

Introduction to Cultural Anthropology for Archaeologists A

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Student Prep

Course aim:

To introduce prehistorians-in-the-making to *basic terms & key concepts* of cultural anthropology.

Course goal:

Prehistorians-in-the-making can easily comprehend & use basic books on cultural anthropology in case they decide to use those in their research.

They are familiar with the way that cultural anthropologist approach/ describe reality.

“Introduction to Cultural Anthropology for Archaeologists A” has 4 parts.

PART A - CROSS-CULTURALITY

PART B - ESSENTIALLY CULTURE

PART C - RESEARCH HISTORY

PART D - FORAGING

How to use the prep:

- [Blue] = More detailed comments/amendments. You can use them, but need *not* reproduce them.
- Go into the presentation as much as you need to be able to aptly express the issues mentioned in the following 4 slides, using the basic vocabulary.
- If some cases are not clear: Please use the index of the scanned textbooks.

PART A: CROSS-CULTURALITY

1. What really causes cultural shock.
2. Why nobody doing research abroad stays completely unaffected.
3. A handy way to shorten the phase of culture shock.

[360°, 24/7 - Attention for what is going on outside, “cultural learning”]

PART B – ESSENTIALLY CULTURE

- (4) The amazing power of culture to even change natural categories (male, female, the dead, the living etc.)
- (5) That culture always depends on the things that we individuals do.
- (6) That culture is dynamic and complex throughout on the planet, no matter whether in a mega-city/remote in the Artic ice.)

PART C – RESEARCH HISTORY

(7) How did Ethnocentrism impede the study indigenous groups. Why did it take so long for cultural anthropology to evolve?

[Only after WWI did anthropologists start to *live among* native groups part-time. What researchers gave the impulse to make field work?].

(8) Research history of the discipline. - The most basic trend

[Scholarly opinion “swung back & forth” between: a view that accented the invariance of native life (“preservation tought”) and a view that claimed that the natives - all the while - produced cultural changes themselves and thus possessed creativity (and history) like anybody else on the planet. Give one example for each view].

PART D: FORAGERS

(9) An early & important achievement of our species has been upright walking.

(10) Foragering is a complex adaptation, important for the history of mankind.

(11) Forager existence has never been “primitive” or poor. Why did many people assume that?

(12) Please describe forager’s flexibility in how they get to food & live together

PART A: CROSS-CULTURALITY

(0) What is “cultural anthropology”, “ethnology”, “ethnography”?

(1) Why cultural anthropology for Near Eastern archaeology?

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?

(3) How do people react in the situation?

(4) What is simple principles of positive coping, if we are exposed to a new kind of culture?

(0) What is Cultural Anthropology?

A nowadays' definition (by Kottak 2008):

'The study of the humans as culture-producing and re-producing beings'.

[Older definitions of cultural anthropology used perceived deficits as a divide between "them" us:

- the lack of a written language,
- the 'remoteness' of the communities, or an
- assumed simplicity of the social or technological tools].

The modern definition by Kottak makes no such difference: It emphasizes that we humans are not simply driven and determined by our culture but that we can too shape (produce) it.

Applied Anthropology: when anthropological know-how is used outside & in real-life-situations (e.g. archaeological campaigns abroad).

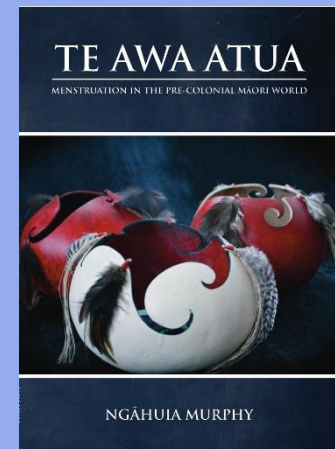
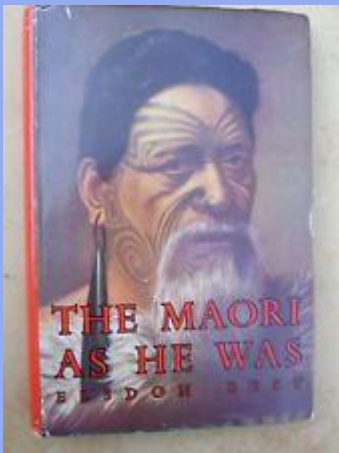
(0) What is Cultural Anthropology

Other important terms: Ethnography – Ethnology – Participant observation

'Ethnography'

= a detailed description of the life of a 'traditional society' at one place;

In former times this has typically taken the form of a sweeping description of the life of "the XY" >> ethnographic monograph.

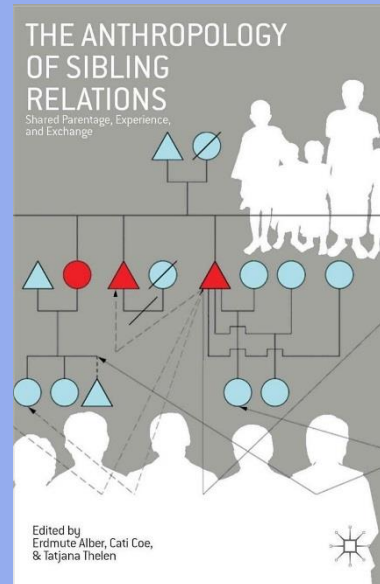


Modern ethnography: more focussed & participative (the studied group describes itself.)

(0) What is Cultural Anthropology?

'Ethnology'

= subsequent theorizing on the basis of ethnographic data. This moves away from the particular observation. Rather hidden structures are looked for.



[How ethnology is done: Comparing a cultural phenomenon globally to understand why differences & similarities happen. Focus is rather on *topics* than places: parenting, gender, puppetry, family relationship, shamanism....]

(0) What is Cultural Anthropology?

Other important terms: Ethnography – Ethnology – Participant observation

'Participant observation'

Research technique that involves long-term stay among the people, interviews, direct dialogue, sharing daily life 24/7.

[P. o.: Prime research technique. A 'total immersion' of the researcher.

Often causing a broad range of sentiments ranging from enthusiasm to culture shock.

Sh/e lives *in* the community.

Expectation is that by constant presence the researcher is no longer 'much noticed' & things eventually return to normal. That may or may not be so.

By p.o. the anthropologists hope to see the difference what people say they ('ideally') do & what are their actual decisions/actions day after day.

Anthropologists typically take all sorts of notes (including video) during p. o.]

(0) What is Cultural Anthropology?



Carlos taking field-notes. Torres Islands (Melanesia).

PART A

CROSS-CULTURAL CONTACT

- (0) What is “cultural anthropology”, “ethnology”, “ethnography”?
- (1) Why cultural anthropology for Near Eastern archaeology?
- (2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?
- (3) How do people react in the situation?
- (4) What is simple principles of positive coping, if we are exposed to a new kind of culture?



(1) Why cultural anthropology for Near Eastern archaeology?

Basic cultural anthropological information is desirable for the Near East archaeologist for the following reasons:

#1 For the comparison with material/social tools of past cultures
(such as artifacts, social structures, rituals.

#2 Cross-cultural competence during carrying out research on another continent

Comparing clay ovens: Bronze Age, Tell Arbid, NE Syria



(1) Why cultural anthropology for Near Eastern archaeology?

#1: Useful for archaeological site interpretation (ethnography furnishing artefact parallels)



[The mother of A. A. is doing a small-scale model of a *recent* bread-baking oven for the Czech archaeological team. Tell Arbid, NE Syria]

(1) Why cultural anthropology for Near Eastern archaeology?



Tell Arbid, 2007

(1) Why cultural anthropology for Near Eastern archaeology?

#2: Knowing about some about their cultural background is useful when working & living alongside with the local people.



[Team member & N. & S at the Czech archaeological site Tell Arbid Abyad]

PART A: CROSS-CULTURALITY

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(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



What is meant with 'cross-cultural contact'?

A situation where people with different cultural backgrounds meet.

What causes this difference?

A lot of reasons can lead to perceived cultural differences, the most elementary one & *inevitable* one for Near East Archaeologists could be termed: the 'by-passing factor' (caused modern superfast means of transportation).

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



Experience of cultures piecemeal (as blending into one another).

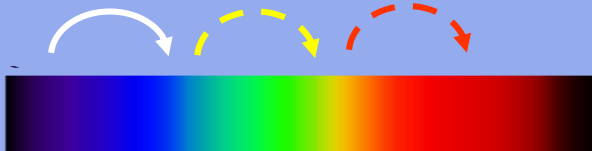
[Note: The speed of change of the cultural milieu *in overland transportation* long was not more the walking pace of animals of burden! Exposure to cultural differences happened a gradually, continuously and *gave time for cultural learning*. – So, when arriving at the destination one was not as much “struck” by the difference as after the early modern period].

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?

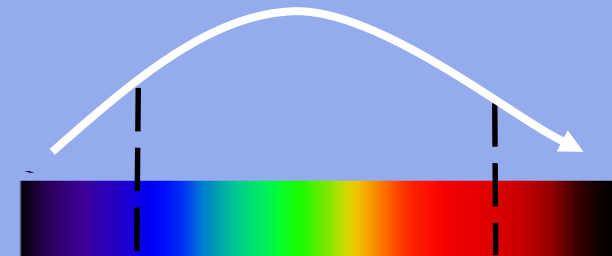


'Caravelle,' Air France

cultural mediation/transition



Marc Polo on the Silk Road (cultural learning along the way). "Caravan speed". Several years. > Some cultural learning during the approach



Missing out things, precipitated approach. A few hours only > Contrast. Over-exposure.



[The sketch should show that the mere *mode/speed* of approaching other cultures can cause "polarity"].

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



15th century:

Travelling underwent a radical change: it became suddenly practice to **by-pass** neighbouring cultures. Space: shrinking. (e.g. the Spanish shorting the Portuguese mariners shorting the Arab seafarers in the spice-trade with the Moluccas. The "shorting practice" made Columbus find the "West Indies").

The time-scale changed also!

[For example: It took the ancestors of the Pacific Islanders 2000 years to settle Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia in a *slow, adaptive process*. - Magellan's crews made the same move in few weeks. Their knowledge of the maritime environment was marginal, their sea-craft & men were a hardly adapted. A most profitable but extremely perilous undertakings. This super-fast travel "changed time": It prematurely "aged" the young men (starvation, diseases) & their vessels (shipworms) & turned back evolution (the topic of the "cannibal" seamen in distress!)]

Air transportation = by-passing meditating cultures > 'stumbling onto foreign places'.

Facit: the effect of becoming 'unfamiliar'/contrast is *automatically* produced if we arrive at distant places and rural ambiances within hours after departing from home. We are leaving out all neighbouring ('mediating') spaces & are barred a slow cultural learning..

Tourists haven't the problem > The "foreignness" is precisely dosed & built after expectations.

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



The 1492 Shortcut

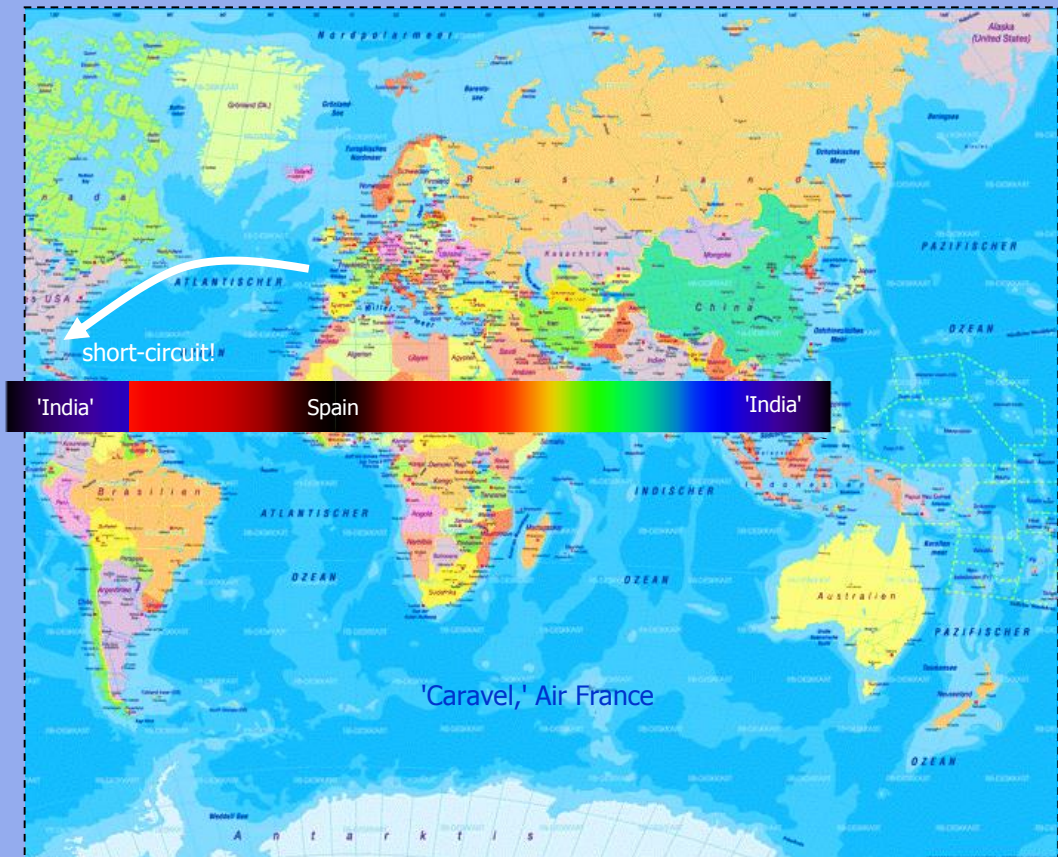
[Atlantic Ocean = a space with hardly any islands. *It is a space that initially did not allow any preparatory cultural learning.*

The eruptive release of energy shortly after 1492, the frenzy that soon broke out, may - among other things - have been caused by the distinctive type of travelling through space

Did the rapid by-passing that the caravelles began, perhaps cause fatal encounters?



The 2 ways to reach the 'Spice Islands'



(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



In the Pacific Ocean, West Polynesians coined a term for the Westerners that was long thought to convey the meaning of “abruptness”:

“When the white men made their appearance, it was thought that the vessel which had brought them had in some way broken through the heavens; and, to this day white men are called Papalangi, or Heaven-bursters” (Williams 1842; my emphasis).



[G. Dore, “Voyage to the Moon” - Engraving for The Adventures of Baron Munchhausen]

[Williams, John, 1842. *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands with Remarks upon the Natural History of the Islands, Origin, Languages, Traditions and Usages of the Inhabitants*. London: John Snow; Note: The actual meaning of the term *papalagi* has been subject to scientific debate.]

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



'Short-circuit 1492'

Theodore de Bry, popular engravings, 1594



Arrival of Christopher Columbus



'Balboa setting his dogs upon Indian practitioners of male love'

'Discussion *'Turn of the Axis'* (Image Analysis):

Visualization of the unmediated front-line situation. The 'gear' of the approaching Westerners has not changed under the way.

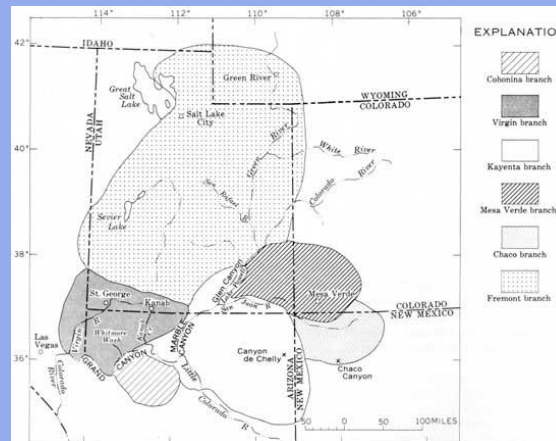
The original owners of the land lose their cultural inventory (presents on left picture) and humanness (no longer bipedal, prey to carnivores). The Spanish *habitus* is portrayed as being totally unaffected by the exposure to the new cultural environment.

To the left: caravels > 'machines' that allow to by-pass empty or settled areas & are capable to reduce time & distance.

