicott 1975). The Semaq Beri foragers, then, may have been refugees who had to adopt foraging as a survival expedient. Today, most Semaq Beri have settied at government regroupment schemes in Pahang and Terengganu.

Punan of Borneo

Central Borneo is home to about 12,000 nomadic or previously nomadic hunting and gathering people known generically as Punan (Hildebrand 1982, Rousseau 1990, Sellato 1994). Punan typically occupy the rainforest-covered hills at the headwaters of the rivers that drain the interior, while swidden farmers, like the Iban and the Kayan, reside along the lower reaches of the rivers. Punan in different areas exhibit minor cultural differences and are known to their farming neighbors by various ethnonyms (e.g., Penan, Basap, Kereho, Beketan).

Foraging Punan exploit a wide range of wild resources, but the staple of their diet is starch from the trunks of wild sago palms *(Eugeissona utilis)*. They fell the trees, split the trunks, crush the pith, and wash out the starch. Although sago is a reliable year-round food source, the yields of *Eugeissona utilis* are relatively low, thus necessitating frequent movement from grove to grove. Punan also engage in occasional trade with their settled neighbors downstream.

In a controversial book, Hoffman (1986) argues that Punan descend from people who hived off from farming communities in order to become specialized suppliers of forest products for overseas trade. More likely, Punan are respecialized foragers whose Austronesian ancestors adopted a sago-based foraging economy to serve their subsistence needs as they moved into the interior rainforest (Bellwood, this volume). There is ample evidence that trade was of minor importance to the Punan and that the trend, at least during the last few hundred years, has been for nomads to settle down and

adopt mixed economies, including agriculture, rather than the reverse (Rousseau 1990:16–251, Brosius 1991, Sellato 1994).

Today, most Punan groups are settled or semi-settled and depend to varying degrees on agriculture. Some have assimilated into farming groups. Probably the most nomadic group remaining is the Eastern Penan (Needham 1972; Brosius, this volume). But the Eastern Penan way of life, like that of all forest-dwelling peoples in Borneo, is now threatened by logging and development. The Eastern Penan achieved international notoriety for blockading logging roads in the 1980s.

Dulong of southeastern China

The Dulong are one of at least ten small-scale societies (including the Ku-Cong, Bu-Lang, Ji-Nuo, and Nu) in the southwestern China highlands that alternate seasonally between farming and foraging (Song and Shen, this volume; Shen, personal communication, 1996). Among Dulong, patrilineally related households congregate at riverside settlements in winter and spring to fish and grow crops and then disperse in upland camps in summer and fall to hunt and gather wild foods. Possibly owing to population pressure, kin groups claim exclusive rights over farm lands, stretches of river, fishing weirs, and hunting and gathering territories.

The Dulong and similar groups were probably isolated, self-sufficient foragers who gradually added cultivated crops, introduced by traders and immigrants, to their seasonal round. They claim to have used stone tools as recently as the nineteenth century. Now the Chinese government is encouraging them to adopt irrigated rice farming.

Eastern Indonesian hunter-gatherers

In the Maluku Islands (Moluccas) and Irian Jaya (Indonesian New Guinea), many groups combine cultivation of subsistence and cash crops with exploitation of wild resources, especially sago palms, game, and fish. Some groups depend so little on domesticated resources, however, that they may plausibly be regarded as hunter-gatherers. Such groups include the Toala (Lebar 1972, Roy Ellen, personal communication, 1997) and the Sinalutan Lauje (Nourse 1989) of Sulawesi; indigenous people of Taliabu (Baldwin 1993); the Huaulu and Maneo of Seram (Valeri 1990,1994, Hagen 1996); the Tugutil of Halmahera (Taylor 1990, Martodirdjo 1991, 1993, 1994, Chris Duncan, personal communication, 1996); and the coastal Asmat of Irian Jaya (Van Arsdale 1978). Ellen argues convincingly (1979) that before AD 1400, most Malukan communities had self-sufficient economies based on hunting, forest-gathering, and sago extraction. Horticulture and arboriculture gained importance only after the sixteenth-century arrival of European spice traders, when people began to concentrate on growing cash crops like cloves and nutmeg, and after the introduction of new food crops, like rice and manioc, from Asia and the Americas.

Unlike the nomadic Punan of Borneo, the wild-sago-exploiting groups of eastern Indonesia generally live in sedentary villages, although work parties may be absent for long periods of time. This is possible because they derive their sago from *Metroxylon sagu* palms, which are abundant in swampy areas and which produce an enormous amount of starch compared to the *Eugeissona utilis* palms of central Borneo. In south Seram, for example, a mature tree produces about 300 kg of flour, which is 84–85 percent starch (Ellen 1979:49). “Sago provides more calories per man-hour of

labour, sometimes as much as three times, than domesticated tubers and grains" (Ellen 1979:49).

Recently logging, development projects, and government-promoted immigration from high-population areas have reduced the amount of wild foods available in eastern Indonesia and led most groups to increase their dependence on cultivated crops. But sago, from both wild and tended palms, remains important in their diet.

Sea nomads

The tropical forests are not the only environment capable of supporting hunter-gatherers in Southeast Asia. The warm, shallow seas with their variegated shorelines, mangrove forests, coral reefs, and islands harbor a rich diversity of marine life. Numerous groups orient their lives to the sea, mostly as fishermen or traders. Some, the "sea nomads," follow a pattern of foraging for subsistence and trade that is reminiscent of nomadic rainforest foragers (Bernatzik 1951, Sopher 1965, Ivanoff 1989, Nowak 1993, Sather 1993, 1995, 1997).

The sea-oriented peoples, all of whom speak Austronesian languages, form three distinct cultural-linguistic groupings (Sather 1995:240–52). The Sama Bajau group lives scattered along coasts and among islands from the southern Philippines, to eastern Borneo and Sulawesi, and southeastward as far as Flores and the southern Maluku Islands. The Malay-speaking Orang Laut inhabit islands and estuaries between eastern Sumatra, southern Johor, and the Riau-Lingga archipelago south of Singapore, with a northern subgroup near Phuket on the southwestern coast of Thailand. The third group, the Moken, lives further north in the Mergui archipelago. Most Sama Bajau and Orang Laut are settled fishermen, traders, craftsmen, or farmers; boat-dwelling nomads are a small minority. By contrast, most Moken are sea nomads.

The true sea nomads have no permanent homes except their boats which are 6–9 m long. Each boat has a hearth and a living area with a removable palm leaf roof supported by split bamboo arches. Usually each boat houses a single nuclear family. The group that travels and moors together consists of five to thirty families related through bilateral kinship ties. Occasionally several such groups come together and form large flotillas, as when they are sheltering in protected bays during stormy weather. But each group normally confines its travels to a limited home area. Most sea nomad groups are associated with shore-dwelling patrons, who enjoy a monopoly on trade with them in return for providing political protection.

Sea nomads harvest sea products for both subsistence and exchange. Most groups trade fish, shellfish, crustaceans, sea cucumbers, pearls, etc. for rice and other agricultural foods, clothing, and tools. Some groups - like the Moken and the Orang Seletar, who live between Singapore Island and Johor - are broad-spectrum foragers. They exploit the resources of island forests, including wild tubers, fruits, and game, as well as those of the mangroves and the sea. Others trade sea commodities for most of their food.

Government pressures, competition from technologically advanced fishermen, and the destruction of coastal habitats by development have led to the sedentarization of most sea nomads in recent years (see, e.g., Sather 1997). Often they establish coastal villages and become farmers, commercial fishermen, or laborers (Omar bin Abdul 1985).

Kubu of Sumatra

The only Sumatran people with a foraging tradition are the Kubu, who live in the island's southeastern lowlands. The Austronesian-speaking Kubu physically resemble the Muslim Malays, the dominant coastal and riverine population of the area. The Kubu are probably remnants of an Austronesian group that respecialized in foraging to resist domination by local Malay kingdoms that first arose in the fifth century.

Many of the 15,000 Kubu have now adopted Islam and full-time farming and have largely merged with the Malays. Others are struggling to find a new niche in recently logged off areas (Persoon 1989).

About 800 Kubu, the Orang Rimba ("Forest People"), maintain a traditional foraging-trading-swiddening economy in an isolated area in the headwaters of the Batang Hari River (Sandbukt 1984, 1988a, 1988b). The Orang Rimba alternate between foraging and swid-dening. While foraging they live in temporary camps in groups linked through women, as they strictly follow an uxorilocal post-marital residence rule. They gather wild yams, palm cabbage, sago starch, fruits, and honey, and hunt terrestrial game like pigs and deer using spears and traps, sometimes aided by dogs. When they shift to farming, they clear small swiddens and plant manioc, yams, taro, sugar cane, bananas, sweet potatoes, and fruit trees. They use the swidden as a base camp, but continue to forage and collect forest products. Although they consider farming easier and more reliable than foraging, they regularly return to nomadic life, feeling that it protects them from domination by outsiders (Sandbukt 1988a, 1988b). Groups often revert to foraging when a swidden is exhausted and always do so when someone dies at the swidden.

Kubu have long supplied forest products to rulers of Malay kingdoms, who passed them into the international trade network. Even today Kubu must give traditional valuables, like ivory and beeswax, to a Malay official, the *jenang*, who rewards them with customary gifts of cloth and metal tools. However, they trade other forest products, like rattan, to various Malay middlemen on a commercial basis.

Orang Rimba have a hierarchy of chiefs, appointed by the *jenang*, who act as intermediaries between the Kubu and the *jenang*. Chiefs also enforce Kubu customary law and can impose fines, in sheets of cloth, on wrong-doers, an indicator that Orang Rimba are partially incorporated in the hierarchical Malay society, while remaining partially autonomous.

Logging, plantations, and immigration now fragment Kubu groups and undermine traditional life (Persoon 1989). The Indonesian government is trying to settle them at resetdement villages where it can "develop" and "civilize" them. Some Kubus survive as laborers, handicraft sellers, and beggars on the fringes of Malay farms and towns.

Mlabri of northern Thailand

Perhaps the most elusive Southeast Asian foragers are the Mlabri. Villagers in northern Thailand have long believed that mysterious people or human-form spirits, the Phi Tong Luang ("Spirits of the Yellow Leaves"), lived deep in the forests, fleeing all outside contact. Only their lean-tos, covered with withered yellow leaves, found occasionally by hunters, yielded evidence of their existence. In 1938, ethnographers Hugo and Ellie Bernatzik located a group of so-called Phi Tong Luang in Nan Province. They stayed with them for several weeks, leading to the first well-documented report on these people (Bernatzik 1951). Their existence and the general features of their way of life were

confirmed by later researchers (Weaver 1956, Nimmanahaeminda and Hartland-Swann 1962, Boeles 1963, Velder 1963, Trier 1981, 1986, Pookajorn 1985, 1992).

The picture that emerges is of a highly mobile, broad-spectrum foraging people living in extreme fear of outsiders. The Mlabri ("Forest People"), as they call themselves, lived in small camps of two or three closely related families, usually within a few kilometers of other such camps. They moved every five to ten days, even when there was still food nearby. Only in the rainy season would they congregate in larger groups, in especially inaccessible parts of the bamboo forest. Their shelters were simple lean-tos with leaf floors. They kept numerous dogs to warn of intruders and maintained fires through the night to frighten off tigers.

Mlabri gathered a wide range of wild foods including yams, bamboo shoots, nuts, fruits, and honey. They also dug up small game, like bamboo rats, with digging sticks and killed larger game, including pigs and barking deer, with spears and the assistance of dogs. They made knives, digging stick blades, and spear points from scraps of iron, using a bamboo bellows. They carried their equipment in net bags.

Early in this century they supposedly engaged in silent trade with villagers, leaving beeswax and honey on paths and receiving cloth, metal, and salt in return. By the 1930s, some men directly traded intricate rattan mats and baskets, among other things, to a few trusted Hmong (Miao) villagers, but they never stayed in villages more than a few hours. They avoided other outsiders, some of whom shot at them on sight. By the 1980s, the forests in their home areas in Nan and Prae Provinces had been much reduced by logging and immigration by swid-deners. Most of the estimated 200 Mlabri now live on the fringes of Hmong villages and work on Hmong farms in return for food and consumer goods.

It is unclear whether the Mlabri are "continuous" or "respecialized" foragers. They physically resemble some other Southeast Asian hill tribes. They speak a distinct Mon-Khmer language, as do some of their agriculturalist neighbors. They could be descendants of a pre-Thai foraging population that spoke or adopted a Mon-Khmer language. More likely, they are descendants of farmers who fled into the forest some centuries ago, after clashing with one of the many groups that migrated into the area.

Conclusions

Southeast Asian hunter-gatherers arrived at their foraging ways of life by differing paths, and they exploit diverse natural and social environments. The main problem they now face is the same: all are losing the land and resources necessary for their survival. The nation-state governments of the region view the exploitation of foragers' home areas (by logging, mining, commercial agriculture, etc.) as a necessary step toward national prosperity. These governments do not recognize land rights of politically insignificant groups of hunter-gatherers. Consequently, most of Southeast Asia's foragers are rapidly becoming marginalized, demoralized, unskilled peasants or casual laborers on reservations or the fringes of society.

Table 3 Southeast Asian peoples who are or were hunter-gatherers, by country

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I.VI.2

Archaeology of Southeast Asian hunters and gatherers

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The prehistoric record in Southeast Asia enshrines the long-term ancestry of several existing hunter-gatherer groups, especially the Negritos of Malaysia (Semang) and the Philippines (Agta). It also suggests that some other groups, such as the Punan of Borneo and Kubu of Sumatra, have a very different kind of ancestry involving a switch to hunting and gathering from a partially agriculturalist background. Issues of contention will be discussed after the presentation of the archaeological background.

This chapter does not deal with Javan *Homo erectus* because of current debate over the significance of this hominid in modern human ancestry. Even if it has contributed some genes to modern populations there is very little archaeological record in association, apart from a few rather equivocal stone tool assemblages claimed from a small number of sites in Thailand, Vietnam, central Java and possibly Flores. The populations foregrounded here are the anatomically modern humans who have lived since the beginning of the radiocarbon-datable part of the cultural record, about 40,000 radiocarbon years ago, possibly much longer in actual solar years. The term "hunter and gatherer" is normally applied to such populations if they lived before the dispersal of systematic agriculture, which in this region has occurred within the past 5000 years, despite the fact that many pre-agricultural groups may have carried out some "incipiently agricultural" activities such as replanting tubers, encouraging crop-bearing trees, burning vegetation, and engaging in limited forest clearance. Many Southeast Asian and Australian hunter-gatherers practiced such activities into ethnographic times. Hunters and gatherers have also continued to inhabit forested regions of Southeast Asia within the past 5000 years and still do today, but in rapidly decreasing numbers.

In terms of early hunter-gatherer colonizations of Southeast Asia, early hominids (*Homo erectus)* were able to walk, between one and two million years ago, as far as Java, Bali, and Borneo on Pleistocene land bridges produced by lowered glacial sea levels. Colonization by anatomically modern human beings spread much later from Sundaland across the Wallace Line, through the islands of eastern Indonesia (Wallacea), to Australia/New Guinea (joined as one continent during most of the Pleistocene), and onward to the Bismarcks and Solomons. This major dispersal, which carried the ancestors of the Negritos, New Guinea Highlanders, and Australians, was underway by at least 35,000 years ago and perhaps 60,000 years ago according to luminescence dates from sites in northern Australia. (Even older claims for the Kimberley region of Australia are currently under

review.) These early Wallacean and Australasian colonists had to cross sea gaps up to 90 km wide, and have contributed to human history the oldest evidence of sea crossing, presumably purposeful.

Within the last 5000 to 3500 years (depending on location), most of the lowland, coastal, and accessible riverine areas of Southeast Asia have become over-colonized by agriculturalist populations. These include the Austronesian-speaking peoples of Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, and mainland groups such as the Tai, Tibeto-Burman, and Austroasiatic (Vietnamese, Khmer) speakers. Since this time, hunters and gatherers have survived increasingly in isolated regions, particularly in remote rainforest areas unattractive to cultivators. There is no evidence to suggest that any of the ancient hunters and gatherers of equatorial Southeast Asia developed systematic agriculture themselves free from all outside influence, although the likelihood of this becomes higher as one moves into more northerly regions of seasonal tropical climate in northern Vietnam and southern China (rice agriculture developed first along the Yangtse). In the equatorial regions, agriculture seems everywhere to have been introduced by incoming agricultural populations, with the important exception of the New Guinea Highlands where a localized development of shifting and swamp agriculture took place after 10,000 years ago.

The archaeological record of *mainland* Southeast Asian hunting and gathering is enshrined in the Hoabinhian pebble tool industry which occupied virtually the whole region between about 18,000/13,000 and 5000/4000 years ago (depending on location), with extensions into later times in remote hinterlands. The Hoabinhian is well represented in caves in southern China, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Thailand. Coastal shell middens of Holocene date survive in Malaysia, Vietnam, and a small region of northern Sumatra, but all low-lying Hoabinhian coastal sites older than about 8000 years have presumably been destroyed by rising post-Pleistocene sea levels or are buried deep under layers of coastal alluvium. Within the Hoabinhian economy, hunting of forest mammals up to large sizes (rhinoceros, bovids, pigs, deer), together with shellfishing and river fishing are all attested. Caves recently excavated in Kelantan (Malaysia) have yielded phytoliths (plant fossils) of rattan, bamboo, banana species, palms, and the *ipoh* tree *(Antiaris toxicaria)* used for barkcloth and blowpipe dart or arrow poison. No Hoabinhian sites have yielded agricultural crop remains in secure association, and older claims for Hoabinhian agriculture remain without foundation. However, plant resource management and some degree of hunting specialization (e.g., in wild pig hunting in the Malaysian cave of Gua Cha) were probably necessary, given current views about the lack of easy food resources in interior rainforests from a "pure forager" perspective.

Map 13 Archaeological sites in Southeast Asia

Hoabinhian burials tend to be flexed, often covered with red ochre and without grave goods apart from occasional stone pillows and stone grave covers. Hoabinhian stone tools are mostly made from river pebbles, sharp-edged by unifacial flaking (China, Vietnam, Laos, Sumatra) or bifacial flaking (southern Thailand, Malaysia). Edge-ground pebble tools are reported from a few sites in Vietnam and peninsular Malaysia and many sites produce bone points and grindstones.

Prior to 18,000 years ago the archaeological record is very thin on the Southeast Asian mainland, owing presumably to the very distant retreat of the sea during the glacial maximum at about 20,000

years ago and the fact that most known sites would at that time have been far inland and thus presumably only rarely frequented. Some near-coastal sites in southern Thailand and Vietnam have much earlier assemblages of flake and pebble tools dating to higher sea level times at about 30,000 to 40,000 years ago, and these assemblages may possibly be ancestral to the Hoabinhian. The most significant feature of the Hoabinhian, however (becoming ever clearer as research proceeds in peninsular Malaysia), is that it *represents a major expansion of human populations into interior equatorial rainforest*, probably under some persuasion from advancing coastlines, during the warm wet climatic conditions toward the end of the Pleistocene. In the Malay Peninsula this population used a network of large limestone caves for shelter; some interior riverine and coastal caves have archaeological deposits of very considerable thickness and artifact density. Although there is no direct evidence, one must presume a developed form of animal trapping technology, as well as a projectile technology of some kind, perhaps involving the bow and arrow and the blowpipe with vegetable poisons for projectile tips (e.g, the sap of the *ipoh* tree).

The Hoabinhians were almost certainly the ancestors of the modern Semang Negrito population of peninsular Malaysia and must also have contributed genes to many of the neighboring Senoi agriculturalist populations, although the latter also have strong biological links with Austroasiatic-speaking populations to the north, such as the Mons and Khmers. Hoabinhian skeletons are reported from a number of Vietnamese and Malaysian caves, all conforming to an Australian/Melanesian range in phenotype rather than to a Mongoloid one. Unfortunately, no such detailed record is yet available for the Philippine Negritos. Although Hoabinhian skeletonstend to be slightly taller than those of modern Negrito people, the intervening millennia seem to have been ample for the stature reduction which is one of the markers of these groups.

In the *islands* of Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia (but excluding northern Sumatra, and possibly Taiwan and Luzon, which have Hoabinhian-like industries), the archaeological record is different from the Hoabinhian. It has an emphasis on flake rather than pebble tools and is best known from the center and east of the archipelago, where long sequences extending back for upward of 30,000 to 40,000 years are reported from caves in Borneo, Sulawesi, Palawan, and the Moluccas. No Negrito populations have ever been recorded in Indonesia or Borneo and these islands are now mainly populated by Austronesian-speaking agriculturalists, substantially of mainland Asian origin, whose ancestors began to disperse through the region between 4000 and 3000 years ago. This complete absence of Negrito-like people, until one reaches the environs of New Guinea, is a little puzzling when compared to west Malaysia and the Philippines. It suggests a much thinner population of Pleistocene hunter-gatherers in the lowland non-seasonal rainforests along the equator than in the slightly seasonal zones which begin about 5° or more north and south (the Malaysian Negritos tend to be concentrated in the center and north of the peninsula). Today, hunter-gatherer groups are virtually absent in Indonesia (excluding Irian Jaya) owing to the size and density of the cultivator population, apart from the rather equivocal Punan and Kubu, to be discussed below. The living descendants of the pre-agricultural hunter-gatherer populations of Indonesia probably exist most clearly in a biological sense in parts of eastern Indonesia, New Guinea, and Australia, albeit in the former two cases predominantly as agriculturalists.

Some aspects of the terminal Pleistocene cave sequences of the central and eastern islands of Southeast Asia are of great interest on a world scale. They imply the oldest evidence in the world for ocean crossings, and some regions innovated quite distinctive tool forms -bifacial knives and points

in Sabah (the Tingkayu industry; older than 18,000 BP), edge-ground stone tools in the Niah Caves in Sarawak (late Pleistocene), and large clam shell adzes in the northern Moluccas, Talaud, and Admiralty Islands (c. 13,000 to 9000 BP). A Holocene (post 6000 BP) industry of backed blades and microliths found widely in southern Sulawesi is very similar to contemporary industries in Australia suggesting that some degree of contact/diffusion occurred. The direction of this contact is unknown. It could have been from Australia to Sulawesi, rather than vice versa, as is normally assumed. Whatever the direction, this contact is unlikely to have introduced the domestic dog (dingo) to Australia. Available archaeological evidence indicates that dogs were brought from mainland Asia by Austronesians after 3500 BP. Also interesting is the evidence for translocation of marsupials into islands close to New Guinea. A range of species of cuscus, bandicoot, and wallaby were deliberately transported to various islands in the Moluccas and Bismarcks between about 20,000 and 10,000 years ago. This represents something perhaps unusual in hunter-gatherer prehistory: a deliberate "stocking" of faunally depauperate islands with wild animals, left to breed for future exploitation. The downside of this story is that some of these species are locally extinct now, victims of much greater environmental pressures from later agriculturalists and their introduced pigs and dogs.

We now need to look at the prehistories of surviving hunter-gatherer groups in Southeast Asia in terms of the data from archaeology, comparative linguistics, and biological anthropology. The Negrito populations of peninsular Malaysia and the Philippines are most closely related to Australians and Melanesians in general pheno-type and cranio-facial form, but they have high representation of a specific nine base-pair deletion in the mitochondrial genome which is found also in surrounding Mongoloid populations. Linguistic evidence suggests also that these Negrito groups switched long ago from unknown linguistic affiliations into the Austronesian (Philippine subgroup) and Austroasiatic (Aslian subgroup) language families to which they now belong. These observations suggest long contact and intermarriage with the surrounding agriculturalists, but not sufficient to ensure total assimilation. Some Philippine Negrito groups probably adopted shifting agriculture long ago, especially in drier parts of western Luzon. Others in the wetter rainforests of northeastern Luzon, together with the Malaysian Negritos, have managed to maintain a successful hunting and gathering lifestyle until now, but how much longer this lifestyle will survive is a very pressing issue as we enter the new millennium. All these groups adopted the use of iron for tools many centuries ago and none was recorded by Europeans as having truly Stone Age technologies.

The equatorial zone hunters and gatherers of Borneo and Sumatra would appear, at least according to the linguistic and archaeological records taken in combination, to have prehistories very different from those of the Negrito populations. These groups include the Punan of parts of interior Borneo, the Kubu of southern Sumatra, and perhaps the Tasaday of Mindanao, although the origin of the latter is a matter of controversy (see Berreman, this volume). Linguistically, all these groups speak Austronesian languages and thus belong to a language family with a very convincing series of lexical reconstructions for an agricultural lifestyle at the proto-Austronesian level (perhaps located in Taiwan, *c*. 5000 years ago). One might wonder, therefore, if these equatorial groups, like the Philippine Negritos, could be relatively autochthonous to the region and owe their current Austronesian language affiliation to ancient language shift. The answer appears to be negative from a biological perspective: the Punan and Kubu (and the Tasaday) are members of the same Mongoloid grouping as the mainstream agricultural populations of Indonesia and the Philippines. A likely origin for the Punan involves a move from a lowland and coastal agricultural economy, perhaps as much as

3500 years ago during the initial Austronesian colonization of Borneo, into an interior rainforest hunting and gathering economy in restricted regions (mostly in the north-center of the island). The proto-Austronesian economy was doubtless not totally agricultural (like all farmers in regions of sparse population, the early Austronesians also had thriving foraging and maritime economies, well attested by the widespread archaeological record of coastal shell middens and hunted wild animal bones in sites). Thus, specializations toward hunting and gathering, when economic conditions made such specializations worthwhile, need cause no surprise. All the groups under discussion here live in regions where agriculture is a difficult activity (wet rainforest, clayey and stony soils), and for societies with traditions of exchange, such specalizations are to be expected. This conclusion, however, does not turn the Punan into purely commercial foragers. They are clearly genuine hunter-gatherers just like the Agta, albeit with a totally different historical trajectory. The Tasaday are a little different since, if they manage to survive suggestions that they are complete fakes, they may be refugees from some relatively recent phase of conflict.

Island Southeast Asia also has another group of people who, in terms of their traditional lifestyle, could be termed maritime foragers. These are the "sea nomads." However, as with the Punan, such groups as the Sama-Bajau of the Sulu Sea and the Orang Laut of the Malay Peninsula and western Indonesia reflect adaptations which appear to post-date the Austronesian dispersal and to be reliant, to varying degrees, on settled agricultural peoples for trade and agricultural foodstuffs. Recent excavations at Bukit Tengkorak in Sabah suggest that aspects of the sea nomad lifestyle may be as much as 3000 years old, and such peoples may have been involved in the first Austronesian migrations across the seas of Oceania. However, it must be remembered that wherever Austronesians traveled (as far as Hawaii, Easter Island, and Madagascar) agriculture traveled with them. The Austronesian dispersal was not driven by a purely foraging economy and it is impossible to regard the Punan and Kubu as having been hunters and gatherers since the Pleistocene. In this regard they belong to a historical category different from the Negritos.

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I.VI.3

The Agta of eastern Luzon, Philippines

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Introduction

Agta are humid tropical forest bow-and-arrow hunters, collectors, and fisherfolk; sporadically, swiddeners and, increasingly, proletarian day-laborers. As hunters, some Agta groups are striking in that women may hunt wild pig, deer, monkey, and smaller game. Both men and women fish the rivers and the Pacific shoreline, using wire spears and goggles. Sophisticated arrowsmiths, the Agta are able to secure game in an increasingly improvident environment. Surplus catch is frequently traded to neighboring farmers and workers in exchange for items like rice, tobacco, sugar, and salt. In the 1990s, owing to increasing numbers of farmers and traders, the Agta of Palanan preferred cash sales to barter. Trading patterns between Agta and non-Agta have been the focus of academic debate and dominate the Agtas' public image.

The people call themselves and their language *Agta*. The Spanish used the term "Negrito" (common in both anthropology and Philippine popular culture). An equally common term for all culturally/physically similar indigenous peoples is *Aeta*. The autochthonous term *Agta* refers only to those of eastern Luzon. The actual *Aeta* currently live on the islands of Luzon, Panay, Palawan, Mindanao, and Negros. They are known locally as Aft, *Agta, Arta, Alta, Atta, Pugot, Ayta, Baluga*, or *Dumagat*. Negrito exonyms such as *Pugot* and *Baluga* are derogatory – equal in venom to "nigger" in American English. Both words have roots in slavery. The Agta of eastern Luzon have been much studied by anthropologists since the 1960s. The ethnographic present for this chapter is 1972–95.

Population
(Early 1990s), at Palanan about 750; at Casiguran, about 590; and at Cagayan, about 900.

Location
Eastern Luzon, the Philippines: 122°00′ to 122°30′ E, 16°00′ to 18°30′ N.

"I've been hearing that we'll get land titles from the government since I was a little girl. It's good that you people [indicating the junior author] keep coming around here and waking us up so that we can go on hoping."

Elder Agta woman, Dilaknadanum, June 1993

History

Agta ways of life along eastern Luzon prior to Spanish contact (late 1500s) are not well understood. Census materials from the Spanish and American colonial administrations often exclude the Agta. When they are mentioned, as in the 1939 census ("Palanan: 365 Negritos"), the number probably accounts only for those adjacent to the town center. Despite the lack of data, the character of the Agta over time may be pieced together.

Agta history in recent centuries is marked by exploitation, deprivation, land loss, and increased dependence on non-Agta Filipinos. Well before Spanish colonialism, Agta were raided by slavers sailing from the south. Since Spanish colonialism Agta have been conscripted into guerrilla and military forces. They became partially dependent on lowland farmers for foodstuffs and trade. Still, most were able to subsist fairly independently in the forests and along the rivers and coastline.

Since World War II Agta independence has eroded visibly, and is related to massive in-migration by farmers and laborers, to ongoing deforestation, and current environmental degradation. Twenty years of forest warfare between the Philippine armed forces and the New Peoples' Army have added to Agta troubles: as forest dwellers they are often caught in the struggle. At present, new agendas (biodiversity conservation and ecotourism) have begun to impact on the Agta.

Ecological setting

Eastern Luzon's rugged mountains and fast rivers disgorging from the Sierra Madre are not the resource-rich Agta homeland they once were. The Sierra Madre, divided into logging tracts following World War II, has been intensively logged since the 1960s, some areas so destructively that secondary forest growth has failed. The negative effect of logging is aggravated by tropical storms and typhoons striking the eastern Sierra Madre watershed annually; this damages important flowering trees. The subsequent lack of fruits and nuts impacts on the animal populations for whom they are food (such as lactating sows); which in turn impacts upon human well-being. Honey is little more than a seasonal treat for Agta and non-Agta because monsoon rains and storms damage so many flowers.

71 Bios River Agta families, Isabela Province, Eastern Luzon, 1982. Photo: P. Bion Griffin.

Farmers followed logging companies and cultivated logged-over land. The environment has not benefited, although in the short term the farmers may have. The farmers, generally emigrating from wet-rice regions, tend to be unfamiliar with swidden agriculture. In the absence of proper rotation, arable lands become exhausted, and give rise to grass/scrubland with low biodiversity. Many resources used by Agta have become unavailable, especially the former staple, wild tubers, which require optimal ecological conditions.

Logging and improper swidden agriculture have also caused river, stream, and estuary coral reef siltation. Aquatic resources, especially riverine fish, are less plentiful. These recent predations force the Agta to be very flexible in what they hunt or gather; and have increased their reliance on selling or trading non-edible forest products: rattan, palm-leaf thatching, and tree resins.

Economy

Many Agta no longer rely on wild carbohydrate staples. Instead, they seasonally gather many plant and animal foods and trading materials. They hunt three main prey: the Philippine bearded pig, deer, and monkey. Monitor lizards, fruit bats, and hornbills are less often hunted. Fish, caught by men and women two/three times a day, provide the bulk of protein needs. Children may begin "play" fishing at the age of four and begin hunting with parents or older siblings around the age of ten.

Agta sometimes maintain small fields of manioc, sweet potato, upland dry rice, papaya, and assorted vegetables. These fields are not large enough to sustain families the year around. The fields provide crops when other foods are not available; they constitute only one livelihood strategy in the Agta's mainly foraging production repertoire. Agta have difficulty becoming and remaining farmers as both fields and crops are often seized by aggressive non-Agta neighbors.

72 Agta woman spearing fish, Malibu River, Cagayan Province, Eastern Luzon, 1981. Photo: P. Bion Griffin.

The Agta trade extensively with neighbors. Long-term trading partners arc called *ibay*. At the very least, trade allows them frequently to obtain rice and consumer goods such as coffee and sugar from neighboring farmers. In times of crisis, by promising meat and harvest-time labor, they are sometimes able to secure help from long-term trading partners. Because the wider society considers them "near savages," and because they need the goods of neighboring farmers more than the farmers need the meat or labor they receive in return, the Agta perpetually lose in this economic relationship.

Settlement, mobility, and land tenure

The Agta are mobile foragers, exploiting available resources and social relationships. This mobility characterizes residential settlements and their understanding of land tenure. Much of Agta culture continues to be family and forest related. Whatever the Agta pursue, they do so as families. Blood and marriage ties determine where a family or group of families forage and reside. Groups of Agta are associated with a specific range/territory. These ranges have foci or centers usually indicated by socially and culturally recognized place names. Agta mobility is tied to kinship networks in a rather restricted territory; they are hardly nomadic.

Kinship may metaphorically be viewed as dynamic, moving threads in a fabric whose warp is composed of kin and whose weft, non-kin. This fabric, with periodic concentrations, or design motifs, covers the eastern Luzon region. Kin and non-kin are inseparable, such that people change both kin status and location with marriages and births; each marriage converts non-kin to affiines. The Agta live and move along the warp and weft, never venturing beyond the fabric of the kinship world. Individuals who become Filipinos are lost to the group; they cease to be Agta.

For a century the Agta have been pressed to settle in urbanized barrios. Those at Palanan and Casiguran have felt the pressure most, while those beyond the old town centers have tended to be ignored (as savages) by the authorities. The American colonial administration dabbled with settling the Agta (1910–20), and the Philippine government spawned several aborted schemes; serious

attempts at settlement only began with martial law in 1973. Current efforts by the Agta to achieve land tenure security and reduce land theft by farmers arises from these past experiences. Agta efforts to secure land title have intensified now that First World conservationists are interested in protecting the Sierra Madre's biodiversity and establishing a nature park in the Palanan area. On one hand, farmers and loggers want to control all land resources; on the other, conservationists believe they should determine the "who/how/what" of land use and ownership. Appalled, the Agta are responding to these pressures with increased group cohesion.

Domestic organization

Agta kinship is best viewed in residential group dynamics; people move from one domestic group to another, following a broad, loose network of bilateral kin and potential affines. Nuclear and extended families in a residential group are extremely close and important. An Agta child is born into a social fabric whose members are often in physical contact. Bonding between siblings and with parents is profound. Since any residential group should have at least two nuclear family units or houses, the close proximity of cousin playmates often develops into foraging team mates. Residential group membership is frequently changing, with intimates leaving, returning, and being joined by new cousins. This pool of close associates (cousins and siblings) combines mobility with stability. Group composition remains predictable, except for the instability created by death and disappearance. The domestic situation is one of concrete, tangible relationships and bonding.

Gender relations profoundly exemplify Agta egalitarianism. Men and women have equal access to decision-making. A couple, together, decide the major issues in their lives, and they consult older children, parents, siblings, and co-residents. Neither gender is inferior. Forceful and charismatic personalities emerge, and sway opinion and action, but they are not gender specific. Filipino society increasingly subordinates the female voice, preferring to deal publicly only with men.

Political organization

The spread of human beings through a cultural space mapped by a web of kin categories and relations defines and locates Agta politics and world-view. Next in priority to kinship are several dualities: between internal and external relations, relatives and non-relatives, egalitarianism and hierarchy. No one has control over another person, yet the Agta accept at some level they are inferior to, and exploitable by, non-Agta. The Agta tend to maintain their internal egalitarian ethic by limiting their subordinacy to the realm of external relations. Respecting one another, people maintain solidarity in the face of external conditions where they are exploited at whim and accorded no equality or respect. Predictable kin solidarity, with its sense of secure self-identity, is thus basic to Agta political mobilization, especially in the context of their struggles with government for land title, their participation in conservation-development plans, and their efforts to stop land theft by farmers.

Religion and spirituality

Agta spiritual beliefs remain active and vital, though they are not considered to be "religion" in any Western sense. Their world includes populations of spirits, mostly malevolent. The living and

geological universes are composed of and inhabited by spirit forces, including deceased Agta who put the living at risk, although some return as helpers to their children. For example, a certain hunter enjoyed the guidance and help of his father's spirit; this spirit became dominant and overpowering the moment the son grew tired from his hunting exertions. Power emanating from such deceased guides may sicken adjacent persons.

Thomas Headland, anthropologist with the Summer Institute of Linguistics and long-time scholar of the Agta, suggests the existence of an overarching deity, remote from everyday concerns of troublesome local spirits. This interpretation is consistent with other non-Christian Philippine belief systems which, though more complex, are consistent with the Agta's. Agta cosmology, like their social organization and world-view, is a simple, egalitarian version of pan-Philippine cosmologies.

Current situation

Agta culture is alive and well, though many Agta themselves are ailing. Many die prematurely. Today, Agta relations with the social and natural environments worsen as mainstream diseases, malnutrition, and endemic violence across the region all contribute to social stress and lower life expectancy. At the same time, Agta people want and need consumer goods: the rice, tobacco, and new-found luxuries unknown until recently. They enjoy social interaction with their exploiters, and would not be willing to return to the "game rich/rice poor bad old days." They are heavily addicted to tobacco and, in some areas, alcohol, both entirely controlled by the dominant populations. Contemporary Agta women, once strong subsistence providers, are among the strongest voices raised against the destructive effects of liquor. They point out it is used by non-Agta to control and diminish both Agta men and women.

Organization for resistance

Facing severe land and resource losses, the Agta have begun organizing as ethnic communities within the fabric of Philippine society. Marcus Griffin found in the early 1990s that Palanan Agta were, on their own initiative, adopting Christianity, partially as an organizing tool against exploitative outsiders. The Agta retain and adjust their kin-based world-view to deal with late twentieth-century impacts. Today they resist the use of violence (a change from the past) and seek integration, on their own terms, into local, national, and global culture.

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I.VI.4

The Batak of Palawan Island, the Philippines

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Introduction

The Batak are one of about twenty ethnolinguistically distinct groups of so-called "Negrito" foraging peoples in the Philippines. They inhabit the forested interior river valleys of the east coast of north-central Palawan Island. The Batak speak a language related, like others of the Palawan region, to the central Visayan group of Philippine languages, and they have important cultural affinities with the other indigenous peoples of Palawan.

They are, however, made distinctive by their short stature and other aspects of physical appearance, by their use of the bow and arrow, and by their extensive reliance on hunting and gathering forest and riverine resources.

73 Collecting wild honey. Photo: James F. Eder.

At the close of the nineteenth century, before Palawan Island was extensively settled by outside peoples, the Batak numbered 800–1000 persons. Today there are fewer than 400 Batak, including the offspring of increasingly frequent Batak marriages with other indigenous peoples and with lowland settlers from other regions of the Philippines.

History

For centuries, the Batak have engaged in important trade with maritime peoples of the Sulu region, exchanging forest products for manufactured goods and other requirements. The Spanish encountered Palawan in 1521 when the survivors of Magellan's expedition landed to seek provisions during their search for the Spice Islands. Yet Palawan remained on the periphery of the Philippine state throughout the Spanish colonial period and well into the American period. The earliest historical accounts (Miller 1905, Venturello 1907) describe the Batak as relatively isolated and undisturbed, a characterization consistent with the then limited presence on Palawan of lowland Filipinos.

Since 1900, lowland Filipino migration to Palawan, long one of the nation's principal remaining land frontiers, has incrementally alienated Batak land and other resources. During the 1930s, the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes established a series of reservations for the Batak, situated along the coastal plain portion of their ancestral territory. A strong surge in migration, following World War II,

led to this region being abandoned to the lowland settlers who flooded in during the 1950s. This period coincided with the first anthropological study of the Batak (Warren 1964). More recently, the Batak have retreated stepwise into the interior, keeping just ahead of advancing lowland farmers.

Population
About 400.

Location
North-central Palawan Island, the Philippines.

Ecological setting and demography

A chain of mountains runs the length of Palawan Island. The island experiences a June-December rainy season and a January-May dry season; the latter is particularly pronounced on the eastern coast, which receives about 1600 mm of rain a year and is one of the driest areas of the Philippines. The interior regions presently inhabited by the Batak receive greater rainfall but are nonetheless home to relatively dry, monsoonal vegetation of a type known as molave forests (Kummer 1992:43). While such forests lack the height, density, and species richness of evergreen rainforests, they provide a variety of accessible trees, shrubs, and vines producing carbohydrate-rich seeds, fruits, and tubers (Hutterer 1983:180–1). Palawan's long, narrow shape makes drainages in these forests relatively short and steep, but riverine resources figure prominently in Batak subsistence; settlement patterns are oriented accordingly.

Economy

The Batak economy is a combination of forest foraging, collection and sale of forest products, shifting cultivation, and wage labor for lowland Filipino farmers. Principal forest foods collected include wild pig, gliding squirrel, jungle fowl, wild honey, wild yams, wild fruits and greens, fish, molluscs, and crustaceans. Most forest food collecting is done by solitary individuals or small task groups operating from local group settlements or from temporary forest camps. In the past, pig hunting and fish stunning were sometimes large-group activities. Pigs are taken with the spear and hunting dogs or from blinds, with the bow and arrow or homemade guns. A variety of traps and snares are also used.

Commercially valuable forest products exchanged with outside peoples include honey, rattan, and Manila copal. The latter is a resin produced by the *almaciga* tree (*Agathis dammara)* used in the manufacture of paint, varnish, and other industrial products. By exchanging their forest products, the Batak acquire rice, clothing, and other consumer goods.

The Batak have also long produced some rice by shifting cultivation, together with smaller amounts of maize, cassava, and sweet potato, but cultivation is a far less important activity for them than it is for their lowland neighbors. Wage work for lowland farmers has in the twentieth century become increasingly important; groups of Batak may hire themselves out for several days at a time to help clear or weed fields, to harvest rice, or to pick coconuts or coffee. Guiding tourists has also become an occasional source of cash income.

The proportional contributions to subsistence of hunting and gathering, collection and exchange of

forest products, upland agriculture, and wage labor vary widely, from year to year and between local groups. But in recent times each activity has characteristically contributed from 15 to 30 percent to the total annual food supply.

Settlement patterns

The Batak are distributed in a series of eight local groups, each identified with a particular river and its watershed. At the end of the nineteenth century, each river valley contained from twenty to fifty households, normally dispersed into small clusters of related families at temporary forest and riverine camps.

74 A Batak girl helps her family move its possessions from one forest camp to another. Photo: James F. Eder.

By the 1980s, local group sizes ranged from three to twenty-four households; each group had a fixed settlement site, located 3–10 km upstream from a coastal lowland Filipino community. Such settlements are not permanently occupied because foraging trips to the interior, visits downriver to lowland employers and patrons, and the annual cycle of upland rice cultivation take small groups of individuals or households away from the settlement for days and weeks at a time.

The Philippine government has traditionally regarded all forests as "public land" and all occupants of such land as "squatters," regardless of length of occupancy. Whatever special legal status the Batak may have had in the past as a "cultural minority" has not effectively secured their territory, although efforts to secure the remainder have benefited from post-1970s social forestry programs and a more favorable political climate.

Domestic organization

Descent is bilateral and kinship terminology resembles that of other bilaterally organized groups in the Philippines. The basic distinctions defining Batak kinship categories are consanguinity *vis-à-vis* affinity; linearity *vis-à-vis* collaterality; generation; and age. In all generations and at all levels of contrast, both in reference and in address, a sharp distinction is made between affines and consanguines. Batak are prohibited from using the birth names of certain categories of affinal kin, and naming practices are elaborated accordingly. Marriage is monogamous, although a few cases of polyandry have been recorded. Divorce and remarriage were common in the past; a *surugiden*, or gathering of the elders, heard and resolved marital disputes. Post-marital residence is customarily near the wife's parents during the early years of a marriage; in later years a husband hopes to rejoin his own kin.

Nuclear family households are the basic unit of production and consumption. Small groups of households often pool their labor resources and there is considerable sharing of food, but households are expected to be autonomous and self-reliant. Within households, husbands and wives similarly enjoy considerable freedom of action. Batak have few children, and mean household size is small,

about 3.5 persons.

Political organization

The Batak are strongly egalitarian and independent. Certain older men, by virtue of their kinship ties and personal attributes, emerge as natural leaders and become the focus of day-to-day residential clusters. The opinions of such individuals are respected and influential, but not binding. The degree to which such leaders may, in the past, have influenced affairs in an entire river valley, and hence given political expression to the shared feelings of social and cultural solidarity, is unknown.

Other forms of leadership and political organization reflect contacts with trading peoples, Spanish and American colonial officials, and Philippine government agencies and non-governmental organizations. Each of the eight Batak settlements is today politically a part of a downstream, lowland Filipino community, whose elected leader, the *barangay kapitan*, is the lowest-level administrative official in the Philippine government. Each Batak settlement today also has a *kapitan* of its own, popularly chosen to represent the group to the outside world and to be responsive to various governmental agencies. This position may originally have evolved in response to attempts to organize the copal trade, but the role of a Batak *kapitan* today increasingly resembles that of his lowland counterpart.

Religion and spirituality

The Batak live in a world inhabited by a variety of nature spirits and supernatural beings, most falling into two broad classes: malevolent *panya'en* and capricious but potentially benevolent *diwata*. Visible only to shamans, these spirit beings inhabit specific trees, thickets, rocks, and streams; they are human-like in action and desire. Nature spirits, and particularly the *panya'en*, stand in a jealous protective relationship to the various forest and riverine resources utilized by the Batak. By ancestral agreement, Batak may exploit these resources to meet legitimate subsistence needs, but any wasteful or excessive use, intended or not (or even displays of disrespect toward forest animals) may so antagonize a caretaker-*panya'en* that it punishes the offending individual with illness or even death, outcomes that may also follow should a Batak unwittingly damage the dwellings or injure the families of such spirits.

Mediating Batak relationships with supernatural beings are the *babalians*, mediums capable of entering trance states through song or dance in order to appeal to their *diwata* familiars to intercede on behalf of some human enterprise or misfortune, typically illness. More distinctively Batak are two group rituals that occur when the natural equilibrium between humans, forest resources, and guardian spirits is disturbed. Should a honey collector accidentally drop to the ground and waste the honeycomb, the caretaker *panya'en* "Ungaw" may become so angered that he sends the bees away, and the entire local group is unable to collect honey thereafter. Such circumstances call for the *labtay kat taro*, entailing fifteen days of song, dance, and collective good behavior. Similarly, should an entire local group have trouble hunting pigs, they may appeal for relief to the caretaker *diwata* of wild pigs by performing the trance-inducing group dance, the *tuarek kat diwata*.

Current situation

The importance of forest product exchange and wage labor to Batak subsistence has made patron-client ties (linking individual Batak to individual lowlander in sometimes exploitative and debilitating relations of credit and debt) a prominent feature of Batak economy. Consumer demands from the market are growing, but opportunities to earn cash are few. A constant preoccupation is how to obtain cash while preserving independence.

Increasing competition from outsiders for Batak land and other resources has exacerbated this situation. Much ancestral territory has been lost in this century to lowland settlement; the remaining portions have been extensively interpenetrated by Tagbanua (a neighboring indigenous people) and lowland migrants. Many of these neighbors also collect copal and rattan; some live among, and marry, Batak persons. The heavy, present-day exploitation of forest products (and the often unsustainable collection practices) have created serious natural resource management problems within Batak territory. A significant fraction of the copal-bearing *almaciga* trees are dead or diseased because of excessive tapping, and many stands of rattan are seriously depleted.

These specific economic/ecological problems occur in the wider context of a Batak-lowlander relationship that is in flux and being rethought from both sides.

Organization for resistance

Two non-governmental organizations, supported in part by international funding, currently work to develop Batak capacities to use and manage natural resources sustainably, and to secure Batak land against further encroachment by lowland migrants. One is NATRIPAL, the "United Tribes of Palawan," a confederation of fifty local indigenous peoples formed by the Tribal Filipino Apostolate of the Catholic Church and supported in part by funding from the World Wildlife Fund. The other is Haribon Palawan, the regional chapter of a sometimes controversial national environmentalist group supported in part by funding from the World Conservation Union. Both organizations aim to help the Batak become more self-sufficient economically by encouraging agroforestry. They have also empowered the Batak to secure, under current government legislation, "Certificates of Ancestral Domain" claims from the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, and to seek cancellation of the non-timber forest products concessions held by outsiders. These efforts have enjoyed some success, but they face formidable obstacles, including opposition from entrenched lowland economic interests, lack of locally appropriate new technology, and the difficulty of instituting a natural resource management program that limits access by outside peoples.

"Batak have lived here on the Tanabag River for as long as anyone can remember, and there were a lot more of us before than now. And yet the forest is still here. If [lowland] Filipinos had been living here, the forest would be gone."

Udoy, of Calabayog

"Even if the Batak became rich, and my house was made from cement and my floor from stone, I'd still be a Batak - I'd still hunt pigs, collect honey, and camp In the forest."

Timbay, of Calabayog

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I.VI.5

The Batek of peninsular Malaysia

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Introduction

The Batek are Semang or Malayan Negritos, numbering 700–800 in 1995. During the 1970s, the general period of the following description, they lived mainly in the watershed of the Lebir River in the peninsular Malaysian state of Kelantan and along the northern tributaries of the Tembeling River in Pahang state.

Batek, like other Semang, are typically shorter than most Southeast Asians, with dark brown skin and curly to woolly hair. Their superficial resemblance to African Pygmies led some nineteenth-century European scholars to claim that Semang, Pygmies, Andamanese, and Philippine Negritos were remnants of an ancient, "primitive" race of hunter-gatherers which had been overrun in most places by more technologically "advanced" races. Modern scholars attribute their distinctive physical features either to descent from an early "Australoid" population or to biological adaptation to living in the rainforest.

Like many in mainland Southeast Asia, Batek speak a Mon-Khmer language. The term "Batek" ("people of our type") was probably originally applied to them by Austronesian-speaking settlers who came by sea from island Southeast Asia. It is cognate with the term "Batak," used in various Austronesian languages for "hill tribes."

History

The Semang probably descend from the Hoabinhians, foragers who inhabited the peninsula by 8000 BC. The ancestral Semang continued foraging after other Hoabinhians adopted horticulture about 2000 BC.

Batek have long had intermittent contact with outsiders. Between the sixth and thirteenth centuries, the Lebir River was a major trade route between the Mon kingdoms of present-day southern Thailand and the goldfields of Pahang. In the nineteenth century, the Lebir and Aring Rivers were refuges for Pahang Malays fleeing civil wars. During peaceful periods Batek traded forest products to Malay farmers for cultivated foods and occasionally worked for them. At other times, Malays raided Batek camps for slaves. State governments abolished slave raiding by the 1920s, but Batek mistrust of outsiders lingers on. The Batek came under government control in the 1950s, when the newly formed Department of Aboriginal Affairs tried unsuccessfully to remove them from communist guerrilla influence through permanent settlement.

The first European to encounter Batek was Nikolas von Mikluho-Maclay, a Russian explorer-

naturalist (Mikluho-Maclay 1878). British administrator-ethnographer W. W. Skeat briefly visited in 1901 (Skeat and Blagden 1906). Extended anthropological research was carried out by Kirk Endicott in 1971–3, 1975–6, 1981, and 1990; Karen Endicott in 1975–6 and 1990; Lye Tuck Po in 1993 and 1995–6; and Christian Vogt in 1994–5.

Ecological setting and demography

Peninsular Malaysia is hot and humid year-round. Precipitation, averaging about 254 cm annually in the Batek area, is steadiest during the northeast monsoon (November-January), when flooding often occurs, and sparsest in February and March, though there is no true dry season. Violent afternoon and evening thunderstorms are common.

The Batek home area encompasses Gunung Tahan, the peninsula's tallest mountain, but Batek normally live in the valleys and foothills as wild food is scarce at higher elevations. In the 1970s the valleys and foothills were mainly covered with lowland tropical rainforest; now most forest outside the national park has been cut or selectively logged.

Population
700–800, comprising several "dialect groups."

Location
Before 1970, Batek lived in a large area where the Malaysian states of Kelantan, Pahang, and Trengganu meet (between 4°12′ and 5°15′ N and 102°00′ and 102°40′ E). Because of logging, most now inhabit the 4340 km^2 national park (Taman Negara) and the immediately surrounding area.

75 Three Batek men singe the hair off a gibbon, 1981. They will share the meat throughout the camp. Photo: Kirk Endicott.

The Batek population has grown only slowly, because of occasional local epidemics (e.g., influenza) and endemic diseases like malaria, which cause more than 25 percent of children to die by age five.

Economy

The Batek economy combines hunting, fishing, gathering, selling forest products, swidden farming, and labor barter (Endicott 1984). People switch activities frequently in response to changing conditions and opportunities.

Batek hunt mainly with bamboo blowpipes and poisoned darts. Typically, a man or small group of men goes looking for arboreal game - monkeys, gibbons, civets, squirrels, and birds. Women occasionally use blowpipes. Men and women dig or smoke out burrowing animals (bamboo rats and porcupines) from holes and kill them with bushknives. Batek rarely hunt wild pigs. Some hunt

mousedeer at night with electric torches and spears. Turtles and tortoises are important meat sources. Both men and women catch fish by means of hook and line, gillnets, spearguns, and poison.

Batek gather numerous wild vegetable foods, including tubers, palm cabbage and pith, mushrooms, ferns, bamboo shoots, berries, nuts, and seasonal fruits. Tubers, including at least ten species of wild yams *(Dioscorea* spp.), are available year-round and form the staple carbohydrate of the foraging diet. Both women and men dig tubers with metal-bladed digging sticks. Between May and December they gather honey and seasonal fruits. Vegetable foods, including purchased rice and flour, composed 78 percent of the diet (by weight) of a group of upper Lebir Batek in 1975–6.

Batek have traded or sold forest products to traders and Malay villagers at least since the nineteenth century (Mikluho-Maclay 1878). Recently the products most in demand have been rattans and resinous woods used in incense. Batek purchases include rice, flour, sugar, salt, tea, tobacco, clothes, metal tools, medicines, radio-cassette players, and tapes.

76 A couple, together with their son and niece, prepare to raft rattan downstream to traders, 1975. Photo: Kirk Endicott.

Batek occasionally clear swiddens and plant crops like rice, corn, and manioc. Yields are often meager as gardens are abandoned if better opportunities arise. People occasionally labor for wages (such as guiding tourists in Taman Negara) or in exchange for food (helping Malay farmers harvest crops).

Batek share most food. Hunters give portions of meat to nearby households and to every family in a small camp. Gatherers share their products with all in need. Money belongs to whoever earns it. There is social pressure to share purchased items, especially food.

Settlement patterns

Batek normally live in temporary camps containing two to twenty closely related nuclear families, each with a separate lean-to shelter and cooking fire. Camp size varies according to economic and social activities. Large camps form for rituals and to exploit rich supplies of seasonal fruits. Camp composition varies almost daily as new families join and others leave to join other camps.

Camps last from one night to two months. Nomadic Batek do not follow a fixed annual itinerary. Groups planting crops may build small houses near their fields, which they return to periodically during the agricultural cycle.

Batek do not claim exclusive ownership of tracts of land, but individuals and groups claim rights to live in particular river valleys, especially where they grew up (Endicott and Endicott 1987). All Batek may exploit the wild resources of the entire Batek home area.

Social organization

The nuclear family is the basic unit of Batek society. Married couples have their own shelters, which they share with their pre-adolescent children. Older children construct their own shelters nearby,

sometimes cohabiting with adolescents from other families. Although work groups usually cut across families, husbands and wives sometimes work together. Families share food but normally cook and eat on their own.

Batek reckon kinship bilaterally. Their relationship terminology distinguishes parents from parents' siblings, but merges ego's siblings and first cousins. Close ties often exist among cousins. People usually find ties to any other Batek, through consanguineal and affinal connections.

Batek choose their own marriage partners on the basis of mutual attraction. Parents cannot control children's marriage choices, but may undermine marriages they disapprove of. Batek have no formal marriage ceremony; couples merely take up residence together. Spouses and their families may or may not exchange gifts. Couples live wherever they want, often alternating between the camps of their parents. Monogamy is the norm, polygyny being rare and unstable. Divorce is common. Either spouse may initiate divorce by moving to a separate shelter. Both spouses care for their children, even after a divorce.

All persons, whether male or female, have rights of personal autonomy. Batek prohibit anyone from coercing others, even children. The sexual division of labor is flexible, and Batek do not build social or symbolic distinctions upon gender differences or favor one gender over the other.

Political organization

Batek emphasize the autonomy of individuals and nuclear families. No adult has power or authority over another. Married couples together make all decisions about such matters as work and moving, though they normally consult and coordinate with others. Few activities require a leader. Sometimes people follow the lead of whoever is most expert at an activity, as in singing ceremonies. Individuals regularly sought out for advice may be considered "natural leaders," but they cannot compel others. Personality and ability, not gender or descent, determine *de facto* leadership.

The Department of Aboriginal Affairs appoints "headmen" *(batin;* formerly *penghulu)* as liaisons between the Department and Batek groups. The Department always chooses men, preferring those amenable to the government's goals. These headmen have no special influence inside Batek society unless they happen also to be natural leaders.

Batek have no formal means for resolving disputes. Disputants often argue their cases in public, hoping to persuade others to support their position. If they cannot resolve their differences, one party usually moves away until tempers cool.

Religion and spirituality

Batek picture the earth as a disk of land surrounded by sea (Endicott 1979). Worlds above the firmament and below the earth are populated by numerous immortal superhuman beings, some of whom are named and may be thought of as deities. Various superhumans created the earth and humanity, separated the Batek from other peoples, and created the plants and animals of the forest to supply Batek needs. Superhumans continue to maintain the cosmic order and natural processes, like the annual cycle of fruit and honey.

Batek prohibit acts thought to bring disease, tiger or ghost attacks, and natural disasters. The largest category of prohibited acts (called *lawac)* threaten cosmic order. If anyone commits *lawac*

(e.g., by cooking incompatible foods over a single fire) the thunder-god, Gobar, sends a violent thunderstorm which may topple huge trees on the offender's camp. The thunder-god may also enlist an underground deity, usually pictured as a huge snake, to flood the offender's camp. To ward off storm and flood, offenders should make a blood sacrifice by lightly cutting the skin on one shin, mixing the blood with water, and throwing the mixture to the sky and earth to assuage the angry deities.

At the beginning and end of fruit seasons, Batek build low platforms of tree bark on logs, sometimes covered by a huge lean-to roof of thatch. There they sing to the superhumans to ask for abundant fruit, to thank them for sending it, and to request help in curing. Shamans may go into trance and send their shadow-souls to visit the superhumans.

The Department of Aboriginal Affairs and various missionaries try to convert the Batek to Islam, but most strongly resist. As one man said, "We can't just forget our deities."

Current situation

From 1970, the Kelantan government pursued a policy of having the entire Lebir River valley, except for the national park, logged off, then converted to oil palm and rubber plantations (Dentan *et al*. 1997). Forests surrounding the park have been degraded by selective logging as well. Because the Malaysian government does not recognize aboriginal rights to traditional lands, the forest removal displaced more than half the Batek from their homes and sources of livelihood.

Since the late 1960s the Department of Aboriginal Affairs has pressured Kelantan Batek to settle at Pos Lebir, on the middle Lebir River, as cash-crop farmers. The Department provides a school, rudimentary medical facilities, and a Muslim chapel. The settlement is not a secure aboriginal land reserve; the state government can reclaim the land at any time.

Batek have been reluctant to settle at Pos Lebir because it is hard to make a satisfactory living growing and tapping rubber trees. Also, the Department and Muslim missionaries pressure them to "become Malays" by adopting Islam. With few choices left, some Batek accede, and settle there.

Today, the majority live in the national park and surrounding still-forested areas where they eke out a living by foraging, trade, and wage labor. But wild foods are insufficient, park authorities prohibit harvesting forest products for sale inside the park, and the more lucrative jobs (e.g., guiding tourists) now go mainly to Malays. Both the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks ignore Batek needs, as each department expects the other to take responsibility for them.

Organization for resistance

Being uneducated and politically powerless, Batek have no way of resisting the take-over of their resource base and no influence on government programs designed to destroy their culture. They are not involved in the Orang Asli Association of peninsular Malaysia (POASM), which is run mainly by sophisticated urban Orang Asli employees of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

Some Batek at Pos Lebir have given in to government pressure and become nominal Muslims, but most Batek cling tenaciously to their Batek identity. Some spend much of their time inside Taman Negara, one of the few patches of lowland rainforest remaining in the peninsula, where they are continuing their religious rituals and trying to maintain a semblance of their preferred foraging and

trading way of life.

Acknowledgment

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Film

No professionally made films of the Batek exist. The Department of Aboriginal Affairs refuses to let foreign ethnographic film-makers film them, and local filmmakers are not interested.

"We Batek are rich if we have a cooking pot, digging stick, bush-knife, lighter, tobacco, salt, and fishing pole. Also a man Is sad if he doesn't have a blowpipe. We only want four or five sarongs; we don't need trousers.

If we live here [Pos Lebir], we need money. If we have money, we buy a lot. But if we have no money, no problem. We reject possessions. When we live in the forest, we don't need them. We can dig tubers. If someone doesn't have food, others give it. As in the old days."

Jappar, 1990

I.VI.6

The Dulong of Southwestern China

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Introduction

The Dulong are one of fifty-six classified national minorities within the People's Republic of China. They are located within the northwestern corner of Yunnan Province, adjacent to Tibet and northern Burma. Living isolated in the southwest China highlands, the Dulong form a contemporary farmer-hunter-gatherer society first visited by researchers in the 1930s and extensively studied only from the 1950s by Chinese ethnographers, who have found that these people appear to have had no direct, face-to-face contact with outside complex societies until the past two hundred years. The Dulong remain little known in the West. Their language belongs to the Han-Tibetian Linguistic System and was entirely oral until the 1950s.

In 1956–9, a team of Chinese ethnologists (including the senior author) undertook a series of fieldwork studies to investigate the minorities of Yunnan. This program, under the charge of the "Minorities Nationality Committee" of the People's Congress, undertook to carry out cross-cultural and statistical studies of the national minorities. Information collected on the Dulong was not published until the 1980s (Song 1980a, 1980b; Yunnan 1981, 1985, 1986).

History

According to legend, Dulong ancestors migrated from the Lu River valley, "somewhere to the east." No historic documents mentioned this particular group until the Yuan Dynasty (AD 1271–1368), when the Dulong were called the "Qiao." In the Ming and Qing Dynasties (AD 1368–1911), the Dulong was referred to as the "Qiu" people, in documents recording their payment of tribute. The names mentioned referred to ethnic groups then living in that area in general, not to the Dulong *per se*. During the Guomingtang administration, government representatives were sent to the Dulong territories, and the first county authority was established in the Dulong area in 1918. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the designation "Dulong" was adopted according to the people's wishes; in 1956 the *Gongshan* Dulong-Lu Autonomy County was founded.

Population
4295 in the 1984 census, increased from about 3140 in 1971 and about 2500 in 1957.

Location

Southwestern China, Yun-Gui Plateau, elevations from 1500 to 3700 m, 27° to 29° N and 97° to 99° E.

During the ethnographic data-gathering, elderly informants readily recalled their grandparents had made and used stone tools and implements. Iron knives were introduced only six to seven generations ago, as well as cattle, obtained mostly from Tibetan and Burmese traders. The use of iron tools and cattle for subsistence activities did not occur until 1952. Although experiencing intensified contact with state-organized societies, the Dulong persisted in their traditional lifeways of hunting and gathering well into the first half of the twentieth century.

77 Dulong women, Yunnan Province, 1950s. Photo: Encheng Song

78 Dulong men, "ready for hunting," Yunnan Province, 1950s. Photo: Encheng Song.

Ecological setting

Dulong territory mainly consists of mountains (from terraces to piedmonts within the Dulong River valley). A few naturally formed terraces provide settlement locations, yet people move frequently to the uplands. Strong currents, high turbulence, rapids, and waterfalls make river transport impossible. Climatically, the summers are cool (23° C on average) and the winters cold and wet. The highland snows start in October and last through April, blocking the mountain paths leading to the outside world. External trade, over footpaths, occurred only during the summer weeks.

The Dulongs' environment is rich in subtropical resources. Pine and Shuidonggua trees predominate, interspersed with some walnut and lacquer species. The Shuidonggua tree is a fast-growing brushwood, on which Dulong horticultural practices rely. The fauna includes wild oxen, deer, goats, monkeys, and wild boar. The wild ox and deer are the major sources of meat. Edible wild plants include *Mang ana Ge* roots which are abundant and highly nutritious. Two other plants are used as very important trade items by the Dulong - the bulb of the fritillary *(Fritillaria thunbergii)* and the Chinese pistachio *(Coptis chinensis);* both are reputable herbal medicine materials. In addition, the abundant fish species from the river contribute considerably to subsistence.

Economy

Before the twentieth century, Dulong plant production consisted of millet and buckwheat. Potatoes and maize were introduced early in this century, and the cultivation of wet rice began in the 1950s. Swidden cultivation results in insufficient produce to meet local needs, provisioning the Dulong for fewer than six months of the year. Hunting the wild ox and gathering roots play equally important roles in Dulong economic activities. Fishing is also a substantial subsistence strategy. Cattle were

introduced to local agricultural activities in the 1950s.

March to August is the period for gathering wild plants, mostly edible roots. The gathering groups are organized cooperatively by the extended family (*rewei)*, mostly by women. Each family has a specific area for gathering wild roots, and spends nearly 200 labor days annually in gathering activities. With the twentieth century's increased cultivation and the development of land ownership, cooperative kinship gathering has been replaced by household (hearth unit) or individual gathering. Today, individualized gathering is a feature both of direct subsistence production and of exchange, with the aforementioned fritillary bulbs and Chinese pistachio becoming commodities.

The men's hunting, while culturally important, is nutritionally incidental compared to gathering and fishing. Hunting takes place every year after harvesting and before the next spring's cultivation. The hunt can be organized by individuals or cooperative groups, but must take place in the hunter's own tribal/family hunting area. If the quarry flees into another family hunting area, the subsequent meat is shared by both families. Dulong tools are as simple as those used by Kalahari San like the Ju/'hoansi: small wooden hoes with iron heads *(qiaka)*, small iron knives *(shaomu)*, and digging sticks. Other iron products obtained from exchange are everyday utensils.

Settlement pattern

The Dulong live on terraces along both sides of the river, in small villages of thirty to sixty people. Each village is composed of from five to seven households (a man, his wife/wives, and children). Located within four Chinese administrative districts, Dulong society consisted of 329 such households in 1959. The population and utilization of these villages vary according to season. Some villages may be used once and abandoned forever, whereas others may be populated regularly in certain seasons. The settlement pattern is characterized by a winter-spring coalescence of groups in the lowlands, along the banks of the river, for cultivation, and a summer-fall dispersal into the uplands for foraging. The survey concluded that each household usually occupied two or three residential locations in the course of its annual round.

The Dulong dwelt in longhouses similar in structure to those well known among Iroquoians of northeastern North America, although this is a waning practice today. Each such longhouse, roughly constructed against the slope of the mountain, was, as recently as the 1950s, occupied by an extended family. The married son of the family remains under the same roof, only separated from his parents by the addition of another hearth in the house and a new granary nearby. Such households under a common roof are also called "hearth units."

Domestic organization

The tribe-family-household hierarchy is the basic social organization of the Dulong. At the time of investigation, Dulong society consisted of fifteen tribes (or *nirou)*, with a total of seventy-two extended families *(rewei)*. It was believed that the members of each nirou were descended from the same ancestor. By the early years of this century, nirou organization had greatly weakened, united only around the control of the nirou's common hunting area.

The rewei has played an important role in Dulong social organization, each rewei representing patrilineal kin (seven to eight households on average). Reweis have their own property, including

land, stretches of river, a fishing weir, and hunting areas. People in a rewei live together, work together, and share food with each other. Members of other families cannot utilize a rewei's property unless they obtain the owners' permission. Each rewei is exogamous.

The household/hearth unit is the basic productive unit. Households within one rewei usually work (forage) together in a cooperative group. The idea of equality is very strong within the rewei. Although each "hearth unit" has its own storage pit, food brought in by each such unit from outside is equally shared by all dwelling in the longhouse. Women are usually in charge of food storage and cooking.

Political organization

There is no enduring, hierarchic leadership among the Dulong; *de facto* leaders usually arise from among elderly males capable of representing their respective reweis. They deal with family affairs, settle conflicts between rewei, and lead ceremonial life. Any decisions concerning serious matters, however, are made by the entire membership of the rewei. On such occasions the "leader" has no absolute authority. Investigators found that land ownership developed rapidly at the turn of this century. Owing to the scarcity of arable land on which the Shuidonggua tree could be cultivated, plots of such trees became the property of individual households. This became the major form of land tenure, replacing the earlier common rewei cultivation land. This shift in form of tenure is indicative of individualized production, and arose with private property in the household. Trade with outside communities is carried out by individual households, whose members gather and grow the needed medicine herbs which they exchange for iron goods and cattle. Our investigations revealed the unequal accumulation of the means of production (iron tools, cattle, and gardens/lands). Inequality in wealth between households appears to have developed in the early twentieth century. It is clear that the Dulong today no longer constitute an egalitarian society, although egalitarian ideas of sharing in food production persist in what remains, to a considerable degree, a communal mode of production.

Religion and spirituality

Dulong social reality includes psychic powers; illnesses and misfortunes are seen to be caused by various spiritual powers. Frequent prayers and ceremonies are conducted by shamans. The shamans, often the elderly rewei leaders, have high status in Dulong daily life. Wine and sacrificed pigs are used as offerings during the ceremonies, and cattle are sacrificed on very special occasions. Dulong religious practices are strongly related to medical curation and persisted into the 1960s when Chinese medical doctors were sent to the villages. Ceremonial dancing marks the beginning of both the hunting and harvest seasons.

In the 1920s, Christianity was introduced to the Dulong by American missionaries, who demanded that the Dulong quit smoking and drinking, and forbade marriage between cousins. By 1947, missionaries had established six churches and one school, all located in southern Dulong territory. Although these missions met great resistance from the Dulong, some people did become followers of the new religion. The missions came to an end with the foundation of the People's Republic of China with its subsequent central administration in the 1950s.

Current situation

With the establishment of the Dulong Autonomous District, more than a hundred Dulong were trained to be local officers. The new central government did not advance the land-reform movement that prevailed in other parts of China in the 1950s. Instead, they supplied free iron agricultural implements and water buffalo. In 1954, 1431 hoes (an average of two per laborer), 219 ploughs, and 36 water buffalo were sent to the Dulong in order to increase the amount of wetland for rice cultivation. By the end of the 1950s the cultivated land extended to 13,000 *mu* (1 *mu* = 666.67 ha), increased from 5000 *mu* in 1949. With water conservancy facilities built and cattle introduced to aid cultivation, wet-rice domestication greatly increased, eliminating to a certain degree the previous dry-farming practices. Subsequently, most Dulong villages became permanent settlements with longhouses giving way to small family dwellings. By 1984, there were two heavy-duty tractors, twenty-nine light tractors, 104 diesel engines, and other harvesting machines in Dulong County.

The government increased annually its financial aid for Dulong modernization. Building roads and ropeways were high priorities in order to improve transport and communication. By 1985,150 km of well-maintained roads had been built. Many steel suspension bridges and ropeways appeared over the Dulong River, and nearly seventy tunnels. A hydroelectric power station was established, and some villages are electrified. Currently there are about twenty schools in the Dulong territories, with about 85 percent of children attending, and medical clinics were established in the 1950s. While some Dulong have successfully entered colleges and universities, in other areas they remain isolated without significant improvements in transportation; here, their way of life remains primarily that of farmer-foragers as before.

There are no records of any resistance against the process of modernization advocated by the government of the People's Republic of China. However, during field-work in the 1950s, it was observed that most Dulong were uncomfortable with the newly introduced heavy-duty agricultural implements. It took some time for them to become accustomed to these. At first, many new implements disappeared, having been cast into more familiar implements. Traditional small digging sticks and knives remain in use today.

Between 1930 and 1950, the Dulong resisted the policy of separating longhouse families into independent households; still, they began to acquiesce: the average number of longhouse inhabitants fell from fourteen (1932), to eight or nine by 1955. Informants recalled incidents between the Dulong and the missionaries. As well, the Dulong hated the authorities from the Qing Dynasty and the Guomingtang administration for their harsh collection of tributes and taxes.

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I.VI.7

The Jahai of northern peninsular Malaysia

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Introduction

The Jahai are hunter-gatherer-traders and occasional swidden cultivators, located in the rainforest of northeast Perak and northwest Kelantan, peninsular Malaysia. They speak a northern Aslian, Mon-Khmer Austroasiatic language (Benjamin 1985) and belong to the Semang division of "Orang Asli" (Mai. *orang:* people, *asli:* original). *Jahai* roughly means "we who walk the trail of our ancestors" *(ja:* "time before" and *hai:* "to walk in single file along the forest trails"). In the older literature they were described as "Negritos," owing to their physical characteristics; however, present-day Jahai are not physically homogeneous.

The Jahai are known for their shyness toward outsiders, their non-violent, non-competitive attitude, and their strong focus on sharing. They maintain cordial contacts with their southern neighbors, the Senoi-Temiar, with whom they exchange songs and ornamental designs for blowpipes and dart-quivers, and with whom they intermarry, as they do with other Semang: the Lanoh, Kintaq, and Kensiu. Prior to the 1990s they were unfamiliar with both the Batek and the Mendriq.

History

In early trade (*c*. 300 AD) between the Malay Peninsula and India, and from 400 AD with India and China, ancestors of the Jahai probably supplied forest products (resins, benzoin [from *Styrax* spp.], gaharu *[Aquillaria* spp.], camphor [from *Dryobalanops aromatica]*, rhino horns, bezoar stones, beeswax, rattans and hornbill casques (Dunn 1882 [1975]: 108)). Details of their situation were unknown before the 1800s, though Malay legend legitimizes the founding of the first sultanate in Perak (in 1577) by recounting how the envoy of Mahmud of Johore, the first sultan, when traveling north, married a Negrito girl (Winstedt *et al*. 1974:122).

Population
875 (1993 census): 650 in Perak and 225 in Kelantan, northern Peninsular Malaysia.

Location
About 350,000 ha in the northern hills of the Titiwangsa Mountains (the watersheds of the upper Perak River and the Pergau River). 5°4′ to 5°5′ N and 101°4′ to 101°8′ E.

During the nineteenth century, Jahai and other Semang (mostly children) were enslaved and sold to

Malay households, colonial plantations, and tin mines. From 1900 on, Jahai groups bartered forest products and their labor with Malays, in exchange for rice, bush knives, tobacco, and clothes. Semang trade relations with Chinese and Malay *towkay* (middlemen) often involved debt-bondage into the 1990s.

During the Japanese occupation (from December 1941), most Malays were removed from forest regions; the Jahai hid for months in deep jungle, subsisting almost entirely on forest products. Compared to the Senoi-Temiar, the Jahai were less involved in the subsequent Emergency (1948–60), the Malayan Communist Party's insurrection against British colonialism. Communists sought help/support from jungle peoples. The British countered by assembling the Orang Asli (including Jahai groups) at forts. Jahai say they were treated well, and received generous rations, and their labor, as porters, was well paid. During the Emergency, a curfew was imposed on Jahai territory, resulting in their relative isolation until December 1989, when tensions eased somewhat with the surrender of the last guerrillas.

Early descriptions of the Jahai (Annandale 1906, Skeat and Blagden 1906 [1996]) were followed by ethnographic research in the 1920s by Paul Schebesta, SJ (1928 [1973], 1952, 1954, 1957), working on Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt's Viennese "monotheism" project. With the exception of two studies during the 1970s (Rambo 1985, Gomes 1982), no substantial anthropological research with the Jahai was undertaken until the 1990s when Hitam Wali and van der Sluys began research.

79 Jahai family in their forest camp. Photo: Cornelia M. I. van der Sluys.

Ecological setting

The Jahai *sakak* (territory) is in the northern Titiwangsa range (highest peak, Mt. Noring, 1889 m). The vegetation is Dipterocarp rainforest, named from the dominant, high-quality timber-yielding *Dipterocarpacae* spp. Humidity averages 95 percent; temperatures fluctuate between 28°C during the day and 18°C at night. Rainfall averaging 2250 mm per year, occurs year-round, with peak seasons during the monsoons (October–December), and from June through August. The relatively dry period (February–April) is blossom season, followed by a brief honey season. Fruit season (June–November) yields more than forty species of edible fruits.

The Temenggor hydroelectric project in the 1970s flooded 15,000 ha of forest and, since 1986, logging has proceeded expeditiously, including a 35 km wide swath on each side of the East-West Highway. Although forest preservation is supported by the government's selective logging policy (which restricts tree-cutting to those with a diameter exceeding 40 cm, followed by forty to sixty years' regeneration), the Jahai complain that they suffer noise pollution, that wild animals flee logged areas, and that formerly staple tubers and vegetables have become scarce.

However, the Jahai have gained improved access for collecting commercial forest products like rattans and gaharu-wood (*Aquillaria* spp.), and browsing game animals (boar and deer) gradually return. The Federal government proposed in 1994 to create the Belum Forest Reserve, an area of 200,000 ha near Lake Temenggor.