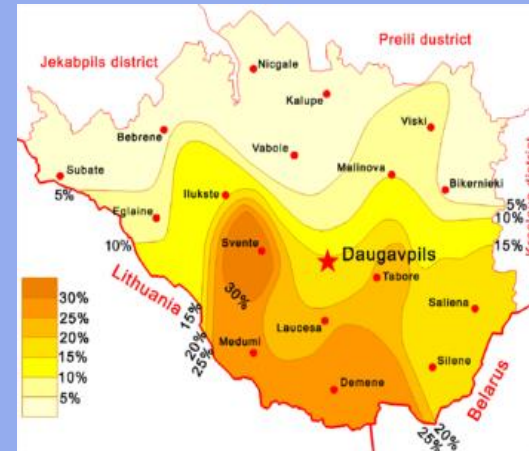
(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



Discussion: The younger cartographic convention is tied to certain visual conventions.



Ethnic groups of the Great Basin, AD 1150



A 'transitional border' expressed by color transition : The ethnic Polish in Latvia/Baltic States.

Indirect message by the drawing tradition: in modern nation state neighbouring cultures constellate a frontier situations than (cultural) transitions.

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



“Shortcut” between cultures:

Likely to release of all sorts of cross-cultural dynamics, some of which are conscious or unconscious, individual or collective, positive or negative. Energized basic situation.



(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



'I have travelled before..!' - Tourism < > Archaeological campaigning abroad

Although the travel means is often the same, there is a considerable difference between an excavating abroad and tourism:

In the case of tourism the ground-tension of cultural contrasts is being exactly regulated to be never 'excessive'. To keep this margin has become a *sophisticated art in today's tourism industry*.

[So, in poorer countries artificial infrastructures (hygienic standards, food quality) are established and painstakingly kept to the degree of the absurd (considering reality in these countries!) well knowing that tourists may become irritated if regulation fails.

In the cases of outdoor tourism: abandoning is a regulation mechanism to keep tension below a self-chosen threshold.]

Archaeological campaigning is different to either mode of traveling.

1. Ideally in scientific expeditions the unexpected tends to be kept at a minimum. Monotony of ever the same precise work.
2. If things develop unexpectedly it is difficult to abandon the project (research team).

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



Tourism in Papua New Guinea as “dosed adventure” (*oxymoron*)

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



»

[Both the mechanisms of a 'safe haven' – 'emergency lever' are not viable in the case of archaeological campaigning abroad.

Actually living in small villages, suffering from objective/perceived deprivation (sleep), a high work-load & responsibility and a fundamental lack of all the recreational means: A gradual power-loss, whereas deficits & duties tend to accumulate over the course of weeks.

Feelings become amplified and are rarely stable. They swing wildly between fatigue and fascination.]

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



Q: Why do some people experience digging in the Near East as a great unease. Whereas other seem addicted to it?

A. This may have to do with the way we what we do in the face of habital extremes.

Hypothesis:

The circumstances of researching abroad (expedition as a 'total institution') inevitably leads to a crisis. A "shaking" of one's former existence , with unforeseeable inter/intrapersonal effects (many of which are outright positive!).

This is strikingly similar to what we know about:

The initiation (social "rebirth")

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?

Initiation

Segregation, restrictions on food etc., unused tasks are the typical markers of an initiation.

Under the extreme stress, fatigue and uncertainty of the initiation situation the candidate experiences "major cracks".

»

The 'death of the outdated personality' during crisis is deemed necessary by traditional groups to create space for the new identity of a grown up, male, female, priest etc.

[In contrast to modern Western societies the individuals in traditional communities may experience 'being old, being born' more than 1 time in life. The former life mode and former social relations are left completely to allow the new behavior]



Ethnomusicologist Luis Devin as initiate , Baka Pygmies, 2000;

Initiations take place in a special huts or 'districts', apart from the ordinary settlement.

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



A sandstorm keeps dust in the air for days. It creates a twilight that impairs our color vision (soil recognition) & photographing. This *unexpectedly* results in a big “bottle-neck” in the work flow at the dig (esp. the documenting). Things get dense - all of a sudden.

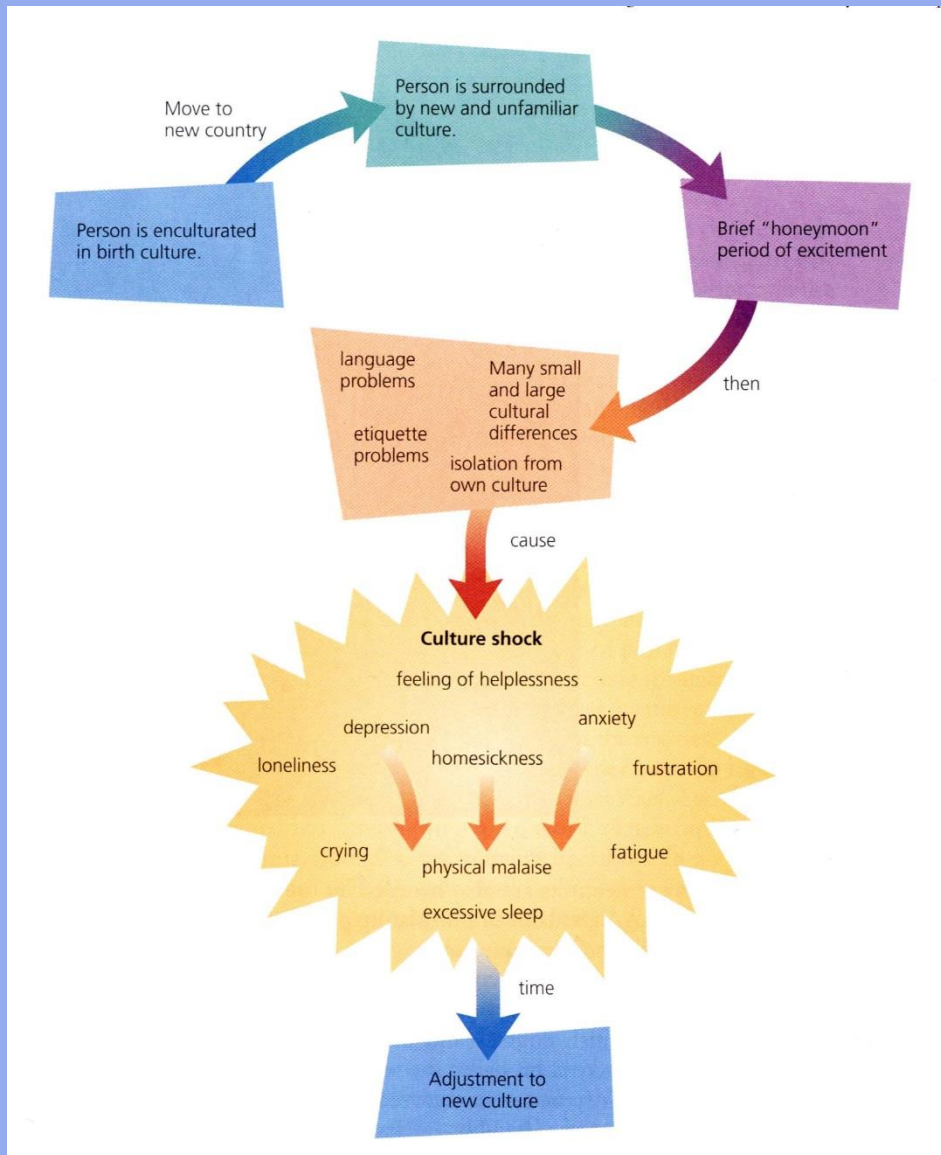
NE excavation stress is of that kind:

Upon your actions not the usual reactions follow. - Not only occasionally, like in the case of the notorious 'miss-understandings' at home, but *at a high frequency*.

[The result is a general feeling of being clumsy, “incompetent”...as if virtually being an “infant” again. This is a challenging experience initially.

The way out is also “that of a child”: Learning the unfamiliar environment by watching & trials.
- Essentially staying *in* the situation, with eyes for what's around, performing, imitating].

(2) What do we know about the cross-cultural contact?



[The cumulative strains of archaeological campaigning abroad can lead to a *transient* phase of disorientation and unease.]

Phases: After crisis a rapid recovery follows - if one stays put at the learning "interface":

Only a 1st casual success in communicating/interacting will instill confidence and a good feel - "Dark clouds" quickly disperse.

A new positive identity forms, capable of doing new things. (= The "kick" of excavating abroad?). New insignias, behavioural patterns mark the achievement.

[Response: Withdrawing: little stress but also little situational learning possible >> getting stuck in the culture shock phase.

Response: Staying put: high exposure, cultural learning intensified. Cultural shock soon gives way to: curiosity.]

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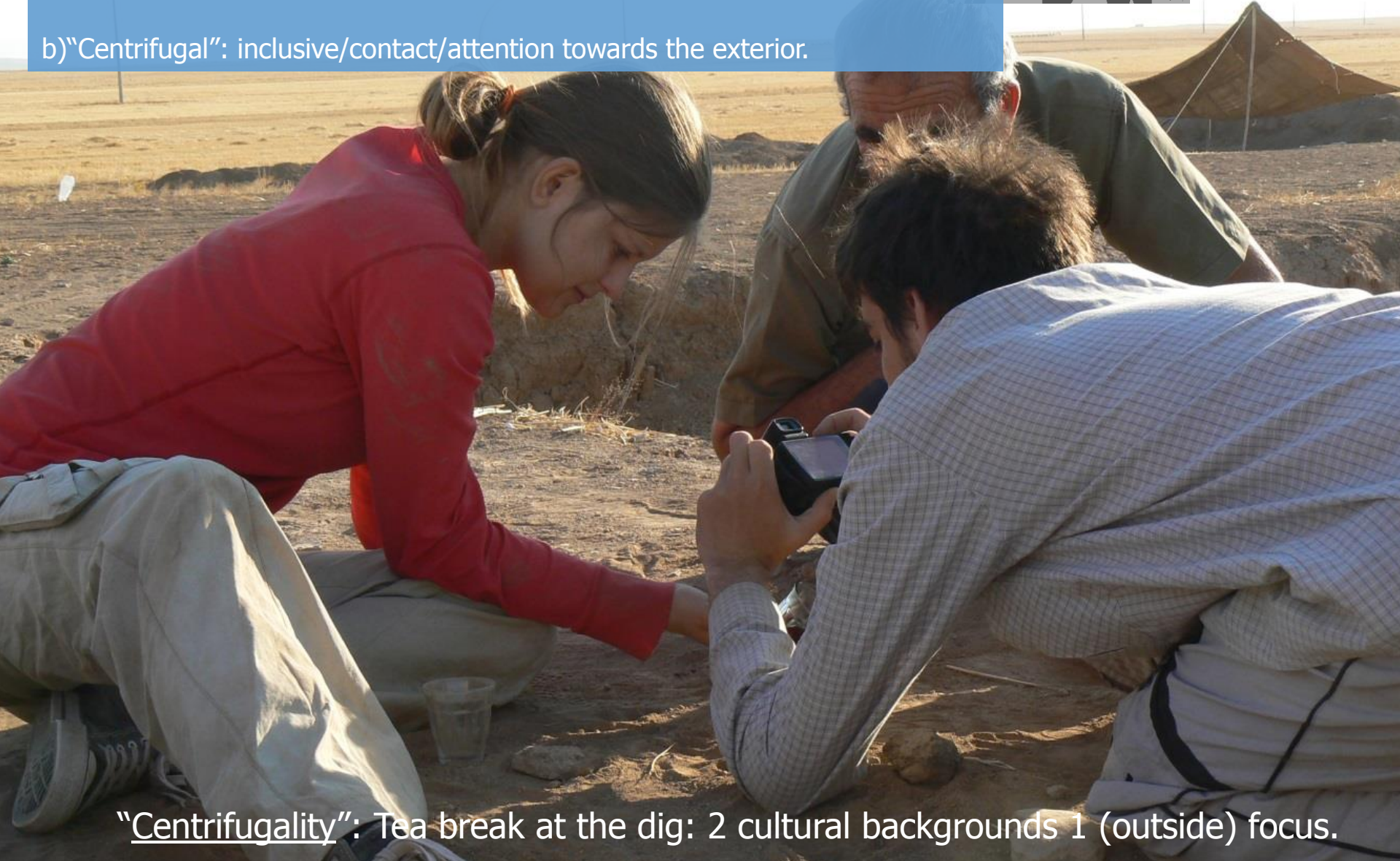
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(3) How do people react in the situation?

Reactions modes to culture shock are observable:

a) "Centripetal": exclusive/avoidance/attention towards the interior.

b) "Centrifugal": inclusive/contact/attention towards the exterior.



"Centrifugality": Tea break at the dig: 2 cultural backgrounds 1 (outside) focus.

(3) How do people react in the situation?



“Centrifugality”: Tea break at the dig. The outside focus (ant) is behaviourally “common ground” for the persons with a very different background.

(3) How do people react in the situation?



Short characterization of the 2 reaction modes:

- a) Centripetal, avoidance: Lowered unease at the beginning, especially if combined with a withdrawal from the ambient. Interest in the *own* group becomes paramount. Contact avoidance prevents the efficient learning of the cultural environment. This heightens the frequency of cultural misconduct > Unease rather accumulating over time.

- b) Centrifugal, limnoid: High unease at the beginning. Plunged into a challenging 'learning ambient'. Soon first adaptive successes occur. Self-confidence returns. Interest & exploration of the surrounding > Unease quickly abates after a straining initial 'peak stress'.

(3) How do people react in the situation?



Some similarities of the centripetal response to the *Colonial habitus*:

- Indifference, unchanging.
- Barricading within the own space.
- Concentration on the cultural self, “navel-gazing”.
- Extreme significance of the values & customs that you brought with you.
- Silent watching. “Interpretating” instead of direct asking. No discourse.
- Existing rather “shoulder to shoulder” than ‘face to face’.



[Greta Scacchi, Charles Dance in; 'White Mischief', (1987)]

(3) How do people react in the situation?



“Centrifugal” response:



[In-class discussion. Visual analysis: ‘The Table’

The table as the focal point of centripetal (inward) attention. Ostentatious refusal to acknowledge what is culturally around or to learn it. Defining others according to one’s own needs (one of which is...adventure).

Watch out for oppositions (like bush-home, standing-sitting, black-white, actors-coulisse, consuming-serving). The image is carefully arranged (Ask yourself: Why is at once clear that these are not images made by/for the indigenous?).

“Colonial romance” as actual violence: Although the Europeans in these images are ‘out-standing’ it is paradoxically the *native* population, owners of the land for thousands of years, that “look odd” in the imagery. The big difficulty to see in the images the actual ‘foreign element’ (> table, clothing, food) proves how much our cultural awareness is influenced by the visual conventions with which we grow up].

(3) How do people react in the situation?



“Centrifugal response”:

Extreme adherence to the values & customs of the 'motherland'...

... and concentration on the cultural self.



[“Shoeshine”: The “master’s” defiance of what is around is epitomized in the shoe shine & in mimicking a bath room scene.

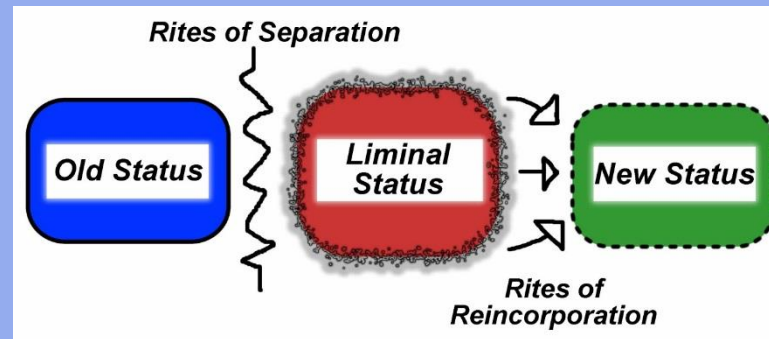
The boy is fixed, reduced to a supportive wall for the mirror. The mirror itself becomes a hiding wall: The own imago is the most effective barrier to the perception of the 'Others'. The visual codes stresses a polarity: 'dirty?/clean', white/coloured', 'civilized/primitive', 'own/foreign', 'dominant/subaltern'. Be careful with self-dramatization (Indiana J).