Economy

The Jahai economy is flexible and "opportunistic." They hunt and gather; they trade in forest products; they fish and they irregularly make small swiddens, growing tapioca, hill-rice, maize, and gingers. Dogs are used to track game, but also warn people of tigers and pythons, clean the camp of organic refuse, and absorb human aggression.

"When I return from hunting, I take my mouth-harp and play the song of the hornbill, and my heart is content. This beautiful, cool forest was given to us by our ancestors. We must preserve it for our children and grandchildren so that they will never grow hungry. If ever our forest is destroyed, the whole world will end."

Sennebreb, male spirit-medium, Bukek River

80 A Jahai man with porcupine quill nose decoration. Photo: Cornelia M. I. van der Sluys.

Almost all protein intake (among non-reserve Jahai) is derived from hunting and fishing. The forest also supplies more than sixteen species of wild tubers (*Dioscorea* spp.), mushrooms, vegetables, edible ferns, and palm cabbage. Fifty percent of carbohydrate and fat intake is derived from market products (rice, biscuits, sugar, and cooking oil), obtained by selling forest products.

Before the advent of shotguns, Jahai used pit traps lined with bamboo spikes, and bows and arrows, to catch ground-dwelling mammals like Sambhar deer (*Cervus unicolor*), barking deer (*Muntjac muntiacus*), mouse deer (*Tragulus javanicus*), wild boar (*Sus scrofa*), and honey bear (*Helarctus malayensis*). A 2 m two-layered bamboo blowpipe (*blau*) is used to shoot poisonous darts at mainly arboreal animals: monkeys, squirrels, flying foxes (*Pteropus vamyrus*), flying lemurs (*Cynocephalidus varie-gatus*), slow lorises (*Nycticebus coucang*), hornbills (*Bucerotidae*), and other bird species. The latex of the ipoh tree (*Antiaris toxicaria*) is used as poison, sometimes mixed with strychnos extract. Bamboo and rattan traps catch monkeys and small rodents; lime sticks are used for birds, while porcupines (*Hystrix brachyura*) and rats are smoked out of their burrows. Monitor lizards (*Varanus* spp.) are simply caught by their tails. Fishing is traditionally with traps or poison; since the 1979 formation of Temenggor Reservoir, several groups engage in commercial fishing with nets, traps, and boats lent by middlemen/traders.

Child mortality is high; among some, up to 30 percent die before the age of five, mainly from "new" diseases like whooping cough, influenza, amoebic dysentery and tuberculosis. (Only 1.19 percent live beyond the age of sixty.) Until recently, post-partum sexual abstinence impeded population (Gomes 1982). The health situation should improve as modern medical aid becomes more accepted.

Settlement patterns and mobility

Traditionally the Jahai live in "bands" of fifteen to fifty people (Schebesta 1928 [1973]:279), whose

members may roam the whole *sakak* (traditional territory). The Senoi-Temiar influx since World War II is reluctantly tolerated. The Jahai consider themselves guardians of ancestral forests they hold without individual ownership rights. Use of certain fruit-trees, especially durian (*Durian zibethinus*), by kin of those who planted them, is also considered stewardship.

Jahai mobility is related to current subsistence means. When subsisting exclusively from hunting and gathering they shelter in simple windbreak huts (*hanyek*) and move camp every one to two weeks; when engaging in commercial collecting of rattan and/or gaharu, they live in one place for up to two months. More permanent bamboo houses (on stilts for ventilation) are used during swiddening. People often move on before the completion of the eight-month tapioca maturation, only to find, upon their return to harvest, that elephants or wild boar have uprooted the tubers.

Domestic organization

Jahai family units consist of a core of married male and female siblings, their offspring, and others related through kinship or affinity. These groups are subject to constant fission and fusion. When conflicts occur, usually one of the parties will move away; fission also occurs when people simply decide to live elsewhere.

Kinship is reckoned bilaterally (with generational terminology: siblings of both parents are called "father/mother" by ego; first cousins are addressed as "brother/sister"). The nuclear family hut can be extended to accommodate widowed parents or grandparents. Marriage and divorce are simple agreements between the partners: a new couple builds a new windbreak, usually attached to that of parents. Polygyny usually occurs only when a man assumes the care of his deceased brother's widow and offspring.

The Jahai have a strong taboo against speaking to or touching opposite sex affines. This diminishes jealousies and frictions. Birth takes place on a bamboo "delivery chair," constructed by the father, who acts as midwife, and is assisted by female relatives. When the newborn is about three months old, the father dreams its name, usually related to its forest birth-place. Children can be addressed by their personal names until puberty, and then by adult kinship terms or teknonyms (named in reference to one's child). The Jahai are presently under pressure to abandon tree-burials. Following a death, the Jahai move away to avoid attacks by the *yul*, an aspect of the soul of the deceased.

The only strict gender division of labor is the prohibition on women handling the blowpipe and poisoned darts since the poison could imperil young children who accompany the women. Both men and women dig wild yams, which grow deep.

Political organization

Jahai society is egalitarian: the labor or obedience of one member cannot be coerced by another. There is a strong belief that to force someone to act against his/her will, raises "hot" emotions. This weakens the *ruway* (soul), causing illness and death. The social order is headless; authority depends on charisma and the art of persuasion. Often spirit-mediums, *halak*, are the natural authorities. Important decisions are taken during general meetings, which last till consensus is reached. Since the 1970s, the government's Jabatan Hal Ehwal Orang Asli (JHEOA) has selected *punghulus* (headmen)

for dealings with officials. The criteria for selection are knowledge of Malay and literacy skills.

Religion and spirituality

The Jahai emphasize that sharing distinguishes them (and other Orang Asli) as *munrak* (real people), from *gob* (outsiders), who are considered aggressively selfish. Sharing is conceived as passing on what was given to real people by their ancient ancestors. Giving creates no reciprocal obligations. Not to share, or to deny a reasonable wish, is believed to inflict accident-proneness (*selantap* or *pehunen*) on the one denied—who might, for example, be killed by a tiger, stung by a scorpion, or crushed under a falling tree. Affliction falls on the victim, thus reinforcing the ethic of caring for one another. Pivotal in their social behavior/etiquette is the avoidance of strong emotions (*mamuyn*) believed to raise heat in one's soul (*ruway*), causing weakness, proneness to accident, illness, or death.

In times of conflict, the Jahai withdraw rather than fight. The hot-tempered thunder-spirit, *Karei*, exemplifies the dangers of "anger-out-of-control." According to myths, Karei, formerly human, but transformed to a giant long-haired monkey for his anti-social deeds, is condemned to dwell among the dark clouds. Karei sends lethal thunderstorms when people transgress taboos. The Jahai appease him by scraping blood from a cut in the shin, and casting this into the air. An underground being, *Takii*, is often depicted as Karei's wife. She causes floods following violations of incest or in-law avoidance rules.

Benevolent spirits, *cenoy*, especially those of fruits and flowers, are believed to be emanations from certain ancestors made immortal because they possessed a cool healing liquid, *ceboh*, in their veins instead of the hot blood of ordinary mortals. A spirit-medium (*halak*) is selected for his/her vocation by spirit-guides, the most powerful being that of the tiger. Cenoy reveal themselves by teaching the dreamer a song. Later the spirit-guide donates the ceboh liquid important in curative rituals.

Jahai halak are very secretive about their knowledge. They believe spirits are so shy that they will withdraw when a halak talks about them to outsiders. The Jahai also perform two communal ceremonies: the *Cewang*, which honors the benevolent cenoy, and the *Panoh*, associated both with cenoy and *soy* (tiger-spirits).

Current situation

Since the 1970s, the government has tried to settle Jahai in governmental schemes, called Rancangan Pengumpulan Semula (RPS), or "regroupment programs" to enhance their socioeconomic development and integrate them into mainstream society. At the RPS they receive medical aid, primary education, and projects aimed to adjust them to sedentary life.

Their former *sakak* (territory) is administered by the Forest Departments, but the Jahai are allowed to make subsistence camps in the jungle. Reserve land at the RPS is under guardianship of the Department of Orang Asli Affairs, which also has the right to screen all visitors.

In 1972, all six nomadic Jahai bands (about 225 people) from northwest Kelantan were settled at RPS Pos Rual, outside the Malay town of Jeli. Various projects were initiated (a communal rubber plantation, orchard, various agricultural projects, and a sheep farm). In 1977, about 650 Perak Jahai

were settled with 350 Temiar in RPS Air Banun, east of Gerik, when 15,000 ha of forest were flooded following construction of the Temenggor Dam Hydroelectric Project (Perak River). Here, 3341 ha have been designated for a fish-farm, a fruit orchard, and a rubber plantation, all now under development. In 1993, 200 Jahai lived around Banun, and 360 lived elsewhere—in three Jahai-Temiar semi-nomadic settlements; a further 150 continued to pursue a nomadic existence. There are, to date, no problems of alcoholism or drug addiction.

Organization for resistance

Owing to the lack of formal education, the Jahai are not equipped to pursue their interests in the wider society of law and politics, let alone land right matters. Encroachments by squatters, loggers, and others in their territories have sometimes led to serious skirmishes.

The Persatuan Orang Asli Semenanjung Malaysia (Orang Asli Association of Peninsular Malaysia), founded in 1984, is the organization for indigenous peoples, but it was only introduced to the Jahai in the 1990s. At present 100 Jahai are members.

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I.VI.8

The Western Penan of Borneo

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Introduction

Central interior Borneo is occupied by both longhouse-dwelling agriculturalists located along major rivers and forest-dwelling hunter-gatherers in upland valleys and headwaters. The Penan, one of the largest group of hunter-gatherers, are divided into two main populations, Eastern and Western Penan (Brosius 1991, Needham 1972). Eastern Penan inhabit the watersheds of the Baram and Limbang Rivers of Sarawak (Malaysia), while Western Penan inhabit the Belaga District, the Silat watershed, and Long Beku in Sarawak, as well as the Bahau watershed of East Kalimantan (Indonesia). The present discussion focuses on Western Penan.

81 A woman kneading chopped sago pith with her feet (in a woven basket) to separate starch from pith fibers. Starch settles into the mat below. Photo: J. Peter Brosius.

Linguistically, Western Penan is part of the Kenyah language family; it is highly cognate with several central Bornean agriculturalist languages. These linguistic similarities between Western Penan and certain longhouse groups have a strong foundation in historical fact. Until the late 1800s, Western Penan lived in close proximity to such groups in the Seping, Plieran, and Danum watersheds of Sarawak.

Recently, the Penan have achieved renown for their resistance to logging. These struggles, centered primarily among Eastern Penan, have received broad international media coverage. The Western Penan, who have not resisted, have much less international visibility.

History

Western Penan genealogies, five to seven generations deep, link ancestors, from no longer extant named groups, to contemporary communities and individuals. These accounts describe movements and fissionings of bands, relations with aristocratic longhouse patrons, and events like raids. More recent history focuses on sequences of camp movement.

Population

Total 3200: Belaga District, Sarawak 2100; Baram District, Sarawak, 800; Bahau Watershed, East

Kalimantan, 300.

Location
Interior Belaga and Baram Districts, Sarawak, Malaysia, and Bahau, East Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Belaga:* fifteen settlements, upper reaches of Belaga, Seping, Plieran, Danum and Linau Rivers, and one settlement on main course of Balui River. *Baram:* four settlements on middle and upper Silat River; one settlement (Long Beku) at Akah River. *Bahau:* four settlements in Lurah Watershed, two in Aran Watershed, and one along the Bahau River. Of these seven Bahau settlements three are mixed Penan-Kenyah communities.

82 Bearded pig, *Sus barbatus*, being butchered. Meat will be distributed evenly between all the families in the camp. Photo: J. Peter Brosius.

The history of the Western Penan centers on the Usun Apau, a vast, forested plateau. Until the late nineteenth century the river valleys of the plateau were occupied by longhouse communities, while Penan occupied surrounding headwaters. After the region's annexation from Brunei in 1861, Brooke government officials visited frequently to impose taxation and suppress raiding. Most longhouse peoples fled in the 1890s following a punitive expedition against communities opposing pacification. The area was left to Penan, who were largely ignored by authorities until the 1950s. Thereafter, visits by officials increased. Throughout the 1960s, the government strove to persuade Penan to settle (Langub 1974); development efforts intensified in the 1970s, and logging companies penetrated the Usun Apau in the 1980s.

Research on Western Penan has been conducted by Rodney Needham (1950s), Johannes Nicolaisen (1970s), Jayl Langub (1970s to present), Peter Brosius (1980s to present), and Rajindra Puri (1990s).

Ecological setting

Western Penan inhabit the extensive upland plateaux of central Borneo, an area of wide valleys, steep ridges, and mountains rising to 1830 m. Rivers and streams flow through this landscape in profusion. These rivers, along with local ridges, form the template around which Penan organize ecological and environmental information (Brosius 1986). Penan landscape knowledge is remarkable: individuals can describe and locate hundreds of named rivers and other features; ecological information is commonly encoded in place names.

Most of this interior plateau is covered with dense primary tropical forest. Mature secondary forest occurs adjacent to the larger rivers. These areas were farmed by longhouse peoples until the end of the nineteenth century. All Western Penan today occupy areas previously occupied by longhouse communities. Most of the sago and other resources that form the basis of Penan subsistence are found in primary forests in the adjacent uplands (Brosius 1991).

Economy

Relative to other Southeast Asian foragers, the Western Penan live at great distances from agricultural settlements and, despite the importance of trade, they are self-sufficient in subsistence goods. Sago starch from the palm *Eugeissona utilis* has traditionally been the primary source of carbohydrates for the Penan. *Eugeissona* grows on ridges and slopes in clumps, reproducing both clonally and by seed. Western Penan maintain a long-term harvesting strategy by avoiding a foreshortened harvest cycle: when the sago in an area is depleted, it is allowed to recover for several years (Brosius 1991).

Hunting with spears and dogs is the most common method of procuring game, though shotguns are also used. Bearded pig (*Sus barbatus*), valued for its fat, is the primary game species, followed by sambar deer (*Cervus unicolor*) and barking deer (*Muntiacus muntjac*). During periods of scarcity, Western Penan hunt with blowpipes, which are most effective for small game. Darts are treated with a poison derived from the sap of the tree *Antiaris toxicara*. Western Penan generally consume fish only when game is unavailable.

Today, all Western Penan have adopted swidden agriculture, primarily planting rice and cassava. Fields tend to be small and the degree to which people rely on agriculture varies. Sago is still consumed for more than half the year in some communities, while in others it has been supplanted almost completely by domestic cultivars.

Penan have long occupied a specific niche in the economies of central Borneo, producing forest products such as camphor, tree resins, wild rubber, rhinoceros horn, bezoar stones, aromatic wood, and rattan mats and baskets. In exchange, they have received metal, cloth, salt, and tobacco. Longhouse aristocrats were proprietary about "their" Penan, and jealously guarded their trading prerogatives with certain groups.

Settlement, mobility, and land tenure

Prior to settling, Western Penan bands averaged between sixty and 200 members; they maintained a settlement system comprised of large base camps occupied for several months, and satellite camps established to process sago. The location of camps and the frequency and distance of their movement were determined by the availability of sago. After establishing a new base camp, sago was exploited in an outwardly expanding circle. Movement occurred when transport distances from satellite camps became too great. Because all Western Penan are today sedentary, the traditional settlement system no longer exists, although the present system of permanent settlements in more traditional communities where satellite camps persist differs little.

Western Penan bands occupied foraging areas of approximately 1500 km^2. Although not bounded, band territories overlap very little. Western Penan communities assert rights over particular watersheds, viewing them as a shared corporate estate. Such claims are validated by the management of resources. Central here is the *molong* concept (to preserve or foster). Land tenure is strongly linked to the long-term harvesting regimen of *Eugeissona*. Molong implies that resources such as sago are claimed, either corporately or individually, in a proprietary form of stewardship.

Domestic organization

The household is the primary unit of production and consumption. Cooperation in subsistence

activities and sharing among households is, however, ubiquitous. The typical form of household is a three-generation stem family, averaging between six and ten persons. In only two contexts are nuclear families discernible as discrete units. First, shelters at satellite camps are usually occupied by young couples and their offspring; second, in cases of community exogamous marriage, such family units practice reciprocal residence. Western Penan espouse a strong preference for community endogamy; in exogamous marriages, pressure is exerted on both spouses to remain in their natal communities. Reciprocal residence is therefore a compromise.

Given this preference for community endogamy, genealogical, social and physical distances are largely isomorphic. Western Penan distinguish between kin and *ireh beken* ("others"), who are distant kin from other communities. Becoming Ireh beken is an historical process, occurring gradually as relationships between communities become genealogically and socially attenuated.

A notable feature of Western Penan kinship terminology is an elaborate complex of "death-names" (Brosius 1995, Needham 1954). Death names are actually titles, given to persons on the death of a relative. Though such practices are common in central Borneo, the Western Penan complex, with sixty-five death names, is the most elaborate yet documented.

Political organization

The kin-based community is the primary unit of Western Penan social and political identity. These are enduring social aggregates with narratable histories and a strong sense of community solidarity based on descent from common ancestors. Western Penan communities are strongly corporate, politically autonomous, and highly insular. These bands have continually fissioned through time. Though the process is political, the ultimate causes are demographic. Western Penan have experienced a high rate of population increase in the twentieth century. As communities expand, provisioning becomes difficult and the pressure for partition increases.

Western Penan have a strong institution of leadership based on claims of aristocratic descent. Such claims, made on the basis of the marriage of ancestors with the offspring of longhouse aristocrats, and taken to validate the claims of communities to particular watersheds, are often disputed by other communities. Western Penan historical narratives recount headmen bringing followers to certain places; contemporary occupation of particular watersheds is validated with reference to ancestral occupation. Considering such narratives with reference to the ongoing process of community partition, it is evident that the territories claimed by particular communities have not been occupied by those bands in perpetuity. Though communities are enduring social aggregates, and strongly corporate with respect to land, the territories of those communities, viewed over time, float over the landscape. Often several communities claim the same watershed; *molong* trees of aristocratic ancestors are seen to verify claims to land. Such claims are contested by denying the aristocratic status of the ancestors of rival claimants.

Religion and spirituality

Western Penan religion is primarily manifested through language: a rich, poetic vocabulary used in prayers and the everyday use of avoidance terms to keep malevolent forces at bay. Though Western Penan recognize the existence of a high god, they are more concerned with the machinations of spirits

and souls. They pray to such beings before traveling, during thunderstorms, and in the event of illness. Spirits and souls are interrogated, reasoned with, cajoled, and beseeched in rapidly spoken sequences of rhymed couplets.

Western Penan act in relation to a range of spirits who can overhear humans and cause them harm. Penan thus employ an elaborate avoidance terminology to make statements repulsive to spirits, or to disguise from them planned subsistence activities, movements, groups of people, the presence of infants, and illness.

Humans, animals, and insects possess souls. The soul's attachment to the body is precarious, particularly among infants and the ill. The souls of animals are dangerous when offended through disrespect or mockery; they report human transgressions to the Thunder deity, who is said to cause severe thunderstorms capable of turning entire communities to stone. Western Penan believe souls of deceased kin pose a non-malevolent threat to the living. The pain of separation death causes is considered mutual, with the deceased seeking out living kin. Such proximity is dangerous. Western Penan assume death is a force attracted by references to the death of an individual: any statement that might imply someone's death is avoided.

We don't have ironwood posts, we don't have cement posts. Our huts disintegrate quickly because, one month we're here, then we go there; and again to some place else. We follow the sago, follow the sago, follow the sago. When the sago is used up, we leave, and go some place else, then some place else again. Back and forth, we consume the sago.

Our lands here in the Seping River? We have been *everywhere*, from the mouth to the headwaters…We move around, eating, eating, eating. That is why our graves are everywhere. One here, one there, and there and there, in each and every branch of the headwaters. That's what our camps are like. We do not lie.

A Penan response to timber companies' dismissal as untrue,
of complaints regarding the many gravesites destroyed by bulldozers.

In the 1950s, a syncretic religion based on the female deity, *Bungan Malan*, was introduced by Kayan. Many traditional practices, particularly those regarding omens, were thereafter abandoned. More recently, Western Penan have developed endogenous syncretic beliefs; increasing numbers are converting to Christianity as well.

Current situation

Since the early 1980s, Sarawak's Western Penan have increasingly suffered from large-scale mechanized logging (Colchester 1989, Davis *et al*. 1995, Hong 1987). Before the 1980s, 95 percent of Western Penan land was forested. Today primary forest cover has been drastically reduced and rapid deforestation continues.

Logging has had a dramatic impact on Western Penan lives. Sago palms and fruit trees are felled, game disappears, river siltation occurs, rattan is destroyed, and graves are obliterated. Logging alters a landscape imbued with biographical, historical, and cultural significance, destroying those things that are iconic of the Penan's existence as a society (Davis *et al*. 1995, Manser 1996).

In addition, Western Penan are aggrieved that their concerns are dismissed by timber companies, police, and politicians. The state of Sarawak does not recognize Penan principles of land tenure. Communities can claim only lands cultivated before 1958 (though most Penan settlement occurred later). Hence, Penan claims to land are without legal basis (Colchester 1989, Hong 1987). Furthermore, the power of District authorities to adjudicate disputes with timber companies has eroded recently as political pressure is exerted on the civil service by proponents of the timber industry.

Construction has begun on the huge 2400-megawatt Bakun Hydroelectric Project in Sarawak's Upper Balui watershed. Though few Penan communities will be displaced by the reservoir, plans exist to resettle local communities throughout the Belaga District on oil palm plantations. Surrounding agricultural peoples are staking claim to large areas of Penan land. While most recent attention has focused on logging, a series of broader land rights issues await resolution. By contrast, the Western Penan of East Kalimantan are living within the Kayan-Mentarang Biosphere Reserve and face no immediate threat from logging.

Organization for resistance

Since 1987, Eastern Penan in Sarawak have repeatedly erected blockades against logging companies and scores have been arrested (Colchester 1989, Manser 1996). Western Penan, however, have been notably acquiescent. When they have undertaken acts of resistance, it has only been to press claims for compensation. However, Western Penan acquiescence should not be interpreted as approval. It indicates resignation. To make the best of a difficult situation, they are willing to negotiate compensation packages with companies and take advantage of opportunities for employment.

Another important factor influences the Western Penan response to deforestation: the insularity of the communities. Instead of uniting in solidarity against the incursions of logging companies, Western Penan have been more interested in undermining claims from other forest communities for compensation. Equally significant, in contrast to Eastern Penan, Western Penan have had relatively little contact with environmental activists. Organizations like Friends of the Earth-Malaysia, active among Eastern Penan, have had only a minor presence among western groups. Some environmental groups have recently increased their activities in the Belaga District in response to the Bakun Hydroelectric Project, but thus far they have had relatively little contact with Western Penan.

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I.VII AUSTRALIA

I.VII.1

Introduction: Australia

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Australia was unique as a continent peopled solely by hunter-gatherers, the Aborigines, for 50,000 years or more, until the arrival of Europeans in 1788. A second distinct indigenous population lives on the islands that lie between the tip of Cape York and New Guinea, the Melanesian Torres Strait Islanders, who have depended, to varying degrees over the last few thousand years, not only on foraging but also on horticulture. The 1991 Australian census showed 238,574 people who identified themselves as of Aboriginal descent, and 26,891 as of Torres Strait Islander descent (together, about 1.6 percent of the national population). Of the Torres Strait Islanders, only 20 percent actually live in the Strait; the rest have migrated to the Australian mainland, mostly during the 1960s.

Indigenous peoples of Australia nowhere live a purely self-sufficient life today. While some individuals have regular jobs, a disproportionate number of both the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations, particularly those in the remote areas of the continent and on the islands of the Torres Strait, are largely dependent on social security transfer payments. As compared with the non-indigenous population, a greater proportion of indigenous people live in rural and remote areas. On all the standard social indicators (health, housing, employment, income) the Aboriginal people do poorly and Torres Strait Islanders only a little better (see Saggers and Gray 1991 [on health], Taylor 1993 [on income and employment], 1998, Taylor and Bell 1998).

Prehistory and population

There is considerable debate about the size of the Aboriginal population in 1788 when Europeans began permanent settlement. The long-held view was that approximately 300,000 people were divided among 600 language groups (Tindale 1974), but today some argue for a population up to five times that number, maintaining that the impact of diseases like smallpox was ignored in past calculations (Butlin 1993).

A more sustainable view would be that the original population was of the order of half a million, giving an overall density of one person per 15.4 km^2. However, Australia is extremely varied ecologically, hence regional populations varied a great deal.

Contestation over the ownership of the past has slowed archaeological excavation in recent years, but the current evidence indicates that the first people to arrive on the continent, who would have crossed at least 80 km of sea, reached greater Australia before 60,000 BP. At that time, the sea level

was much lower, and Australia and Papua New Guinea were one landmass. By 30,000 BP all parts of the continent had been populated. While Joseph Birdsell (1993) has argued that there were three basic waves of immigration, marked by three distinctive physical types, this is no longer accepted; it remains unclear, however, exactly what the demographic history of the continent has been.

A distinctive feature of Australia is the degree of its isolation from the rest of the world. Most dramatically, Tasmania was totally isolated from the mainland from 12,000 years ago, with the post-Pleistocene sea level rises, until the seventeenth century. While it is clear that small boatloads of people arrived on the north coast of Australia from time to time, their impact was limited. Linguists have not been able to establish any links between the languages of Australia and those elsewhere, the links having been obliterated by time.

During the last four hundred years at least, as Ian Keen mentions in his discussion of the Yolngu (below), contact with peoples from what is now Indonesia intensified as fishermen from the Celebes sailed south to northern Australia with the December monsoons, to work the north coast mainly for beche-de-mer (sea cucumber). They would set up camps on the coast of Arnhem Land and the Kimberley Plateau and stay until the winds moved round to the south in March. In the nineteenth century, and almost certainly before, young Aboriginal men would go on the return trip to Macassar for adventure, and return the following December. Not only were some Aboriginal people traveling abroad well before Europeans arrived in the region, but also they adopted a number of Macassan words, celebrated their experiences in song and dance, and benefited from access to steel axes, dugout canoes, tobacco, and other items. They even used the names of some suburbs of Macassar for places in Arnhem Land. Despite this, there was not a radical transformation of the culture or society of those peoples involved in this contact.

Map 14 Hunter-gatherers in Australia

Language and tribe

Australian languages fall into two groups: the Pama-Nyungan group, which covers 80 percent of the continent, and the non-Pama-Nyungan group found in the Kimberley region and immediately to its east (Dixon 1980, Blake 1981). It is estimated that in 1788 about 200 languages and 600 dialects were spoken. Today about fifty languages are still spoken, with a total of about 50,000 speakers. Fewer than a half-dozen have more than 2000 speakers.

Language names are commonly used as tribal names, but it is important to understand that “tribe” in Australia bears little or no resemblance to the classic notion of tribe. The tribe was not a social, economic, or political unit prior to settlement and the term only refers to people who claim to speak a common language. All the members of a tribe did not meet one another, nor did they act as a collectivity. Where social and territorial relationships to land have undergone drastic transformation, and where the small (average 15–70) pre-colonial landowning groups’ ties to land have been disrupted, identity and affiliation to land are now articulated in relation to the tribe (average size 300–1000 before 1788, and now 1000–3000 plus). Language names are central to people’s identity, even where they do not speak their own or other Aboriginal languages.

Cultural diversity

The original diversity of languages gives a good indication of the cultural diversity that existed pre-colonially and still exists today (Taylor 1988). There are several ways in which this diversity can be understood. Its material basis can be seen in terms of the coincidence between the culture areas and the major drainage basins which divide the continent into seventeen major regions (Peterson 1976). A simpler division is between the tropical north, the desert, and the temperate woodlands of the south.

Although the prevailing image of the pre-colonial Aboriginal person is of a desert hunter constantly on the move with his family, the fact is that only about 10 percent of the population lived in the arid third of the continent. The great majority of the Aboriginal population lived along the rivers, on the margins of wetlands, and along the coast. They were relatively sedentary, spending at least three months of the year in one place during the wet periods.

Perhaps the main reason for the prevalence of the image of the desert Aboriginal hunter is the fact that as late as the 1950s there were as many as 100 individuals, mainly Pintupi-speakers, still living in the desert and who had not seen Europeans. The last group of Aboriginal people to have grown up without European interaction were contacted as late as 1984. These were the Pintupi-speakers about whom Fred Myers writes in this volume. Some of the Warlpiri-speakers, also desert dwellers, whose way of life is described here by Françoise Dussart, had made contact with Europeans by 1900, as they lived on the fringes of the cattle country northwest of Alice Springs, but most of them lived an independent life until the 1930s when they moved to cattle stations which by then had ringed the Tanami Desert.

The Arrernte, who are discussed by John Morton, and who live in the area centered on Alice Springs, have a special place not only in Australian anthropology but in anthropology at large. In 1899, Baldwin Spencer and Frank Gillen published the first comprehensive modern field ethnography; it was on the Arrernte, and it fired the anthropological imagination in Europe. This work confirmed the prevailing social evolutionist view that Aboriginal people were transitional human beings, whose social life shed light on the origins of European institutions (Hiatt 1996). This view went hand in glove with the idea that Aboriginal people were closest to Caucasians genetically, a view that held sway from the 1880s to the 1940s, but which is no longer accepted. In the years before World War I, a torrent of books appeared, mainly by armchair theorists in Europe, based on the field research of the early ethnographers like A. W. Howitt, W E. Roth, R. H. Mathews, D. Bates, B. Spencer, F. Gillen, C. Strehlow, and L. Parker.

Rather than the lifestyle of desert hunting, the tropical woodland ways of life described in this volume by Ian Keen, David Martin, Jane Goodale, and Sandy Toussaint were much more typical of how most Aboriginal people lived: their population densities were much higher, and their daily lives much more localized. Fish and a range of roots were dietary staples; in the desert, staples were seeds, roots, and lizards.

There was, of course, considerable variation between the lives of groups across north Australia, but it remains true that one can speak of a common indigenous way of life, created in part by the systems of exchange that linked people indirectly with others, right across the continent, as well as from Cape York all the way into the Highlands of New Guinea (McCarthy 1938–40, Mulvaney 1976). Archaeological evidence demonstrates that long-distance exchange was taking place 30,000 years ago, and ethnographic studies from early in this century show clearly that this was a major factor in

the dynamics of local and regional social and cultural change (Mulvaney 1976). Not only did many objects find their way right across the continent, passing from one kinsman to the next (as much an expression of social relationships as for utilitarian purposes), but ceremonies and social practices were also diffused in this way. For example, the subsection system spread from the Victoria River region north into Arnhem Land and south into the desert over the past 150 years (McConvell 1985). Many ceremonial complexes can also be documented as moving in this manner. Independently of the changes brought about by exchange, the existence of 600 dialects is evidence enough that indigenous culture has been continuously changing from the moment of the people's arrival on the continent.

The way of life in the Torres Strait remains completely distinct from that of the mainland, even though there was constant contact in the southern areas. The most striking features were the distinctive Melanesian racial origin of the Strait population, and the fact that all the Islanders (particularly those of eastern Torres Strait) have had an involvement with horticulture. It is significant that there were small gardens only 17 km from the tip of Cape York, which would have been well known to the Aboriginal visitors from the mainland, making it evident that the reasons Aboriginal people did not take up agriculture in this area were social rather than environmental.

Many items passed into Cape York from the Islands, and ultimately from New Guinea, such as outrigger canoes, drums, certain ceremonial attire, myths, and even the bow and arrow as a children's toy. Both Christianity and the pearl industry impacted on the Straits way of life. This occurred rapidly and pervasively from the 1870s. Although the pearling industry went through various ups and downs, it remained important into the late 1950s when plastics destroyed the demand for shell. Subsequently, 80 percent of the Islanders migrated to the mainland, most moving to Queensland, although gradually they have moved into all the states.

The areas of the continent least well known ethnographically are the southern portions and the eastern coastal fringe. These areas suffered the earliest and fullest impact of colonization. Targets of murder, disease, and the appropriation of their lands, not only did populations here decline drastically, but their way of life was radically transformed. Robert Tonkinson here provides a case study of one of the few well-documented groups in the southern part of the continent, the Ngarrindjeri. They are at the opposite end of the cultural continuum from the Pintupi in almost every respect, living in an extremely rich environment, at the highest population densities of the continent, being almost sedentary, with relatively little gender differentiation, especially regarding religion; as well, they have a quite different political life.

History

With 7.4 million km^2 of territory, Australia is almost the same size as the United States of America, but it has much less hospitable climatic conditions. As a result, 85 percent of the present-day population clings to the coastal fringe of the continent; the arid interior is composed of large cattle and sheep stations or now-unoccupied desert. After the initial conflict with Europeans, the surviving Aboriginal population was generally incorporated into the local pastoral economy where they formed a pool of unpaid labor as stockmen and domestic servants. Most Aboriginal people remained in the general region of their own traditional lands, settling on the nearest station, supplementing their station rations by hunting and gathering.

The process of incorporation in this pastoral economy proceeded at different rates in different

parts of the country. The first phase saw the switch from an entirely independent existence to wage labor and was still underway in the 1940s in the remote regions of the Northern Territory. Between 1860 and 1914, following the destruction and demoralization of most of the Aboriginal population, except in the remote central and northern regions, the various states started to introduce protective legislation in the belief that Aboriginal people were dying out: reserves were created, and institutions, almost exclusively run by missionaries from many different denominations, were established to care for Aboriginal people.

By the 1930s, it was patently clear that the Aboriginal population of both full and mixed descent was growing rather than disappearing (Smith 1980). This recognition led to the formulation of the assimilation policy under which it was ultimately planned that all Aboriginal people would come to live like European Australians and possess the same beliefs and values. The most hated feature of this policy was the forcible removal of children of mixed descent from their parents, to be brought up in institutions without any further contact with their families. This continued into the 1960s. Much effort has been, and is being, put into the reconnection of these people with their families.

By the 1960s, it was clear that the assimilation policy was a failure; with the election of the Federal Whitlam Labor Government in 1972, a policy of self-determination, watered down to self-management at some periods, was introduced. The major manifestation of this policy so far has been the establishment in 1990 of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, which is an independent indigenously controlled and run replacement for the former federally run Department of Aboriginal Affairs, making policy and distributing federal funding for Aboriginal people.

The Commission is made up of seventeen elected Regional Councils, each of which elects a commissioner; in addition, there are three ministerially appointed commissioners. Their current budget is over 1000 million dollars a year. About 35 percent of the budget is composed of an innovative work-for-unemployment-benefits program, the Community Development Employment Projects' scheme, under which communities elect to forgo the receipt of individual unemployment benefits in return for a lump sum payment to the Community Council, which then employs the unemployed. Job preference is given to those who would have received unemployment benefits. This program is popular with Aboriginal communities because it is accompanied by substantial extra payments for capital equipment and allows people to be paid for a range of activities that would not normally fall within the European notions of paid jobs.

Self-determination is a highly ambiguous term; as well, the nature of the self-determination people can achieve is a matter of on-going negotiation, now and for the foreseeable future. At present, the principal goal is the establishment of regional agreements under which, ideally, all government expenditure on Aboriginal people will be funneled through a local regional authority. Those closest to achieving this model at present are the Torres Strait Islanders who, partly owing to geography, have already established a Torres Strait Regional Authority. It may well be a number of years before areas on the mainland are able to achieve anything similar.

Identity

As a result of the oppressive legislation controlling Aboriginal peoples' lives from the late nineteenth century onward, and the intensity of prevailing racism, many Aboriginal people of mixed descent denied or concealed their Aboriginal heritage wherever possible. Not until the 1970s was there a

much more positive evaluation of Aboriginality, with people starting publicly to reidentify (Beckett 1988). Until 1971, Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders were not included in the official census figures because Section 127 of the Constitution of Australia excluded them. The reasons for this go back to the time of Federation in 1901 and its associated issues of taxation and representation. Aboriginals were, however, counted at many different times, but it was only in 1967, at a referendum in which Section 127 was removed (and Section 51 which prohibited the Federal government making laws governing Aboriginal people in the states), that official census statistics became available (Table 4).

Table 4 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population by state and territory, 1971–96

State/territory	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996
NT	23,381	23,750	29,088	34,734	39,911	46,277
WA	22,181	26,125	31,351	37,791	41,777	50,793
Qld	31,922	41,344	44,698	61,266	70,124	95,518
SA	7,299	10,714	9,825	14,291	16,232	20,444
NSW	23,873	40,451	35,367	59,009	70,019	101,485
Tas	671	2,941	2,688	6,715	8,858	13,873
Vic	6,371	14,760	6,057	12,611	16,735	21,474
ACT	255	828	823	1,225	1,782	2,899
Totals	115,953	160,913	159,897	227,642	265,438	352,763

From 1971 onward, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have been able to self-identify on the national census form. The changes in population figures are a clear index of changing attitudes, among Aboriginal people in particular, as the Tasmanian figures make most dramatically clear. Such a rapid growth in size of the population could not be from birth alone, but comes from people's changing personal attitudes toward self-identity (a result of changes in national and international attitudes), as well as from the growth of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights movement.

Current situation

Only in the 1960s did most Aboriginal people obtain full citizenship rights. At that time Aboriginal people still did not own land as descendants of the original owners of the continent (although considerable areas were set aside by government as reserves for the use and benefit of Aboriginal people). Beginning in 1966 in South Australia, a statute allowed reserve lands gradually to be placed under Aboriginal control. However, it was not until the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act, 1976 was passed that substantive statutory land rights were granted. This immediately led to 18 percent of the Northern Territory being returned to Aboriginal ownership in inalienable freehold, and it allowed claim for return of traditional lands from unalienated Crown land, as well as providing an independent source of funding by granting Aboriginal people a veto over mining (and hence the right to negotiate royalty payments). Thus, 42 percent of the Northern Territory is now held by the 46,000 Aboriginal people of the territory (Gray 1997). This is held in Aboriginal inalienable freehold; a further 6 percent is held in pastoral leasehold; an income of well in excess of 10 million dollars is received annually, much of which funds the Northern and Central Land Councils that help the Aboriginal traditional owners to claim and manage their lands. The legislation regime and the

amounts of land held by Aboriginal people under statutory land rights in the states varies considerably, as Table 5 indicates.

The legal relationship of Aboriginal people to land underwent a dramatic transformation in June, 1992, with the High Court of Australia's judgment in the case of *Eddie Mabo and Others* v. *The State of Queensland*. For the first time in 204 years Australian jurisprudence recognized the existence of native land title. The Mabo case was brought to court by three Torres Strait Islanders from Murray (Mer) Island in the eastern Torres Strait. The court's findings in the matter applied to the whole continent. The judgment is as important symbolically as for the amount of land it will return to Aboriginal people, because legitimately granted lease and freehold titles are deemed to extinguish this title. The full implications of this entrenchment of a distinctive national minority status for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders will take many years to work out, although its immediate impact on the collective morale of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples has been profound.

Table 5 Aboriginal freehold land ownership and population by state and territory, and land rights regime (after Altman 1994). Based on 1993 land holding data and 1991 census. This does not include Aboriginal leasehold, which is mainly pastoral land in remote Australia, and other titles which bring Aboriginally held land up to about 13 percent in 1993 (Altman 1994:65).

State/territory	Aboriginal freehold land as % of state	Aboriginal freehold land as % of all Aboriginal land	Aboriginal pop. as % of state	State aboriginal pop. as % of total Aboriginal pop.	Federal law	State law
NT	33.7	67.2	22.6	15.0	Yes	No
SA	18.8	27.3	1.2	6.1	No	Yes
Qld	2.1	5.4	2.4	26.4	No	Yes
ACT	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.7	Yes	No
NSW	0.1	0.1	1.2	26.4	No	Yes
Vic.	0.1	0.1	0.3	6.3	Yes	Yes
WA	0.1	0.1	2.6	15.7	No	No
Tas.	0.1	0.1	2.0	3.3	No	No
	8.3	100	1.6	100		

Indigenous Australians and national identity

In the lead-up to the 1988 Bicentennial Celebrations of European possession and settlement of the country, the Australian nation was forced to face the taint on its claimed title to the continent. Australia had no treaties with Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people; the legal fiction of *terra nullius* was still in place, asserting that Australia at the time of discovery was owned by no one. At the same time, the nation had at last substantially freed itself from the psychological ties to Britain and was self-consciously concerned to develop a distinctive national identity.

This conjunction of circumstances, in large part, accounts for the dramatic rise to prominence of the desert acrylic art movement begun in central Australia in the early 1970s (Bardon 1979, Sutton 1988). With changes in the collecting policy of the National Gallery of Australia in 1984 the so-called "dot paintings" of the desert rose to great prominence and have now become a central and pervasive icon of Australian identity, particularly in the tourist context. Despite this, relationships between indigenous and other Australian people still have a substantial way to go before the bipartisan attempt to reconcile the two groups is achieved. With the centenary of Australian

Federation to be celebrated in 2001, Parliament hopes that the Council for Reconciliation which it has funded can achieve the objective of producing a formal document acceptable to both parties, together with a better intercultural understanding. Whether the goal of transcending disagreements is realistic, given that recalling the past is both an important weapon in the politics of embarrassment and a defining part of indigenous identity, only time will tell.

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I.VII.2

Archaeology of Australian hunters and gatherers

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Introduction

In Australia, the archaeological record shows both continuity and considerable change over time. There are clear continuities between recent prehistoric and late Pleistocene hunter-gatherer populations. These continuities are evident in data from physical anthropology, aspects of technology, material culture, symbolism, and the reuse of sites. However, the extent to which recent Aboriginal societies were like those of remote antiquity cannot, today, be addressed in any detail. Significant changes in population density, economy, settlement patterns, and territorial organization in the mid to late Holocene suggest that even in general terms it would be unrealistic to project ethnographic societies more than a few thousand years into the past. The distinctive Australian Aboriginal societies recorded by ethnographers appear to have been the product of a long period of uninterrupted indigenous development, without significant external influences, transformation of the hunter-gather economy, or pressures to interact with other polities.

The archaeological record can assist researchers to determine some of the contours of this indigenous development.

Antiquity and origins

The first human movements into Australia and New Guinea took place sometime before 35,000 BP, probably around 50,000–60,000 years ago (Groube *et al*. 1986, Roberts *et al*. 1990). The absence of earlier archaeological evidence in sediments dating to the last interglacial suggests that first occupation is accurately bracketed sometime between 35,000–40,000 BP (the limit of C14 dating methods), and 120,000 years ago, the age of these deposits. Nevertheless, the chronology of early settlement is currently being recalibrated, as luminescence dating techniques and other Quaternary methods provide means of dating deposits beyond the limit of radiocarbon. Perturbations in vegetation, evident in pollen records, have sometimes been interpreted as evidence of human burning of the landscape during the last interglacial, but direct archaeological evidence has not been found. Preliminary dates of greater than 116,000 years ago for archaeological deposits at the Jinmium site in the East Kimberley region are the exception to this pattern. Early dates for this site have not been supported by later research (Roberts *et al*. 1998).

The sparse cultural remains associated with the earliest sites give few clues to the origin of the

first Australians. There is consensus that Australia must have been settled from the island archipelagos to the north and that this involved a substantial sea crossing, at least 100 km, even at periods of maximal low sea level. The earliest human skeletal remains date between 36,000 and 45,000 BP at Lake Mungo in the southeastern part of the continent (Bowler 1998, Webb, 1989), but most are younger than 15,000 BP and so are not well placed to answer questions about physical origins. Despite considerable morphological diversity, all remains represent modern humans, consistent with other indications that the continent was occupied as part of the global expansion of modern humans between 50,000 and 80,000 years ago.

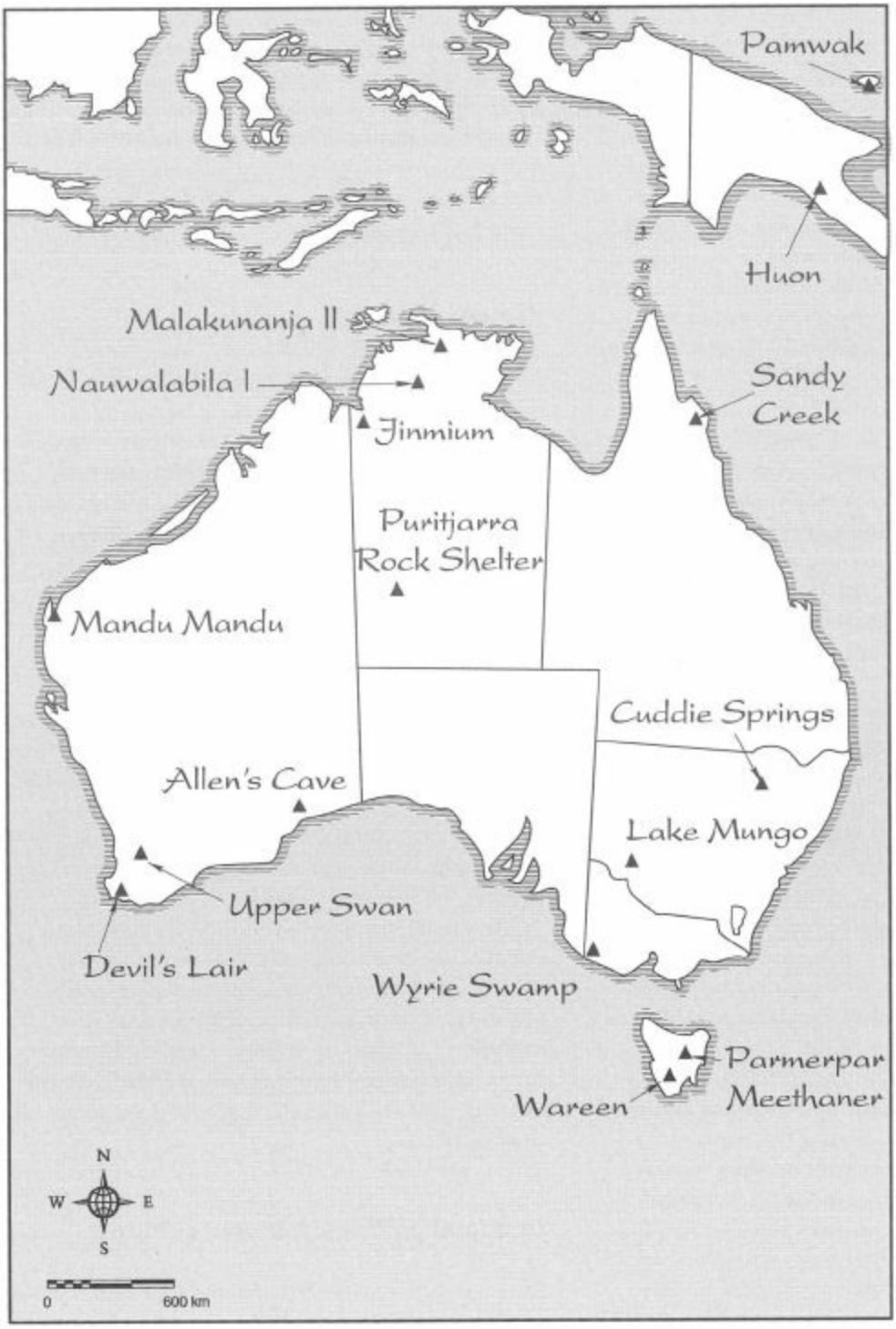
Key early sites:

High-latitude and temperate regions: Warreen (Tasmania, c. 35,000 BP); Parmerpar Meethaner (Tasmania, c. 40,000 BP); Upper Swan (southwest Western Australia, c. 38,000 BP); Devils Lair (southwestern Western Australia, c. 33,000–38,000 BP).

Desert and semi-arid regions: Puritjarra rock shelter (central Australia, c. 32,000–35,000 BP); Allens Cave (Nullarbor Plain, c. 39,000 BP); Lake Mungo (Willandra Lakes region, c. 45,000 BP).

Islands and coasts: Matenkupkum (New Ireland, c. 33,000 BP); Mandu Mandu (west coast, c. 32,000 BP).

Northern Australia and New Guinea: Malakunanja II (western Arnhem Land, 55,000–60,000 years ago); Nauwalabila I (western Arnhem Land, c. 53,000–61,000 years ago); Huon Peninsula (New Guinea, c. 40,000 BP); Sandy Creek 1 and 2 (north Queensland, *c*. 32,000 BP); Carpenter's Cap, Kimberley, >40,000 BP.



Map 15 Archaeological sites in Australia

Settlement of the continent

The initial dispersal of humans across Australia and New Guinea took place in the context of lowered sea-levels (60 to 80 m lower) and a continent somewhat bigger than the three large islands (New Guinea, Australia, and Tasmania) which make up the region today. The continent appears to have been fully occupied by 30,000 years ago (Smith *et al*. 1993). People had reached the center and extremities of the continent by this time, and probably also the central cordillera of New Guinea. These movements involved adaptation to a range of habitats not found in the Indo-Malaysian region: high-latitude temperate environments; the largest desert region in the southern hemisphere; and significant montane and alpine regions.

Early exploitation of high-latitude temperate habitats is exemplified by occupation of southwest

Tasmania between 15,000 and 30,000 BP, when the area supported exposed alpine grasslands on the extreme southern margin of the continent. Use of this region continued throughout the last glacial, when the region carried the largest Australian ice sheet, but it was largely abandoned in the postglacial period as it became dense temperate rainforest (Allen and O'Connell 1995). In the major Australian deserts, people had occupied a range of environments by 25,000–35,000 BP, including sites in the arid heart of the continent. The large islands in the Bismarck and Solomon Island archipelagos to the east of New Guinea were also occupied by 35,000 BP (Allen *et al*. 1988). Evidence of late Pleistocene occupation at Pamwak rock shelter (> 12,000 BP) on Manus Island, off the central north coast of New Guinea, indicates the capacity to colonize across ocean barriers wider than 200 km. Together with evidence of long-distance transport of obsidian and of human introduction of phalangers (medium-size marsupials) to supplement depauperate island faunas, this indicates that late Pleistocene maritime capabilities went well beyond accidental drift voyaging.

Early human impact on Australian environments

Prior to human settlement, Australia supported a diverse marsupial fauna, primarily of large herbivores. Many of these animals became extinct in the period between 40,000 and 100,000 years ago but precise dates are not yet available (White and O'Connell 1982). One exception is Genyornis, a large flightless bird, which is now known to have disappeared 50,000 years ago (Miller *et al*. 1999).

Except at swamp sites in southeastern Australia, the remains of these animals have not been found associated with human occupation, indicating that much of the megafauna was already extinct or rare when humans colonized the continent. Some of the more problematic evidence, and the most recent dates, come from swamp sites in eastern Australia where fragments of teeth and other megafaunal remains are found among human occupation debris ranging in age from 35,000 to 6000 BP. The youngest of these sites may contain reworked material. The best evidence is from Cuddie Springs, where stone artifacts and other occupation debris dating 30,000–35,000 BP overlie, and intermingle with, semi-articulated remains of giant marsupials, indicating these species survived longer in better-watered regions and were hunted by humans in these locations. This is also the case in montane regions of New Guinea, where some megafaunal species survived until perhaps 15,000 BP. Current evidence therefore does not support a single wave of extinctions correlated with human arrival, although people may certainly have caused the extinction of individual species in particular regions.

Other human impacts on the Australian landscape include the use of fire. Although the use and effects of fire in maintaining an open vegetation mosaic are well documented ethnographically there is little archaeological or palynological data to show that "fire-stick" farming was a major factor in transforming the Australian vegetation.

Regional systems

A cultural division between northern Australia and the rest of the continent appears from at least terminal Pleistocene times, broadly but not exactly tracking the later distribution of non-Pama-Nyungan languages. Rock art in the north is figurative, iconic, and based on dynamic naturalistic figures of humans and animals (Layton 1992). In central Australia a different graphic vocabulary and

syntax is built up of tracks and circles and non-figurative geometric motifs. Dates for rock art surfaces and buried engravings indicate both graphic systems were in place by the terminal Pleistocene and probably somewhat earlier. The spatial and temporal distribution of ground-edge axes shows a similar pattern. These implements feature in Pleistocene assemblages in the north from at least 30,000 BP, but did not spread across the continent until 4000 years ago. The late Holocene distribution of bifacial flaked stone spear points is also restricted to northern Australia.

The archaeological record indicates that the spatial extent of late Pleistocene social systems was roughly equivalent to that of ethnographic Australian societies in similar environments. In desert regions ochres were moved over distances up to 300 km, while in Pleistocene Tasmania, the flow of materials such as Darwin glass (an impactite) and fossil shell was much more geographically circumscribed.

Temporal patterns: material culture

Bone and shell ornaments (beads and pendants) occur in some late Pleistocene sites. High-grade red ochre is ubiquitous from the earliest sites on and was used to cover a burial at Lake Mungo 36,000–45,000 years ago. Wooden implements, including one-piece barbed spears and boomerangs, have been excavated from Wyrie Swamp in southeastern Australia, dating to 9000 BP. An indication that these artifacts have a longer history in Australia is found in the ancient "dynamic" rock art of northern Australia, where human figures are shown with spear-throwers, boomerangs, and other items.

Pleistocene stone tool assemblages now appear more diverse than previously allowed, and the pan-continental homogeneity once perceived is no longer evident (Allen and O'Connell 1995). The earliest stone tool assemblages are composed of small flakes (together, in northern Australia, with evidence for grindstones and possibly ground-edge axes). In southeastern Australia (but not Tasmania) terminal Pleistocene and early Holocene assemblages are notable for large flake implements and steep-edged scrapers, implements at one time thought to be characteristic of the technology of the first Australians. The most marked period of change in stone tool assemblages is around 3000–4000 BP when both northern and southern Australia saw the appearance of a range of hafted tool types (White and O'Connell 1982). These changes, for the most part, appear to represent developments of existing technologies rather than cultural discontinuities, and probably reflect the spread of hafting devices such as resins. Some of the new tool types are present in earlier assemblages (e.g., seed grinders, ground-edge axes, and thumbnail scrapers) but have a more restricted geographical distribution before 3000 BP. For some of the new tools, such as the hafted scraper/adzes of northern Australia, a local developmental sequence can be reconstructed. The projectile point forms in northern Australia are the most problematic in this regard and archaeologists have periodically looked to an external origin in eastern Indonesia for these types, without success.

Temporal patterns: population growth

Changes in numbers of sites, and intensity of site use, outline broad trends toward increasing regional population density from 4000 BP in the southern and northern parts of the continent and from 1000 BP in central Australia. Some of these changes are due to redistribution of population as coastal/littoral and wetland habitats progressively adjusted to the aftermath of the last marine transgression. Others

must represent net population growth though this was clearly not uniform and there are preliminary indications that population levels were at least as high in some regions prior to the last glacial maximum, especially in north Australia.

Temporal patterns: socio-economic intensification?

In parts of Australia a mid-Holocene increase in population is associated with intensified use of some resources—macrozamia, grass and acacia seeds, fish, wetland resources—and changes toward more regional art styles, increased sedentism, and greater archaeological visibility of facilities such as earth mounds, fish traps, and ceremonial sites. Many of these changes can be seen as responses to increased population density and new configurations of terrestrial and marine resources. The best evidence for changes in sociopolitical organization is from the central Murray valley where large cemeteries appear from 13,000 BP on the eastern riverine plain, spreading downstream at 6000–7000 BP, associated with evidence for increased disease loads, periods of famine, and increased territoriality (Allen and O'Connell 1995, Webb 1995). Burials in this region often include grave goods, including necklaces of pierced teeth. Women and men are buried differently. It seems Australian hunter-gatherer societies moved toward a different social and economic mode in some parts of the continent in the postglacial period but this was not a unilinear process nor was it continuous or uniform across the continent. Transformation of the hunter-gatherer economy did take place in the northern part of the landmass–in the highland valleys of New Guinea–with forest clearance, and shifting swamp-based horticulture (possibly based on *Colocasia* taro) after 6000–9000 BP.

Temporal patterns: external contacts

Direct evidence for external contacts is minimal. The introduction of the dingo (*Canis lupus dingo*) at *c*. 3500 BP indicates at least intermittent contact with Southeast Asia. Shell fishhooks spread north to south along the east coast of the continent between 700 and 1000 BP, suggesting an origin in the Torres Straits region or elsewhere. Historical contacts with other groups are documented for the last 400 years: Macassan trepangers visited the northern Australian coast from about 1700 AD; their processing sites and pottery occur in many locations along the northwestern coastline of the continent (Macknight 1976). Dutch and Portuguese mariners explored the northern and western coastlines from 1600 AD. The impacts of these contacts on Aboriginal societies do not seem to have been great: a possible intensification of ceremonial exchange systems in northern Australia, incorporation of exotic goods into the religious life, and possibly an early introduction of feral animals such as the cat into Australian ecosystems.

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I.VII.3

The Arrernte of Central Australia

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Introduction

The Arrernte (Aranda, Arunta) are perhaps the most famous of Aboriginal Australians, although they do not form an identifiable racial or ethnic group. The name Arrernte distinguishes a number of closely related languages and dialects forming the Arandic-speaking area of central Australia, mainly in the southern half of the Northern Territory but also extending into Queensland and, in historical times, into South Australia. Arandic languages and dialects are now spoken in a large area of desert and semi-desert between Tennant Creek in the north and Finke in the south, between Papunya in the west and Mount Isa in the east. The languages and dialects, and their speakers, are now usually known as Alyawarre, Kaytetye, Anmatyerre, Western Arrernte, Southern Arrernte (or Pertame), and Eastern Arrernte (sometimes divided into five sub-dialects). A number of others have disappeared (or nearly so) since colonization. The Arrernte described in the classical ethnographies of Baldwin Spencer, Frank Gillen, Carl Strehlow, Géza Róheim, and T G. H. Strehlow were from the eastern, western, southern, and central groups. These people are the focus of this presentation. Their descendants now mainly live along the east-west axis formed by the major settlements of Hermannsburg, Alice Springs, and Santa Teresa.

Population
About 4500 people speak Arandic languages/dialects, half of them Alyawarre, Kaytetye, or Anmatyerre. More than 2000 speak Eastern Aranda, or refer to themselves with an Eastern Arandic dialect name. By similar calculation, Western Arrernte number about 1500 and Southern Arrernte about 100. Larger communities where Eastern, Western and Southern dialects are spoken: Alcoota, Harts Range, Bonya, Santa Teresa, Amoonguna, Alice Springs, Maryvale, Finke, Wallace Rockhole, Jay Creek, Hermannsburg, Areyonga, Haasts Bluff, and Papunya.

Location
Southern portion of Northern Territory, and western Queensland.

History

Aboriginal people have occupied central Australia for more than 20,000 years. Archaeological records suggest that important changes to the hunter-gatherer economy (such as the introduction of seed-grinding techniques about 3000 BP) occurred in that period. Arrernte people encountered white

explorers in the early 1860s. Initial contact was tense but minimal, and Arrernte people did not feel the brunt of the invasion of their lands (nor the frontier violence and disease epidemics that accompanied it), until the construction of an overland telegraph line (1870–2). Alice Springs telegraph station was established in 1871 and a Lutheran Mission opened at Hermannsburg in 1877. The first pastoral leases were awarded following the building of the telegraph line. Most Arrernte land was seized and converted into pastoral properties, although Arrernte people continued to live on these properties, where they worked and/or received rations. Larger Aboriginal settlements grew up in and around Alice Springs, at Hermannsburg, and (after the 1940s) at Santa Teresa Catholic Mission. Hermannsburg, Santa Teresa, and many smaller parcels of land have been returned to Arrernte control since the 1970s, through either land rights legislation, excisions from pastoral leases, or special leasing arrangements.

Ecological setting

Arrernte country is desert or semi-desert, although people have usually lived in the relatively well-watered areas of the McDonnell Ranges and in the corridors of the river systems flowing southeast into Lake Eyre and the Simpson Desert. The mountains and (usually dry) river beds provide many permanent or semi-permanent water sources, although people now rely heavily on bores and public water systems. The country varies enormously, from relatively bare sand-dunes and plains, to dense scrubland and craggy hills. It also varies seasonally, with most rainfall arriving in storms during the summer months. Annual and diurnal temperature ranges are high, with midwinter nights approximating freezing point and midsummer days often in excess of 40°C. The introduction of exotic flora and fauna, both domestic and wild, together with the cessation of the Aboriginal practice of burning off old vegetation, has seen many indigenous species become rare or extinct. Some indigenous plant species remain plentiful and are supplemented today by introduced edible species.

83 Arrernte men, Alice Springs, 1896. *Right to left:* Erlkintera, Erpolingarinia, Ingelilba, Eruramunga, Arrai-iga, lngapaila, and Intwailiuka. These seven southern and eastern Arrernte men stage-managed a major ceremonial cycle described in Spencer and Gillen's *The Arunta*. Photo: Baldwin Spencer. Courtesy of the Museum Victoria Council.

Economy

While most goods, including food items, are now purchased from retail outlets, hunting and gathering is still significant as an adjunct to the market economy. Large game frequently taken includes red kangaroo, hill kangaroo, emu, and bush turkey. Small game is often goanna, perentie (lizard), and rabbit. Species commonly collected include honey ant, witchetty grub, and fruits like bush tomato, bush banana, bush currant, wild fig, and wild orange. Seed collection was important in the pre-contact past, but was quickly displaced through the availability of processed flour. Wood is still gathered for both fuel and artifact production.

The pre-contact tool kit included stone knives, spears, boomerangs, clubs, digging sticks, and carrying trays. These have been replaced by metal blades, rifles, pickets, crowbars and metal or plastic containers. Semi-permanent residences ("wurleys") were constructed at regularly frequented

campsites. Often used after contact, such constructions have gradually given way to other buildings, ranging from "humpies" (made from corrugated iron and tarpaulin) to brick houses. Since the 1970s, settlements have fragmented into smaller communities and more geographically diffuse outstations. These are served by resource centers which maintain local infrastructure.

84 Western Arrernte people giving evidence before the Aboriginal Land Commissioner in the Palm Valley Land Claim, heard in Palm Valley and Alice Springs, 1994. Photo: Lee Sackett.

Post-contact employment was initially found in the pastoral industry (for men) or in domestic service (for women). Such opportunities have always been limited. Unemployment remains high, although an increasing number of Arrernte find work in the growing Aboriginal administrative system. Some receive a significant income from selling paintings and crafts to art dealers, artifact collectors, and tourist markets. A large portion of income consists of unemployment benefits and government pensions. Aboriginal organizations, mainly located in Alice Springs, attract considerable government funding and other income; this in turn contributes substantially to the non-Aboriginal economy in central Australia.

Settlement, mobility, and land tenure

While Arrernte hunter-gatherers were nomadic, they moved in well-defined territories and between

established semi-permanent camps. Bands foraged over several allied territories/estates demarcated by totemic myths describing the formation of the landscape. Band structure was flexible, with a tendency for older men to spend much time on their own estates. Younger men and married women tended to live on the estates of their affines. Estate ownership was/is defined mainly by reference to a principle of patrilineal descent. Matrifilial and cognatic relations were/are also utilized. Further links to estates are made through one's place of conception (arising from the agency of a totemic ancestor dwelling in the land). Land holding is articulated by a partnership between *apmereke-artweye* (land owners–usually linked patrilineally to first ancestral owners of the country) and *kwertengwerle* (managers–often matrifiliates). Managers are said "to police" the land owners and "keep them straight."

Despite post-colonial changes, traditional land tenure is still important, as shown by recent land claims. Most Arrernte people now live in large permanent settlements, or on associated outstations, but people continue to move between settlements. Residential locations change frequently and people travel great distances by motor vehicle to visit and do business with relatives and friends.

Domestic organization

Arrernte kinship, famous as an anthropological "type," distinguishes between cross and parallel relatives and, for a man, prescribes marriage with somebody in the category which includes his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter (although other marriages are possible). There are two unnamed patrimoieties ("us" and "them") and cross-cutting generation moieties based on the identity of alternate generations. The moieties mesh with eight named subsections (*perrurle, kemarre, penangke, pengarte, kngwarraye, peltharre, angale*, and *ampetyane*) in most areas, although some people employ only four named sections (*perrurle, kemarre, penangke*, and *peltharre*). In pre-colonial times, marriages were arranged according to a promissory system: men's first marriages were usually considerably delayed. Marriage alliances meshed closely with the land tenure system.

The nuclear family continues to be a feature of Arrernte life, although households and communities resemble the old band structures in their openness and flexibility. The incidence of love marriages increases at the expense of promissory arrangements. Few Arrernte people have church weddings (or the secular equivalents). "Wrong" or "two-way" ("half-right") marriages, as they are known, have increased in recent times, although the ideal of young men paying respect and owing a special debt to their in-laws continues. Marriages are now exclusively monogamous, and divorce is common. While women's status is not markedly inferior to men, they do bear the major brunt of domestic burdens. Large families are now common; over half the population is composed of minors.

Political organization

There has always been a recognized system of leadership in Arrernte society, although balanced by an overt form of egalitarianism. Power is articulated through kinship and gender relations: elders lead juniors and, to some extent, men lead women. These ideas now tend to be expressed through use of the English term "boss." But while elders and men are characteristically bosses, there is also recognition that, in key respects, women and children are "bosses for themselves." Personal autonomy is a key value for Arrernte people. It is only in certain realms of life, particularly those

pertaining to ritual and land, that leadership becomes markedly external to the less formal contexts of everyday kin relatedness. While some men, and perhaps some women, become influential and gain prestige beyond their immediate kin groups, there are no centralized political functions stemming from wholly indigenous principles. Recently imposed bureaucratic structures in indigenous affairs have seen Arrernte men and women become representative of their groups in contexts wider than would otherwise have been the case. Some Arrernte figure prominently in regional and national politics, but this does not straightforwardly translate into power and control in their local communities.

Religion and spirituality

The famous concept of the Dreaming/Dreamtime, said to be characteristic of all Australian Aborigines, arises from early understandings of the Arrernte word *altyerre* or *altyerrenge*. *Altyerre* is best glossed as "the eternal." It may also be expressed as "the Law," an idea intended to convey the systemic interpenetration of causal, moral, and spiritual movements. Arrernte people speak of stories or myths as "dreamings." These have a classically primordial character, be they tales (of the "once upon a time" variety) or more restricted and sacred narratives which detail the beginnings of all things and model their eternal continuity through ritual and other practice.

In pre-colonial times, a ritual cycle consisted of "fertility" or "increase" rites associated with stages of male initiation, including circumcision and subincision. Other events, like women's conception experiences, or the use of shamanic techniques, brought people within the reality of dreamings. "The Law" was fashioned by totemic ancestors, part human, part non-human, beings of spectacular capabilities who called the landscape into being through song-poetry and other means. The material landscape is evidence of the presence of these totemic beings. The land is crossed and studded with marks ("dreaming tracks" and "sacred sites") attesting to these beings' continued existence. The ritual cycle ensures these marks are refreshed and renewed through the transmission of human knowledge, and continued ownership of, and identification with, sacred artifacts representing the ancestors themselves. These artifacts are known as *tywerrenge*, a word applicable to anything sacred.

This philosophy has survived colonization, although the ritual round has been modified. Certain features have disappeared, and others have been adopted from neighboring Aboriginal and non-indigenous Australians. Christianity (mainly through the Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches) is now prominent in many people's lives. Christian myth and ritual are usually separated from dreamings, although syncretic forms have emerged: some Christian personae are now embedded in the landscape.

Further features of the current situation

While many present-day features are consistent with, or transformations of, the pre-colonial past, Arrernte people have faced much novelty and vicissitude since colonization. From the late 1800s on, the indigenous way of life has been assailed by devastating mortality rates, dislocation from homelands, and policies of containment, cultural destruction, and assimilation. People have been crowded indiscriminately onto reserves and often forcibly instructed to abandon indigenous skills and

customs in favor of Euro-Australian ones. Some aspects of this historical drift have been less negative and have contributed to the ongoing viability of Arrernte identity; for example, "cowboy culture" with its rodeo skills, and country and western music, learned in relation to wage labor in the pastoral industry, is a vital feature of contemporary Arrernte life. Similarly, education and forced assimilation programs have left many Arrernte people with skills useful in contemporary political and development contexts. Since the 1960s, the ideological climate in central Australia has changed sufficiently to effect an Arrernte "renaissance." This resurgence of indigenous voice acts in concert with calls to increase the standard of living to a level comparable to that of the national average.

"The way that we are related to things and the way of describing these relationships are associated with the land. And so, that is the proper way for Aboriginal people to speak…A person is related through the country that they call Mother, or Mother's Mother. They are related to the Aboriginal people who are the landholders for that place as well…Because that land is our spirit, or soul itself. People and the country are both named in this way…Places that are close together are related to each other, and people are related to each other as well…You aren't just related to people, you are related to the country. And you look after that country that you are related to, just as you look after the people."

Margaret-Mary Turner, OAM, 1996 (translated from Arrernte by Margaret-Mary Turner and Jenny Green)

Organization for resistance

Arrernte people were prominent in the political agitation which culminated in the passing of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act, 1976. The process of returning the land to Arrernte control, under the terms of this Act, continues. The Arrernte are also prominent in the running of the Central Land Council, instituted to assist land claim processes and the administration of Aboriginal land in the southern part of the Northern Territory. Arrernte people are significant players in contemporary Aboriginal organizations, particularly in Alice Springs. Prominent among these are the Central Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service; Tangentyere Council (which deals with housing); the Institute of Aboriginal Development (which fosters education and research, and aims to become the first Aboriginal university); the Central Australian Aboriginal Congress (medical services); and the Aboriginal Areas Protection Authority (which assists custodians to map and protect sacred sites). Arrernte artists have featured in the successful marketing of Aboriginal art in recent decades. Paintings are often produced for explicitly political purposes. Arrernte people have also been involved in the work of the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association and Imparja Television, which produce, network, and sell audio-visual recordings among all Australians.

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I.VII.4

Cape York peoples, north Queensland, Australia

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Introduction

Unlike much of modern Australia, Cape York Peninsula remains a strongly Aboriginal domain. Aboriginal people constitute 35 percent of the population and hold 20 percent of the lands. Most now live in Aboriginal-controlled townships in the coastal region; smaller populations live in decentralized outstations. Cape York Aboriginal peoples exhibit considerable social, cultural, and linguistic diversity. The seafaring peoples of the northeast coast exploit a rich coastal and marine environment, and exhibit strong ceremonial and other links with the Melanesians to the north. By contrast, west coast peoples, and those from Princess Charlotte Bay on the east coast, exploit a complex littoral and hinterland environment. They are more socially segmented, with richer ritual traditions, and speak a greater diversity of languages than is the case among people from the less ecologically diverse inland regions, like the Wik of the central west, and the Yir Yoront of the southwest, who have figured prominently in anthropological debates on kinship, totemism, and political organization (Sharp 1958, von Stunner 1978).

History

Aboriginal people have lived on Cape York Peninsula for at least 13,000 years; their occupation pre-dates the separation of Australia from New Guinea by rising sea levels. The first recorded contact with Europeans was with the Dutch on the west coast in the early 1600s; similarly long links occurred with the Torres Strait. Destructive contact in the colonial period began with trepang and pearl shell fishermen on the northern coasts (1860s), and inland with the discovery of goldfields (1870s) which saw an influx of Chinese and Europeans. The telegraph line construction to Thursday Island (1880s) facilitated the establishment of cattle stations; a sandalwood extraction industry developed too.

Population
About 6000, plus several hundred recent migrants from the Torres Straits to the north. Together they constitute about 35 percent of the total population.

Location
Cape York Peninsula runs from roughly 16° 30′ S to the Torres Straits, across which lies New

Guinea. Ecologically diverse, the area extends over 150,000 km^2.

By the 1890s, Aboriginals in most areas were under severe pressure. Many groups were eliminated, removed, or concentrated in camps near European settlements and cattle stations. Public outcry at the violence and exploitative labor conditions led to the establishment of mission settlements along the coasts by 1900. The largest contemporary populations live in or near the settlements which developed from the missions. Some also live in the small townships of the region where, until recently, they provided the main labor force for Cape York's cattle industry.

Ecological setting

Cape York Peninsula's tropical environment is characterized by marked seasonality and a wide range of ecosystems which Aboriginal people occupy and exploit (Chase and Sutton 1981). It is transected by several major river systems which flood during the annual monsoons. The east coast is characterized by reefs, islands, mangrove estuaries, extensive dunes, beaches, and thick coastal scrubs; dense monsoonal rainforests cover parts of the adjacent inland mountains. Along the flat Carpentaria coast serpentine rivers meander through mangrove estuaries, saltpans, coastal dunes, seasonally inundated grass plains, and lagoons. The central region, less ecologically diverse, is dominated by dry sclerophyll forest, areas of vine thickets, and gallery rainforests along the rivers, creeks, and lagoons. The richer and more predictable resources of the coastal regions sustained larger Aboriginal populations.

85 A senior Wuthathi man digging for yams, northeast Cape York Peninsula. Photo: Kerry Trapnell.

86 Wik women fishing at Walngal, western Cape York Peninsula. Photo: Kerry Trapnell.

Economy

Cape York Aboriginal peoples combined a relatively basic technology with a profound, sophisticated environmental knowledge to sustain relatively high sedentary populations, particularly in the coastal regions. All groups employed spears and spear-throwers, hafted stone axes, scrapers, digging sticks, woven bags, baskets, and fishing nets, although there was considerable regional diversity in the construction of artistic and utilitarian objects.

Vegetable foods formed a major food source. For coastal peoples, yams, as well as edible seasonal fruits and berries found on the coastal dunes, provided a highly predictable and stable resource base (Chase and Sutton 1981). Such foods were less plentiful inland; here the river and creek systems were the foci of resource exploitation. Riverine gallery forests were significant sources of yams, fruits, and berries; the lagoons, rivers, and creeks provided freshwater fishes, swamp turtle, and reptiles. Honey from stingless native bees was a significant and highly prized food, particularly inland.

The seafaring peoples of the northeast and eastern coasts built dugout canoes with single or double outriggers, and they used harpoons with detachable heads to hunt turtle and dugong. The estuaries provided crustaceans and shellfish, while shallow coastal waters and rivers teemed with fish, including barramundi and colonial salmon, which were speared or, in some areas, trapped or netted. In certain coastal areas, the inundation of grass plains provided breeding grounds for magpie geese and an abundant seasonal supply of eggs. People hunted game throughout the region (various species of duck, geese, ibis, brolgas, and fruit bats). These resources were supplemented by reptiles and freshwater turtles. In the late dry season, neighboring groups used fire in game drives for wallabies, kangaroo, and bandicoot.

Settlement patterns, mobility, and land tenure

There is a broad pattern of patrilineal clan groups holding bounded estates; however, land tenure exhibits considerable regional variation. There is also a high degree of optation and flexibility, allowing for incorporation of individual and group exigencies including those resulting from dislocations during the colonial period. Primary, relatively exclusive rights to an estate are held

collectively by the patrician, but individuals hold a range of subsidiary rights to other lands, such as those of their mother's clan.

The residential and resource-exploitation groups were typically composed of senior focal men, their wives, children and entourages, which included members of several clans. While such groups were normally based on the estates of focal individuals, the exercise of subsidiary kinship rights enabled people to range widely. Coastal groups were more sedentary than those in the less resource-rich interior. During the monsoon season, larger groups established semi-permanent camps: among coastal people, near the beaches; and among inland people, on ridges above the floodwaters. Maximum mobility for both inland and coastal peoples occurred during the late dry season, when large aggregations formed for game drives, ceremonies, cremations, and fights (Chase and Sutton 1981, Rigsby 1980, Sutton 1978, von Sturmer 1978).

Domestic organization

Kinship is a fundamental organizing principle for the social, economic, and political life of Cape York peoples (Thomson 1972). Many groups are divided into exogamous, patrilineal moieties, although the importance of these is diminishing. The "sections" commonly found among other Aboriginals are absent (except among groups at Princess Charlotte Bay). Clans are exogamous, and a common marriage pattern was between classificatory cross-cousins. Marriage was arranged by senior kin, including women, and involved the establishment of long-term rights and obligations between kin groups. Arranged marriages have given way to serial relationships of choice. This is a significant factor underlying changes in both domestic organization and affiliations to land.

Basic residential or hearth groups typically center upon a married couple, their children, and other kin. These units are linked socially and economically to other individuals through a matrix of reciprocal rights and obligations. There is a distinct gender division of labor: men hunt the larger and more prestigious game and women contribute the majority of labor required for the maintenance of the domestic group (child rearing, foraging, and food preparation). Nonetheless, in comparison with many other Aboriginal regions, relations between the sexes are relatively egalitarian. The new, welfare-based cash economy, however, has created fundamental changes in domestic organization and social relations.

Political organization

Cape York societies are assertively egalitarian. They place high value upon individual autonomy, yet are intensely political. Politics is fluid, negotiable, and localist. While there are few enduring hierarchies, there are intense ritual and other forms of competition over land, sexuality, and both indigenous and contemporary resources (Sutton and Rigsby 1982). The basic political units are not language groups, "tribes," or clans, but rather, fluid aggregations of kin and affines, common areas of origin, and ritual cult affiliations (Martin 1993).

Differences between coastal and inland groups provide a core dynamic to social and political life across the peninsula. The richer resource base, higher populations, and more complex ritual and linguistic traditions of the coastal regions are generally reflected in more highly segmented social structure than that of inlanders. The west coast's prominent, discrete, ritual cult groups, for instance,

provide a forum for individuals seeking regional preeminence. This would be rare among inlanders. Contemporary prominence is increasingly linked to controlling service-delivery and representative organizations (with their attendant income) rather than controlling indigenous ritual.

"You talk about the second wave of contact. I tell you now, the flood from the first wave is still high. There is people in Cape York still drowning from the first wave. There's people still trying to swim from the first wave."

Isaac Hobson, Umpila language group, Lockhart River

"Why do we fight for our families? Because that is the Aboriginal culture, from the old people who went before. That is the custom that was left us. It is from way back, from the beginning. White people are different, they just look out for themselves."

Gladys Tybingoompa, Kugu Muminh language group, Aurukun

Religion and spirituality

Religion for the Cape York peoples is intimately related to land; mythology, songs and dances are rich in its imagery. The landscape and "culture" (the systemic ordering of identified groups over the land, the principles of social relationships, the languages, ritual property such as dances and body paint designs, and aesthetics) are said to have been "left" by heroic figures in the creation period. Primal beings traveled the land, forming and naming its features, infusing them with significance, assigning areas to each clan, and creating spiritual power in totemic centers such as "increase sites." This heroic age is understood to have occurred just beyond living memory. Its power can be summoned, through ritual performance, to assist the ordering of the present-day. While Cape York Aboriginal peoples are highly pragmatic and intensely political, society is more than the artifact of living actors, and landscape is not simply real estate.

Clan founding heroes are often major totemic species. In the northern and west coast regions, moreover, the exploits of culture heroes form the basis of ritual cults which overarch clan totemism and link clans in separate but related regional cult associations. There are strong links between the religious traditions of coastal groups and those of the Melanesian Torres Straits, especially the hero cults which involve mummification of the dead, dancing, and (northern peoples) elaborate carved and painted masks (Thomson 1933). Many Cape York people profess Christianity, although its significance has declined. The importance and relevance of indigenous beliefs is also under threat in an increasingly secular and dislocated contemporary world.

Current situation

The demographic presence of Cape York Aboriginal peoples, their control of environmentally and culturally significant lands, and their cultural vitality all equip them with resources for constructively engaging in relations with the modern state. The majority in the coastal Aboriginal townships have an attenuated form of self-management (Aboriginal-controlled local council government). Queensland's Aboriginal Land Act 1981 and the Commonwealth of Australia's Native Title Act 1993 have a

potential to strengthen significantly Aboriginal ownership and co-management regimes over land and waters. They also provide access to otherwise alienated ancestral lands, for those living in non-Aboriginal townships.

Although assimilation is no longer on the statutes, Aboriginal cultural, economic, and political institutions are increasingly under threat from the mainstream society. The significance of food and other production from the indigenous realm continues to decline, with an overwhelming dependence upon government transfer payments. People have disastrously poor health and a life expectancy near the lowest in the nation. Alcohol consumption is high, exacerbated by ineffectual licensing laws and the dependence of Aboriginal councils on the profits from the liquor outlets they control. High levels of violence and other crimes in many townships lead to a disproportionate representation in the region's jails and courts. The mainstream law enforcement and judicial systems are clearly ineffectual, although some attempts have been made to incorporate customary law into solutions to these problems.

Organization for resistance

The colonial frontier on Cape York was particularly brutal. In some pastoral areas colonial violence and murder extended into the 1930s. From first contact with Europeans, Aboriginal people put up spirited resistance. Many early gold miners and pastoralists were killed, and the original relay stations on the telegraph line along the spine of the Cape were built as fortified residences because of the serious threat from Aboriginal people. The effectiveness of Aboriginal resistance, however, was reduced not only by the colonists' superior technology, but also by the disparate, localist nature of Aboriginal resistance.

More recently, Aboriginal people have taken important steps to develop regional approaches to advance their interests. Of particular note is the formation of the Cape York Land Council to gain recognition of indigenous land rights. A number of significant native title claims have been launched on a subregional and regional basis. Regional approaches are also being adopted in negotiations with government and mining companies (concerning compensation for dispossession, the return of areas of significance, and royalties and other financial benefits).

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I.VII.5

Kimberley peoples of Fitzroy Valley, Western Australia

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Introduction

Walmajarri, Wangkajunga, Mangala, and Nyikina (known locally as the "desert mobs," because their homelands are arid), Gooniyandi and Bunaba ("river people," because the Fitzroy River flows through their territory), are members of indigenous language groups living in the Fitzroy Valley of the Kimberley, Western Australia.

Archaeological evidence dates indigenous presence in the Kimberley to approximately 45,000 BP. Land was, and is, of great importance to life and cosmology, providing totemic links between people and plant and animal species. Religious beliefs enshrined in the Dreaming (*jumangkarni*, a Walmajarri word) form the basis of Aboriginal "law," a religious blueprint for expected behaviors. Knowledge about affiliations with land, kinship and social organization, religious rituals, political systems, and death and grieving, was transmitted through oral, ceremonial, and artistic traditions. Secular events (hunting, fishing, or foraging together) may also occasion the recounting of myths. Some categories of knowledge were restricted according to age and gender. Wildlife, roots, fruits, seeds, wood, and water were managed efficiently to maintain a viable subsistence economy. Patterns of resource exploitation reflected seasonal and climatic changes; band mobility facilitated the use and replenishment of these resources. A system of trading, known as *wunan*, for material and non-material resources (e.g. ochre, ceremonial knowledge) persists today despite the massive impact of colonization.

Population

(1993) 1716 Walmajarri, Wangkajunga, Bunaba, Gooniyandi, Nyikina, Mangala, and Kriol speakers in the Fitzroy Valley of the Kimberley. Total population of Kimberley region, about 10,281, members of at least twenty-five ethno-linguistic divisions. Fitzroy Valley communities: Junjuwa, Bayulu, Wangkajunga/Christmas Creek, Yungnora/Noonkanbah, Warrimbah, Yiyili, Muluja, Yakanarra, Jugerari/Cherrabun, Joy Springs, Kadjina/Millijiddee, Ngalingadji, Ngumpan, Darlngunaya (Fitzroy Crossing).

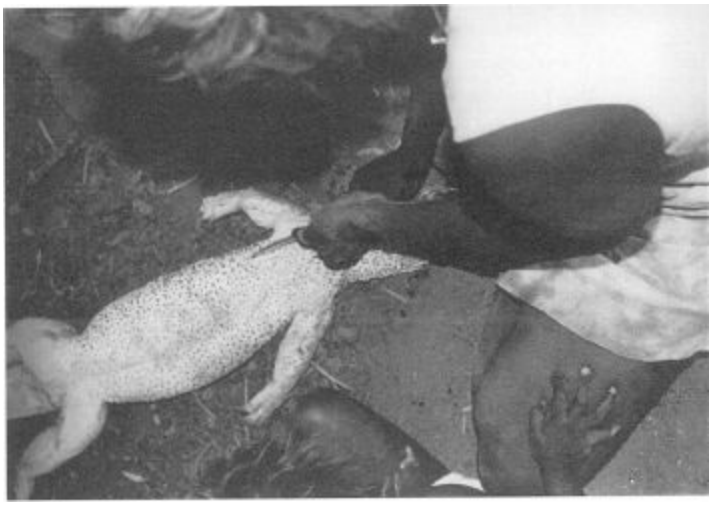
Location

The Kimberley, Western Australia, 421,130 km^2. Tropical savannah: humid summers ("wet season") to desert aridity. Daytime temperature range: 20° to 40° C.

Languages and affiliations to land

Between *c*. 1900 and 1970, many Walmajarri and Wangkajunga migrated in small groups from southern desert regions to the Fitzroy Valley. Their relations to land were and are paramount over all other human relations, and central to the reproduction of cultural beliefs and behaviors. The center of the Fitzroy Valley was recognized as Bunaba country. To the immediate east were the Gooniyandi; the Nyikina and Mangala lived in the southwestern desert region.

Language names were in most cases inherited patrilineally, and derived from traditional affiliations to land. Most commonly, a desert model of land tenure operated in the Kimberley whereby rights to land were and are based on patrilineal and matrilineal descent, conception site, birth site, totemic affiliation, historical association, and residence.



87 A Walmajarri woman, Amy Nugget, guts a *kakiji* (goanna), 1988. Photo: Sandy Toussaint.

88 Amy Nugget and children start to prepare a *kakiji* (goanna), 1988. Photo: Sandy Toussaint.

Kinship and social organization

Social and political organization and interaction continue to rest heavily on the maintenance of consanguineal, affinal, and classificatory ties. Kinship principles remain a major guide to avoidance relationships, such as potential and actual mothers-in-law with sons-in-law, and for preferred marriage. While polygynous marriages are still valued by many older Walmajarri and Wangkajunga, "wrong" marriages increasingly occur and there is resistance to arranged marriages among young women and men.

Subsection categories, known locally as "skins" in Kriol, continue to operate as elements of social organization. The subsection system encompasses sixteen named categories, or "skins," grouped into eight sister/brother pairs. The sociocentrically based subsection system encompasses everyone and is congruent with ego-centered principles of kin relatedness. Children are born into a subsection different from that of their mother or father, but in the case of "wrong marriages" the subsection membership of children is reckoned matrilineally. Despite some modifications, the subsection system remains central as a labeling device and guide to expected behavior.

A diversity of economies

Walmajarri, Wangkajunga, Gooniyandi, Bunaba, Nyikina, and Mangala people hunted species like goanna, lizard, and snake. Gooniyandi and Bunaba ("river people") also fished (e.g., barramundi, catfish, freshwater prawns) and from all accounts taught desert migrants to fish as they settled in the Fitzroy Valley. Both "desert" and "river" people also foraged for a variety of foods and resources (e.g., bush potato, tomato, banana, onion). Bush honey, known as "sugar bag" (*kalaga*), was sought for both food and medicine. The gender division of labor was/is complementary. While women more commonly foraged, they also hunted small game (goanna), and while men more commonly hunted, they also foraged (bush honey). The preparation and cooking of food was sometimes shared, although senior women generally assumed responsibility for these tasks.

Much contemporary male subsistence activity involves guns rather than spears, while women use crowbars instead of digging sticks. "Billycans," as carrying utensils, have replaced the traditional "coolamons" (bark containers). Women (particularly those between twenty and sixty), often accompanied by dependent children and grandchildren, spend considerable periods of time acquiring bush foods. Foods which are hunted and foraged supplement produce derived from social security entitlements (old age, widow, or invalid pensions, single parent allowances, and unemployment benefits). Transfer payments have been the primary source of Aboriginal income since the late 1960s, reflecting socio-economic inequality, dependency, and unemployment.

Some households add to their income in a variety of ways: creating paintings and artifacts (which are produced by women and men and sold directly to tourists); gambling (mainly cards); or relying on kin employed in the pastoral and mining industries, or working for government agencies. A number of enterprising women wash clothes "for money" and receive payment from kin and associates. The extra income helps purchase additional food from a community store, contributes to the cost of a second-hand car, or provides assistance for ceremonial activity and travel to funerals.

Religious beliefs and practices

Many Aboriginal people continue a lifestyle based on beliefs and practices which emanate from the Dreaming and Aboriginal law (Kaberry 1939, Kolig 1981, 1987). Participation in "law business" does not exclude involvement in Christian religious activities; nor does Christian status necessarily lead to the abandonment of indigenous beliefs and practices. Women and men participate jointly in rituals concerned with land, punishment for legal transgression, inquests aimed at uncovering acts of sorcery, rain-making ceremonies, and funerary rites.

The ritual initiation of young men ("boy business") persists, usually during large, "wet season" gatherings involving novices from several interlinked communities. These occasions serve a variety of social, ceremonial, and political purposes (e.g., resolving grievances, discussing future land claims, identifying initiates for the following year, and exchanging information). Female initiation ceased several decades ago, but women-only ritual activity, connected with sexual relations and fertility, continues in some southern desert communities. Although aspects of male initiation involve public ceremonial activity, the core of this rite of passage is secret men's ritual (Berndt [1970] and Petri and Petri-Odermann [1970] discuss the *Dingari* ritual as an example of both gender-specific and joint activity). Rituals surrounding death and grieving include food taboos, known as *jaminyjarti*, which restrict the meat consumption of close kin of the deceased, and prohibit using the name of the deceased. The role of traditional healer, or *mabarn*, is confined to men, although women participate in significant healing rituals, often using "smoke" to ease pain, and song-cycles aimed at nurturing the sick and infirm.

The most marked Christian influence in the region emanated from the fundamentalist United Aborigines Mission (UAM), which began proselytizing in the Fitzroy Valley in 1952. The UAM's role was to provide a "feeding depot" for Aboriginal people on behalf of the state's Native Welfare Department. Christianity has variously affected Kimberley Aborigines. Today many consider themselves both "law people" and followers of Jesus Christ. Because alcohol-induced disruptive behavior remains impervious to the strictures of "the law," many convert to the temperance creed of the missionaries.

Colonial histories

The area of the "Swan River Colony," later Perth, the capital of Western Australia, was invaded by the British in 1829, yet the impact of colonization in the Kimberley was not experienced much before the 1890s, when European explorers and settlers arrived in pursuit of minerals or the development of pastoral enterprises. Aboriginal narratives often refer to pastoral properties, or "stations," as sources of additional food, especially during a major drought in the 1930s. Pastoralists and government officers shot or baited wildlife as they cleared the area for pastoral development, thus reducing valuable indigenous food resources. Dispossessed by pastoral leases, Aborigines retaliated by raiding and killing cattle. The conflict led to countless massacres, which cast the most brutal shadow over Australia's colonial history. Aboriginal survivors were removed from their homelands, and relocated at missions, settlements, and pastoral stations.

Unpaid indigenous labor eventually became crucial to the successful expansion of the pastoral industry. It was not until 1968 that the Commonwealth government implemented the Federal Pastoral Industry Award which legally entitled Aboriginal workers to receive "equal wages for equal work."

Many Aboriginals were subsequently evicted from pastoral properties. Massive social dislocation occurred as dispersed Aborigines crowded into Fitzroy Crossing. Primitive, crowded, and culturally inappropriate town camps were established, and, with them, social problems like alcohol abuse.

Current situation: accommodation and resistance

In 1980, the Noonkanbah Pastoral Station, where many Walmajarri, Nyikina, and Mangala reside, became a site of national and international interest as the community endeavored to resist the intrusion of unwanted mineral exploration (Kolig 1987, Hawke and Gallagher 1989). The need to protect land remains central to indigenous aspirations. Walmajarri, Wangkajunga, Nyikina, Mangala, Bunaba, and Gooniyandi in the 1990s continue to identify as members of distinct groupings who comprise approximately 86 percent of the total Fitzroy Valley population (the remaining 14 percent are non-Aboriginal people who work as community advisers, teachers and government officers, nursing staff, and industry workers). In part owing to requirements of the Native Title Act of 1993, where adherence to land and language takes precedence over other forms of identity (e.g., as a member of a particular community or "mob"), this expression of identity is crucial to sociocultural, economic, and political survival where claims to land are increasingly contested. This Act resulted from the 1992 Australian High Court's decision in *Eddie Mabo and Others v. The State of Queensland*. This decision overturned the legal fiction of *terra nullius*, and introduced "native title at common law," a new form of property title, into Australian jurisprudence. Vast areas of the Kimberley are currently under claim.

Today, the region boasts nine "two-way" schools offering both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal instruction, and a well-known adult education center, Karrayili. Local people have their own radio network, resource agencies, a thriving art industry (monitored by Mangkaja Arts), a rock band ("Fitzroy Express"), and an independent language center. Increasingly, outstations—independent communities situated on or near traditional homelands—are established. There are now twenty-one Aborigine-owned pastoral leases in the Kimberley. In the last two decades of the twentieth century, indigenous organizations such as Marra Worra Worra, Kimberley Law and Culture, and the Kimberley Land Council emerged as political and representative voices for different groups. Funded by government and non-government agencies, these organizations often create a crucial link to government, industry, and the media. Despite such political and creative shifts, many indigenous women and men continue to struggle for security of land tenure, experience long-term unemployment, are over-represented in custodial settings, and suffer poor health. Such patterns are mirrored in many other parts of Aboriginal Australia today.

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I.VII.6

The Ngarrindjeri of southeastern Australia

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Introduction

Two hundred years ago, the Ngarrindjeri (also known as Narrinyeri, Kukabrak, and Yaraldi) constituted a cultural bloc of closely allied, named groups or "tribes" speaking dialects of a single language. They lived in the lower River Murray region of what is now the state of South Australia, about 100 km southeast of Adelaide. The ethnographic present refers to the early 1800s. Distinctive features of Ngarrindjeri society included a rich and diverse material culture indicative of an aquatic-oriented adaptation, high population densities indicating a semi-sedentary life, extensive interpenetration of men's and women's domains of activity, and formalized structures of governance unique in Australia.

The Ngarrindjeri today are English-speakers of mixed descent, geographically scattered between Adelaide and the state's southeast. They congregate in large numbers for special occasions, such as marriages and funerals, and maintain a sense of community and identity based on shared convictions about spirituality and kinship, mutual interest in genealogical connections, and concern for Ngarrindjeri tradition. In the mid-1990s a bitter dispute over the authenticity of a women's tradition markedly intensified divisions within the community.

History

Archaeological evidence suggests occupation of the region *c*. 18,000 BP, but Ngarrindjeri claim *in situ* existence since time immemorial, when a preeminent creative being, Ngurunderi, journeyed down the River Murray and founded their society and culture. First contacts, dating from about 1810, were mostly negative: European sealers from nearby Kangaroo Island abducted Ngarrindjeri women and introduced venereal disease. Smallpox epidemics between 1814 and 1831 decimated the population, which declined to perhaps 10 percent of pre-contact levels by 1877. The last initiation ritual was held in 1882. By 1900, most Ngarrindjeri were of mixed descent. European settlement began in the 1840s, and the first Christian mission opened in 1859 at Point McLeay; it both hastened the demise of traditional life and was a refuge and focus for the survival of a distinct Ngarrindjeri identity. By the early twentieth century, processes of dispossession by farmers had segregated Ngarrindjeri on specially designated reserves. Restrictive legislation and growing dependency on government welfare figured prominently in Ngarrindjeri contact history. Many moved into fringe camps near rural towns in the 1930s. By 1940, only a few individuals had detailed knowledge of the old ways, and pressures on Ngarrindjeri to assimilate into the dominant society were strong. Berndt

and Berndt (1993), whose fieldwork in the early 1940s was with Ngarrindjeri born in the 1860s, provide the most comprehensive portrait of the culture. Other sources include the missionaries Taplin and Meyer, anthropologist Tindale, and historian Jenkin.

Population

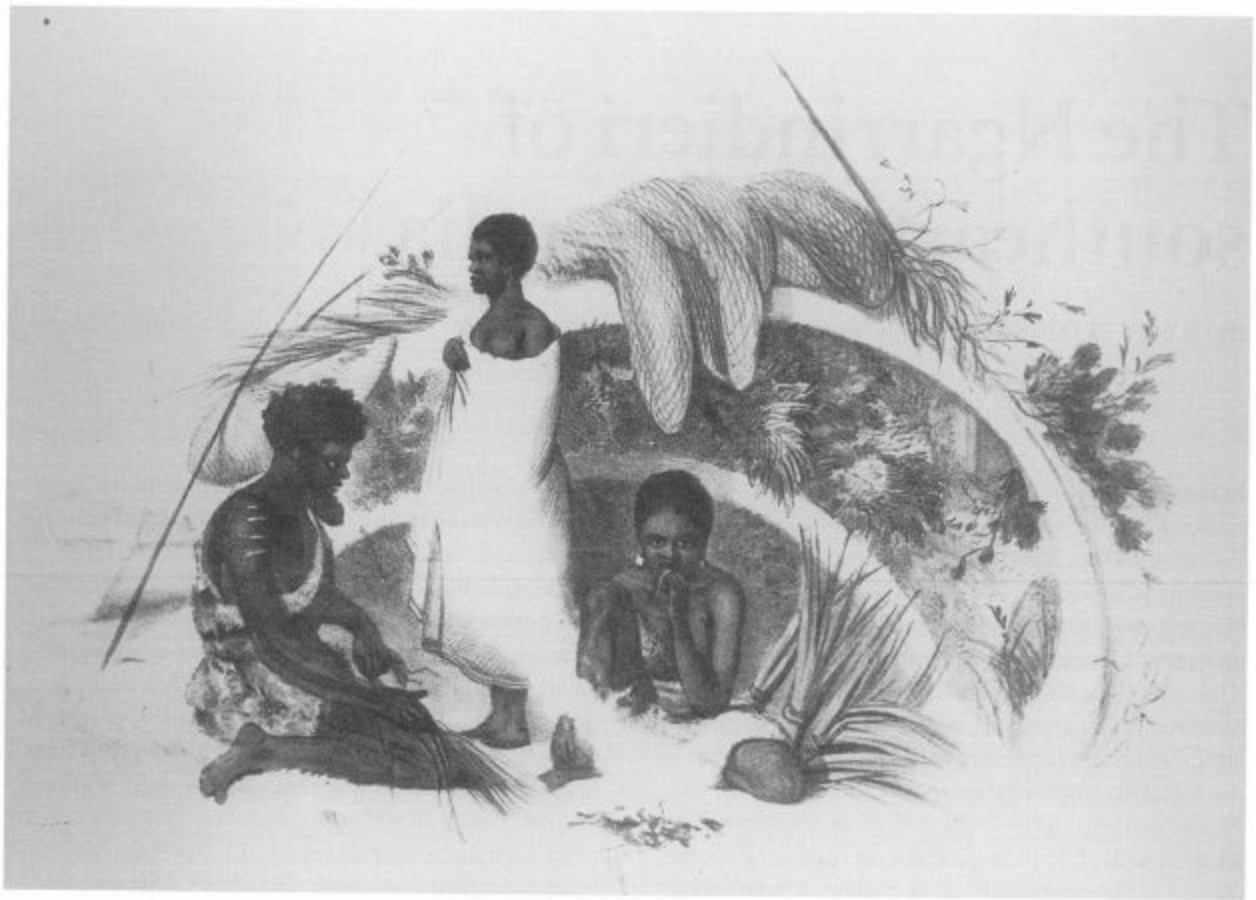
Pre-contact estimate: 5000–7000; currently about 3000 persons claim Ngarrindjeri descent. Population density prior to the British invasion was possibly the highest in the continent (Radcliffe-Brown 1918).

Location

Southeastern Australia, the lower reaches of the River Murray, Lake Alexandrina and Lake Albert, and around Encounter Bay, west to the Gulf of St. Vincent and east to the Coorong region. Territory: about 8000 km^2, from 35° to 36° 30′ S, and from 138° to 140° E.

Ecological setting and demography

Ngarrindjeri territory encompasses five lowland zones—salt-water, riverine, lacustrine, scrubland, and desert plain—which together provide a diverse, resource-rich environment. The climate is Mediterranean, characterized by hot dry summers and mild wet winters. Annual precipitation averages 470 mm. Four seasons akin to the European calendar divisions were distinguished on the basis of weather patterns, the growth of particular plants, and the appearance of various creatures. People were most sedentary during the cold winter season, relying heavily on stored foods. Large quantities of fish were caught during the summer. At no time were there periods of hunger or want.



89 An encampment at Encounter Bay, constructed from whale rib bones. Ginnginnana twists red fiber on his thigh while one of his two wives, Kundarkey and Wuddugar, prepares it by chewing. The twine is used for making baskets and fishing nets, one of which is shown. From G. F. Angus, *South Australia Illustrated* (1847). Courtesy of the Berndt Museum of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, P18644.

90 Three Ngarrindjeri women, Eva Dat or Dath (*left*), and Nymulda and Eva Gollin, c. 1930. Photo: Courtesy of the Berndt Museum of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, P18657.

The region supported an atypically large population capable of producing food surpluses despite small ranges of movement. Demographic information is sketchy, but from field data collected in the early 1940s the Berndts (1993:29) estimated that the Yaraldi, one of the ten Ngarrindjeri "tribes," at first contact comprised thirty-eight clans and 1150 people.

Economy

Men hunted and collected a greater number and range of food types (especially birds, mammals, marsupials, reptiles, and fish) and expended more time and energy in the food quest than did women, yet women's gathering (e.g., seeds, berries, vegetables, plants, shellfish) was more specialized. Much food-getting was collaborative (Berndt and Berndt 1993, Appendix 6). Relative quantitative contributions to the diet are unknown, but the gender-based division of labor was less marked and more equitable in relation to the collection and processing of food than elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia. The staple diet was primarily fish, vegetables and water plants, wildfowl, and mussels. The existence of many food taboos could be taken as indicating an abundance of food.

"When we say we are Kukabrak [Ngarrindjeri], we mean that our forbears belonged to a particular way of life; we did things that other [Aboriginal] people did not do; we spoke a language (even in its dialects) that was different. There was no need to identify who we were because we knew who we were ..We knew where we belonged, to the country of [the major ancestral creative being] Ngurunderi whom we called Father."

Albert Karloan and Pinkie Mack, c. 1942 (Berndt and Berndt 1993:299)

A varied and well-developed material culture included spears, spear-throwers, boomerangs, clubs, pit and snare traps, decoys, bark canoes, baskets, wooden and bark receptacles, digging sticks, and an array of stone and bone implements; and for fishing, spears, lines and nets. There was a greater degree of specialization in economic activities than elsewhere on the continent, linked to both seasonal and regional variations in resource availability, and in some cases associated with particular clans. Also atypical was the seasonal preservation of vegetables, fish, and meat. There was no full-time specialization, but important roles included those of song composer, sorcerer, healer, fur and cloak preparer, and basket-maker. Well-established trade routes brought red ochre and native tobacco from afar. A lively exchange system operated within and beyond Ngarrindjeri territory, featuring cloaks, rugs, nets, lines, and animal and fish oils. These involved trading expeditions and barter, and more formalized, enduring, culturally important ritual exchange partnerships between individuals (and their families).

Settlement, mobility, and land tenure

The Ngarrindjeri were perhaps the least mobile group in Aboriginal Australia, such was the richness of their environment. Each dialect-named group ("tribe") comprised a number of named patricians, the primary locus of social identity, which was grounded in totemic connections and emotional attachment to particular sites. Shared individual and group totemic affiliations engendered close mutual relationships and access to resources. Each clan (about 25–100 members) was anchored to a specific territory whose boundaries were more precisely drawn than those of the larger "tribe" but similarly permeable. Clan territories were typically small and men and their families spent most time within them, though enjoying hunting rights in adjacent clan territories. Yet seasonal camp movements could entail travel beyond clan or even "tribal" territory, indicating a greater emphasis on social interaction than on rights in land. Winter camps consisted of solid, wooden-framed huts, wind resistant and quite permanent; summer camps were more open and less substantial. Residence was patrivirilocal but women retained strong links to their natal clan. Land tenure principles derived primarily from clan membership and patrilineal descent.

Domestic organization

The basic social unit was the family, either nuclear or polygynous; no band-like structure was interposed between family and patrician. Kindreds were recruited via cognatic ties to five other clans (namely, those collectively designated as father's mother's, mother's father's, mother's mother's, mother's mother's mother's, and father's father's mother's) with whom a clan member interacted most frequently and intensively, but from whose ranks a spouse could not normally be chosen. Marriage choices were less a function of prescribed kin-based rules than of rules against marriage into certain clans, to certain categories of affines, and to those possessing identical totems. Multiple ties of classificatory kinship, exogamy, affinity, and alliance, as well as shared language and membership in a culturally homogeneous bloc, ensured a web of close relationships extending well beyond the clan.

Records suggest Ngarrindjeri women enjoyed a status more nearly equal to that of men than was

the case elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia. Gender-based exclusion from ritual and other activities was minimal. No "secret-sacred" category separated initiated men from the rest of society. Yet there is evidence that women were structurally disadvantaged in certain respects, especially relating to marital rights and the exercise of formal leadership and authority.

Political organization

Ngarrindjeri society contained elements of hierarchy and formalized structures of governance and social control unique in Aboriginal Australia. Locally, each clan headman nominated a body of (mostly senior male) advisers, to settle minor disputes, plan activities, and arrange marriages. There was a regional interclan court presided over by a paramount headman, who was ideally impartial, an eloquent speaker, and knowledgeable. The office passed patrilineally, among male members of the same prominent clan; a new incumbent was ratified by the council of clan headmen. The court bound plaintiffs and accused to attend; it heard and examined witnesses, made judgments and awarded punishments. Matters of interclan concern included sorcery, elopement, theft, serious disputes, planning of major ceremonies and revenge expeditions against non-Ngarrindjeri peoples. Although the officials were senior men, women had full rights of participation in court proceedings on equal terms with men.

Extensive trading and ceremonial ties with non-Ngarrindjeri groups up-river made for generally amicable relations, but there was hostility toward certain other neighbors. Interpersonal and intergroup conflicts occurred, frequently over accusations of sorcery, and cultural themes included male warriorhood.

Religion and spirituality

Australian Aboriginal religions are grounded in the Dreaming, a complex set of understandings about world creation and maintenance. Ngarrindjeri religious practice was notable for its public nature and the relative absence of sex-segregated activities. Also, the major beings were more remote and unreachable than elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia. More significant were totemic ancestors, originally human but later transformed into birds and animals; as clan emblems, they were commemorated in song and ceremony. They also assisted individuals as spirit-familiars. Although certain landscape features were encoded in Ngarrindjeri mythology, the religious system did not bind humans strongly to territories and resources.

A pervasive spiritual belief concerned *miwi*, a physical location (the stomach, seat of the emotions) and an inherited soul substance that provided personal power to men and women; this could be cultivated and strengthened through training. Strong *miwi* could protect people against malevolent spirit-beings and the threat of sorcery. Sorcery appears to have greatly increased in social significance in the period following colonization and large-scale depopulation.

The Ngarrindjeri were a non-circumcising society which initiated both males and females. Male initiation was more protracted, complex and ritually elaborated, though in some respects parallel and complementary to female initiation. Further visible aspects of Ngarrindjeri religion were taboos defining the ritual status of novices and effecting gender separation during initiation.

A Christian mission in 1859 brought schooling in English and attempts to turn children from

traditional ways. Although some elders actively resisted Christianity, others became strong converts and a decline in the salience of traditional beliefs and practices was the inevitable consequence.

Current situation

Virtually all Ngarrindjeri today are Western educated, and they are probably more integrated, socioeconomically, into Australian society than many other Aboriginal people. Yet they share with all Indigenous Australians a history of oppression, marginalization, exposure to pervasive racism, and attacks on their authenticity, as well as massive state intervention in their lives. These social and historical forces have robbed them of their language and left them with fragmentary knowledge of the traditional culture of their Aboriginal ancestors. Today, however, as part of a more general Aboriginal ethos of "cultural revival is survival," many embrace Aboriginality and assert strong continuities with an Aboriginal past. This cultural resurgence addresses social problems, particularly those associated with alcohol misuse and economic disadvantage. Two hundred people live at Port McLeay (now called Raukkan), the Ngarrindjeri symbolic heartland.

Local factionalism, no doubt historically determined, has been greatly exacerbated by a bitter dispute in the 1990s over a proposed development project. Some Ngarrindjeri and conservationists sought to stop the construction of a bridge to Hindmarsh Island, arguing it would threaten the entire society. They lodged a successful appeal to Federal authorities to invoke heritage legislation to protect threatened Aboriginal sites. This decision came after Ngarrindjeri revealed the existence of a hitherto unknown secret women's tradition which, it was claimed, foretold disaster if Hindmarsh Island were joined to the mainland.

Other Ngarrindjeri women publicly questioned the status of the claimed tradition. The affair then became the subject of sustained national media attention throughout a Royal Commission subsequently initiated by the State government into the alleged fabrication of tradition. Many Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people objected, saying the Commission, as an enquiry into religious beliefs, was inappropriate. The women who had revealed the tradition boycotted Commission proceedings. In December 1995, the Commissioner's finding (that the tradition had been fabricated) had negative consequences for an already divided community and, more generally, for the Aboriginal land rights struggle.

A subsequent Federal enquiry was widely expected to provide a corrective to the harsh conclusions of the Royal Commission (the Ngarrindjeri who had alleged the secret women's tradition agreed to assist the enquiry) but the report was quashed on a technicality, following an appeal to the Federal Court by the Ngarrindjeri women who had questioned the veracity of the tradition.

In her report, Justice Jane Mathews noted the evident sincerity of both opposing groups in their "genuine and credible" beliefs about the women's tradition. She noted the considerable evidence supporting the long (and somewhat contentious) existence of the mythology claimed to be associated with the restricted women's knowledge of the "Seven Sisters Dreaming" tradition in Ngarrindjeri society. Giving due consideration to pertinent issues of natural justice, the judge advised the Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs there was insufficient evidence to enable him to be satisfied that the construction area was under threat of injury or desecration by reason of this tradition.

The Minister tabled the Royal Commission report in Federal Parliament. He announced his Government's intention to introduce special legislation to permit the proposed Hindmarsh Island

bridge project.

Organization for resistance

Several Ngarrindjeri organizations promote political causes and cultural activities, and mediate between Ngarrindjeri and the state. Many Ngarrindjeri are well versed in Australian politics and are strong supporters of Aboriginal land rights and social justice. They are aware of the various forms of legislation that afford Aboriginal people a measure of self-management and power. Throughout the Hindmarsh Island Bridge affair, this theme of the exercise of power was prominent. Activists and their organizations had notable success persuading a Federal Minister to override a decision taken by the State Government. Although recent events suggest that the bridge may now go ahead, the lower Murray River area has now become a "site of significance" for Aboriginal people everywhere. For the majority of Ngarrindjeri, who identify with the pro-tradition view, the intense public focus on them and the energy they expended in defense of their cultural integrity have led to the bridge affair becoming a prime symbol of their group and its status as a subject people. Their struggle will surely continue.

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I.VII.7

Pintupi-speaking Aboriginals of the Western Desert

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Introduction

Renowned for being among the last Aboriginals incorporated into Australian settler society (1960s), the "Pintupi" belong to the Western Desert bloc of cultures and languages. Viewed by the mainstream as "noble savages," "primitives to be assimilated," and "reduced inmates of government settlements," Pintupi have been subject to controversy regarding contact influences (Myers 1988, Nathan and Japanangka 1983). Celebrated popularly for their survival skills in a harsh, arid environment, the Pintupi are also acclaimed internationally for the cultural resilience and aesthetics of their acrylic paintings based on ritual designs and myths (Bardon 1991, Myers 1991a).

History

Linguistically, Pintupi refers to a Western Desert dialect, rather than to a "tribe" or social grouping. Some have debated the existence of named, sociocentrically defined tribes in the region (Berndt 1959). Most now agree social boundaries and identities created by these linguistic terms have little significance. Extensive visiting and travel across the region by Aboriginals seem to have been relatively unproblematic.

91 Purungu Napangarti and Ronnie Tjampitjinpa, wife and husband, enjoy the result of recent hunting, after distributing the rest to kin. Yayayi, Northern Territory, 1979. Photo: Fred R. Myers.

Today "Pintupi" does have a social reality. Those using this name came eastward to mission stations at Hermannsburg and Haasts Bluff (1930–60) and to the linguistically mixed Papunya government settlement. In this context, Pintupi are "the people from the west." They hail from an area bounded by the Ehrenburg Range (east), the gravel plains near Jupiter Well (west), Lake Mackay (north), and the Walter James Range (south). Former homeland co-residents migrated to other settlements on the desert fringe where they assumed other ethnic designations (Kukatja, Mandjildjara).

European expansion into the area was mild by Australian standards. Contact with explorers began in 1873; depopulation followed with migration to mining towns (south) and missions (north and east), and with epidemics of new diseases. In the central area, free from white land expropriation and settlement, Pintupi continued independent foraging. By the 1930s, regular contact occurred between desert foragers and settled Pintupi. More people gravitated toward the missions to escape local troubles and seasonal difficulties, and in pursuit of novelty. Severe droughts (1953–6, 1960–6) saw waves of out-migration until desert life was no longer viable. The last Pintupi moved into Papunya in the 1960s. Few understood they would be unable to return to their former ways, once dependent upon flour, sugar, tea, and tobacco.

Population

1500–2000 Pintupi-speakers. Estimated pre-contact population density: 1/100 km^2.

Location

South of Lake Mackay, the largest communities being Warlungurru (pop. 600) and Kiwirrkura (pop. 200), Gibson Desert, Western Australia.

92 Kim Napurrula and son Eric warm themselves at the morning fire in their camp. Warlungurru, Northern Territory, 1983. Photo: Fred R. Myers.

With settlement, autonomous foraging in small mobile bands became abbreviated. Pintupi were merged with peoples of different languages and histories, and forced to live in country to which they had weak traditional rights. At Papunya and other government settlements, Western Desert people encountered "assimilation" training and encouragement to join the Australian mainstream. Yet the Pintupi maintained a certain distinctiveness and resistance to external pressures. With the more flexible political and economic conditions of the 1970s, they moved to smaller, autonomous satellite communities near Papunya. Since 1981, most have returned to new settlements in their traditional territories.

Ecological setting

The flat, undulating Gibson Desert is marked by long, parallel sand ridges. Three distinct ecological zones prevail. Characteristic vegetation on the dunes, and in the flat sandy corridors between them, is spinifex, a habitat of lizards and feral cats. The predominant sand-hill pattern is interrupted occasionally by plains covered with gravel conglomerate sometimes eroding into cliffs. Stands of mulga, friendly to plains kangaroo, appear in these flats, usually in small patches near hills and between sand ridges. A few scattered hills constitute a third habitat important for hill kangaroo and seasonal water in temporary rock catchments.

The desert's unreliable average annual rainfall is less than 20 cm. Droughts are common. Heavy rains may fall in late summer (January—February) with lighter drizzle drifting in from the south in

early winter (May—June). Summer temperatures rise to 49° C. Winter follows with mild days and cold nights.

The fundamental challenge to survival is water unreliability. There are no permanent surface waters but the inhabitants exploit several temporary sources: large shallow pools formed by heavy rain; claypans and rock reservoirs in the hills, which fill from lighter rains; soakage wells in sandy creekbeds; and "wells" in the sand, or in rock between sand ridges. Recently the drilling of boreholes throughout the Gibson Desert has enabled indigenous peoples to resume their long-term occupation.

Traditional economy

Bands (actual co-residents) are localized units of subsistence production within a larger *regional* system of categorical relations and identities. Men traditionally hunted (with spears and spear-throwers) large game animals like kangaroo, other large marsupials (hare wallabies), and emus. Some species were taken in cooperative drives. When larger game was unavailable, men collected a variety of lizards and hunted feral cats, small marsupials, and rabbits. The lizard species, collected by both sexes, provided the bulk of consumed protein. Using the digging stick and carved wooden carrying dish, women gathered plant foods, honey ants, wood-boring grubs, small lizards, and feral cats. They ground various grass seeds, and cooked them in cakes or ate them as a paste. Fruits were usually eaten fresh, or were pulverized, dried in balls, and stored. Pintupi were dependent on vegetable foods, collected and prepared by women (60–80 percent of the diet [Gould 1969]) much of the year.

The combination of disparate resources (patchy vegetable foods, scattered water sources, solitary game) and single-operator technology made cooperative production unnecessary, though often beneficial. Men hunted alone or in small groups. A hunter distributed large game to all domestic units of the residential group. For protection, women foraged in small groups but their individual produce was consumed by immediate family members.

Settlement pattern and mobility

Residential bands ranged from ten to thirty members, although occasional gatherings (usually ceremonial) might include 300 persons (Peterson 1986). Actual composition of the usually bilateral co-residential bands fluctuated because the bands moved seasonally between waterholes; also, individuals moved between bands as resources and seasons permitted. Group boundaries were permeable. Rights to use regional resources (the band's "range") were freely extended to those who could claim membership there, as relatives or as "one-countrymen." Such rights were distinct from "ownership." Band participation rights are negotiated through a structuring of identities based on kinship, marriage, and ritual exchange. This organizes relationships in space and time, and stresses identity and flexibility of affiliation. Pintupi local organization allowed flexibility of association, important for maximizing access to resources of several land holding groups.

Bands were distinct from land holding groups, whose members were not necessarily resident on their own "estate." Land was/is the object of "ownership" anchored to places created by mythological figures from the Dreaming. The owning group controls use of stories, objects, and rituals pertaining to local figures in the Dreaming. Descending kindreds belong to these sites (either

having been conceived there in relation to the Dreaming, or having inherited legitimacy from ascending generations). Group membership in a place can differ over time. Membership at sacred sites is always open to negotiation, and subject to overlapping legitimacies.

Domestic organization

The basic unit of daily life is the immediate family: a man, his wife/wives, and their young children. Older boys, youths, and unmarried women (chiefly widows) have separate communal camps. Pintupi social life emphasizes the broad extension of shared identity (see the extensive classificatory kinship system, subsections, and named, ceremonially validated relationships). Being a relative, *walytja*, is functionally more important than one's particular kin status. Kin classification delineates generation, gender, and affinal status (organizing people metaphorically as a family of successive generations). The generational scheme is imbedded in the alternate (and more complex) subsection system of classification involving eight categories of kin (differentiated through opposite-sex siblings). This provides an alternate sociocentric model of organization based on sexual complementarity in a region.

Ideally, marriage occurs between persons of the same non-sibling generational category. One cannot marry children of "close" relatives (those with whom co-residence is common). Marriage is prescribed with "people from country far away." Bestowal is arranged by the woman's senior kin—often within a continuing history of exchange between groups linked either by ritual exchange, or at the grandparental level. Men cannot marry until fully initiated; hence a woman's first husband is usually at least ten years her senior.

Political organization

Pintupi political structure is based on age and gender distinctions: authority rests with legitimate keepers of ritual knowledge. Autonomy and authority tend to increase with age; otherwise, there is little hierarchy. Social organization is explained as "looking after others." Descendants are nurtured by the older generation whose members both "looked after," and have continuing authority over them. Parental generations look after subsequent generations. This lends authority to elders, who also control cultural knowledge and marriage bestowals.

There are no hereditary leaders, no "bosses," but individuals may build followings based on their successful management of ritual. However, within any generation, politics follows a different form; here no man regards himself as subordinate, partly because all individuals have their own "resources" in the Dreaming. "Holding a country" in this way is the primary form for expressing identity and exchanging prerogatives.

Gender politics has been much discussed in Australia. Among the Pintupi, women regard themselves in the same egalitarian terms as men; they exercise power in their own religious sphere, and over their juniors; but, when their interests conflict with those of men, the latter tend to predominate.

Religion and spirituality

Performances (involving Pintupi songs, myths, elaborate and complex body decorations, and constructed objects) act out mysterious events from *Tjukurrpa*, the Dreaming. Pintupi distinguish ontologically between the psychic and the sensate worlds. The world as it now exists is the result of actions by powerful ancestral beings who traveled the landscape, leaving marks of their history on the land, and depositing the creative essence of people, animals, and plants. In this way, people, customs, and geography originated in the Dreaming, the source of true value, of human life and its social order. Phenomena of the visible world ought to conform to the pristine paradigms of the Dreaming.

Rights to Dreaming-related procedure, story narratives, ceremonial reenactments, and reproduction of esoteric designs/objects are controlled and transmitted through kinship links. Instruction in esoteric knowledge takes place in the context of Dreaming reenactment. The rituals, and the story/song/design complexes, are owned and their use is controlled by the locality's owners.

The Dreaming is viewed as fixed, but new ritual revelations are regularly transmitted across the Western Desert in cults. New ritual forms claim revelations, or reveal previously unknown relations arising from the Dreaming. The contemporary dynamism of cult life in the Western Desert develops side by side with Christian (mainly Lutheran) proselytism.

Current situation

Pintupi people now live principally in permanent town-sites at Warlungurru and Kiwirrkura, where life depends largely on regular social service payments to the unemployed, widows, and pensioners, and on limited employment in local administration. While supplemented by foraging produce from outstation communities, cash is necessary for staple supplies, for clothing, and for the vehicle fuel necessary to present-day foraging and socializing. In the traditional subsistence economy, sharing resources among co-residents of a band was morally obligatory. Similarly today, those without cash receive essentials through co-resident kin ties. Water bores and tanks, transport vehicles, housing, health care, and other community services are provided and maintained by government grants. Proceeds from sales of paintings bring in additional cash.

Pintupi explain government resources aimed at Aboriginal self-government as a form of traditional exchange, with "being looked after." Despite attempts to develop culturally sensitive health and education programs, Pintupi face difficulties sustaining their culture. The sedentarization policy has threatened indigenous forms of political organization, which formerly stressed individual self-reliance and community responsibility. Today's settled communities disperse into "outstations" as tensions and competition intensify. Alcohol is a social problem, particularly among men, and contributes to the high mortality rate. Drinking is banned within town limits, but children sniff petrol and infant mortality is higher than the Australian average.

"It's not our idea. It's a big Law. We have to sit down alongside that Law like all the dead people who went before us."

Shorty Bruno Tjangala

"From the Dreaming, it became real."

Yumpurlurru Tjungurrayi

Organization for resistance

In the early contact period, Pintupi resisted plans to assimilate them, and they have continued to express their independence. As "Aboriginal Peoples distinct from Whites," they organize both as "Aboriginals," and in terms of their local identity. These interests are not always identical; the concerns of remote and urban Aboriginal peoples are often in conflict.

Pintupi have their own community governance system, and a hierarchy of Aboriginal organizations linked to political programs on behalf of all indigenous minorities, both nationally and internationally. However, while facing everyday racism and injustice, the Pintupi tend not to engage in politics beyond the local level. Title to traditional lands has been recognized in the Northern Territory, but not in Western Australia. Pintupi interests (seeking recognition of their land title) are pursued through the Central Land Council, an Aboriginal organization funded by the Federal government and mining royalties, to handle land claims and mining negotiations.

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I.VII.8

The Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands, north Australia

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Introduction

The Aboriginal peoples of Melville and Bathurst Islands, north Australia, were referred to as Tiwi in 1930, by Hart, using their word *tiwi:* people (*tini*: man; *tinga*: woman). They continue to attract ethnographers and are well known in print, art galleries, and film. Permanent European settlement began in the early 1900s, yet, since 1976, the Tiwi have regained control of all their island lands. They continue to forage and exploit the marine resources with weekly (sometimes daily) regularity while maintaining residence in one of three modern townships: Nguiu (the former mission), Pularumpi (a former school for part-Aboriginal children), and Milikapi (the former government settlement).

Tiwi social organization is based on matrilineal clan and patri-based local group organization; both types of relationship remain strong forces today. Although the extreme polygyny of the past has given way to serial monogamy, clan and local group marriage exchange remains an important consideration. The Tiwi are distinct from mainland Aboriginal groups (Arnhem Land) in lacking moiety divisions and named sections. Their concept of the Dreaming is also distinct. Their language is distantly related to other Aboriginal languages. Since regaining control of the land, Tiwi have revived their culture primarily by focusing on mortuary rituals and associated art.

Population

(1990): Nguiu, about 1200; Pularumpi, about 300; Milikapiti, about 400; total, about 1900, and increasing.

Location

Melville and Bathurst Islands, at 11° S, are due north of Darwin. They are separated from the mainland by the 50 km wide Clarence Strait. Melville is 5700 km^2 and Bathurst is 2070 km^2. The islands are separated by the narrow, treacherous Apsley Strait.

History

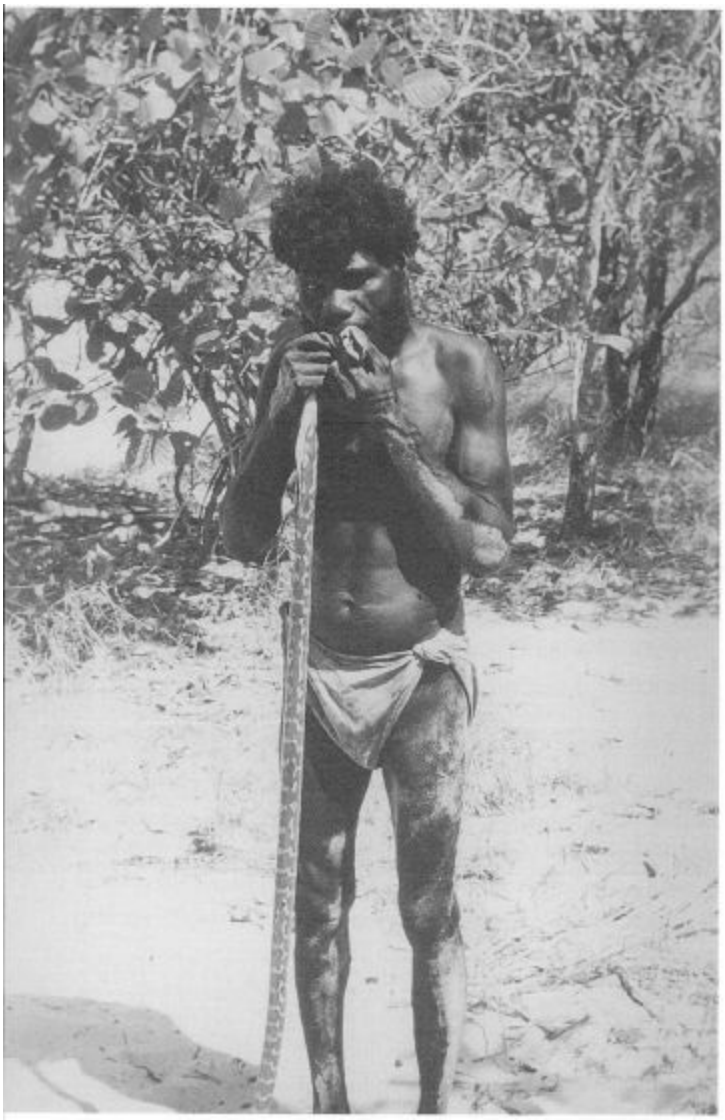
In 1995, the Tiwi and the Netherlands commemorated the first recorded European contact in 1705 by placing, with due ceremony, a large stone monument on the beach at Karslake, Melville Island. The

Portuguese and English soon followed the Dutch arrival. The British established Fort Dundas in 1824 near the present-day Pularumpi Township, and abandoned it in 1829, leaving behind a legacy of buffalo and horses. Seventy-five years later, the buffalo and timber resources lured a few entrepreneurs to the islands. In 1911, Father Gsell, MSC, established a Catholic mission (Sacred Heart) on Bathurst Island (now Nguiu Township). The Australian government established a settlement at Garden Point (now Pularumpi Township) in 1939; this became a mission-directed boarding school for part-Aboriginal children (from the islands and other Northern Territory Catholic missions). In 1945 the government settlement moved to Snake Bay (Milikapiti Township) on the north coast of Melville Island. The mission and government managed the islands as reserves until the passing of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 when reserves were automatically returned to their original owners—in this case, to the Tiwi. In the early 1980s, all three townships became incorporated, with elected local councils; non-township affairs on the island are decided by the Tiwi Land Council.

Major ethnographic studies were made by Spencer in 1912; Hart in 1929–30; Pilling, Mountford and Goodale, all working in 1953–4; and Venbrux in 1988.

Ecological setting

The islands are relatively flat, with a central ridge (about 100 m) running east—west on Melville. Nine rivers flow north from this ridge to tidal mangrove estuaries. On Bathurst there is less elevation and rivers are small and tidal. Mixed eucalyptus and cypress pine forests characterize much of the uplands; there are, as well, patches of true tropical rainforest. The climate is monsoonal; heavy rains fall from December to March; the dry season is June to September.



93 A Tiwi man rapidly kills a snake for dinner. Photo: Jane C. Goodale.

Economy

This setting provided food riches for the Tiwi in the past, and does so largely today. Both men and women hunt small species (possums, goannas, honey bees, shellfish, turtle eggs, and wallabies) using stone (later steel) axes and probing/digging sticks. Women collect tubers, and cycad nuts (elaborately prepared to remove the poison). Traveling by dugout canoe (now outboard fiberglass boats), men hunt and fish the seas/estuaries for turtle, dugong, and fish, using wooden (later iron) pronged spears, and kill fruit bats and migrating magpie geese with throwing sticks (now with shotguns). All three communities have tried vegetable gardening and animal husbandry on numerous occasions, with limited success. On Melville Island, a cypress pine plantation of many hectares was started in the 1950s. This was changed to Caribbean pine in the 1970s. The Tiwi now own the plantations (which have yet to produce marketable lumber). Each township has one or more workshops producing Tiwi-designed items for sale to tourists and art dealers: silk-screened fabrics and clothes; cards, carvings, and paintings. Carved mortuary poles are the artwork most widely known. They are found in museums and galleries throughout Australia and abroad.

Settlement patterns, mobility, and land tenure

The islands are at any given time divided into geographically distinct "countries" (*murukupupuni*) to which groups of Tiwi are differentially affiliated. Until the latter half of the twentieth century, affiliation was with the *murukupupuni* in which the person's father was buried. More recently, the affiliation has become basically patrilineal. Fusion and fission of these groups and territories remain responsive to population fluctuations. The boundaries apparently have always been flexible. There are at present eight countries, each represented by delegates to the Tiwi Land Council. Previously, within the larger areas, people lived in *taputa* (camps), the location of which changed frequently in response to food availability. The minimal group residing in these camps in pre-mission days consisted of a married man, or related married men, wives, married daughters with sons-in-law, unmarried sons, and grandchildren. An unmarried man affiliated with camps of his father. When he acquired a mother-in-law he moved to her camp. In the contemporary townships, *murukupupuni* affiliation is still an important residential factor. People of one country tend to live in townships geographically close to, and in houses oriented toward, the district with which they are affiliated. In the past, residence outside one's country was not unusual. When a man was buried in another country, this allowed his children to affiliate there. Countries were preferentially endogamous, although important men frequently obtained wives from different countries. Today, residence in one township or another is fairly stable, although people are free to move to any township; a tendency has developed whereby people leave townships and return to the quieter life near the ancestors of the *murukupupuni*.

Kinship and marriage

The Tiwi consider all humans in their universe to be related to each other in some way. Spirit-child centers are affiliated with matrilineal clans and localized within the geographical *murukupupuni* such that conception means the transfer of a spirit-child (by the father through dreams) to a mother of the same clan for nurturing and growth. This is reflected in the skewed distribution of clan members in the townships. The clans are grouped into exogamous phratries (today, four). The preferred clan exchange is to marry into one's father's matrilineal clan (called "my dreaming") and this may reflect the underlying dual organization ideology. Unnamed endogamous generation moieties exist, as seen in terminology for "long-way" kin, but not between "close kin" (those having in common either a mother's mother or a father's father, or both). Iroquois cousin terminology distinguishes cross- from parallel-cousins, and marriage is preferred between second cross-cousins. Matrilateral kin are distinguished from patrilineal.

94 Elaborate carved and painted grave poles surround a grave at the concluding dances of the mortuary ritual. Photo: Jane C. Coodale.

In the past, the most prestigious marriage for a man was arranged by mother-in-law bestowal: the universal form for all women's first marriages. A woman was given a son-in-law by her father at the time of her puberty rituals (*muringaleta*). A man might expect to receive as wives all his mother-in-law's daughters. As a result, husbands were at least twenty years senior to their bestowed wives. With the coming of the Catholic mission, the age at first marriage became more equal. However, bestowals of mothers-in-law are still carried out. They reflect the continuing political importance of women exchanges between clans. While there has been a gradual increase in marriage to mainland Aboriginals, and other ethnic groups including Europeans, most Tiwi prefer to have their daughters marry Tiwi men, thereby granting their grandchildren affiliation with the land of the Islands.

Political organization

Formerly, men gained power and prestige through intensive negotiations for wives. In any given generation a few were able to collect "one hundred wives," as Tiwi recall. Some wives were inherited; others were obtained through negotiation with previous husbands. The most prestigious wives were the daughters, born and unborn, of women acquired as mothers-in-law. For "big men"

such negotiations extended outside one's country. A woman who was the eldest wife gained prestige and power by managing a large extended camp, providing good health and welfare to the entire residential group. Respected and obeyed, senior men and women were fluent and skilled in ritual singing and dancing, and in the production of carved and painted mortuary poles, painted bark baskets, and other ritual symbols. Since the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976 was passed, a number of Tiwi men have gained political power as elected members of the Northern Territory Assembly and, together with women, as members of government advisory boards. Local township councils are arenas for politics and influence for both men and women. To date, only men have been selected to serve on the Tiwi Land Council.

Religion and spirituality

Ancestral beings who created land, animals, and people were female, but the major creator, who established the Tiwi concept of death, is the male figure, Purukupali. After his son died, following his wife's affair with Moon, Purukupali declared that all men should die and never return. Tiwi mortuary rituals occur months after the death and burial. They involve preparing a dozen or more elaborately carved/painted poles, and numerous preliminary dances. The final ritual may involve an overnight dance at the gravesite by painted participants. Poles, dance, and song allow for individual creative variation, and resultant praise and prestige. Men, women, and children participate, although there are some specifically gendered roles. Changes in the ritual are apparent over the recorded history. The number and variety of original songs and dances have been noticeably reduced. The major dance focus has become the one that symbolizes the dancer's relationship to the deceased.

The *Kulama* ritual, a complex annual event at the end of the rainy season, involves the preparation of a toxic yam, *kulama*, and the singing of original songs for three days. *Kulama* song leaders require sophisticated language skills. In the past, both men and women were initiated into *Kulama*, though some aspects were gender-specific. With the current decline in language fluency, only a few men attempt the public performance of their song compositions.

Tiwi *Dreaming* partially involves a concept of unborn spirit children located in sacred places, from whence they are gathered by their predestined father, and sent to a wife. Men are solely responsible not only for conception, but also for all physical transformations in the lifecycle: menarche, bestowal of a "mother-in-law," *Kulama* initiation, and the passage to the world of the dead. Women are conceptually responsible for the health and wellbeing of all living individuals, beginning with their development in the womb.

Many Tiwi are adherents to a Catholicism that, since the 1980s, has accepted and integrated much Tiwi ritual.

Current situation

Tiwi in all three communities, and in Darwin, earn wages, and receive Australian pensions and allotments. In addition, craft/art sales bring money into the communities. Local gambling for money is an important pastime, and redistributes wage and pension monies. Township councils and Northern Territory education and health departments are major employers. A number of enterprises, such as tourist ventures (fishing, touring, camping), buffalo trading, fish and shellfish cultivation and

distribution, and the Tiwi Forest Plantation, are local ventures sanctioned by the Land Council.

Tiwi townships have their share of social problems (violence, physical abuse, and alcohol), although narcotics have not been a problem to date. Tiwi attribute social problems to overcrowding and lack of adequate housing. They are fortunate that, in owning the islands, they can foresee the establishment of additional settlements as suburbs and/or townships as soon as financial support (for which they are in competition with other Australians) can be found. Some have already made this move. The Catholic administered school at Nguiu has an extensive bilingual Tiwi/English program.

"We must always teach our children how to find food on the land and in the sea. Then they will always survive, no matter what happens."

A grandmother

"It's hard, our kulama. It's not like on the mainland where young boys are cut and all they feel is pain. Here we have to make a new song and sing it without mistake. That's hard!"

A man circumcised by his mother's mainland people,
and initiated into *kulama* by his father's people

"We want our own Land Council. We don't want any mainland Aboriginal people telling us what to do."

A Tiwi explaining why they chose not to join the
mainland groups forming the Northern Land Council

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I.VII.9

Torres Strait Islanders

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Introduction

The Torres Strait Islands are situated between the Western District of Papua-New Guinea and Cape York, northern Queensland. Culturally and genetically, the indigenous inhabitants combine influences of Aboriginal Australia and Melanesia. The latter influence is most evident in the northern and eastern islands where vegetable foods are obtained through horticulture, as compared with the foraging practices in the other communities. However, all islands drew a large part of their subsistence from the rich marine environment, especially the supply of sea turtle and dugong. The exploitation of both marine sources and trade was facilitated by using large double-outrigger canoes.

95 The style of outrigger canoe in common use in the 1960s at Saibai in the northern Torres Strait. Photo: Courtesy of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, N6444.9.

Queensland established its presence in the Strait during the 1860s. This gave rise to radical economic, political, and religious changes in the indigenous communities. Today 80 percent of the Torres Strait Islanders live on the mainland. With few exceptions, the Islanders continue to occupy

their islands with access to marine resources, which enable them to maintain continuity with the past. Both gardening and gathering have been largely replaced by store foods, but fishing and hunting remain important, occupying a secure place in ceremonial life.

History

Before permanent European colonization in the 1860s, the Islanders experienced 250 years of transient contact with European vessels, beginning with de Quieros' 1606 expedition from Spain. Traffic became more frequent after the establishment of the British colony of New South Wales in 1788. Contact saw a mixture of trade and enmity. Although most European castaways were killed, four foreigners lived on the islands before the 1860s.

Commercial fishing (beche-de-mer and pearl shell) began in the 1860s. Pacific Islanders and Asians provided most of the labor, with Aborigines providing a local reserve. After World War II, Aborigines became the main labor force. In 1871, the London Missionary Society (later the Church of England) posted Pacific Island pastors among various Torres Strait communities.

Population
26,884 (1991 census), of whom 5614 live in the Torres Strait. Eighty percent of the population today lives in mainland Australia.

Location
Islands between Cape York, Australia, and Western District, Papua-New Guinea, 142° to 144° E and approximately 9° to 11°30′ S.

The Queensland colony established its presence in the Strait in 1867. In 1879 its borders extended to the coast of Papua, Thursday Island being the administrative and commercial center. The other islands were designated Crown land reserved for the indigenous inhabitants. This arrangement continues under a modified rubric. The island of Mer won native title in 1992. Other islands are seeking similar recognition and sea rights.

Naval survey expeditions of the 1840s provided the first accounts of indigenous life. In 1898, A. C. Haddon led the six-man (and six-volume) Cambridge Anthropological Expedition. The next study did not begin until 1958, with Jeremy Beckett's two-year research project. Recent scholars include Nietschmann, Fitzpatrick, Furie, Laade, Lawrie, Sharp, Kehoe Forutan, Lawrence, and Harris.

Ecological setting

The Torres Strait lies between latitudes 9° and 11° S, increasing in depth from west to east, where it meets the Great Barrier Reef. The waters are subjected to alternating currents from the Coral and Arafura Seas, with the annual shift from the southeast to the northwest tradewinds. These waters are a labyrinth of coral reefs, sand banks, and more than 100 islands. Most islands are very small and, while possessing useful resources, lack water to sustain human life. Some twenty-three islands were intermittently inhabited by populations ranging from under 100 to 800 persons; today, this number has

fallen to thirteen. They are of four types: small, high, volcanic, fertile islands with dense vegetation (east end of the Strait); small, vegetated cays atop coral reefs (the central Strait); large, high, rocky islands, lightly vegetated, well watered, and surrounded by mangrove swamps (from Dauan in the north, to Muralag in the south, the remains of a submerged landbridge between the two mainlands); and two low-lying, swampy islands formed, like the adjacent Papuan coast, by alluvial soil washed down by mainland rivers.

Economy

Papua has provided the trees from which the Islanders make 20 m double-outrigger canoes, equipped with sails. With these, the Islanders have been able to exploit the rich marine environment and, through long-range trade, surmount deficiencies in their immediate domains. The marine environment remains extraordinarily rich in protein: shellfish and crustaceans, a diversity of fish, sea turtle and dugong. Dugongs, which have been estimated to yield an average of 254.7 kg of meat, occur mainly in the shallower waters of the western Strait. Turtles, found throughout the Strait, yield an average of 131 kg of meat. Wild ducks and geese were taken on the northern islands during the nor'west monsoon.

Smaller fish were caught by spear or hook and line. The eastern Islanders also used large stone fish traps. Dugong were caught with a harpoon, either from canoes or from platforms erected in shallow waters. Turtle were generally harpooned or speared; on Murray Island (eastern group), they were caught on the beach as they come ashore during their egg laying. Domestic pigs were imported from Papua, but rarely bred on the islands.

The islands formerly provided a variety of wild vegetable foods: tubers, aroids, edible mangrove, wild plum, and native almond. Yams, sweet potato, banana, and taro were cultivated on some islands. Cassava and maize were introduced by South Sea Islanders in the colonial period. Coconuts, some self-sown, others cultivated, were harvested from most islands.

The eastern Islanders used intensive cultivation. As the sandbanks of the Central Group supported only coconut, wild plum, and edible mangrove, the inhabitants traded with the eastern Islanders for additional supplies. Western Islanders grew some yam and taro and drew on supplies of uncultivated root crops as well as edible mangrove. The sparse population of the southern islands (off Cape York) planted occasionally. Northern Islanders practiced swamp agriculture with raised mounds, as well as collecting swamp grass seeds and edible mangrove; they traded sago and other crops from neighboring Papuans.

96 Preparing a green turtle for cooking. Such turtles are highly valued and an important element both in the daily diet and at feasts. Photo: Courtesy of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Studies, Canberra, N6435.3

Settlement patterns

The Torres Strait communities were beach dwellers who lived inland only in times of war. Settlement patterns varied according to economic constraints. The fertile eastern islands had permanent villages of "beehive"-shaped bamboo and thatch houses. Villages were also permanent in the northern islands. Elsewhere settlements were populated according to the seasonal availability of foodstuffs and water, and housing was often little more than a lean-to shelter.

All islands, reefs, and sandbanks are "owned" in the sense of being associated with an individual or a descent group. Owners claim the right to use the resources of a particular place without seeking permission, and demand that non-owners seek permission to use them.

The foreshores were associated with particular named descent groups, membership of which was frequently inherited through the male line. These groups owned story places and in some instances sacred objects and the rites associated with them, as well as association with unique totemic species. Garden land was often owned individually, particularly in the eastern islands, passing normally through the male line (tending to favor the eldest); daughters might receive a marriage portion which their children could inherit. In the northern islands, marriage payments also took the form of land. The interior of big western islands was divided among descent groups: here individuals, including women, might own particular wild-root patches.

Domestic organization

The domestic unit consisted of a conjugal and occasionally polygynous family, often begun as an extended family component, which became autonomous with the maturity of its children, and reached

its apogee when a married child became a senior member. Normatively, a daughter joined her husband's domestic group at marriage. This was not always observed in practice. In-laws, despite a name taboo, were expected to collaborate in economic and ritual activities.

Conjugal families cultivated land together, with men growing certain special crops on their own. Women gathered wild roots and shellfish, and engaged in surf fishing individually or in groups. They might also accompany menfolk on sailing expeditions, although trade and hunting were primarily male activities. A large canoe required a crew of three or four; it might carry as many as twenty.

Political organization

There were no hereditary chiefs in the Torres Strait, though in some communities the inherited custodianship of cult objects conferred a degree of power and authority. Otherwise, men had authority over women, and adults over the young. This structure was affirmed in male initiation cults. Among mature males, success in economic and political pursuits was expressed in terms of esoteric magical knowledge.

Political organizations conformed to what Wolf (1983) has called the kinship mode of production. A community was segmented territorially, membership being inherited through males. In practice, such divisions were cross-cut by ties of ritual and economic collaboration. At the individual level, additional obligations were owed to matrilateral kin and affines. Adoption, among kinsfolk, added flexibility to this arrangement.

The transfer of gardening and foraging land as marriage portion or bride-price, and the lending of land, meant that land use of the island interiors did not conform to the normative segmentary model; rather, it involved a range of individual relations.

Religion

The Christianity introduced after 1871 has partly erased, overlaid, and marginalized indigenous traditions of cosmology and spirituality. Islanders perceive their history as a progressive accumulation of natural and supernatural knowledge, beginning with the culture bearers of the old myths, then making a quantum leap with the advent of missionaries and European education.

The indigenous religious life has various sociopolitical levels of integration. The individual inherits (from elders or the deceased) secret technical and magical procedures, used in the course of everyday life; broader, kin-based rituals relate to death and secondary disposal; and finally, elaborate cults integrate large sections of a community, or several communities, over war-related concerns. The *Meriam* cult of Malo-Bomai, linked with three similar cults in the central islands, seems to have had relevance to matters other than war. The *Kwoiam* cult (southern and western groups) focused on male initiation; northern Islanders practiced other rites.

Rites were focused at specific locales where powerful objects (masks, drums, and headdresses) were kept. The presence of these objects was explained in myths recounting the exploits of the heroes who had brought them there. Rites centered on these objects involved dances and songs of supernatural power.

Importance was attached to the dead. The physical remains were imbued with spirtual power, and the ghosts, who normally lived in the land of the dead, communicated with the living in dreams and

apparitions. As in other Pacific cultures, the Islanders explained the first Europeans as ghosts of their dead kinfolk.

Attempts by early missionaries to eradicate old beliefs were partially successful. Yet, most communities remember the myths; today these are also available in books. Some value their traditions more highly than others. Only Mer and Saibai commemorate the old cults in song and dance. Today, religious activities focus on the church, which, until the 1960s, was Anglican, but now includes various Pentecostal congregations, some without wider affiliation.

Current situation

From the mid-nineteenth century to the present, Islanders have lived by a cash/subsistence economy affected by fluctuating climatic and labor market conditions. Since 1942 (and increasingly since the 1970s), welfare payments have provided a basic source of cash. Many are now mainly dependent on money for their daily needs. Cultivation declined dramatically; however, fishing and hunting remain important. Dugong and turtle occupy a central place in the main contemporary Island ceremony, as does the Tombstone Opening (which also requires considerable sums of money).

The decline of employment opportunities in the 1960s, combined with rising population and work opportunities on the mainland, began the present outmigration. Many of the 15,000 Islanders living outside the Strait (most in urban Queensland) are mainland born. They remain in touch with the Strait, particularly through Tombstone Opening and other ceremonies, in both Strait and urban settings.

Migrant islanders do not participate in island local government council elections. The chairs of each island council together make up the Torres Strait Regional Authority. In addition to allocating funds, these local authorities regulate both traditional visiting (usually trading) relations with their Papuan neighbors, and the level of turtle and dugong hunting. The Authority has sought to extend its competence, but the licensing of commercial fishing, customs, quarantine, immigration, welfare payments, education, and law and order remain the responsibility of the Commonwealth or Queensland governments.

Resistance

Colonial Torres Strait was remarkable for its reliance on local authorities, including boat skippers, priests, teachers, and councillors. Councillors have been elected throughout the twentieth century. Within these command structures, resistance took the form of attempts to expand local autonomy. Following 1930s upheavals, the Queensland government increased the powers of the councils, and discussed regional policy at biennial conferences. Increasing economic frustration and dissatisfaction with the education system saw more discontent in the 1960s. This was largely diffused with emigration to the mainland.

In 1980, Islanders were shocked to discover their land belonged to the Crown. They began pressing for land rights. Most communities settled for a compromise, following an initiative from a mainland-based Islander, Koiki Mabo, who launched a legal challenge, which resulted, twelve years later, in the recognition of Native Title for all indigenous Australians.

Islanders on the mainland have no input into the administration of the home communities. They obtain government funds mainly through the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission and

operate mainland-based Islander organizations with periodic national conferences. Islanders make extensive use of their music, dance, and ceremonial protocol to assert their unique identity as an Australian indigenous minority.

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I.VII.10

The Warlpiri

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Introduction

The Warlpiri are best known internationally for the rich cosmological system popularized in Bruce Chatwin's travel book, *Songlines*, about Central Desert Aborigines, and for the "dot paintings" that register public versions of their Dreamtime myths. Principally located in the Tanami Desert, in the central western part of Australia's Northern Territory, the Warlpiri share many fundamental features of religion and social structure with such neighboring groups as the Arrernte, Warrumungu, Anmatyerre, Pintupi, and Pitjantjatjara. Until forced to sedentarize in the 1940s, they generally hunted and gathered in small groups of five to thirty-five close relatives. In the wake of settlement, their patterns of subsistence and habitation changed dramatically. The Warlpiri, the majority of whom now live in the settlements of Yuendumu, Lajamanu, Warrabri/Ali-Curong, Willowra, and Nyirrpi (and their outstations), represent the most populous Aboriginal group of the Northern Territory.

History

The circumstances of pre-contact Aboriginal history have long been debated; most archaeologists agree that Aboriginal presence in the Central Desert only became significant in the last 5000 years, although there are now occupation dates for Warlpiri country going back 30,000 years. Rock art, stone arrangements, stone implements, and red ochre constitute the principal pre-contact artifacts. The Warlpiri, however, perceive their myths as documentary evidence of life during an undatable past known commonly as the Dreamtime. The paucity of water, and isolation, served to insulate the region from European exploration until the mid-1800s. Regular contact with non-Aboriginals only began in the twentieth century, with the establishment of a small goldmine at Tanami in 1911, and cattle stations on the periphery of the region. A prolonged drought (1924–8) prompted many Warlpiri to abandon their land and congregate near the cattle station homesteads, or at the several small mines, and some even moved east to the small towns that sprang up along the telegraph line. In 1928, between thirty-one (officially admitted) and one hundred Warlpiri were massacred after Warlpiri had killed a European on Coniston Station. Fearing further reprisals, some Warlpiri traveled gradually north to Tennant Creek, well outside their traditional country.

Population
(1996 census), about 3000; (1954), about 1500; prior to settlement, about 1200 (Meggitt 1965 [1962]).

Location
Tanami Desert, central west part of the Northern Territory, Australia; 137,800 km^2.

In the 1940s, the "traditional" life of the Warlpiri was subsumed by the economy, politics, and ideology of the dominant society. Settled at government-run ration depots, at missions, and at cattle stations, the Warlpiri only regained a small measure of pre-contact autonomy after 1976, with passage of the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act. Since then, the Warlpiri have struggled to maintain elements of a culture threatened by years of encapsulation.

Ecological setting

Warlpiri country has a semi-desert climate, with sources of water scarce during the long dry seasons. The flora common to the region includes spinifex (*Triodia pungens*), and various forms of acacia, grevillea, eucalyptus, and mulga trees. Yams and fruits figure prominently in the landscape. The fauna includes kangaroo, emu, wild turkey, witchetty grub, goanna, and other lizards. All components of the ecology are features in the spiritual domain of the Warlpiri. Owing to the size and regional variation of Warlpiri territory, climatic descriptions are general at best. Typically there is a wet period (January—March), a dry/windy/cold period (June—August), and a dry/windy/hot period (September—December). Located slightly north of the Tropic of Capricorn, Warlpiri country has temperatures that rarely fall below freezing. Missionary accounts of Christmas celebrations recorded temperatures exceeding 47° C.

97 Ruby Napangardi (*left*), Maggy Napangardi, and Topsy Napanangka are dancing for their Dreaming, the Initiated Women's Dreaming, at Yuendumu, September 19, 1983. Photo: Françoise Dussart.

Economy

Before abandoning their semi-nomadic life, the Warlpiri lived in small groups that pursued hydrocentric movements over a vast and arid land. Using spears and boomerangs, men tracked larger animals such as kangaroo and emu, while women gathered, with digging sticks, yams and goanna. Women collected honey ants, bush tomatoes (*Solanum* spp., a source of concentrated Vitamin C), a wide variety of grass and tree seeds, and other desert fruits. Women provided the bulk of dietary foodstuffs (Peterson 1974), with lizard meat playing a key role in the diet. They prepared most of the food, and collected much of the firewood and water. The distribution of food followed kinship obligations essential to all Warlpiri exchanges, and manifested egalitarian tendencies. Group size varied seasonally, with larger parties forming when resources were abundant.

Contact with settlers slowly eroded this dynamic. Some Warlpiri began to pursue jobs connected to cattle stations and mines established by newly arrived settlers. With sedentarization beginning in the 1940s, the Warlpiri started replicating the gender-specific roles of the foreign culture that increasingly controlled their lives; Warlpiri women increasingly took on work as house-girls and laundry women, while the men took jobs as ranch hands and miners. By 1978–80, hunting and gathering supplied less than 5 percent of the Warlpiri diet (Young 1981). Currently, the principal source of income for the Warlpiri is derived from welfare benefits. These government payments are supplemented by mining royalties and the sale of art.

Settlement patterns and domestic organization

Known for the complexity of their domestic patterns, the Warlpiri follow an Arandic system of kin classification (Meggitt 1965 [1962], Laughren 1982) in which terms are grouped into eight subsections (see Morton, this volume). These subsections are organized into patrilineal, matrilineal, and generational moieties. Each descent group is associated with one of four patri-subsection couples.

"We are spinifex country people."

Dolly Nampijinpa Daniels

"We traveled with no water sometimes for two or three days. We sat in the shade during the day and walked at night."

Popeye Tchooga Jangala

"This open spinifex country is our land, our fathers' and grandfathers' land. It's good country. Cattle are not good for the land. This is not White people's land."

Jack Jampijinpa Gallager

Prior to settlement, during the hot/windy/dry season, small groups (consisting of a husband and one or two wives, their children, a widowed mother/father-in-law) hunted and gathered over a wide area, obtaining water from soakages. These, and other water sources such as rock holes and

waterholes in the river beds, were focal points of economic, political, and spiritual activities. In the wet season, these groups congregated with other Central Desert peoples, at the larger water sources, often in aggregations of up to 400 persons, to perform spiritual ceremonies linking people to the land and to each other (Meggitt 1965 [1962]:55). Dreaming sites, which make up a core component of Warlpiri cosmology, were/are an essential part of settlement patterns and domestic organization, with land tenure inextricably tied to patrilineal descent. Only at these sites could/can many ceremonies take place.

The preferred marriage among the Warlpiri linked men with their classificatory mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. Women were matched with their mother's mother's brother's daughter's son. Grooms were about fifteen years older than their brides, who married shortly after puberty. Formerly, a man would marry two or three women. The initial marriage saw the couple reside with the husband's or wife's family. "Divorce" was possible but rare; the widowed generally remarried (Dussart 1992). Today's Warlpiri, inhabiting settlements and outstations, organize themselves in relatively discrete residential units of close kin. These groups are composed of actual and close agnates, who may belong to several patrilineal descent groups, and their affines. Co-residential ties now serve as one of the strongest social mastics for religious, political, and economic life.

Political organization

The ethnographic literature on Warlpiri political organization rightly stresses the egalitarian values prevailing prior to settlement. The structure of land tenure established shared rights and responsibilities, and placed limits on the individual accumulation of politico-ritual power. Redistribution following patterns of kinship remains a central constituent of the society. The migratory nature of social life and the lability of group formation also tended to discourage non-egalitarian patterns of engagement. Although there were distinct differences in the ritual life of men and women, both obtained status as ritual leaders through the enactment of the Dreaming.