[Certain visual conventions are so much part of our upbringing that it is hard for us to perceive a violent content below the surface. Even though it is playful most of the time, excavators should be careful when reproducing 'colonial charm' in visual media.]

(3) How do people react in the situation?



Liminality: a concept of Arnold van Gennep (1909) describing initiation phases in traditional communities. 3 phases.



Limnoid: Victor Turner (1969) used the term limnoid for status changes in our *own* everyday life.

[After seclusion & destabilization a personality emerges that is augmented by the knowledge of yet 'another world'. -> The stress of archaeological campaigning may initiate a limnoid adaptive process.]

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(4) What is simple principles of positive coping, if we are exposed to a new kind of culture?

Cultural learning: Yes
Going Native: No!



Do not act out of a desire of a complete merging with local life.

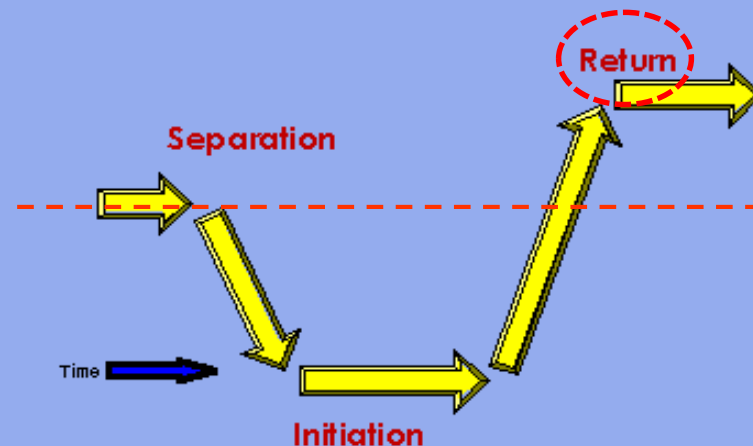
As an excavator stay outsider: you are considered the a potent visitor from outside. You are granted special rights at the place that set you apart from everyone else there.

[There is nothing won in swapping the one cultural personality for the other: By "merging with the local hosts" you would forfeit crucial advantages:]

1. Some license concerning your acting in the social arena of the host community (gender roles; engagement for socially weaker; ecological etc. agendas; freedom in the choice of people you want to make contact with; preferences how you interact etc.). - No one expects you to behave correctly as a stranger. Your constant trespasses confirm your liminal role.

2. The ability to act as a "translator" between the cultural spheres if you were no longer interested in your own cultural roots.

'Going liminal': Alois Musil aka Sheikh Musa al-Rweili



(4) What are the simple principles of positive coping, if we are exposed to a new kind of culture?



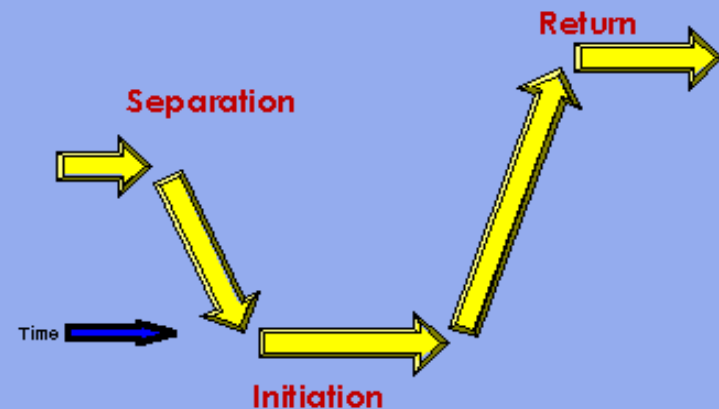
[Adaptation & Bridge function]

The crucial question is whether this relates mainly to members of the own group, or to the local community.

Higher 'inner integration' in the own team sub-group often happens at the expense of the wider social environment. - For obvious reasons this will be undesirable for excavation-teams, whose success abroad depends on understanding with the social ambience in which they work)

Several European visitors to the Near East, though rooted in a colonialist tradition, strove to break up exclusiveness, moved towards the locals and ended up taking temporarily a place in the hosting communities without losing sight of the own cultural background (cf. the Czech Orientalist Alois Musil).

As seen in the sketch the return is an integral part of the experience. It may even make it easier to deal with one's own cultural upbringing in a more appreciative & constructive manner].



Limninal & limnoid

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dygFtTWyEGM>

(4) What is simple principles of positive coping, if we are exposed to a new kind of culture?



[“Shoe-shine or muddy feet”?

It should be clear that the simple “deployment” of own logistics, values and behaviour is not advisable for the Near East archaeologist. This gesture - apart from the individual show of invariance (cf. the riksha photo)- must be doubtful also in terms of a successful project.

Getting moved by what is around may be a more benign demonstration - as in the case of the mudbrick-making of by member of the Czech research team].

Guideline for newcomers:

1. If the setting is different, the technical/social approaches can not stay the same. - Some learning of the cultural environment is positive: It allows you to increasingly move in the new environment. [Only tourists need not open up.]
2. If feeling unsecure: rather going *into* the unfamiliar situation than shying away from it (stay where the learning happens). [It is actually interesting to get to know your hosts.]
3. Turn the attention to the *outside*. “360 degrees, 24/7” will work best . [That is where the key to coping is found. Much more than internally, t. i. in the preferred group).]

PART B – ESSENTIALLY CULTURE

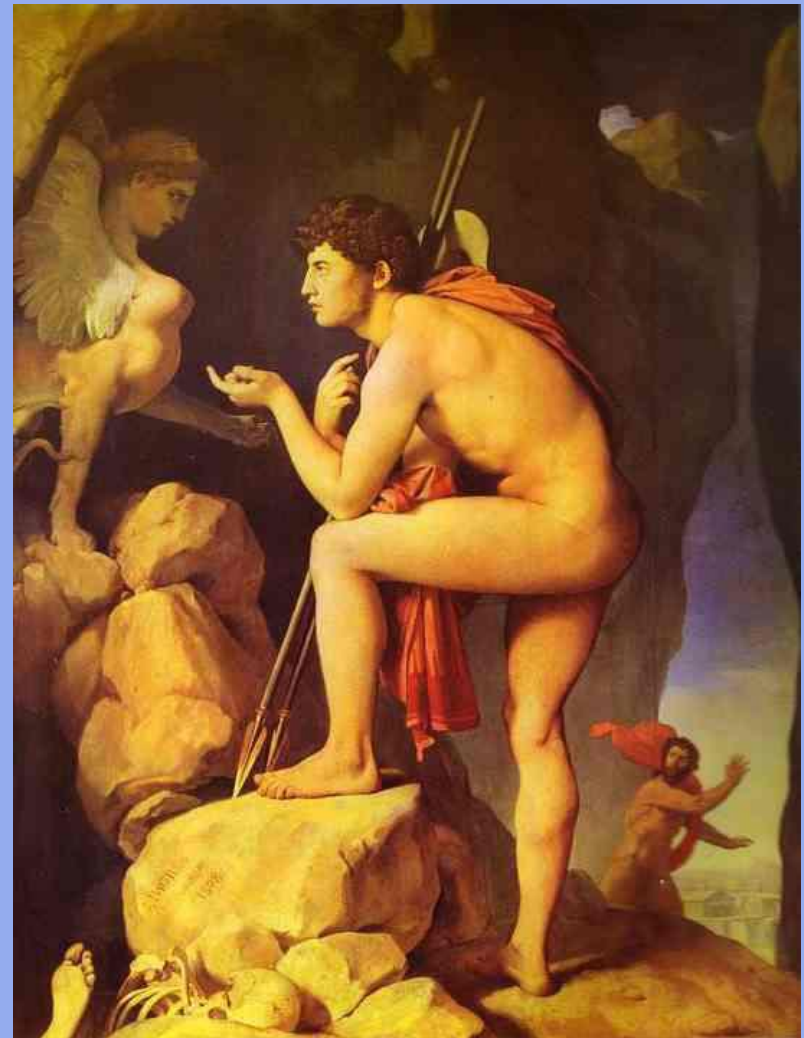
'Meeting A Sphinx'- What Culture is.



Decoding J.-A.-D. Ingres'
"The Sphinx & Oedipus"
(France, 1826):

Not so long ago culture was understood as an ideal, as exactly that which is *not* in the realm of everyday life.

"Mighty culture", however, seems to be very much bound to what plainly are: humans.





In Peoples & Bailey (2009)
culture is aptly described as:

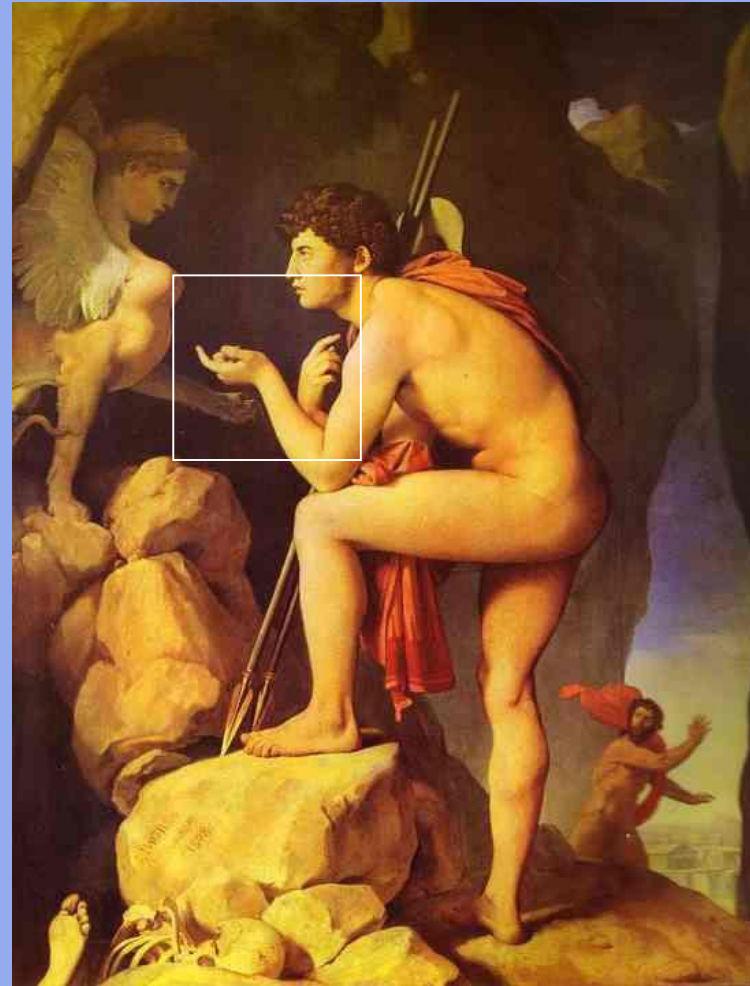
Learned

Shared

Symbolic

Integrated

Dynamic



Often initiation means crisis: the contact with a
formerly hidden culture, some radically new “insight”
-> the initiations South Africa, Australia, Papua-New
Guinea]

Ingres, 1826

Learned



'Enculturation'

The multi-faceted process by which a human learns all things necessary to become the member of a social group.

By this learning-process the cultural values, ideas and behaviour are handed over to the next generation, the important *accumulative* learning of mankind

'Born several times!'

Learned



Enculturation: learning one's own culture.

Cultural learning in traditional societies often took the form of **initiations** during different life phases (concept of being re-born/dying multiply!)



[“White” in many cultures signifies the paleness of the deceased, is a colour bound to mourning & death. - Like in the case of Oedipus, the path for the initiates to full humanness implies the encounter with a devouring monster that kills but also possesses the keys to a new (understanding of) life, to new powers whose use must be practiced. Initiations South Africa, Australia, Papua-New Guinea

Learned



- C.: the complex adaptive strategy of the species Homo.
- C.: shapes human perceptions, emotions, acting.
- C.: defines ways to satisfy essential needs in a social acceptable way.
- C.: is accumulative & trans-generational.

[Note: The inventory of culture can be constantly *widened*. Theoretically behaviour can be changed *short-term*. It is a powerful tool for mankind, compared to the animal kingdom.]



Directed by Ang Lee, 1994

[“Eat/Trink,Man/Woman” seem to be *physiological* categories like few other.

However, it turns out that they are relative and culture-bound.

For all mankind eating is a first of all an expressive act.]



Shared



- C. forms a limited set of rules that influence what we think, feel or do ('cultural norms')
- Cultural norms must be shared/known by the members of a social group.
- This allows it to synchronize the actions of the individuals during satisfying basic needs as a group.

[Subculture:
social group with a full set of behavioural norms within a larger community that still shares some of the latter collective ideals and norms.

Gender: Masculine, feminine etc. in the social sense of roles that are not necessarily congruent with the biological sexes.

Native American Two Spirit people
(Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Two-spirit>).



Zuñi, New Mexico
(<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2010/oct/11/two-spirit-people-north-america>)

Symbolic



Symbols can be either material...



..or immaterial (e.g. a gesture).

? Symbol:

"Swiss"

- Everything that can express another thing (creating a *meaning*).
- The picked symbol can be random, even subversive. But it must be 'readable' by the members of the social group.
- Not only material emblems symbolize culture but also how we stand, how we dance or speak, whom we marry, how we deal with criminals, how we act in nature, and so forth.
- A symbol-free zone therefore does not exist.
- [A typical symbolic system transporting meaning is: language]



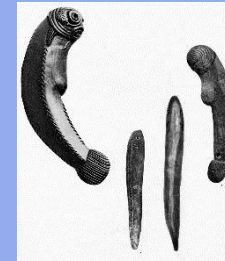
[Symbols are "energy-loaded" & always in a flux: Identical symbols can be used for expressing contrastive messages. Groups can rival in their appropriation].

Integrated Dynamic

[See how in Easter Island's past, production and environment and religion were constantly influencing one another, with each factor working "bi-directionally".]



The case of Rapa Nui (Easter Island)



Fish (wood)

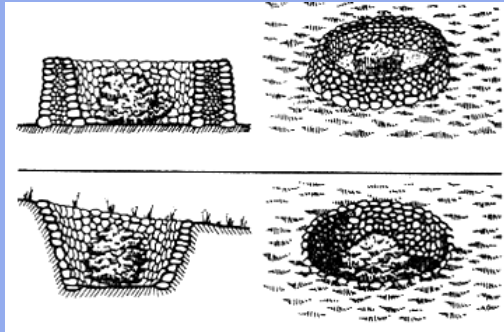


Hunger as a cultural feature.
An ancestor (wood): overly skinny

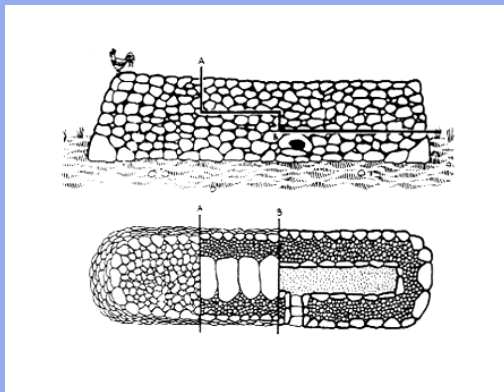
Rapa Nui's initial "aristocratic" phase.

Initially a chiefly society developed on Rapa Nui. The limited tracts of suited for planting & over-exploitation soon led to competition for the remaining resources. With wood becoming rare (precious) soon, boatbuilding was abandoned. No more emigrating, no more high-sea fishing. Elites monopolized highly rated-resources (marine protein, wood, prized stone, pearl-shell, feathers etc.)

Integrated Dynamic



Garden enclosures (*manava*)



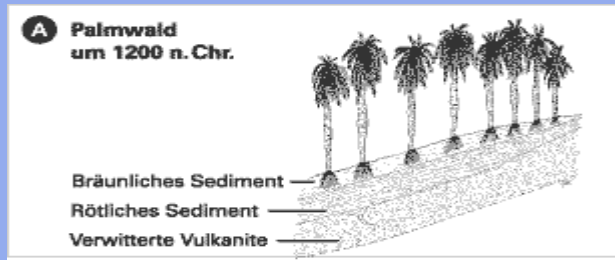
Chicken house, *hare moa*



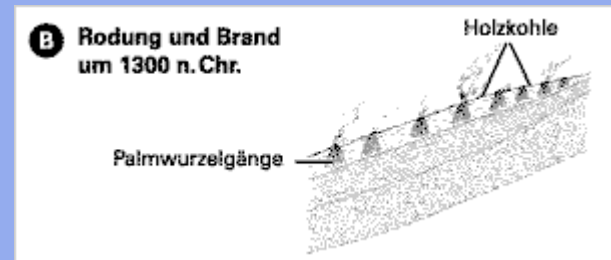
Statues (*moai*) are erected on ceremonial platform (*ahu*) to boost a groups *mana* ("prestige", spiritual & worldly power).