Sedentarization uprooted and denied the longstanding context of Warlpiri political order. Though legislation in 1976 allowed the Warlpiri to reclaim much of their land, and in doing so reinvigorated their internal political structures, they remain alienated from the governmental processes of the dominant society.

Religion and spirituality

The central concept of Warlpiri cosmology is *Jukurrpa*. Confusingly translated as "Dreaming" or "Dreamtime," *Jukurrpa* has a plurality of meanings linking Warlpiri to their land and ancestors. It refers to the period when the world was shaped by the emergent Ancestral Beings, the harbingers of social and moral order. The Warlpiri also believe that *Jukurrpa* is an ancestral past with a temporal dimension in the present, maintained through the mythical stories that are danced, sung, and painted during ceremonies at specific sites.

The religious life of the Warlpiri is made most manifest during frequent ritual performances, some of which last many weeks. In these rituals (performed jointly, or in gender-bound patterns) *Jukurrpa* itineraries of Ancestral Beings are reenacted by those claiming descent from them. All Warlpiri are

linked to specific locations from whence Ancestral Beings like Honey Ant, Emu, Fire, and Water emerged. Each Warlpiri "owns" one or more Dreamings. This ownership is overseen by a "manager," who ensures that the particular ritual is properly enacted. Performance of ritual is further predicated on negotiated and exchanged rights to esoteric knowledge.

Some ceremonies have disappeared or been transformed since sedentarization. The repertoire of ritual performances varies from settlement to settlement. The general taxonomy of Warlpiri "Dreaming" activities includes single-gender ceremonies, male initiations, and death, love-song and health-curing ceremonies. The Warlpiri make distinctions among ceremonies that are *tarruku*, secret; those that are *wiri*, restricted; and those that are *warraja*, public.

Missionaries representing various Christian churches have long toiled to convert the Warlpiri. They have had a small but noticeable impact within some communities.

Current situation

Although the 1976 land rights legislation started a process that has ultimately enabled the Warlpiri to reclaim much of their territory, Aboriginal dependence on government subsidies remains strong. Most Warlpiri are, by government definition, "unemployed," and thus receive various forms of economic support. This is supplemented by mining royalties (from two goldmines on their land) and art sales. The art phenomenon, traceable to a Warlpiri intervention at Yuendumu in 1984, has had limited economic impact. However, "dot painting" (acrylic on canvas representations of *jukurrpa* narratives) offers a crucial, encouraging cultural flag for the group, now planted in international art markets. This activity, sadly, is counterpointed by ongoing alcohol misuse and domestic abuse, petrol-sniffing among teenagers, egregious health statistics, and inept external funding policies enacted by those unfamiliar with the stresses of post-sedentarization life. To ameliorate the situation, the Warlpiri have established intervention programs. "Women's night patrols" now regularly monitor the consumption of alcohol, which is all too often at the core of battering incidents. There are also on-going pedagogic initiatives to preserve the Warlpiri language and culture through modern technologies like audio-tapes and videos.

Organization for resistance

Since the late 1960s, the Warlpiri and other Aborigines have attempted various direct and oblique challenges to governmental domination. Perhaps the most potent tool made available to them was the 1976 Aboriginal Land Rights Act which allowed them to lay claim to vacant Crown lands. This legislation has had an impact beyond the juridical sphere. Because land reclaiming depends on demonstrating traditional ownership, individuals must prove their links to their country. Among other things, this requires ritual performances; hence, Warlpiri legal claims have in several ways transformed ceremonial life. Some rituals have become a form of legal protest and resistance, a way of proving ties to, and thus regaining, previously expropriated lands. Almost all the country the Warlpiri owned prior to contact is once again held by them, though this has not restored, and cannot fully restore, the independence they possessed prior to contact.

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I.VII.11

Yolngu of northeast Arnhem Land

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Introduction

About 3500 Yolngu people, known in anthropological literature as Murngin, live in northeast Arnhem Land, on the north coast of Australia's Northern Territory. Yolngu are fishers, gatherers, and hunters who, until the Macassans introduced iron and the Europeans introduced aspects of their technology, employed wood, fiber, bark, bone, and stone tools and implements. While some Yolngu have recently migrated to cities and towns, most live in the three coastal townships of Milingimbi, Galiwin'ku, and Yirrkala (former missions), in three small inland townships, and at many outstation settlements established on traditional lands since the 1960s. The Yolngu retain a distinct culture while participating in a mixed foraging and cash economy. Their way of life is affected by participation in the wider society and constrained by Australian institutions and agencies.

History

Human occupation of the tropical north of Australia dates back to 60,000 BP (Roberts *et al*. 1990). About 1000 years ago, the ecology of the region changed, with freshwater wetlands developing on the coastal and estuarine plains (Jones 1985:293). With richer resources and changes of technology, the ancestors of the Yolngu may have developed an economic and social "intensification" (Lourandos 1991). Population migration may account for the fact that Yolngu are surrounded by people linguistically and genetically somewhat distinct (Evans and Jones 1997:394).

Population
1920s, about 2000; 1991 (census) 3293. Estimated population density (1920s): overall, 1 person per 15 km^2; coast, 1 person per 4–6 km^2; uplands, 1 person per 40–60 km^2.

Location
Northeast Arnhem Land, Northern Territory; about 30,000 km^2, and from 11° to 30°40′ S and 134°40′ to 137° E.

Religious forms and social networks suggest longstanding interaction with neighbors to the west and south. From at least the sixteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth, Macassan traders sailed across the Arafura Sea on the northwest monsoon, and camped on the Arnhem Land coast each

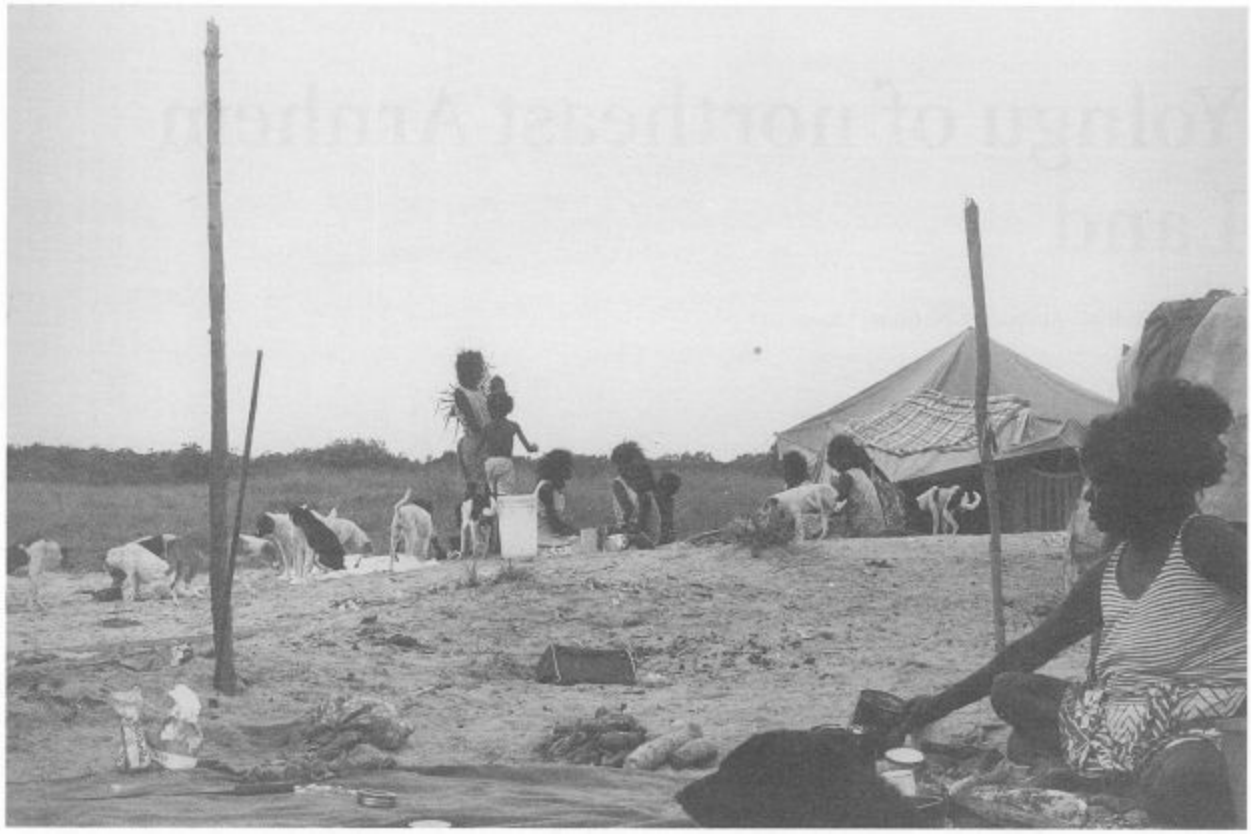
wet season. Here they collected and processed trepang (sea cucumber) (MacKnight 1975). Arnhem Land's isolation protected it from the Northern Territory's accelerating European and Chinese colonization during the 1860s, although incursions and conflicts eventually (1923) led to the establishment of Methodist (later Uniting Church) missions. The mining town of Nhulunbuy grew after a mining lease was excised, in 1963, from what was then the Arnhem Land Aboriginal Reserve (now Aboriginal territory under land rights legislation).

Environment

Low ranges extend north and northeast from the rugged sandstone hinterland to form peninsulas, deep bays, and islands. The watershed of the Glyde River and its tributaries draining the inland Arafura Swamp separates these ranges from the high sandstone country to the west. Most of the average 1050 mm of rain falls between January and March, borne in by northwest monsoon winds. A cooler dry season extends from April to November. Tropical cyclones occasionally strike the region. The mangrove-lined coasts, saltflats and grass plains, isolated stands of monsoon forest, paperbark swamps, and extensive eucalyptus woodland support an abundance of edible plants, birds, reptiles, fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and mammals.

Economy

In the foraging economy before missionization, the organization of production involved the division of labor by gender. Women, whose main implements were the ironwood digging stick and woven baskets, gathered shellfish, eggs, and vegetable foods, hunted smaller game, and fished. They remained productive into old age (Peterson 1973). Men, who used spears, harpoons, throwing sticks, nets and traps, hunted small and large game, and fished. They were most productive in youth. Some major items of technology, such as fish traps, were sacred objects controlled by older men of the patrifilial group (*ba:purru*). Settlement at missions and townships reduced reliance on foraging. Those living in outstations have modified their foraging with four-wheel-drive vehicles, boats with outboard motors, and guns. Residents of townships rely mainly on bought foods (Altman 1987).



98 Daygurrgurr-Gupapuyngu and Liyagawumirr people at Langarra (Howard Island) homeland center in 1975. Photo: Ian Keen.

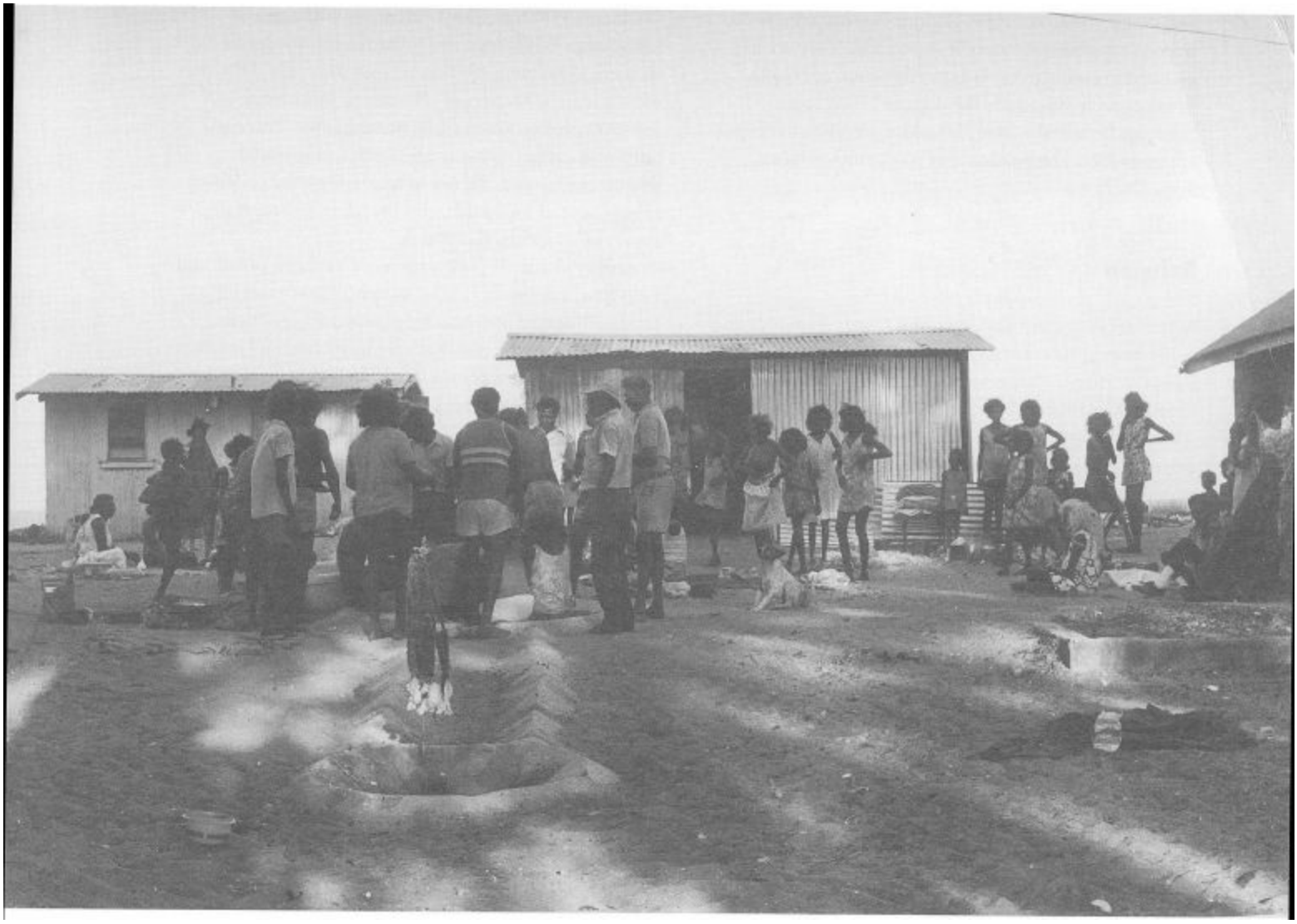
Although larger game is distributed more widely among camp residents, people share food mainly within a household cluster. Complex prohibitions, dependent on gender and position in the life-cycle, modify distribution and consumption. Through "demand sharing" (Peterson 1993), a person had the right to ask close relatives for a share of resources; this leveled out the unpredictable gains of foraging. Nevertheless, large polygynous households have proven economically advantageous (Altman 1987). Ownership of lands and waters is structured around *ba:purru* identity, although *ba:purru* members do not assert the right to exclusive land use; rather, the labile residential groupings include some members/kin of the *ba:purru* on whose land the community is located.

Missionaries introduced a "village economy" based on garden produce supplemented by government grants, donations, and arts and crafts income. With the gradual extension of citizenship to Aboriginal peoples in the 1950s, especially the right to wages, unemployment, and welfare benefits, the Yolngu economy was now based on both foraging and cash. Communities, incorporated in the 1970s, are governed by elected councils. Government grants have funded local services, while government schemes have boosted paid employment. Art production and craftwork are also economically important.

Population and settlement

The population density was highest on the coasts, islands, estuaries, and around the Arafura Swamp, and lowest on the stony uplands. The population appears to have decreased as a result of diseases introduced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Subsequent sedentarization and improved health-care led to population growth (1970s) which has recently decelerated. Before World War II and the move to missions, the population was dispersed among camps whose size and composition

fluctuated seasonally. Coastal communities were more cohesive and less mobile than those inland (Altman 1987, Meehan 1982, Peterson 1973). With modern airstrips, roads, and tracks, most eastern Arnhemlanders now divide their time between townships and outstations.



99 People wash at a bukurlup purification ceremony at Milingimbi, standing in a Liyagawumirr clan sand-sculpture, which represents spring waters at Gairriyakngur, 1975. Photo: Ian Keen.

Social organization

Primary identity derives from the named, exogamous, patrifilial group (*ba:purru*: "clan" or "sib"). *Ba:purru* groups (up to 300 members), their country and sacra, fall into two patrilineal, exogamous moieties: Dhuwa and Yirritja. Each group holds several parcels of land, often including coastal waters, as well as ceremonies, sacred objects, and designs that link country with spirit ancestors. *Ba:purru* of the same moiety, sharing ancestors, ceremonies, and designs, form cross-cutting, open "strings" of association (also called *ba:purru*). Associations and alliances are also formed through marriage and common dialect (Keen 1994).

People assert that each *ba:purru* has its own "tongue" (*matha*), its way of speaking. *Matha* fall into nine categories, signaled by a characteristic demonstrative pronoun ("this/here": *dhuwal, dhuwala, dhangu, djangu*, etc.) (Morphy 1983). A naming system of eight subsections (*malk* or "skins") is used to determine modes of address and to organize ceremonies.

The Yolngu marriage system, unlike those of neighboring peoples, is asymmetric. A male should marry a matrilateral cross-cousin (his *galay*); a female should marry a patrilateral cross-cousin (*dhuway*). Marriage bestowal may involve people of three or four generations; the husband makes gifts to, and performs services for, his spouse's kin, before and during the union. Polygyny has been common; Yolngu marriage produced close, enduring alliances between groups (Keen 1982). Men of rival groups fought bitter feuds over marriage (Warner 1937).

With increased mobility, access to transfer payments, and new professional skills like nursing and education, women have become more independent. They are less inclined to conform to traditional marital contracts. Younger men may evade the delay intrinsic to the marriage bestowal system by seeking partners in distant communities. The incidence of polygyny has fallen accordingly.

Religion

Myths recall ancient activities of *wangarr* ancestors and other beings, their myriad journeys criss-crossing the country. *Wangarr* assumed the forms of human beings, creatures, plants, and personalities like Kangaroo, Mangrove Log, and Rock. They could transform themselves, leaving traces of their personalities and activities in the landscape. Ancestors such as the Djang'kawu Sisters traveled far and created many groups; they also affixed the powers which assure ongoing reproduction. Others, such as Olive Python, are more local.

Yolngu ceremonies reenact ancestral events and are performed at public activities like boys' initiation, exchange, the settlement of disputes, the revelation of esoteric knowledge, mourning, and the disposal of the dead. Ceremonies "follow" activities and precedents of *wangarr* ancestors and other beings, and allow participants to identify with and assume the powers of their ancestors. Through complex cross-cutting relationships, *ba:purru* own and share aspects of the three genres of ceremonies. Men and women play distinctive roles here; through these procedures older men control access to secret spiritual knowledge (Morphy 1991, Keen 1994).

Most Yolngu now identify themselves as Christians, especially since Yolngu gained control of the local churches in the 1970s. Many identify God as the creator of the *wangarr* ancestors; Christian elements are woven into indigenous ceremonies. A "Christian Revival" initiated at Galiwin'ku in 1979 quickly spread across the region. While the number of participants has fallen, this "fellowship" remains the main expression of Christian ritual (Bos 1988).

Law and authority

Rom (law or culture) includes explicit rules which *wangarr* ancestors set down, granting rights such as those to land and waters, or specifying proper behavior toward particular kin. *Rom* also includes various practices, such as those associated with subsection "skin-groups," and governs the appropriate performance of ceremony. Rom's authority lies in its ancestral origin. The authority of elders to uphold "law" derives from the religious sphere (Williams 1987). Authority increases with age and knowledge. While men recognize the knowledge of older women, in religious matters women generally defer to older men, the keepers of the esoteric knowledge and controllers of access to ritual performance. This male authority could translate into control of material resources like land, the use of technology, the consumption of special foodstuffs, and the labor and reproductive power of wives

and daughters.

Arnhem Land dispute settlement has been called "self-help" (Berndt 1965). Unable to appeal to overarching political/jural structures, disputants enforced their respective interpretations of *rom* by recruiting kinfolk. Endemic feuding was fueled by beliefs that the sorcery (*galka*) of enemies caused one's kin to sicken and die. However, cross-cutting loyalties and shared *rom* principles modified the resort to sheer strength through numbers. Agents of the state, including missionaries, intervened from the 1920s and restrained major fighting and homicide.

"It's true Balanda [white people] sometimes use bad words for us and have bad opinions about Aboriginal people. The reason for that is often that Balanda have not much knowledge about our way of living. Our way is very different from the European way…It is not easy at all to live in two ways, the Aboriginal way and the Balanda way. You are telling us to combine the two ways, but that is not easy because, on the one hand, we depend on money and jobs, and on the other, we cannot live without our moieties, skin-groups, dreamings, animals, country, totems, and so on."

Jack Mirritji, 1972

Relations with the Australian state

The powers of Australia, divided between the Northern Territorial and Federal Governments, now encapsulate the Yolngu way of life. Until the mid-1970s, this role was fulfilled by Methodist missionaries. From the 1950s, state agencies increasingly intervened in health, education, and development. Following the excision of the mining lease at Gove Peninsula, Yolngu people of Yirrkala sued the Federal Government and the mining company (Williams 1986). The loss of that case in 1971 was a factor leading to the 1976 Land Rights Act. Some local autonomy was accorded (via local elected councils) through the self-determination policies associated with 1976 land rights. Yet Yolngu communities are integrated into the wider society. It is conceived that in future Yolngu and other Aboriginal peoples may gain greater regional autonomy. The recent election of a conservative Federal Government, and conservative governments in most states and territories, seems likely to place strong limitations on Aboriginal autonomy for the foreseeable future.

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PART II

Special topic essays

II.I HUNTER-GATHERERS, HISTORY AND SOCIAL THEORY

II.I.1

Images of hunters and gatherers in European social thought

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Social thinkers have long used hunters and gatherers to epitomize, positively or negatively, "natural man." This chapter explores some of these usages in two European conceptions, which have been both persistent and changing: the alien "other," and the "state of nature." The focus is on ideas of social thinkers whose vision goes beyond the discipline of anthropology, including those whose writings preceded both anthropology itself and modern hunter-gatherer studies. Ideas of Europe's (and North America's) "great" thinkers have shaped those of much of the world beyond; their writings continue to exert influence down the generations.

In seventeenth-century France, "les sauvages" were commonly thought to be hairy. In eighteenth-century England, the supposed physical attributes of the genitalia of hunter-gatherer-herders often excited rather more interest than did their means of subsistence. In the 1600s and 1700s, many eminent European thinkers had worldviews different from our own. They accepted the speculative existence of ape-men and monster races. I shall leave aside such latent medieval thinking and concentrate on the modern, which for me begins with the early speculations on the origins of (natural) law.

No notion of what today we call "hunting and gathering societies" existed before the 1740s; rather, the discourse centered on "natural man" versus "civilization," individualism versus sociality, aggressiveness versus passivity, or the influence of climate on temperament and culture. Questions concerning what is innate (individualism or sociality) dominated social thought during the seventeenth century. Mode of subsistence counted for little. Commentators even assumed that social humankind emerged from a solitary existence ready to cultivate, or that humankind's natural existence is that of agriculture.

Human sociality and the dawn of the hunter-gatherer

According to the Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, some peoples of the Americas in his own time (as well as Scythians of Central Europe in classical times, and humankind generally before the biblical Flood) lived exclusively by foraging: "They lived easily on the fruits which the earth brought forth of its own

accord without toil" (1949 [1625]:79). Grotius found that the foraging stage of history was short-lived. Food production was an early invention, bringing both commerce and violence, neither of which had occurred before. His reference to giants was not odd in its day. In the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth centuries, belief in, and reports about, ferocious "giants" (as allegedly in Patagonia) were commonplace among intellectuals, some of whom even doubted the empirical existence of the less developed and more peaceable "pygmies" of Africa and Asia.

Grotius considered the foraging existence as one of common ownership of all property, while the early phases of domestication were marked by individual ownership of livestock but communal, tribal ownership of land, which was to be followed later by family ownership of land (1949 [1625]:79–80). Although Grotius is not usually thought of as an evolutionist, his writings do suggest a human propensity to develop property, and with it, society.

Samuel Pufendorf followed Grotius, and went further in arguing the innate social aspect of humankind. Yet Pufendorf, like others of his time, seemingly made no distinction between a civilized individual being placed in a state of nature, and humankind in general at the family level before the development of "society" or the "state" (what he termed *civitas*, in Latin). He saw the "natural state" (*status*) as one of "the reign of passions," with "war, fear, poverty, nastiness, solitude, barbarity, ignorance, savagery." By contrast, he characterized civilization as "the reign of reason," with "peace, security, wealth, splendour, society, taste, knowledge, benevolence" (Pufendorf 1991 [1673]:118). Interestingly, immediately before this assertion Pufendorf anticipated twentieth-century ideas on hunter-gatherers in suggesting a family-based organization is capable of alleviating poverty "where desires are limited." The main drawback with kinship organization, he stressed, was that here a member would be incapable of defending "the fruit of his industry" (1991 [1673]:118). However, his assertion that "the earliest men sought to fill the empty world and to find more ample living space for themselves *and their cattle*…" (1991 [1673]:116 [emphasis added]) suggests he failed to understand the implications of an evolutionary trajectory of subsistence activities. The epoch he imagined was one when the whole of humankind lived under paternal authority, before migration and population expansion created at first small, and later larger, "societies" (*civitates*).

100 A nineteenth-century European view of the Ngarrindjeri. A River Murray ceremony. Location not identified. Watercolor by S. T. Gill, 1845. Courtesy of the Berndt Museum of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, P18556.

The most famous seventeenth-century characterization of hunter-gatherer existence is undoubtedly that of the Englishman Thomas Hobbes. Yet his is precisely a characterization mirroring preoccupations of his day, of "the time, wherein men live without other security, than what their own strength, and their own invention shall furnish them withall." This Hobbes likens to the state of war, and the fear of war, in his own time and place:

> In such a condition, there is no place for Industry; because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no Culture of the Earth [cultivation]…; no Knowledge of the face of the Earth; no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short.
>
> (Hobbes 1973 [1651]:64–5).

In such a case, it is important for us not to read too much into a definition without reflecting on the fact that the author's purpose was so different from our own. His concern was with the "Naturall Condition of Mankind" and *not* with the nature of a specific type of society. The latter was to become a focus only in the eighteenth and, more especially, the nineteenth century.

One writer often rightly cited as standing at the dawn of modern thought is John Locke. Yet the closest Locke comes to a conception of hunter-gatherers is in his discussion of property in the "Second Treatise of Government" (para. 46):

> The greatest part of *things really useful* to the Life of Man, and such as the necessity of subsisting made the first Commoners of the World look after, as it doth the *Americans* now, *are* generally things *of short duration*; such as, if they are not consumed by use, will decay and perish of themselves.
>
> (Locke 1988 [1690]:299–300)

He adds to this practical explanation (of what would now be called an immediate-return economy [Woodburn 1980]), that members all had equal rights to gather acorns or apples. If a person gathered so many perishables that they could not be immediately eaten, that person thus deprived others of their rightful share. Property existed once things had been taken; yet the taking of another's potential property was theft. In this hypothesized state of nature, hoarding was both foolish and dishonest. Locke's description here sounds both economically rational and ethnographically accurate. Yet he reveals his ignorance of the idea of a foraging economy when he adds that his hypothetical "natural man" might eventually come to invent money (Locke 1988 [1690]:300). At best, Locke was unconcerned with the evolution of subsistence activities because the details were unnecessary for his argument.

In the eighteenth century Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in his "Second Discourse," expressed a similar vision of "savage man," but one in which "the savage" *was* a hunter-gatherer, "satisfying his hunger at the first oak, and slaking his thirst at the first brook…and, with that, all his wants supplied" (1973 [1755]:52). According to Rousseau, early people lived scattered in the forests, without society. Because humans are more intelligent and adaptable than animals, each could use his or her ingenuity to extract resources from a great variety of locations. While Hobbes' solitary "savage" was intrepid and warlike, Rousseau's was timid, especially of wild animals, and peaceful.

For Rousseau, civil society came into being when an individual first claimed land as property. That act was necessitated by a sequence of events which included both population expansion and advances in technology brought on by barren years and long winters. People invented fishing tackle, bows and arrows, and the means to harness and later create fire and use it in cooking (Rousseau 1973 [1755]:84–5). The early society of happy, healthy foraging families was glorious, but it did not last long. Rousseau saw the invention of agriculture, along with metallurgy, as the "revolution" which ended the idyllic existence of those early times. He also remarked that the idea of agriculture was known long before it was put into practice, but that once in practice it brought about the distribution of land and the ensuing inequalities which necessitated the development of civil institutions (1973 [1755]:92–4).

Among the first to argue cogently for an Asian origin of the American Indians was Father Lafitau (1974 [1724] :45–6), although he was preceded by some of Grotius' detractors in the seventeenth century. (Grotius believed that the Americas had been settled by migrants from Europe to Greenland, and simultaneously from the Cape of Good Hope to Tierra del Fuego.) Lafitau suggested (1974 [1724]:51) that those who subsisted only by hunting and fishing would have to migrate in search of food, but also noted that early American agriculturists would have had a migratory life too, owing to their poor agricultural methods.

Giambattisto Vico (1968 [1744]:112–15) maintained that, after the Flood, the sons of Noah wandered in search of food and water; in the process, they grew robust, even gigantic. While never clearly distinguishing hunter-gatherers from other "savages," Vico did suggest the hunting way of life

and, at the same time, hints at a transition from hunting to herding:

> the lost races of the three sons of Noah must be supposed to have gone into bestial wandering, fleeing from beasts (of which under the great forest the earth must have held an unhappy abundance), pursuing shy and indocile women (for in such a savage state they must have been extremely indocile and shy), and then later seeking pastureland and water [*e poi per cercare pascolo ed acqua*].
>
> (Vico 1968 [1744]:89)

His image of "savages" included territoriality, a sense of place, and the presence of godliness; his view was largely positive. Vico's savages were "poets," innocent and creative.

In a similar vein, the German romantic poet Johann Gottfried Herder, in his *Ideen zur Geschichte der Menscheit*, described a number of hunting-and-gathering peoples. His text drew heavily on William Robertson's *History of America* (see below), but he reports from additional sources: for example, of the "Californians" as living on bats, grubs and worms, roots and seeds "which they collect with great labour" (1800 [1784–91:168). Like virtually all writers of his time, he commented on "dwarfs" and "giants" in the Americas. Like Montesquieu, he commented a great deal on the importance of climate, but his concerns with evolution and with monogenesis were, in retrospect, sophisticated for his time: "neither the pongo nor the gibbon is thy brother: the American and the negro are…" (1800 [1784–91]:166); and even: "A few centuries only have elapsed since the inhabitants of Germany were patagonians…" (1800 [1784–91]:164).

Hunter-gatherers and the invention of economics

Although perceptions of hunter-gatherers clearly began earlier, the first clear notion of the category came, arguably, with Baron de Montesquieu and the Scottish philosophers who followed him, taking as their task the explanation of the origins and development of economic systems.

Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* is perhaps best remembered for its comments on forms of government and its climatic determinism, but it also considered the question of hunting peoples (briefly but with some insight into their social organization). Montesquieu (1989 [1748]:290–2) classified hunters along with herders as "savage peoples," or "peoples who [unlike barbarians] do not cultivate the land." He did distinguish hunters from herders, commenting that Siberian hunters could not feed themselves if they were to unite like the Tartar hordes with their livestock. Rather, hunters lived in small camps or bands, each of which itself formed a small "nation."

Adam Ferguson (1966 [1767]:81) noted that some "savage nations" subsist on "hunting, fishing, or the natural produce of the soil." He saw their existence as useful for armchair conjectural historians like himself, in order that such men might better speculate on the origins and (pre)history of society. He was preoccupied by the origin of property. Ferguson noted (1966 [1767]:82) that those who subsisted by hunting and fishing had only the property they carried with them, and that the "food of to-morrow is yet wild in the forest, or hid in the lake" and "cannot be appropriated before it is caught." Furthermore, he imagined that, when caught, such food became the property of the community as a whole, and not of the individual who had caught it. Thus, he anticipated the nineteenth-century notion of primitive communism.

Lord Kames argued that different "races" are suited, by their biological nature, for different habitats, although he did attack the excesses of Montesquieu's climatic determinism (Kames 1778:59–63). Kames believed that hunting preceded fishing: "Water is not our element; and savages probably did not attempt to draw food from the sea or from rivers, till land-animals became scarce" (1778:88). Then came the "shepherd-state," which, when population expanded beyond the material means to sustain it, gave rise to the state of "husbandry"/agriculture. Typically for Scottish intellectuals of his time, he argued that the sense of property is *not* the exclusive preserve of humans, being found also among beavers, sheep, and monkeys. He argued that human nature involves hoarding, that human hunter-gatherers developed barter, and that from this, commerce eventually developed (1778:116–27).

William Robertson, working from several hundred Spanish sources, outlined the existing ethnography of the Americas in Book IV of his four-volume *History of America* (1809 [1777]). Like Rousseau, he gave prominence to the individual over society. He regarded Amerindians as averse to labor, especially the men. He saw those in the more primitive states as essentially nomadic. In opposition to Kames, he believed that fishing preceded hunting, and that "as the occupations of the former do not call for equal exertions of activity, or talents, with those of the latter, people in that state [fishing] appear to possess neither the same degree of enterprise nor of ingenuity" (Robertson 1809 [1777]:101). His sequence was: gathering (including small animals), fishing, hunting, agriculture. Interestingly, he added that "hunting nations" were mainly "strangers to the idea of property" (1809 [1777]:115) and lived a "free and vagrant life" (1809 [1777]:107) in preference to the drudgery which agriculture entailed. Although less theoretical than other (conjectural) historians of his time and place, he thus anticipated both Karl Marx and Marshall Sahlins in these notions (see, e.g., Sahlins 1974:1–39).

John Millar (1806:14–16) also considered the importance of property, especially with respect to sex and gender relations. He saw hunting-and-gathering society as fraught with much hardship and few pleasures. Hunters and gatherers had little "refinement" in courtship, and consequently little sexual passion, because, he argued, passion is derived from the difficulty of obtaining what one seeks. By this reasoning, we may imagine that hunting, rather than sex, was the more passionate pursuit of the male forager, but Millar is not explicit here. At any rate, what was significant for Millar was that both gender hierarchy and other aspects of social differentiation emerged with agriculture and the increasing importance of property.

Adam Smith, another of the great Scottish thinkers of the time, saw four distinct "ages" of human society: hunters, shepherds, agriculture, and commerce. He made casual reference to the "Age of hunters" in his *Wealth of nations*; as well, the era of hunters is discussed in other works, including different versions of the *Lectures on jurisprudence* as recorded by his students. The fullest is in the early pages of the 1896 version of the latter:

> In a nation of hunters there is properly no government at all. The society consists of a few independent families who live in the same village and speak the same language, and have agreed among themselves to keep together for their mutual safety, but they have no authority one over another. The whole society interests itself in any offence; if possible they make it up between the parties; if not, they banish from their society, kill or deliver up to the resentment of the injured him who has committed the crime. But there is no regular government, for though there may be

> some among them who are much respected, and have great influence in their determination, yet he never can do anything without the consent of the whole.
>
> (Smith 1896 [1763]:14–15)

"Regular government" emerged after the appropriation of animals had given rise to inequalities: some individuals acquired more than their neighbors. Smith's idea of the hunting/fishing society was of twenty to thirty families per village, with a general assembly of several villages (1896 [1763]:20). Property in such a society existed in a limited sense, but it *did* exist: a man chasing a hare "for some time" would acquire "an exclusive privilege to hunt her" (1896 [1763]:7). This comment reflects Smith's concern with origins, and specifically with incipient, simple social institutions. Such concerns were popular in his time and have much in common with later functionalist as well as evolutionist frameworks.

Finally, James Beattie also grouped hunting, fishing, and food-gathering together as the first evolutionary stage, preceding herding, agriculture, and commerce. He was unusual in suggesting that variation of geographical context was an important factor affecting evolutionary trajectories; for example, in societies by the sea, he noted that fishing may dominate, such that sea-derived commerce could develop without the introduction of either herding or agriculture (1817 [1793]:96–7). Beattie argued that agriculture required a variety of linked skills, such as woodwork or metallurgy (to make ploughs), and thought such arts must logically begin in a food-gathering state (1817 [1793]:93–4).

Hunter-gatherers and the rise of evolutionism

Hegel and Marx aside, nineteenth-century European thinkers still very often were firm believers in "diluvial" (as opposed to "fluvial") theory; in other words, all the known races of humanity emerged after the biblical Flood, believed to have occurred only a few thousand years before their own nineteenth-century era.

G. W. F. Hegel (1942 [1820]:128) wrote that the notion of the "state of nature" is false because it overemphasizes physical needs at the expense of mental ones. Therefore, savagery is not freedom, as "freedom itself is to be found only in the reflection of mind into itself, in mind's distinction from nature, and in the reflex of mind in nature" (1942:128). Furthermore: "The savage is lazy and distinguished from the educated man by his brooding stupidity" (1942 [1820]:270).

Marx followed Hegel in some respects and opposed him in others. Significantly for our purposes here, he seems to have accepted Hegel's implication of the "savage" as an anomalous category. He believed fundamentally in the social nature of the human species and in the importance of property as determining relations between people. Yet though recent Marxist anthropologists have successfully employed his principles in the analysis of foraging societies, theirs is a far cry from Marx's own understanding. Indeed, like Locke, he seems to have had very little notion of hunting and gathering, let alone any notion that these means of subsistence might have preceded herding:

> We may take it for granted that pastoralism, or more generally a migratory life, is the first form of maintaining existence, the tribe not settling in a fixed place but using up what it finds locally and then passing on.

(Marx 1964 [written 1857–8]:68)

In Marx's view, the tribal community precedes the appropriation of the soil, but it is not a foraging community. His idea of "primitive communism" indeed seems to imply more an agricultural community than any other kind.

On this question, Friedrich Engels followed Lewis Henry Morgan rather than Karl Marx. Morgan divided culture into three stages: savagery, barbarism, and civilization. All hunter-gatherers were classified as belonging to the savage stage, which itself was divided into three phases. *Lower savagery* was characterized by the gathering of fruit, nuts, and roots. Its exponents were not themselves hunters, but were the prey of large animals, and thus, for safety, they lived partly in the trees. Engels believed that the phase may have lasted thousands of years and was marked by the development of language. No examples of lower savagery remained in Engels' time or in the historical record. *Middle savagery* began with fish-eating and the use of fire. The utilization of fish enabled humans to leave their home territories and migrate along the coasts and rivers. With the invention of the first stone weapons, game could be added to fish, but hunting remained less reliable than fishing as a source of food. Engels cited the Australian Aborigines and (incorrectly) the Polynesians as living exponents of this stage. Finally, *upper savagery* began with the invention of the bow and arrow. This made hunting possible as a regular source of food. Engels noted that those in this stage, including some North American Indians, have sophisticated stone tools, baskets, and wooden implements. They were able to settle in villages and, importantly, to gain control over their subsistence. Yet the domestication of plants and animals in this scheme becomes possible only with barbarism, which is dated from the origin of pottery. (Engels 1972 [1884]:87–9.)

Although suggested earlier in France, the three-age theory in archaeology (Stone, Bronze, and Iron) was first systematically propagated, *c*. 1836, in Denmark by Christian Jürgensen Thomsen and his followers. For our purposes, the key figure was Sven Nilsson (1868 [1862]), who translated these three ages into four subsistence strategies reminiscent of those heralded by the Scots nearly a century earlier: those of the savage, the herdsman or nomad, the agriculturist, and civilization. Like the Scots, he also anticipated a number of twentieth-century ideas, including again Woodburn's notion of immediate-return economies: "The *savage* has few other than material wants, and these he endeavours to satisfy only for the moment…He thinks and acts only for the day which *is*, not for the day which is *coming*" (Nilsson 1868 [1862]:lxiv–lxv). Nilsson argued for "comparative ethnology" and used ethnographic analogy extensively, but nevertheless he remained enthralled by the problem of "giants" and "pigmies."

Peter Kropotkin, the Russian anarchist, commented on the social organization of hunter-gatherers in the course of disputing the Social Darwinists (see below), arguing that mutual aid, not mutual struggle, is the positive essence of the Darwinian message (1987 [1902]:74–101). Kropotkin did not sharply distinguish between hunters and herders, but the majority of the "savage" peoples he considered were certainly hunter-gatherers. He believed that human society pre-dated the origin of clans, which itself pre-dated the origin of both polygamous and monogamous families. He attacked those who believed that living hunter-gatherers were degenerate groups who had formerly been "civilized," arguing instead that they represented the fundamental human society whose practice of mutual aid stood within a system of primitive communism.

Theories of stagnation, degeneration, and diffusion

British sociologist Herbert Spencer (1972 [1876]: 148–65) classified societies according to "degree of composition" (simple, compound, or doubly compound) and "type" (militant or industrial). The former classification was based on social stratification. He classified most hunting and gathering societies, but few pastoral or agricultural ones, as "simple." Within this category, societies were subdivided first according to the stability of the headship of social units, and secondly according to whether groups were nomadic, semi-settled, or settled. Interestingly, his classification predicted certain features of twentieth-century typologies, such as the work of Elman Service (1962), in that it was based on political organization more than on subsistence. Spencer referred at times to "hunting" societies, but his description might better be characterized by the twentieth-century term "band" societies. While Spencer's fame rests partly on his ardent evolutionism and supposed "Social Darwinism" (he was actually a Lamarckian), it was his functionalism which came to the fore in his treatment of these band societies; he believed that their sociopolitical organization was adapted to their continued survival.

The American Social Darwinists W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller (1927) cited the social organization of Australian Aborigines and African Bushmen as prototypical examples of "primitive atomism":

> their members harbor sentiments toward outsiders and even toward each other that cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be interpreted as brotherly…[T]hey are full of hostility, suspicion, and other anti-social feelings and habits.
>
> (Sumner and Keller 1927:16)

They perceived primitive atomism as lower, even, than "the collection stage" or "the hunting stage," the latter characterized by possession of weapons and an increase in population—precedents to pastoral and agricultural phases of subsistence activity. The only hierarchy in the "lower" stages was that of gender: "There is little place for slavery in the hunting economy; the man—woman differentiation is adequate…" (1927:224). Sumner and Keller (1927:269–70) also noted that private property is the simplest form, but that the most "primitive" peoples have communal ownership, for example, of food, with potential food classed as "non-property."

By the end of the nineteenth century, ethnographic descriptions of hunter-gatherers, especially Australian Aborigines, were well known to European scholars, who made use of them to suit their own ends. Sigmund Freud's (1960 [1913]:1–2) vision of hunter-gatherers was epitomized by descriptions of Australian Aborigines as "the most backward and miserable of savages," who did not build permanent houses, kept only the dog as a domesticated animal, could not make pottery, had no chiefs, and had no beliefs in or worship of higher beings. They had only totemism, which was, of course, the focus of his interest in them, as indeed it was the major preoccupation of Emile Durkheim, Sir James Frazer, and much anthropological thinking of the time.

German—Austrian diffusionists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries tended to see hunter-gatherers, typically either Tasmanians or African Pygmies, as the earliest "culture circle" which long ago expanded across the globe. Ironically, the British diffusionists regarded hunting and gathering as primeval, with the first spread of culture taking place after the invention of agriculture.

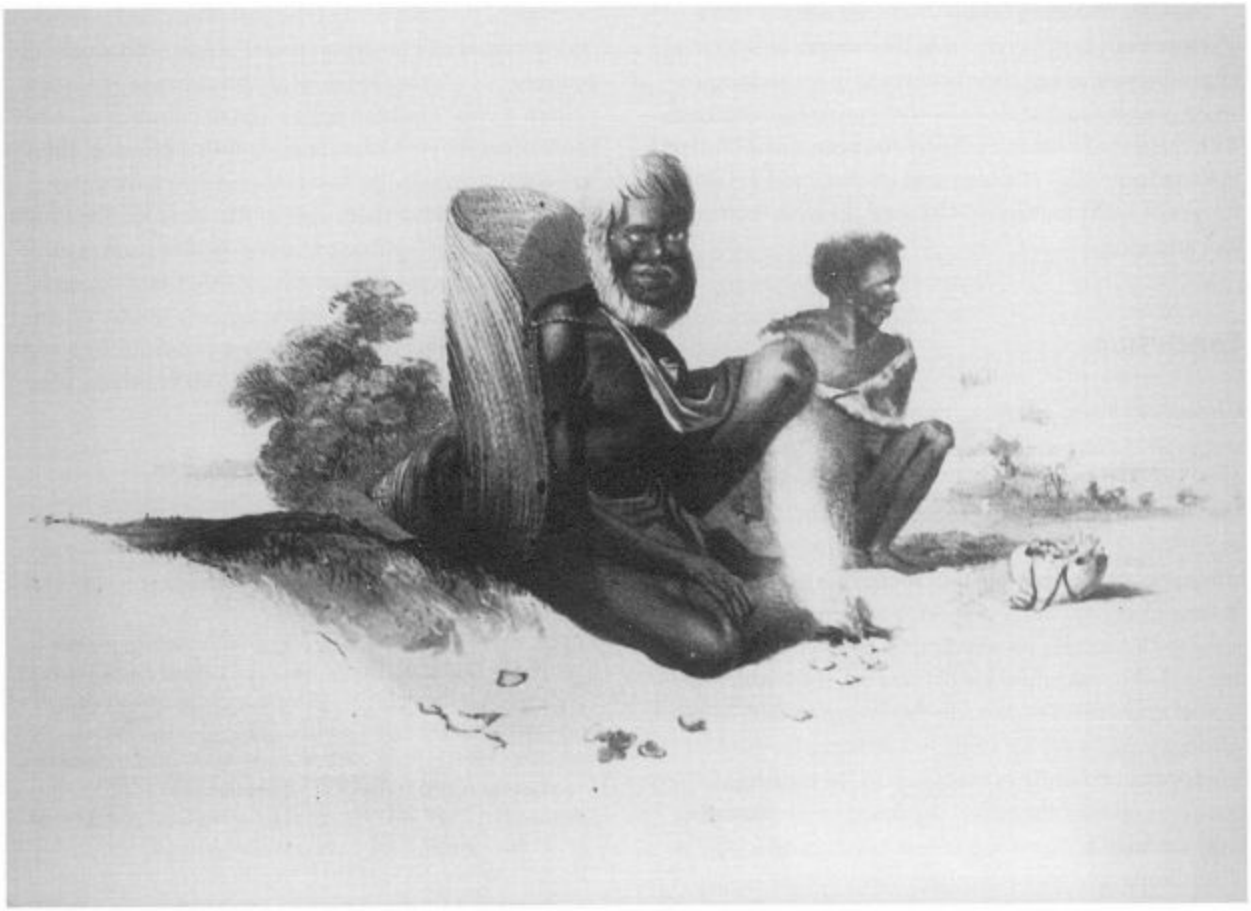
Ironically too, in emphasizing other aspects of culture over subsistence, even W. J. Perry (1923:5) anticipated the late twentieth-century "revisionist" notion that existing hunter-gatherers are all strongly influenced by non-hunting-and-gathering cultures (e.g., Wilmsen 1989). If today's "out-of-Africa" hypothesis resembles the Continental diffusionism of, for example, Father Wilhelm Schmidt, "revisionism" is simply a restatement of the more extreme British diffusionist premises of Perry and Sir Grafton Elliot Smith.

Hunter-gatherers in late twentieth-century thought

To some present-day ethologists and sociobiologists (inheritors of the Darwinian, and indeed Social Darwinist, mantle), hunter-gatherers are but better exemplars of human nature than the rest of humankind:

> Some primitive human societies that depend on hunting and gathering of patchily distributed resources form casual societies not unlike the chimpanzee model…Groups form and divide in a very loose manner to make the fullest use of food discoveries.
>
> (Wilson 1980 [1975]:72)

This argument ignores the fact that human hunter-gathers, in spite of subsistence similarities with non-human foragers, have rich cultures, very little of which can be explained in subsistence terms. And, taking the sociological model seriously, we would have to accept that other human societies should also be influenced by genetic propensities, and thus that hunter-gatherers may not be much better exemplars than other kinds of societies.



101 Ngarrindjeri. An old man and his granddaughter, from the Milmendura Tangani Clan of the Coorong region, South Australia. Note human skull receptacle. From G. F. Angus, *South Australia Illustrated* (1847). Courtesy of the Berndt Museum of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, P18644.

Yet when Lee and DeVore (1968:ix) wrote that they could not avoid the sentiment that "many of us were led to live and work among the hunters because of a feeling that the human condition was likely to be more clearly drawn here than among other kinds of societies," they were speaking for many late twentieth-century researchers, of whatever theoretical persuasion. At the same time, subsistence was gradually giving way, within anthropology, to political concerns associated with subsistence strategies, with hunter-gatherers being designated as those living in "band societies." Some called them foragers, with reference to the casual nature of many hunting and gathering activities, while others objected, arguing the intentionality of human endeavors places hunter-gatherer societies beyond mere foraging or predation (see Ingold 1986:79–100, and this volume). Some tried to narrow the focus of interest, in classifying only some hunter-gatherers as having immediate-return (as opposed to delayed-return) systems, while others broadened it to liken hunter-gatherers to small-scale cultivators and herders. Some, reversing Hegel's speculations on "savages," saw the primary characteristic of hunter-gatherers as one of mind: living in conscious harmony with their "giving" environments; still others saw them as exploiters, or as exploited by their non-hunter-gatherer neighbors. Arguments about the degree of contact recent hunter-gatherers had with other cultures took prominence, and were allowed to do so, I believe, because of an exaggerated idea that hunting and gathering societies are fragile, and that "pure" hunter-gatherers are substantively different from part-time ones.

The later twentieth century has seen debates about whether hunter-gatherers embody a single, unique mode of production, about their usefulness in archaeological analogy, and about their enhanced goodness compared with the rest of humanity. There has been special interest in their knowledge of plants and animals, and, on the fringes of anthropology and beyond them, in their spiritual knowledge.

Conclusion

Changes in European thought on foraging societies have not been as great over the last three and a half centuries as recent commentators have implied. A positive idea of the "hunter-gatherer" (as opposed to humanity in a state of nature, or without agriculture) remains rare in the chronicles of modern Western social thought. In any era, diverse understandings of hunter-gatherers have reflected a complex set of relations between an author, the author's contemporary opponents, and his/her intellectual ancestors. Disclaimers that living hunter-gatherers are useful for study but different from primordial humanity existed even in the eighteenth century, and hypothetical (as opposed to ethnographically attested) foragers are almost as common today. Evolutionist and (opposing) degenerativist or relativist theories have coexisted in several periods; the debates of the late twentieth century echo those of both seventeenth-and nineteenth-century writers.

Seventeenth-century writers were interested not in ethnographically attested peoples but rather in an imagined state of nature, where hunting and gathering were the presumed means of subsistence; subsistence itself was of little concern to European thinkers. Nevertheless, with hindsight, it is

reasonable for us to view their emphasis on egalitarianism and sharing or, contradictorily, on individual and small-group rivalry as placing such thinkers within a very broad "hunter-gatherer-ist" anthropological tradition.

Classic ethnographic descriptions of eighteenth-century "savages" were rarely of hunter-gatherers. Peter Kolb's Khoikhoi were herders. Lafitau's Iroquois were cultivators. Louis Antoine de Bougainville's and James Cook's Pacific Islanders practiced both cultivation and the domestication of animals. Philosophers like Rousseau, Herder, and Denis Diderot based their notions of "savage" life on these, and on speculations about the state of nature. Neither the existence of hunter-gatherers nor the activities of hunting and gathering figured strongly in their consciousness. The first to consider these things was probably Montesquieu, followed shortly and most effectively by his admirers in late eighteenth-century Scotland.

In the late twentieth century, we preserve or resurrect a number of theories held in the past. The debates today on the nature of humanity (social versus individual), on economics (whether foragers are primitive capitalists or primitive communists), nature versus culture, etc., echo those of recent centuries. There is now a growing interest in what hunters and gatherers themselves have to say about the nature of their ways of life. Here lies the future of European perceptions of hunter-gatherers. It is, and will be, all too often Europeans (or other non-foragers) who manage to choose which foragers to quote. When the day comes that foragers, or their grandchildren, read the works of Hobbes, Rousseau, and Marx, which, if any, will they cite?

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II.I.2

Archaeology and evolution of hunters and gatherers

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The history of modern hunters and gatherers is as long as the history of any human group or way of life. The following account describes a legacy common to all of humanity and not just to the subjects of this Encyclopedia.

Much of what we think of as "human" properties exist among chimpanzees today. The idea of hunting and foraging was probably already embedded in the social life of our non-human primate ancestors before they walked on two legs. Plant foods predominate in the diet of the great apes. As one moves away from the equatorial regions, access to above-ground plant foods may be seasonal, but in the tropics there are usually above-ground plant foods available most of the year; moreover, as Vincent (1985) has demonstrated, the high productivity of underground plants, such as tubers in the savannah areas of East Africa, could have sustained a foraging population through most of the year. Chimps today have a "mental" map of where plant foods are to be found. Such "mapping" may have been more developed in early humans, giving them the ability to locate and keep track of the availability of underground plants, as well as of sources of scavengeable meat in the form of large ungulate carcasses. Modern chimps will also eat meat, by seizing young animals or otherwise hunting. Their main prey are Colobus monkeys, which are hunted in a communally organized campaign that often involves both males and females, although males usually do the actual killing. One author suggests that male chimps use the meat to solidify political bonds and obtain access to sexually receptive females (Stanford 1995). Meat-eating is a consistent and widespread activity, observed in such diverse locales as the Tai Forest of Ivory Coast and the Gombe Reserve in Tanzania, and would indicate that hunting of smaller animals by chimps may have considerable antiquity (Boesch and Boesch 1989). It is obvious, however, that access to meat is somewhat irregular, and it ought not to be considered a major part of the diet (Foley 1987:143).

Our hominid ancestors, prior to 2.5 million years ago, probably had physical and mental restrictions similar to those of chimps today: they would have been small in size and relatively slow moving, and needed places of refuge from larger predators. Beginning from the period 2.5 million years ago, we start to find stone tools associated with the bones of larger animals. This roughly coincides with the appearance of the genus *Homo*, and it is the first evidence of human cultural activity. However, this does not mean that the larger animals were hunted; it is probable that meat was obtained by scavenging from the kills of large predators. Taphonomic studies of lion kills in the Serengeti suggest that riparian woodland areas would have allowed sufficient protection and

sanctuary for hominids who could escape up trees. It is in these areas that there is most evidence of carcasses. There would have been less competition here from the hyenas that dominate the scavenging niche of the open plains. It is possible mat scavenging for meat was an important dry-season activity when fewer above-ground plant foods were available (Blumenschine and Cavallo 1992).

Important at this stage of human development was the fact that the exploitation of the larger and deeper tubers would have required some form of digging implement. Stone tools took the place of powerful jaws and allowed hominids to rip open a carcass, as well as to crush the leg bones to extract marrow, or the skull to extract the brain. Hence, early humans should be considered in relation to the other carnivores in the environment, as part of what Milo (1994) calls carnivore "guilds" which formed a larger predatory system, with each member having a considerable adaptive overlap with the others.

The archaeological record reveals a significant shift in the ability of early humans by 1.5 million years ago. *Homo erectus* made the first recognizable bone digging tools, found at Swartkrans in South Africa. These tools are striated, which suggests they were used to extract underground plant foods. *Homo erectus* also developed a more sophisticated stone tool kit, called the Acheulean. In this industry, we find the repeated fabrication of handaxes and cleavers, a fact that indicates an important abstract threshold had been crossed. The handaxe maker would have had in mind a template which allowed him to envision the tool before he began to remove flakes from the core. This same mental ability presumably went along with important communication skills that are embedded in complex social organization. Beginning 1 million years ago, *Homo erectus* spread from Africa to Europe (where handaxes have also been found) and to eastern Asia and Southeast Asia (where the handaxe culture is missing, and where stone tools are found in the form of chopping implements). The line separating the two stone tool industries geographically is referred to as the Movius Line, roughly in the vicinity of modern Bangladesh. Occupation of more northerly latitudes, however, may have had less to do with increased ability of Middle Pleistocene humans and more to do with changes within the large carnivore guilds. According to Turner (1992), there were considerable changes in the large carnivore species, particularly hyenas, during the Middle Pleistocene of Europe. This may have reduced scavenging opportunities of early humans until the guild changed and resembled that of East Africa today.

Map 16 Archaeological sites in the Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers

The large animal bones from Acheulean sites show many more meat-bearing body parts, indicating that *H. erectus was* a more efficient scavenger (Shipman 1983). Evidence from late Acheulean sites, such as Schöningen in Germany, where wooden spears associated with thousands of horse bones have been dated to 400,000 BP, indicates that hunting of large game may well have taken place (Dennell 1997). At Torralba and Ambrona in Spain, evidence dated to around 300,000 BP, suggests that these early people dismembered the carcasses of elephants which were bogged down in swampy terrain (Shipman and Rose 1983). Larger amounts of meat suggest a surplus that would have been socially distributed. Glynn Isaac (1978) has offered a theory about an important feedback mechanism which could have taken place in human development. This revolved around a central-place sharing locus where communal activities would have taken place. This successful meat-acquiring and distribution strategy probably developed over a million years with the possibility that the early hominids were able to outcompete even the prime predator, sabre-toothed cats, leading to the latter's extinction in Europe by 500,000 BP. If this was indeed the case, it would have been further impetus for hominids to develop the technology to bring down the big game themselves.

The earliest compound ballistic tools are probably the spear points which appear in the Middle Stone Age of Africa or the Middle Palaeolithic of Eurasia about 150,000–200,000 years ago. This came about through another change in technology: the development of the Levallois or prepared core technique that started to appear in the later Acheulean industries. Once again the envisioned end-product must already have existed as a mental template, as a conceptualization, but now mapping was paired with the flint-knapping skills that prepared the core before knocking off the desired flake: a

Mousterian point, which could be hafted to a wooden shaft and used as a stabbing or throwing weapon.

The producers of this industry were an archaic form of *Homo sapiens*, found at such sites as Klasies River Mouth (KRM), South Africa. There is considerable disagreement among faunal specialists as to whether humans were actually hunting or scavenging at this time. Binford (1984) is convinced that the body part representation of large bovids from KRM, mainly head and foot bones, indicates scavenging. Klein (1986) disagrees. He looked at the age-profile of the eland from the site and suggested that it contains roughly the same proportion of prime-age adults that one would find in a stable live population. By contrast, prime-age adult bones are missing from the buffalo remains, and since the very young and the old animals would have been the most common carcasses in the landscape, the accumulation of buffalo bones could have been the result of scavenging, as opposed to the intentional hunting of eland. Klein suggests the latter could have been killed by driving whole herds over cliffs, a process that Shipman (1983) calls a strategy of targeting a single species.

An example of such targeting can be seen in the Mousterian hunting tradition of the Russian steppes where, over 40,000 years ago, people were moving into colder latitudes and hunting woolly mammoths. The archaeological evidence for this comes from the shelters of these hunters. In this treeless environment, shelters were made from the bones of the mammoths, carefully arranged, then covered with skins to keep out the bitter Siberian winds (Klein 1974).

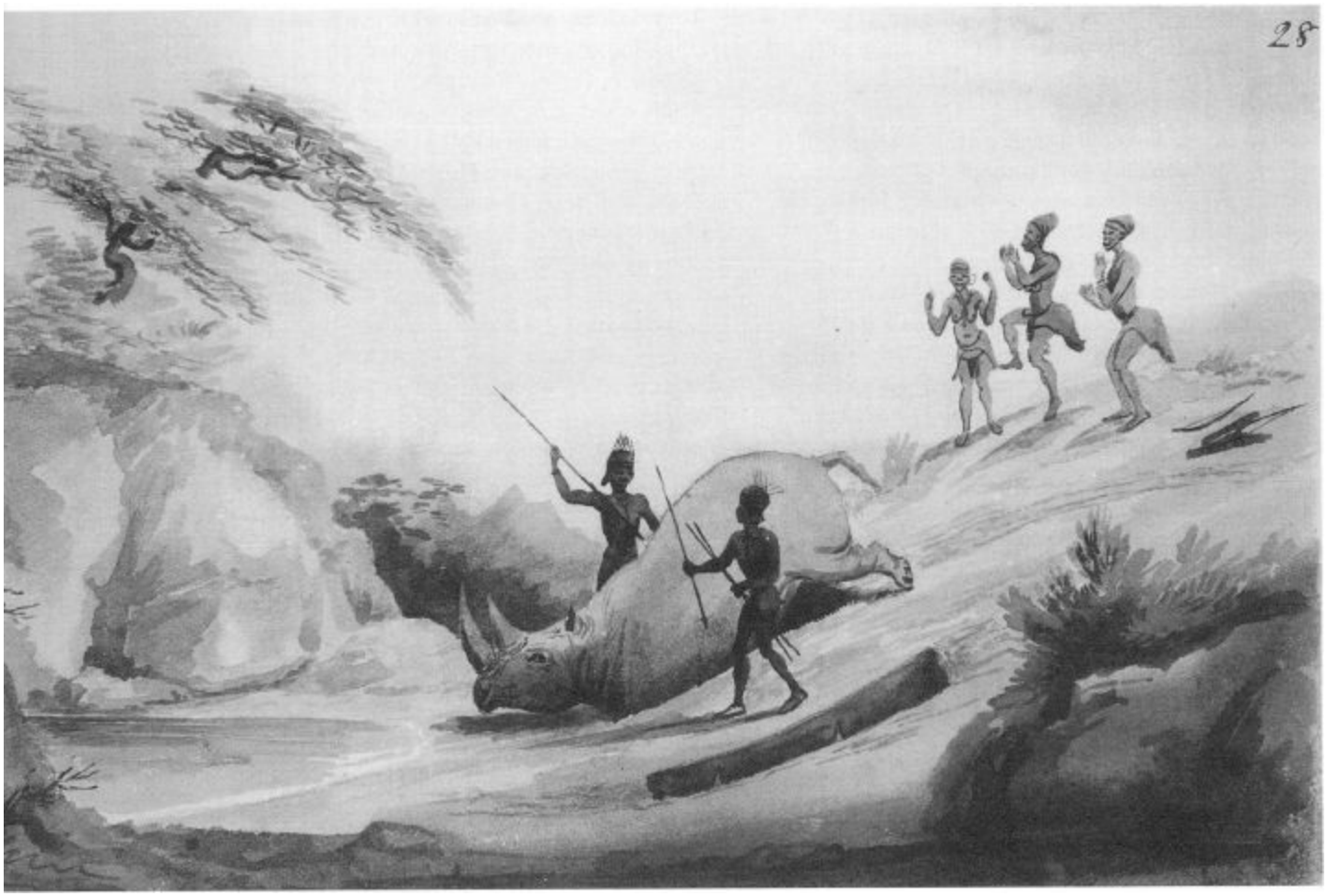
Occupation of Australia was relatively late. The earliest undisputed evidence for humans on the continent is dated to only 33,000 years ago, but there is a general belief that people lived there much earlier (many sites would have been inundated by rising sea levels). By 70,000 years ago the technology of simple bamboo rafts could have been used by people crossing the 130 km of open water between Indonesia and the palaeocontinent of Sahul (existing when Australia and New Guinea were joined, and, from trapping ocean waters in the polar ice caps, caused a drop in sea level of over 100 m). The human population of Australia was never very great, possibly because vast expanses supported only a low animal and plant biomass. Although there were changes in the stone tool technology through time (White and O'Connell 1982) it never seems to have reached the sophistication found elsewhere in the world. Instead, other aspects of hunting technology were developed, such as the boomerang and atlatl (spear-thrower), but these were never ubiquitous, and there never was an Australian bow and arrow. In spite of the low population density, Aboriginal colonization of Australia was quite successful, as indicated by the depletion, attributed to human agency, of the Pleistocene megafauna of the continent.

Hunting large game is a dangerous business at the best of times, but without power weapons it would have been successful only through communal effort, either by driving the animals, or digging pitfalls and killing those wounded. The ability of the individual hunter to select and stalk, and then immobilize, prey bigger than himself would have been possible only with ballistic weapons. Even hunting with a spear is very dangerous, since the hunter must approach within throwing distance. It is only with the appearance of *Homo sapiens sapiens* that other techniques were developed that allowed the successful small-group or solitary hunting of large ungulates. Such techniques included the bow and arrow and the spear-thrower. Here we come up against the archaeological problem of when the bow and arrow were first invented. Some people see the development of the microlithic stone tools of Europe and Africa as the technology which enabled the making of arrow points. If this was the case, we could push back the stone-tipped arrow to close to the limits of radiocarbon dating

(i.e., 45,000 years ago) at Umhlatuzana Rock Shelter in Natal, South Africa (Kaplan 1989), considerably earlier than the suggested evidence for bows in the late Solutrean of Spain, dated to 17,000 BP, or the Ahrensburgian of Germany, dated to *c*. 10,500 BP (Clark 1963).

An alternative view suggests that the introduction of the bow and arrow was a late phenomenon, especially as the earliest direct evidence of a bow is from Holmegaard in Denmark, *c*.8000 BP. The antiquity of the use of poisons on arrows is also uncertain, although it would appear that they are associated with the three-piece compound arrow—bone point, link shaft, and reed main shaft (Deacon 1984)—which probably dates back about 8000 years (see Noli 1992 for discussion). This does not exclude the possibility that more powerful fully recurved bows were used earlier, as indicated in the rock art of southern Africa (Manhire *et al*, 1985).

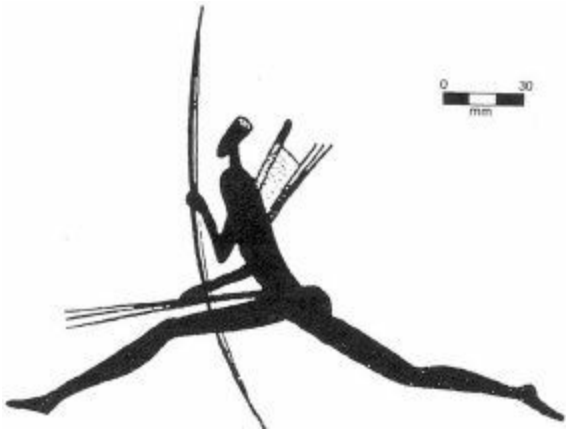
There can be little doubt that the Late Stone Age hunters of southern Africa were much more efficient than their Middle Stone Age counterparts. The large faunal assemblages of Klasies River Mouth (MSA) and Nelson Bay Cave (LSA) (Klein 1989) have demonstrated the shift from eland and buffalo hunting to buffalo and bushpig hunting. Klein attributes this charge to the surmounting of the greater difficulty and danger of bushpig hunting by superior hunting technology. Klein assumes this technology was the bow and arrow (1989:322).



102 "Bushman's methods of catching in pitfalls," *c*. 1830. Courtesy of the Bell Heritage Trust Collection, University of Cape Town, c 29.

After the glacial maximum of 18,000 BP, conditions in Europe began to change radically as the ice sheets covering much of the continent receded. Lake and river environments were created, which offered new ecological niches for Mesolithic humans. As the habitats changed, deer hunting emerged

in western Europe and gazelle or Barbary sheep hunting in the Near East and North Africa, as these animals began to replace the cold-adapted Late Pleistocene megafauna. This was the beginning of the creative period of the Upper Palaeolithic when *Homo sapiens sapiens* in Europe (Cro-Magnon) depicted art and religion on the rock walls of caves in southern France and northern Spain. There was a move toward the exploitation of smaller "packages," for example aquatic mammals and fish, shellfish (and marine life generally), and grass seeds, with people using waterways as communication routes. At Star Carr in Yorkshire, England, dated to *c*. 9000 BP, a paddle has been found. The site was located on the edge of a swampy area across which a jetty had been built for access to the deeper water, presumably for canoe use.



103 Bushman rock painting of a hunter with his bow, from Ha Baroana, Lesotho. From Yates, Parkington and Manhire 1990: 16.

By 12,000 BP, humans had occupied all the world's landmasses. Despite a great deal of controversy, there is little evidence that humans were in the Americas until after the last glacial maximum. When the sea level dropped a land bridge was formed in die Bering Strait between Siberia and Alaska and a corridor was opened between the Laurentide and Cordilleran glaciers. Hunting people moved across, presumably following the megafauna, such as woolly mammoth, rhino, and giant elk, which they hunted to such an extent that they may well have been partly responsible for the extinction of these species in North America (Martin and Klein 1984; Owen-Smith 1987). With the retreat of the glaciers at the end of the Pleistocene, the open grassland plains of North America were exploited by hunters focusing on the large herds of buffalo. These animals were driven over cliffs in large numbers, and butchered *in situ*. One such site, Olsen-Chubbock in Colorado, dated to *c*. 8000 BP, contained the bones of 200 animals of all ages (Frison 1992).

Elsewhere in the world the intensification of use of resources at the end of the Pleistocene, *c*. 12,000 BP, heralded new experiments in the food quest. In the Near East, hunters intercepted the migration routes of gazelles, trapping them in large numbers in desert "kites" (walled enclosures into which the animals were driven). In this way, large amounts of seasonal meat could be obtained. At the site of Abu Hureyra in Syria, for example, the period 11,000–8500 BP showed a faunal component of 80 percent gazelles as against 10 percent sheep and goats. By 8000 BP this frequency had been reversed to 80 percent ovicaprids and less than 20 percent gazelles. Legge and Rowley-Conwy (1987) suggest the shift was due to overexploitation of the gazelles, and replacement by early domesticated animals.

During this same period, the Natufian fisher-gatherers of the coastal plain of the Levant adopted

increasing sedentism, with the result that the wild grass seeds (wheat and barley) which they were harvesting became the basis of controlled genetic experiments to produce higher yields. This manipulation can be called domestication (Hillman *et al*. 1990, Henry 1989).

Similarly, in Meso-America *c*. 7000 BP, a significant shift in resource management resulted in economic changes; deer hunting and the collection of a wide range of seasonal plants gave way to a much more restricted economy based on maize cultivation. It has been suggested, following a study of modern Zapotec farmers, that maize cultivation had the effect of removing large tracts of the mesquite which provided sanctuary for deer (Flannery 1986). This diminished habitat, with increasing human populations in the Oaxaca valley, led to exploitation of deer beyond sustainable reproduction, with the result that people had to rely on rabbits and ultimately small dogs for animal protein, or on beans for plant protein.

The important question to ask at this point is, if hunting and gathering was so successful for so long, why domesticate? There is no simple answer to this. From the available evidence, we can surmise that the intensification of use of resources allowed the environment to support larger populations in various parts of the world, and that, with larger numbers of people in denser concentrations, new methods of food procurement became necessary to maintain energy levels: either changes in technology or changes in the relationship between humans and plants/animals.

In large areas of the Near East (including North Africa), Meso-America, and southern China/Thailand, food-producing societies developed independently of hunting-foraging people, who still continued their old way of life. This meant that there was the potential for hunters and food producers to live side by side. In fact we know this to have been the case, with each society offering the benefits of its production for exchange with the other, for example hunters provided game meat and honey in exchange for domestic grains, This situation has been recorded historically in South and Southeast Asia and elsewhere. There may well have been more than just purely economic exchange. There are historic examples of the San in the foothills of the Lesotho mountains serving an important rain-making function for their Bantu-speaking agricultural neighbors (Jolly 1996). At the same time, where game was still freely available, farming people would continue to hunt, although the larger game would quickly become depleted around settled communities.

For the last 2000 years right up to the beginning of the colonial period, the archaeological record in the southwestern Cape, South Africa shows that hunters and herders occupied different types of sites, although at the coast they both exploited marine resources. The herding people occupied large open-air sites and targeted seals as a source both of food and of fat used as a body coating (Patrick *et al*. 1985), while the hunters used small rock shelters or overhangs where available (Smith *et al*. 1991). This maybe an indicator of differences in group size. Historic information on the interaction between the two economic groups indicates that, on the one hand, stock theft by hunters often strained relations, but on the other, cooperation between the groups was common, as can be seen in this quotation from a Dutch journal entry for September 16, 1685: “these Sonquas are just the same as the poor in Europe, each tribe of Hottentots having some of them and employing them to bring news of the approach of a strange tribe. They steal nothing from the kraals of their employers, but regularly from other kraals…possessing nothing…except what they acquire by theft” (Waterhouse 1932:122). Here we see an example of a social hierarchy between hunters (Sonqua/San) and herders (Hottentot/Khoekhoen).

By AD 1500, on the eve of European expansion, hunter-gatherers still occupied almost one-third

of the world's landmass, including all of Australia, the north-western half of North America, and the southern part of South America, as well as smaller parts of sub-Saharan Africa and south, southeast, and northeast Asia. Food producing societies continued to expand into the more productive areas of the world, where the best soils could be farmed or could support herds of domestic animals, or where there was easy access to water (dependable rainfall or permanent rivers). The result was that the remaining hunters were often marginalized—living on the edges of farming societies, and seen as "Other." One reason for this would have been the potential for greater political complexity and military power among farmers and herders, making it difficult for the hunters to compete. Increasingly, hunters were only able to survive independently in those areas of less value to food producers, such as areas of low or unpredictable rainfall, dense tropical forest, or frozen Arctic wastes. It is obviously possible for hunters to become food producers and to start to take on responsibility for plants or animals, but the difficulties of overcoming cultural tradition should not be underestimated, particularly if the hunters become locked into hierarchies which make it difficult to compete for status and to cross cultural divides.

Nineteenth-and twentieth-century information on the relationship of hunters to herders shows just how extreme this marginalization had become. The Solubba hunters of Arabia were considered almost subhuman by their Bedouin neighbors, although they were feared for their mystical abilities in coping with the desert (Doughty 1927). On the southern edges of the Sahara the Nemadi hunters still eked out an existence until the 1950s, very much on the edge of the more dominant herding societies of the former French Sudan (Gabus 1952).

On the other hand, eighteenth-century accounts by early voyagers to the Pacific Northwest Coast described complex social conditions among powerful and independent hunter-gatherers who were able to store surplus food and use it to gain status during ceremonial occasions (Suttles 1968). In southern Africa, hunter-foragers were able for several decades to fend off trekboer attempts to take over their land and waterholes (Giliomee 1979:340), until ultimately they were won over with gifts of livestock, to keep them from raiding farms.

In a number of areas, such as southern Africa, Australia, and the southwestern part of the United States, there is an unbroken record of occupation by hunter-gatherers down to the present. In these areas the tradition of rock art continued, if not to the present as in Australia, at least to the nineteenth century, as the last of the great parietal art traditions which existed in Europe as far back as 30,000 years ago (although the majority, such as the paintings at Lascaux in southern France, are Magdalenian, dating to between 17,000 and 10,000 BP). Recent interpretations of rock art, where there is an ethnographic record to back them up, indicate that the art was part of the ritual and beliefs that revolved around shamanism (Lewis-Williams 1981).

The hunting way of life was universal in the past, but most hunters became food-producers, and this required a significant shift in both social organization and the meaning of product and property. Some groups, like the Efe of Zaire, remained as hunters on the periphery of farming society, while others adapted, for example raising goats as a cash crop in the central Kalahari or herding reindeer in the Eurasian Arctic. What appears to define these groups as foragers is not purely their means of primary subsistence, but how they are organized socially, and their beliefs in how a product should be distributed.

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II.I.3

Hunter-gatherers and the mythology of the market

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Introduction

An irony of modern life is that, in spite of spectacular increases in material abundance and centuries of technological progress, hunter-gatherers, people who have lived with almost no material possessions, have enjoyed lives in many ways as satisfying and rewarding as lives led in the industrial North. Many hunter-gatherer societies have been affluent in the sense of having everything they needed. Ethnographic accounts of the Ju/'hoansi of Southern Africa, for example, show that members of that society had adequate diets, access to the means of making a living, and abundant leisure time (Lee 1993). They spent their leisure time eating, drinking, playing, and socializing—in short, doing the very things associated with affluence. Many hunter-gatherer societies have also enjoyed a great amount of personal freedom. Among the !Kung, and the Hadza of Tanzania, for example, there were either no leaders at all, or temporary leaders whose authority was severely constrained. These societies had no social classes and arguably no discrimination based on gender. Their ways of living and ways of collective decision-making allowed them to survive and thrive for tens of thousands of years in equilibrium with their environment, without destroying the resources upon which their economies were based.

The more we learn about hunter-gatherers, the more we realize that the cultural beliefs surrounding modern market capitalism do not reflect universal "human nature." Assumptions about human behavior that members of market societies believe to be universal, that humans are naturally competitive and acquisitive, and that social stratification is natural, do not apply to many hunter-gatherer peoples. The dominant school of economic theory in the industrialized world, neoclassical economics, holds these attributes to be essential for economic advancement and affluence. It is true that hunter-gatherer societies show a wide variety of patterns of culture, some less egalitarian and some less "affluent" in Sahlins' (1972) use of the term. Yet the very existence of societies living adequately, even happily, with no industry, no agriculture, and few material possessions offers a challenge to the concept of human nature held by most economists.

The mythology of the market

Economics is defined in most textbooks as "the study of the allocation of scarce resources among alternative ends." Humans, it is said, have unlimited wants and limited means to satisfy these wants,

so the inevitable result is scarcity. We cannot have everything we want, so we must choose what we would have. Every act of consumption is thus also an act of denial. The more we consume, the more we are deprived. In this dismal state of affairs, our job as economic beings is to allocate our limited incomes so as to get the greatest enjoyment possible from the relatively few things we are able to buy.