[Easter island's culture responds to the situation: technical measures are taken to protect plants form excessive evaporation (*manava*); massive chicken pen to discourage animal theft (*hare moai*). Some more symbolic efforts (*moae*) have a negative material effect > The few trees left are consumed in the transport of the figures or are destroyed during raids on rival groups.]

Integrated Dynamic



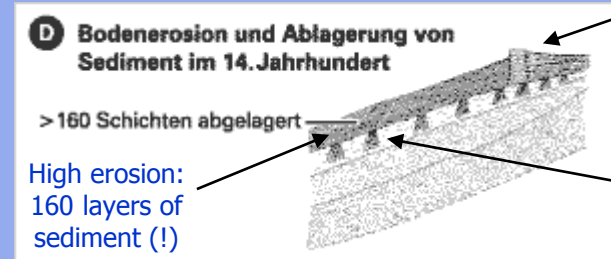
1200 AD - pristine palm tree forests



1300 AD: Economical intensification > clearances by using fire; the ashes = fertilizer (good yields).



1300 AD: Erosion & evaporation increases. Yields drop. A socio-religious way to intensify intensification production is chosen > ceremonial architecture.



Late 14th century: soil deterioration: 160 sediment layers!

[Efforts began to also use the sloping area. The result were landslides (erosion) that rather buried the scarce fertile soil at the valley bottom, suddenly worsening the nutritional situation. Both the agricultural and the religious response fail!]

Integrated Dynamic



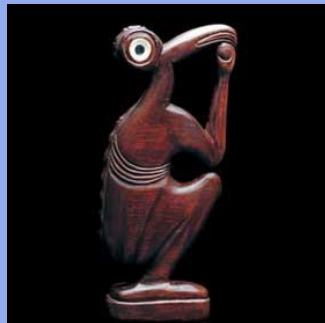
[Groups on the islands directly clash in competition for the very limited resources. Constant social unrest disrupts all possible economic, religious, social countermeasures to curb hunger on the small island. Island-wide violence & destruction. The aristocratic society implodes. Warriors rule. People retreat to protective caves. Also a shift in spirituality: Birdman cult]



Iconoclasm: *moae* tumbled



Life in volcanic caves



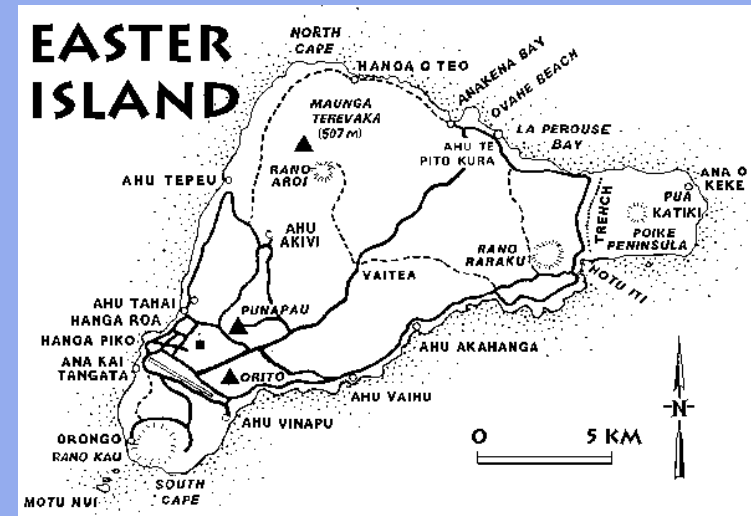
'Birdman-cult'



Motu Nui Isl.

Later 'warrior' phase

With the bird-egg race to the island Motu Nui a solution is found to establish political dominance every year anew, considering all fractions.



PART C – RESEARCH HISTORY

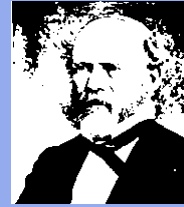
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(1) The shackles of ethnocentrism.

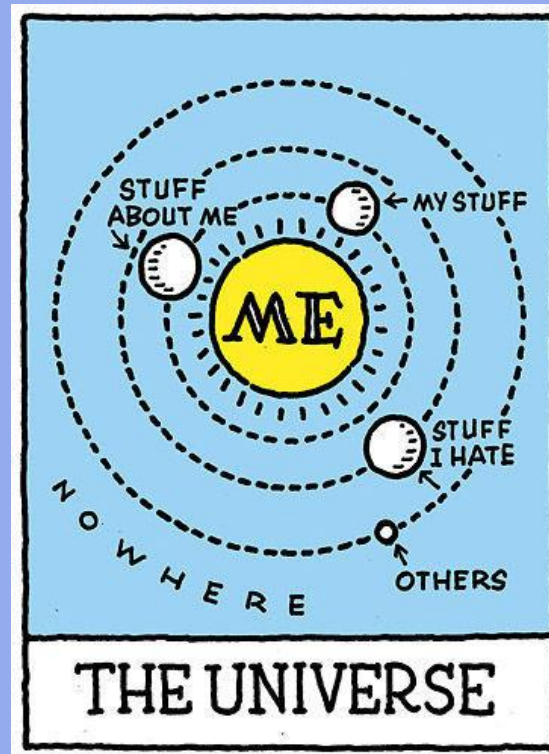
(2) Famous forerunners.

(3) Milestones in cultural anthropological thought (basic research history)

Research History

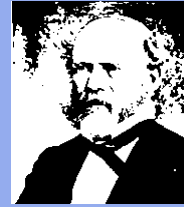


Ethnocentrism is the idea of a cultural group of being “the universal measure, of representing the only legitimate way of existing. It is wide-spread among groups, small or big.



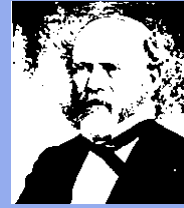
Getting to know the Others challenges this firm view.

Research History



The widening horizon has it that the idea of being the “one & only” dissolves. by itself. Mobility: can lead to more acceptance or even more acute ethnocentrism.

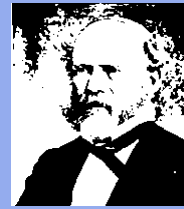




Ethnocentrism - Some characteristics

- > E: The point of interest is not who the 'Others' themselves are, but how they differ from the own mode of existence.
- > Classical E is a often an outer judgement ("observation-based"). Sometimes even entirely "evidence-free": a preconception that does not need actual contact with what is out there (-> prejudice).
- > E. people typically think that dialogue is not necessary to reach to final conclusions about the Other (trusting solely their own reasoning).
- > E. people tend to see E. as 'natural' (in the sense of correct/good!)

Research History



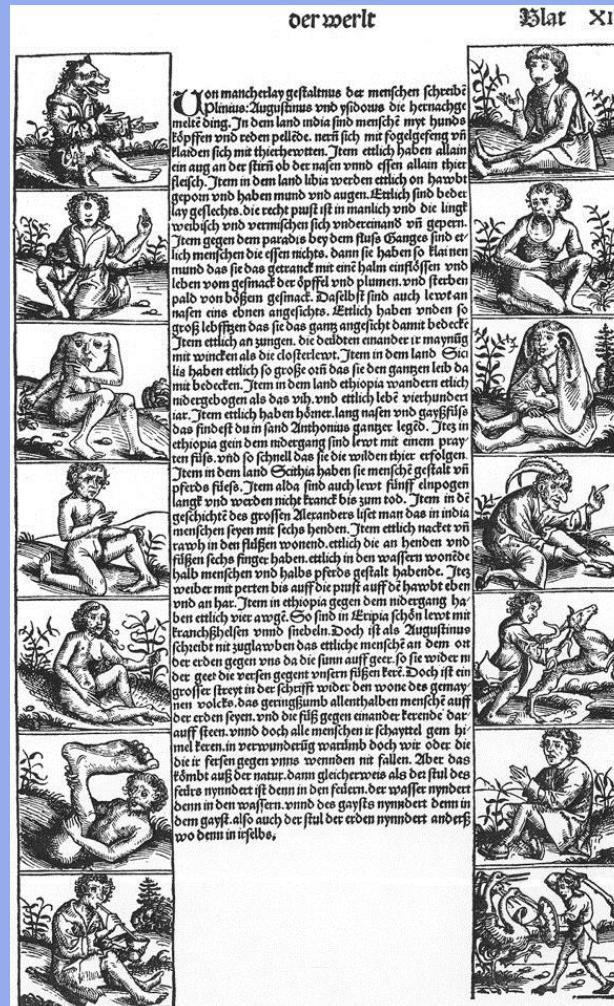
Example

'A Look at the Periphery' - Cartography as the Expression of the Ethnocentric World View

Textual reports of "people far away" are cast into "memes".

These are then used as visual codes in many of the media media of the time.

[Note: Globes & maps back then often described what was not really known].

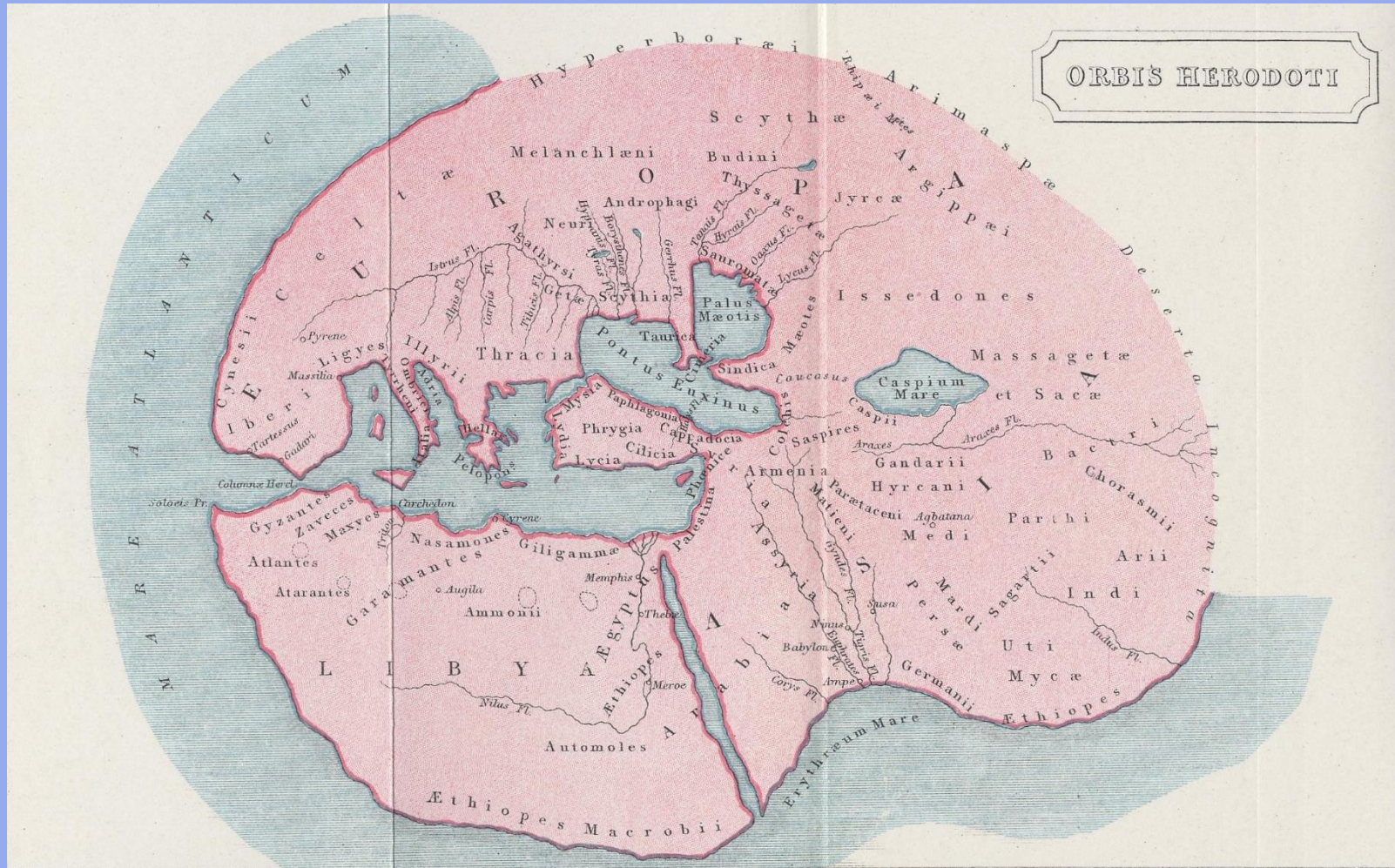
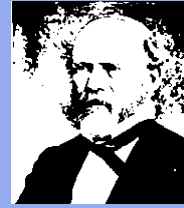


Nuremberg Chronical (Schedel'sche Weltchronik), 1493; a wild mix of fancy & ethnographic fact.

[Logic of it is: "What is marginal must be less perfect than at the middle".

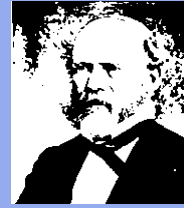
This thinking coloured people negatively who just appeared at the (own) horizon. On our round planet there is not anything like a real centre. - If anything, then cartography proved exactly this.]

Research History



The world according to Herodotus (484-425). [Note: this is not merely an erroneous image of Greeks & their surrounding. This was the *entire planet*.]

Research History



Othering is often to the visual code.

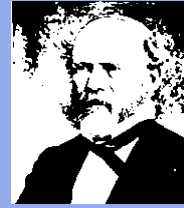
Much of the idea “being of the same kind” in past times depended on shared symbols like clothing, tools & habits. To a degree that not displaying the expected cultural inventory made it difficult for early European travellers to perceive certain groups they came in touch with as human at all (e.g. the Khoisan of S. Africa).

During the time of Ancient Greek the term 'strangers' referred in fact to the neighbouring cultures of the Mediterranean/Near East, not so much differing in *phenotype*, but in their language & costumes.

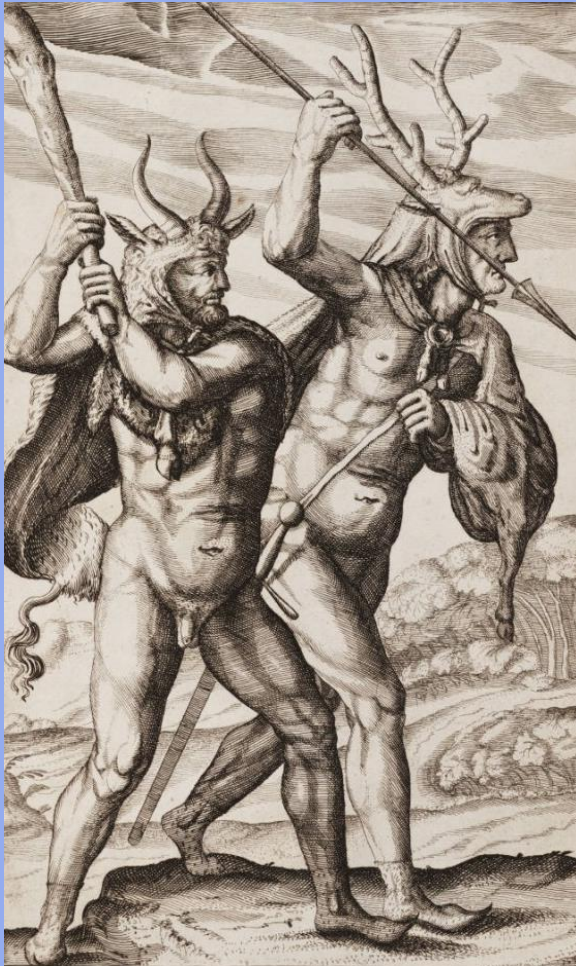


[In this depiction (for us) Diomedes of the Greek (left) is not so much different from Aeneas, member of an antagonist society, the people of Troy.]

Research History



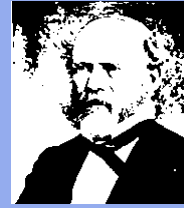
Rome and the Germans



[Note that this display of nakedness and “animalic attributes” (wearing a fur or feathers) is constitutive for the stereotype of the natives of the New World - > Patagonian Giants]

Philip Clüver's
Germania Antiqua
(1616)

Research History



Excursus:

“Putting natives on the map” – The inherent problem of old cartography.

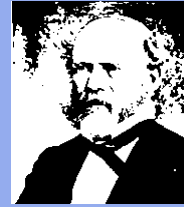


The OT (“Orbis Terrarum”) type of map; Cartographic “North” = Jerusalem)

The 3 continents - settled according to Christian believe each by offspring of Noah each (his sons Sem, Ham & Japhet) are surrounded by the “Okeanos”.

[The ocean: a ring or strip rather; there was no actual room to accommodate transoceanic “newcomers”. And if: they automatically figured at the extreme periphery - at a place inhabited long time by monstrous creatures of imagination).]

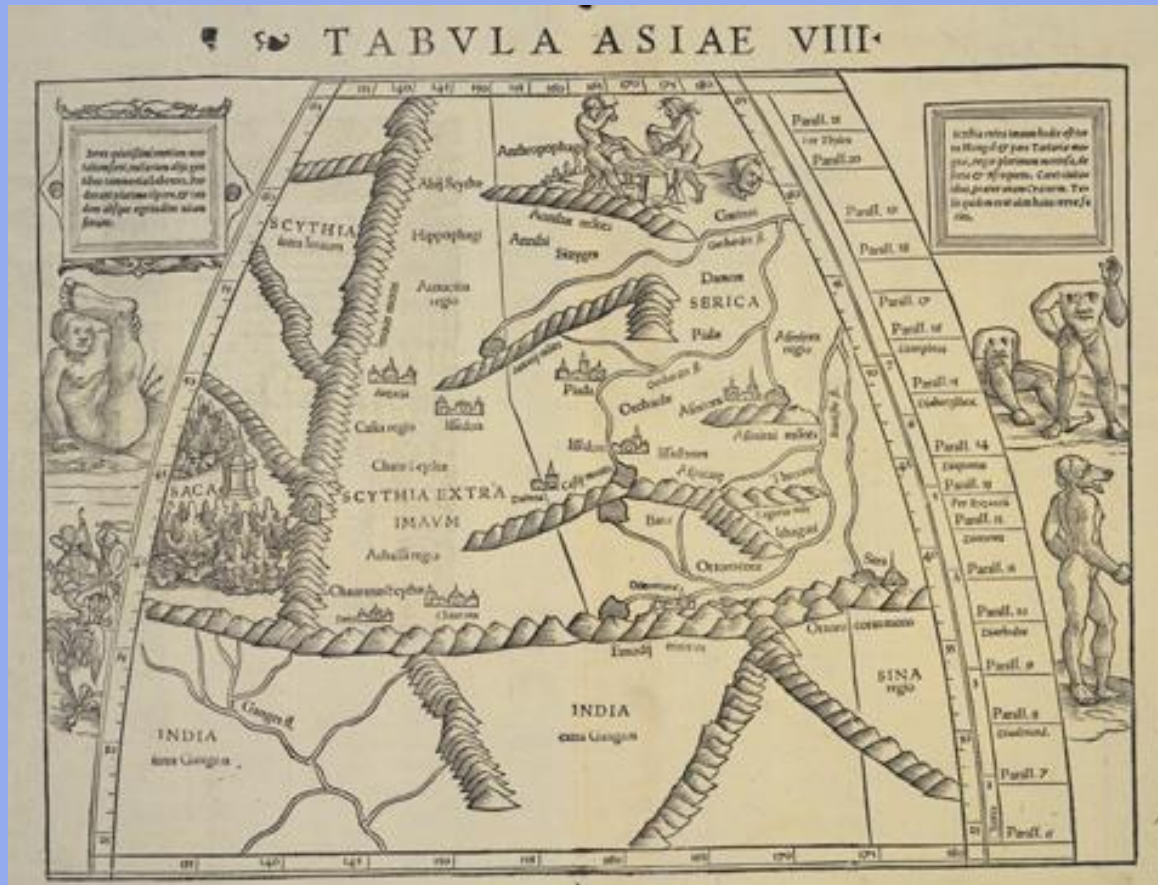
Research History



Excursus:

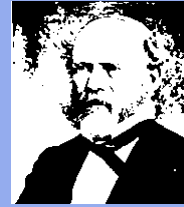
“Putting natives on the map” – The inherent problem of old cartography.

The periphery: inhabited already by “anti-human memes” before ethnographic observations were entered.



Woodcut map *Tabula Asiae VIII* by Sebastian Münster, Basel, 1540;

Research History



Excursus:

“Putting natives on the map” – The inherent problem of old cartography.

As soon as the major oceans had been crossed, the fantastic creatures started “settling” the landmasses just discovered.

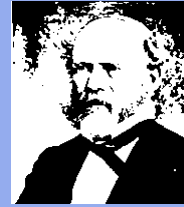


[Japan (Cipangu) is put approx. where California is.

The only cultural item signifying the New World in this map of 1550: Relics of man-eating which confirm a long held-tenant of “non-humanness” at a distance of the Mediterranean.]

Map of America, Sebastian Münster, Basel, 1550;

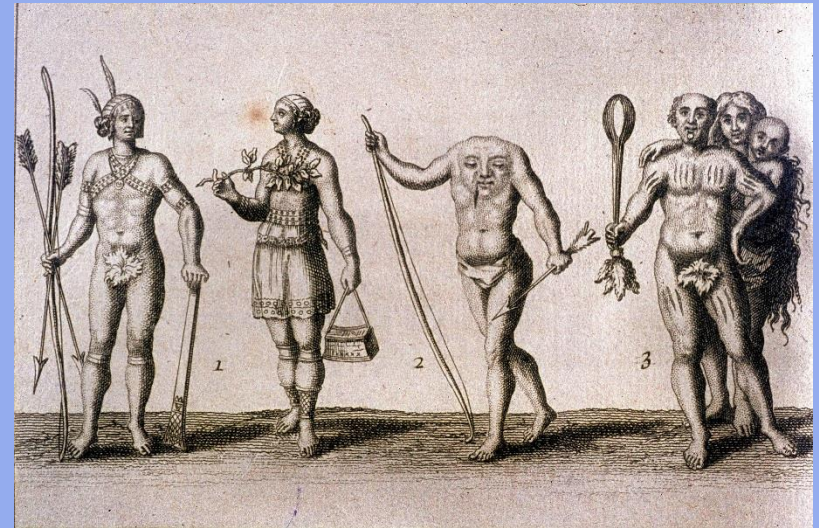
Research History



Patagonian "Giants" – Real or hallucination according to old visual codes for faraway areas?



"Amerikaner", 1796, Leipzig



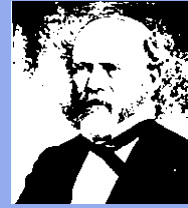
Lafitau, P. (1724). Caribs of the Antilles male & female, Acephali from South America, Brazilians

[Some details = ethnographically accurate]

<http://www.messagetoeagle.com/mystery-of-the-patagonian-giants-europes-lost-race-from-the-land-of-the-bigfeet/>

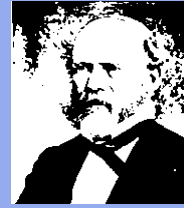
A tenacious "meme"

Research History



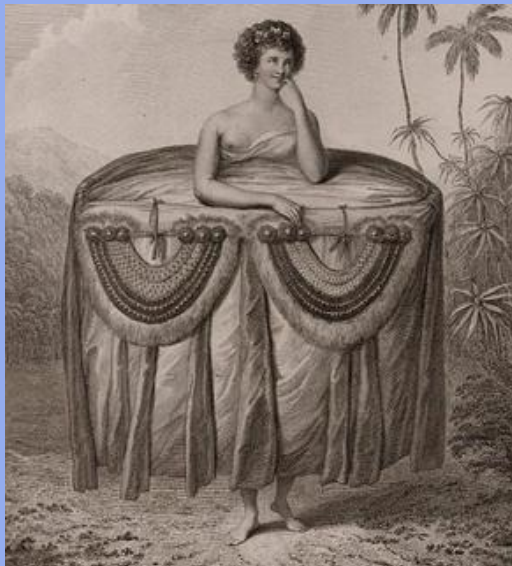
Patagonians: Selk'nam, of Terra del Fuego. End of 19th cent. (Note the "archaic attribute" of using untailed fur).

Research History



Xenophobia: Aversive reaction in case a 'stranger' comes to live among one's own group.

Hardly better romantizism & exoticism: Primarily projecting own desires on ethnographic populations.



[‘The noble savage’ - A projection of the European Rich.

The Madam Pompadour-like rendering of an indigenous of Tahiti: mainly concerned with the possibility & implications of a liberal exposure of the body.

The 2 semi-circle ornaments are pectorals of Tahitian (male) high-priests.

A female presenting *taumi* fixed on a roll of bark cloth
Engraving in John Webber, Cook's Third Travel 1776-80



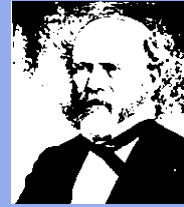
A warrior's gorget, *taumi*

[Exoticism This attitude not seldom mixes admiration with sentimentality and patronizing.

Satisfying mainly own needs, it is a ethnocentric consumption of another ethnic group.

The pressure of expectations & media can be so high that it forces indigenous groups to abandon their genuine life-style in order to conform with/enact the Westerners' idyll.]

Research History

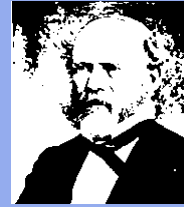


Watching alone will always distort the facts & create distance.



Cultural anthropological 'rule-of-thumb': Highlight always the **context**. You need a **dialogue**. Take part in **daily life**.

Research History



Cross-cultural contacts happened on a larger scale since the mid 15th century why is cultural anthropology such a young discipline then?

[1. Age of Discovery (Mid 15th century)

Experience of a marked cultural difference. A medial market emerges.

Commodification & circulation of authentic artefacts, natural species and partly persons among elites. > Any removal of the exotic of these items during this time would have meant 'deflation', and a tremendous loss of prestige for the ones returning home. Wild stories are esteemed.

2. Age of Enlightenment (Mid – End 18th century)

Search for socio-political idylls > The idealization did nothing for the real understanding of the visited cultures.

3. Classical colonialism (18th-19th century)

Natives together with their territories become itself exploitable.

In all of colonialism forced change is the idea. Civilization perceived as a merciful act of salvage from 'primitive life'). > No impetus to protect or study the indigenous groups.

4. Late 19th century

Only after the idea of evolutionism late in the century:

Pre-industrial societies were now identified as representatives of past developmental stages.

Due to this turn the > academic interest in the study especially of the so-called 'primordial groups' became relevant.

This insight propelled research greatly during the late 19th beginning, early 20th century, at a time when indigenous life had been reduced for almost 500 years. (President Trudeau's apology vis-à-vis native Canadian communities just days ago.)]

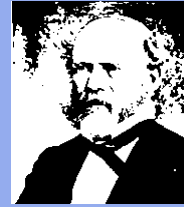
PART C – RESEARCH HISTORY

(1) The shackles of ethnocentrism.

(2) Famous forerunners.

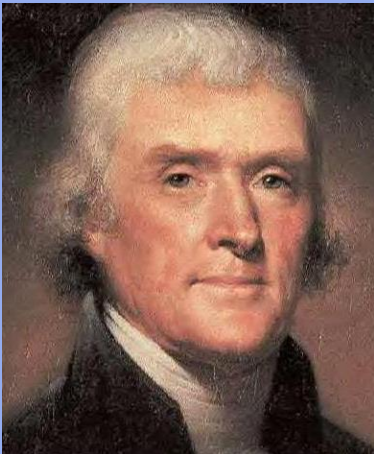
(3) Milestones in cultural anthropological thought: Research history basics)

Research History



(2) Famous forerunners.

Thomas Jefferson
(1743 – 1826),
3rd President of the US

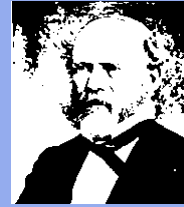


Spectacular: T. Jefferson approached the native Indian burial mounds in Virginia by digging cross-sections. He thereby realized the diachronic nature of deposition layers.

Strata - >“The Discovery of the Archaeological Depth”.

[Such “periodization” per se went counter the theology of that time that had so much impacted attitudes towards the newly-encountered indigenous peoples as simply “sinful souls condemned by God live the life of beasts” or peoples that accidentally be spared by the Biblical Flood.

Finding stratification - changes of the artefacts, especially if they had developed one out of the other – implied that the shaping of their cultures had taken several thousands of years more than theologists thought.]



(2) Famous forerunners.

Joseph-François Lafitau
(1681-1746)



Jesuit, 1711 sent to Canada, Mohawk Territory
published *Mœurs des Sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*,
1724