The cultural beliefs supporting industrial capitalism serve to justify the peculiar relationship which has recently evolved among humans, and between humans and the rest of the world. Central to this belief system is the notion of "economic man." This "man" is naturally acquisitive, competitive, rational, calculating, and forever looking for ways to improve his material well-being. Today those of us in the industrial North hardly recognize the idea of economic man as a cultural belief, as opposed to a universal fact, because it accurately describes most of us. We ration our time from an early age to get the training we need to earn an income; we carefully allocate this income among the dizzying array of goods and services available in the marketplace. We may joke about the irrationality of our species but we all believe deep down that we personally are fairly rational and consistent in the choices we make. We believe that to want more and more things is a natural human attribute. We value the individual above society. Competition and expansion, not cooperation and stability, describe the rules by which our economic world operates. We are all now economic persons. We have limited resources (incomes) and a very long list of things we would like to have.

Neoclassical economic theory contains more than a set of beliefs about human nature. It is also an ideology justifying the existing economic organization, resource use, and distribution of wealth (Gowdy and O'Hara 1995). This belief system sees class divisions as inevitable and sees nature as a collection of "natural resources" to be used to fuel the engine of economic growth and technological progress. The inequality of the distribution of goods among individuals in a capitalist economy is justified according to the "marginal productivity theory of distribution." Workers are rewarded according to their contribution to total economic output. For example, if a firm hires one more worker and the value of the output of the firm goes up by $100 a day (including economic profit), the daily wage of that worker should be $100. Those who add more to the total economic product of society should receive a greater share than those who add a smaller amount. Economists argue further that competition guarantees the outcome that wages are equal to the value of the marginal product of labor. The ideological implication of marginal productivity theory is that in a competitive economy all workers tend to be paid what they deserve.

In the neoclassical economic theory of market exchange, the historical and social circumstances that enable one person to produce more than another are not considered. Inherited wealth, for example, gives a person access to more capital, and so his or her marginal product will generally be higher than that of a person born into less privileged circumstances. In general, a person with more education—again, usually because of family circumstances—will have a higher marginal product and thus a higher income than one who is less educated. Neoclassical theory sees individuals as isolated producers and isolated consumers of market goods, competing with one another for scarce resources. One's value as an individual is largely a function of economic success, of accumulating (and consuming) more wealth than does one's neighbor.

The view of human nature embedded in neoclassical economic theory is an anomaly among human cultures. In fact, the basic organizing principle of our market economy—that humans are driven by greed and the promise that more is always better than less—is only one way of approaching the economic problem of how to make a living. Many cultures have very different ways of organizing

production and distribution. Among the Hadza, for example, there are elaborate rules to ensure that all meat is equally shared. Hoarding, or even having a greater share than others, is socially unacceptable. Apart from personal items, such as tools, weapons, or smoking pipes, there are sanctions against accumulating possessions. Furthermore, because of the constant mobility of hunter-gatherers, possessions are a nuisance. According to Woodburn (1982), among the !Kung and Hadza, hoarding food when another person is hungry would be unthinkable. The hunter-gatherer represents "uneconomic man" (Sahlins 1972:13).

Hunter-gatherers give us an opportunity to glimpse human nature in a much different form, before it was guided by market relationships and modern ideas of individualism. There may be socially constructed limits within the present framework of our industrial economy to cooperating, reducing consumption, and in general living sustainably; but knowing that for almost all of human history these limits did not exist, it is impossible to conclude that there is something "natural" about them. The mere existence, and in particular the success, of hunter-gatherer societies proves that there are many highly successful ways of organizing production and distribution other than through competitive markets.

Hunter-gatherers as a challenge to economic orthodoxy

The most important challenges to economic orthodoxy that come from the descriptions of life in hunter-gatherer societies are that (1) the economic notion of scarcity is a social construct, not an inherent property of human existence, (2) the separation of work from social life is not a necessary characteristic of economic production, (3) the linking of individual well-being to individual production is not a necessary characteristic of economic organization, (4) selfishness and acquisitiveness are aspects of human nature, but not necessarily the dominant ones, and (5) inequality based on class and gender is not a necessary characteristic of human society.

Scarcity

The notion of scarcity is largely a social construct, not a necessary characteristic of human existence or human nature. Hunter-gatherers may be considered affluent because they achieve a balance between means and ends by having everything they need and wanting little more. Asked why he did not plant crops a !Kung man replied: "Why should we plant when there are so many mongongo nuts in the world?" (Lee 1968:33). As a Ju/'hoansi song goes, "Those who work for a living, that's their problem!" (Lee 1993:39). Hunter-gatherers have few material possessions but much leisure time and, arguably, a richer social life than the "affluent" of the industrialized North. In contrast to many hunter-gatherer economies, the modern industrial system generates scarcity by creating unlimited wants. Consumers are addicted to a continual flow of consumer goods and feel continually deprived because addiction can never be satiated. In Sahlins' (1972:4) words: "Consumption is a double tragedy: what begins in inadequacy will end in deprivation." The modern world-wide addiction to material wealth threatens our psychological well-being as well as the biological and geophysical foundations of our economic system.

Productive activity

A second fact about hunter-gatherer life is that work is social and cooperative. Typically, "immediate return" hunter-gatherers (Barnard and Woodburn 1988, Testart 1982, Woodburn 1982), those with the simplest technology such as the Hadza and !Kung, spend only three or four hours per day occupied with what we would call economic activities. These activities include hunting a large number of animal species and gathering a large variety of plant material. Successful production depends on detailed knowledge about the characteristics and life histories of the plant and animal species upon which they depend for survival, not on capital equipment. Hunting and gathering is integrated with rituals, socialization, and artistic expression. The idea that earning a living is drudgery whose only purpose is to make it possible for us to live our "real" lives is not present in hunter-gatherer cultures.

Distribution

A third fact about hunter-gatherer economies also runs counter to the notion of economic man central to modern economic theory: no necessary connection exists between production by individuals and distribution to individuals. Economists argue that sharing has an economically rational basis (Frank 1994). The person we share our catch with today may feed us tomorrow when our luck or skill fails. In this view, sharing is a kind of insurance policy that rationally spreads the risk of not having anything to eat. Sharing in hunter-gatherer cultures, however, is much more profound than this. In many cultures at least, there is no connection between who produces and who receives the economic output. According to Woodburn (1982), for example, some members of the Hadza do virtually no work their entire lives. Many Hadza men gamble with spear points, and many are reluctant to hunt for fear of damaging their gambling "chips," yet these men continue to get their full share of the game animals killed. Although "freeloading" is always a potential problem in all cultures, disdain for those not engaged in productive activity is evidently a culturally specific emotion.

Distribution of meat among the Ju/'hoansi is a serious social event. Great care must be taken that the distribution is done exactly right. Lee (1993:50) writes: "Distribution is done with great care, according to a set of rules, arranging and rearranging the pieces for up to an hour so that each recipient will get the right proportion. Successful distributions are remembered with pleasure for weeks afterwards, while improper meat distributions can be the cause of bitter wrangling among close relatives." By contrast, the market system, by basing distribution on the isolated productivity of each individual, denies the social nature of production and at the same time fragments the social bonds that help hold other societies together.

Ownership and capital

Accounts by early European explorers and anthropologists indicate that sharing and a lack of concern with ownership of personal possessions are common characteristics of hunter-gatherers. Among the Hadza, the lack of private ownership of things also applies to the ownership of resources (Woodburn 1968). Attempts to characterize the relationship of some hunter-gatherers to the land as "ownership" may be a case of imposing Western concepts on people who have very different beliefs about the relationships between people and between humans and nature. Riches (1995) argues that the term "ownership" should be used only in cases where people are observed denying others the right to use particular resources. The mere act of asking permission may only be a social convention expressing

friendly intent and may not be an indication of "legal" control over a resource.

Many immediate return hunter-gatherers depend only on their bodies and intelligence to produce their daily sustenance. Mobility is paramount and physical capital is necessarily simple. Capital in a hunter-gatherer world is not a physical thing that can be manipulated and controlled, but rather knowledge that is shared and accessible to all (see the discussion in Veblen 1907). With this knowledge, hunter-gatherers can quickly construct their material culture. Turnbull (1965:19) writes of Pygmies of central Africa: "The materials for the making of shelter, clothing, and all other necessary items of material culture are all at hand at a moment's notice." Unlike the manufactured capital of industrial society, hunter-gatherer capital stock is knowledge that is freely given and impossible to control for individual advantage. Furthermore, the lack of preoccupation with acquiring material goods gives hunter-gatherers the freedom to enjoy life. Most of the lives of hunter-gatherers are not spent at a workplace away from friends and family but in talking, resting, sharing, and celebrating; in short, in being human. This is an ideal of modern Western society, expressed in the major religions and in popular culture, but it is largely unrealized.

104 A Toba man spear fishing in the Pilcomayo River marshlands, Formosa Province, Argentina, 1996. Photo: Gastón Gordillo.

Inequality

Finally, inequality is not a natural feature of human societies. Immediate-return hunter-gatherer societies were "aggressively egalitarian" (Woodburn 1982). These societies worked because of, not in spite of, the fact that power and authority were kept in check. Inequality as a result of human nature is another side of the cultural myth of economic man. The logic of economic rationality justifies as inevitable income differences based on class, race, or gender. Sometimes this justification is overt

but usually (and more insidiously) it acts through appeals to economic efficiency. A trade-off between economic growth and equity is a feature of most introductory textbooks. If our society errs on the side of too much equity (so the story goes) the incentive to work is lost, production falls, and even the temporary beneficiaries of more income equality end up worse off than before.

The hunter-gatherer literature shows that "economic rationality" is peculiar to market capitalism and is an embedded set of cultural beliefs, not an objective universal law of nature. There are many other, equally rational, ways of behaving which do not conform to the laws of market exchange. The myth of economic man explains the organizing principle of contemporary capitalism, nothing more or less (Heilbroner 1993). It is no more rational than the myths which drive Hadza, Aborigine, or !Kung society. In industrial societies, however, the myth of economic man justifies the appropriation by a few of the human material culture which has evolved over millennia, and also the appropriation and destruction of the world's physical and biological resources (Gowdy 1997).

Hunter-gatherers and the modern world

Hunter-gatherers were subject to the same foibles as all humans: aggression, jealousy, and avarice. Likewise, many groups of hunter-gatherers have had a profound impact on the natural environment, as any large species does (Flannery 1994, Gamble 1993). Such societies, however, were in ecological and social harmony to a degree unmatched in industrial societies. This is informative in itself, since humans have lived as hunter-gatherers for almost all of the time our species has been on this planet. Also informative is the relationship between social egalitarianism and environmental sustainability. The same features that promoted an egalitarian social structure—sharing, collective decision-making, and a knowledge-based economy—also promoted environmental harmony. Hunter-gatherers did not deliberately cultivate a higher ethical consciousness; their patterns of behavior were embedded in the material characteristics of their economies.

105 Batak pig hunting from an elevated blind, Palawan Island, Philippines. Photo: James F. Eder.

With the current population of the Earth approaching 6 billion, we cannot return to a hunting and gathering way of life, barring a catastrophic collapse of the human population. We can, however, work to incorporate some of the features of hunter-gatherer societies which worked to promote ecological and social harmony. These features include the following:

Social security

In immediate-return societies every individual has a share of the social product, regardless of how much he or she has contributed to it. Social security can also play an important role in the sustainability of modern societies. Lappe and Schurman argue that social insurance in modern China has as much to do with the decline in the birth rate as does the one-child policy (Gordon and Suzuki 1990:104). Caldwell (1984) points to social security programs and old age pensions as playing a decisive role in the reduction in population growth in Kerala (India) and Sri Lanka. He argues that when life is perceived to be secure, people do not need large families to ensure that they will be taken care of in old age.

Environmental sustainability

Because immediate-return hunter-gatherers lived, for the most part, off the direct flows from nature, it was immediately apparent when the flow of nature's services was disturbed. Sustainability meant sustaining the ability of nature to provide the necessities of life. Hunter-gatherers have displayed the ability to substitute certain natural resources for many others, but care was taken to maintain the flow of nature's bounty (Woodburn 1980:101).

Substitution is also one of the basic driving forces behind market economies, but it takes a much different, and virulent, form. In economic markets, no matter what the resource, a substitute for it will always appear if the price is right. However, since the ultimate measure of market value is monetary, all things are reduced to a single common denominator, money. Substitution is based on monetary values which may ignore essential characteristics not related to immediate market functions. According to economic criteria, an economy is sustainable, then, if its ability to generate income is maintained, that is, if the monetary value of its means of production is non-decreasing (Pearce and Atkinson 1993). By this criterion, it is "sustainable," for example, to cut down a rainforest (a form of what economists call "natural capital") if the net monetary gain from cutting the rainforest is invested for future generations. The type of investment does not matter. It could be another forest, an automobile factory, or even a financial investment. Natural capital and manufactured capital are substitutes, and thus everything is convertible, capable of being substituted for something else. This way of looking at the world masks the fact that we are sacrificing for ephemeral economic gains the viability of resources upon which our ultimate existence as a species depends.

Ecological economists have suggested sustainability policies that recognize the essential difference between natural resources and manufactured capital. Goodland, Daly, and El Serafy (1993) suggest two broad criteria for what they call "strong sustainability": (1) maintaining the ability of the environment to assimilate the waste of industrial society, and (2) maintaining the stock of natural resources, such as topsoil, clean water, and clean air, necessary for economic activity.

Gender equality and sustainability

Although the woman-as-gatherer, man-as-hunter distinction is evidently not as clear as once believed (see K. L. Endicott, this volume), women in many if not most *tropical* and *temperate* hunter-gatherer societies supplied the bulk of the food through gathering, although exceptions to this pattern occurred, especially in cultures adapted to higher latitudes where plant foods are relatively scarce. The dependence on gathering certainly contributed to the gender equality generally present in most hunter-gatherer societies. In many instances in the recent past, the status of women was sharply reduced. The low social status of women in many countries is frequently cited as a major contributor to explosive

population growth (Jacobson 1987). Even in agricultural societies women have played the dominant role in nurturing diversity and sustainability in ecological systems. Some of the most important ecopolitical movements such as the Chipko movement in the Garhwal Himalaya are led by women (Norberg-Hodge 1991; Shiva 1993).

Cultural and ecological diversity based on bioregionalism

Hunters and gatherers occupied all the area of the earth occupied by modern humans and, for the most part, they did it with sustainable technologies. The Inuit of northern North America and the Aborigines of the Australian deserts were able to live sustainably in climates where industrial-society humans could not survive without a steady subsidy of resources from the outside. The hunting and gathering lifestyle represented a remarkable and varied response to different environmental conditions. For most of the 2 million plus years of human existence a wide range of lifestyles and economic bases could be found in ecosystems from desert to tundra to rainforest. Such diversity is critical to the protection of natural systems. Vandana Shiva (1993:65) writes:

> Diversity is the characteristic of nature and the basis of ecological stability. Diverse ecosystems give rise to diverse life forms, and to diverse cultures. The co-evolution of cultures, life forms and habitats has conserved the biological diversity on this planet. Cultural diversity and biological diversity go hand in hand.

With a diversity of lifestyles, there is also a better chance for the human species to withstand shocks, climatic and otherwise. Dasgupta (1995), Hern (1990), Homer-Dixon *et al*. (1993), and many others have pointed out that the modern homogeneous world economy is particularly vulnerable to environmental and social disruption.

Communal decision-making

Accounts of hunter-gatherer societies indicate the importance of consensus and collective decision-making as opposed to the individualism of market society (Lee 1979, Marshall 1976, Turnbull 1965, Woodburn 1982). These societies have had mechanisms for social choice that allowed them to make the best choices for the long-term good of the group.

By contrast, public policy in industrial societies is increasingly based on market approaches or pseudo-market approaches such as cost benefit analysis. Market outcomes are based on decisions made by individuals isolated from the rest of society. What is good for an isolated individual in an impersonal market may not be the best for society as a whole. In terms of the social or biological value of ecosystems, for example, it makes little sense for society as a whole to discount them as an individual acting alone would, that is, to claim that they are worth less in the future. From society's point of view it makes little sense to assume that the value of breathable air, drinkable water, or a stable climate continually and sharply declines as we go further into the future. Market decisions reflect the interests of individual humans, not necessarily the community, and certainly not the well-being of the rest of the natural world. We make very different choices as individuals than we do as members of families, communities, or nations, or even as world citizens.

Here again, there is much to learn from indigenous people. The institution of private property is not the only mechanism to promote efficient resource use. In fact, there is evidence that common

property regimes may be more effective in managing resources such as fisheries, even in contemporary capitalist economies, than policies based on the sanctity of individual property rights. Acheson and Wilson (1996), for example, argue that peasant and tribal societies practice management policies which are much more consistent with the biological patterns and inherent unpredictability of fish stocks. Even among academic economists, theories of common property management are beginning to be taken seriously (Berkes 1989, Hanna *et al*. 1996).

Conclusion

The modern age is increasingly characterized by despair. Modern society seems out of control and on the brink of numerous irretrievable disasters. The interrelated issues of global climate change, biodiversity loss, overpopulation, and social unrest threaten the very existence of the civilization which most in the industrialized North consider so superior to cultures with simpler technologies.

It is somewhat comforting to realize that the blueprint for survival is contained within our cultural history. Judging from historical accounts of hunter-gatherers, for most of the time humans have been on the planet we have lived in relative harmony with the natural world and with each other. Our minds and cultures evolved under these conditions. Understanding how hunter-gatherer societies solved basic economic problems, while living within environmental constraints and with a maximum of human freedom, may give us a key to ensuring the long-term survival of our species.

But hunter-gatherers are more than interesting relics of the past whose history can give us valuable information about other ways to live. Hunter-gatherers and other indigenous people still exist and still offer alternatives to the possessive individualism of world capitalism. Indigenous people in many parts of the world are at the forefront of the struggle for human dignity and environmental protection (Nash 1994). In spite of the onslaught of world culture, many indigenous people are maintaining, even expanding, alternatives to economic man (Lee 1993, Sahlins 1993). These alternatives may one day lead us to a new, environmentally sustainable, and socially just economy.

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II.I.4

On the social relations of the hunter-gatherer band

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Do hunters and gatherers live in societies? If so, do these societies possess any common characteristics? In the history of anthropology, answers to these questions have turned upon the nature of a peculiar collectivity known as the *band*. In this chapter I review anthropological thinking about bands and band-living in two stages.

First, I show how alternative characterizations of the band mirrored three different senses of society current in the discourse of Western modernity. Each of these characterizations has purported to provide the corresponding notion of society with a natural, essential, or "primitive" foundation. Second, by focusing on the themes of immediacy, personal autonomy, and sharing, I shall argue that the forms of hunter-gatherer life cannot be understood as instances of any essential type of society. The distinctiveness of hunter-gatherer sociality lies in its subversion of the very foundations upon which the concept of society, taken in any of its modern senses, has been built. Hunter-gatherers show us how it is possible to live socially, (that is, to conduct one's life within an unfolding matrix of relationships with others, human and non-human) without having to "live in societies" at all.

Society in the state of nature

Hunter-gatherers occupy a special place in the structure of modern thought so special, that had they not existed they would certainly have had to have been invented (which, to a large extent, they *have* been; see Kuper 1988). From the eighteenth century to the present, the problem facing modern thinkers has been to reconcile the thesis that the human is but one species of many (differing from the others by degree rather than kind), with the conviction that, alone among animals, human beings have progressively raised themselves above the purely natural level of existence, and, in so doing, built themselves a history of civilization. The solution has been to distinguish two axes of development and change: the biological and the cultural. Along the first axis are placed those changes that, ever since Darwin, have allegedly linked our ape-like ancestors, through various hominid grades, to human beings of an anatomically "modern" form. Along the second axis are placed those changes that led from the earliest fully human ways of life to modern science, technology, and civilization, apparently without entailing any significant further change in the biological form of the species.

The intersection of these two axes constitutes a point of origin, from which history rises upon the baseline of an evolved human nature. It was to characterize the condition of humanity at the junction

of evolutionary and historical change, that modern thought posited "the hunter-gatherer." History, by the same token, came to be viewed as a process where human beings, through their intellect and their labor, gradually assumed control both over the nature around them (conveyed by the notion of domestication) and of their own inner nature (conveyed by the notion of civilization). Just as the hunter-gatherer was positioned at the fulcrum between evolution and history, so the band was located on the fulcrum between nature and society. For an anthropology bent on discovering the "elementary" foundations of human sociality, stripped to its barest essentials, there seemed to be no better way than through the ethnographic study of the modes of association of contemporary hunters and gatherers. "The conditions of life contingent on hunting and gathering," as Peter Wilson has put it, "indicate a minimal sociology, suggesting what is absolutely necessary and sufficient for the survival and well-being of a human society" (1988:23).

The notion of society, however, has no fixed, unitary meaning; it has been pulled this way and that within a discourse in which it has been variously contrasted to such terms as individual, community, and state. To cut a long story short, the recent history of ideas has bequeathed to us three different and apparently quite contradictory notions of what a society *is*. All three are situated within a long and continuing controversy among Western philosophers, statesmen, and reformers about the proper exercise of human rights and responsibilities. In one sense, also the oldest, society stands for the positive qualities of warmth, intimacy, familiarity, and trust in interpersonal relations which are also summed up in the concept of community. But while in certain contexts—particularly those of emergent nationalism—society and community have come to mean much the same thing, namely a group of people bound by shared history, language, and sentiment, in others, society stands *opposed* to community, connoting the mode of association of rational beings bound by contracts of mutual self-interest, as epitomized by the market, rather than by particularistic relations like those of kinship, friendship or companionship. In yet other contexts, transactions based on self-interest are conceived as the very antithesis of the social. Here, society connotes a domain of external regulation—identified either with the state or, in polities lacking centralized administration, with comparable regulative institutions—which curbs the spontaneous expression of private interests on behalf of public ideals of collective justice and harmony.

To each of these three senses of "society" there corresponds a particular discourse on the hunter-gatherer band. In each case, the burden of this discourse is to establish the "naturalness" of society in the sense implied by it. In the following sections I shall consider the significance of the band, as, first, an elementary form of community; second, an outcome of strategic interaction; and third, an egalitarian social structure.

Communism, familism, and reciprocity

Taken in the first sense, the essence of band society is said to lie in the intimacy, conviviality, and familiarity inherent in what anthropological literature has conventionally called "face-to-face relationships." Lewis Henry Morgan, describing the domestic arrangements of certain native North American peoples (whose mode of subsistence, in fact, combined hunting and gathering with cultivation), had spoken of a "communism in living" (1881:63–78). By this he meant the pooling of effort and sharing of produce that were the natural concomitants of living under one roof. Morgan's idea inspired Marx and Engels to characterize the original state of human society as one of "primitive communism." Many subsequent commentators have followed this lead (see Lee 1988 for a review).

Yet the notion of communism, removed from the context of domesticity and harnessed to support a project of social engineering for large-scale, industrialized states with populations of millions, eventually came to mean something quite different from what Morgan had intended: namely, a principle of redistribution that would override all ties of a personal or familial nature, and cancel out their effects.

As Elman Service (1966) pointed out, the communism of hunter-gatherer societies, if we can call it that, is embedded in relations of immediate kinship. Essentially "familistic," it has its counterpart even in modern states with industrial capitalist economies, as seen in the sociality and redistributive practices of family and close friends. For Service, family and society in band societies are effectively coterminous, whereas in states, "society" is identified, if anything, with the framework of public institutions that partition and envelop the innumerable little domains of "private" family life. As, in the course of social evolution, societies increase their scale and level of integration, so families grow smaller, and family relations become increasingly removed from social relations. "If we compare comparables," Service observes, "we find the primitive band of thirty to sixty persons larger, to be sure, than the family in urban America, but it is still a family and it is still a very small-scaled society, as *societies* go" (1966:24 [original emphasis]).

That Service's concept of familism failed to take root in anthropological discussions of band society was due in part to an attractive alternative formulation offered by Marshall Sahlins. Sahlins viewed the sharing of effort and resources in the hunter-gatherer band as a prototypical instance of what he called *generalized reciprocity* (Sahlins 1972:193–4, 231ff.): a kind of give and take characterized by diffuse obligations to help others who may be in need, regardless of the specific balance of account, of how much has been given or received, by whom, in the past. Sahlins contrasted this with *balanced reciprocity*, in which every gift anticipates an equivalent return, and *negative reciprocity*, characterized by persistent and underhand attempts to get something for nothing. Sahlins' aim, in setting up this continuum of reciprocities from generalized to negative, with balanced at the midpoint, was to establish a systematic correlation between the quality of reciprocity obtaining in a given relationship and the social distance between the parties. This distance was reckoned in terms of a model of society envisioned from the vantage point of a particular individual as a series of ever-widening social sectors in which he or she is perceived to belong: household, lineage, village, tribe, etc. (1972:199, see also Sahlins 1968:16,85).

Although at first glance, Service's *familism* and Sahlins' *generalized reciprocity* seem much the same (both echoing Morgan's "communism in living"), there is, in fact, an important difference. While Sahlins draws his examples freely from societies of hunter-gatherers, agriculturalists, and pastoralists, his general theory of reciprocity appeals to a segmentary or "tribal" model of society, attributed in the main to agricultural and pastoral peoples. According to this model, the elementary units of society are autonomous and discrete households, each centered on the relations between husband and wife, and between parents and children. As a relatively self-sufficient unit of production and consumption, every household enjoys immediate access to its own means of subsistence. Thus, the agricultural household has its cultivated fields, and the pastoral household its flocks and herds, islands of "domesticated" resources over whose yield it has the prior claim. Acts of reciprocity are then conceived to inhere in distributive relations *between* these household units, in more or less inclusive sectors of the wider society.

On the other hand, for Service the essence of the hunter-gatherer band lies in the extension of

familial relations which, in other societies, are internal to the household, across the entire community. Such a society is not internally differentiated by boundaries of segmentary exclusion into relatively close and relatively distant sectors, nor is access to the resource base divided between its constituent units. The band is conceived as one big household, whose members enjoy unrestricted use of the resources of its country and who labor in common to draw a subsistence from them. Thus, *contra* Sahlins, sharing in a hunter-gatherer band is not generalized reciprocity at all. For far from overriding the limits of domestic self-sufficiency, it is underwritten by a principle of collective access. On these grounds, Price (1975) has argued that sharing and reciprocity should be clearly distinguished: the former is the "dominant mode of economic allocation" in band societies, whereas the latter is the dominant mode in tribal societies. The band, in short, is no mere collection of domestic units, each of which places its own interests before those of the collectivity; rather, it is an "intimate social group… small in scale and personal in quality" (Price 1975:4). The internal cleavages of the band (most apparent in times of crisis, whether caused by food shortages or interpersonal conflict) are not, then, between families, but between men and women, and between generations (Ingold 1986:231).

106 Ongee father and son, Andaman Islands. Photo: Vishvajit Pandya.

Behind these debates lurks the issue of the status of the nuclear family as a fundamental building block of human society. One view, going back to Engels (Sacks 1974), holds that the minimal domestic unit in the original band society, comprising a couple and their children, had not precipitated out, as a separate proprietorial interest, from the larger, band-wide household; thus, rather than being primarily husbands and wives, parents and children, people were brothers and sisters, of both older and younger generations. It was supposed that within this band-household, men and women played as complementary roles: men sharing the hunting; women collectively bringing in

the gathered produce, preparing the food, and carrying out other aspects of housework.

The alternative argument maintains that the nuclear family, integrated by a division of labor between husband and wife, is the basic unit of production and consumption in every human society, and that the band is an aggregate of such units bound together by ties of reciprocity. "There can," claims Fried, "be no disputing the significance of the nuclear family as the main component of the band" (1967:67). This is the assumption behind Sahlins' (1972) assertion that every primitive economy, hunting and gathering included, is underwritten by what he calls a "domestic mode of production." There is, however, a third alternative, which is to suggest that the band is neither a single unit of householding, nor an aggregate of such units, but is rather formed of two relatively autonomous domains of production and consumption, respectively male and female. What we might recognize as "families" are then constituted at the multiple points of contact between these domains, through relations of exchange involving food and sex. In many societies, for example, a husband's first obligation is to provide meat for his wife's mother, who will share it with her daughter. The latter, in turn, will provide her husband both with a share of gathered produce and with sexual favors. As for children, they share in what their mothers have collected, and take meat from anyone who has it (Hamilton 1980).

Cooperation and residential organization

The studies reviewed above all trace the essence of human sociality to the familiarity and mutual concern generated through prolonged living at close quarters. For other writers, however, band organization is the result of strategic decisions made by individuals or families in the interests of survival and reproduction under particular environmental conditions. These writers consider social organization to be a component of ecological adaptation, on the assumption that people will associate, and engage in various forms of cooperation and sharing, if, by doing so, they enhance the security of their food supply.

The *locus classicus* for this view is the early work of Julian Steward. In an article dating from 1936 on "The economic and social basis of primitive bands," Steward distinguished between two types of band organization: "patrilineal" and "composite" (Steward 1955:122–50). The patrilineal band is a relatively small group (about fifty persons), comprising a nucleus of agnatically related men with their in-marrying wives and children. Steward reasoned such a group would be well adapted to hunting relatively sedentary, dispersed fauna within restricted territories, using a technology of individually wielded weapons (bows, spears, clubs) calling for only limited cooperation. The composite band is larger, numbering some hundreds of persons, and consists of "many unrelated nuclear or biological families" affiliated on the basis of "constant association and co-operation rather than actual or alleged kinship" (1955:143). Since the families of the band are not already bound by relations of kinship, they may freely intermarry. This kind of band, according to Steward, arises as an adaptive response to the exploitation of large herds of nomadic, migratory fauna, by means of techniques (such as game drives) involving large-scale cooperation.

Steward's typology has been much criticized. One prominent critic was Service (1962). He was convinced that the original human society, regardless of local environmental conditions, took the form of groups of related men (exogamous "patrilocal bands") establishing the basis for peaceful coexistence through the exchange of women in marriage. Following Lévi-Strauss (1949), Service reckoned that the establishment of intergroup alliance was the critical feature distinguishing human

marriage from the mating systems of non-human primates, thereby laying the foundation for human society. Service thus explained the patrilocal band on structural rather than ecological grounds. Although Service's patrilocal band did not differ in composition from Steward's patrilineal band, Service chose the term "patrilocal" to emphasize the significance of place rather than genealogical descent in the recruitment of band members. Both Steward and Service agreed that *men* stayed together while *women* moved on marriage to join their husbands' groups; yet they disputed the reasons for this: Steward (1955:135) emphasized the importance of local knowledge for success in hunting, which would place a premium on male hunters remaining in the country where they grew up; Service pointed out (correctly) that, in many societies, women's gathering is a more significant source of subsistence than men's hunting, and that hunters' knowledge of the terrain generally extends far beyond the locality of their particular band. The real reason why male agnates stay together, Service surmised, is because, having grown up together, they know and trust one another. Such knowledge and trust, he suggested, is essential not only for cooperative hunting but also in the event of potentially hostile encounters with other bands (1962:33–5).

The major disagreement between Steward and Service, however, concerned the nature of the composite band. Having posited the patrilocal band as the universal, original form of human society, Service saw the composite band as an aberration of history, namely "a product of the near-destruction of aboriginal bands after their contact with civilization" (1962:97). The remnants of the original patrilocal bands which had been broken up and scattered, their populations decimated by genocide and disease, were supposed to have coalesced to form the composite bands recorded by ethnographers. Though the destructive impact of the West's initial encounter with indigenous hunter-gatherers is undeniable, there is little evidence to support Service's interpretation, largely because the model of the composite band that both he and Steward worked with is an ethnographic fiction.

The organization of those peoples reputed to live in composite bands differs from the model in three respects. First, the constituent families are not unrelated: the affiliation of any family with the band depends on at least one kinship link of the first degree, through one or the other spouse, to an already established member. The resulting genealogical structure typically consists of a senior sibling group, with in-marrying spouses and children, together with a selection of the siblings of these spouses and *their* spouses and children. Second, band membership is not permanent but fluctuates as people freely shift their affiliations from one group to another in response to environmental conditions and the rise and fall of personal reputations. Third, the large aggregates of people that attract Steward's attention are only seasonal, the high point of an annual cycle of concentration and dispersal. For most of every year, people live in small, local bands (Helm 1965). Though similar in scale to Steward's patrilineal bands, local bands recruit bilaterally, not patrilineally. Kinship is cognatic, and residence ambilocal (a woman may move to her husband's place on marriage, or vice versa, or the family may switch between these alternatives on any number of different occasions).

Somewhat paradoxically, recent research in cultural ecology has identified the band with a form of organization that, for Steward, represented the exception rather than the rule. This is what he called the "family level of social integration." Societies at this level appeared to lack any enduring social, corporate aggregates beyond the nuclear family. Individual families would come together and split apart, in an annual cycle of aggregation and dispersal, in different combinations and under different leadership from one year to the next.

Steward had always insisted, following Murdock (1949), that for any social aggregate to count as

a band, it must have "first, a fairly wide-ranging nomadism…and second, permanent membership" (1969:187). Since the multi-family associations found in societies at the family level of integration lacked permanent membership, they did not count, in Steward's terms, as bands at all. Ethnographic research has shown, however, that such flux in the composition of co-residential groups, far from being exceptional, is a widespread and striking feature of hunter-gatherer social arrangements (Turnbull 1968). It also emphasizes the importance of distinguishing analytically between residential flux and the physical impermanence of settlement: between changing company and changing places (Ingold 1986:176–7). The concept of nomadism, strictly speaking, refers specifically to the latter. In this strict sense, the nomadism of most hunter-gatherers is of a fairly restricted kind, very often tied to sites that are more or less continually occupied, even though the list of inhabitants of each may change almost from day to day.

Following this line of thinking, we arrive at a view of the band as a loose and unbounded association of individuals or families, each related to one or more others through immediate kinship, occupying a particular locale and its environs. It is the outcome of a series of choices about where to go, and with whom to affiliate, in order to make the best of environmental resources which are never quite the same, in abundance or distribution, from one season or year to the next. Recent proponents of this view (e.g., Winterhalder and Smith 1992) set out to analyze the incidence of sharing and cooperation in co-resident groups explicitly in terms of the costs and benefits of participants. Hunters and gatherers, it is assumed, seek "to maximize the net rate of energy gain," much as entrepreneurs in a modern market-oriented society seek to maximize financial profit (Bettinger 1991:84). However, whereas entrepreneurs calculate their own strategies, it is supposed that hunters and gatherers, like non-human foragers, are programmed to execute strategies worked out for them *a priori*, through a quasi-Darwinian process of variation under selection, operating not on genes, but on the elements of a cultural tradition that is "passed along" in parallel with genetic inheritance, from one generation to the next. Their adaptive strategies and resulting patterns of association are thus attributed to natural selection, not to rational choice. Here we have one more example, from contemporary theory, of the "naturalization" of band society.

The evolution of egalitarian society

Much of the confusion in anthropological discussions of band organization arises from confounding two quite distinct theoretical concerns: the first (reviewed in the previous section) with principles of local group organization; the second, with social evolution. If one takes "band" to refer to a local group of a particular kind, then there is no *a priori* reason why such groups should be exclusive to hunters and gatherers. One could just as well find "bands" among nomadic pastoralists or swidden cultivators, in cases where the principles of organization are found to be precisely the same (as they often are). In the context of a concern with social evolution, however, the band is conceived as the first in a series of social forms, of increasing scale, integration, and complexity, running through tribes and chiefdoms to states. This series is generally held to correspond, albeit imprecisely, to a parallel series of transitions in modes of subsistence, of which the most critical is that from hunting and gathering to agriculture and pastoralism. Accordingly, the band is taken to be the social form corresponding to hunting and gathering, and the tribe the social form corresponding to agriculture and pastoralism.

Because of the way in which narratives of social evolution are generally constructed, as the step-

by-step development of the whole panoply of institutions associated with complex, state-level societies, the earliest stages in the sequence tend to be characterized negatively, in terms of the *absence* of institutional forms that have yet to emerge. This is certainly the case with the band, which, as Eleanor Leacock has observed (1969:3), is more easily described by what it lacks: specialization of labor beyond that based on sex, class divisions, a formal priesthood, hierarchical political organization, and—most critically—private ownership of basic sources of livelihood. For those who would identify the concept of society with the third of the senses adduced above, as a framework of regulative institutions, the problem is whether the band—characterized by the apparent lack of such institutions—can be regarded as a society at all. Can there be societies with no, or hardly any, structure (Bloch 1977)?

This question can be framed in both political and economic terms, and I begin with the former. One of the key debates of Western political philosophy has surrounded the possibility of a truly egalitarian society. It has been argued, for example by Ralph Dahrendorf (1968), that society cannot be without rules for regulating conduct; that such rules would be meaningless without sanctions to back them up; and that the existence of sanctions requires that there be persons in positions to impose them, to exercise power over those who are sanctioned. In any society, therefore, "there has to be inequality of rank among men" (1968:172). The notion of an original band society from which all distinctions of rank are absent, Dahrendorf claims, is a figment of the imagination. Yet this notion has long been central to anthropological classifications of social forms, whether or not conceived in an evolutionary mould. In their celebrated comparative survey of *African political systems*, Meyer Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard distinguished between societies with centralized authority, administrative machinery, and judicial institutions (primitive states) and societies without (stateless societies), but added a third type: "very small societies…in which even the largest political unit embraces a group of people all of whom are united to one another by ties of kinship, so that political relations are coterminous with kinship relations and the political structure and kinship organisation are completely fused" (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940:6–7). Evidently, in the delineation of this third type, they had the hunter-gatherer band in mind.

Morton Fried (1967) draws on hunter-gatherer ethnography to exemplify what he calls "simple egalitarian societies," as opposed to "rank societies," "stratified societies," and "pristine states," and identifies the band as the principal form of associating in these societies. An egalitarian society, according to Fried, is one that contains as many valued statuses as there are people to fill them, so that power can be exercised by any or all with the capability to do so (1967:33).

More recently, James Woodburn (1982) has drawn attention to the ways that certain hunter-gatherer societies, namely those who produce for "immediate return" (see below), "systematically eliminate distinctions of wealth, power and status." Far from depicting the egalitarianism of these societies negatively, as the absence of hierarchy, Woodburn argues that their equality is positively *asserted* in the conduct of everyday life (1982:431). To eliminate distinctions of power, however, is not the same as eliminating power itself. Despite their egalitarianism, hunter-gatherers generally attribute great importance to power and its effects. For them, power is not power *over*, nor are its effects coercive in nature. Rather, power takes the form of the physical strength, skill, or wisdom that draws people into relations clustered around individuals renowned for one or more of these qualities. Ethnographers have often resorted to the notion of prestige to describe the appeal of such individuals. In one sense, this notion is highly misleading, for it suggests a competitiveness and ostentation which

are wholly foreign to the tenor of hunter-gatherer life. It does, however, serve to bring out the point that power works by attraction rather than coercion. Bands do have leaders, but the relationship between leader and follower is based not on domination but on trust. I return to this distinction below.

Turning from polity to economy, the question of whether there is a distinctive social form of the band hinges on whether it is possible to specify a set *of positive* rules or principles that govern the activities of production and distribution among hunters and gatherers. In the terms of Marxian theory, if hunting and gathering is not just an assemblage of subsistence techniques—if it is a mode of production—then it must entail certain rules for the division of labor, access to productive means, and distribution of produce which together make up the social relations (as opposed to the technical forces) of hunter-gatherer production (Godelier 1978). Leacock and Lee (1982:7–9) have isolated six "core features" of these relations: (i) collective ownership of the means of production by a band, "horde," or camp; (ii) reciprocal rights to the resources of other bands through the formality of asking "permission," which cannot be withheld; (iii) lack of concern with the accumulation of personal wealth, with storage only as a technique for tiding over seasonal shortfalls; (iv) "total sharing" of produce within the co-residential group, encompassing both hosts and visitors; (v) access of all to the "forces of production," including skills (which may however be gender-specific), and (vi) individual "ownership" of tools, which are nevertheless freely lent and borrowed. These features, Leacock and Lee argue, underwrite the quality of what they call "band-living."

Within this Marxian framework, however, the patterns of cooperation and residential affiliation described by Steward and his followers would not fall within the category of social relations of production. Arising as they do from specific technical and environmental conditions, they are aspects of the organization of work, and as such belong with the forces rather than the relations of production. We might find that the residential composition of the camp among nomadic pastoralists is indistinguishable from that of the local band among hunter-gatherers (Ingold 1980:265), but the social relations of production in the two cases would be quite different, since pastoralism is characterized by a principle of divided access to the means of production (living animals), a strong concern with the accumulation of wealth, and limited sharing of produce.

In most so-called "tribal" societies, of course, the division of labor, access to means of production, and the distribution of produce are specified in terms of relations of kinship: thus in these societies, relations of production *are* kinship relations. Claude Meillassoux (1981) has criticized the tendency in anthropology to assume that kinship-based models of social structure, developed in the analysis of agricultural and pastoral societies, are equally applicable to the analysis of hunter-gatherer bands. Kinship places people from birth in determinate relations with fixed, lifelong obligations, whereas "in the band an individual's position depends on voluntary, unstable and reversible relationships in which he is involved for the limited period during which he actively participates fully in common activities" (1981:18). Such relations, Meillassoux argues, should be regarded as of "adhesion" rather than kinship. In the next section I shall consider the appropriateness of the notion of adhesion and whether (or in what sense) the relations entailed in "band-living" are kinship relations.

The social relations of immediacy

Let us return to my original question: do hunters and gatherers live in societies? To answer it, I shall

consider the significance of three terms which appear together in the ethnography with such regularity and consistency as to suggest a distinctive form of sociality. These are *immediacy, autonomy*, and *sharing*.

The "immediate" quality of hunter-gatherer social relations may be understood in two ways: in terms either of their lack of temporal depth, or of the direct, unmediated involvement of self and other. To begin with the temporal aspect, immediacy implies that social relations are of minimal duration, lived, as it were, for the here and now rather than establishing promises for the future through the fulfillment of obligations carried over from the past. One observer after another has reported a "lack of foresight" among hunters and gatherers, particularly in relation to the husbandry of food. They are inclined to share out whatever is to hand, eating prodigiously in times of plenty only to go hungry in lean periods, instead of rationing supplies to make them last. In this, as Sahlins notes (1972:30), it seems that they are "oriented forever in the present." According to Meillassoux (1973), immediacy is a definitive property of hunting and gathering as productive enterprises: yield follows directly from labor invested, whereas much of the work of farmers and herdsmen (in preparing or planting fields, or pasturing livestock) is done with the expectation of future yield. There may, however, be significant time-lags between the construction of equipment or facilities (particularly for hunting and trapping) and their use, a point which led Meillassoux (1981:14–15) to qualify his original distinction. Labor returns in an economy of hunting and gathering, he now suggests, are not necessarily immediate, but they are nevertheless *instantaneous*. By this he means that nothing holds band members together save their involvement in the current round of activity, beginning when they team up to search for food, and ending with the sharing out, and consumption, of the resulting produce. The band is thus "defined in terms of its *present membership*" rather than in terms of relations of filiation or descent linking past and future generations (Meillassoux 1981:17, original emphasis).

The distinction between systems of production in which the returns on labor are immediate, and those in which they are delayed, has been further refined by Woodburn (1982). Like Meillassoux, Woodburn admits that many hunter-gatherer systems (and of course all agricultural and pastoral systems) are of the delayed-return type. The time-lags may be of three kinds: between the manufacture and use of facilities, between harvesting and consumption (where food is stored for any length of time), or—in the cases of farming and herding—between the investment of labor in establishing the conditions for the growth and reproduction of plants and animals, and their eventual harvesting. Woodburn predicts that wherever such time-lags are found, people will be tied to one another for the duration, by "binding commitments and dependencies." Only in systems of the immediate-return type do we find a form of sociality—more or less corresponding to what Meillassoux has in mind with his notion of instantaneity—characterized by flexible social groupings, residential flux, absence of formal commitments between persons in specific, jurally defined positions, and a stress on generalized mutuality and sharing (Woodburn 1982:433–4). My own view (Ingold 1986:213–17) is that this form of sociality is not incompatible with time-lags of the first two kinds, and therefore that it exists more generally among hunters and gatherers than Woodburn allows. Only the third kind of time-lag—in which the initial investment of labor entails a movement of *appropriation*—establishes dependencies of the sort that Woodburn associates with delayed-return systems.

The question remains, however, as to whether the absence of long-term, binding commitments implies that social relationships are immediate (or even instantaneous) in the temporal sense, within the fully enveloped concerns of the present. The answer depends on our understanding of what it

means "to relate." In characterizing the constitutive relationships of the band as adhesive, Meillassoux implies that each person is like an atom, individual and discrete, unchanging through time. In their pragmatic associations, atomic individuals are assumed to "adhere" to one another, now in one combination, now in another, through an external contact that leaves their inner being unaffected. Recently, however, Bird-David (1994) has suggested a quite different image. The person in a hunter-gatherer band, she writes, is like a drop of oil floating on the surface of a pool of water. When these drops come together, they coalesce into a larger drop. But drops can also split up into smaller ones that may then coalesce with others. Likewise persons, "throughout their lives… perpetually coalesce with, and depart from, each other" (1994:597). The distinction between adhesion and coalescence, as principles of relationship, effectively corresponds to that (following Schutz and Luckmann 1973) between anonymity and immediacy, that is between "they relationships" in which the parties, as experiencing subjects, remain closed to one another, and "we relationships" in which each enters into the experience of the other and makes that experience his or her own as well. The forms of human sociality, Bird-David argues, can be ranged along a continuum from immediacy to anonymity: the band may, then, be characterized as "a social environment which specifically elaborates about the range of immediacy" (1994:599).

107 Mbuti infants in the Ituri Forest, Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire). Photo: Mitsuo Ichikawa.

This, of course, is to conceptualize immediacy in the second of the two senses adduced above, namely as the direct, intersubjective involvement of self and other. As such, it depends upon the deep mutual knowledge that people can only gain through spending time together: on the intertwining or even merging of their respective life histories. Unlike relations of adhesion, which are frozen in the present instant, the coalescence and splitting apart of persons, according to this "oil-in-water" sociology, has to be understood as a *process* in real time. The sociality of the band, therefore, cannot

be immediate in the temporal sense.

How, then, are we to contrast immediate relationships with those based on binding commitments, if not in terms of their respective duration? The conventional notion that relationships among hunter-gatherers are conducted "face-to-face" is too crude to be of analytic value, combining as it does the connotations of mutualism and role-play. Everything depends on the connection between person and face, which remains unspecified. Price's (1975) notion of "intimacy" is more promising, although Bird-David rejects its implications of exclusivity, which she finds out of place in the virtually boundary-less context of the hunter-gatherer band (1994:591).

Gibson (1985) suggests that relations based on the experience of living and doing things together, on "shared activity in itself," can best be described as ones of *companionship*. He opposes companionship to kinship: "a relationship based on kinship is involuntary, non-terminable and implies the dependency of one of the parties on the other. By contrast, a relationship based on companionship is voluntary, freely terminable and involves the preservation of the personal autonomy of both parties" (1985:392). The idea that shared activity (residing together in a place and cooperating in everyday tasks) constitutes people as related resonates throughout hunter-gatherer ethnographies (e.g., Myers 1986:92, Bird-David 1994:594). These sources are equally insistent, however, that the resulting relationships are predominantly of kinship. In light of this, Gibson's opposition between companionship and kinship seems overdrawn. More accurately, kinship relations in the band context are of a different order from those to which we are accustomed from studies of "tribal" societies (Bird-David 1994:593). They are constituted more by the sharing of food, residence, company, and memory, than by specific commitments and obligations incumbent on the occupants of positions within a formally instituted structure of social rules and regulations.

Autonomy, trust, and sharing

In our comparison of relations of adhesion and coalescence, we have already foreshadowed the particular kind of autonomy that, judging by the ethnography, is a general feature of hunter-gatherer social life. The basic principle is that a person's personal autonomy should never be reduced or compromised by his or her relationships with others. Or, more positively, it is through their relationships that persons are constituted as autonomous agents. That this might appear strange to the Western reader owes something to hidden assumptions about the nature of personhood. To expose these assumptions, we may consider another fundamental value which ethnography consistently attributes to hunters and gatherers. This is the value of individualism. This same value is frequently adduced as one of the diagnostic features of a specifically "Western" sensibility, where it is linked to political ideals of liberty and equality. How, then, does the individualism of hunters and gatherers differ from that of the modern West?

The Western individual is a self-contained, rational subject, locked within the privacy of a body, standing against the rest of society consisting of an aggregate of other such individuals, and competing with them in the public arena for the rewards of success. Relationships in this arena are characterized by their anonymity—that is, by the absence of direct, intersubjective involvement. They are brittle, contingent, and transient affairs. By the same token, the autonomy of the individual is given from the start, prior to his or her entry into any social relationships at all. For hunters and gatherers, by contrast, the dichotomy between private and public domains, respectively of self and society, has no meaning. Every individual comes into being as a center of agency and awareness within an

unbounded social environment which provides sustenance, care, company, and support. The people around him, the places he knows, the things he makes and uses, all are drawn into a person's subjective identity (Ingold 1986:239). Selves, in other words, are "grown" within a field of nurture; as their capacities for action and perception develop, so they expand to incorporate the very relationships that nourish them. Personal autonomy arises as the enfoldment of these relationships, and unfolds in purposive action. A person acts *with* others, not against them; the intentionality driving that action both originates from, and seeks fulfillment through, the community of nurture to which they all belong.

Evidently these are just two ways of managing what Myers (1988:55) calls "the dialectic of autonomy…and relatedness". In the first, epitomized by the modern Western ideal of civil society, relationships are strictly confined to external contacts in the public domain, and do not violate the integrity of the private, subjective self. In the second, exemplified by the hunter-gatherer band, selves expand to fill the entire field of relationships that constitute them.

In this light, Meillassoux's mistake, in characterizing band relations as adhesive was to have imported into the context of hunter-gatherer social life, a model of association of modern Western provenance. Yet, granted that the hunter-gatherer's autonomy is constituted by involvement with others, how can this be reconciled with the fact that such involvement entails considerable dependency? People who draw their livelihood from hunting and gathering *do* depend materially and otherwise upon one another. Does not dependency inevitably compromise autonomy? I would argue that it does not. Rather, the combination of autonomy and dependency calls into being relationships that are founded on the principle of *trust*.

To trust someone is to act with that person in mind, in the hope and expectation that they will do likewise, by responding in ways favorable to you. On no account, however, should you attempt to force a response by placing the other person under obligation or compulsion. To do so would represent a betrayal of the trust you have placed in them, and would be tantamount to a renunciation of the relationship. Trust is founded upon a respect for the autonomy of the other on whom one depends (Ingold 1993:13). By recognizing that relationships are based on trust, we can make better sense of the dynamics of power and leadership in the hunter-gatherer band. Leaders depend upon followers to uphold their reputations. But followers join the band of a leading individual, such as a renowned hunter, because they trust him. Here, trust is conditional upon leaders respecting followers' autonomy. Should the former, at any stage, seek to dominate the latter, whether by threat or command, the latter, feeling their trust to have been betrayed, will take their loyalties elsewhere. A follower, as Henriksen (1973:42) observes, can always move to join another band if he feels that his autonomy is unduly curtailed. Thus, the good hunter should never make his superiority obvious, and should always refrain from telling others what to do—an injunction that tends to impede effective decision-making (Henriksen 1973:40–54). In the context of band-living, as we have seen, power works by attraction, not coercion, and the slightest tip in the balance from trust to domination will cause it to self-destruct.

Finally, we come to the phenomenon of sharing. This has been regarded, in the literature, either as an innate human disposition (with possible but disputed homologues in non-human primates), or as a rule or convention fundamental to society as an instituted order. Representative of the first view is Glynn Isaac's (1978) celebrated reconstruction of the adaptive complex of the earliest human hunter-gatherers, in which sharing was linked to bipedal locomotion, tool-making, language, the sexual division of labor, and daily return to a home-base. This is to treat sharing as an evolved behavioral

trait, as much a part of human nature as walking on two feet. The second view is exemplified by Morton Fried's (1967:106) declaration that sharing was "the paramount invention that led to human society," and by Peter Wilson's (1975:12) claim that, in hunter-gatherer societies, "sharing has the status of a rule," carrying all the force of a moral obligation. Meyer Fortes (1983), for whom there could be no society without rules, regarded sharing among hunters and gatherers as an instance of "prescriptive altruism," by which he meant acts of self-denial that are obligatory and rule-governed —quite unlike the allegedly altruistic, but in fact genetically programmed, behavior of certain non-human animals (1983:26).

My position differs from both alternatives. While there is certainly more to sharing than the output of a behavioral program, sharing is not a rule-governed, obligatory act. The more that actions are is attributed to the determination of rules, the more the responsibility for those actions is removed from persons and attributed to the imaginary agency of society. In the limiting case, the complete prescriptive altruist—entirely beholden to society in everything he does—ceases to be accountable for his actions at all. He has no personal autonomy left. Yet, by sharing, persons surrender nothing of themselves to society. The scope of their autonomy, far from being diminished, is enlarged. We should not, of course, confine our understanding of sharing to exchange of food. In addition to material goods, people share tasks, dwelling spaces, company, stories, and memories. In a word, they share "*each other*" (Ingold 1986:117, original emphasis). Thus food-sharing is just one aspect of the total process by which persons are "grown" in a context of immediate sociality, through incorporating the substance, knowledge, and experience of others within a field of nurturance.

The practice of sharing makes it possible for people to depend on one another, in a general way, without losing autonomy. It is thus based on the same principle as the relation of trust. In sharing, as in trust, one avoids any form of pressure or coercion. One cannot reasonably press for more than what others manifestly have to offer (Bird-David 1992:30). Conversely, sharing rarely if ever takes the form of unsolicited giving. No one put under pressure to receive what they have not asked for. Sharing almost invariably takes place in response to requests, directed from those who lack something, toward those whom they perceive to be in possession of it. Myers (1988:57) describes this as "mutual taking," while Peterson (1993) has elevated it to a general principle of "demand sharing." Since it conflicts with the Western ideal of generosity willingness to give without being asked, demand sharing has tended to be construed rather negatively, as evidence for a certain stinginess that persists beneath the surface of hunter-gatherer life. But as Peterson points out, if commitments to others are "construed not in terms of giving freely, but in terms of responding positively to their demands, the morality of demand sharing is as positive as that of generosity" (Peterson 1993:870).

Conclusion

Together, the principles of *immediacy, autonomy*, and *sharing* add up to a form of sociality utterly incompatible with the concept of society, whether by society is meant the interlocking interests of "civil society," the imagined community of the ethnic group or nation, or the regulative structures of the state. First, the hunter-gatherer's claim to personal autonomy is the very opposite of the individualism implicated in the Western discourse on civil society. While the latter posits the individual as a self-contained, rational agent, constituted independently and in advance of his or her entry into the arena of social interaction, the autonomy of the hunter-gatherer is *relational*, a person's

capacity to act on his/her own initiative emerges through a history of continuing involvement with others in contexts of joint, practical activity. Second, in a world where sociability is not confined by boundaries of exclusion, people do not define themselves as "us" rather than "them," or as members of this group rather than that, nor do they have a word to describe themselves as a collectivity apart from the generic word for persons. This is why outsiders—explorers, traders, missionaries, anthropologists—seeking names to designate what they have perceived as societies of hunter-gatherers, have often ended up by borrowing exogenous labels applied as terms of abuse by neighboring peoples toward hunter-gatherers in their vicinity. Finally, the principle of trust that lies at the heart of hunter-gatherer sociality will not accommodate relations of domination of any kind. Yet, such relations are necessarily entailed in any system of regulative institutions which legitimate and empower certain persons, in the name of society, to control the actions of others. It is not enough to observe, in a now rather dated anthropological idiom, that hunter-gatherers live in "stateless societies," as though their social lives were somehow lacking or unfinished, waiting to be completed by the evolutionary development of a state apparatus. Rather, the principle of their sociality, as Pierre Clastres (1974) has put it, is fundamentally *against* the state.

In the extensive discussions which have surrounded the question of whether hunter-gatherer "societies" have distinctive features in common, few have stopped to consider the applicability of the concept of society itself. Taken in any of its modern senses, however, this concept is rooted in the discourse of domination. One might even say, with Levine and Levine (1975:177), that society *is* domination. The concept of society carves the world of human beings into mutually exclusive blocks in much the same way that the concept of territory carves up the country they inhabit into domains of political jurisdiction. If the latter implies a relation of control over the land, the former implies a relation of control over people. In this light, hunter-gatherers exist in "societies" for those seeking to exert control over them, but not for the hunter-gatherers themselves. Their world is not socially segmented; it is constituted by relations of incorporation rather than exclusion, by virtue of which others are "drawn in" instead of "parcelled out" (Ingold 1990). As Peter Wilson observes, hunter-gatherer sociality is guided by focus rather than boundary: people "organize their social lives through focusing attention rather than referring it to a rigid structure" (1988:50).

In the conduct of their mutual relations, hunters and gatherers demonstrate the possibility of a perceptual orientation toward the social environment that is direct, rather than mediated by structures of control. Perhaps we could go further, to suggest that this perceptual orientation is not confined to relations among human beings. It also extends to non-human components of the environment: to animals and plants, even to features of the landscape that we might regard as inanimate. Hunters maintain relations of trust with their animal prey, as they do with human persons, assuming that animals present themselves with hunters in mind, allowing themselves to be taken so long as hunters treat them with respect and do nothing to curb their autonomy of action (Ingold 1993). The powerful hunter attracts animals as he attracts followers. For gatherers, the forest nurtures humans in the way adults do children—comprising together what Bird-David (1990) calls "the giving environment." Generally, human relations with the non-human environment are modeled on the same principle of sharing that applies within the human community (Bird-David 1992). In short the rigid division that Western thought and science draws between the worlds of society and nature, of persons and things, does not exist for hunters and gatherers. For them there are not two worlds but one, embracing all the manifold beings that dwell therein (Ingold 1996:128). Far from seeking control over nature, their aim

is to maintain proper relationships with these beings (Ridington 1982:471). There are, of course, as many kinds of relationships as there are kinds of beings, but the differences are relative, not absolute. And if no absolute boundary separates relationships that are social from those that are not, then what need have we for a concept of the social at all?

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II.II FACETS OF HUNTER-GATHERER LIFE IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

II.II.1

Gender relations in hunter-gatherer societies

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For years many feminist anthropologists and hunter-gatherer specialists have been at odds in their interpretations of gender relations in foraging societies. This chapter presents overviews of gender relations in various hunter-gatherer societies, explores interpretative differences, and examines some common misconceptions about hunter-gatherer gender relations.

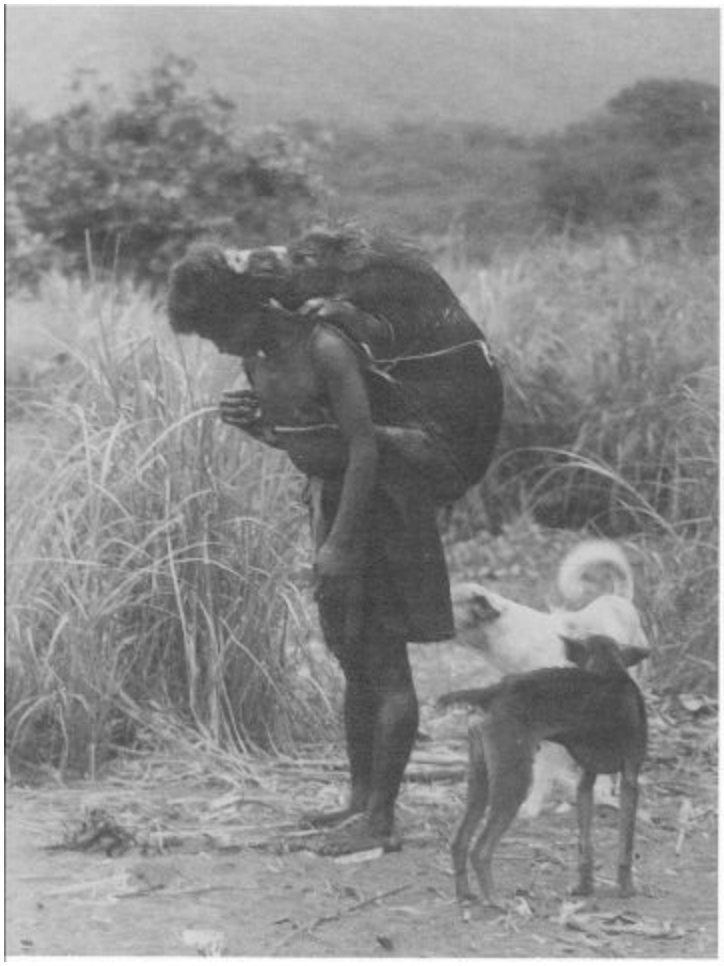
Anthropology traditionally neglected to study women; this led to theories that overly emphasized men. Durkheim (1961 [1915]:53) categorized Aboriginal men as sacred and women as relatively profane. Radcliffe-Brown (1930) concluded that the patrilineal, patrilocal "horde" was the basic unit of Aboriginal society. Service (1966) postulated that the patrilocal band, which kept male hunters together, was the natural form of social organization for hunter-gatherer societies. However, beginning with Phyllis Kaberry (1939), who showed that East Kimberley Aboriginal women had their own sacred ceremonies and ties to the Dreamtime, a few voices gradually spoke up for hunter-gatherer women (see Berndt 1965, Turnbull 1965, Lee and Devore 1968, Goodale 1971, Briggs 1970).

Fueled by feminism in the 1970s, the anthropology of women focused new attention on hunter-gatherer women, especially "woman the gatherer" (see Dahlberg 1981, Reiter 1975). Underscoring that biology is not destiny, anthropologists dropped the term "sex roles" and adopted "gender" to refer more broadly to the ways societies define, elaborate and evaluate sexual dimorphism. How, they asked, is gender used as a tool for organizing social life? Ironically, however, some feminist anthropologists carried over anthropology's emphasis on males and developed gender theories that interfere with understanding gender complexities in hunter-gatherer societies. Rosaldo and Lamphere asserted that male dominance and sexual asymmetry are universals (1974:3). Friedl (1975, 1995) argued that sexual asymmetry is unavoidable in hunter-gatherer societies because men hunt and distribute meat beyond the family. Collier and Rosaldo (1981) contended that women are merely objects of male manipulations in the marriage systems of simple societies, including hunter-gatherers.

Various anthropologists who have done fieldwork with hunter-gatherers have described gender relations in at least some foraging societies as symmetrical, complementary, nonhierarchical, or egalitarian. Turnbull writes of the Mbuti: "A woman is in no way the social inferior of a man" (1965:271). Draper notes that "the !Kung society may be the least sexist of any we have experienced"

(1975:77), and Lee describes the !Kung (now known as Ju/'hoansi) as "fiercely egalitarian" (1979:244). Estioko-Griffin and Griffin report: "Agta women are equal to men" (1981:140). Batek men and women are free to decide their own movements, activities, and relationships, and neither gender holds an economic, religious, or social advantage over the other (K. L. Endicott 1979, 1981, 1992, K. M. Endicott 1979). Gardner reports that Paliyans value individual autonomy and economic self-sufficiency, and "seem to carry egalitarianism, common to so many simple societies, to an extreme" (1972:405). Stressing complementarity, Sharp observes that women are as fully involved with and responsible for generating Chipewyan culture as are the men (1995:47). Leacock (1981) interprets the historical record on seventeenth-century Montagnais-Naskapi (Innu) gender relations as egalitarian, with individuals, male and female, making decisions about their own lives and activities. In short, differences between what men and women do in these societies make no difference. Instead of reinforcing inequalities and constructing hierarchies, these societies deliberately level differences.

Some anthropologists dismiss the term "egalitarian" as a Western political concept inapplicable to non-Western cultures. (The same can be said about "inequality," yet that concept continues to be considered a useful analytical tool.) It is true, for example, that the Batek do not articulate their egalitarianism as a kind of political philosophy. But as Woodburn observes in general, "The verbal rhetoric of equality may or may not be elaborated but actions speak loudly: equality is repeatedly acted out, publicly demonstrated, in opposition to possible inequality" (1982:432). There is no theoretical justification for anthropologists to accept that many societies construct gender inequalities but to deny that some construct gender equalities or that some societies create inequalities in some aspects of life and equalities in others.



108 An Agta woman hunter returning with her catch, a wild pig, 1981. Nanadukan Cagyan, Luzon,

Philippines. Photo: P. Bion Griffin.

What do men and women do in foraging societies?

The stereotype of man the hunter, woman the gatherer accurately describes only how many forager peoples divide daily work responsibilities. In reality, many hunter-gatherer men also gather vegetable foods and women procure animal foods, though the latter is not always called hunting.

Where vegetable foods comprise the dietary staple, women commonly take responsibility for gathering them on a regular basis. The general pattern is that women from each household collect vegetable foods for their own household needs. Women's gathering provided as much as 60 to 80 percent by weight of the diet of the Ju/'hoansi (Lee 1968:33) and of Australia's Western and Central Desert Aborigines (Tonkinson 1991:43, citing Gould 1969:258 and Meggitt 1962). Foragers mayor may not define gathering as women's work. The Batek, for example, do not, even though women take primary responsibility for gathering. The Nyae Nyae Ju/'hoansi, on the other hand, say that gathering "is what women are made for" (Marshall 1976:96).

Still, Ju/'hoansi men, like Agta, Hill Pandaram, Hadza, Australian Aboriginal, and many other hunter-gatherer men, gather vegetable foods when the need or opportunity arises (Marshall 1976:96–7, Shostak 1981:14, Lee 1979:192, 262, Estioko-Griffin and Griffin 1981:133, Morris 1982:100, 101, Gardner 1993:117, Tonkinson 1978:35, Woodburn 1968:51). Ju/'hoansi "men account for as much as 20% of all food gathered" (Shostak 1981:244). Batek men gather when hunting fails, when wives are tired or sick, or when they come across large wild yams. In 1975–6, Batek men's gathering, and their procurement of rice and other cultivated foods through trading rattan, accounted for 42 percent of the diet by weight; women's similar efforts accounted for 43 percent. Hadza men gather most of their own vegetable foods, while women gather most of the vegetable food they and their children consume (Woodburn 1968:51). Men's gathering adds flexibility to a group's food-procurement efforts; it gives men independence from women when necessary. The Tiwi are a notable exception: they consider it "wrong" for men to collect vegetable foods (Goodale 1971:154). A Tiwi man may do no food-getting work if he has several wives providing vegetables and meat for the family (Goodale 1971:154).

In most foraging societies, a man's primary work responsibility is hunting, especially hunting for game that is large enough to be subject to the society's sharing rules, but often women also hunt. Anthropologists have tended to say that men hunt meat but that women gather or collect it, even when the animals are the same. Tonkinson (1974:35) reports that Australian Western Desert men "hunt lizards and smaller game," while Shostak (1981:244) writes that Ju/'hoansi women "collect lizards, snakes…as well as occasional small or immature animals." It is often unclear whether the different terms reflect anthropologists' own analyses and biases, or the foragers' indigenous distinctions.

Linguistically distinguished or not, men's and women's hunting techniques and/or quarries often differ. Australian Western Desert men use spears, whereas "women never hunt large game with spears, but may use their dogs to run down kangaroos, emus, etc. and then club them to death" (Tonkinson n.d.:6). Ju/'hoansi women procure game but are prohibited from touching the bows and arrows men use (Marshall 1976:177). Aché women have occasionally killed animals; however, they have never used bows and arrows, despite there being no taboo against touching men's equipment (Kim Hill and A. Magdalena Hurtado, personal communication). Batek women are free to use

blowpipes to hunt, as do men, but most Batek women concentrate on game they can dispatch with digging sticks. The Jahai prohibit women from handling blowpipes and poison darts because, they say, children who accompany the women "might prick themselves with the darts or lick the poison and die" (van der Sluys, this volume). Andamanese women, emically defined as the gender that bleeds, avoid hunting that causes animals to bleed, and instead catch fish and crabs in nets and baskets (V. Pandya, personal communication; Pandya 1993). In the nineteenth century Yahgan/Yamana women dived for shellfish in frigid waters while men hunted marine mammals and birds (Steward and Faron 1959:398–9; Vidal, this volume). The Tiwi define several species of land animals, including bandicoot and opossum, as foods that women traditionally procured (Goodale 1971:152). "Tiwi women not only provide the majority of the daily food supplies, but also the daily protein" (Goodale 1971:337).

In some societies women routinely participate in communal hunts. In Mbuti net-hunting and *begbe* bow-and-arrow hunts, women act as beaters to drive game within range of the armed men (Turnbull 1965:157, 162). When Batak were hunting pigs, women would drive them towards the men, who would shoot them (James Eder, personal communication). Netsilik women and children help men with seal hunting and everyone used to fish (Balikci 1970:34, 82–83).

Inuit women participate in the hunting economy in other ways as well. If an Inuit family has no sons, the father may train one or two daughters to hunt (Briggs 1970:271). (Similarly, families with few daughters may teach sons sewing and other female skills, and orphans learn both men's and women's skills [Briggs 1970: 270–1].) Inuit women sew the clothes that make hunting possible, and process skins, meat, and fish. Countering the stereotype that Arctic women do no economic work, Halperin argues that if we expand the definition of division of labor to include such work, "we find a basically egalitarian pattern of labor division for hunter-gatherers in a variety of latitudes" (Halperin 1980:379, 1988:87).

The most extreme case of women hunters is probably the Agta (Estioko-Griffin and Griffin 1981:121–51), who put most of their food-getting efforts into trading meat for foods cultivated by their agricultural neighbors. Agta women regularly hunt, either in pairs or with men, using machetes or bows and arrows and hunting dogs. Women forgo hunting altogether only during late pregnancy and the first months following childbirth.

Many hunter-gatherers engage in sporadic horticulture or trade. Commonly, men clear and help plant the fields, and women plant, tend, and harvest them. But the exact division of labor derives from particular historical circumstances rather than constant biological or social causes. In 1990, for example, some Batek women avoided horticultural work because they feared their children would follow them into the fields and die from the heat, as they said had happened previously. Trade commonly is undertaken by whoever happens to produce what the market demands. For example, when rattan is in demand, Batek men and women collect it, but when incense wood is in demand, young men tend to do the work. Penan women make rattan baskets and mats for trade; in the past men traded resin and wild latex (Brosius 1995). Toba women make handicrafts, and men, who are more proficient in Spanish, market them (Gastón Gordillo, personal communication).

Hunter-gatherer societies variously divide non-food-getting tasks. Men and women tend to perform jobs ancillary to their food-getting work. Other tasks are more variable from society to society. Inuit men construct igloos and women organize the interior. Batek women usually construct lean-to shelters, though men know how and sometimes do.

Healing and the performance of rituals may be highly specialized and gender specific or open to whoever wants to learn the skills. Australian Aboriginal men keep certain rituals secret from women and uninitiated men, and many Aboriginal women perform ceremonies of their own (Kaberry 1973 [1939], Berndt 1965, Goodale 1971, Hamilton 1981, Bell 1983, Tonkinson 1993). Among the Iukagir, both men and women could become shamans (Ivanov, this volume). Tlingit men and women could become both shamans and witches (Klein 1995:36). Tolowa shamans were always women or transvestites (Halperin 1980:388). Only Batak men become shamans, while women make the music that enables the shaman/curer to contact his spirit familiars (James Eder, personal communication). A few Batek, usually men, become shamans who communicate with spirits through trance, but any Batek man or woman can experience spirit communication through dreams and participation in communal singing and dancing rituals. Similarly, Shoshone men and women have developed relationships with spirits through dreams and visions (Fowler, this volume).

Women tend to be the primary caregivers for infants and very young children. Fathers help to varying degrees. Aka fathers play major childcare roles (Hewlett 1992), as do Batek fathers (K. L. Endicott 1992). Andamanese regard men and women as equally responsible for raising children (Pandya 1993:263–79). Young children learn the skills they see their mothers perform, especially gathering. As children grow up, boys accompany their fathers and other male relatives on hunts and learn the various skills men perform, while girls deepen their knowledge of women's skills. If ritual knowledge is gender-specific, as in Australia, men and women provide separate training to their sons and daughters, though Catherine Berndt (1983:21) observes that in Australia mothers and other women provide a boy's and girl's first exposure to religion. Some hunter-gatherers, including the Mbuti, Ju/'hoansi, Ongee Andamanese, Aché, and many Australian Aborigines, perform puberty ceremonies, while others, like the Batek, do not.

A few hunter-gatherer societies recognize a third gender. Three percent of Aché men behave like women, collecting foods and doing childcare but remaining uninvolved sexually with either sex (Kim Hill and A. Magdalena Hurtado, personal communication). Itenm'i transvestite men wore women's clothing and did women's work (Shnirelman, this volume).

109 At the smokehouse. Gitxsan women chiefs, Gitsegukla Village. (*Left*) Olive Ryan, Gwaans, House of Hanamuxw, Gisgaast/Fireweed Clan, and (*right*) her cousin, Gertie Watson, Gaxsgabaxs, House of Gaxsgabaxs, Ganeda/Frog-Raven Clan, 1993. Like their mothers before them, they have been active in seeking recognition of Gitxsan land rights. Photo: J. Blankenship.

Does meat-sharing lead to male power?

Arguing universal sexual asymmetry, some scholars contend that male dominance is unavoidable in hunter-gatherer societies because male hunters share the societies' most valued commodity (meat) beyond the household, thus gaining prestige and creating debts that can be used to exert power over others (Friedl 1975:12–45, 1995, Collier and Rosaldo 1981:281, Collier 1988). The argument makes several unwarranted or faulty assumptions: that meat is always the most valued commodity, that men have a monopoly on supplying meat, that dealings in the "public" sphere outside the household are more prestigious or valued than dealings within the household (Rosaldo 1974:23–42), and that hunters can turn prestige into power (see Friedl 1975:12–45).

Evidence from hunter-gatherers contradicts these assumptions. The Batek, for example, do not prefer meat over all other foods; they usually mention fruit as the favored food of both humans and spirit beings. Women's hunting in many hunter-gatherer societies undercuts the idea that men have a monopoly on meat. Many hunter-gatherer societies do not recognize a public sphere versus a domestic sphere, and there is no evidence that they value extrafamilial activities more than familial activities. The ill-defined notion of prestige is problematic. Is it admiration or something more? Some

anthropologists unjustifiably assume that activities prestigious in our society (for example, leadership and politics) are prestigious in hunter-gatherer societies—or assume that men's activities are always the most prestigious (Mead 1935:302; cf. Sanday 1990:2 and Sacks 1979:88–93). The Batek admire industriousness, whatever the activity and whoever the worker; so do the Gidjingali (Meehan 1982:119). Even where people admire successful hunters, people usually undermine any hunter's attempt to exert power over others.

Ultimately the argument that meat-sharing gives men power misinterprets hunter-gatherer sharing practices. Many scholars think of sharing as two separate networks: women share vegetable foods within the family and men share meat beyond the family. Yet, vegetable and meat sharing are two parts of the same process of generalized reciprocity among camp members. The difference is that vegetables are more reliable food sources than animals. Most gatherers are likely to succeed in finding food each day, obviating the need to regulate sharing. In some societies gatherers are expected to feed their families first; further sharing is up to the gatherer. Elsewhere gatherers share more routinely. "Among the Hadza it would be out of the question for a woman to hoard food while others are hungry" (Woodburn 1982:442). Batek families often send children to give vegetable food to other families in camp, even when everyone has managed to gather food.

Hunters are far less likely to succeed in taking large game each day. The success rate for Ju/'hoansi hunting is 25 percent (Lee 1968:40), and for Batek hunting 50 percent. Small game is commonly exempt from obligatory sharing. Large game must be shared. Many scholars interpret meat-sharing as generosity, but many societies make sure that the hunter does not have a choice. Some foragers have set rules about which cut of meat goes to which relative, while others assign distribution rights to people other than the hunter. The Ju/'hoansi say that the owner of the arrow that killed the animal is the owner/distributor of the meat (Marshall 1976:296, Lee 1979:247). Either a man or a woman can own the arrow. "There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter" (Marshall 1976:297). By this and other leveling mechanisms—including ridiculing the meat and cutting cocky hunters down to size—the Ju/'hoansi prevent hunters from turning the sharing network into a political power base (Lee 1979:244, 246). The Ju/'hoansi actively encourage hunting through rituals, admiration of hunters, and nagging, then just as actively prevent hunters from using their successes for personal advantage.

Do hunter-gatherer men control women?

Anthropologists have argued that hunter-gatherer men control women through arranging marriages, appropriating women's labor, excluding women from prestigious or authority-laden activities or realms of knowledge (such as hunting, religion, or politics), or through violence. Empirically there is wide variation in how men and women divide authority and control.

Not all hunter-gatherers have arranged marriages, and in those that do, generally both parents have a say in arrangements for their sons and daughters. Defining marriage as wife-exchange is one way anthropologists inadvertently overlook women's influence over their own marriages and those of their children. Like many foragers, Batek men and women choose their own spouses. Ju/'hoansi parents arrange first and sometimes second marriages for their young sons and daughters (Marshall 1976:266). But unhappily married young daughters may move back home or divorce (Shostak

1981:127–30, 158). Adult Ju/'hoansi women and men select subsequent marriages partners for themselves (Marshall 1976:266). The Tiwi defined women as wives, even before their births. Although a girl's grandfather, father, or brothers formally arranged her marriage, her mother's relationship with the prospective groom most influenced whether the marriage would take place (Goodale 1971:54–6). A prospective son-in-law had to please his future mother-in-law by doing all she asked of him, or she could void the contract (Goodale 1971:56). Though anthropologists often interpret Tiwi society as men exchanging women, Tiwi women exercised their own control of men through the mother-in-law relationship and extramarital affairs (Goodale 1971:130–1).