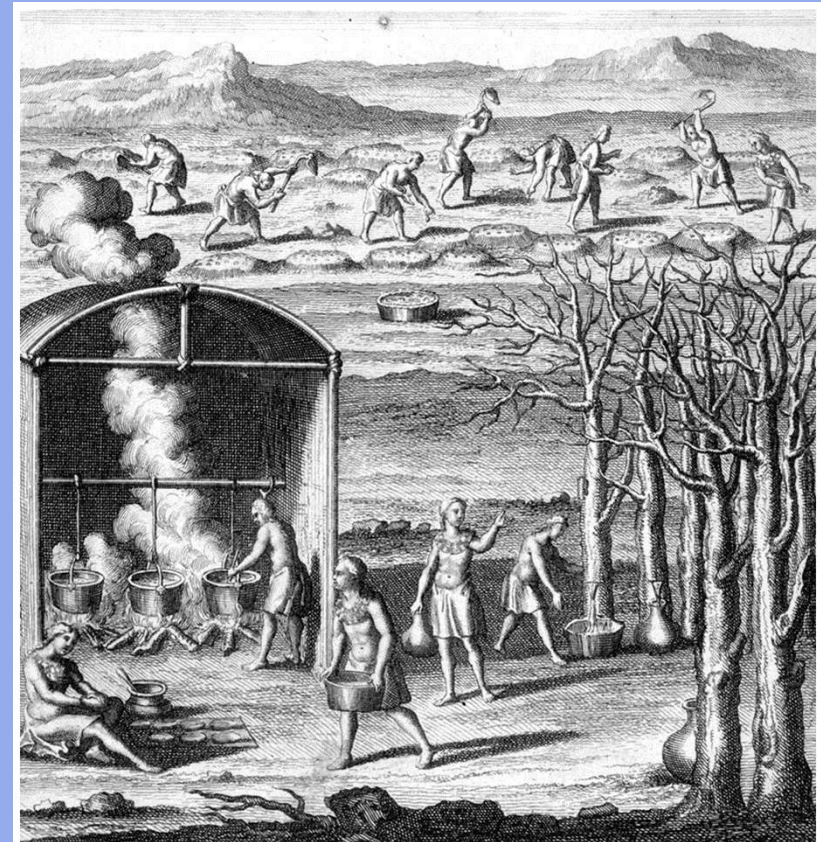


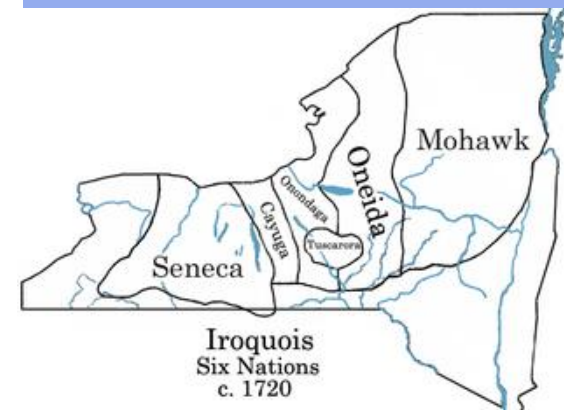
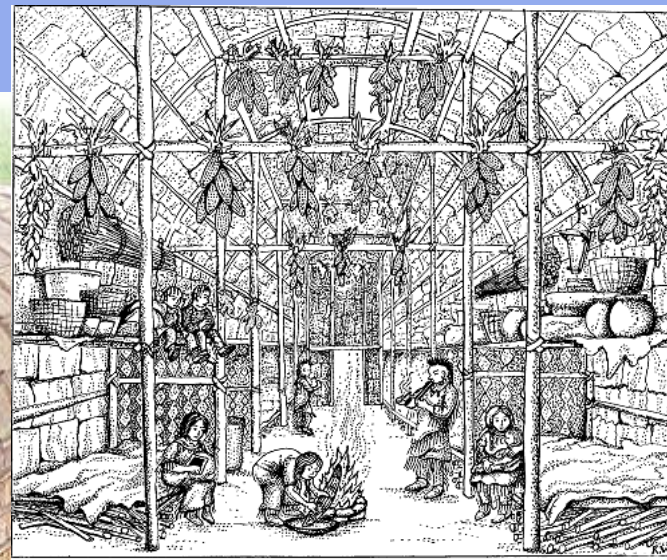
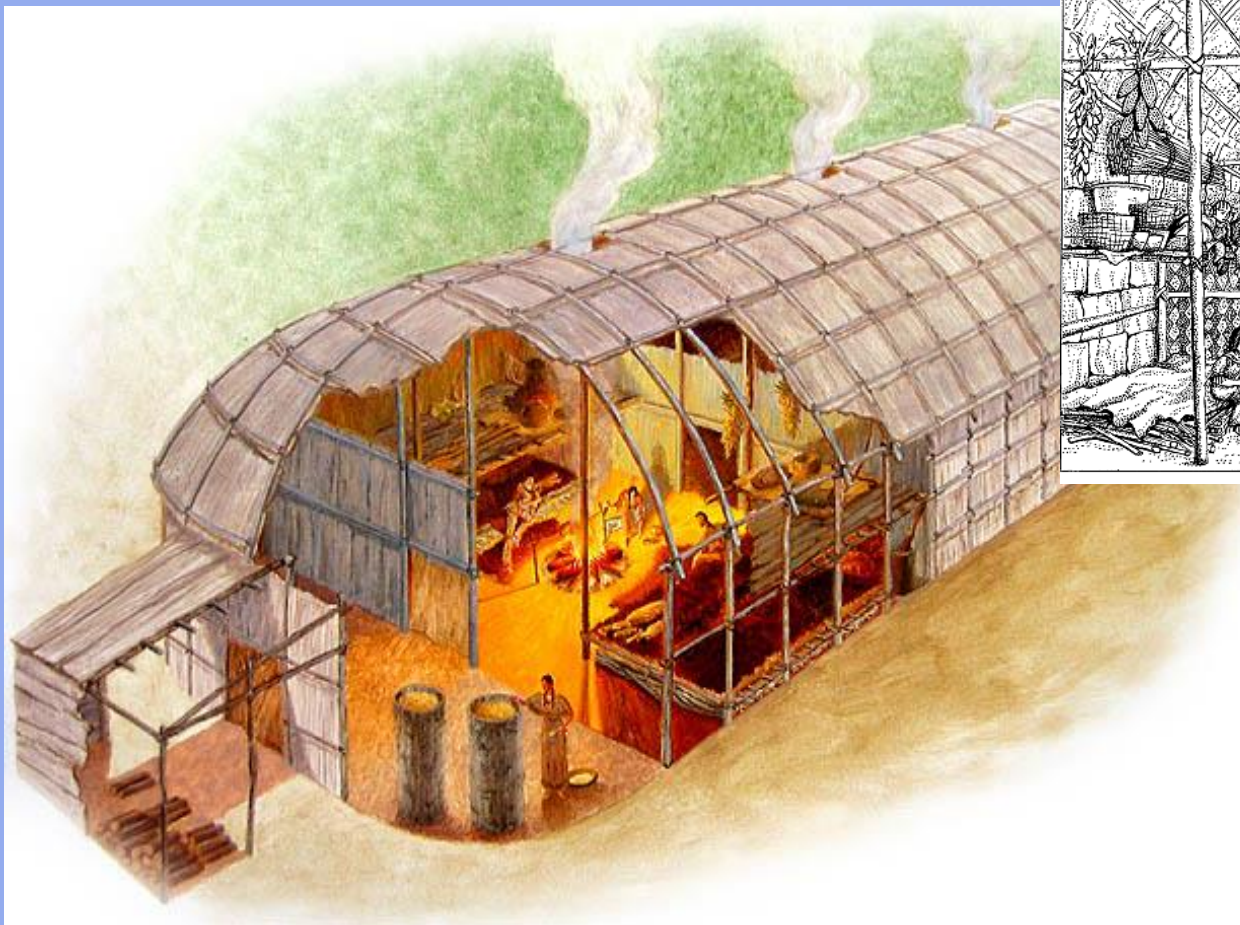
Figure 1.3 Canadian Iroquois Women Making Maple Sugar, from Joseph- François Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains* (1724)
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
Chapter 1, *Through Women's Eyes*, Third Edition
Copyright © 2012 by Bedford/St. Martin's
Page 39

[In this climate it was exactly a clergy man who freed ethnology. Based on observations made while living among the Native Americans, he put the locals at equal foot with was the cultural ideal for Westerner back then: the ancient Greeks. JFL had found striking similarities in with Iroquois' behaviour. This of course needed explanation. Explanation of that kind are in fact ethnological reasoning (= the comparison, how distant peoples relate to one another).

Research History

Iroquois/ *Haudenosaunee*

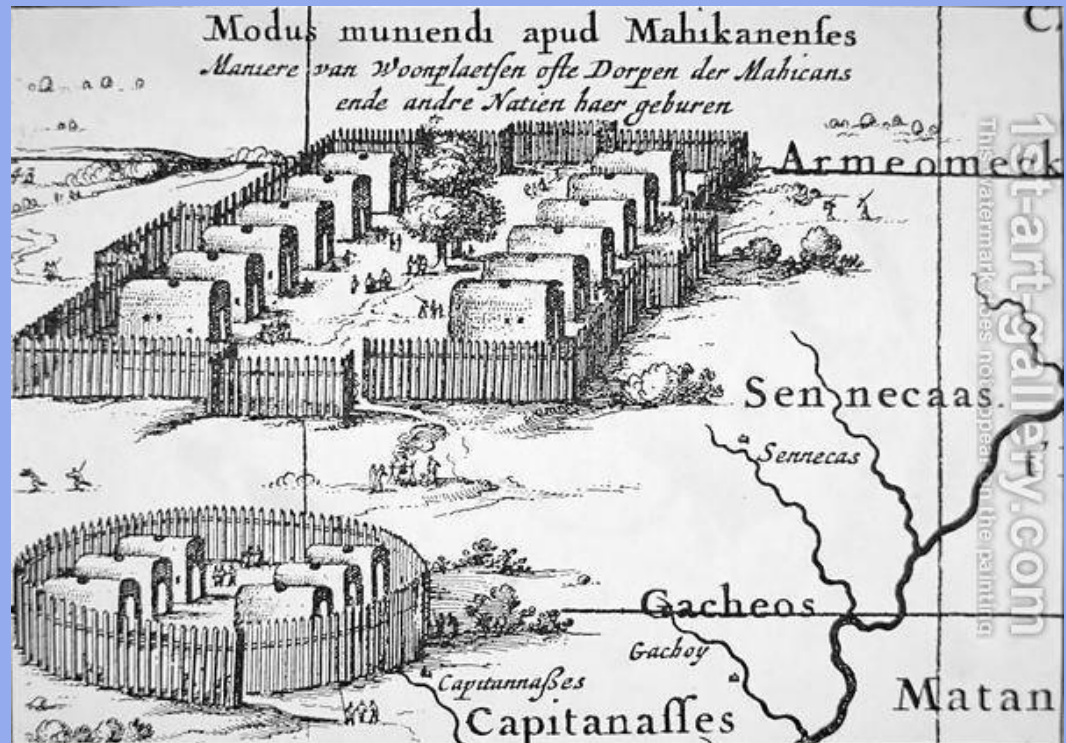
The basic layout of the longhouse is reflected in the structure of Haudenosaunee territoriality also (e.g. Seneca: 'Keepers of the Western Gate', Mohawk: 'Keepers of the Eastern Gate'). Unanimity & debate rule in decision-making from from the level of the individual household hearth up to the confederal assembly (council fire)



Research History



Ethnographic Example
Iroquois/ Haudenosaunee



Research History

Ethnographic Example **Iroquois/ Haudenosaunee**



The discursive culture of the 'People of the Longhouse' made a big impression upon immigrants that had just fled European absolutism and watched out for alternatives of social organization. They found the inclusive, consensual mode of decision-making by the Iroquois impressive. The example of the Federal Six Nations has influenced U.S. parliamentary culture & the U.S. constitution in turn political life in modern Europe.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algonquian_Confederacy_of_the_Quinnipiac_Tribal_Council
<http://www.nytimes.com/1987/06/28/us/iroquois-constitution-a-forerunner-to-colonists-democratic-principles.html>



A *sachem* (paramount chief) at a *maweomi* (central council fire) holding a *wampun*



Six Nations Iroquois Chiefs reading *wampums*, 1871



PART C – RESEARCH HISTORY

(1) The shackles of ethnocentrism.

(2) Famous forerunners.

(3) Milestones in cultural anthropological thought: Research history basics)

- For the exam scan the presentation for information that tells you why some frequent assumptions about indigenous groups ("sticking to the their way of living since thousands of years", "knowing no history", "a totally different mind", "showing some old-egyptian traits", "heirs of a sunken continent's civilization") have a root that is problematic.
- Evidence for the fact that we have been one mankind always.
- Why it is so important that researchers not only study indigenous people but to live with them side by side (Malinowski)

Research History



Unilineal Evolutionism, UK

[Hutton & Lyell (geology) and Charles Darwin (zoology) discovered that the past was much longer than anyone had assumed. - Many things seemingly developed over a long time one out of the other. These scholars discovered development & historical depth

Unilineal: A development of one out of the other. Every culture is thought to take exactly the same series of steps.]

Edward B. Tylor (UK)



1832-1917

Fieldwork in Mexico, 1865

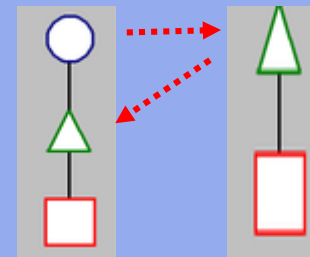
He challenges the idea of the assumed invariance (or even degeneration) of the culture of natives groups.

Tylor concludes that "like children" *are* changing but simply lagging much behind (hardly a more pleasing view!).

Because of the "delay" in the development, he thinks, native life could serve as a window into the past of the own nation.

"Civilization at the highest": Technically advanced Victorian Age Britain

Unknown earlier stage of Britain. Can be inferred via survivals.



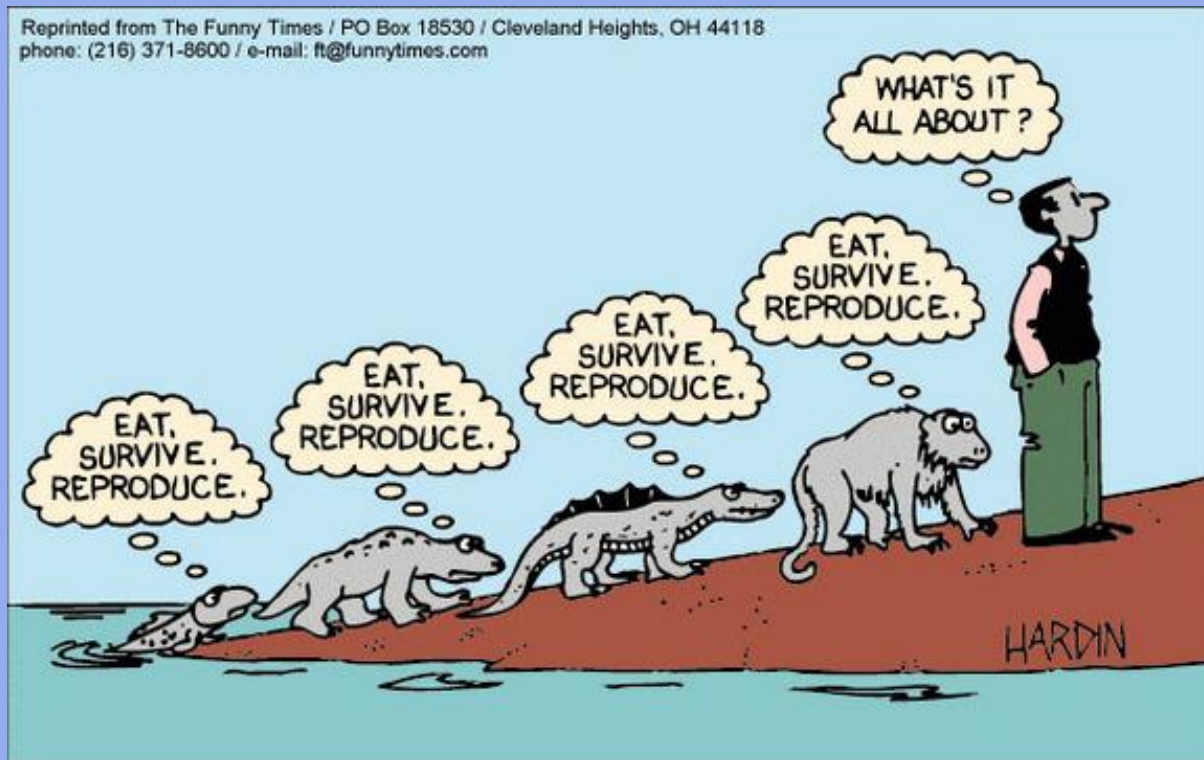
Native groups make it easier to interpret survivals.

Research History

Unilineal Evolutionism



[Hutton & Lyell (geology) and Charles Darwin (zoology) discovered that the past was much longer than anyone had assumed. - Many things seemingly developed over a long time one out of the other. These scholars discovered the slow becoming of things: historical depth.]



Unilineal = Every entity is thought to take exactly the same series of developmental steps.

Research History



Unilineal Evolutionism

Taylor's famous concept of the "Survival":

The inventory of even modern cultures carries along outdated elements ("survivals"). They can be traced back to an existence when these odd "folklore elements" held a central place and played a vital role.

(Evolution-style tracing back of a number of those "survivals" was thought to allow a reconstruction of a past cultural phase).



[Halloween on the one hand is a survival. On the other hand all through its history it has been re-charged with the most recent meanings, effects, practice.]

Research History



Unilineal Evolutionism

E. B. Tylor is known to have 1. identified animism. He also tried to explain how magic “worked”.

Animism: a metaphysic concept that goes without gods. It conceives all things around as being animated (from Latin *anima* – 'soul').

In 1871 EBT published *Primitive Culture*:

Studying survivals he claimed the following unilineal stage model for the evolution of the cultures on the planet:

- **Monotheism**
- **Polytheism**
- **Animism**

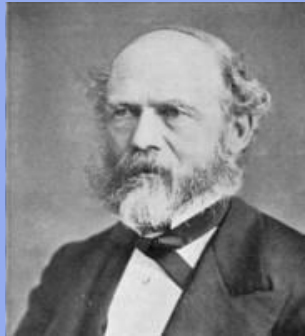
[Based on his discovery of the phenomenon on animism (historically & globally) Tylor was able to create the 1. cultural application of evolutionist thinking. Others would later take the survival concept to do the same with social structure, technology, art etc.

Later the scientists learned that evolution had occurred everywhere, but that it had taken different steps and has had different time-scales at different places -> modern concept of multi-lineal evolution. - It became also doubtful whether necessarily Western life-style was necessarily the most complex. Instead of a development towards a civilizatory climax some therefore proposed to think “development” rather in terms of an (infinite) side-ways transition].

Research History



Unilineal Evolutionism, U.S.