Rather than assigning all authority in economic, political, or religious matters to one gender or the other, hunter-gatherers tend to leave decision-making about men's work and areas of expertise to men, and about women's work and expertise to women, either as groups or individuals. When decisions affect an extended household or group, age and gender are factored in in various ways. Older men and women may coordinate the activities of a household, as among Evenki (Anderson, this volume). Netsilik husbands decided where families moved; wives were autonomous in their domains and often influenced their husband's decisions (Balikci 1970:109). Guemple (1995:22) reports that in Inuit interpersonal "politics" the general rule is that younger answer to older and females answer to males; men may "give the orders" at home but do not interfere with women's work; moreover, Inuit men tend to defer to their grandmothers. Observing that Chipewyan women defer to their husbands in public but not in private, Sharp cautions against assuming this means that men control women: "If public deference, or the appearance of it, is an expression of power between the genders, it is a most uncertain and imperfect measure of power relations. Polite behavior can be most misleading precisely because of its conspicuousness" (Sharp 1995:53). Some foragers place the formalities of decision-making in male hands, but expect women to influence or ratify the decisions. Gitxsan male chiefs do not support community-wide initiatives without their mothers' and aunts' approval (Richard Daly, personal communication). Andamanese men act together to make a decision, then get women to endorse it before its implementation. Sometimes, too, women instruct men to undertake specific tasks (V. Pandya, on the Andamanese, personal communication). Other foragers expect both men and women to participate in group decisions. Kim Hill and A. Magdalena Hurtado (personal communication) report that Aché men and women traditionally participated in band-level decisions, though "some men commanded more respect and held more personal power than any woman." The Batek expect individual men and women to have their say; when interests diverge, families or individuals may leave a camp group to pursue their own plans.

In addition to consensus and discussion as the means of decision-making, some foragers have leaders, either formal or informal. The oldest Netsilik male in an extended family is considered the headman for that group. He coordinates hunting activities and his wife distributes the food (Balikci 1970:118). Various Australian Aborigines recognize ritual leaders, usually elders. Some societies, like the Batek, have "headmen" positions that were introduced by outsiders to serve as liaisons. Such people may or may not have a "following." The Batek, like some other foragers, also have "natural" or informal leaders, whose intelligence and abilities tend to attract people who seek their advice. Some Batek natural leaders are women. Commonly, if leaders—whether formal or informal—try to coerce others, families and individuals move away from them.

Indeed, many hunter-gatherers limit authority to specific situations like organizing rituals or arranging marriages, and leave individuals to exercise personal autonomy in broad areas of everyday

life (Leacock 1978, Ingold 1987:223–40, Woodburn 1982, Hamilton 1981:85). People cannot extend such situational authority into generalized control over others. Even when people exercise situational authority, individuals exercising personal autonomy may refuse to abide by the authority. For example, children may refuse arranged marriages or may divorce shortly after the marriage takes place, even when the parent has had the right to make the arrangement. Personal autonomy and situational authority apply to both men and women, though the configurations may differ in each society. Nowhere do men or women control all aspects of each other's lives.

Some anthropologists argue that men have an ultimate advantage over women because men are stronger and will tend to be the winners in violent confrontations. In any human interaction violence is a possibility, and women may well be the losers. The real question is whether the society institutionalizes violence, especially against women. Among some foragers, like the Batek, violence is strictly taboo and violators are scorned. For the Mbuti, "a certain amount of wife-beating is considered good, and the wife is expected to fight back" (Turnbull 1965:287), but too much violence results in intervention by kin or in divorce. Some Australian Aboriginal men use threats of gang-rape to keep women away from their secret ceremonies. Burbank argues that Aborigines accept physical aggression as a "legitimate form of social action" and limit it through ritual (1994:31, 29). Further, women know how to deal with physical aggression, unlike their Western counterparts (Burbank 1994:19). According to Bell (1983:37, 41, 161), Australian men's violence toward women increased with settlement life, largely under the influence of alcohol.

Do foragers symbolically devalue women?

There are few systematic accounts of gender symbolism in specific foraging societies, but even partial accounts suggest that foragers' ideas about gender lack the kind of overt sexual antagonisms found in the ideologies of many South American and New Guinea horticultural societies. Often both male and female characters are prominent in foragers' myths and cosmologies. Australian Aboriginal "Dreamtime" myths are replete with male and female creator beings. In Arnhem Land ceremonies men repeat "the actions of the creative feminine ancestresses, the Wauwalak sisters" (Hamilton 1981:81). The Batek alternatively describe a punitive thundergod as a single male, two brothers, and a brother/sister pair; reflecting widespread Asian ideas, they picture the punitive underground deity as a huge snake or an old woman.

Various foragers view men and women as different in some ways and the same in others, without attaching greater value to either gender. Corporeal distinctions often focus on menstruation, but even societies that consider menstruation dangerous or polluting may limit these qualities to menstruation itself rather than extending them to womanhood in general. For example, the Batek say that menstrual blood smells bad, but they do not consider women themselves to be offensive.

Gender may matter little in beliefs about the human spirit. In the traditional Inuit "ontological formulation of humanity, maleness and femaleness are only transitory states of being" (Guemple 1995:27). The same named personality that circles between the spiritual and corporeal world can attach to either a male or female (Guemple 1995:27). "Since the Native theory holds that the inheritor of a name assumes the identity of the spirit associated with it—and becomes that person in adulthood—there can be no fundamental difference in the statuses of individual Eskimos, because gender is not an essential attribute of being as such" (Guemple 1995:27). Netsilik beliefs about the afterlife reflect

non-hierarchical yet gender-specific values. "Energy, endurance, fearlessness for young men and the ability to endure suffering for women are the qualities most rewarded in the afterlife. Laziness, idleness, apathy, and refusal to accept pain are punished" (Balikci 1970:215).

Does incorporation into nation-states affect gender relations?

For some societies contact with outsiders and incorporation into nation-states undermined gender relations, especially women's lives. Leacock (1978, 1981:37) argued that the fur trade broke down egalitarian gender relations among the Montagnais-Naskapi by separating foraging groups into single household units in which women were increasingly cut off from economic activity. She also argued that this made it easier for Jesuits to introduce changes that deliberately undercut traditional Montagnais-Naskapi gender relations (Leacock 1980:38; for other analyses, see Anderson 1985 and Van Kirk 1987). Draper (1975) documented how Ju/'hoansi sedentization disrupted work and sharing patterns: men found work with neighboring pastoralists, and women became dependent on men. Bell (1983) argued that Kaytej Aboriginal women were less autonomous in settlements than in the bush, though conversely their ritual life increased, and government welfare checks enabled women to live independently of men if they so chose. Among the Batak, government and non-government organizations have created more opportunities for men than women (James Eder, personal communication).

Elsewhere contact increased options for women. Tonkinson (1990) reports that Mardu women in Western Australia acted as liaisons between Aborigines and missions and cattle stations. The women learned more English than the men and earned money through employment opportunities, including prostitution, which they did not view pejoratively. More recently, government welfare checks have given women more independence than ever. Government checks have similarly increased Chipewyan women's economic independence and have enabled young people to reject arranged marriages (Sharp 1995:65). Since the 1970s many Evenki women live in single-parent households supported by government checks. Evenki women also dominate in professions that require higher education (Anderson, this volume). Bruce Grant (personal communication) reports that Sovietization of Nivkh in the 1920s brought women into the Soviet workforce and education and states that "all women I knew felt that their position had been greatly improved through Sovietization." Batek economic opportunities have changed as Malaysia has logged the forests, but gender relations have not changed, except among Muslim converts. So far, most Batek are responding on their own terms as much as possible, foraging in remaining forests, trading, growing crops, and working for wages.

Gender relations are most likely to change if contact with outsiders involves playing by the outsider's rules (especially if those rules favor one gender over the other or deliberately undermine existing gender relations). Rather than assuming that all contact with outsiders and all economic change entail changes in gender relations, especially changes that favor men, we must look at the historical specifics.

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II.II.2

Ecological/cosmological knowledge and land management among hunter-gatherers

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Hunter-gatherer systems of knowing and explaining the universe are analogous to Western science. They represent the collective wisdom and experience of generations resident in local/regional settings and history (see Villoro's [1982] "wisdom," and Deloria, Jr.'s [1995:51] "the oral tradition"). Indigenous knowledge systems may focus on many things: the nature and workings of the physical world; the supernatural realm and human interaction therewith; the social, moral order, or what living beings must do and how they must behave (which researchers categorize broadly as "religion" and define more narrowly as "world-view" or "charter").

It is important to stress that indigenous knowledge systems are valid within a particular geography and set of experiences for a particular people, not all of whom necessarily share equal access to their explication or the same opinions about their content or validity. Traditional knowledge within a particular group is generally holistic, and not easily subject to fragmentation. To deconstruct it and arrange its features in analytic categories, and then to discuss them cross-culturally, is to Westernize them, and do damage to their force and power in their local "home" context. Indigenous knowledge systems are not validated because some of their findings match those of Western science (which they indeed do); rather, they are validated through their effective, situated application.

Ethnographic documentation of hunter-gatherer knowledge systems is particularly rich concerning the natural world, which remains so pertinent to foraging ways of life. In recent years, this area of enquiry has come to be known as "traditional ecological knowledge," or TEK (Inglis 1993). Although TEK is not unique to hunter-gatherers, the premises from which it operates in these types of societies may have some unique features.

The natural world

The natural world is one that hunter-gatherers know well. Their holistic view of a local region is usually guided by spiritual precepts which illuminate their careful observations, perceptions, and behavior. Important among the objects discerned are plants and animals, and the principles for naming, understanding, and intervening in the complexity of ecological relationships. They also find knowledge in the sky with its celestial bodies and associated events, many of which are employed to elucidate religious precepts and enrich spiritual practices. Celestial knowledge is related to hunter-

gatherers' sense of geography, including but not limited to toponymy and systems of orientation.

Plant and animal classification

Since the late 1960s, led by the pioneering work of Brent Berlin and his colleagues, there has been considerable interest in the diverse ways humans categorize and name objects and phenomena in their world, particularly plants and animals. Cross-cultural comparisons reveal that societies normally recognize from four to six levels of nomenclature in a taxonomic hierarchy: kingdom, life form, intermediate, generic, specific, and varietal (Berlin 1992:31). Further comparisons show that there are differences between the taxonomic hierarchies of hunter-gatherers and those of agriculturalists. Berlin's (1992) summary of three decades of work on this topic suggests that when ethnobiological classification systems of hunter-gatherer groups are compared with those of agriculturalists, the former appear shallower, with few or no taxa at the taxonomic rank of species, and none at the varietal rank. In agricultural societies, taxa of both of these ranks are typically well represented, with many taxa at the generic rank being polytypic (including further subtaxa). Brown (1985,1986) reached similar conclusions. Brown, like Hunn and French (1984), suggests that hunter-gatherers have generally fewer biological taxa of the generic rank than do subsistence farmers in the same general habitats.

110 Panamint Prince's Plume (*Stanleya elata*), an early spring plant which is part of the ongoing botanical knowledge, and diet, of the Timbisha Shoshone, Death Valley, California. Photo: Catherine S. Fowler.

What accounts for these differences? Brown (1985) and Hunn and French (1984) hypothesize that agrarian peoples require a deeper knowledge not only of the domesticated species they grow, but also of the wild species around them, which they rely upon and utilize at times of periodic crop failures. Their reliance on wild foods at these times, it is suggested, is even more intensive than for hunter-gatherers, since their populations are generally higher. By contrast, hunter-gatherers need familiarity with a relatively limited number of species. The agriculturalists' richer biological repertoires reflect their need for a greater depth of knowledge. Brown and Berlin both suspect that the close interest in plants required for their domestication and rearing may lead to a deeper curiosity about, and interest in, wild varieties, and hence to more complex systems of naming and classifying.

As Berlin (1992) notes, the problem remains that there are virtually no systematic comparisons between foragers and agriculturalists in the same habitats and regions. Noted differences in complexity may be a function of relative biological diversity in local areas, or other external factors. Recently, Balée (1994:206–7) attempted such a study, examining the biological classification systems of the Ka'apor and Guajá, of the *terra firme* forests of the Amazon. The languages and cultures of these two peoples are closely related, and both were probably traditionally horticultural. But the Guajá reverted to hunter-gatherer subsistence at a certain point in history, and have only recently begun to readopt a horticultural way of life. At present, Guajá vocabulary possesses very few folk specific names for domesticates in comparison with the horticultural Ka'apor, but, in addition, wild plants are also underrepresented by folk specific names when compared with the Ka'apor. Furthermore, the number of plant species known and used by the Guajá is significantly smaller, and the number of "useless" plants significantly greater, than among the Ka'apor. Balée does not accept the explanation proposed by Brown and others. He suggests that the Guajá, as foragers, have (1) shorter settlement occupation spans than the Ka'apor, and therefore less permanent housing; (2) a reduced technology, with less requirement for material artifacts and other manufacturing materials; and (3) a more restricted diet exploiting fewer edible species. Balée identifies these traits, and the resulting less complex taxonomic systems, with a more transient and apparently simpler lifestyle for foragers in the Amazon than for their horticultural counterparts.

Berlin (1992:288) also rejects the notion that the utilitarian need-to-know principle guided horticulturalists in their development of more detailed biological taxa. Commonalities in classification systems among hunter-gatherers and horticulturalists must be viewed with the realization that there are also significant cultural, linguistic, historical, and environmental variations among these groups.

Indigenous land management

The original "hunter-gatherer versus agriculturalist" approach to classifying human cultures has given way in the past few decades to a more sophisticated analysis reflecting not a dichotomy, but a continuum of activities relating to the intensification of food supplies. In this continuum, foraging is situated at one extreme and breeding and domestication of plants and animals at the other, with various steps and stages in between (Ford 1985). Most human cultures, even those typically defined as hunter-gatherer, use a variety of strategies to manage and enhance the resources on which they rely. Conversely, most agriculturalist societies also rely to some extent on ecosystems that are less managed and more "natural" than their cultivated fields and pastures.

Very few environments, if any, are/were truly "pristine wilderness," unaffected by humans. Although domestication of plants and animals began probably within the past 10,000 years, the management and promotion of certain culturally important plant and animal populations is much older. Strategies for increasing productivity and enhancing the quality of particular "wild" plant species include a wide spectrum of practices: burning, trimming or pruning, coppicing, thinning, bark-ringing, selective harvesting, water diversion, sparing, replanting of propagules, fertilizing, mulching, weeding, and transplanting (Blackburn and Anderson 1993, Anderson 1993, Gottesfeld 1994). In the management and enhanced production of animals, strategies include culling, sparing, monitoring, selective fishing and hunting based on lifecycles and numbers of fish and animals, alternative resource use, transplanting of eggs and young (in the case of fish), "clearing out" streams and shellfish beds, relocating game, occasional raising of young, and habitat manipulation by clearing and burning to promote better forage for game (see Anderson 1996, Inglis 1993).

Many of these practices are not obvious to outsiders. A classic example is the European newcomers' observations of the parklike garry oak (*Quercus garryana*) woodlands around Victoria on the southern tip of Vancouver Island (Lutz 1995). They assumed that this "perfect Eden," of oaks interspersed with sweeping meadows of blue camas and other spring-flowering plants, was natural. In fact, it was an anthropogenic environment, developed by the local Straits Salish peoples by periodic burning and intensive digging and "cultivating" of the camas (*Camassia* spp.), whose bulbs were a staple carbohydrate food. Ironically, the Europeans immediately started to prohibit the firing of the landscape, and set the local indigenous peoples to constructing the beginnings of an urban center that would all but obliterate the meadows. The cessation of regular burning finally resulted in the camas being choked out by a tangled growth of shrubs (Turner and Kuhnlein 1983; Turner 1991).

Hunter-gatherers are seen as domesticating their environments, even though they may not have domesticated individual species of plants and animals (Blackburn and Anderson 1993, Fowler 1996, Symons and Symons 1994, Young *et al*. 1991). In some cases genetic alteration of resource species possibly occurred, either intentionally or unintentionally. Anderson (1996) describes many strategies indigenous people have developed to maintain and enhance their resources. Some of these strategies are obvious and direct; others are deeply encoded in narratives, ceremonies, and religious teachings. In most cases it is impossible to disengage the strategies employed from the philosophies and world-views that support them.

Anderson also addresses the widely debated issue regarding the effectiveness of traditional management strategies of indigenous peoples, including hunter-gatherers, to maintain and sustain their resources (see Botkin 1990, Callicott 1989, Denevan 1992, Hughes 1983). Although constraints against overexploitation sometimes broke down (as with overhunting during the fur-trading era in North America), there is good evidence that hunter-gatherers were good managers of their resources. Anderson (1996) cites the salmon fisheries of the Pacific Coast as an example. All along the coast are hundreds of streams and rivers in which salmon spawn. Aboriginal peoples had the technologies, in the form of weirs and traps, potentially capable of exterminating salmon runs in these streams in a single season. Yet, for millennia, the salmon runs were maintained, and were not depleted until Europeans entered the scene and began major forms of habitat modification and overharvesting of stocks in commercial ventures. Regulation by monitoring and ceremony were apparently essential features of indigenous systems of management, as they are in many parts of the world (Boas 1930, Lee 1979, McClellan 1987).

Ecological relationships

Ecology, as an approach to the study of biology, has focused on the discovery of systematic interrelationships among organisms. Ethnoecology, although less unified in purpose or view, has attempted to look at indigenous perceptions of biological interrelatedness, coupling these with peoples' practical activities in natural resource appropriation (Toledo 1992). Hunter-gatherers usually focus on the interrelatedness of all systems in the natural world, incorporating at the same time the spiritual world and many aspects of the social world. Their traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) goes well beyond noting the interrelatedness of specific organisms; it embraces an all-encompassing world-view of total relationship. While some hunter-gatherer views of biological interrelationship have counterparts in Western ecology, others are explained in relation to social values and psychic/spiritual ethics.

Some hunter-gatherers are known to transplant certain plants in order to encourage their growth in particular habitats (Shipek 1993), yet others do not, out of distaste for altering "natural" interactions. The Timbisha Shoshone of Death Valley, California, occasionally transplanted willow to encourage a particularly useful growth for basketry, but the practice was generally not acceptable. It was felt that plants "belonged to certain places," the places where they seeded and grew, and that to move them did violence to their relationships with the land. If medicinal plants were moved, they were considered to suffer even more severe problems. Their curative powers were seen to emanate from their *in situ* spiritual energies, rather than from their biochemical properties. In this light, we see that recent attempts by US Federal land managers (who are trying to deal with environmental destruction) to convince Timbisha people that the plants can be moved safely have not met with sympathy. The Timbisha say that the plant may live, but it will no longer have medicinal power.

111 While a crew member (*left*) completes a sound check, Mr. Paul Dixon (*right*) prepares to explain a Cree hunter's relations with animals for a BBC-TV film crew, whom he invited to his family hunting territory in 1995 to contribute an Indigenous perspective to an animal rights film, *The trouble with animals*. Photo: Harvey A. Feit.

The interrelationship of plants and animals pervades other areas of thought as well. Southern Paiute people say that plants need to "feel" a human presence, such as when people walk about on them, or prune, burn, or harvest them. Animals need this same interaction with humans: if they are not hunted, their numbers will dwindle; the animals will sense that people no longer depend upon, covet, and show concern for them. They must, of course, be hunted with respect; appropriate prayers must be offered to their spirits, if humans are to expect them to yield up their lives to the hunter. If humans cease their predatory interaction with the animals, the animal population will dwindle. Plants and animals also live together in associations. Pinyon pine trees must have Clark's nutcracker *(Nucifraga Columbiana)* and the pinyon mouse *(Peromyscus truei)* to plant them, and people to pray to them, talk to them, and tend them. These associations are vital for the continuity and maintenance of a healthy world.

The sky and celestial bodies

Traditional ecological knowledge is not confined to things of the earth alone. Foraging peoples the world over also have reflected upon the sky (particularly the night sky). Although data on what native peoples know about astronomical topics are somewhat sparse, those that have been documented inform a number of issues. They show that people have observed cyclical patterns in the movement of the stars, the sun and moon, and the planets, and that they have integrated this knowledge into cyclical social relations concerning the annual round of subsistence and attendant ceremonies. The strong spiritual essence attributed to celestial beings has provided both charter and explanation for seasonal recurrences. Although it is often assumed that agriculturalists will be particularly cognizant of such matters because of practical needs in planting and harvesting, hunter-gatherers have also used celestial observations for calendrical purposes.

Consistent observation of the sky reveals a number of patterns of potential interest to native peoples (Hudson and Underhay 1987, Williamson and Farrer 1992). For various cultures, certain clusters of stars appear to be fixed in patterns, while others are more randomly distributed. These so-called fixed stars (and planets) appear to move across the sky during the year, their periodic disappearances and reappearances being used socially to mark the passage of time. Spier (1930:218) reports that the Klamath of Oregon used the position of Orion to tell time during the winter, while the Chumash of California used Cassiopeia to determine the timing of funerary rites at Winter Solstice (Hudson and Underhay 1978:119).

Many hunter-gatherers name constellations of fixed stars and integrate them into mythic traditions. Perhaps the most famous in native North America are treatments of the Pleiades, *Ursa Major*, the Milky Way, and Orion, all of which show certain parallels to other regions of the world (Gibbon 1972). In western North America, the Pleiades are often referred to as "sisters," with tales of their escape to the sky in relation to a transgression, or to avoid Coyote's incestuous desires (Northern Paiute). The Eskimo make a similar identification of them as girls or women, as do foraging peoples

in Australia (Gibbon 1972:243ff.).

Orion is associated in western North America (as, for example, among the Southern Paiute and Mojave) with the story of a great hunt for mountain sheep. The stars in Orion's belt are wild sheep; what Europeans see as his sword is a giant arrow being directed at the sheep by the Hunter (Sirius) (Fowler 1995). Among the Lakota of the North American Plains, Orion's belt and sword form parts of a "chief's hand," which disappears from the sky shortly before midsummer and reappears before midwinter (Goodman 1992).

The Milky Way has received considerable attention, with many North American aboriginal peoples associating it with the land of the dead: the path by which the afterworld is entered. In the southern hemisphere, where the Milky Way is brighter and its dark patches more apparent, native peoples have named the dark configurations (Urton 1981). Whether it or other constellations can be readily seen depends on atmospheric moisture and light, so that the world's desert areas, often peopled by hunter-gatherers, become the best places for observations. Endicott (1979:41) reports that the Batek of Malaysia do not seem to be aware of the movement of stars, probably because they live in the deep forest and are seldom afforded an unobstructed view of the sky.

Particularly common among foraging peoples are solstice observations, as well as the monthly cycle of renewal and decline of the moon. The sun follows a complicated path from north to south and back during a year, especially with regard to a fixed horizon (Williamson and Farrer 1992:9). A number of hunter-gatherer peoples observed the movements of the sun from fixed "seats" or places, watching its progress along the horizon or in relation to specific land forms (Miller 1992).

In the northern hemisphere, the winter solstice has been particularly important, frequently associated with world renewal. Among the Chumash, specific ceremonies were held at that time to call the sun back from its southern journey in order to renew plant and animal life as well as that of humans (Hudson and Underhay 1978). Summer solstice marks the time on the North American Plains of the great Sun Dance, another typical renewal ceremony.

Of all the recurring cycles of nature, the earth-solar revolutions are the most commonly noted, followed in frequency by observations of the moon. Lunar cycles provide excellent calendrical potential, and are often associated as well with women's menstrual cycles. The moon's path through the sky and its relationship to the sun is very complex, but its cycle of 29.5 days is highly regular (Williamson and Farrer 1992:12). This cycle establishes months of fixed lengths for many peoples, including most hunter-gatherers. It does, however, create a problem when compared to the longer solar year that requires periodic adjustment. Most peoples have some system for explaining this lack of continuity. Biesele (1976:321) provides a !Kung story about the origin of human death, relating it to a fight between Hare and Moon wherein Hare denies Moon's contention that humans can and should be reborn each month. The sun and moon are also held in high regard as spiritual beings by most hunter-gatherers (Bean (1992:162ff., Fowler 1992, Hudson and Underhay 1978).

Brighter than most stars, planets appear to move among the other heavenly bodies in either an easterly or a westerly direction, in patterns associated with the sun. Particularly visible is Venus, the morning and/or evening star, but Mars, Jupiter, and Mercury are also noted for their brightness. While sedentary peoples and builders of monumental architecture in many areas of the world oriented their buildings to coincide with planetary movements, hunter-gatherers appear only to have observed them for calendrical and other cyclical purposes. It is possible that rock art, much of it executed by hunter-gatherers, was placed in conjunction with planetary and other celestial movements (Hudson and

Underhay 1978).

Toponymy and orientation systems

The naming of geographic features as part of territorial marking and orientation is a common occurrence in all cultures and often reveals much about TEK. Usually, topographical names reflect specific cultural interests and historical developments within the possibilities given by the morphology of the language (Boas 1934). The analysis of place-names contributes to any study of human ecology, and can clearly illustrate a type and depth of local habitat knowledge.

Naming systems can be related to orientation systems, although there is no necessary connection. If peoples choose to orient themselves to coasts or seas, rivers or mountains, the sun's path, or some other feature, some aspect of this will usually show up in their place-names (see Boas 1934:171).

The cultural and linguistic complexities of place naming make it unclear whether hunter-gatherers show any uniformity of toponymic nomenclature. They do catalog many hundreds of specific locations within their territories, but whether these numbers are more or less than those of agriculturalists or of a more specific character is unknown. With allowances for language, hunter-gatherers seem to avoid generalities such as generic terms for mountains, rivers, or valleys in favor of a micro-focus on a particular geographic occurrence of a resource or a locality where an event occurred. The Sahaptin-speaking peoples of the North American Interior Plateau name literally dozens of rocky points and ephemeral islands near Celilo Falls on the Columbia River, an area of intensive fishing activity (Hunn 1990:93). Not surprisingly, Great Basin peoples name specifically hundreds of springs, seeps, rock catchment basins or tanks, and other specific water sources (Fowler 1992).

Natural resources that are characteristic of specific localities are likely to become the focus of names. Other important cultural aspects commonly caught in place-name nomenclature are sacred locations related to myths, some highly descriptive and poetic usages, and various forms of humor. Basso (1990) reports on the uses of place-names and their story referents to derive moral lessons among the Cibeque Apache of the American Southwest.

The use of orientation systems that refer to true cardinal points apparently is relatively rare among hunter-gatherers. Brown (1983), on the basis of a cross-cultural sample of 127 societies at various technological levels, found four primary developmental principles for cardinal direction nomenclature: (1) reference to the movement of celestial bodies (particularly the sun); (2) atmospheric features such as winds; (3) other more general directional terms, such as upward/downward, toward/away from; and (4) environmental-specific features, such as to/from a specific geographic feature. Although there seems to be no central tendency for hunter-gatherers to favor one of these over another, Brown does note that "small scale societies" usually do not require the fixity of direction that cardinal terms provide (1983:122).

Conclusions

The natural world and all of its complexities hold special meaning for indigenous hunting and gathering peoples; this is reflected in various aspects of their traditional ecological knowledge. Particularly important is the sense of place and purpose communicated by the oral tradition, and the cumulative wisdom derived from knowledge of complex ecological relationships, and by the day-to-

day interaction with the things of these places. People are as much a part of the natural world as any other organism. Forced removal of indigenous peoples from their homelands and from interactions with their natural world has had extremely negative consequences for the land as well as its peoples. Homelands for most hunter-gatherers today are much reduced, and few can live, or would choose to live, a life as in the past. But lack of interaction and a feeling of interconnection with the natural world has led to many negative aspects of social change, including disorientation and distinct loss of purpose, language, culture, and self-esteem. People, and the rest of the living forms of energy in their environment, must remain consciously intertwined in order to ensure balance, health, well-being, and a positive future for those yet unborn.

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II.II.3

From totemism to shamanism: hunter-gatherer contributions to world mythology and spirituality

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Totemism and shamanism are two complexes of belief and ritual associated typically (though not exclusively) with hunter-gatherer, and incipiently agricultural societies. Owing to the markedly fluid and diverse nature of hunter-gatherer religions, these complexes vary widely from one society to another. For the researcher, this makes generalization difficult. Since each foraging society is historically situated, with its own local, regional, and transnational context, each specific context exerts unique impacts on the shamanistic religion within a given area (Atkinson 1992:308), especially since its practitioners and followers may utilize elements of their religion for dealing with issues of power and oppression *vis-à-vis* regional hegemony or colonial rule. Instead of a universal, unitary form of shamanism ("writ-large"), Atkinson suggests we recognize diverse "shamanisms," each a "historically situated and culturally mediated practice" (1992:308). In addition to problems associated with seeking universal forms (as well as the related problem of unwarranted generic use of terms and categories that are culture-specific), anthropologists of religion have raised cautionary warnings against reification of spiritual phenomena in the ethnographic record (for example Lévi-Strauss [1962] regarding totemism and Atkinson [1992:307ff.]) on shamanism).

Yet, notwithstanding such theoretical caveats, a systematic, cross-cultural look at hunter-gatherer religions reveals that underneath all of the contextual and cultural diversity, there indeed is a substrate of ritual, cosmological, and symbolic commonality. This is fundamentally shamanistic (and sometimes also totemistic). This chapter falls in line with the view held generally by scholars in the anthropology of religion and in comparative religion (for instance, Eliade 1964, Bellah 1965:39–41, Lessa and Vogt 1965:381–2, Wallace 1966:88–91, Furst 1973/4, Lewis 1981/3) that shamanism is a religious phenomenon that can be formally delineated and differentiated from other, more complex religions.

I proceed by outlining the key elements of hunter-gatherer religion, then focus on its ritual expert, the shaman, and its cosmological content, the "shamanic universe." Thereafter I briefly deal with the basic fluid structural characteristics of hunter-gatherer religion, and conclude by noting some of its principal contributions to world - especially Western - mythology and spirituality.

Key elements of hunter-gatherer religion

Common features in hunter-gatherer religions find considerable explanation in the lifeways of the people, and their proximity to nature. Living within and off nature, foragers have both their practical and conceptual consciousness focused on animals, plants, the landscape and seasons, and meteorological and astronomical phenomena. At the metaphysical level, hunter-gatherers regard nature as pervasively animated with moral, mystical, and mythical significance; there is a "hovering closeness of the world of myth to the actual world" (Bellah 1965:91). Shamanism is a technique and a thought system for entering and conceptualizing such a universe and for relating to, channeling and transforming its beings and forces for the benefit of humans.

Foremost of nature's beings are animals, especially the game animals which, for all hunter-gatherers, feed both the stomach and the mind and beguile the heart. They are central elements of shamanic ritual and myth. In some hunter-gatherer societies, especially in Australia, animals are the most common totems, signifying a person's or group's identity or distinctiveness. They have a presence also within initiation rites, like the North American vision quests (Furst 1973/4:55–6, Mills 1986:83) or southern African "first buck" ceremonies (Lewis-Williams and Biesele 1978).

Ecstasy and transformation - into spirit beings or animals - are the two key elements of shamanic ritual practiced by shamans. They also inform shamanic cosmology and cosmogony. Ecstasy is the practical mechanism whereby the shaman enters and mediates between the various tiers of the shamanic universe. Transformation, at the cosmogonic level, is the creative process for bringing into existence the present world, carried out by one or another of the beings of the mythological past.

One of these beings, the Trickster, is a central protagonist of hunter-gatherer mythology (Radin 1972 [1956]). Part god, part culture hero - and an ambiguous mix of many other ontological, social, and moral attributes - he may partake in creation (or not: instead of being a creator, he may also be a destroyer). His usual mode of creation, followed by instinct rather than design, is to transform beings from the mythic past. His actions as shape-shifter, are in line with his own fluid and flawed nature and his penchant for self-transformation. The striking prominence of this quasi-divine figure in its classic, "archaic" form (Radin 1972:xxiii) within the mythological world of hunter-gatherers contrasts with the figure's relative insignificance in the myths and beliefs of state-organized societies. There is little room in state societies and their pantheons for so morally ambivalent and inchoate a being as the Trickster, or for so flawed and bungling a divinity or hero figure (Diamond 1972 [1956], 1974:190), or for a being who, by his very nature, is the "spirit of disorder and enemy of boundaries" (Kerenyi 1972:185).

The shaman

While in a strict ethnographic sense the shaman's cultural province is Siberia, the term and category are used in a generic sense by most writers. The Tungus gloss of the term, *saman*, is "one who is excited or raised," semantically expressing the basic nature and *modus operandi* of this figure. Shamans everywhere enter *altered states of consciousness*, in order to gain spiritual inspiration or divinatory guidance, or to effect their mystical cures. They do so to varying degrees of intensity, and usually (among hunter-gatherers) without the use of hallucinogenic substances, but, instead, through a combination of drumming, singing, and dancing, coupled with physical exhaustion. A classic example is the Kalahari Ju/'hoansi Bushmen, insightfully explicated by the psychologist Richard Katz (1982).

The experience of ecstasy or trance, which may include visions, is frequently likened to death, or (in North America) to dreams, both instances of individual transformation. The process of dying and being reborn is the symbolic trope for a shaman's initiation or calling to the profession, after suffering a prolonged, life-threatening disease. The dismemberment of the shaman's spiritual body, its evisceration and the replacement of its inner organs with a new set, including an object (such as a quartz crystal) of spiritual and healing power, and rebirth from his bones may all be elements of the shaman's initiation (Elkin 1964:302–4, Furst 1973/4:48–50, 55–6).

Now, corporeally imbued with spirituality, the shaman becomes ontologically ambiguous, being, in a sense, both human and spirit. Another ontological ambiguity (and phenomenologically more explicit in shamanic religions) is the shaman's close spiritual association with animals. A shaman may, through transformation, become an animal: a bear as among the Ojibwa (Hallowell 1964:66), or a tiger as among the Batek (Endicott 1979:131), or a jaguar, as among many South American shamanic traditions (Furst 1973/4:48). The mythology and rock art of the southern San depict scenes of trance dancers undergoing transformation into antelopes or felines (Lewis-Williams 1981:91–100). The shaman's condition of ambiguity may be expressed in other ways, such as through gender and moral disposition. Among the Inuit, the *angakok* is, according to Saladin d'Anglure (1993 [1989]), a "third gender"; in his moral nature he fuses beneficent and malevolent elements, creating ambivalence in people toward him (Balikci 1967:206). As regards the shaman's biological gender, it is usually male among hunter-gatherers, as against hierarchical societies (such as Korea and Japan) where, because of the religious marginalization of shamanism by the priesthood, a high incidence of female shamans can be found (Atkinson 1992:317).

The shaman in the state of trance is active at both the practical and metaphysical levels. Physical practices consist of singing or chanting, playing a musical instrument (typically a drum), and dancing, all with focused intensity and drama. The spiritual activity for hunter-gatherer shamans almost always involves extra-body travel, either laterally across the land, or vertically, into the upper or lower domains. The objective of such "soul flights" is to seek out spirit beings from whom the shaman's own spirit requests help to carry out his work on behalf of his people. This may not be readily forthcoming and the shaman's spirit may be required to beseech, cajole, or coerce his counterpart in the realm beyond. The shaman's spirit may be alone on these portentous and dangerous journeys, or he may be assisted by one or several spirit familiars, usually animals. The other spirit experience, more common in the shamanic practices of agriculturalists than foragers, is spirit possession (Lewis 1981). The possession maybe either active or passive. A shaman may either be possessed and controlled by a spirit, or *vice versa*.

A shaman's primary work is curing, although he may be asked to help with lack of success in hunting, with ending bad weather, or with finding lost objects. He may be asked to accompany or guide the souls of departed community members to the spirit realm. He combines divinatory with propitiatory ritual, or may "charm" game animals, by using his drum or playing enchanting music on the hunting bow, attracting the elusive animals to himself or to the hunters, and rendering them tractable (Furst 1973/4:43). Propitiatory ritual or mystical actions may be directed at the spirit or spirits that control game animals or weather. The former may be well-defined supernatural beings (the animal's "spirit keepers" or "bosses") whom the shaman's spirit will seek out, appease, or wrestle with, at his own considerable peril. Another function of the shaman may be to carry out "protective rites" over the faunal or floral resources of the environment. An example is the "fruit

shaman" of the Batek of Malaysia whose spirit flight mission is to obtain fruit blossoms from the spirit beings (Endicott 1979:131).

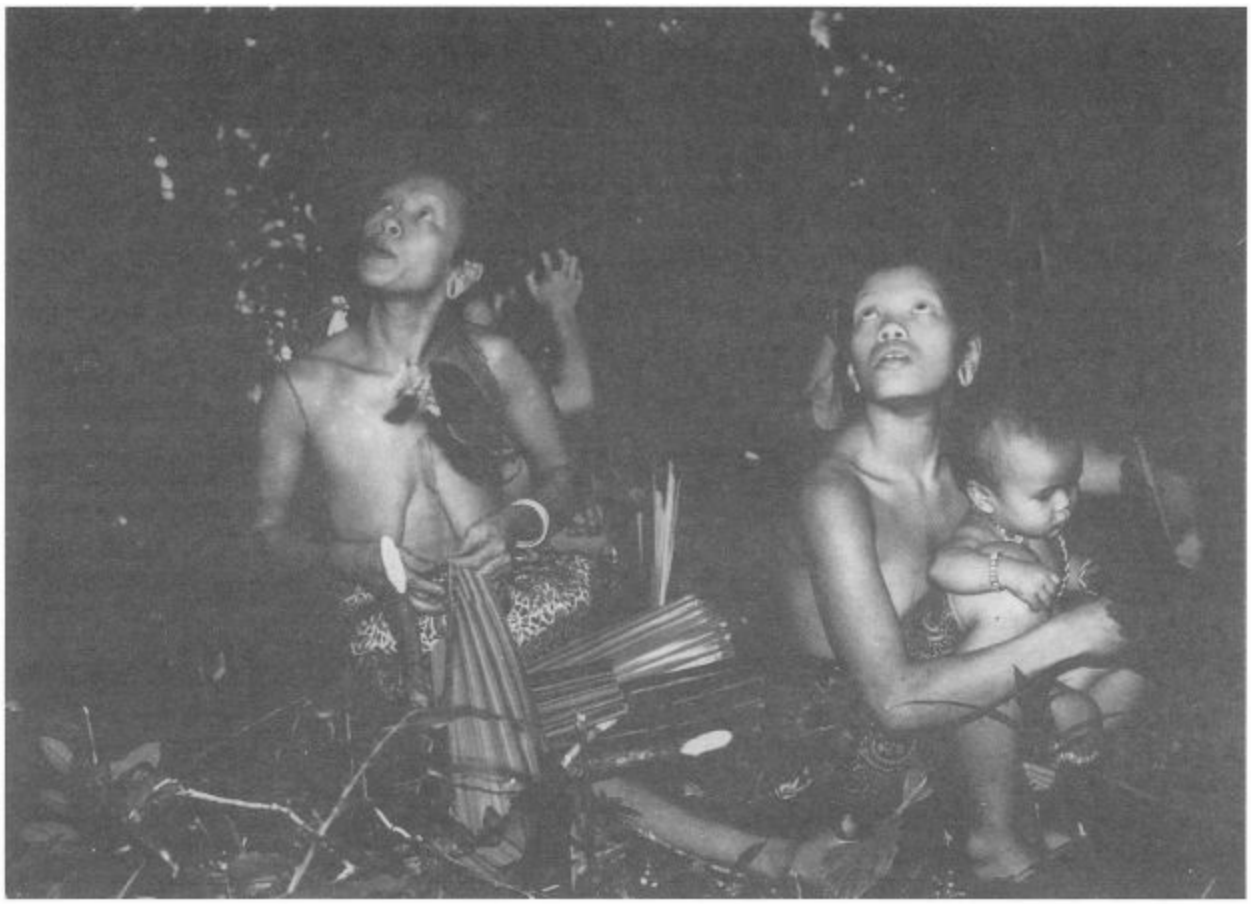
The shaman's focus upon hunting, the game animals, and their spirits, as well as his possession by, or his control of, animal familiars, all link him ritually and symbolically to the hunt. His ritual objects and practices become symbolic instances of technology and labor, compensating for the relative simplicity and inefficiency of material technology (Tanner 1979, Guenther 1988, Ridington 1990:88–9).

112 Illuminated by firelight, Jeffrey James Tjangala dances in a Pintupi Rain Dreaming Ceremony, Yayayi, Northern Territory, 1974. Photo: Fred R. Myers.

Shamanism, for all its surreal other-worldliness, does have practical, adaptive implications. The Australian Aboriginal myths about Dreamtime ancestral spirits' sojourns across the landscape may encode a "corpus of information on local resources" (Berndt 1972:188) while their ritual of "increase" may enhance the control of mature men over "the reproduction of the social and natural orders" (Morton 1987:453). The /Xam Bushmen of the Cape report how a shaman, after an extra-body journey, as a lion, over the nocturnal landscape, "told us about the things which he had been wont to see, when he was out on a magical expedition." David Lewis-Williams, who cites this example in an analysis of the socioeconomic functions of /Xam rock art, suggests that such debriefings by shamans after their mystical trips may have provided vital ecological and social information to his camp members, about people in distant camps and resources in far-off, better-endowed land stretches (Lewis-Williams 1982:436). Somewhat similarly, the mythology of the Ju/'hoansi !Kung is symbolically likened by Megan Biesele (1993:42–3) to a carrying net, by means of which people communicate and share adaptively significant information. Her suggestion that rock and cave art of Bushman and Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers may likewise have played a communicative and adaptive role is one of the more recent interpretive paradigms in rupestrian

studies (Pfeiffer 1982, Conkey 1983, York *et al* 1993).

Accompanying the shamanic ritual activities is a strong performative element. Often the shaman is a showman who employs rich poetic imagery and histrionics. He may sing and dance, trembling and shrieking, and speak in strange spirit languages. He may also employ prestidigitation and ventriloquism. Among the Northwest Coast Indians, shamanic ritual performances were "tremendously impressive affairs," "weird and unusual, thrillingly entertaining" (Spencer and Jennings 1965:202). The shamanic drum, as well as other devices (including a richly decorated, symbolically and mythologically dense cloak), was common across the circumpolar region. In the Canadian Subarctic, an especially dramatic prop was the shaking tent, used for visually arresting divinatory seances (Tanner 1979:111–16). In such ways, shamanic seances are very much performance events, not infrequently with audience feedback. They involve the shaman in role playing, engaging in dialogue with various spirits, each of whose counter-roles he plays himself (Lewis 1981/3:186–7, Atkinson 1992:312–13).



113 It began to thunder while this Penan group moved to a new forest camp in a watershed they had not visited for ten years. Two women address the soul of a man who had camped in this watershed before his death. They are concerned that his soul is expressing displeasure at their return. Photo: J. Peter Brosius.

The shamanic universe

Turning from ritual to belief, from the shaman to the "shamanic universe" (Furst 1973/4:40–51), we note two key concepts which appear to be universal in hunter-gatherer cosmology: a multiple-layered universe, as the cosmological structure of the world, and two temporal orders of existence, an early

one, in the creative, mythological past, such as the Australian Dreamtime, and the present order.

The principal divisions of the shamanic universe are the world of the living and an upperworld above and underworld below (Furst 1973/4:40–1). There may be further subdivisions, each ruled by its respective spirits and with spirit inhabitants. The tiers are connected vertically, through some sort of *axis mundi*, which, in its classic Siberian form, is the "cosmic tree" (Eliade 1976:451–3, Vastokas 1973/4), or maybe a mountain or a rainbow, as among the Australian Aborigines (Elkin 1964:305). The shaman may also descend to the underworld, sometimes located at the bottom of the sea, as among the Eskimo, whose shaman seeks out Sedna, the Spirit Keeper of sea mammals, or to the bottom of a river, to seek curing power, as among the Batek (Endicott 1979:155) or the !Kung (Biesele 1992:70–2).

A common cosmogonic theme in hunter-gatherer mythology is that a first order of existence, in the mythological past, became transformed, by divinities or spirit beings, culture heroes, or the Trickster. To one expert on shamanism this element, "transformation…rather than creation *ex nihilo* of the biblical kind," is "the hallmark of shamanistic cosmology" (Furst 1973/4:48). The first order was incomplete, provisional, flawed; in the words of the Nharo Bushmen, the early people and animals "had no customs," and the animals' flesh was foul-tasting (Guenther 1989:86). Everything was astir with creative ferment and nature and culture were not yet fully separated. Thus, among the Nharo and /Xam Bushmen (Guenther 1989:86–7), as well as the Northwest Coast/Interior Plateau 'Nlaka'pamux (York *et al*.. 1993:233–5), the "First People" were either therianthropes, combining, in their physical appearance, human and animal traits, or beings which, while not visibly different from a human or animal, were nevertheless internally merged. The separation, into either the human or animal of the present order, may have happened piecemeal, or through one creative act of transformation.

Because today's order is a transformed version of the one from the mythic past, in essence that past still reverberates through the present. The Australian Dreamtime is an especially striking instance of the mythological past overlapping with the historical present, so that it is, in fact, an "Eternal Dream" (Elkin 1971 [1950]:538), "a kind of narrative of things that once happened [as well as] a kind of charter of things that still happen" (Stanner 1965:270). The blending of past with present and myth with history, through mythology and ritual, accounts for the non-linear conceptualizations of time attributed to hunter-gatherer cosmology by many writers (though not all; see Feit 1994 for a critical examination of this widely held view).

Because shamans, as well as spirits, shuttle back and forth between the different layers of the universe, and because the early "dreamtime" may continue into the present, the world of living people today is strongly animated with mythical and spiritual significance. That world may be extensively animistic, as among the Eskimo, where every pebble on the beach may contain its individual soul (Service 1979:79), or the Ainu (Watanabe 1972:475, Svensson, this volume), who regarded all animals and plants as spirit beings ("*Kamui* deities") temporarily incarnating themselves, such that "the earth's surface, covered with fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the abode and activity field of the *Kamui* deities" (Watanabe 1972). Some of these, such as the bear and the salmon, would visit people as spirit beings, at the behest each of its spirit master. At the visit they would offer their flesh in return for hospitality and ritual objects, which, on returning to the spirit domain, the bear or salmon spirit would offer to its master (along with laudatory reports on the hunter's family and village) (Watanabe 1972:475–9). This is the Ainu variant of the circumpolar "bear cult," with roots, possibly, deeply into the Palaeolithic past (Hallowell 1926). It also exemplifies the relationship of

friendship and respect, as well as reciprocity and complementarity, between hunter and game animal. This relationship may also follow the model of the man-woman or husband-wife relationship quite explicitly, as in the common myth of the hunter's "animal wife" found in North America and southern Africa (Tanner 1979:136–40, Biesele 1992:95, Guenther 1989:86–7,92–4,98–100).

Again, the Australian Aborigines offer the most thorough instance of world-enchantment. The natural and social landscape bears the pervasive mark of Dreamtime and totemic spirits, whose "songlines" have criss-crossed all of the trails and waterways, every nook and cranny of a group's territory, leaving their palpable imprint on the landscape, as well as leaving behind spirit children, to be incarnated in the wombs of women who pass by the spirit locale (Elkin 1971 [1950],Berndt 1972:182–9, Tonkinson 1978, Myers 1986). In constantly reenacting and renewing, through song and dance, the "revered creative past and…the heroic type-life from which all must learn" (Elkin 1971 [1950]:540), the Aboriginal celebrants and spectators realize the presence and actions of the Dreamtime spirits. They become enveloped by the Dreaming, "even as they are by the dust which is raised by the stamp of feet and by beating the time with sticks on the ground" (Elkin 1971 [1950]:540). Other hunter-gatherers, especially in North America, appear also to have a widely held belief in reincarnation (Mills and Slobodin 1994), creating an intimate link of the living to the spiritual, mystical, timeless world.

Fluidity and change of hunter-gatherer religion

While probably of great antiquity, possibly going back to the Upper or Middle Palaeolithic (Lommel 1967, Furst 1973/4:52–9), shamanic religions are nowhere static. The fluidity and variability of hunter-gatherer beliefs has been commented on by writers on such groups as the Bushmen (Guenther 1979, Barnard 1988, Biesele 1993:180–1), the Australian Aborigines (Tonkinson 1978:112–15), the Andaman Islanders (Radcliffe-Brown 1964]1932]:188), the Batek (Endicott 1979:22,23,26), the Paliyans (Gardner 1972:438) and the Copper Eskimo (Damas 1972:40). This lack of standardization of belief is due to the fact that the source of a person's story may be an experience that is itself surreal, such as a dream or a vision, a most "fertile source of variation" (Radcliffe-Brown 1964 [1932]:188). The Mardudjara actively search their dreams for new songs and dances, sharing the information so that others may dream more verses; in this way new songlines, containing hundreds of verses, may be created (Tonkinson 1978:102). As well, the fluidity of myth and lore is a function of orality, in cultures with rich story-telling traditions. These traditions, coupled with strong individualism and the expectation and appreciation of originality in a story-teller's performance, result in a wide range of variation and oral innovation.

Another source of variation is the readiness with which hunter-gatherers adopt and adapt ideas from neighboring groups, both from other bands (each of which, from a degree of isolation, will develop its own local versions of myth and ritual) and from other ethnic groups. There is much diffusion of stories, beliefs, and ritual practices among peoples who, like the Batek, "are foragers of ideas as well as foragers of food" (Endicott 1979:221).

Another manifestation of the dynamic nature of hunter-gatherer religion is that the agent for social change may be the shaman. On a large scale this happened in America, in the Basin, Plains, and Plateau regions and beyond, where a major religious revitalization movement, the Ghost Dance, had its origins among missionized, one-time shamans, such as Wovoka, the "Paiute Prophet," and Black

Elk (Kehoe 1989, also see Mills 1986). On a smaller scale, the Bushman trance dancers of the Ghanzi farm district of Botswana were cast in a similar role by oppressed and exploited farm Bushmen (Guenther 1976:129–30, Katz *et al*., 1997).

Contributions of hunter-gatherer religion to world mythology and spirituality

Unequivocally stating his position on shamanism, Peter Furst has written: "the shamanic system, then, can be said to be mankind's oldest religion, the ultimate foundation from which arose all the religions of the world. Further, as archaic specialist and 'technician of the sacred', the shaman is clearly father to the priest" (Furst 1973/4:53). As such a substrate to all religion, shamanism has left its mythological and spiritual imprint on the many religious traditions over the world. On some (for example, among the Huichol or Aztecs) that imprint is deep and pervasive (Furst 1973/4:3); in other religions (for instance in Russia, Korea, China, and Japan), it is a religious sideline, or counter-, or under-current (Atkinson 1992:315–18). Wherever such shamanic imprints and currents are found within the more staid "historical" or institutionalized religions, they enliven the latter, adding the flamboyant mystical elements of visions, voices, ecstasy, soul flight, and possession by and of spirits. As argued by loan Lewis (1989) and others (see Atkinson 1992:317–18), spirit possession and the possession cult practices constitute a means whereby oppressed people may express resistance and extract concessions from those in power. Institutionalized religions may thus view the shamanic element as a subversive challenge and attempt to suppress it (Atkinson 1992:315–17).

Trickster figures, who are so at home in hunter-gatherer myth and lore, continue their antics in the oral literature of some post-foraging societies: in the guise of a spider among the Ashanti and Azande (Evans-Pritchard 1967), or as a hare among many Bantu-speaking peoples (e.g., Seiler-Dietrich 1980:232–44). Trickster-like figures can be found within Greek mythology (Kerenyi 1972) and Christian folk religion or folklore (Hynes and Steele 1993, Russell 1984:62–91,129–33), wherein (as San Pedro in Latin America or the Devil in Europe) they act as a counterweight to the serene and rational spiritual tenor of the dominant Christian religion (Zucker 1967). In American, Hollywood-generated popular culture the tricksters, Hare and Coyote, roam through Tooney-land, as Bugs Bunny and Wile E. Coyote (Wilson 1991). Christmas trees are Western folk religion's "cosmic tree" and *axis mundi*, and St. Nikolas is, to the present-day Tungus, the "grandmaster of shamans" —assisted, in North America, by eight—shiny-nosed—caribou-familiars (Lewis 1981/3:188).

It is not only at the level of folklore that shamanism continues its influence on Western religion and mythology. Shamanism has become an element of the spirituality of many Westerners (resulting in a resurgence, even renaissance, in its study, much of it outside academe [Atkinson 1992:307]) among the largely urban-based spiritual enlightenment-seeking New Agers of the 1980s and 1990s. A generation earlier, a similar trend was found in the drug counter-culture, whose adherents were likely to trip-out with the Yaqui shaman, Don Juan, as their tour guide (as mediated by the texts of Carlos Castaneda). "Neo-, or urban, shamanism" is a thriving branch of this "human potential" movement (Atkinson 1992:322–3), including goddess-inspired spiritual and ecological feminism, as well as the explicitly shamanistic art this movement has inspired (cf. Lippard 1976, Spretnak 1982). The movement has its own magazines, such as *Shaman's Drum*, the glossy quarterly of the "Cross-Cultural Shamanism Network." A prominent advocate of this reinvented shamanism is the one-time academic anthropologist, Michael Harner, who, as founder of the "Center for Shamanic Studies,"

conducts workshops and training courses in the copyrighted "Harner Method of Shamanic Counselling," "with the possibility of certification as a practitioner" (advertisement in *Shaman's Drum*, Fall, 1986:58).

The Western reinvention of shamanism is also related to the burgeoning field of holistic or alternative medicine. Old and established techniques of shamanic curing, such as visualization, hypnotherapy, therapeutic touching, stress reduction, and mental and emotional expression of personal will for health and healing are being rediscovered by Western healers (Harner 1980:175; see Dow 1986 and Good 1994, for theoretical treatments of this merger of "primitive" and Western; also Lévi-Strauss' classic, much cited ethnographic paper (1963) describing a Cuna shaman's use of visualization while treating a woman in difficult labor). The "new healers" operating in urban North America are sometimes conventionally trained physicians, whose advocacy of spiritual modes of treatment helps to bring some of these techniques into the medical mainstream.

Shamanism is today making an acknowledged contribution to Western spiritual life through the field of healing. The shaman's healing practices are imbued with spirituality, targeting the patient's soul as much as her or his body. This approach is gradually being recognized by a Western medicine whose gate-keepers are examining sympathetically one shamanic healing technique after another. In this process Western medicine will no doubt continue to draw on the spiritual traditions of hunter-gatherers. Their relevance to Western medicine, and world-view generally, will persist and probably grow.

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II.II.4

From primitive to pop: foraging and post-foraging hunter-gatherer music

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Prior to World War II, the music of hunter-gatherers was generally subsumed within the larger category of "primitive music." Combining aspects of evolutionism and diffusionism, the ethnomusicology of the pre-World War II period sought to establish relationships between social-cultural type and a core set of musical elements like polyphony, tonality, melody, and harmony, characteristic of post-Renaissance European art music. "Primitive music," a general category encompassing the music of foragers, horticulturalists, and complex agriculturalists, was seen as occupying the lowest rung on an evolutionary ladder. Higher rungs of this ladder were graced successively by the music of antiquity, the "high" civilizations of the orient, and at the top, the art music of Europe.

Consequently, the anthropological, systematic study of hunter-gatherer music treated as a distinctive type is scanty indeed. The discipline of anthropology regards music as a specialized field of study, much like linguistics, with its own proprietary methods, concepts, and terminology. Lacking the specialized tools of musicological discourse, general anthropologists discussing hunting and gathering cultures have tended to relegate music to an epiphenomenal or secondary status in relation to other domains of social life. The cross-cultural study of music has been left to ethnomusicologists who, with some notable exceptions, have had little to say about music and its relationship to hunting and gathering. Sachs (1965), for instance, emphasized the central role of music in the healing and magical practices in hunting and gathering societies. Similarly, Wiora (1965) stressed that early music was usually combined with dance and pantomime in cultic practice or religious worship, a phenomenon documented in great detail in LaBarre's (1970) treatise on the origins of religion.

The most comprehensive cross-cultural studies of the music of hunter-gatherers have emerged, curiously enough, from outside the disciplines of ethnomusicology and cultural anthropology. In *The dancing chimpanzee* (1980), primatologist Leonard Williams argues that music is a quintessentially cultural phenomenon, contra Charles Darwin who believed that it was rooted in pre-human courtship or mating ritual. For Williams, the principal use of early music was in hunting and magic, the principal instruments being voice and percussion. His challenge to Darwin's theory is biologically based; he claims that humans share with their anthropoid primate relatives a "pathogenic" emotional life, a side effect of the evolution of complex brains and, more significantly, social organizations. Williams defines the pathogenic as "instinctively emotive, rather than rational, intentional, or 'consciously organized'…a psychological element that is peculiar to 'complete' monkeys, apes and

man (not the lower order of primates, such as tarsier, lemur and potto)" (1980:91). In humans the pathogenic is disproportionately magnified in comparison with other primates. Though given to a wide variety of display behavior, even the most advanced non-human primates are incapable of the simplest musical achievements, their social lives being incomparably less evolved than that of the simplest hunter-gatherer societies.

114 Lingaru of the Nimal Clan, playing a Chenchu pan-pipe, Andhra Pradesh. Photo: Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf.

According to Williams, music evolved in large part as a tool for hunting, for mastering or channeling the heightened emotional states engendered by the organized pursuit and killing of prey. Wiora had earlier cautioned that such music should not be seen as some sort of spontaneous outburst:

It was…a prehistoric cult music and should not be imagined as a fresh and lively music of the hunt with halloo and the sounding of horns. It belonged primarily not to the real chase, but to those rites in which the community celebrated its pretotemic relationship with bison or bear and thus established its own permanent attitude towards the world. Thus was carried out the continual inner conflict between the urge to self-preservation and the sense of guilt, for one killed with a bad conscience, chiefly because man at this time distinguished the manlike animate creatures he was killing less sharply from himself than he did later. (1965:23)

115 A Khanti shaman singing and drumming, Khanti-Mansi Autonomous District, western Siberia, Photo: Evgeniia Nemysova.

The theme of an intimate relationship between hunter and hunted, or, by extension, between humans and nature, is a universal aspect of the world-views of hunter-gatherers and persists among their now sedentary relatives and descendants.

The only full-length comparative study based upon ethnographic data drawn entirely from hunting and gathering populations has been provided by literary critic and classicist C. M. Bowra (1962). Though rarely read today, his *Primitive song* remains the best cross-cultural compendium of the sung music, or "song," of hunter-gatherers. Bowra's account demonstrates not only the impressive variety of hunter-gatherer song genres but also a sophistication which at its best (to Bowra's ears)—the songs of the Inuit, Gabon Pygmies, and Arnhem Land Aborigines—rivals that of high civilizations.

Bowra argues that the songs of hunter-gatherers are basically "tools" for invigorating life. Like other tools, these songs are conditioned by the requirements of the nomadic hunting and gathering way of life. Bowra's cross-cultural survey underlines the predominance of hunting song genres and demonstrates how virtually every aspect of the hunt is accompanied by some kind of song. Songs are variously used to attract game, to empower hunting equipment (including dogs), to bolster the hunter's confidence, to appease bush or animal spirits, and to celebrate a successful catch. Recollections of the thrill of pursuit are captured in song. There are even songs for failure in hunting. Bowra's analysis of other song genres, songs of nature and of the life-cycle in particular, yields insight into the emotional and intellectual lives of hunters and gatherers. He concludes with a methodological caveat to origin seekers: despite their apparent primitive technologies, present-day hunter-gatherers are "moderns" whose own historical trajectories are affected by European imperialism and Third World nationalism. As such they can provide only a partial and distorted picture of the music of our Palaeolithic ancestors.

However, even where hunting has been displaced as a primary mode of subsistence, it lives on as part of the ethos of former hunter-gatherers. Diamond and her associates report that even for

sedentarized Innu of northern Quebec and Labrador "much traditional cultural knowledge relating to music as well as to other domains is associated with the hunt (especially the caribou hunt) and with life in the forest, a domain which is distinguished from life in the village setting" (Diamond *et al*., 1994:190).

More recently, scholars have begun to perceive a more expanded significance for music in hunting and gathering societies. Investigations into Australian Aboriginal "songlines," for example, demonstrate that aside from fun and entertainment, song and dance were the primary media for recording clan histories and mythologies as well as for encoding practical knowledge pertaining to land, plants, and animals (Breen 1994). In these ways music served as an epistemological tool, and, because knowledge is power, as an instrument of politics.

Streit-Warburton writes: "In the political economy of the Aboriginal culture, status and power are endowed through music. Knowledge about music is knowledge about the physics and metaphysics of survival, in other words, about life in its entirety" (1995:309). Grau's (1995) claim that Tiwi social dance is part of the "infrastructure" of social life complements another assessment of the social significance of music in Aboriginal society; namely, that "the control of singing, both ritually and for commercial purposes, is politically advantageous" (Magowan 1994:145).

Post-foraging pop

Before the rise of "world music" or "world beat" in the late 1980s, the music of foraging peoples could be heard only on specialty record labels or on obscure ethnomusicological field recordings. Occasionally, such music surfaced on jazz or pop records, like the Mbuti Pygmy tune used by Herbie Hancock and later Madonna (Feld 1996), or the Saami *yoik* songs used by jazz composer Jan Garbarek, and the pop group Enigma. But the identity of the music and its originators in most such instances was hidden, save for the occasional mention in album liner notes.

Recently, however, musicians of a new generation from former hunting and gathering societies have taken their music from the margins into the limelight of world music. With a mission to tell the world of their struggles and aspirations, they have become ambassadors of their respective peoples and have plugged into global music currents. Among the most popular of these new musicians are Yothu Yindi, Kashtin, and Susan Aglukark.

Yothu Yindi are an Australian group made up predominantly of Yolngu but also some *balanda* (non-Yolngu) members. Their music blends rock and dance with Yolngu idioms and instruments. Their 1991 hit single "Treaty," the first song with Aboriginal lyrics to get extensive air play and international acclaim, is a political plea for the Australian government to sign land treaties with dispossessed Aborigines. Yothu Yindi's music is part of a larger movement on the part of Australian Aborigines to negotiate a new identity by combining elements of both cultures. Their music draws attention to the hitherto unappreciated value of indigenous Yolngu culture. Band leader Mandawuy Yunupingu says in "Tribal voice", their 1993 hour-long video, "We're in the forefront of telling the world about Aboriginal Australia." As a result of their international acclaim, Yunupingu was voted "Australian of the Year" for 1992.

The Innu pop duo Kashtin, from Quebec, Canada, call their music (a blend of rock, folk, country, and Euro-pop) "Innu rock'n'roll." Yet they are rooted in the contemporary "folk Innu" song movement started in the 1970s by the singer-guitarist Philippe McKenzie. Kashtin's first album sold over a

quarter of a million copies internationally, a remarkable achievement given that it was sung entirely in Innu Aionun, their native Montagnais language. Like Yothu Yindi, Kashtin see their music as part of a larger project to combat the deleterious effects of assimilation into white Canadian culture. They took to music in order "to alleviate the tedium of reservation life" (Sony WWW Site 1996). As they explain in the liner notes of their eponymous first album, "Kashtin wishes to use the power of sound both for your listening pleasure and to promote the survival and dissemination of Innuat values. In these troubled times, values such as these may well be what our planet needs." The values which inform Kashtin's music have mostly to do with respect, for both nature and other human beings.

Raised in Canada's Northwest Territories, Susan Aglukark is an Inuit singer-songwriter who in 1995 won the Canadian music industry Juno Award for "Best Music of Aboriginal Canada" and for "Best New Solo Artist." Her music mixes country, gospel, and folk with both English and Inuktitut lyrics. Aglukark sings of the often painful experience of transition from a nomadic way of life to the despair and poverty of settled life, both on and off the reservation. Aglukark's sudden rise as a celebrity has landed her a major record deal and a Northwest Territories government appointment as cultural ambassador. Like Yothu Yindi in Australia, Aglukark has become something of a Canadian national symbol, having performed for Queen Elizabeth II at the Commonwealth Games in 1994, as well as at other prominent civic events. She is candid about her own painful experiences and is outspoken in her mission to raise consciousness about the Inuit people through her music: "I feel the message is the music. I am representative of what my people have been through" (Littlejohn 1995). For Susan Aglukark, as for Kashtin and Yothu Yindi, music is a key part of a larger cultural mission to communicate social experience while teaching traditional values.

Traditional, tribal, and contemporary music

Recent studies of aboriginal music and art have drawn attention to the politics of categorizing aboriginal peoples' cultural productions (Castles 1992, Morphy 1995, Seeger 1992). For the most part, aboriginal ideas of what is traditional or contemporary contrast with non-aboriginal definitions. A case in point is the status of country and western and gospel musics which for most Australian Aborigines (Castles 1992) and native North Americans (McAllester 1994) are precisely "traditional" music. So when Kashtin decided to include a "traditional" number on their second album they chose "Uishama," a country and western song written by one of their grandfathers! Similarly, when the state-sponsored CAAMA (Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association) was set up in 1980 to stimulate the production of "traditional" Aboriginal music, the result was predominantly "gospel-tinged C & W" (Castles 1992:27–8).

Non-aboriginal ideas of what constitutes "traditional" aboriginal music normally include those elements which aboriginal peoples themselves refer to as "tribal" (Streit-Warburton 1995:308–9). Castles (1992) shows how during the assimilation period of the 1950s and 1960s many Australian Aborigines were taught to be ashamed of their tribal culture. Similarly in Canada, missionaries tried to get native people to abandon tribal instruments, especially the drum, in favor of European musical instruments and forms. Ironically, it tends to be those very pop groups which incorporate tribal elements who are classified as "contemporary" or "new" music within aboriginal classifications.

Songs of social problems

The transition from a hunting and gathering way of life, as a result of conquest and colonialism, has given rise to social problems starkly portrayed in the popular music of contemporary aboriginal peoples, from Australia and New Zealand to Scandinavia and North America. Poverty, violence, drug addiction, alcoholism, racial prejudice, suicide—all have found their way into popular song. Neuenfeldt (1991) outlines how "the colonial experience" of aboriginal peoples has been most effectively brought to the attention of a wider public through the medium of popular music. Singer-songwriters such as Kev Carmody, Archie Roach, and Ruby Hunter (Australian Aborigines), Marie Boine (Saami), and native North Americans like Floyd Westerman (Lakota), Shingoose (Ojibway), and Susan Aglukark (Inuit) depict the punishing and enduring consequences of European imperialism (Breen 1994, McAllester 1994, Neuenfeldt 1991,1995). For Neuenfeldt, the process by which social problems are articulated through popular music entails "the basic issue of whose perspective will define the 'problem maker' and the 'problem solver' " (1991:107).

Dislocation

In his book on the relationship between popular music and place, George Lipsitz has remarked that dispossessed minorities who migrate to urban centers are "experts about displacement and the qualities needed to combat it" (1994:7). Susan Aglukark's song "Arctic rose" depicts the anomie experienced by many aboriginal migrants searching for a better life in the big city:

He came from the Keewatin

Where half the year is night

But he never knew what darkness was

Till he'd seen those city lights.

He never really felt the cold

Till he'd walked in white man's shoes

Stripped of pride and dignity

Torn from his ancient roots.

They'd sent us off so far away

When we both went to school.

He was so beautiful

But now a hunter without tools.

It's not the sharpness of the blade

It's how much light it shows

It's more the way the wisdom's used

Than just how much one knows.

Why would you pick the perfect flower

When you could have watched it grow?

It's such a careless waste of life

When you pick the Arctic Rose.

And when summertime came calling

And restlessness took hold

Pulling him back to the way of the land

But they would not let him go

And when his hopes had taken flight

And his dreams all but let go

Quietly he took his life

And the spirits brought him home

Inutuutitaulaurmat Ajuqtillugu

Qaumajuq Qamingmat Tautugunnaiqpuq.

"Arctic Rose," Susan Aglukark, 1995

Like some Inuit, some Innu continue to hunt and trap as a main source of livelihood. Many other Innu have been settled on reserves. For the latter, land and the nomadic way of life are reminders of a time before government agents, missionaries, and disease forced them into sedentary government-built villages, as illustrated by the following Kashtin songs:

They walked like the caribou

They followed the caribou's path

And somewhere within ourselves

we are proud to be of those

who walked for survival.

"Nikanish/My people," Kashtin, 1994

When winter was over and it was time

to return to the sea, my people ran

in the portages.

When the time comes for me to go

nothing can stop me.

I will gnaw into my paw if I must

But I shall escape the trap.

"Nte Tshitshuat/Nothing can stop me," Kashtin, 1994

For many former hunter-gatherers the experience of settling down is an experience of forced relocation to reserves or settlements far from their former home territories. In Canada, the relocation of Inuit bands was sometimes intended to reinforce claims of state sovereignty in the unoccupied remote northern regions. The Inuit duo Tudjaat, a new group on the world music scene, sing of this experience in their song "Kajusita":

Left our home on Hudson Bay

On ships that took us far away

Sailing through the broken ice

Towards the shores of paradise

Where they say our new life will begin.

I can't wait until my ship comes in.

Landing on the edge of Ellesmere

Wondering if we could survive here

We were told that half would stay

The rest of us were on our way.

Will I see my family again?

I can’t wait until my ship comes in.

Kajusita sail on

I can’t wait until my ship comes in.

Our final destination reached

They left us standing on the beach

Planted there like human flags

That winter’s fury turned to rags.

The hunters showed us empty hands again

I can’t wait until my ship comes in.

Kajusita sail on

I can’t wait until my ship comes in.

Iqqaumainnarlavut	Let us always remember
Sivullivinivut	The ones who came before
Aksuruqpalaurmata	Because they went through hell
Inuugasuarsutik	Just to stay alive.
Tuksiutilaurlavut	Let us pray
Innatuqaqutivut	For the elders
Kajusita	And sail on.

So the story carries on

What’s done is done, what’s gone is gone

We must put the past behind

And set course for better times.

When freedom’s lost nobody ever wins

I can’t wait until my ship comes in.

I think I hear voices in the wind

Telling me my ship will soon come in.

"Kajusita/My ship comes in," Tudjaat, 1995

Though tinged with nostalgia, Tudjaat's song exemplifies something of the future-oriented identities of many aboriginal pop musicians of today. A similar orientation has been noted among contemporary Australian Aboriginal musician-artists where self-definitions of "aboriginality," though rooted in the past, are oriented toward the future (Streit-Warburton 1995:308).

Land

In the past, encroachment upon the lands of hunter-gatherers was often justified by the notion of *terra nullius* (empty land), a legal fiction based on the concept that unoccupied land could be claimed by the occupiers (Breen 1994: 669, Stubbington and Dunbar-Hall 1994). Where settler-colonists saw empty land for the taking, hunter-gatherers saw home, an environment where life teemed in all things. Even in the present post-foraging era the land and the nomadic way of life associated with it play a central role in the intellectual and emotional lives of former hunter-gatherers. Diamond and her associates elaborate:

> The forest itself, *nutshimits*, continues to be distinguished from the village…by Labrador Innu who describe the bush as the source of sustenance and positive knowledge given by the Creator to the people. The village, on the other hand, is cast negatively by many Innu since even its location has sometimes been government imposed without regard for the environment which must be heeded for survival. Nature is sometimes described as an Indian equivalent of "books" since one learns to "read" the forest and environment from one's survival. All the teachings intended by the Creator for the people are there.
>
> (1994:52)

To a large extent the same can be said about the worldview of Arnhem Land Aborigines. Yothu Yindi's hit song "Treaty" reminds politicians that their public confessions of collective guilt should be followed up by concrete action, that is, the drawing up of treaties with Aboriginal tribes whose lands were unlawfully confiscated in the name of the British Crown:

> Well I heard it on the radio
>
> And I saw it on the television
>
> Back in 1988
>
> All those talking politicians.
>
> Words are easy, words are cheap
>
> Much cheaper than our priceless land
>
> But promises can disappear

Just like writing in the sand.

Treaty Yeh, Treaty Now, Treaty Yeh, Treaty Now.

This land was never given up

This land was never bought and sold

The planting of the Union Jack

Never changed our law at all.

Now two rivers run their course

Separated for so long

I'm dreaming of a brighter day

When the waters will be one.

Treaty Yeh, Treaty Now, Treaty Yeh, Treaty Now.

"Treaty," verses 1 and 3, Yothu Yindi, 1991

Music, cultural regeneration, and social change

Destitute, disempowered, depressed. However true this picture may be of the condition of former hunter-gatherer peoples there are also signs of an impending turnaround, at least for some. The combined efforts of individuals, groups, and institutions and the emergence of a global "cultural products market" have created the conditions for a cultural regeneration for former hunter-gatherers.

What is certain about such movements is the key role accorded to music. This has been borne out in recent studies of the Innu (Diamond *et al*. 1994), the Australian Aborigines (Stubbington and Dunbar-Hall 1994), and the Sakha (Iakut), who only recently, after decades of Soviet cultural repression, have adopted their traditional *khotnus*, or jaw harp, as the key symbol of cultural renewal (Balzer 1996).

For peoples like the Innu, having experienced a cultural collapse, the regeneration of internal cultural resources was a necessary step prior to their now organized effort to pressure the Canadian government to sign land treaties. Their *Nutshimiu Atusseun* (Work in the Country) program allows for young Innu to live and learn in the bush for several months at a time. They learn about "harvesting" the land (hunting and gathering) but also the *nikumana* repertoire of hunt songs, among others (Diamond *et al*. 1994:26–7,189–91). Since 1985 the Maliotenam Reserve near Sept-Isles, Quebec, has hosted the annual *Innu Nikamu* (Indian Sings) festival, featuring traditional, tribal, and contemporary Innu music.

Older and more publicized is the homeland (or outstation) movement pioneered in Arnhem Land, Australia (Coombs *et al*. 1982). The spirit of this back-to-the-bush movement is an integral part of

Yothu Yindi's band ethos, as the title of their first album, *Homeland movement*, indicates. The university-educated band leader and Yirrkala school teacher Mandawuy Yunupingu advocates a "both ways" system of education that gives equal value to "traditional teaching." The latter entails not only traditional techniques of hunting, fishing, and gathering but also the music and arts of traditional ritual and ceremonials. As Yunupingu concludes in Yothu Yindi's *Tribal voice* (1993) video, "If I don't celebrate my existence through song and dance, then I don't have the law, I don't have culture."

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II.II.5

Traditional and modern visual art of hunting and gathering peoples

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The art of hunter-gatherers includes some of the most and some of the least known art forms. The cave paintings of the European Palaeolithic, the totem poles of British Columbia, and modern paintings on bark and canvas by Australian Aborigines are all renowned artforms, yet, with the recent exception of San art, little is written about the art of African or South American hunter-gatherers. Even the best-known arts either have been recently "discovered" by Europeans, as in the case of Australian Aboriginal art, or are not considered primarily the art of hunters and gatherers, as is the case for much of ethnographic North America and Siberia. While some societies do produce more visible and spectacular material forms of art than others, this does not explain European perceptions of hunter-gatherer art, the invisibility of which is due partly to evolutionary assumptions that Europeans have brought to bear on hunter-gatherer societies, and partly to difficulties of definition, both of "hunters and gatherers" and of "art."

The European discovery of hunter-gatherer art

European explorers and traders have brought home material objects from around the world for centuries. These items were often subsequently lodged in "cabinets of curiosity," the early precursors of ethnographic museums. Nonetheless, recognition of the products of the "fourth world" as art, or what used to be labeled "primitive art," occurred only at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, stimulated in part by their ability to inspire European artists (see Poudrot 1984 for an excellent history). The art of hunter-gatherers was among the last to receive international recognition in this manner.

When the rock paintings of Altamira in Spain were first discovered they were initially thought by many to be a hoax (see Bahn 1996:474). The paintings appeared too sophisticated to have come from the hands of Ice Age foragers. Evolutionary theorists regarded art and material culture as developing from simple to complex forms, and hunter-gatherers (viewed as representatives of the lowest rungs of the evolutionary ladder) were implicitly antecedent to art production. European artists and art historians came to recognize hunter-gatherer art in relation to their new appreciation of primitiveness, yet without rejecting crude evolutionary assumptions. As Herbert Read wrote in 1931: "from a study of the Negro and the Bushman we are led to an understanding of art in its most elementary form, and the elementary is always the most vital." At around the same time the Australian artist Margaret

Preston was seeking inspiration in the simple asymmetrical geometry of Aboriginal art, which she implied was the almost accidental product of a simple mind and a faulty technique (North 1980). This general outlook removes indigenous art from its particular historical context, sets it in a *lumpen* category of "the primitive," and fails to take into account the antecedent historical influences and technical traditions that underlie the particular works.

116 The carving shed, Kitanmax School of Art, Gitxsan village of Gitanmaaxs, British Columbia, 1997. Photo: Richard Overstall.

Early accounts of Australian Aboriginal society are almost devoid of descriptions or illustrations of artworks. Where these do occur they tend to be introduced as "crudely executed" or "primitive forms." This continuing incomprehension was partly due to the fact that much Aboriginal art was ephemeral and uncollectable, in the form of body painting or sand sculpture. Access to some of this art, integral as it was to ritual practices, was restricted. On the whole, Europeans were not sensitized to Aboriginal art because they did not suspect its existence (Jones 1988).

Native American arts proved something of an exception to this late recognition. Explorers like Cook and Vancouver were impressed by the skill and artistry of the Northwest Coast carvers and weavers, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries an extensive trade in artifacts developed. Those who purchased these works were Russian, British, and American. Kwakiutl, Haida, Tsimshian and Tlingit arts were among those to influence European artists and consequently, in the course of the twentieth century, they began fetching high prices in auction rooms. In contrast, Australian Aboriginal art did not begin to gain widespread recognition until after World War II.