Lewis H. Morgan
(1818-1881)

Lewis Henry Morgan (US) – Applies evolutionism to social systems. Groundbreaking work.

[Grew up on Cayuga land; studied law

1842: Inspired by Lafiteau he founded with his friends a loge the 'Grand Order of the Iroquois' which imitated Native American life. Thence his ethnological interest.

New York State: Seneca legal campaign against an intrusive real estate company.

This brought him to studying indigenous family ties in greater detail, the possession of land etc. A key event was when he ran into a Seneca youth in a library: E. S. Parker (*Ha-sa-ne-an-da*). LHMs enthusiasm for the Iroquois became suddenly fact-based.

Becomes activist. "New confederacy of the Iroquois" > Tonawanda Reservation created.

Lewis H. Morgan was rewarded the Indian name *Tayadaowuhkuh*, meaning 'Builder of Bridges' (liminal!)

Field-research with Ely S. Parker. Studying the relationship terms used by the Winnebago, Crow, Yankton, Kaw, Blackfeet, Omaha.]



Ely S. Parker, Seneca
(1828-1895)

Research History

Unilineal Evolutionism, U.S.



Morgan made a similarly huge discovery like Tylor. He identified an unknown **kinship system** in operation among the Iroquois (go to the **EXCURSUS #1** below on kinship terms & descent)



©Jose Antonio Peas

PANE CuAnthroArchaeologists

Research History

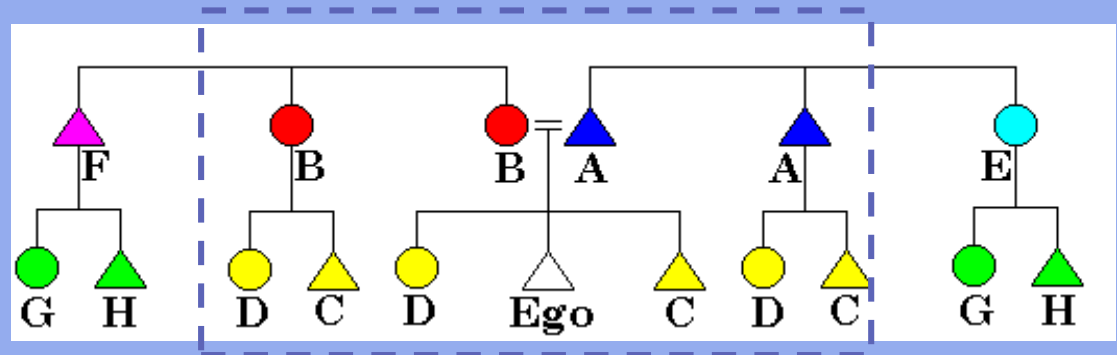
Unilineal Evolutionism, U.S.



Iroquois kinship system



Seneca Dance



[©University of Manitoba]

[The **Iroquois system** favours the building of larger social aggregations like lineages and clans.

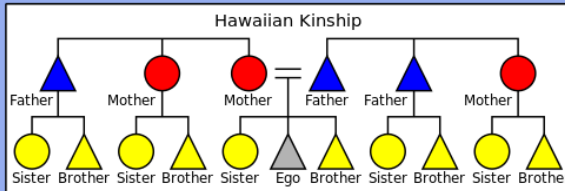
- Ego is embedded in a stable social net possessing several parents and siblings (together with all behavioural reciprocities).
- The marriage of the 'distant' cousins is encouraged (serves to enlarge the group).

It is well fit for cooperating, co-resident groups of some size. Use is made of the strong bond among siblings.]

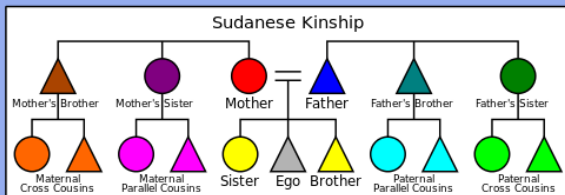
Research History



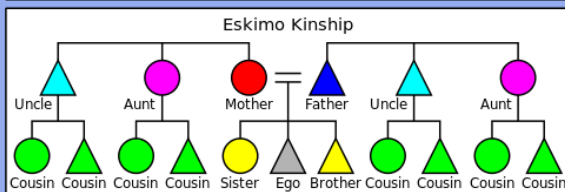
Using queries L. H. Morgan found out there existed only 6 systems world-wide. He claimed for them evolutionary stages.



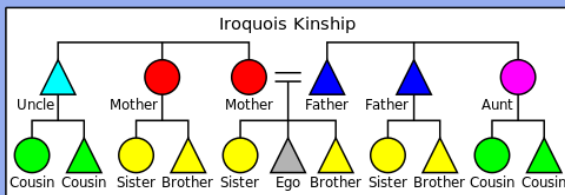
Classificatory; grouping gender & gen.
 > **co-working groups**; Pacific Area; 1/3.



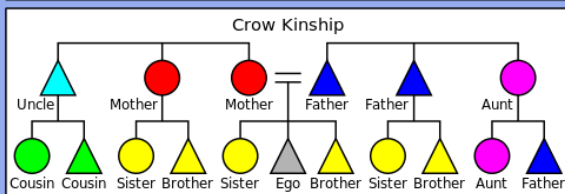
Descriptive; individualized;
 > **complex, stratified societies**; Afr., Latin, Anglo, Turkey, Balkans, China;



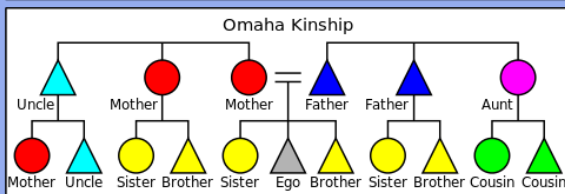
Descriptive/classificatory; soz. distance, lineal/collateral relatives;
 > **small, mobile groups**; Europe, America, !Kung, Inuit; 1/10.



Descriptive/classificatory; distinguishes same sex/cross sex; parallel cousins are "brother & sister", cross-cousins are not (encouraging remoter marriage);
 > **larger units based on relationship** (e.g. clans)



Descriptive (mother-side), classificatory (father-side); distinguishes sex, but generation only on the motherside;
 > **unilineal groups (matrilineal) clans** Hopi, Navaho, Crow



Descriptive (father-side), classificatory (mother-side); distinguishes sex, but generation only on the fatherside);
 > **unilineal groups (patrilineal) clans** Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Papua, Nigeria

Research History

Unilineal Evolutionism, U.S.



Lewis H. Morgan
(1818-1881)



LHM's book *Ancient Society*
(1877)

Main topics: kinship-systems,
property relations,
systems of governance.

Civilization (Inka, Corean,
Japanese, Chinese)

Cultural marker: alphabet.

Barbarism (Ancient Greece-
Inka, Aztecs, Semites, Indians-
Iroquois)

Cultural marker: agriculture, domestication of
animals, metal.

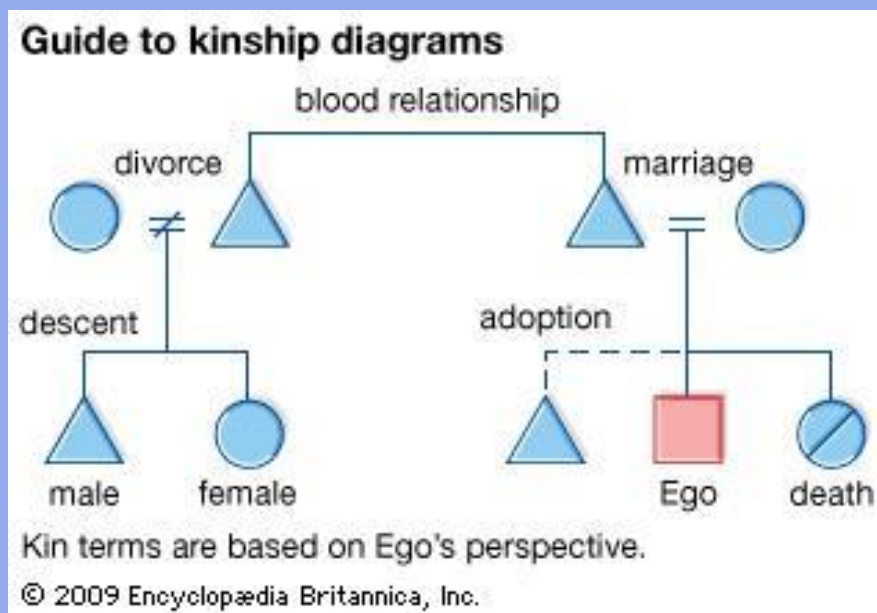
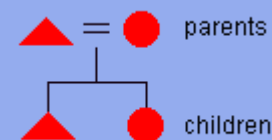
Savagery (Northwest Coast
Indians-Aborigines-Tropical
Foragers)

Cultural marker: bow, pottery

The discoveries of Tylor & Morgan created a 'hype' of studying past & present faraway groups. – This ignited cultural anthropology, although this has been in the main cursory research carried out in museums & books ("arm-chair" research). Their world-wide comparing (incl. many perished cultures) made single "ethno field-trips" pointless!

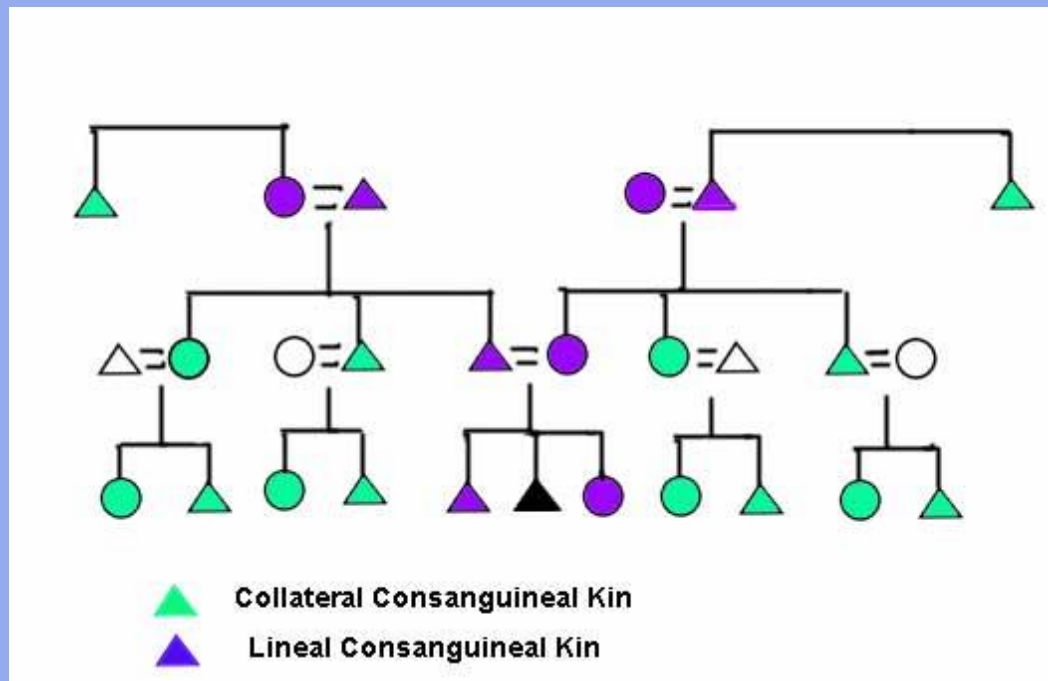
EXCURSUS #1

Useful Tool: Kinship symbols



[This structure will show you who owns what, who respects whom, who marries whom, who helps/avoids whom etc. Kinship is the very “matrix”! - Also for the learning of the social landscape by the visiting anthropologist. This “wiring” of the studied groups is so important that the alias for our discipline is *Social Anthropology*.]

EXCURSUS #1



Worldwide:

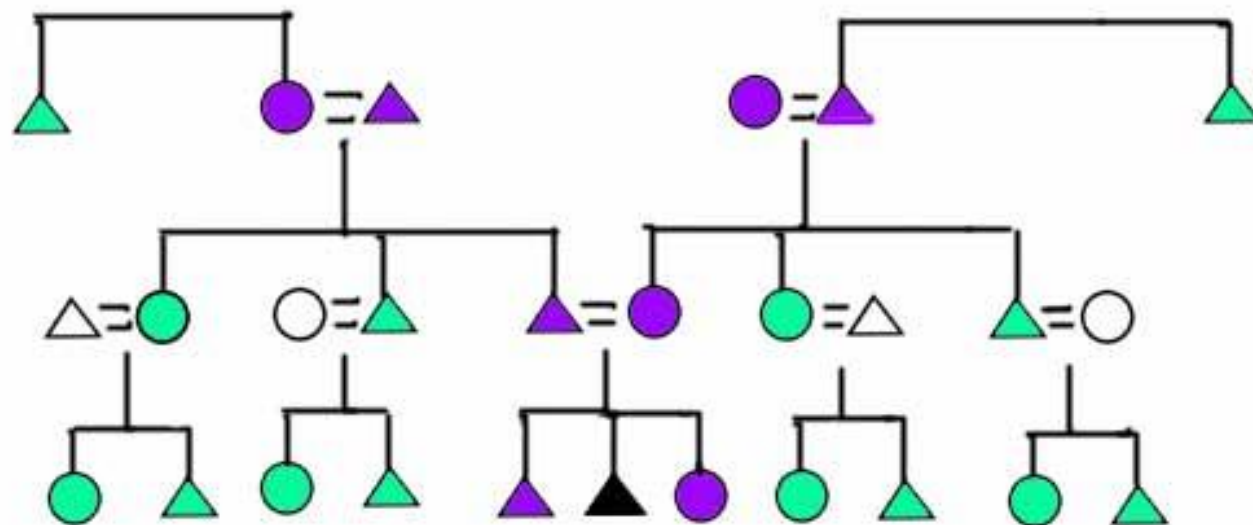
Often a clear difference is made between people born into one's group (consanguine relatives) and people that married into one's group (affinal relatives).

"Blood relatives" are often further divided into one's direct ancestors or off-spring and the ones of uncles & aunts.

EXCURSUS #1

Among your consanguine relatives (colours) you have:

Collateral relatives (green) - *Lineal* relatives (violet)



Collateral Consanguineal Kin



Lineal Consanguineal Kin

EXCURSUS #1

Classificatory & descriptive kinship

This is a *classificatory* term:

Cousin (engl.)