Defining hunter-gatherer art

The problem of defining hunter-gatherer art is twofold: the boundaries of art styles and forms cross-cut economic boundaries and the definition of hunter-gatherer societies can itself be problematic. The artforms of the northern temperate and Arctic regions link hunting, herding, trading, and agricultural societies (Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988). Likewise in India, Malaysia, and South America the arts of hunters and gatherers often can be separated only arbitrarily from those of their neighbors. The boundary line between reindeer herding and hunting in the Subarctic is a matter of arbitrary definition, and many societies in Africa and Asia move from predominantly foraging activities to

subsistence agriculture over time or according to seasonal factors. Some Malay hunters and gatherers produced artifacts that ended up being traded into the coastal Sultanates in return for decorated cloths and other objects. The hunters could in another generation be shifting cultivators, metal workers, or wage laborers, and vice versa as people in certain regions moved between different modes of subsistence (Endicott 1988).

Hunting and gathering must thus often be seen as a matter of degree and scale. Indeed, art is often central to the overall problem of definition and ambiguity, since many art objects, and the materials for manufacturing them such as fur, ivory, and metal, were traded widely, as were the completed goods. Although primarily based on hunting/gathering subsistence, the economies of the polar Pacific Coast were connected to long-range trading networks—with Asian urban societies to the west and rural subsistence economies to the east.

The situation has become even more complex as a result of European colonialism: hunter-gatherer societies, caught up in world systems, have undergone economic transformation. The colonial process has sometimes intensified and broadened trading relations and has sometimes also been associated with periods of cultural efflorescence and an intensification of religious and artistic activity. On the Northwest Coast of North America in the late nineteenth century, art production was integral to the internal and external economy (Cole 1985), just as today in the Aboriginal communities of central and northern Australia, where people can correctly be described, economically, as craft producers rather than hunter-gatherers, even though foraging pursuits continue to play a role in their economy (Altman *et al*. 1989).

Is art an imposition on hunter-gatherer societies?

It is possible to argue that art is not a useful category to employ when writing about the material culture of hunter-gatherers. Christian Feest (1992:9), for example, states that the idea of art is foreign to the Americas and that functional categories more accurately reflect Native American conceptions of things. Much of the material culture of hunters and gatherers can indeed be included within functional categories, for example weapons or religious and medicinal objects, even though aesthetics plays a part in their use and manufacture. The necklaces of beans and seeds worn by Hadza are a means of storing medicinal compounds and the very act of wearing them can be curative (Woodburn 1970). The body paintings of the Andamanese are an integral part of their daily ritual practice and a means of maintaining themselves in a state of spiritual balance with their environment (Pandya 1993). Both could easily be fitted into the aesthetic categories of ornament or body decoration. Whether they are referred to as art is a matter of the analyst's choice and the relevance of the concept of art to the particular case. The danger of emphasizing the aesthetic may be to make the objects fit too readily into a European way of seeing things and may result in a neglect of their function in the society concerned. On the other hand, the neglect of the "art" aspect of an object may result in a failure to follow up information that provides insights into its function and details of its form.

While a contemporary European conception of art with its emphasis on individual creativity and the aesthetic contemplation of form may be far removed from the treatment of objects in many hunter-gatherer societies, a cross-cultural definition of art may be useful for anthropological analysis. Indeed, Christian Feest's comments (on the validity of "art" as a concept in Native America) preface his book on Native American art and must implicitly signify a more general category of art than the

European one. I have defined art elsewhere as "objects having semantic and/or aesthetic properties that are used for presentational or representational purposes" (Morphy 1994:655). While such a definition is not likely to include all objects classified under the European rubric of art, it is relevant to many of the art forms produced by hunting and gathering societies, and can be used in addition to other, functional, categories.

Much of the art of hunter-gatherer societies consists of items such as decorated weapons, carved and painted containers, and "fetish objects" to protect against the spirit world. In most cases, those embellishments, the decorative motifs and the carved and painted forms, are not motivated by the object's function as a spear-thrower or bone container, or the toggle on a costume, but reflect aesthetic or semantic motivations. They signify a person's identity or status, convey the image of a god, or communicate information to people or the spirit world. Art defined in these terms neither distances the objects of other societies from Western cultures nor appropriates the object to European categories. The definition becomes a means of exploring dimensions of objects that might otherwise be neglected, providing important information about many aspects of the society that produced them.

Some contexts and functions for hunter-gatherer art

In most hunter-gatherer societies, art objects are usually something else as well. On the Northwest Coast of North America, for example, the range of items which are art objects (ie. ones which include elements of form that are of aesthetic and semantic significance to the producer) is very wide indeed (see, for example, Boas 1955 and Hawthorn 1967). As well as masks and totem poles, which could be said to exist primarily for representational purposes, almost all other objects—houses, boats, boxes, bowls, costumes, hats, ladles, paddles, rattles, and so on—can occur in an artistic mode. The same is true of most of the Subarctic societies and of Native North American societies in general, whereas the hunter-gatherers of Africa and Southeast Asia live in a far less embellished material world.

There is inevitably some correlation between economic and social factors, ecology and technology, the complexity of material culture and the nature of art. Semi-sedentary societies such as those of the Northwest Coast, where people lived for much of the year in permanent settlements, are more likely to have the kind of elaborate and diverse material culture conducive to a world of art in object form. It is unsurprising that the highly mobile !Kung San, Hadza, Batek, Warlpiri, and Pitjantjatjara have fewer art objects. However, economic and environmental factors alone provide a very incomplete explanation for the variation of emphasis upon visual arts in particular cases. Visual art has a very limited role in Hadza society, but in some Australian Aboriginal societies it plays as important a role as on the Northwest Coast of North America. Within Australia, however, the variety of artforms does vary, partly according to environmental factors.

Across Australia there are considerable similarities in social organization and cultural forms. At the heart of the Australian mode of adaptation is the relationship between people, ancestral beings, and place. This acts both as a means of organizing the relationship between people and land, and as a means of monitoring relationships with the environment. Art is an integral part of this process, since designs are associated with particular areas of land; the right to produce designs is one of the means by which people assert their connections with place. Art is as integral to Aboriginal society as it is to the societies of North America's Northwest Coast region. The expression of Aboriginal art varies

according to environmental conditions and the degree of nomadism. In the rich, well-watered areas of Arnhem Land and in southeastern Australia, for example, populations have lived semi-sedentary lives for much of the year and possessed a much more diverse material culture than populations in desert regions. Arnhem Land societies have had a wide range of weapons, bags and baskets, bark huts, canoes, paddles, and tobacco pipes, as well as a variety of public and restricted ceremonial objects like hollow log coffins. In Arnhem Land all of these objects could be painted with designs, sometimes secular but often referring to the ancestral past. In the Western Desert, material culture has been much more limited, with a premium on multi-functional objects. Central Australian spear-throwers have doubled as adzes, digging sticks, scrapers, fire-making equipment, winnowing surfaces, and stores for spinifex gum. Arnhem Land spear-throwers have mainly been used for throwing spears. In both cases, the spear-thrower has been a sign of male status and integrated within the mythological system. In southern, western, and central regions of Australia spear-throwers have often been elaborately engraved with ancestral designs. However in central Australia most forms of art have been impermanent, consisting of body paintings and sand sculptures for ceremonial performance, and sand drawings as a part of everyday life (see Munn 1973). In Arnhem Land, where there has been a greater range in the forms of art, these ephemeral forms have also existed.

117 "Bush banana dreaming," by Eunice Napangardi, Warlpiri, from Papunya, Northern Australia. Collection of B. Cochran and P. Grant. Photo: Richard Daly, 1997.

Most artifacts are perhaps generally multi-functional, though not to the extent of the central Australian spear-thrower. Art objects are no exception: the same object can be a marker of prestige, a religious icon, and a thing of beauty. The form of an artifact is usually determined by many factors and any unitary explanation is likely to be oversimplified or inadequate. A Haida shaman's rattle can be simultaneously a sign of prestige and rank, a religious icon, an "instrument of war," and an object of aesthetic power. None of these functions is entirely independent of the others—there is a relationship between religion and social rank, and aesthetic effects are a part of religious experience and objects of desire—but each ought to be analyzed separately and related to form. Many functions of art are shared across a number of hunter-gatherer societies; others may be unique to a particular case.

Woodburn's distinction (1982) between immediate-return societies, which usually obtain an immediate return on their labor, and delayed-return societies, which manage their economies on a longer-term basis, with the storage of food often but not always being a significant factor, maybe

relevant to understanding differences in the nature and function of art. In societies such as those of the Northwest Coast and in Australia the art remains integral to the process of social reproduction. On the Northwest Coast and in Australia, art remains linked to land-based mythological systems which mark distinctions between people and which are associated with rights in land and resources.

Northwest Coast art occurs in a number of different contexts, such as the ranking system and the potlatch, warfare, clan organization, and the winter ceremonial. The ranking system formerly provided, and to a degree continues to provide, a stimulus to artistic production by providing support for craft specialists and contexts which require the display and exchange of artifacts. During the winter, when people would congregate in large villages, the context of art shifted to the performances of the winter ceremonial in which art recreated the world of mythic transformation (Holm 1986). The art of the Northwest Coast has included a number of different styles ranging from near realism to highly schematic and conventionalized forms. It is possible to identify works of art that are primarily associated with one or other context (Rosman and Rubel 1990), or which serve different functions (Morphy 1977). Realistic portrait masks, for example, have been used to create the illusion of the dead revisiting the ceremonial house, the grotesque forms of some of the transformation masks created images of the supernatural, and the elaborate system of conventional designs in the schematic plane has been used to represent fine distinctions comparable to the subtleties of the social structure.

In Australia, art is equally integrated with social structure and the religious life. Designs originated in the ancestral past or Dreaming and they represent the journeys of ancestral beings, as well as the bodies of these beings, and the landscape they created. In one interpretation, many paintings are maps of areas of land and the system of designs provides a means of associating people with place and marking the identity of groups (Munn 1973, Morphy 1991). Art is also used as a means to contact the spirit world to maintain the fertility of the land, to transport the souls of the dead, and to give the living access to spiritual power. Designs and their meanings are part of a system of restricted knowledge linked to a lifelong process of initiation and knowledge acquisition which is concerned equally with social control and with control of the spiritual dimension (see Munn 1973, Sutton 1988, Morphy 1991).

The forms of the art are very diverse, varying on a regional basis and according to context. There are many different figurative traditions including the "X-ray art" of western Arnhem Land (Taylor 1989, 1996), the Wandjina of the Kimberleys (Layton 1985), and the Quinkan figures of Cape York Peninsula. Complementing the figurative art in many regions are geometric forms which encode social distinctions and represent relations between topographical features. They also allude to aspects of the form of the ancestral beings themselves. These geometric forms, which require external keys for their interpretation, are an integral part of the system for transmitting esoteric knowledge.

In immediate-return societies, art is less likely to reflect social distinctions (in particular at the level of group organization [see Layton 1985]), though it may still have social and religious functions. There are few ethnographic analyses of visual art and its practice among African hunter-gatherers such as the San peoples or the Hadza. However, in many regions of southern Africa, before the disruptive intrusion of European colonialism, there were complex figurative art traditions that remain today evident through the rock art. "Bushman" art, particularly that executed on rockfaces, is related to the practice of shamanism (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1989, 1988). Their rock art represents themes from the mythology, images of trance behavior and curative and religious practice. The art focused on the relationship between the eland and the hunters; this provided the basis for innumerable

metaphors about life and the spiritual dimension. Lewis-Williams (1983) has shown, for example, how the behavior of a medicine man in trance is analogous to that of a dying eland. In comparison with the Australian case, the southern African ethnographic accounts are unfortunately very thin and much of the interpretation of the paintings is based on the analysis of form (see Dowson and Lewis-Williams 1994, for coverage of recent research; see also Jolly 1996, for a critical perspective).

Rock art apart, complex figurative art traditions are less common and less well described for most African hunter-gatherer societies. Most detailed studies of aesthetic forms have focused on music, poetry, and ritual performance. Kratz's study of the Okiek reveals the richness of their verbal art, including many genres of song, skilled oratory, proverbs, and stories (Kratz 1994). But Okiek artistry also has material expression in a range of artifacts, including tightly woven baskets, a range of distinctive rouletted pottery, and other personal and household objects. Beaded personal ornaments, worn in various combinations, are one of the most aesthetically striking Okiek creations. Okiek women produce all their beadwork, pottery, and baskets. Beadwork registers differences of social identity as well, including differences of ethnicity, gender, age-set, and particular ritual stages. Kratz has shown how the Okiek use aesthetic forms to move people through different statuses, and how the semiotics of performance enable people to incorporate new experiences and consolidate their identities. Costume, ornament, and body paint are part of this process. When a young woman completes her circumcision ceremony she wears for the first time the *enkishilit* headdress that is the sign of her adult status. In the 1940s and 1950s, Okiek youth began painting outside house walls with designs for special occasions.

The Okiek are an excellent example of the dangers of drawing hard and fast boundaries around hunter-gatherers in Africa: their art has much in common with that of the agricultural and pastoral societies with whom they interact; similarly, they fit uneasily into the category of either immediate-or delayed-return society.

Many Asian hunter-gatherer societies, such as the Batek, show features of Woodburn's immediate-return societies even though they are integrated within complex regional economies and have different economic modes of being (see Endicott 1988). The visual "art" of the Batek is limited and not central to social reproduction. Body painting and decoration are, however, an integral part of curative and ritual practice (Endicott 1979). The Batek show both similarities to and differences from the Andamanese, among whom the boundaries between art and ritual are also fuzzy. Andamanese decorate their bodies almost on a daily basis with designs excised from clay pigment which is first applied all over the face and the body (Pandya 1993). To the Andamanese, one of the main ways of communicating with the spirit world is through smell, and the release and retention of smell and heat is central to the maintenance of bodily health. Paint facilitates this process by controlling the release of smell, and the particular designs excised from the surface allow communication with particular forest spirits. Painting is done by women; designs vary according to the social group to which a woman belongs, and to the season of birth of the person painted. Yet there is no evidence that Andamanese designs are associated with a system of restricted knowledge as they are in Australia.

A survey of the functions and contexts of hunter-gatherer art shows that there is great variation, and that variation reflects regional culture-historical patterns more than it does common features of hunter-gatherer societies in general. Some of the art complexes—for example, those associated with Subarctic regions and the continent of Australia, and possibly those of the !Kung San of Southern Africa, and the Malaysian archipelago—form relatively coherent regional systems in which it is

possible to see the expression of related principles operating across the region. In other cases, such as with the Andamanese, the historical relations are less well established or traditions are more unique to a particular place. There is no support for any of the unitary or uniform explanations of hunter-gatherer art that have been proposed, for example that it concerns hunting magic or is based on animal forms.

Hunter-gatherer art in human prehistory

Hunter-gatherer art is increasingly recognized as an important area of study, both as a historical resource and as evidence for the development of human cultures. For some time, researchers have been more interested in the art of prehistoric hunter-gatherers than in art revealed by ethnographic studies. The extensive studies of European rock art are one manifestation of this. Here, art has been analyzed from different perspectives in order better to understand Palaeolithic societies. Early studies adopted a functional perspective, interpreting art as hunting magic (see Ucko and Rosenfeld 1967 for a critique), while later studies have tended to shift the perspective toward art as symbol, as a form of communication, and as a sign of group identity (Leroi-Gourhan 1982, Conkey 1980), and toward the analysis of aesthetic values (White 1992) and representational techniques (Lourblanchet 1989). People have increasingly seen art as a possible avenue to the understanding of human cognitive "evolution" and a possible source of inference for the origins of human languages (Davidson and Noble 1989), and as a means for identifying the transitions between different modes of hunter-gatherer economies and different levels of complexity of hunter-gatherer social organization.

In other parts of the world where the rock art traditions are less distant from the present, the analysis of rock art has increasingly been used as a source of evidence for historical processes and social transformation. In Australia, for example, Morwood (1992), Smith (1994), and Tacon and Chippendale (1994) have used rock art to extend regional histories back in time and have used the insights of local ethnography as an adjunct to interpretation (see Layton 1992 for an overview).

Conclusion: and the art goes on?

Art is a source of information about hunter-gatherers of the past, but it also expresses the ways in which hunter-gatherers are transforming themselves now. The material culture of many hunter-gatherers has been influenced by the possibilities provided by local and regional trading networks. More recently, art production has been adjusted to changing colonial and post-colonial contexts; namely, to an increasing globalization of economies. Simultaneously, foraging and post-foraging peoples have used the production of art and material culture to assert their identity within new political structures (Nemiroff 1992, Lüthi 1993, Morphy 1995).

Many hunters and gatherers in North America, Africa, and Asia have been producing goods for local and global markets for centuries. The art of these peoples has continually changed in response to the internal and external consequences of trade and colonization (see Graburn 1976a for a general discussion). Many artifacts have continuity with previous forms, be they Northwest Coast ritual objects, Australian Aboriginal bark paintings, or New Guinea Asmat house posts. New forms also develop to satisfy market demand. On the Northwest Coast, argillite carvings, scrimshaw work, and miniaturized objects are all responses to the external market. Contemporary prints and paintings from

the Northwest Coast and Inuit soapstone carvings and "tourist" masks exhibit both artistic continuity and market-related innovation.

In the past, the response of academia and the art world to forms of hunter-gatherer art developed for the Euro-American market has involved a degree of scepticism which sometimes borders on regret—see, for example, Carpenter (1973:194) on Inuit soapstone carvings. Recently, however, such works have been viewed in a more neutral light, free from externally imposed criteria of authenticity. Today, hunters and gatherers in many parts of the world freely produce works for very different audiences and markets—fine art, tourist art, or art for internal ritual purposes—without its appearing fundamentally contradictory. In Australia (Airman *et al*. 1989), Botswana (Williams 1996), Canada (Graburn 1976b), and elsewhere, art production is a significant factor in enabling people to maintain a degree of economic autonomy as well as links with their land. In Australia and Canada, indigenous art forms have even been built into the symbolic fabric of the state, as part of the new nations' heritage. They have been incorporated in the design or décor of national and state buildings. The presence of hunters and gatherers, in the forms of their art, as part of the symbolism of a nation-state maybe a factor in making their rights as people part of the political agenda of that same state. Certainly, hunter-gatherers in many parts of the world see art as a form of political action.

Elsewhere, however, hunter-gatherer art is as fragile as other aspects of "traditional" hunter-gatherer ways of life in the face of national and local discrimination. The Batwa of Rwanda and Burundi, who have long been craft producers making pottery for their agricultural neighbors, have seen their market disappear through political turmoil in their region. Far from being able to transform their production from local markets to wider ones through tourism and trade, they have found their local market disappearing and their identity threatened. Indeed, in many parts of the world, hunter-gatherers continue to find themselves subject to discrimination. Their way of life is set up in opposition to the illusory idea of modernity, so that they now occupy a position in society analogous to that which they once occupied in evolutionary theory. While in the "developed" world the symbolic value of hunter-gatherer art may be changing, in many countries of the Third World hunter-gatherers remain marginalized and art plays a diminishing role in the value creation processes. Here, art loses value internally and fails to gain an external value. It may be that increasing global exposure to the art of hunter-gatherers and increasing the marketing opportunities for indigenous crafts as part of aid programs may be among the better ways of attempting to ensure their long-term survival.

118 Textiles with characteristic Ainu ornamentation, and the manufacture of *attusi*, elm bark clothing, exemplify the renaissance in Ainu art. Photo: Tom C. Svensson, 1990.

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II.II.6

Hunter-gatherers and human health

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The corpus of anthropological knowledge about hunting and gathering ways of life is of vital importance to general human health. The cumulative experience of foraging societies can usefully be viewed as a benchmark for present-day efforts to promote health and prevent disease, even in the world's industrialized countries.

It is valid to view residents of affluent industrialized nations—be they African, Asian, Latin American, or Euro-American-as hunters and gatherers displaced over time to an environment much more foreign, even hostile, to basic human biology. Human biology is governed by genes selected through the course of evolution, which has led to the anatomically modern humans of the past 40,000 to 50,000 years. With the development of agriculture over the past 10,000 years, and particularly since the Industrial Revolution, genetic evolution has fallen dramatically out of step with the pace of cultural/technical change (Neel 1994:315). Our bodies are adapted for foraging ways of life, yet they must contend with psychological, nutritional, and physical stresses of "Space Age" existence. This discord between our basic biology and the way we live fosters the major degenerative disorders which produce 75 percent of all mortality in industrialized nations—including cancer, diabetes, and coronary heart disease (Eaton, Shostak, and Konner 1988).

When, in the interest of preventative medicine, physicians prescribe diet and exercise patterns, they are advocating a way of life generally resembling that of hunter-gatherers. It is not by chance that recommendations by groups such as the World Health Organization parallel anthropological findings about the lives of practicing hunters and gatherers. While foraging peoples, no matter how remote and elusive, no longer live the life of our pre-agricultural ancestors, their experiences afford by far the best remaining approximation of the lifeways for which our human genes are still adapted. In relation to problems of human health, recent gatherers and hunters can serve roughly as models of how men and women lived when their lifeways and their genetic endowment were more nearly in harmony.

Of course, the lifestyles and health of recent gatherer-hunters have not remained static since Palaeolithic times. Foraging peoples of recent centuries have been restricted to less fruitful habitats, often by expanding state entities. In these habitats limited resource availability has affected variables such as physical size, which has become smaller in comparison with the skeletal remains of their presumptive ancestors. Nutritional practices have also been influenced. Recent low-latitude hunter-gatherers have employed a broad spectrum subsistence pattern, whereas, during much of prehistory, optimal foraging theory suggests greater emphasis on game would have been advantageous (Bettinger

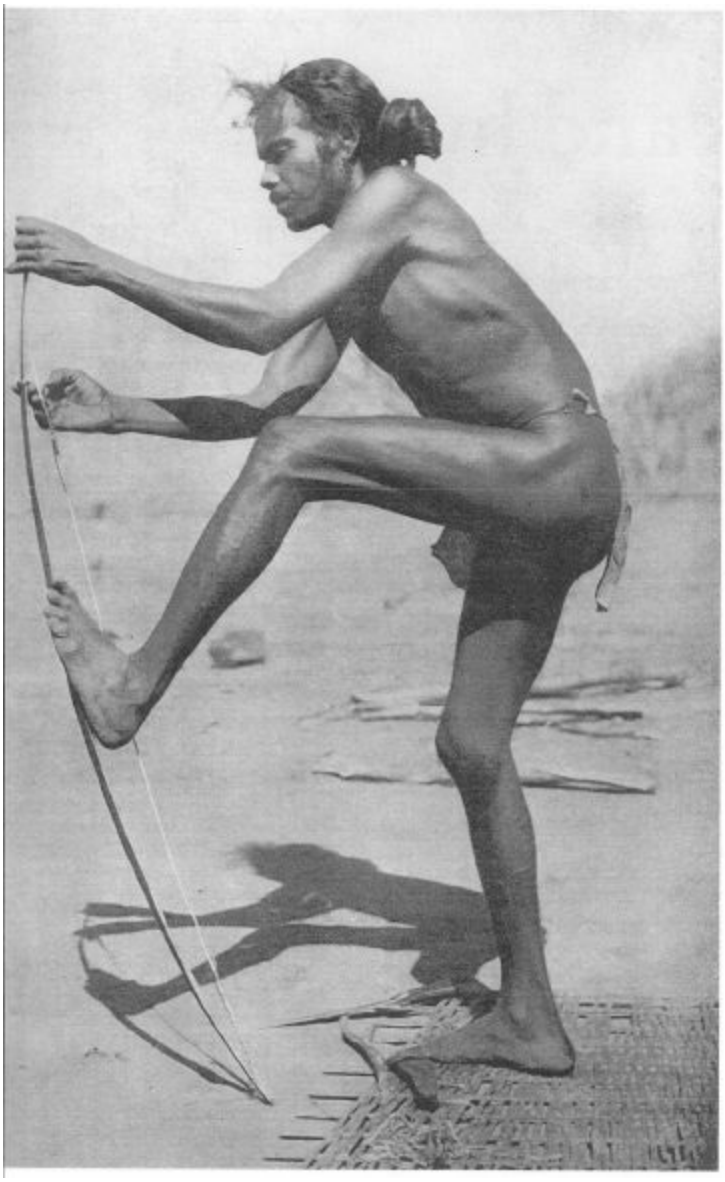
1991). Nevertheless, recent foragers can serve analytically as surrogates for humans of the Late Palaeolithic era—as models of how women and men lived when their lifeways and their genetic endowment were more closely in harmony.

The hunter-gatherer lifestyle

Nutrition

The diets of hunting and gathering peoples vary greatly with latitude and season; there is no one universal subsistence pattern. Animal foods, for example, are the major energy source in high latitudes while vegetal items have generally provided at least two-thirds of food intake for recent low-latitude foragers. But just as there is an "average" British diet, so too can defensible generalizations about typical hunter-gatherer nutrition be formulated.

Because their game animals are generally lean, and because foragers have no access to dairy foods (no domesticated herds), they generally consume much less *total fat* than do citizens of affluent nations (Eaton 1992). The high Arctic Inuit/Eskimo are an exception, but even they eat less fat than do many Americans. Their food contains much less *saturated fat* (the type which raises serum cholesterol levels) than ours does (Eaton 1992). Their *cholesterol* intake is similar to our own, not especially low: even the leanest game meat has significant cholesterol content (Eaton 1992). The amount of *carbohydrate* in their diets is about the same as that of North Americans; yet, the bulk of their carbohydrate intake is derived from fruits and vegetables. Only a minimal amount is from cereal grains; some is derived from wild honey; refined sugar and flour account for none (Eaton *et al*. 1997). Foragers obtain far more *fiber* from their diets (chiefly from fruits and vegetables) than do occidentals (Eaton 1990).



119 A Chenchu hunter stringing a bow, Andhra Pradesh. Photo: Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf.

Hunter-gatherer intake of *micronutrients* (both vitamins and minerals) generally ranges from one and a half to five times the dietary allowances (RDAs) recommended for Americans (Eaton *et al*. 1997), with the exception of *sodium*, where hunter-gatherer intake is only a fraction of ours, less than a gram a day, about one-sixth of a teaspoon of salt (Eaton *et al*. 1997). In most settings, hunter-gatherers eat substantially more *animal protein* than we do (Eaton *et al*. 1997), generally in the form of game (red meat low in fat); in coastal environments shellfish make an important contribution.

Exercise

Hunting and gathering involve the expenditure of hard work. !Kung San (Ju/'hoansi) women are estimated to walk 2400 km annually (about 6.6 km a day) while carrying equipment, gathered material, and a child. On the return leg of a day's foraging trip a woman will have gathered 7–10 kg of plant food and a typical Ju/'hoansi mother will carry her child some 7800 km during its first four years of life (Lee 1979:310–12)! Given this level of exertion (and bearing in mind that that deployed in hunting is comparable), it is no wonder that age-matched physical fitness (expressed as maximal oxygen uptake, $V0_2$ max.) averages fully one-third higher for hunter-gatherers than for North Americans. Analogous strength-testing reveals a similar discrepancy (Eaton, Shostak, and Konner

1988, Rode and Shephard 1994).

Alcohol and tobacco

Honey and wild fruits with sufficient sugar content can undergo natural fermentation. It is possible that some pre-agricultural humans had alcoholic beverages, but no hunter-gatherers studied in this century have been observed to make such substances. Widespread alcohol use probably began only after the appearance of agriculture (Eaton, Shostak, and Konner 1988).

While sporadic Palaeolithic alcohol consumption cannot be wholly excluded, we can be more confident about tobacco usage. The genus *Nicotiana*, of which tobacco is the best-known species, is indigenous to the Americas, Australia, and a few Pacific islands. Australian Aborigines do chew tobacco, but it was not available to foragers in Africa or Asia—nor, when they existed, would it have been an option for those in Europe (Eaton, Konner and Shostak 1988). Some foragers in the Americas probably obtained tobacco from horticultural or semi-horticultural neighbors.

Reproduction

Reproductive events are important risk factors related to women's cancers (of the breast, ovary, and endometrium) and in all instances where the experience of hunter-gatherer women differs from that of women in industrialized nations, that of the latter tends to increase their risk. Hunter-gatherer women experience later menarche (about age sixteen) and usually give birth earlier (about age nineteen), so that the menarche-first-birth interval averages about three years. For Euro-Americans, this interval is, on average, ten years, and often exceeds twenty. Gatherer-hunter women have a higher number of births (about six, as opposed to the two of Euro-Americans); they nurse longer (typically about three years, as opposed to three months among industrialized peoples) and more intensively; their menopause is usually earlier, in the middle to late forties, while among the industrialized it is in the early fifties (Eaton *et al*. 1994).

120 An Agta grooming session, northeastern Luzon. Photo: P. Bion Griffin.

Natural health indicators

Certain readily determined biological parameters serve as health status indicators. When abnormal, these indicators are also diagnostic warning signs of presymptomatic degenerative disease. That the average profile of people in Western nations differs from that of foragers therefore assumes disturbing significance, especially as the differences tend to become greater with increasing age. Some of the most important such indicators include the following:

Body composition

The relative proportions of fat and lean tissue are more representative of health status than is total body weight. Skin thickness measurements suggest that hunter-gatherers have half the body fat found in industrialized occidentals, many of whom are encased in unhealthy fat "envelopes." And, in contrast to ourselves, the body fat of hunter-gatherers remains stable or actually decreases with advancing years. The forager "natural" standards are between 5 and 15 percent body fat for men, and between 20 and 25 percent for women, regardless of age (Eaton, Shostak, and Konner 1988).

Blood pressure

Forager blood pressures run slightly below those prevalent in industrialized nations; values of 105/65 (compared to 120/80) would be typical. Perhaps more importantly, average blood pressure does *not*

increase with age among hunter-gatherers (Eaton, Shostak, and Konner 1988).

Serum cholesterol

Despite their "high" intake of dietary cholesterol, the average serum cholesterol level of hunter-gatherers (3.2 mmol/L [125 mg/dl]) is much below that of urban industrial people (e.g., Sweden 5.7 mmol/L [220 mg/dl]) (Eaton, Shostak, and Konner 1988). The hunter-gatherer figure is well within the range observed for free-living, non-human primates (2.3–3.5 mmol/L [90–135 mg/dl]), suggesting that values of this magnitude are "natural" for primates generally. In this light, the conventional US standard, which designates levels below 200 mg/dl as "desirable," seems high (Eaton 1992).

Aerobic fitness

This term applies to endurance rather than to strength. At any given age foragers tend to be about one-third more fit than Westerners (Eaton, Shostak, and Konner 1988, Rode and Shephard 1994). In terms of $V0_2$ max. (see above), the hunter-gatherer standards are roughly 40–50 ml/kg/min. for men and 30–40 ml/kg/min. for women. Our foraging, technologically less complex contemporaries maintain such fitness well into older adult life.

Hunting, gathering, and disease pathophysiology

Despite the foregoing, the health of people in affluent countries surpasses that of typical hunter-gatherers by most epidemiological measures. Life expectancy in sedentary, industrialized nations is over twice as long and infant mortality is far lower than among foragers. The main reason here is that infectious diseases can be prevented in affluent nations (through sanitation and immunization), or treated (by antibiotics and supportive therapy). The same diseases remain scourges among hunter-gatherers. AIDS, the obvious exception, reminds us of the impact micro-organisms formerly made everywhere. Our relative freedom from contagion (as well as from trauma and obstetrical complications—other health advantages for affluent societies) is fairly recent and perhaps transitory. In the nineteenth century, life expectancy for hunter-gatherers and occidentals was nearly equal.

Degenerative diseases are quite another story. For this category of human disorder, both Western physicians and lay persons can learn much of value from our hunter-gatherer kin.

Obesity

Obesity is at once an exceedingly complex and a surpassingly straightforward disorder; at its root is the balance between energy intake and energy expenditure. The difference between hunter-gatherer existence and that of affluent Westerners affects both sides of the equation.

Compared with the foods of foragers, those available to industrial North Americans and Europeans are often calorically concentrated. For example, by fat content, a kilo of choice beef from the supermarket has twice the calories found in a kilo of game. Highly refined flour, sugar, and non-essential fat (spreads and oils) are sources of empty calories almost totally inaccessible to foragers. After weaning, water is usually the only drink available to hunters and gatherers, while in industrialized nations, a variety of drinks commonly provide a caloric load while quenching thirst.

On the energy output side of the balance, air conditioning and central heating have largely

replaced energy-requiring physiological body functions which warm and cool foragers. In addition, the reduction in human energy expenditure effected by motorization has an enormous impact. In Western nations, caloric intake actually has an inverse correlation with adiposity: on average, the less a person eats the more likely s/he is to become obese. This condition arises as overfat individuals have proportionately lower levels of caloric expenditure, often only marginally above their basal metabolic rate. Those who exercise more, eat more, but are still less likely to become obese (Eaton, Shostak, and Konner 1988).

Diabetes mellitus

The experience of Australian Aborigines and Alaskan Inuit/Eskimo (O'Dea *et al*. 1982, Mouratoff and Scott 1973) shows the effects of acculturation on diabetes. Among the Inuit/Eskimo, diabetes prevalence increased sixty-fold when these former hunter-gatherers increasingly adopted Western ways. In most cases, but especially among Native Americans such as the Pimas, and Pacific Islanders like the Nauruans, increased diabetic prevalence has developed in concert with changes in body composition: more adipose tissue and less skeletal muscle. Overfat muscle-deficient individuals are often relatively insulin-resistant, hence obesity and sarcopenia are powerful risk factors for diabetes. The beneficial effects of exercise are related to the same factors: maintaining high-level physical fitness, like that typical of foragers, reduces adiposity, builds muscle and increases insulin sensitivity.

The physical nature of food is a third factor affecting diabetic prevalence. Hunter-gatherer foodstuffs tend to be coarser and more fiberous than those of industrialized peoples. Such rough foodstuffs produce less rapid absorption of glucose and lower levels of insulin secretion following a meal. Diets comprised of such foods tend to lower average blood glucose levels in diabetic patients.

Together these influences (obesity, sarcopenia, sedentary lifestyle, and the physical properties of common foods) largely explain why diabetes is a classic affliction of affluent countries (Eaton, Shostak, and Konner 1988).

Hypertension

High blood pressure (hypertension) is essentially unknown among hunter-gatherers (Blackburn and Prineas 1983). This is almost entirely explained by their level of salt intake, which is below the threshold required for expression of hypertension in genetically susceptible individuals. Additionally, there are secondary risk factors for hypertension which come into play when national sodium intake levels exceed the threshold. Above a certain range (perhaps 1000–1500 mg/d) further increases in sodium consumption are poorly correlated with a population's hypertension rate. In such circumstances, the secondary risk factors become particularly important. These include alcohol, calcium and, especially, potassium intake as well as physical fitness and body composition. For each of these determinants, deviation from the hunter-gatherer pattern increases hypertension risk (Eaton, Shostak, and Konner 1988).

Coronary heart disease

Clinical and postmortem examinations conducted in Greenland (Kronman and Green 1980), Australia (Woods 1966), Botswana (Truswell and Hansen 1976), and Zaire (Mann *et al*. 1962) have revealed that unacculturated hunter-gatherers hardly ever develop atherosclerosis, the disease process which leads to coronary heart disease and its complications of heart attack, congestive heart failure, and

sudden cardiac death. High serum cholesterol levels, high blood pressure (hypertension), and tobacco abuse are generally accepted as the major modifiable risk factors for coronary heart disease, while a sedentary lifestyle, obesity, and diabetes are important contributing influences. Since all these adverse influences are widely prevalent in industrialized countries, while remaining rare or altogether absent in forager societies, it is not surprising that proponents of evolutionary (Darwinian) medicine believe coronary disease, currently the primary cause of mortality in Western countries, can be almost entirely eradicated by preventive measures which mirror hunter-gatherer experience.

Cancer

Four cancer killers common in industrialized nations illustrate different mechanisms by which the affluent lifestyle promotes malignancies from which hunter-gatherers are relatively immune. Everyone knows that *lung cancer* is primarily due to the carcinogenic effects of cigarette smoking. Cigarettes were infrequently available to most Alaskan Inuit/Eskimo prior to World War II; even in 1950, lung cancer was rare in this population. Thereafter, the cumulative effects of cigarette exposure began to appear; by 1980, lung cancer incidence had increased by 550 percent (Hildes and Schaefer 1984). It is less well known that radon gas, a source of radioactivity, is an additional factor contributing to lung cancer risk. Accumulations of this gas tend to develop indoors—in housing and work places. Since foragers live almost entirely out of doors they are essentially free from this mutagenic influence which is believed responsible for between 1 and 4 percent of lung cancers in the United States (Doll and Peto 1981).

Colon cancer, the second most prevalent cause of US cancer mortality, is positively correlated with fat consumption (Carroll and Kritchevsky 1994). People who eat excessive fat typically have high levels of bile acid secretion from the liver and, in the bowel, these metabolites are transformed by gut bacteria into substances with carcinogenic effects. Conversely, diets high in fiber and calcium seem protective against colon cancer (Carroll and Kritchevsky 1994). Dietary fiber speeds passage of content through the bowel, thereby decreasing the time for carcinogens to interact with cells in the bowel wall. Furthermore, fiber tends to increase stool bulk and thus dilute the concentration of any carcinogens present. Calcium acts by slowing the rate of cell turnover in the colonic mucosa (the large bowel's lining). Since rapidly dividing normal cells are more susceptible to carcinogens than are those dividing slowly or not at all, calcium's effect is to reduce the likelihood of cancer initiation by carcinogens in the bowel contents. As noted earlier, hunter-gatherer subsistence patterns provide much less fat, but more fiber and calcium than do typical Western diets.

In 1900, lung cancer was rare in the United States; then *carcinoma of the stomach* was the most prevalent cancer, until its incidence declined dramatically during the 1930s and 1940s in North America (its malign preeminence persisted in Japan until recent years). The likeliest explanation for these time-related trends involves the introduction of food refrigeration in the two countries (Joosens and Geboers 1987). When refrigerators were unavailable, food preservation primarily involved salting, and highly concentrated salt irritates and damages gastric mucosa (the stomach's lining), making it more susceptible to carcinogens of all sorts. Hunter-gatherers rarely store food and when they do, as in cold-climate habitats, the process involves drying and/or freezing, not salting. Availability of sufficient salt for food preservation is a relatively recent phenomenon, becoming widespread within the last two millennia.

Breast cancer strikes more fear into the hearts of prospective patients than does any other

malignancy. Its best-established risk factors reflect reproductive experiences—early menarche, late first birth, little nursing, low total parity (number of births), and late menopause—more common in industrialized nations than amongst foragers. The common pathophysiological mechanism involves cell turnover rates in the breast's glandular cells, those potentially involved in milk production, not the fiberous supporting elements nor the adipose tissue of the breast. In these cells turnover rates are most rapid during the interval between menarche (first menstruation) and first full-term pregnancy, a period typically four times as long for Americans with any education beyond high school as for hunter-gatherer women. Conversely, nursing practically stops cell turnover in breast glandular tissue. Since breast feeding is the only available feeding method for forager mothers, and since they have more births, we find they nurse up to thirty times longer during their reproductive years than Western women do. Breast glandular cells are most susceptible to the effects of carcinogens when undergoing cell division. The rate of such turnover (averaged over the total reproductive span) is far greater for women in affluent nations. The exact breast cancer prevalence rate for women in hunting and gathering societies is unknown, but the best accepted epidemiological model predicts it to be approximately one-hundredth the rate found in the United States. One forager woman in 800 develops breast cancer, while in the United States it is more like one in eight (Eaton *et al*. 1994).

In addition to the different mechanisms illustrated by these four cancers, hunter-gatherers may benefit further from their intake of minerals and vitamins (including the controversial antioxidants: beta carotene, vitamin C, vitamin E, and selenium). In many foraging societies, the intake of fruits and vegetables, for which the statistical correlation with cancer prevention is very strong, exceeds that of almost all Westerners. Their intake of "phytochemicals"—non-nutrient components of fruits and vegetables which are increasingly suspected to have cancer-preventing properties—should also exceed that common in affluent nations.

Hunting, gathering, and health promotion

From current estimates of pre-agricultural life experiences, which owe an immense debt to recent hunter-gatherer research, a prescription for disease prevention and health promotion is gradually being developed. Those components related to exercise, nutrition, alcohol, and tobacco are largely, though not completely, established (Eaton, Shostak and Konner 1988). That related to reproduction remains a work in progress (Eaton *et al*. 1994).

Nutrition

Carbohydrates should make up 50–60 percent of each day's calorie intake, with emphasis on fruits, vegetables and, to a lesser extent, whole grains, while use of sugar and refined flour should be minimized. Fresh produce is preferable, but unsalted frozen products are also acceptable; salted and canned foods should be avoided. *Protein* can constitute 20–30 percent of daily caloric intake. Poultry (without skin), fish, shellfish, and low or non-fat dairy products reproduce the nutritional characteristics of game. *Fat* should be limited to about 20 percent of daily calories, not the 30 percent commonly deemed acceptable. In particular, saturated fat from fatty meat, dairy foods, and tropical oils should be avoided, as should hydrogenated fats which tend to act like saturates. None of these is anywhere near as available to foragers as to members of industrialized societies. On the other hand, dietary *cholesterol* is probably less important than is commonly made out—with the provisos that

total fat is 20 percent (or less) of all calories and saturated fat is minimized. To match the hunter-gatherer example, *fiber* intake needs to be much increased, chiefly from fruits and vegetables and only to a lesser extent from grains. An ultimate goal of 50 grams/day is appropriate, but this needs to be accomplished gradually as an abrupt increase to this level can have dramatically adverse effects. Reduce or eliminate *sodium* intake whenever possible; reaching the low level of hunter-gatherer intake is the most difficult single aspect of this entire dietary regimen. Enthusiasts who minimize or even eliminate dairy foods and cereal grain products from their diets can achieve the hunter-gatherer electrolyte intake pattern. Total daily *calcium* intake needs to be around 1500 mg, which may require supplementation. A daily *multi-mineral/vitamin* capsule providing RDA (not megadose) levels of water soluble vitamins, beta carotene, and Vitamin E can help assure that intake of these micronutrients approximates forager intake levels. Finally, *essential fatty acid* supplementation, especially of omega-3s, can help approximate the hunter-gatherer pattern and is being advocated by an increasing number of investigators (Eaton *et al*. 1997).

Exercise

Hunter-gatherers are more like decathlon athletes than like either power lifters or ultra-marathoners. Their lifestyle generates both strength and endurance so fitness activities should be directed toward similar goals. *Strength training* builds a sturdy and resilient musculoskeletal system and the concomitant increase in lean body mass elevates basal metabolic rate so that more calories can be consumed without resultant weight gain. *Endurance* (*aerobic*) *training* enhances cardiovascular and respiratory capacity and elevates HDL ("good") cholesterol levels in the blood. Programs to achieve fitness in both areas involve daily emphasis on aerobic exercise and resistance (strength) exercise on alternate days.

Tobacco

Both anthropological/palaeontological insight and modern medical research indicate tobacco in all forms should be completely avoided.

Alcohol

Under conditions normally present in industrialized nations, low to moderate levels of alcohol intake have beneficial cardiovascular effects. However, these virtues are diminished, if they persist at all, when nutritional and exercise practices conform to hunter-gatherer specifications. Alcohol should be regarded as a pleasant but seductive drug with a finely honed risk-benefit ratio, one which approaches negativity for individuals with little intrinsic risk of coronary heart disease. It should be used in extreme moderation if at all.

Reproduction

Both infant and mother benefit from increased nursing and it should be promoted vigorously. However, other features of hunter-gatherer reproductive experience, such as early first birth and increased parity, would have such adverse demographic and economic consequences in contemporary society that they can hardly be advocated. Because of these considerations, approaches through interventional endocrinology are being explored from three separate directions: pubertal delay (until

age fifteen or sixteen), early pseudopregnancy (at age nineteen or twenty), and contraceptive regimens which have the effect of lowering serum estrogen to the levels found in hunter-gatherers (significantly below those common in industrialized nations). Animal experiments and limited clinical experience suggest that all three are individually effective and safe, with no reduction in subsequent reproductive success. They are, of course, highly controversial, but no more so than was the adoption of widespread oral contraception thirty years ago. They utilize sophisticated pharmacology to replicate forager physiology without the attendant early and frequent pregnancies. However, a national debate on their acceptability is clearly needed before such measures can be generally advocated (Eaton *et al*. 1994).

Conclusion: the hunter-gatherer health paradigm

Understanding of the relationship between ancient genes, fast-paced cultural change, and hunter-gatherer experience in relation to modern degenerative disease has been slow to develop; indeed, it was at first based more on intuition than on science. In 1754, Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote that in a "state of nature" men were strong of limb, fleet of foot, and clear of eye. He contrasted this natural condition of health with the proliferating diseases engendered in civilization by wealth and sedentary occupations: "The greater part of our ills are of our own making, and we might have avoided them, nearly all, by adhering to that simple…manner of life which nature prescribed. When we think of the savages [sic]…and reflect that they had hardly any diseases save wounds and old age, we are tempted to believe that in following the history of civil society we shall be telling that of human sickness."

For generations this view was considered naively romantic and it was unquestionably exaggerated, but anthropological investigations of hunter-gatherer life during the past half century have confirmed its basic postulate: individuals who continue the lifeways of our remote ancestors are largely immune to the chronic degenerative diseases which produce "the greater part" of all mortality in affluent nations. Rousseau did not anticipate the obvious advantages of modern life: transportation, communication, computers, health care, and more. He could not have predicted a life expectancy twice that of eighteenth-century Europe (and of his "savages"). But he did hit upon a fundamental truth: our biology is designed for a different era. Knowledge about the life-ways of hunters and gatherers is integral to, and essential for, readapting our current ways of living, and bringing them more in accord both with the ways of our ancient biological heritage and with the ways of recent hunter-gatherers. In pursuing such a path we can effectively promote and achieve better health and prevent disease as we move into the twenty-first century.

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II.III HUNTER-GATHERERS IN A GLOBAL WORLD

II.III.1

The Tasaday controversy

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Introduction

The "Tasaday controversy" over the authenticity of descriptions of the "Tasaday" people of the Philippines raises the following questions. Have they or have they not been a unique, tiny, isolated, culturally primitive, stone tool using, cave-dwelling, foraging society? Is/was there a society in Mindanao with the characteristics ascribed to the Tasaday by their "discoverer," and by the initial observers he brought to see them?

The answer given to these questions by most of the anthropologists who have examined the evidence is that there is/was no such society. Most now conclude that the descriptions and the evidence to support them were intentional misrepresentations made by their discoverer, who wanted them to be known as "Stone Age survivors." This image was transmitted to both anthropologists and laymen by selected journalists and unwary observers invited to join carefully managed tours organized to glimpse this alleged Stone Age phenomenon. A hoax was attempted, and it enjoyed considerable success until the demise of the Marcos government in the Philippines, when anthropologists gained more access to the available evidence, to the region, and to the people in question (Iten 1986b, 1992, Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1992, 1993, Hyndman and Duhaylungsod 1988, Berreman 1991, 1992, Headland 1992d).

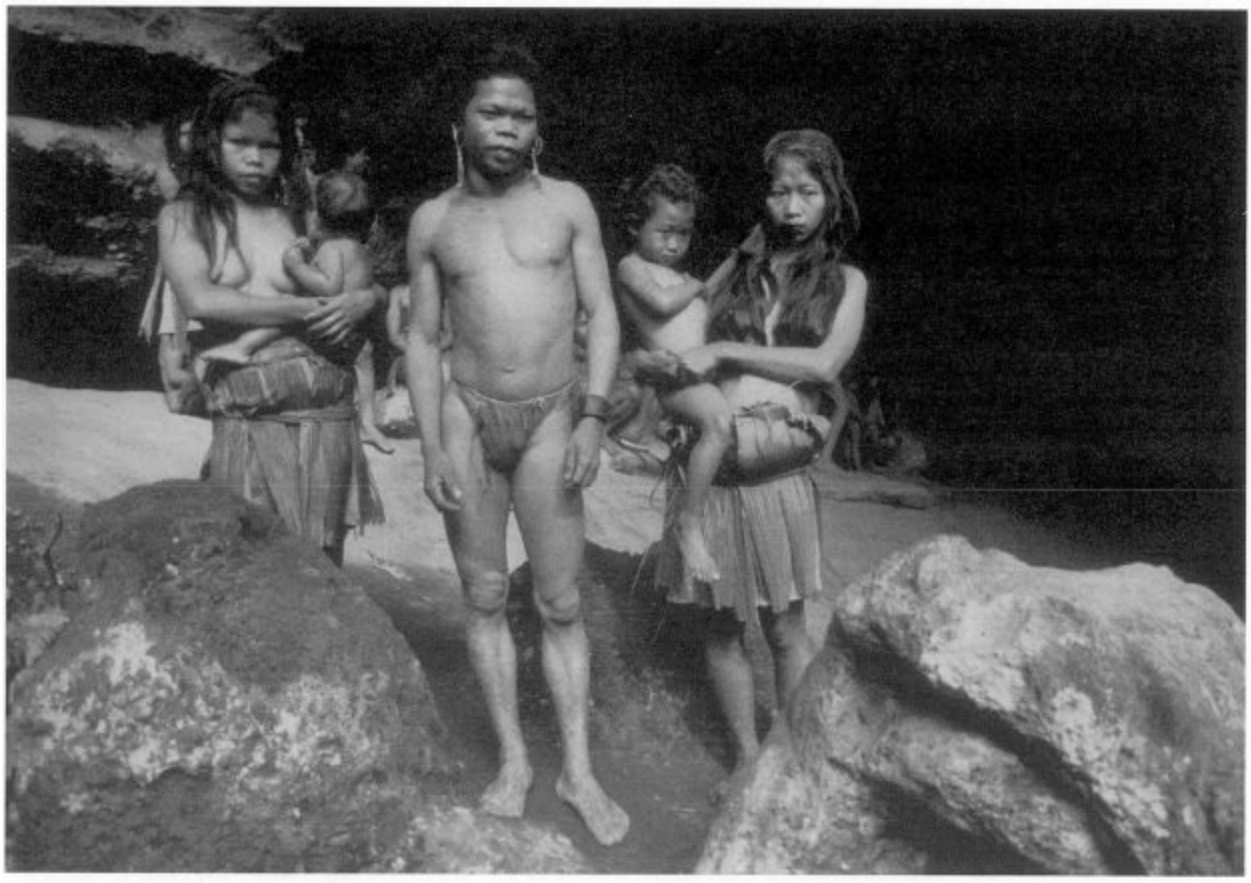
The "pristine" Tasaday

In 1971, Manuel Elizalde Jr., head of Panamin, President Marcos'"Presidential Arm for National Minorities," reported the existence of a band of about twenty-five Tasadays dwelling in isolation in the Cotabato forests of Mindanao. He claimed to have learned of the Tasaday from an itinerant hunter and trader named Dafal, whom he met while on an official visit to the region. The Tasaday were featured periodically over the next eighteen months in the international press. Ten convoys of journalists, photographers, politicians, and celebrities, and eleven selected scientists, paid well-publicized visits to the Tasaday. All but the first visit occurred in rock shelter caves said to be Tasaday homes, and all were under Elizalde's supervision (Elizalde, with Fox 1971, *National Geographic* 1971, CBS-TV 1972, MacLeish 1972, NBC-TV 1972, Nance 1975). The scientists' visits totaled ninety person-days and averaged eight days in length.

Filipino anthropologist and historical linguist Zeus Salazar immediately challenged many of the claims (Salazar 1971, 1973). He was not allowed to visit the area. His challenges were suppressed

and ignored. Access to the Tasaday was closed in 1972 and this continued to the Marcos overthrow in 1986. A "Tasaday-Manubo Special Forest Reserve" had been created by Marcos in 1972; in 1976 it became one of four areas subject to Presidential Decree No. 1017, "prohibiting persons from entering into unexplored tribal grounds and providing penalty therefor." This decree provided prison sentences especially to social scientists who violated its terms (Berreman 1991:7–8, Headland 1992a:10, 17).

Following Marcos' overthrow, the Tasaday hit the headlines again when they found themselves visited once more by uninvited observers, who then returned from the forest to announce a hoax had been perpetrated. Subsistence horticulturalists had been induced to act as "Stone Age" rainforest-dwelling cavemen called "Tasadays." The first report came from Swiss anthropologist-journalist Oswald Iten, who called the story "A Stone Age swindle" (Iten 1986a, 1986b, 1990, 1992). A week later the German journalist Walter Unger, and photographer Jay Ullal, corroborated Iten's account (Unger and Ullal 1986). A hastily assembled expedition by *Asiaweek Magazine* (1986) attempted to counter these findings. Shortly thereafter, unfettered by martial law and Elizalde's supervision, the Philippine Anthropological Association was able to convene its International Conference on the Tasaday Controversy and Other Urgent Anthropological Issues at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, August 15–17, 1986. The gathering was held to assess the counter-claims about the Tasaday ("the anthropological find of the century," or "the most elaborate hoax perpetrated on the anthropological world since the Piltdown fraud"). I attended, to speak on ethics and responsibility, and, because I had no particular opinion on the Tasaday, was appointed to a six-member commission set up to assess the counter-claims. My subsequent writings, and those of other members, stemmed from our experience at this symposium.



121 Gintui and family at the "Tasaday Caves" during the pre-announced visit by Unger and Ullal in

1986. Photo: Jay Ullal/Srem, Hamburg, with article, *Stern* 17/86:33. Courtesy of the Stern-Syndication.

122 Gintui and family during Oswald Iten's unexpected visit a week earlier in March 1986. Photo: Oswald Iten.

Now that disaffirming evidence has accumulated, those with vulnerable claims have tended to shift ground. They now argue that no matter what the nature of Tasaday culture, society, and history, and no matter what the circumstances of their "discovery" in 1971–2, the Tasaday are real people, deserving of respect and social justice.

The original question persists, however. Were the Tasaday, or were they not, the isolated Stone Age troglodytes described by Elizalde and his associates, and reported by Nance and others? Researchers began to ask as well, following visits to the Tasaday in 1986, were these Levi-clad, house-dwelling Tasaday farmers the same "Stone Age people" who had simply undergone radical change in the previous fifteen years of outside contact, or was their lifestyle, now commensurate with other Mindanao residents, essentially unchanged from before the publicity of 1971–2?

The earliest reports of the Tasaday were by members of the post-"discovery" visiting parties: anthropologists Robert Fox (with Elizalde) 1976, Fernandez and Lynch 1972, Lynch and Llamzon 1971, and Lynch and Fox *et al*. 1973; ethnobotanist Yen 1976a, 1976b, Yen and Nance (with contributors) 1976; linguists Molony (with Dad Tuan) 1976, and Llamzon 1971; and journalists Nance (then with Associated Press) 1975, 1981 and MacLeish 1972. The most comprehensive claims are found in Nance 1975, and came to comprise the "Tasaday canon." I have elsewhere identified and challenged most key assertions of this canon (Berreman 1991, 1992). Before proceeding further, a caveat is in order: *At the time of their* "*discovery*," *the Tasaday had in their possession virtually all of the skills, knowledge, artifacts, and products whose alleged absence among them had led to their ultra-primitive*, "*Stone Age survivor*" *image, which in turn led to their public renown, to their interest to anthropologists, and eventually to the controversy discussed here*.

Elizalde and other proponents of Tasaday primitivity underplay, without denying, this paradox. They explain it as simple contamination by the discoverer, Dafal. Claims of the unique primitivity of the Tasaday way of life, according to this argument, are not claims of how the Tasaday were *observed* to live, but rather, about how they are *said to have lived before encountering Dafal*. This peripatetic neighboring farmer and trader, who did not speak the Tasaday language, claimed to have

"discovered" the Tasaday in 1966 and paid them ten visits in the five years before Elizalde's first visit. Dafal claimed to trade with them, instruct them, and observe the ultra-primitive existence which was to capture the imagination of an international audience (Elizalde with Fox 1971:5–8, 16, *passim*). Dafal is said to have given them every artifact and taught every skill, habit, and body of knowledge which had not been part of their scanty culture prior to his arrival. All this was done, we are told, without knowledge of their language (Nance 1975:10).

In 1971, Elizalde flew to the edge of the rainforest with his Panamin crew, together with Nance, a four-man NBC-TV team, writers for the *Reader's Digest* and *National Geographic* (the latter with photographer), anthropologist/priest Fox, archaeologist Peralta, and several friends and patrons. Meanwhile, Dafal had gathered the Tasaday, who were almost outnumbered by their visitors, and Elizalde introduced them to the world (Nance 1975:48–68). Only on subsequent tours were the caves discovered/created as the usual domicile of the Tasaday.

Into the Stone Age?

The major claims made by observers in the early 1970s as to the primal nature of the Tasaday and their pre-Dafal, isolated, "Stone Age" way of life are listed below. Each claim is followed by discussions of disconfirming evidence.

First, the Tasaday comprised a bounded social unit of approximately twenty-five persons who, with the exception of two nearby similar groups with whom they were said to intermarry, the *Tasafang* and *Sanduka/Tasanduka*, had been isolated from other peoples—without awareness, trade, or communication—for hundreds of years. *But*, Tasaday is the name of a nearby mountain/watershed (Elizalde with Fox 1971:9). It is doubtful it designated a people before Elizalde so applied it. The *Tasafang* and the *Sanduka* have disappeared without a trace, leaving no convincing evidence of their existence (Nance 1975:352). A population of twenty-five is not a viable and sustainable social or reproductive unit. Even if the *Tasafang* and *Sanduka* existed their combined population of well under one hundred would have been insufficient to maintain an isolated population (Headland 1990:26–7). The Tasaday also live a mere 3-hour walk on well-trodden trails from the nearest farming villages (Yen 1976b:170). Tasaday frequently intermarried with neighboring Manobo in the years preceding their "discovery" (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1992:68–9), a practice continuing today (Peralta 1992:163). Moses (1988) and Lee (1992) both emphasize what the latter terms "the immunological question," arguing that if the Tasaday had been out of contact for hundreds of years, then we ought to have seen their "discovery" produce infections, epidemics, and higher mortality. That this did not occur suggests the Tasaday were not isolated from the world (Lee 1992:168).

Second, Tasaday comprised a linguistic community whose language was devoid of loan words and was not mutually intelligible with other languages in the region (Elizalde with Fox 1971:4). The generally accepted duration of its separation from other tongues in the region is 755 to 571 years, or "several hundred years" (Llamzon 1971, Molony 1988). *But*, these assertions are supported only by declarations of the general rigor of lexicostatistics and glottochronology (Molony 1988 and on BBC-TV 1989). Molony (1989) reduced her estimate of separation to only 125 years, from thirty generations to six.

Molony states (1989:115): "It is very difficult to imagine that Elizalde or anyone else was clever enough to…create a new language." What Molony did not know was that the Tasaday were *not*

speaking a language very different from others in the region. They were speaking their own language which, it has been demonstrated, is only a slight dialectal variant of Cotabato Manobo, the predominant language of South Cotabato. A linguist familiar with Manobo listened to Tasaday tapes and concluded that the language was about 90 percent Manobo (Johnston 1992:147).

Third, the Tasaday had since time beyond memory lived in stream-side, water-formed rock shelters deep in the rainforests of South Cotabato. *But*, caves were not mentioned in Dafal's early reports, nor during Elizalde's initial visits. Only a year later were they asserted to be Tasaday dwellings, although no evidence has been adduced: no living floors, middens or hearths (Iten 1992:45). Archaeologist Longacre pointed out it would only take a matter of hours to determine whether these shelters were used for generations, or merely for days (1992:196). It is highly probable that the latter was the case (J. Desmond Clark quoted in Berreman 1991:7). Mai Tuan, Elizalde's assistant and self-described non-Tasaday-speaking Tasaday "interpreter" announced in 1988 that the Tasaday residential patterns have never changed, and that they continue to dwell in caves (Central Independent Television 1988). No one else claims the Tasaday occupied caves after the Marcos blackout of the 1970s.

Fourth, Tasaday clothing consisted of fresh orchid-leaf skirts and loincloths. *But*, the photos of Tasadays taken by Elizalde on his first encounter show cloth skirts and loincloths (Elizalde with Fox 1971). Only later did the orchid leaf garments appear. Balangan, a Tasaday, reported: "Whenever Elizalde and his companions were coming, he sent a messenger to tell us to take off our clothes and go to the caves. We had to wait there until all the pictures had been taken. When Elizalde left, we put our clothes back on and came back to our own houses" (Central Independent Television 1988). These instructions are mentioned by members of Elizalde's parties (Nance 1975:50, 55, 112, 115, *passim*). Fifteen years later, during Iten's surprise visit, the Tasaday were clad in jeans, T-shirts, blouses, and skirts (Iten 1986a, 1992), while a week later, during Unger's preannounced visit, the same individuals appeared in orchid leaves. Photos show some women supplemented the leaves with cloth garments (Unger and Ullal 1986, Iten 1986a:49–51).

Fifth, Tasadays derived their livelihood from foraging near their caves, seeking edible yams called *biking* (*Dioscorea* sp.); they also ate fruits, nuts, grubs, frogs, crabs, and fingerlings from a stream (MacLeish 1972:238–9). They neither hunted nor ate mammals or birds. They were unaware of the nutritious pith of the *caryota* palm, and how to extract and leach it into edible *natek*. They were unaware of seven other edible tubers. *But*, dating from the earliest reports, the Tasaday were seen (and photographed) to be preparing *natek*, a practice attributed to Dafal's tutelage (Nance 1975:138, photos after 306, Fernandez and Lynch 1972:pls. 2 and 5). Even Elizalde (with Fox 1971:6, 7, 14) reports that the Tasaday prepared *natek* and butchered and cooked hunted game such as monkeys, pigs and deer (see also Nance 1975: photo following 402).

Sixth, Tasadays knew no domesticated plants or animals, nor had they words related to agriculture. *But*, ethnobotanist Yen early on raised doubts that the Tasaday could survive solely on the wild foods available (Yen 1976b:174–5, and quoted in Nance 1975:270–1, 432). Headland (1992b: 140) concludes that the evidence now is that this hypothesis must be rejected. He cites thirty-one quotations from primary sources where Tasaday rice consumption was recorded (1992b:140–2). Frankhauser (1992:128) concludes that the recorded food collected by Tasaday in a five-day period would have been insufficient for energy needs. Salazar (1973, 1992:78–80) argued for, and documented, the presence of agricultural terms in Tasaday speech, although Molony and Yen disagree

(Molony 1992:112–14).

Seventh, Tasadays possessed a stone-tool technology consistent with that found among Palaeolithic and Neolithic societies, hence the applicability of the term "Stone Age," as in the following titles: *The gentle Tasaday: a Stone Age people in the Philippine rain forest*, and chapter headings, "7: In the Stone Age" and "13: Stone Age revolution" (Nance 1975); *Discovery of the Tasaday, a photo novel: the Stone Age meets the space age in the Philippine rain forest*(Nance 1981); "First glimpse of a Stone Age tribe" (*National Geographic* 1971); and "The Tasadays: Stone Age cavemen of Mindanao" (MacLeish 1972). *But*, some early investigators found Tasaday use of stone tools was so peripheral, "that we did not include the descriptive tag 'stone-tool using' in the title of this paper" (Fernandez and Lynch 1972:294). Fox and Peralta visited the Tasaday in 1971, on request by Panamin, to verify the Tasaday "discovery." They saw two hafted stone tools (Fox 1976, Peralta 1992) and an "heirloom" quartz scraper (one informant saying it had been acquired by trade from Dafal) (Peralta 1992, Fox 1976:4–9). The hafted tools, presented to Imelda Marcos, disappeared, and the quartz scraper was lost by Panamin (Fox 1976:5, 12). Certain "heirloom" tools of hard river cobble were reportedly made by Tasaday ancestors. They were photographed and returned to the caves, never to be seen again (Fox 1976:11, Fernandez and Lynch 1972:pl. 2). The loss of these tools, crucial to an assessment of Tasaday lithic technology, is one in a series of fortuitous disappearances of irreplaceable material in Elizalde's Tasasay venture (Berreman 1991:23–5). The other notable loss was tape recordings containing several hours of unmonitored Tasaday conversations, which Elizalde claimed to have obtained with a recorder secreted in their cave. Putative transcriptions of these ("translated" by Mai Tuan despite his self-declared inability to understand their speech) appear in Nance 1975:149–68, 198–221). They are so implausible as to be certainly forgeries (Berreman 1991:24, 1992:35). The only extant Tasaday stone tools were made in response to journalists' requests, and do not resemble tools of known stone-tool users past or present (Nance 1975:140–1). They are axe heads made of soft, coarse cobbles from a nearby stream, unsuitable for taking or holding an edge, and manufactured rapidly and casually in minutes, then briefly scraped against another stone for a cursory sharpening prior to hafting (Fernandez and Lynch 1972:297, Nance 1975:140). Nance reports that the vine bindings stretched as they dried, loosening the stone, and that the "tool" was probably highly disposable (1975:141).

The word for metal bolo/knife is *fais*; the word for stone is *batu*; the word for stone axe/tool *is fats batu* (Fernandez and Lynch 1972:294, Nance 1975:114). This led Salazar (1973:104) to suggest the stone axe was the novel tool, and the metal bolo the prior one. Robert Carneiro, whose expertise on stone tools led to his being asked to examine the Tasaday evidence, concludes: "In view of all the…evidence…in so far as the Tasadays' stone tools bear on the issue of the group's authenticity, they point toward the Tasaday being an artificially constituted group, hastily brought together and haphazardly equipped, rather than an authentic, pristine representative of a Stone Age People" (Carneiro 1992:178).

Eighth, Tasaday survived without hunting, fishing and storage technology: bows, arrows, blowguns, spears, clubs, traps, hooks, fish spears, nets, weirs, fish traps, poisons, baskets, boxes, pottery, or bags. *But*, upon "discovery," they had expertise in hunting, trapping, butchering, and cooking mammals and birds, together with an appetite for them, and the apposite technology, including bows of domesticated bamboo and metal-tip arrows (Nance 1981:173 [photo]); also spring traps they called *balawan* for pigs and deer, and various smaller traps for monkeys, rats, civets, and

wild chickens (Elizalde with Fox 1971, Nance 1975:18, 325, *passim*), and fish weirs. All these items were allegedly and implausibly the result of Dafal's tutelage and largesse. Also, at "discovery," the Tasaday had baskets which they made (of bamboo, rattan, and black vine) or obtained by trade, and cooking and water containers they made from domesticated bamboo (Elizalde with Fox 1971:15). On the previous page Elizalde mentions the making of bark cloth from fig species, a practice common everywhere in the country. They also had tin cans at discovery (Fernandez and Lynch 1972:300).

Ninth, the uniqueness and independence of Tasaday religion was asserted. They were said to be without specialists or rituals, with a paternalistic supreme being called Owner, who rewarded goodness, punished evil, and owned and protected the caves and their surroundings from human depredations (Nance 1975:62,277,360, 445). *But*, Garvan's ethnography of the Manobo of the region (1931 especially 187–240) indicates many similarities with Tasaday beliefs, including local, owning deities who can punish with storms (Garvan 1931:197–8). Garvan's ethnography, despite its significance for this controversy, has gone virtually unnoticed, or unacknowledged, by the disputants, with the notable exception of the indefatigable Professor Salazar (1973). Also both have an evil spirit (Tasaday: *busaow* [Nance 1975:178], Manobo: *busau* [Garvan 1931:195]). With these and other similarities, one is led to conclude Tasaday religion was shared with, or diffused from, Manobo practices, rather than being the isolated pastiche of "primitivity" and Judeo-Christian morality reported by the discoverers.

"Stone Age" politics

Ruth Benedict (1934:42) taught that a culture has a generally consistent pattern of thought and action. The Tasaday canon does not describe such a consistency. Benedict also stressed that a culture is greater than the sum of its parts, while the Tasaday culture, devised by Panamin and inflicted on the powerless people they called Tasaday, was much less than the sum of its parts. Like a machine designed by someone ignorant of the fundamentals of mechanics, this culture was designed by persons unaware of the features common to foraging societies, to societies making and using stone implements and living relatively peaceful, cooperative lives in and around tropical rainforests. The Elizalde-Panamin descriptions and their derivatives are ethnographic parody, perhaps little more sophisticated than *The Flintstones*.

The television program "Trial in the jungle" announced that the Tasaday "may have pulled off the most elaborate hoax in scientific history" (BBC-TV 1989). This is wrong; first, because the hoax was the work of Manuel Elizalde and not the Tasaday (the Tasaday and all Philippine minorities were its victims, as were, to a lesser extent, observers and the general public); and second, the hoax was simple, not elaborate. It was conducted under conditions controlled by the perpetrator, Elizalde, his powerful organization, Panamin, and their mentor, Ferdinand Marcos himself. The T'boli who were bribed and coerced into accepting the Tasaday label and image were merely the medium of Elizalde's hubris, his self-proclaimed discovery and protection of "Stone Age" innocence. That some honorable, sensible witnesses were taken in by the proceedings is not surprising as Elizalde selected them carefully and briefed them thoroughly, defining what they should expect, then supervising their visits and controlling their access to the people.

This is not to say that everyone was deceived, or that most were. Salazar was an early and courageous opponent. Nor is it to say that those deceived were deceived for long. All three Ph.D.

anthropologists whom Elizalde enlisted (Fox, Lynch, and Baradas) withdrew in dismay as they realized, each in his own time, the true nature of the escapade (Baradas, quoted by ABC News 1986, and speaking on ABC-TV 1986, Iten 1990, 1992, Berreman 1992:37–8, Nance 1975:102, 288–9).

The Tasaday "discovery" tapped into a romantic fascination with primitivity which is especially widespread in urban industrial nations, a fascination seen in the popularity of accounts of jungle-dwelling "savages" in publications from the *National Geographic* to tabloids and comics (Berreman 1991:33, 40, Lutz and Collins 1993:119–53). Anthropologists Dumont (1988:270) and Sponsel (1992) focus analysis of this fascination for the primitive on a dialectic between a brutish Hobbesian human past, as represented by the Yanomamo (Chagnon 1968), and a benign, idyllic Rousseauian past, like "the gende Tasaday." The main difference between these examples is the fact that the Yanomamo have been documented by anthropological research. This is not to say that foraging societies are not often orderly and peaceful, as this volume attests (see also Berreman 1991:11, 39 fn.l). Debates about the nature of foraging societies, unlike the Tasaday issue, are not about falsification. They are about accuracy and interpretation of observations. Such is the debate about the Punan of Borneo. See Hoffman 1986, and his critics: Brosius 1988, Sellato 1988, Kaskija 1988.

Dumont offers the further interpretation that the peaceful Tasaday became "a key symbol of the Marcos regime…the perfectly irresistible trope of the Philippines," a reverse of the image of America's Vietnam War, at its height at the time (Dumont 1988:265, 268). As such, the Tasaday appeal may have been in the main a yearning for a vision of human nature that challenged the experiences of the Vietnam War years, at least for the US, and of the Marcos years for the Philippines, a yearning for a lost golden age.

Why the reluctance to call a hoax a hoax?

Some of the most incisive critics of the Tasaday canon have shied away from calling it a hoax. This, while puzzling, is hardly inexplicable. To make such a charge is likely to be followed by serious consequences, even for academics. Those who make such charges, together with their colleagues, affiliates, and sponsors, may be denied future access to the region or nation concerned; they may face threats, costly legal suits, blackmail, extortion, kidnapping, physical harm, or worse; all of which have occurred in the Tasaday case (Iten 1992:56–7). It may also represent simple reluctance to take a firm public position on such a controversial issue, as occurred in the American Anthropological Association's volume on the Tasaday controversy (Headland 1992d). Editor Headland's conclusion (greeted with satisfaction in the Philippines by friends of Panamin, and with relief by advocates of Tasaday authenticity everywhere) was: "The answer to the hoax question, as worded here, is that the Tasaday were not a hoax." Why? Because the "Tasaday [themselves] did not deliberately deceive the public" (Headland 1992c:215). Headland concludes (alluding basically to the points I have discussed above): "These points, although they do not prove that the early Tasaday reports were a hoax, do, however, indicate that the people were not as isolated and 'primitive' as first reported" (1992c:218). He states the word "hoax" is ambiguous, and prefers to designate features of the Tasaday canon as "exaggerated" and "false."

I believe the word "hoax" is avoided because it is not ambiguous. "Hoax" is avoided precisely *because* it unambiguously describes the politically sensitive events which the book addresses and to which the evidence points. Only by this redefinition can these events be declared not to constitute a

hoax. Headland and I agree almost entirely on the historical and ethnographic facts of the Tasaday. We disagree on the word "hoax." In the world of politics and human rights, a word can make all the difference. This redefinition, bearing the imprimatur of the American Anthropological Association, and concluding a balanced and comprehensive volume, serves to legitimize the counterfeit Stone Age image of the Tasaday by lending credence to such distortions as: "recent stories that the Tasaday were a hoax have been largely discredited" (McCarry 1988:304). This tends to vindicate Elizalde and Marcos, who have proven themselves cynical manipulators and exploiters of the Tasaday and other indigenous cultural minorities. It also discredits anthropology by distorting the truth. The question was put rhetorically on the television program, "Trial in the jungle": "If they were able to fool every anthropologist who ever saw them, how credible is the science of anthropology?" (BBC-TV 1989). There comes a time and a place to call a spade a spade. The conclusion to American Anthropological Association's book on the Tasaday controversy failed to do so.

Consequences

For anthropology and the study of hunter-gatherers, this issue emphasizes the importance of evidence being obtained through rigorous research, clearly communicated, specifying the historical, political, social, and methodological contexts in which it was obtained. Evidence must be privileged and contextualized, its implications forthrightly stated.

Not to do so is the most damaging thing researchers can do to a people as vulnerable as the Tasaday. Researchers must not ignore, conceal, or distort the nature of outside forces and internal conditions affecting peoples lives. Duhaylungsod and Hyndman (1993) make a unique and essential contribution to this controversy by documenting the hoax, as well as the social, political, economic, and ecological contexts of the contemporary lives of the people of South Cotabato: the "Tasaday," the Manobo, and the T'boli. Indigenous minorities the world over are actively misunderstood and misused (Bodley 1975, and this volume). The anthropological antidote is to employ "the politics of truth," to produce and maintain an "adequate definition of [the] reality" of people's lives (Mills 1963:611).

The hoax perpetrated by Panamin in its misrepresentation and exploitation of the Tasaday and their neighbors created a morass of misinformation, prejudice, harassment, and violence—all of which tend to be used by the powerful to justify further exploitation of such peoples in the name of progress and civilization. Perhaps the last word should be that of the Anthropology Department, University of the Philippines, from their statement on the Tasaday experience: "The Tasaday incident is a microcosm of many other problems we have in Philippine society today. We fear for the people of South Cotabato, including the alleged Tasaday. We fear for other minority groups similarly situated elsewhere in the country. We fear for the entire nation, where academic integrity and democratic process continue to be sacrificed for the powerful" (University of the Philippines 1987).

Postscript: The *New York Times* (May 8, 1997) reported the death of Manuel Elizalde, aged sixty, at his Manila estate. *Sic transit ingloria*.

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II.III.2

Hunter-gatherers and the colonial encounter

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The encounter between foraging peoples and European colonialism demonstrates the human advantages of small-scale foraging cultures, and the remarkable resilience of this way of life in the face of seemingly overwhelming external pressure for change. This history also shows that foraging peoples did not dissolve at contact as European social Darwinists expected. The record of prehistory and pre-capitalist history shows that foragers retained their autonomy even as they interacted with farmers, herders, and politically centralized cultures for millennia. The crucial condition for forager survival is forager control over the territory and natural resources that make foraging possible. Colonialism was an unprecedented challenge for foragers when it placed them in competition with aggressive outsiders committed to unlimited growth and a seemingly insatiable drive for resources.

How anthropologists understand the modern history of foragers continues to be an important theoretical issue with critical policy implications, because some argue that particular foragers are not "genuine" or that their cultures are so fragile that they cannot possibly survive "contact" with the capitalist world system. There are also arguments that foragers have been falsely portrayed as "ecologically noble" (Headland 1997). The lengthy "Kalahari debate" is an example of many of these anthropological issues (for example, see Denbow 1986, Lee and Guenther 1991, Solway and Lee 1990, Wilmsen 1989, 1993, Wilmsen and Denbow 1990). The San peoples of the Kalahari region of southern Africa have long been described in the anthropological literature as textbook examples of foraging peoples, especially as presented in the extensive ethnographic work of Richard Lee (1979). Edwin Wilmsen and others maintain that these peoples should not be considered foragers because at various times they may have been in contact with herders, farmers, or capitalists, and because their ancestors may not always have been foragers, or have lived in the same places. There has also been extended debate over what names to apply to specific Kalahari groups. Lee has responded to these issues in detail, but the essential point is that the trade and new technology that may accompany the colonial encounter does not automatically destroy foraging peoples or foraging as a way of life.

Foragers are "cultural constructions," as are all cultures, and some foragers, such as the "Tasaday," have been misrepresented (Headland 1992). Anthropological typologies may be too rigid and governments may transform otherwise dynamic cultures into static entities for administrative convenience, but foragers are real, as many case studies in this Encyclopaedia demonstrate. Foraging requires access to and control over natural resources, but not ethnological purity. Foragers are peoples who self-identify as such. Anthropologists can recognize them because their daily lives are shaped by their subsistence choices and by the constraints of small-scale communal society whenever and wherever they may be found.

Colonialism, capitalism, and global-scale culture

During the 150-year colonial period from approximately 1795 to 1945 European settlers and venture capitalists may have killed more than 50 million tribal people when they took half of the globe from small-scale cultures to feed the market economy's suddenly expanded appetite for natural resources (Bodley 1990). Many of these human casualties of economic expansion were the hunter-gatherers who still occupied vast territories in northern Asia, southern Africa, southern South America, much of North America, and all of Australia. The colonial encounter experienced by hunter-gatherers was a human disaster of genocide, ethnocide, and ecocide which only a few survived, but the loss of forager territory and autonomy was an even more serious problem than the loss of life. Colonialism was the first phase of a dramatic world-wide cultural transformation that produced a single global-scale culture based on the commercial market economy. The destruction of hunter-gatherers foreshadowed the growing inhumanity and dangerous power of the global commercial culture. The total losses of tribal peoples during the colonial period was on the same scale as the 20 million people who may have died in the 1935–41 Stalinist purges, and the 75 million who died in World Wars I and II.

123 The "Giant Horse Gallery" rock art, Laura, southeast Cape York Peninsula, Queensland. This painting depicts the horses of early European invaders. Aboriginal presence at this location dates back 30,000 years. Photo: Kerry Trapnell.

The decolonization era that began with the formation of the United Nations in 1945 and the more recent development of international concerns for human rights and indigenous people came too late for many of the world's small-scale cultures, although some groups in marginal refuge areas managed to become reasonably successful members of the global market economy. The low-density populations of hunter-gatherers and their reluctance to grant political power to their own leaders and

to form large political confederations made them in some respects more vulnerable to external conquest, but paradoxically these characteristics also helped assure their survival by making them more difficult for external power to control. During the colonial phase of capitalist expansion, missionaries and anthropologists often worked to reduce the inhumanities of colonialism, although they seldom challenged colonialism itself, and were unlikely to argue for the autonomy of hunter-gatherers.

The hunter-gatherer world was engulfed by the overwhelming power of a newly emerging global-scale culture driven by commercialization, industrialization, and capitalism. Global-scale culture maximizes growth, organizing social power politically and by means of the market, whereas small-scale cultures organize power within local, domestic communities, and minimize any incentives for growth. The global-scale culture required hierarchy, high levels of material inequality, increasing system scale, and a continuously expanding throughput of energy and materials, drawing on nonrenewable energy sources such as coal and petroleum. This contrast is sharply drawn by comparing the 5000 kcal estimated daily per capita energy consumption of foragers with the 230,000 kcal per capita daily consumption rate of advanced industrial cultures (Cook 1971). In the short run, rapid growth in population and consumption gave the global culture a selective advantage over the strategy of small-scale forager peoples who sought to maximize long-term security and stability and the sustainable use of resources, rather than scale and power.

Prior to the emergence of colonial capitalism, the world had enjoyed two very long periods of relative cultural stability. A 40,000 year period beginning with the appearance of culturally modern humans, during which the world was entirely the domain of perhaps 8 million hunting and gathering people, was followed by a period of some 15,000 years during which cultures based on settled village life developed in several areas. World population expanded to perhaps 85 million people, to be followed quickly by the appearance of politically centralized states some 7000 years ago. These pre-capitalist kingdoms and empires were subject to cycles of growth and collapse, but because they were limited to agrarian energy sources they remained within relatively circumscribed areas, and global population in the pre-capitalist world probably did not exceed one billion. Foraging peoples continued to flourish in much of the world. This relative equilibrium was suddenly overturned when commercialization became the dominant process in the world.

The global culture emerged under the logic of early industrial capitalism, as enshrined by Adam Smith's (1776) *Wealth of nations*, in which individual nations organized markets, money, and business enterprise to compete with each other for territorial control. Expanding national- and global-scale markets allowed individual capitalists to accumulate greater and greater wealth and power, because whenever the scale of a ranked system increases those at the very top are likely to become more powerful. Governments provided the infrastructure for colonial expansion and maintained the raw military power and administrative organizations that made economic growth possible. Under capitalism as a mode of production, goods and services become commercial commodities, valued primarily for the profits they return when exchanged. This arrangement was a powerful cultural incentive for the technological intensification and increased consumption that drove colonial conquest and made the world unsafe for foraging peoples who emphasized sharing and production for use, and organized social power at domestic and community levels. The mode of production of small-scale cultures was for domestic use and was organized by kinship and reciprocal exchanges, and thus represented a clear contrast to capitalist systems (Wolf 1982). Small-scale cultures were not

designed for economic growth or for the concentration of social power, and they could not readily withstand the power of colonial capitalism whenever they were forced to compete directly for control over specific territories. However, their resilience within the colonial world is demonstrated by the many autonomous foraging groups who maintained extensive trade relations with Europeans for decades without losing their independence. For example, over vast areas of North America and Siberia foragers engaged in the fur trade for many centuries and were only overpowered when direct military conquest or colonization took place.

Colonialism, as described by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974), was part of a world system based on a European industrialized core where wealth accumulated owing to unequal exchanges with peripheral areas where resources were extracted and people were coerced to labor as serfs and slaves. Under the influence of colonial capitalism, world population suddenly accelerated from 1 billion in 1800 to 2 billion by 1925. The European population doubled between 1850 and 1930, while millions immigrated to the United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina, where the European population tripled between 1850 and 1900 and indigenous peoples were conquered and dispossessed. At the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, the Western colonial powers had made claims over 55 percent of the world's land area but exercised effective control only over 33 percent of the world; much of the uncontrolled territory was remote from the centers of European power and was still effectively controlled by hunting and gathering, or foraging peoples.

When the colonial era began, the world was divided three ways between: (1) a rapidly growing global-scale culture based on commercial capitalism, fossil fuels, and industrialization, (2) politically organized, large-scale civilizations with their roots in ancient agrarian kingdoms and great literate cultural traditions, and (3) non-hierarchical, small-scale cultures. The ancient civilizations were relatively easy to conquer and control because they were already politically centralized and their populations were subservient to state authority. Small-scale foragers were especially difficult to bring under control because each local band was an independent, politically and economically self-sufficient, and highly mobile unit, that could easily flee or fight. This meant that they had to be conquered one band at a time. Furthermore, a treaty signed with one band might not be recognized by other bands.

The Plains Indians in North America and the Tehuelche and related peoples in Argentina were defeated only after very lengthy and costly military campaigns that occupied much of the nineteenth century. The annihilation of the Seventh Cavalry by a coalition of Sioux and Cheyenne in 1876 showed that foragers were quite capable of organizing effective self-defense. In the far western US in 1877 a single band of 300 Nez Percé Indians, men, women, and children, fought a moving battle against a force of 5000 soldiers, that lasted five months and covered hundreds of miles through Idaho and Montana before they were forced to surrender on the edge of the Canadian border. A small band of Apache in the Arizona territory who also refused to be confined on a reservation eluded troops for four years until 1886.

First contacts and the lure of trade goods

In order to understand how hunting and gathering peoples responded to their first direct contacts with colonial intruders, it is important to emphasize that fully autonomous foragers were never isolated peoples. Foraging was not a way of life that depended on pristine isolation and that would thus

inevitably disintegrate upon mere contact with other ways of life. Individual households were flexibly linked to mobile foraging bands by ties of kinship, marriage, ritual, and exchange that formed overlapping networks of territorially based, regional communities of people that regulated access to natural resources over vast regions and even spanned subcontinents. In only a handful of cases, such as the Andaman Islanders, the Tasmanians, or the Polar Eskimo, were pre-colonial era foragers truly isolated from the rest of the world. Foragers relied on lengthy reciprocal exchange networks to obtain vital materials, such as locally scarce lithics, from great distances. In the event of droughts, or other unpredictable resource fluctuations, they also needed the security of temporary access to remote resources that were controlled by other forager bands. Archaeologically and ethnographically, it is also clear that foraging peoples maintained regular contacts with settled farming peoples from whom they obtained trade goods such as metal, cloth, and foodstuffs. Some foragers, such as central African Pygmies and southern African San groups, maintained periodic, part-time dependency relationships with neighboring villagers that were mutually beneficial to both parties. There are also cases of foragers who maintained stable trade contacts with ancient kingdoms, such as in South Asia.

In most cases foragers were understandably very eager to obtain manufactured goods such as steel axes and knives, needles, metal pots, guns, and cloth that originated in the industrial core of the world system. These items often entered regional trade networks long ahead of colonial invaders and were an important cause of internal conflict and dislocations when they were not equitably distributed. Imported manufactured goods were universally sought after because they made so many daily tasks easier and thus enhanced the foraging way of life. However, in order to acquire them, foragers had to work for outsiders, or they produced exchange goods such as game, furs, honey, or forest products. On hostile frontiers, foragers sometimes simply stole manufactured goods.

It was the lure of trade goods that colored all first direct contacts between colonists and foraging peoples. However, the previous history of frontier interaction was perhaps an even more important factor. Foragers in the western hemisphere were especially vulnerable to fatal European epidemic diseases that spread ahead of colonization, and where this occurred foragers often wisely fled when outsiders approached. In cases where foragers feared epidemics, or were subject to slave raiding or other violent attacks, they sometimes went to great lengths actively to avoid any direct contacts with outsiders. Famous recent examples of such groups would include the Aché in Paraguay, the Sirionó in Bolivia, and the Akuriyo of Surinam. These forest-dwelling peoples were historically known to have avoided contact with virtually all outsiders for centuries. Many of these groups were so decimated by disease, kidnappings, and assaults that they became barely viable refugee groups living insecurely in self-imposed isolation, out of justifiable fear for their lives. Ishi, a Yana forager discovered in California in 1911, is an extreme example of such active avoidance of contact with alien outsiders. Ishi lived in hiding for many years after all members of his refugee group had died.

Genocide and extinction: the frontier experience

Foragers were virtually exterminated from southern South America, and from large areas of North America and Australia, on the frontier of European colonization. This occurred both as indirect government policy when individual colonists were allowed to seek their own self-interest in frontier areas beyond the formal jurisdiction of government control, and as direct government-sponsored military action against foragers. Wherever colonists could make little use of foragers as labor and

were more interested in directly appropriating their land and resources they tended to view them as an inconvenient nuisance to be disposed of as promptly as possible. In these situations which characterized conditions in many parts of South America, North America, Australia, and Tasmania, hunter-gatherers were portrayed as miserable subhuman savages and were indiscriminately killed, sometimes treacherously, and sometimes by organized parties of armed colonists and professional assassins. The process of destruction was of course accelerated by virgin soil epidemics of measles, smallpox, and influenza that decimated whole populations, leaving weakened and demoralized survivors who fell easy prey to frontier violence. For example, in California, epidemics in 1830–3 killed 75 percent of an estimated 85,000 Yokut and Wintun peoples (Cook 1955). In many of these cases, the affected populations would no doubt have easily recovered if their prime territories had not been occupied by invading colonists.

The inhumanity toward indigenous groups in British colonies was so widespread that it even threatened potential labor supplies and became difficult for the home government to ignore. Finally, in 1835 a group of British humanitarians led by Thomas Fowell Buxton, Member of Parliament and founder of the Anti-Slavery Society, persuaded the government to open an official investigation. The fifteen-member Select Committee on Aborigines spent ten months interviewing more than forty witnesses from throughout the British empire. The committee report, issued in two volumes in 1836–7, was a stinging indictment of frontier violence and injustice. One of their conclusions applies particularly well to the experience of hunter-gatherers: "From very large tracts we have, it appears, succeeded in eradicating them; and though from some parts their ejection has not been so apparently violent as from others, it has been equally complete, through our taking possession of their hunting grounds, whereby we have despoiled them of their means of existence" (House of Commons 1837:6). This official conclusion makes it clear that "contact," the lure of trade goods, and epidemic disease were not the primary problems. Foragers were disappearing because they were being physically removed from their territory.

When the Select Committee issued its report in 1836, Buxton founded the Aborigines' Protection Society (APS) in an effort to reduce the human cost of colonialism. Appeals by the APS led to the establishment of Aboriginal reserves and Protectors of Natives in Australia by 1850. These actions did not prevent the wholesale extinction of Aborigines in many areas of Australia, but they did demonstrate that such injustice was officially disapproved of, and they helped the government accept responsibility for the ongoing genocide.

Uncontrolled frontier violence helped reduce Tasmania's Aboriginal population from 5000 to 111 within thirty years. By most official accounts, Tasmanian Aborigines became extinct in 1876 when the last "full-blood" survivor died, but many "mixed" Tasmanian descendants survived and continue to identify themselves as Tasmanians. In Australia's western Victoria 4000 Aborigines were reduced to 213 within forty years, and ten years later no one remained who could reliably describe the culture (Corris 1968). Witnesses before the Select Committee reported "many deeds of murder and violence" committed by settlers on the Australian frontier. This situation persisted well into the twentieth century. According to A. G. Price, in the Northern Territory in 1901, "It was notorious, that the blackfellows were shot down like crows and that no notice was taken" (Price 1950:107–8). Aboriginals were clearly facing wholesale extinction as a result of frontier violence and dispossession. In contrast, from 1788 to 1880 the European population had increased to 3 million. By 1920 there were 5 million Europeans and barely 60,000 "pure blood" Aborigines—80 percent of the

300,000 estimated pre-European population had disappeared. The government's distinction between "pure blood" and mixed Aborigines is significant in that "pure bloods" were more likely to claim continued ownership of specific Aboriginal territories. Everyone anticipated a continuing decline in the Aboriginal population, and it was clear that the European invasion was responsible, but the government, missionaries, the Aborigines' Protection Society, and most anthropologists refused to question the ultimate right of Europeans to exploit the resources of Aboriginal land.

In addition to the uncontrolled frontier, foragers were also subjected to official military campaigns. Most of these campaigns were one-sided affairs, because governments brought professional soldiers, logistic support, and superior firepower against peoples who had to maintain their families on a daily basis while they fought and fled. The US army's defeat of the Plains Indians in the 1870s is well known, but it is sometimes forgotten that their military victory also required the elimination of the bison, the primary indigenous food supply, and ignominious attacks against women and children in winter encampments. An equally one-sided and dishonorable campaign was waged by the Argentine army at the same time, to remove the Tehuelche and Puelche peoples from the Pampas to make way for cattle ranches. The indigenous foragers lacked guns and were pushed off their lands by an advancing line of fortresses, walls, and trenches stretching 1600 km from the Andes to the Atlantic. Cavalry columns armed with repeating rifles sought out the scattered bands of foragers. In a single battle in 1878 more than 5000 foragers were killed or captured, at a cost of only thirteen soldiers killed. This campaign continued until 1885, when all organized indigenous groups were considered officially eliminated. By 1914 barely one hundred Tehuelche survived (Cooper 1946:131,138).

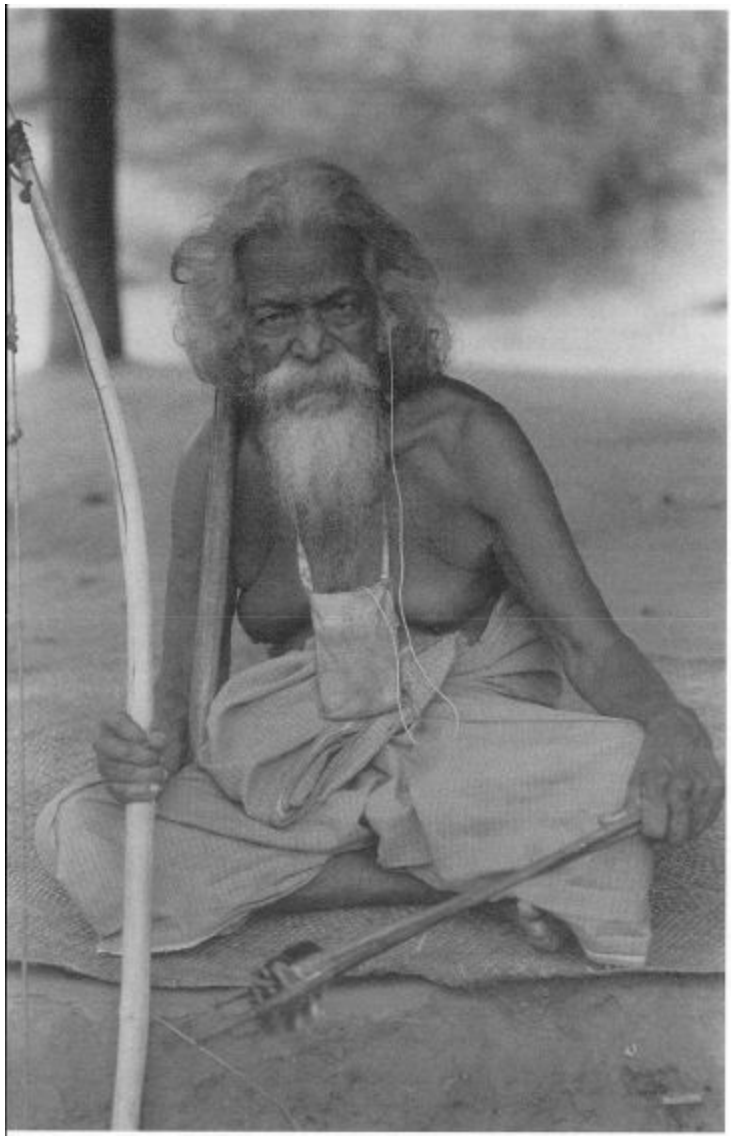
The total population loss of hunting and gathering peoples during the colonial period is difficult to estimate, but it would certainly be in the millions. Foragers survived with self-sufficient cultures intact only in the most remote locations where there were few economically extractable resources to attract invaders. Those that did survive were brought under formal government control, where they were subjected to officially sanctioned regulations that forced them to integrate culturally into the dominant colonial society, but even so, many tenaciously retained crucial features of their small-scale cultures.

Ethnocide and assimilation: **foragers under government control**

Foraging peoples have consistently been reluctant voluntarily to abandon their nomadic way of life, but loss or reduction of indigenous control over traditional foraging territories was a decisive means used by governments to force hunter-gatherers into settlements. Handouts of food were sometimes also used to lure foragers into permanent settlements, and thereby free up huge tracts of "unneeded" land. Political conquest and the extension of formal government control over formerly independent indigenous peoples virtually required settled life because that was assumed to be the only way people could be counted, taxed, schooled, employed, provided with welfare, and turned into citizens. For hunter-gatherers, whose way of life was defined by mobility, forced settlement, in the absence of new means of mobility and continued access to traditional foods, was too often ethnocidal—the forced destruction of a culture and the assimilation of a people into a dominant culture.

The Inuit and Yupik-speaking peoples of the Arctic are among the best examples of successful forager survival in spite of government control that included forced settlement, missionization, and

schooling. In this case, where the environment seemed so unattractive to outsiders, there was no large-scale colonization by outsiders, and even where forced settlement occurred Arctic people gained guns and motors that allowed them to maintain subsistence access to fish and game. Furthermore, these peoples were not immediately forced to sign treaties that surrendered their political autonomy or territorial claims, and were thus able to negotiate agreements in the post-colonial era that gave them considerable political and economic autonomy. In 1971 Alaskan natives settled claims with the US government that granted them considerable autonomy and access to subsistence resources. Greenland (Kalaallit Nunaat), with some 57,000 Inuit-speaking people, has been under Inuit home rule since 1979, although it remains a Danish territory. In 1999 some 26,000 Inuit-speaking peoples in Canada were granted local political control over Nunavut, a 2 million km^2 area in the Northwest Territories nearly as large as Greenland. It is likely that in these areas hunting and fishing and small-scale communities will remain the predominant way of life far into the future.



124 Uru Warige Tissahamy, here about ninety years of age, was leader of the Dambana Wanniyala-aetto, Sri Lanka. Equipped with bow and arrow, and hearing aid, he advised on his people's struggle for recognition of their land rights, and for their freedom from both internal colonialism and the ethnic contempt his people continue to face—an unsavory inheritance from the colonial era. Photo: Wiveca Stegeborn, 1996.

The critical first step in the ethnocide/assimilation process was the government's assumption of formal sovereignty over the foragers. According to long-established principles of international law this had to occur either as a right of conquest and/or through some formal treaty signing process. In most British colonies formal treaties were often signed with recognized indigenous groups. For hunters and gatherers the details of such treaties were very important, especially when they included provisions for continued access to fish and game resources. Treaty-making was especially important for foragers in British North America, and the practice was continued by the United States. However, many foraging groups, especially in Alaska and Canada, as noted above, never signed formal treaties surrendering either their lands or their political sovereignty. In the 1980s the Dene and Inuit of the Canadian Northwest Territories were able to negotiate with the government for land rights from a position of strength because they had not signed away their legal claims as nations and had never been defeated in war. Nearly all Native Americans in the United States signed treaties with the government, often under duress. Even under these conditions a treaty was better than extermination and eventually made it possible for indigenous groups to survive as distinct peoples with distinct ethnic identities, albeit with greatly reduced access to critical subsistence resources.

Australia was a major exception to the treaty-making pattern, because the entire country was officially treated as uninhabited "empty wasteland" and thus free for the taking by right of discovery. Because Aborigines maintained no permanent villages it was easy for the European invaders to pretend that Aborigines did not exist. This also meant that at first no Aboriginal land rights were recognized, no reserves were established, and aboriginal people were simply swept aside, as described above. Reserves were not established in Australia until the 1850s, some sixty years after the conquest began, and too late for most Aboriginal groups in the south and east where Europeans settled first in large numbers. Furthermore, until the reforms of the 1970s, Aboriginal reserves were never intended to be territories where Aborigines could freely pursue an Aboriginal way of life. They were assumed to be temporary steps on the way to full assimilation into the dominant Anglo-Australian culture.

Surrender of land and removals and relocation of peoples were often standard provisions of treaties. This accomplished the dual purpose of making the most valuable resources available for development by colonists, and of making it difficult, if not impossible, for indigenous groups to maintain nomadic patterns or subsistence practices. Most reserves were run by Christian missionaries with the intention of turning Aboriginals into Christian farmers and ranchers, or at least farm hands and ranch hands. Mission discipline often included suppression of indigenous languages, foods, ceremonials, and marriage practices.

Colonial anthropology and the fate of hunter-gatherers

Individual colonial-era anthropologists and anthropological institutions were extremely aware of the severely negative impact of colonialism on hunter-gatherers and all small-scale cultures. From the 1870s on, the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Royal Anthropological Institute frequently discussed the fact that Australian Aborigines, Andamanese Islanders, Bushmen, and Tasmanians were facing "utter extinction." However, there was an unfortunate tendency for some anthropologists to view the apparently irreversible decline of indigenous groups as the inevitable consequence of weaker races and inferior cultures being weeded out by the impersonal forces of

evolution and natural selection. This was sometimes explicitly presented as the operation of "natural law," and it was assumed that European colonialism was the superior force. For example in 1883, W. H. Flower, president of the Royal Anthropological Institute, flatly declared "the mere contact of races generally ends in the extermination of one of them" (Flower 1884:493). He advocated humanitarian efforts to mitigate the "evils" of colonialism, but did not condemn colonialism itself. Even as late as 1915 at the 19th International Americanist Congress (ICA), Paul Popenoe stated that the Native Americans were being "killed off by natural selection" as "a process of racial purification of weak stocks."

Anthropologists were unlikely to be overtly critical of colonialism because many found employment in the colonial service where they stressed scientific objectivity and refused to be outspoken advocates for indigenous peoples. For example, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown established programs in southern Africa and Australia that trained dozens of government workers in functionalist anthropology that was designed to help administrators design the most effective control policies to deal with the "native problem." Under the prevailing politics of colonialism, if applied anthropologists had been too critical of colonial policy they would probably have been dismissed. By describing native cultures as finely functioning and easily disturbed systems, anthropologists in the colonial service did succeed in minimizing the more disruptive ethnocidal practices. They also made it possible for foragers to be regarded as rational human beings who were not to be killed and exploited with impunity.

Aside from the practical and humanitarian problems of colonial genocide, there were real concerns among colonial-era anthropologists over the loss of scientific data as cultures disappeared along with the people. Various ethnographic salvage operations were launched to get material into museums, but very few advocated curbs on colonial expansion to allow hunter-gatherers to survive. A conspicuous exception was the recommendation by Charles Furlong (1915), at the 19th ICA, that the great island of Tierra del Fuego be set aside as a natural refuge for its indigenous Ona hunter-gatherers. He noted that by 1910 the Ona population had declined from 3000 to 500 after missionaries and sheep ranchers arrived in the 1880s. He argued that the heavily forested island was so remote, and had so little economic potential, that it would be better to restock it with wild guanaco and set it permanently aside for the exclusive use of the Ona. Furlong's plan was never implemented, but in 1929 a large portion of Albert National Park, colonial Africa's first national park created in what was then Belgian Congo, was enlarged to preserve the way of life of forest Pygmies. The park was established originally for the mountain gorilla, and easily accommodated nature conservation with the protection of the Pygmies who were considered to be a valuable anthropological resource. Anthropologist George Silberbauer recommended that the resident San foragers be permitted to remain within the 22,000 km^2 Central Kalahari Game Reserve, which was established in 1960 in what was then still the colonial Bechuanaland Protectorate. All of these proposals were based on realistic assumptions that foraging was a viable lifestyle that could be pursued without destroying the resources that it relied on. Today this perspective has been incorporated in Biosphere Reserve conservation areas and has been promoted by indigenous peoples themselves.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Australian anthropologists Frederick Wood Jones and Donald Thomson were outspoken critics of the government's policy of using reserves as a means of missionizing and settling Aborigines, while opening Aboriginal lands to development by outsiders. Thomson played a decisive role in preventing punitive reprisals against the Arnhem Land Aborigines after they killed

five Japanese fishermen and a policeman within their reserve. Thomson, on a government commission, investigated and found that the Aborigines had acted in self-defense. Thomson's intervention helped preserve the integrity of the Arnhem Land reserve and in so doing indirectly prepared the way for the successful land rights struggle that the Arnhem Land peoples fought in the 1960s and 1970s.

Furlong, Thomson, and Wood Jones were essentially advocating a human rights approach that defended the right of foraging peoples to maintain control over the territory and natural resources needed to maintain their cultural integrity. This was a major departure from standard colonial policy and far ahead of its time, but even such an enlightened approach could still be considered colonial because the indigenous peoples themselves played no direct role in creating such cultural sanctuaries. At that time, however, there was as yet no internationally recognized right to maintain a culture, no forum to argue the case, and no indigenous political organizations to fight for them.

Conclusion

The foraging way of life can be overwhelmed by colonization, but it is also extremely resilient. Throughout the colonial era many cultural groups continued to derive a significant portion of their subsistence directly from nature while maintaining their cultural identity. Those who were the most successful, such as the Subarctic Athabascan and Inuit/Eskimo and Yupik foragers in Arctic North America, persisted because they were able to combine high degrees of political autonomy with new industrial technology and their traditional skills and environmental knowledge. They were also able to combine government subsidies with cash returns from part-time wage labor, the sale of crafts, and extractive resources. The key element has always been the ability of foragers to maintain control over their territory and natural resources.

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II.III.3

Hunter-gatherer peoples and nation-states

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Introduction

Hunter-gatherer societies, as documented throughout the world, are typically distinguished by being "stateless," that is, they are usually societies without formally elaborated political structures of a hierarchical kind. Yet, especially during the past few hundred years of colonial expansion by the societies of Europe, small-scale hunter-gatherer peoples have been everywhere encapsulated within large-scale nation-states. Just as foraging societies have themselves varied greatly in culture and social organization, so have the state structures with which they have had to deal. For our purposes, we can identify three main types of situation according to differing types of nation-states: those of the First World liberal democratic societies, the socialist countries, and the Third World.

Comparing these different types of setting presents some difficulties. While tribal minorities with traditional foraging means of subsistence have, across the world, typically shared a similar powerlessness with respect to the broader societies surrounding them, the political realities facing such small groups in socialist bloc countries like the (now collapsed) USSR, or in Third World nations like Brazil, have differed substantially from the circumstances of indigenous foraging societies within First World capitalist nations like Canada or Australia (Dyck 1985:20). Thus, our task is to compare the politics of "foraging society" status in the First World with socialist and Third World settings. What have been the major features of the histories of Aboriginal relations with governments in these different situations? In concise form, we can address several dimensions: struggles over lands, the imperative toward cultural assimilation, and the issue of resistance and accommodation in the responses of forager minorities.

Struggles over lands

In the 1990s, it is something of a commonplace story that indigenous minorities have had their lands appropriated by colonizing groups at different times throughout recent history (see Bodley, this volume). In many parts of the world, this taking of lands has been supported by the military forces of nation-states. In countries such as Australia and Canada, Aboriginal peoples have survived coercive legislative regimes; in these settings, violent frontiers during early periods of colonial history have resulted ultimately in the division of lands for "White" settler ownership and development (Rowley 1970, Reynolds 1981, Frideres 1988:2–24, Surtees 1983).

This is a process paralleled in many Third World settings. For the Basarwa (San) people of Botswana (formerly known as Bushmen), foraging societies which occupied part of the Kalahari

Desert in southern Africa long before the incursions of African herders or European farmers, dispossession of lands has meant political powerlessness and low socioeconomic status (Hitchcock and Holm 1993, Young 1995:13–15). Some foragers of the Kalahari have historically been forced to work for little or no reward for expanding African pastoralists, as well as being treated as an inferior society by the British colonizers. In some parts of northern Namibia, dispossession of the forager people's land has reportedly been ongoing since at least the late 1880s, and has (during earlier parts of this century) involved "a state of open undeclared war" between colonial forces (first German, then South African) and the Bushmen people (Gordon 1989).

More recently, the South African state has moved to encompass some of these indigenous groups of the Kalahari region within the goals and aspirations of the broader settler society. Rather than the overt physical domination of earlier times, this has involved San men being enlisted into the South African army—initially in paramilitary tracking units, then as recruited troops with an excellent knowledge of the bush. During the 1970s, in the context of South Africa's war with SWAPO, the liberation movement seeking independence for Namibia, the former foragers provided valued skills in remote areas. San families were moved into military bases and the army became the agent of a form of coercive benevolence; the state sought to win the "hearts and minds" of the people for whom the army became "the major employer, the main or sole source of health care and education and the dominant source of ideology" (Lee and Hurlich 1982:336–7).

Whether in First or Third World settings, just as common as the practice of moving small groups of once independent forager peoples (either forcibly or through enticement) has been an inevitable intrusion into the areas where they have lived on traditional lands for many generations. In Australia, Aboriginal groups historically suffered invasion of their lands by Europeans establishing sheep and cattle grazing properties (Broome 1982:120–42, May 1994), while in more recent decades they have struggled to deal with an increasingly expansive large-scale mining industry (Langton 1983). Similarly, in Brazil we have the case of the Waimiri-Atroari Indians, an indigenous group once subsisting on hunting, gathering, fishing, and horticulture in tropical forest settings; their lands have been expropriated for mining from the 1970s through close collaboration on the part of the official government agency responsible for Indian affairs with the private company carrying out mining development (Baines 1991).

There are certainly situations in which indigenous forager cultures are able to remain somewhat remote from the full brunt of settler domination. On the island of Borneo, in part of the territory included within the Malaysian state, the Penan people constitute a substantial proportion of the overall citizenry, yet they have remained somewhat distant from both Malay and European intrusions.

Most Penan hunter-gatherers are anywhere from two to five days' travel from agricultural longhouse settlements (Brosius 1993:4, and this volume). Nevertheless, they are locked in a struggle with both government and logging companies over what they regard as violations of their rights over traditional lands (Brosius 1993:8). In the face of such major world industries as the forest and mining businesses, attempts by small foraging populations to maintain control over lands are rarely successful, especially in such Third World countries as Malaysia where the state is understandably committed to economic development through natural resource exploitation.

Furthermore, this is so even where governments avow radical or revolutionary ideologies in support of impoverished sectors of society. On this point, we have the instructive case of the Miskitu Indians of Nicaragua in Central America—one of the few groups in the general region for whom

hunting and fishing have remained extremely important subsistence activities (Nietschmann 1973). The Sandinista Revolution of 1979 (achieved after a long struggle against a broadly unpopular dictatorship) expressed democratic ideals that we might expect would have ensured a degree of self-determination for the indigenous Indians. Yet, while the Miskitu (along with other minorities of the Atlantic coast) have been at times encouraged to participate in the project of the revolution (Freeland 1988:12), some of their claims against the state have been regarded as unacceptably "separatist" (Cunningham 1988:105). In a region of complex political and military alliances, which has been subjected historically to successive waves of foreign colonization and intervention, one feature of the Miskitu experience emerges clearly. After decades of annexation and control of Indian territory by military state regimes, the Marxist Sandinista government similarly declined to accede to Miskitu attempts to gain recognition of their traditional land rights (Hale 1994:75–81).

125 Gladys Tybingoompa, a Wik woman from northern Queensland, breaking into an impromptu traditional celebratory dance outside the High Court in Canberra, on the occasion of an historic decision recognizing that Aboriginal native title may continue on leasehold lands. Courtesy of *The Australian* newspaper, December 24, 1996, p.1.

How do these situations of the First and Third Worlds compare with what has happened in the main centers of the socialist systems of state organization? In the case of the vast northern areas of

what was the Soviet Union (now Russia), we have at least twenty-six "small peoples," numbering some 850,000 according to emic definitions of membership of this category (Schindler 1991:69). Taking as one example of these peoples the Nivkh, an indigenous society of the Russian Far East centered on Sakhalin Island, there appears to have been a succession of state policies: hostility from Tsarist officials because of what was regarded as the foraging people's pagan ways; early Bolshevik praise; routing from Stalin; and then various practices indicating respite and lack of interest on the part of successive Soviet regimes (Grant 1995:xi, and this volume). More generally, from the perspective of the 1990s, the "small peoples" of the Russian north have been described as battling to save their cultures and their lives, massive resettlement schemes having destroyed their social organization and much of their traditional subsistence economies (Schindler 1991:70).

In China, the other major world Marxist state following the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, small groups of hunter-gatherers living in remote primeval forests or mountain territories were treated (like other ethnic minorities) as people to be forcibly assimilated and made to renounce their distinctive identities (Heberer 1989:17), as occurred among the approximately 25,000 Kucongs, first "discovered" in the 1950s in the forests of Yunnan (Heberer 1989:38). Despite policies designed to promote improved material circumstances for all Chinese citizens, and some official support for minority languages and cultures in recent decades, especially those small groups without strong written language traditions have remained subject to heavy pressures toward cultural assimilation (Mackerras 1995:153). Once again, the Communist assumption of power has not resulted in self-determination for small groups with traditions of subsistence foraging. Indeed, according to an overview of China's policies and practices with respect to national minorities in general, the hunting peoples in the northeastern part of the country are particularly threatened, with infertility, alcoholism, and attendant health problems challenging their very survival (Heberer 1989:90).

The imperative toward cultural assimilation

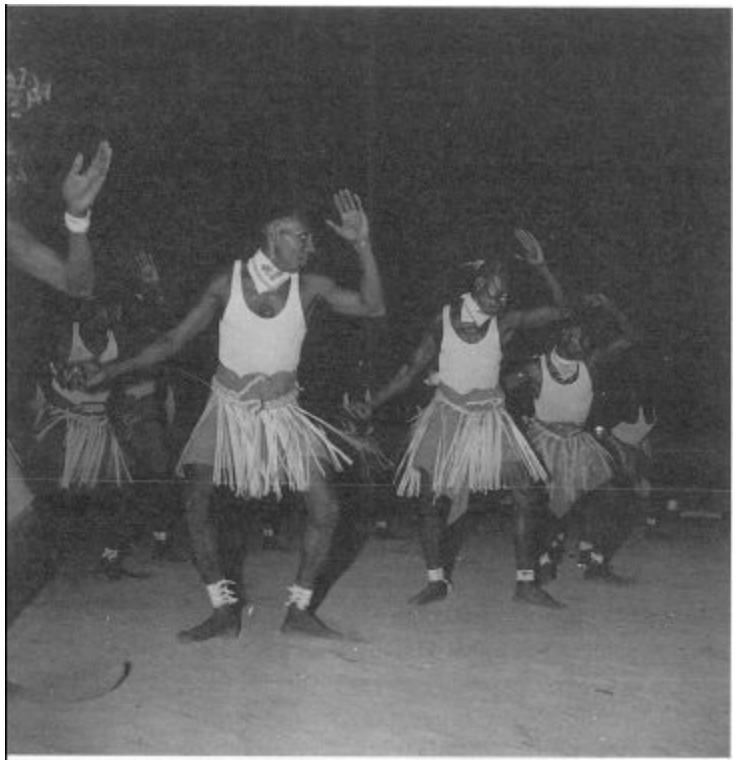
While there has been considerable variation in the degree of overt coercion exercised against foraging peoples across the world during different historical periods, it is arguable that there have been major similarities in the ideological positions taken in respect of them. To put the matter perhaps over-simply, the general view of these small-scale societies whose members obtained subsistence through hunting, fishing and gathering was that they lacked "civilization." Foraging societies have almost universally been viewed as "primitive." So that while it was certainly economic goals that drove expansion into the territories of hunter-gatherers, these economic aims have been based typically upon particular ideologies entailing a moral purpose. As one scholar has put the matter for the Canadian context: "Civilized greed for Indian land was accompanied by a form of philanthropic Christianity which declared its duty to be the shepherding of Indians into a more civilized and acceptable way of life" (Dyck 1991:29).

In Canada, "coercive tutelage" (Dyck 1991) has been a major tenet of the state's rationale in preparing foraging peoples for citizenship in a broad liberal democratic society of the capitalist First World. Probably one of the most controversial features of state practices in such settings was the placing of children in institutions in order to achieve cultural assimilation into the wider society. In both Canada and Australia, children were placed in authoritarian "residential schools," "dormitories," or other institutions where it was made difficult for them to have contact with their

parents and extended families (Frideres 1988:172–4, Haebich 1988:206–14, Trigger 1992:69–77). And in this process, religious organizations took a major role in carrying out government policies oriented to assimilating the Aboriginal peoples (Swain and Rose 1988, Dyck 1991:35–45).

Forager peoples have not always embraced Christianity with great enthusiasm; for example, Christian ideas were a long time taking root among the Kalahari hunter-gatherers of southern Africa (though there were reports of mass conversions in 1973, see Lee and Hurlich 1982:332). Nevertheless, the promotion of evangelism has commonly proceeded on the basis of the assumption that religious conversion away from animistic beliefs was a necessary concomitant to cultural assimilation and modernization. This has also been true in settings where Islam is the major religion of the wider society encapsulating forager minorities; for example, the Malaysian government policy has been, at least in theory, to encourage the Orang Asli to become a part of the broader Malay community, and this would seem to imply eventual conversion to Islam (Carey 1976:327, Dentan *et al*. 1997:142–50).

The imperative, embedded in government policies, to homogenize the cultures of hunter-gatherers into "modern" form is remarkably similar across the range of types of states. In Australia, government policies and administrative practices were historically based upon gross forms of social evolutionary thought, popular during the nineteenth century, but in fact not really discarded until the late twentieth century. By this view, Aboriginal societies were placed at the bottom of an evolutionary hierarchy and regarded as early primitive forms of human culture in need of modernization. Australian governments embraced this ideology of social Darwinism in formulating policies of protectionism and then assimilationism (Chase and Von Sturmer 1973, Lippmann 1981:34–45). Indeed, it has taken until the early 1990s for Australian courts to discard the doctrine of *terra nullius* (land without owners), a legal fiction developed initially to conceive the Aboriginal people as occupiers without ownership of their lands prior to European arrival (Reynolds 1989:66–95). Their forms of traditional land tenure were regarded as simply a kind of primitive nomadism without the type of sedentism necessary for the practice of "real ownership."



126 Torres Strait Islander men dancing on Mer (Murray) Island in 1959. One of these men is James Rice, a plaintiff in the historic Mabo case, in which the High Court of Australia recognized the existence of native title for the first time in Australia, in June 1992. Courtesy of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, N6434.3.

The same sort of view is mirrored in the Third World setting of Botswana, where the Basarwa (San) people are reportedly disparaged by most other citizens; as hunter-gatherers, they have been regarded as inferior and not "owners" of their traditional lands because they have not used them in the manner of pastoralists or farmers (Young 1995:15). We find a similar situation among the Penan of Borneo, who "are extended moral considerability only to the extent that they become less like Penan: i.e. in the extent to which they adopt the discourse of development and all its entailments" (Brosius 1993:47). Here the insistence is that a tribal forager people assimilate into the "modern" way of life to which the Malaysian state aspires for all its citizens. For example, in 1992, the government-sponsored Sarawak Museum organized a special exhibition on the Penan, around the rhetoric of bringing them into mainstream Malaysian society. The exhibition was constituted as a passage from "tradition" to the "modern world," "from such traditional…pursuits as sago-making and blowpipe construction, to agriculture, modern medicine, and education" (Brosius 1993:7).

Once again, we can look at what has occurred within the Soviet state as parallel to the assimilationist ideologies of the First and Third Worlds. Developed from the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the key Soviet notion of "the Non-Capitalist Road of Development" was based on an evolutionary vision of human societal progress. The "small peoples" of Siberia were regarded as at the "primitive communal stage," without private property or conspicuous stratification and thus able to skip intervening stages of feudal and capitalist development on the road to socialism (Anderson 1995:37). While hunting reindeer meat, salmon, and the pelts of Arctic fox might continue, a modernized technology would assist the transition to socialism; as would a greater degree of permanent settlement, replacing nomadism, which has in both pre-revolutionary and Communist periods of Russian history been regarded as an obstacle to development (Kuoljok 1985:125–35). Soviet "Nationalities Policy" in the north was based on a goal that is very similar to what we find for a range of liberal-democratic and Third World countries: "to re-mold the indigenous peoples and cultures in the image of European Russia" (Schindler 1991:70).

Finally, on occasion, there can be an ironic twist to such state attitudes toward foraging peoples; for at the same time as assimilation is insisted upon in the practical affairs of government dealings with groups, a certain romanticization of hunter-gatherers as "noble savages" can also arise. A most striking case occurred during 1970 in the Philippines when, in the remote forests of the island of Mindanao, a small group that became known as the Tasaday was "discovered" (see Berreman, this volume).

The official view from the head of a government agency concerned with cultural minorities was that the Tasaday were pristine exemplars of humanity's primitive past; indeed, at one point, the Philippines government evidently used armed guards to protect this group as a kind of "endangered species," an example of an ideal society allegedly without such flaws as greed or selfishness (Rosaldo 1982:309–11). By some accounts, the Tasaday were supposed neither to hunt nor to grow food, but to rely solely on what they could forage by hand. In fact, as Berreman documents (this volume) the Tasaday turned out to be rather less pristine and isolated than was at first thought.

Whether, as some writers subsequently argued, the image propagated about their culture was in fact an elaborate hoax remains something of a controversy (Headland 1992). However, the point here is that, in a country where there has historically been a firm view within government about bringing cultural minorities within the ambit of a modern national society (Griffin 1988, Okamura 1988), there was simultaneously room for an ideological perspective upon foraging people that romanticizes and idealizes their culture as an impossibly pure antidote to the modern human condition.

Indigenous agency: resistance and accommodation among forager peoples

What then have been the responses of hunter-gatherer peoples to the policies and practices of states across the world? In a number of nations among First World capitalist countries, what we might term "post-foraging" societies have in recent years embraced a status as "indigenous peoples," thereby seeking to distinguish themselves from the majority "immigrant" populations. Associated with this category of "indigeneity" has been the notion of a "Fourth World," this term having been originally coined to frame situations where politically weak indigenous minorities struggle from an economically and culturally marginal position to survive (Dyck 1985:18–24). With the formation of the "World Council of Indigenous Peoples" in 1975 (in Canada), and subsequent United Nations working groups and committees on the broadly defined category of Indigenous Peoples, governments around the world have become more aware of the political position adopted among members of post-foraging societies. (Documents have been produced by the UN's Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, and Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.)

In countries like Australia, New Zealand, Canada, USA and Norway, what we might term a politics of "indigenism" has become central to demands for better treatment at the hands of governments. The status of "indigeneity" has certainly not been claimed only by populations with predominantly hunter-gatherer traditions; many colonized minorities with no or minimal foraging traditions are also at the center of the global movement asserting "indigenous rights." Furthermore, differences between First and Third World situations can be quite starkly evident. From the time of the founding conference of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1975:

> Canadian Indians, Australian Aborigines and Norwegian Saami quickly discovered that their experience of Western, liberal-democratic, industrialized nation-states was roughly equivalent. The experience of Indian delegates from Latin America was found to be remarkably uniform but, in many respects, quite different from that of indigenous peoples within liberal democracies.
>
> (Dyck 1985:23)

A major difference between First and Third World settings is the susceptibility of the state in the liberal democracies to be influenced by what we might term a "politics of embarrassment" (Dyck 1985:15). In countries such as Australia, Canada, and Norway, this involves indigenous leaders making a set of moral claims against the state, often stressing the history of mistreatment as counter to the very ideals of equality on which the ideology of liberal democracy professes to be based. Attention is given to generating sympathy and support among non-native populations, both internal and external to the country. Tactics often involve a kind of "ethnodrama," as Paine (1985:190) puts it in

his discussion of Saami hunger strikes and protest actions in Norway during 1979, whereby moral claims are put to good political use.

Similarly illustrative of this form of indigenous politics are the Aboriginal protests in the early 1970s which focused on the establishment of a symbolically powerful "Tent Embassy" outside the Australian Federal Parliament (Lippmann 1981:51)—a protest action which for a period of five months concentrated media attention on the issues of justice and land rights for indigenous people, matters forming the core of Aboriginal claims against the state.

Such politicized and focused forms of action are also underpinned in part by an assertive ideology of indigenism which proclaims features of foraging cultures as superior to those of the wider society—a form of "symbolic opposition," as it was termed for Canadian Native Reserve communities in the 1960s (Schwimmer 1972). Hence, for example, the "indigenous" culture will be understood as encompassing a commitment to environmental sustainability, and as not captive to materialism in its spiritual values, unlike the industrial cultures usually dominant throughout the broader social life of the country.

However, while this type of "Fourth World" politics, in the service of foraging peoples as they deal with governments, has been developing so successfully in the First World liberal democratic countries, this has been much less so in Third World societies. A major reason concerns the very different material circumstances of hunting/gathering peoples in relation to the population of the broader society in less developed countries. A politics of embarrassment works best for indigenous minorities when there are great disparities between the life conditions facing members of the foraging culture as compared to other people. In societies where poverty and oppression are common throughout most of the population, it is much more difficult to embarrass governments into accepting a special status or set of rights for a comparatively small group. Even where such a status is allowed, on the grounds that a group's ancestors practiced a foraging culture that should be regarded as somehow distinctly "indigenous," this will hardly mean acceptance by the state that this particular group's desperate material circumstances warrant their being given discrete compensatory consideration as against other sectors of the population. To take an obvious illustrative case, how far would the Kalahari peoples get in a country like Botswana by seeking to throw attention onto their poor material standard of living? The competing claims from other sections of that society would seem to displace the moral force of such a claim in a way that is much less common in the First World developed countries.

This is not to suggest that the contested idea of "indigenous peoples" is narrowly confined to only a small number of highly developed societies. Indians in Latin American countries, for example, have certainly sought to mobilize around a politics of protest focused upon their status as indigenous societies. However, their successes have been limited, and not without costs. Ramos (1991, 1994) points out for Brazil how an ideology of indigenism can in fact work in the service of state hegemony by reinforcing European convictions about their own society's superiority.

The argument here is that assumptions about idealized and exoticized tribal Indians (mixed with such images of indigenous character as laziness, dirtiness, untrustworthiness) can underpin an ideology of dominance over Aboriginal peoples: "Indians are not only good to conquer and rule; they are also very good for making whites reflect upon their self-image" (Ramos 1991:156).

This raises perhaps the most difficult general issue for post-foraging societies throughout the world; namely, striking the right balance between pursuing a separate status based on asserted

ongoing cultural differences, and joining the wider encapsulating society by participating in its institutions. The tension can be analyzed in terms of a continuum between "resistance" and "accommodation." Resistance might be defined quite broadly, including not simply overt protest actions but also a general refusal to assimilate into national dominant cultures. In Australia, there has been wide-ranging debate about distinct Aboriginal "domains" of life which remain to a substantial degree socially distant from many of the ways of thinking and cultural practices of the wider society (Cowlishaw 1988, Trigger 1992, Lattas 1993).

Post-foraging peoples across the world must accommodate the ways of life of the nation-states in which they are encapsulated. Nevertheless, there often remain strong convictions among these peoples that their identities retain distinctiveness in important ways. This general sense of separateness is in some settings underpinned by overt and obvious cultural differences, whereby communities are residentially discrete, and practice lifestyles that continue to diverge from those of surrounding peoples. In other circumstances, those descended from hunter-gatherers may well no longer practice much of their ancestors' culture (although the process of its rediscovery and recuperation seems increasingly to be underway). There is little doubt that the state's relationship with indigenous people has been renegotiated over the past few decades in the First World countries. It is in the liberal democracies that struggles over assimilating or maintaining separate post-forager identities and cultures are most noticeable, often in the context of discourses on government policies of "multiculturalism." In Third World countries, what I have termed a politics of indigenism is often given less strident expression—despite the fact that post-foraging minorities in this type of setting may well be equally disinclined to join nation-building enterprises that run counter to their people's interests. What we may well see in the near future is increasing links being established between the indigenous minorities of the First and Third Worlds. One of the most interesting aspects of this global process will be the extent to which the Russian "Peoples of the North" enter the world arena of the indigenous rights movement.

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II.III.4

Indigenous peoples' rights and the struggle for survival

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In adapting to their radically changed circumstances the world's hunting and gathering peoples have increasingly come to identify themselves, and be identified by others, not as foragers *per se* but as *indigenous peoples*. The term brings together hunters with swidden farmers, pastoral nomads, and others whose unique identities as historically distinct, spatially rooted, non-industrial peoples have set them apart from the peasants and urbanized workers who now make up the large majority of the world's population.

Indigenous peoples have also come to occupy a distinct position on the global political agenda. In 1994 the United Nations declared the period 1995–2004 as the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People. The following year the General Assembly of the UN stressed the need for the world's states to "promote and protect the rights of indigenous people" (General Assembly Resolution 50/6, November 21, 1995). For over a decade, the United Nations maintained a Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) that was drafting a declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples. Representatives of indigenous groups, some from hunting and gathering societies, took part in these meetings, which they hoped would result in substantial improvements in their human rights, standards of living, and fundamental freedoms.

The world's indigenous peoples, who together make up nearly 5 percent of the planet's population, are arguably among the world's most underprivileged minorities (Burger 1987:17, Maybury-Lewis 1997:vii). Variously called aboriginals, native peoples, Fourth World peoples, or "First Nations," these societies have suffered acts of genocide, discrimination, and lack of equal opportunity in access to social services, jobs, and political participation for centuries. Amnesty International (1992:1) points out that "Since colonization, indigenous peoples in the Americas have suffered gross and widespread human rights violations, including extrajudicial executions." Similar observations have been made about indigenous peoples in Africa (Veber *et al*. 1993) and Asia (Barnes *et al*. 1995).

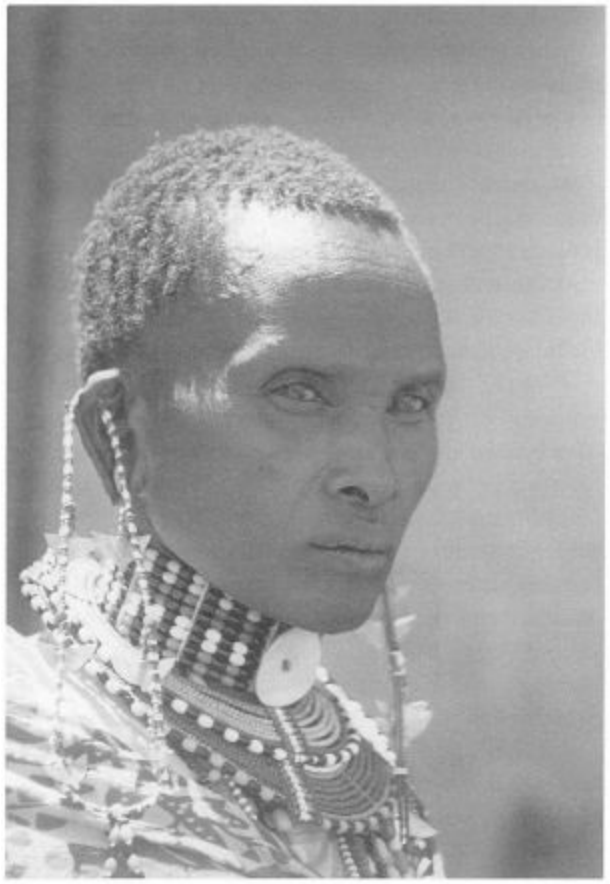
Of the approximately 375 million to 400 million indigenous people in the world today, only a small percentage are hunter-gatherers or former foragers (Biesele *et al*. 1998). For several reasons this segment of the world's indigenous population faces situations that are particularly stark. First, hunter-gatherer groups tend to be found in remote parts of the world, from the tropical forests and savannahs of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to the Arctic tundra of Siberia, North America, and Greenland. Many of these areas contain valuable natural resources that are being exploited at a rapid

pace by states, by multinational corporations, and, occasionally, by indigenous groups themselves (Durning 1992, Hitchcock 1994). Second, foraging groups tend to be small in numbers, and widely dispersed across broad areas; as a consequence, they tend to have less access to social services such as schools, clinics, and markets. Third, groups that forage are usually culturally distinct from the majority population, and they generally have relatively little political and economic power in the states in which they live.

The plight of indigenous peoples

World-wide, indigenous peoples, including hunter-gatherers, have had to cope with incursions of outsiders into their ancestral territories (Bodley 1990 and this volume, Burger 1987, Maybury-Lewis 1997). Relatively few states have recognized their land rights, and most have pursued policies of sedentarization and assimilation. Given these situations, it is not surprising that some indigenous groups have chosen to resist the onslaught, while others have sought to take advantage of new opportunities, serving as agricultural field hands and herders, traders, and domestic workers.

While admired for their self-sufficiency in traditional settings and their ability to live off the land, today most indigenous peoples are found at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladders in their countries of residence. Over-represented in the category "the poorest of the poor," their standards of living are often low and infant mortality and morbidity rates high, especially among those living in government settlements or as fringe dwellers on the peripheries of towns and cities. Literacy rates tend to be low, in part because of lack of access to schooling and training opportunities. In the workplace members of indigenous groups face discrimination and high levels of un- or underemployment; those who do get jobs find low pay and few benefits.



127 While more and more of her people's land suffers encroachments from agricultural and pastoral neighboring groups, Laina enole Mengware finds that life must go on. Here she wears exquisite beadwork at her son's wedding. Photo: Corinne A. Kratz, 1984.

As David Trigger points out (this volume) few hunter-gatherers in states participate in the governance of their countries. In the past, many indigenous groups were considered "wards of the state" and as a result they did not have even the most basic civil and political rights, such as the right to vote or even to speak in public meetings. As a Tyua man in Zimbabwe pointed out, indigenous peoples are subjected to political and social discrimination even in countries which have gone through liberation struggles and which have come up with constitutions that are based on the principles of equity and social justice.

Organization for resistance

Because of the ways that they have been treated, indigenous peoples have been characterized as "victims of progress" (Bodley 1990), "societies in danger" (Miller 1993), and "minorities at risk" (Gurr 1993). However, not all of them are endangered nor are they always the passive victims of destructive government and international economic development policies. Some indigenous groups have been relatively successful in maintaining their cultural integrity while at the same time engaging in a broad range of activities aimed at enhancing their livelihoods and raising public awareness of the importance of protecting their rights.

In some countries today, it could be argued that it actually pays to be indigenous. This is said to be the case, for example, in India, where the Adivasis or "Scheduled Tribes" have a certain percentage of parliamentary and state legislature seats and jobs reserved for them. Of the 68,400,000 Adivasis in India, approximately 1,300,000 (about 2 percent) are foragers or former foragers. The majority of foragers are in remote hill and forest areas where they are faced with long distances to cover if they are to seek political office, and there are few skilled job opportunities. It has also been pointed out by indigenous women in India that the few government jobs that do exist in tribal areas tend to be filled by males, thus raising the issue of gender inequity. Some indigenous non-government organizations argue strongly for greater attention to be paid to the rights of indigenous women, and efforts are now being made in a number of countries, including India, to promote female political participation.

Even if some people claim to be indigenous, the countries where they live may not recognize them as being aboriginal. The government of Indonesia, for example, maintains that there are no indigenous groups inside the country. It has pursued what can be characterized as an aggressive policy of nation-building, often at the expense of the well-being of local communities. Local religious traditions have been suppressed, and whole communities have been relocated, in some cases with the financial assistance of multilateral development banks (MDBs) such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank) and the Asian Development Bank. Indonesia has also engaged in oppressive actions against the people of Irian Jaya (West Papua), where local activists opposed to actions of the Indonesian government and multinational corporations such as Freeport Indonesia (part of Freeport MacMoRan, a New Orleans-based gold-mining company) have been killed, tortured, and detained without trial.

The politics of identity

While some members of indigenous groups attempt to hide their identity so as not to suffer racial prejudice or poor treatment at the hands of outsiders, other members of indigenous societies proclaim their ethnic affiliation proudly and openly. Indeed, an important criterion for "indigenousness" is the identification by people themselves of their distinct cultural identity. Most indigenous peoples prefer to reserve for themselves the right to determine who is and is not a member of their group.

These politics of ethnicity can be problematic, especially in situations where group identity brings with it access to resources. For example, in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971, membership in "Native Corporations" conferred important rights to subsistence resources and economic returns. Cash and other benefits were generated when various American Indian tribes set up gaming operations on their reserves in the 1980s and 1990s.

While many countries use bureaucratic definitions to define who is indigenous, some, like the Republic of Botswana, use a bureaucratic definition to *conceal* indigenous identity, preferring to label their San/Bushman minority population not by ethnicity but by geography, as "remote area dwellers," grouping them with others who share their socioeconomic and geographic marginality. Multiracial states like Botswana prefer not to differentiate specific populations that are targets of development programs, in part because they do not wish to be seen as practicing a kind of *apartheid* or separation on the basis of ethnic identification.

In spite of the current rhetoric against affirmative action, a number of the world's states have government departments and programs that are aimed specifically at indigenous peoples. Canada, for example, has the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND); Australia has the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC); the United States has the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA); Brazil has the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI); and Malaysia has the Department of Orang Asli Affairs. While there is no question that these agencies have provided some useful assistance to their target groups, some members of indigenous communities feel that their strategies have not enabled local people to become self-sufficient. They have also questioned the motivations of these agencies, arguing that they should be less paternalistic and more participatory in their policies.

The struggle for survival

In part because of the failure of states and international development agencies to foster sustainable development and self-government, indigenous groups have come together to form a world-wide social movement aimed at enabling indigenous peoples to "realize their human potential," as Mahatma Gandhi put it. This struggle is occurring at various levels, from the international to the local, and it is being pursued in a variety of ways, from mounting protests against destructive development projects to seeking redress through the courts against mistreatment and deprivation of land and resources. At the international level, the voices of indigenous peoples, including many hunter-gatherers, are now heard in meetings of the United Nations, the World Bank, and the European Union (Wilmer 1993, Ewen 1994). Australian Aboriginals, San, and Inuit have attended the annual meetings of the Indigenous Working Group of the United Nations, where they have sought to strengthen the United Nations draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. They have taken part in discussions of indigenous rights sponsored by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in Geneva,

the first world body to establish an international convention on the protection of indigenous rights, originally passed in 1957 and revised and updated in 1989. It is important to note, however, that many countries have failed to ratify the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, and it is difficult to enforce its provisions even in those countries that are signatories.

Pressure brought to bear on the World Bank by human rights and environmental organizations, including indigenous advocacy groups, led in 1988 to the establishment of an Environment Department in the Bank and the drafting of an *Operational directive on indigenous peoples* (World Bank 1991). The definition used by the World Bank of indigenous peoples is somewhat narrow. It specifies that indigenous peoples can be identified by the following features: (a) close attachment to ancestral territories and natural resources, (b) self-identification and identification by others as members of a distinct cultural group, (c) possession of an indigenous language which is often distinct from that of the national language, (d) presence of customary social or political institutions, and (e) subsistence-oriented production systems.

Unfortunately because of recent historical changes many of the world's indigenous peoples no longer fit these criteria. Substantial numbers have been dispossessed and as a result no longer retain their traditional ancestral territories (Bodley 1990, this volume). They have also been denied access to natural resources. In Indonesia and India, for example, rights to forest products are in the hands of the state, and local people can be arrested for collecting these products. Many indigenous peoples no longer speak their native languages; indeed, there is a rapidly expanding effort to record and reintroduce indigenous languages, some of which are in danger of becoming extinct (Wilford 1991).

Indigenous groups have undergone such profound social transformations that they now lack many of the traditional practices and institutions that were so crucial to their well-being in the past, including mobility, reciprocity, and regional alliance and Active kinship systems. There are also few, if any, groups that are not fully engaged in the market economy. Indeed, one of the most effective survival strategies of indigenous groups, including hunter-gatherers, is to engage in the sale of goods and services, including craft products and wild resources such as medicinal plants, as a means of generating cash. Some indigenous people are marketing their skills as traditional healers, and a number of them host tour groups which pay large amounts of money to gain insights into indigenous knowledge and health systems. In fact, the desire to learn from indigenous peoples has become so great that, as Beatrice Medicine points out (Foreword, this volume), some groups have established rules to limit the numbers of outsiders who can visit them, and they have drawn up guidelines on how the visitors must behave.

There is growing international recognition not only of the plight but also of the potential of indigenous peoples. As some analysts have noted (e.g., Durning 1992), indigenous peoples were and are "the guardians of the earth." Many employed innovative stewardship techniques aimed at minimizing environmental impacts. These stewardship strategies ranged from applying fire to forest and savannah ecosystems at specific times of the year to the use of rotational hunting and collecting systems that allow local fauna and flora to recover. While these strategies were not always effective, and there were certainly cases where indigenous groups overexploited local resources, they did help to ensure that many indigenous lands could support local populations for extended periods.

Some indigenous groups have been relatively successful at helping to stop or at least bring about changes in development projects that potentially were harmful to the natural and cultural environments. For example the Cree hunter-gatherers in Canada argued vehemently against the

establishment of the James Bay II Hydroelectric Project in northern Quebec. It was also the case with Bugakwe and other River Bushmen and Batswana communities in the Okavango Delta region of northern Botswana, who protested against the establishment of the Southern Okavango Integrated Water Development Project (SOWDIP) in the early 1990s. Not all of the efforts of indigenous groups to stop development projects have been successful however. The efforts to stop the Sadar Sarovar and other Narmada River dams in India, for example, did not prevent the Indian government from building the dams and relocating tens of thousands of people, many of them members of tribal groups. It should be pointed out, however, that even in this case, the efforts of indigenous communities had an impact on international policy; the World Bank withdrew its support of the Narmada projects in March 1993, after an independent review indicated the degree to which local people were suffering and the failure of the Indian states involved to establish adequate resettlement and compensation plans.

Some indigenous groups have had success in getting governments and international agencies to recognize their subsistence rights. This is the case, for example, with some Inuit in Alaska (e.g., the Inupiat) and the Makah Indians of the State of Washington who were able to get the right to hunt limited numbers of bowhead and other kinds of whales from the International Whaling Commission (IWC). Inuit and Indians in Canada, Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia, Hadza in Tanzania, and San and other remote-area dwellers in Botswana have been able to get their subsistence hunting rights recognized by the governments of the states in which they live. Groups in India and Indonesia, on the other hand, have had less success in gaining rights to forest products since forest lands and resources are in the hands of state forestry agencies.

At the international level, some indigenous groups have been able to engage in the exploitation and marketing of natural products with the help of more enlightened private corporations such as Ben and Jerry's Ice Cream and The Body Shop. Some indigenous groups have sold medicinal plants to the San Francisco-based Shaman Pharmaceuticals. There are concerns among indigenous groups, however, about the rapidly expanding efforts of multinational corporations to engage in biodiversity prospecting and the development of drugs from plants that are obtained from indigenous lands. Some indigenous groups have refused to enter into agreements with pharmaceutical companies while others have sought to gain a greater percentage of the benefits from contracts with private companies. Some Latin American indigenous groups have pointed out that the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) is insufficient in terms of protecting indigenous rights to intellectual and biological property. Indigenous spokespersons argue that they must have greater protection of intellectual property rights and that they must be in a position where they can get patents on indigenous products and copyrights on everything from artistic designs to songs in native languages (Durning 1992, Rubin and Fish 1994).

Hunters and human rights: case studies from five continents

In innovative legal arguments some indigenous groups have pressed hard for the recognition of group or collective rights. These rights include the right to self-determination and the right to equitable distribution of medical care. A number of indigenous peoples have pushed hard for planetary rights, the rights to be free of toxins and to have a healthy environment. It is not uncommon to hear hunter-gatherers speak longingly of the need for their children and their children's children to have peace, long life, and good health. I want to conclude this chapter with a few examples of the many spheres in

which hunter-gatherers have had a degree of success in achieving these goals.

A number of indigenous groups in war-torn areas, including the Somalian Eyle and the Namibian Vasakela and Khoi, have worked hard to promote peace and to establish long-lasting systems of conflict management. Penan of Borneo and other indigenous groups in southeast Asia have worked out strategies to resolve conflicts internally and have sought to use some of these strategies in their negotiations with timber companies. When the peaceful negotiation strategies failed, they resorted to other non-violent means, such as blockades, to prevent timber companies from exploiting local resources (Brosius, this volume; Miller 1993).

Some indigenous hunter-gatherer groups have been relatively successful at gaining recognition of their land and resource rights. The Ju/'hoansi of northeastern Namibia, for example, were able to hold on to some of their ancestral lands even in the face of the *apartheid* policies of the South West African administration and the South African government prior to Independence in 1989. Efforts to seek recognition of their land rights at national land conferences and at the regional level in Namibia have enabled the Ju/'hoansi to consolidate a measure of control over their area. Recently, the Ju/'hoansi established what is known in Namibia as a *conservancy*, an area of land which is overseen by an organization registered with the government and which has the right to manage local natural resources. The Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative, one of the first indigenous cooperatives in Africa, is now engaged in a variety of conservation and development activities in northeastern Namibia, ranging from monitoring wildlife resources to ecotourism activities (see Biesele and Royal-/O/oo, this volume).

In Australia, generations of protests and efforts by Aboriginals and Torres Straits Islanders culminated in the 1990s with a High Court ruling known as the Mabo Decision which recognized that Eddie Mabo, a Torres Strait Islander, held native title to his land. This decision was extended to all of Australia in 1993 under the Native Title Act, thus enabling Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders to gain *de jure* (legal) control over land (Peterson, this volume, Young 1995). Not surprisingly, private interests such as mining companies and states such as Western Australia have fought to get this decision reversed. While it is too early to say how the Australian Aboriginal land rights situation will play out, there is no question that the Mabo Decision has had a significant impact on the ways in which land and resource matters are negotiated.

As many indigenous groups are quick to point out, it helps to organize at regional and international levels as well as locally. The Inuit Circumpolar Conference, which held its first meeting in 1977, has been instrumental in promoting Inuit land and resource rights and promoting cultural preservation in Russia, USA, Canada, and Greenland. In Africa, the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) has provided a forum for the airing of indigenous concerns and has assisted in the strengthening of customary leadership and enhancement of local-level economic development. In Botswana, the San (Khwe) advocacy organization Kgeikani Kweni (First People of the Kalahari) was the first institution of its type to gain national recognition. In 1995–7 Kgeikani Kweni fought valiantly but ultimately unsuccessfully to prevent the relocation of the /Gui, //Gana, and Bakgalagadi residents of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve outside of the reserve. The organization did, however, manage to bring world-wide attention to bear on the issues that San and other indigenous groups were concerned about, including the need for comprehensive training in land and resource management and the importance of education in mother tongues in addition to national languages (see Veber *et al*. 1993:141–51).

In Latin America, hunter-gatherer groups such as the Hiwi (Cuiva) of Venezuela and Colombia and the Huaorani of the Oriente region of Ecuador have begun organizing at both local and regional levels. The Huaorani have protested against the actions of oil companies in their lands, and they have not only spoken out in the capital of Ecuador but pleaded their case in the United States as well (Rival, this volume). Latin American indigenous groups have joined other tropical forest peoples such as the Orang Asli of Malaysia and the Batwa of Rwanda in the World Rainforest Movement, which has sought to reduce the pressures on indigenous peoples and has attempted to establish international standards by which timber extractive activities are carried out by companies and by both international and national agencies.

Indigenous groups and confederations have been supported by a variety of advocacy organizations, ranging from the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), based in Denmark, and Cultural Survival, based in Cambridge, MA, to the Minority Rights Group and Survival International based in the UK. Organizations such as Anti-Slavery International have devoted attention to problems of slavery and unfair exploitation of labor among indigenous peoples, and church groups such as the World Council of Churches have focused attention on indigenous land rights and the problems of discrimination and mistreatment of indigenous peoples.

The indigenous peoples of Siberia have sought assistance from environmental organizations such as Greenpeace in their efforts to curb the destructive impacts of oil companies. There is a growing appreciation there of the importance of integrating and coordinating the efforts of indigenous rights, environmental, and development-oriented non-government organizations (NGOs).

The end of the Cold War has presented Siberian "small peoples" with both problems and opportunities. In the former Soviet Union, indigenous groups are establishing new community-level and regional organizations aimed at promoting social, economic, and political development. The withdrawal of funds from Moscow has caused hardship among some indigenous groups, a number of whom have chosen to increase their dependence on local natural resources, including fish, sea mammals, and terrestrial fauna and flora, with the attendant complications in some cases of overexploitation. The increased presence of private companies in Siberia and the Russian north has meant that there are more job opportunities but also more chances of environmental damage and disease (see chapters in the North Eurasia section by Grant, Anderson, and others).

Conclusion

As indigenous spokespersons have stressed in recent speeches, the nation-state as the dominant social form on the planet may in fact have reached its zenith. For better or worse, in the future there will be more international institutions affecting people's lives, including not only UN agencies but also the World Trade Organization (WTO). There will also be more local and regionally based organizations, some of which will include indigenous federations and associations. While autonomy and self-determination are not the goals of all, the desire for a greater say in how public policy should proceed is certainly on the agendas of most indigenous organizations. Without greater emphasis on both individual and collective rights, the indigenous peoples of the world will face many of the same situations that they experienced during the expansion of colonialism and the post-colonial state-dominated and private-company-dominated regimes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. If world public opinion and world bodies are to remain committed to the oft-quoted and noble rhetoric in the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, then there will have to be much more willingness to enforce international and *culturally sensitive* standards of human and planetary rights. What will benefit hunter-gatherers and other indigenes ultimately will be good for the 5 billion *ex-foragers* who make up the rest of humanity.

128 Evenkis Sergei I. larotskii and his wife Irina pose beside their new snowmobile (a gift of the Noril'sk Mining and Metallurgical Combine) after a successful spring hunt of wild deer in the Putoran plateau, lower Enisei River area. The mining combine provides some jobs and considerable negative effect on the Evenkis' home environment. Evenkis and other Siberian "small peoples" are fighting for the human right to enjoy traditional lands and way of life in a time of severe social and economic change. Photo: David G. Anderson.

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II.III.5

Indigenous peoples' organizations and advocacy groups

Note: There is a wide variety of organizations involved with human rights, hunter-gatherers, and indigenous peoples. Some of these organizations and their addresses are listed below.

General and international

Amnesty International
322 Eighth Avenue
New York, NY 10001
USA

Anti-Slavery International
180 Brixton Road
London SW9 6AT
United Kingdom

Arctic to Amazonia Alliance
PO Box 73
Strafford, VT 05072
USA

Center for World Indigenous Studies
PO Box 2574
Olympia, WA 98507–2574
USA

Commission on Human Rights
Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities
Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) United Nations
1 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA

Cultural Survival

96 Mount Auburn Street
Cambridge, MA 02138

Cultural Survival Canada
1 Nicholas Street, Suite 420
Ottawa, ONT KIN 7B7
Canada

Cultural Survival UK
4 Albion Place
Galena Road
Hammersmith
London W6 OLT
United Kingdom

Endangered Peoples Project
Box 1516 Station A
Vancouver, BC V6C 2P7
Canada

First Nations Development Institute
and First Peoples Worldwide
11917 Main Street
Fredericksburg, VA 22408
USA

Fourth World Center for the Study
of Indigenous Law and Politics
Dept of Political Science
Colorado University-Denver
Campus Box 190
PO Box 173364
Denver, CO 80217–3364
USA

Global Justice Center on Rights Development
University of Denver
Denver, CO 80208
USA

Human Rights Internet
c/o Human Rights Center
University of Ottawa
57 Louis Pasteur

Ottawa, ONT KIN 6N5
Canada

Human Rights Watch
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017–6104
USA

Indigenous Peoples' Center
for Documentation, Research,
and Information
Case Postale 101
CH-1211 Geneva 21
Switzerland

Indigenous Peoples' Network Research Center
PO Box 364
Rochester, VT 05767
USA

Indigenous Survival International
298 Elgin Street, Suite 105
Ottawa, ONT K2P 1M3
Canada

Indigenous World
PO Box 20522
New York, NY 10129–0005
USA

International Institute of Human Rights
6 Place de Bordeaux
67000 Strasburg
France

International Labour Organization (ILO)
International Labour Standards Department
1211 Geneva 22
Switzerland

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA)
Fiolstraede 10
DK-1171 Copenhagen K
Denmark

Inuit Circumpolar Conference
PO Box 204
DK 3900
Nuuk
Greenland

Minority Rights Group (MRG)
29 Craven Street
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Minority Rights Group
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New York, NY 10027
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People of the Earth
c/o Friends of the Earth
1045 Sansome Street
San Francisco, CA 94111
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Rainforest Action Network
450 Sansome Street
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Postbus 43021
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Support Group for Indigenous Peoples
Breughelstraat 31–33

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Survival International
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London WC1N 3QL
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Unrepresented Nations' and Peoples' Organization (UNPO)
Office of the General Secretary
PO Box 85878/2508 CN
The Hague
The Netherlands

Workgroup of Indigenous Peoples
PO Box 4098
1009 AB Amsterdam
The Netherlands

World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP)
Suite C-812, University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, Alberta T1K 3M4
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World Rainforest Movement
8 Chapel Row
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Alaskan Intertribal Council
4201 Tudor Center Drive
Suite 300
Anchorage, AK 99508
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Assembly of First Nations
1 Nicholas Street, Suite 1002
Ottawa, ONT K1N 7B7
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Association on American Indian Affairs
245 First Avenue Suite 1801

New York, NY 10016
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Canadian Association in Support
of Native Peoples
16 Spadina Road
Toronto, ONT M5R 2S7
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Center for the Support of Native Lands
3240 Wilson Bvd, Room 220
Arlington, VA 22201–4406
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Grand Council of the Crees
24 Bayswater Avenue
Ottawa, ONT K1Y 2E4
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Gwich'In Steering Committee
Box 202768
Anchorage, AK 99503
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Indian Law Resource Center
601 E Street, S.E.
Washington, DC 20003
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Instituto Nacional Indigenista
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Mexico

Interface Network, Inc.
Research Unit
Anchorage, AK 99503
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International Indian Treaty Council
54 Mint Street, Suite 400
San Francisco, CA 94103
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National Congress of American Indians
900 Pennsylvania Avenue S.E.
Washington, DC 20003
USA

National Indian Youth Council (NIYC)
201 Hermosa Drive N.E.
Albuquerque, NM 87108
USA

Native American Rights Fund (NARF)
1506 Broadway Boulder, CO 80302
USA

Native Lands Institute
Research and Policy Analysis
211 12th Street N.W.
Albuquerque, NM 87102
USA

Northern Justice Society
c/o School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6
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White Earth Land Recovery Project
PO Box 327
White Earth, MN 56591
USA

South America

Amanaka'a Amazon Network
339 Lafayette Street, Se. 8
New York, NY 10012
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Amazonian Peoples Resource
Initiative (APRI)
202 Spooner Hall
University of Kansas
Lawrence, KS 66045
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Associacion Cultural Sejekto
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Costa Rica

Associacion Kunas Unidos por Napbuana
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Edif. Domino
Piso 2, Office 31
Apdo, Postal 536
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Centre Mocovi "Ialek Lav'a"
Casilla de Correo 36
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Comision Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos
Calle Tabasco, No. 262—despacho 201
Colonia Roma
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Confederacion de los Pueblos
Indigenas de Bolivia (CIDOB)
Villa Iro de Mayo
Castilla 4213
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Peoples' Organization of the Amazon Basin
Jiro Larco Herrera 1057
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Oakland, CA 94604
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Vicente Menchu Foundation
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Berkeley, CA 94705
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Northern Eurasia

Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North
PO Box 212
Moscow 12019
Russia

Africa

Association for the Promotion of Batwa
BP 2472
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Ditshwanelo—Botswana Center for Human Rights
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Kalahari Peoples Fund (KPF)
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Kalahari Support Group (KSG)
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Kuru Development Trust (KDT)
PO Box 219
Ghanzi
Botswana

Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative
PO Box 9026
Windhoek
Namibia

Working Group of Indigenous
Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA)
PO Box 11778, Olympia
Windhoek
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!Xuu and Khwe Trust
PO Box 1022
Stellenbosch 7599
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Plot No.4, Mirpur 13
Dhaka 1221
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Indian Confederation of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples
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Bhogal-Jangpura
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Indian Council of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples
28 Mahadev Road
New Delhi 110001
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Naga Peoples' Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR)
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