In a *descriptive* kinship system expressions would exist for each one of those (conveying precise information on the parental siblings' side & gender):

Father-brother-son

Father-brother-daughter

Mother-sister-son

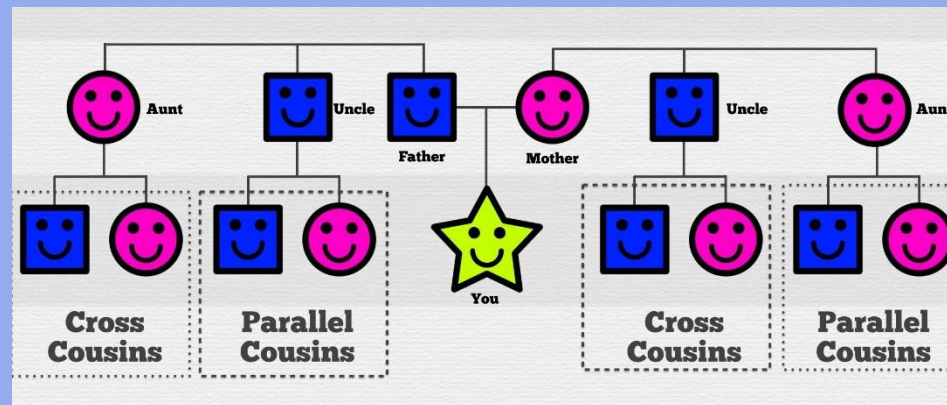
Mother-sister-daughter

Father-sister-son

Father-sister-daughter

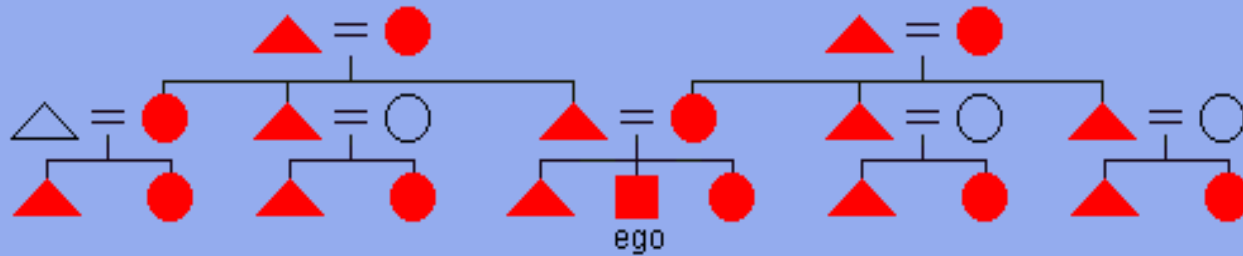
Mother-brother-son

Mother-brother-daughter



EXCURSUS #1

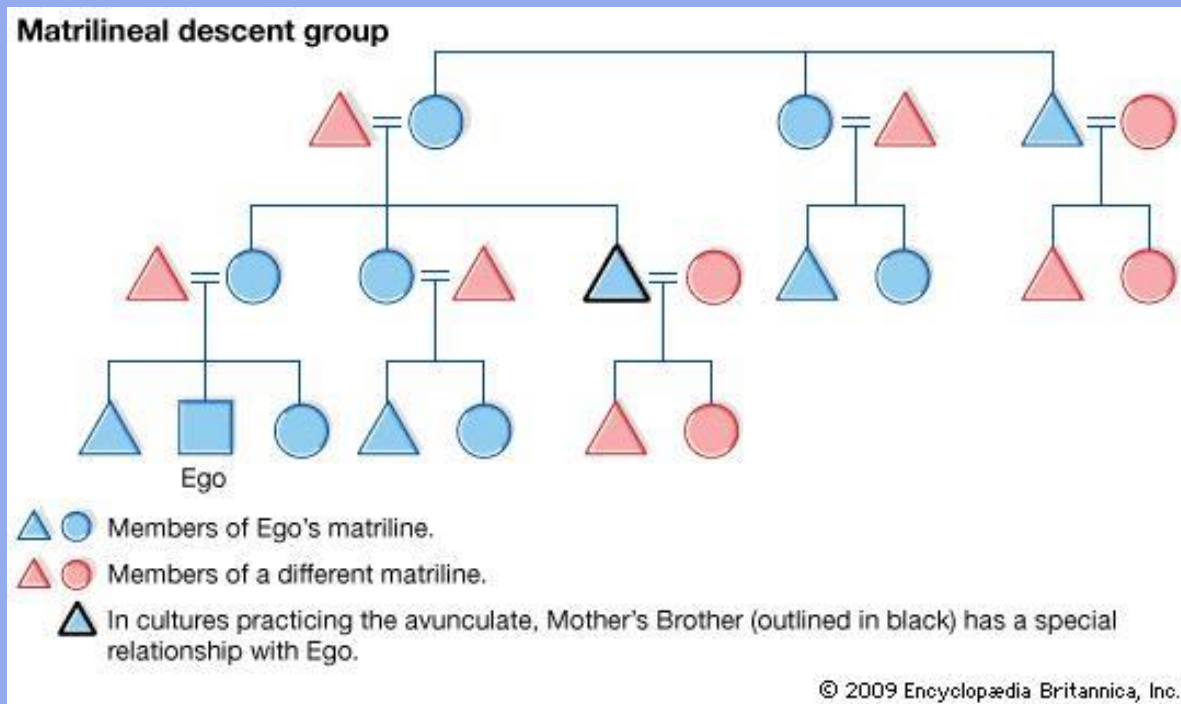
Bilineal descent



Relationship is traced through both the mother's & father's side.

EXCURSUS #1

Relatively frequent is **unilineal** descent (either **patrilineal** or **matrilineal**).



Matrilineal societies > Iroquois Navaho, Hopi, Greek, Danes https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_matrilineal_or_matrilocal_societies

Mosuo <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bbzG0n3shTM>

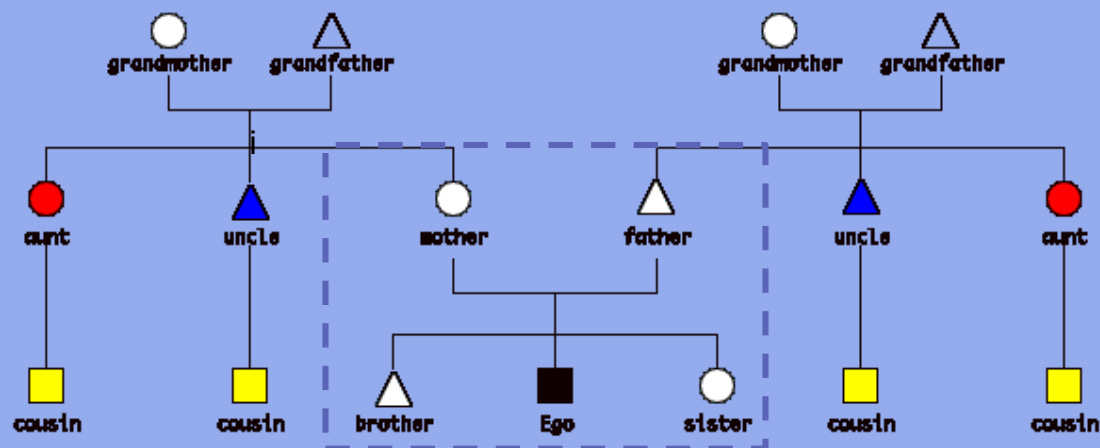
Tuscarora <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W5N5BMGkgXU>

Garo <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0KEwGpYHOV4>

EXCURSUS #1



Kinship model of mobile foragers/urbaners alike: the Eskimo System)



© Laurent DOUSSET, 2002

[The family “core” is accented. This relatively small group forms the principal subsistence unit most of the time. Little differentiation is made concerning the more distant consanguine relatives. - Fit to be split (“disentangled”) or regrouped easily. Ideal for resource-following groups].

Research History

Critique of Unilineal Evolutionism



Native Australian imagery



Jackson Pollock: 'Action painting'.

- ❑ The idea of "simple", "complex", "progress" etc. is highly culture-bound.
- ❑ Cases contrary to the "prognosis" of unilineal stage-model occur (inverse or skipped stages; local development different)
- ❑ Merely a subjective ranking of cultures is being made. The stagnation of remote cultural groups is a 'scientific myth' which frames the impact by Westerners on local groups.
- ❑ Random choice of examples (superficial/material similarities; convergence of cultural traits completely ignored)

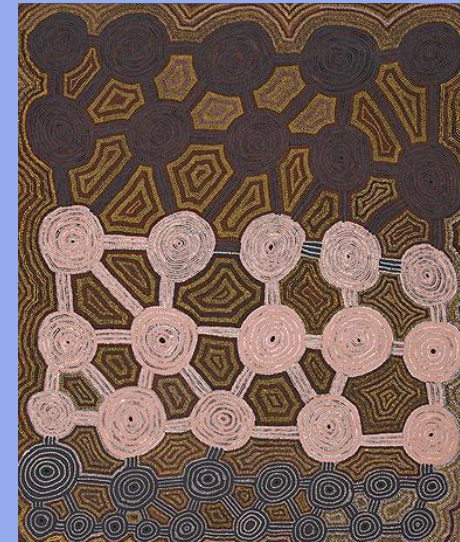
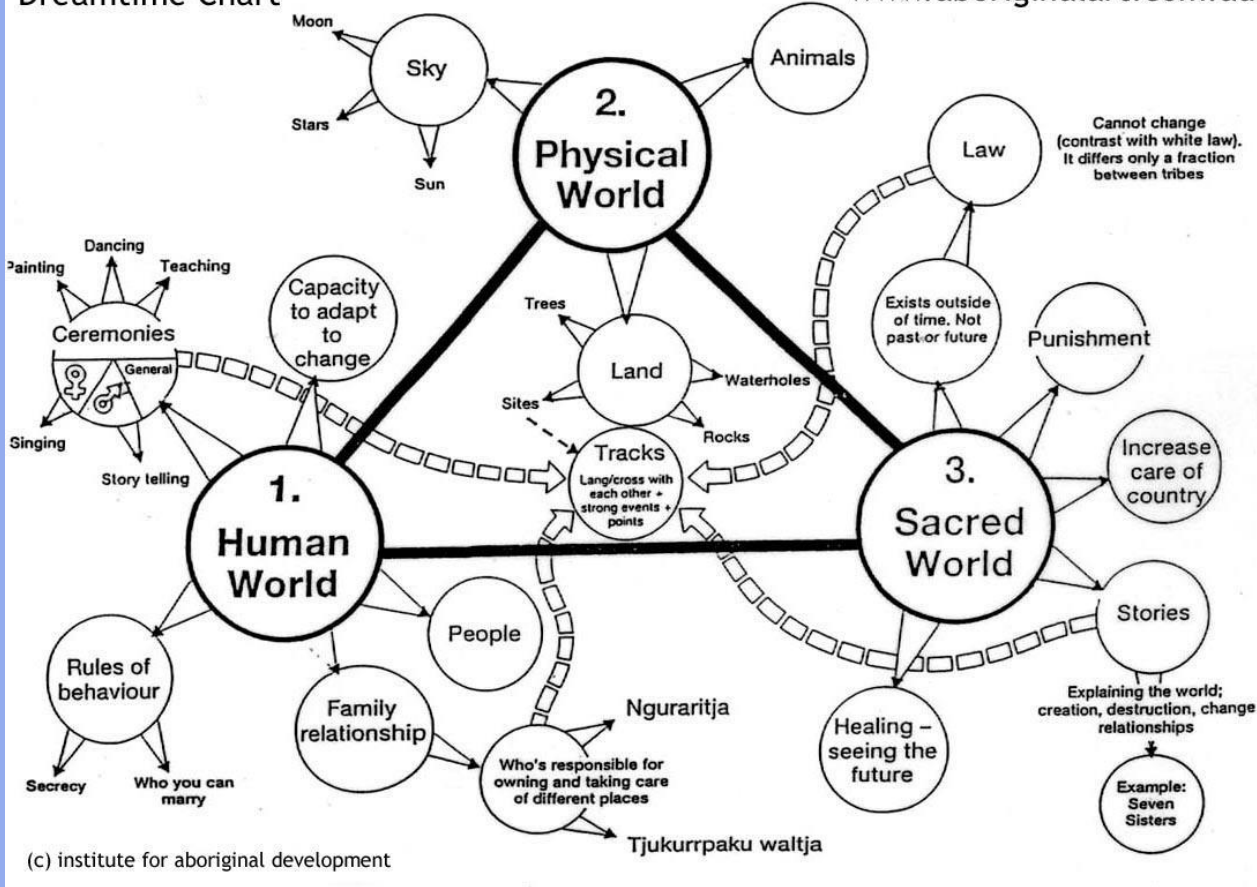
Research History

Critique of Unilineal Evolutionism



Dreamtime Chart

www.aboriginalart.com.au



PINTA PINTA TJAPANANGKA
Untitled, 1981 (c1937 – 1999),
synthetic polymer paint on linen.

Dreamtime - A Native Australian view that is clearly no less sophisticated than our own societal explanation models.

Research History

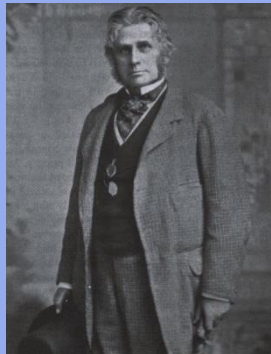
Critique of Unilineal Evolutionism



Please note: A non-material symbol system can in fact be highly sophisticated (religious concepts, worldview, magic, social practice & structure, language itself, oral tradition, dance,..) > Peoples possessing simple tools are not necessarily “deprived” peoples!

Research History

Critique of Unilineal Evolutionism



Augustus Pitt Rivers
(1827-1900)



Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford



A 'family tree' of composite bows by Henry Balfour spanning faraway regions.

Typological series of ethnographic/archaeological objects in museums. From the simplest to the most complex > "evolutionary concept applied to tech".

[*Evolutionists started taking it too far.*

It all ended up as **randomly picked elements across time & space**. Early evolutionism started to produce large crude stage models with relatively little explicatory power. They completely ignored what cultures influences most: ...environmental conditions and their neighbours' politics! One could say: Early evolutionism paid much attention to outer traits & materiality, but it cared remarkably little about history itself. (However, due to its plausibility evolutionism completely dominated the other scientific approaches during the late 19th century).]

Research History

Historical Particularism, U.S., 1890-1940



Arctic Expedition to Baffinland 1883,

British Columbia 1886/7,

Columbia University 1899-1934,

Crushed speculative evolutionistic theory and challenged racism.

Influential students.

Boas emphasized: Stay with the native group. Use its language!



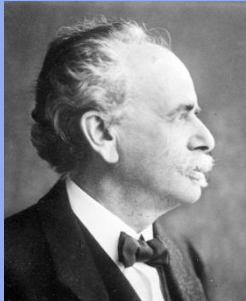
Franz Boas
(1858-1942)



F.B. performing Kwakiutl
Hamat'sa ('Cannibal Dance')

Research History

Historical Particularism, U.S, 1890-1940



Franz Boas
(1858-1942)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GOvFDioPrMM> (a biopic)



Boas' famous needle cases.

[Looking for many very similar at first Boas understood that the particular combination of decoration motives was invented by the particular artist. – Same as we using only 8 keys (piano) in principle form our entire musical pieces & genres.]

Locked in arctic for months, Boas was intrigued by the way Inuit carvers decorated their needle cases. At first glance they pretty much looked the same. He needed to meet more than one carver to see: the *variation, creativity, individualism* in indigenous life. - It made him think that perhaps the life of cultural groups was not so much governed by a binding developmental law “that made them all do the same thing” (as evolutionists doing arm `chair research’ had concluded).

Since Boas: cultural anthropology is mainly driven by: field data.

Research History

Historical Particularism U.S., 1890-1940



Tlingit - Klukwan Village - Whale House (Raven Rain Screen)



Ethnographic Example

The Kwakiutl of British Columbia

(= *sedentary* foraging communities. Living in an abundant environment).



Potlatch: Demonstration of a copper-plate

Prosperity: Salmon fishing



In contradiction to the evolutionistic concept of L. H. Morgan the hunter-gatherer groups of British Columbia (Tlingit, Kwakiutl, Haida, Salish, Tsimshian) were sedentary, displayed a lavish material culture and kept house-slaves.

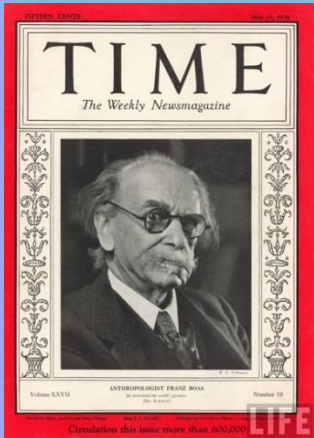
Neighboring groups differed in detail.

Research History



Historical Particularism, U.S., 1890-1940

How Boas crushed dominant evolutionism:
During his field research he had noticed many cultural variations occurred within a small area. Many of these “variations” were not a result of some development but were caused by outer influences & individual decisions!



Franz Boas
(1858-1942)

1. Particularism:

Every culture down to the (individual) household has its own, sequence` of changes. FB thought a whole mix of environmental factors, historical processes, cultural contact, migration, individual agencies causes > a unique appearance of every cultural group

2. Cultural Relativism:

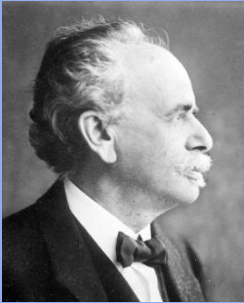
Every community must be studied on its own right, from within and using the culture's own terms. All cultures equally creative.

3. Scientific Empiricism:

Use of historic reconstructions in cultural anthropology. From actual observations to the model (not the other way round, as 19th cent. evolutionists had often done).

Research History

Historical Particularism, U.S., 1890-1940



Franz Boas
(1858-1942)

Into what direction F. Boas pushed cultural anthropology:

[Boas by his research advocated creativity, individuality, equality.]

- > Take to empiricism: Create detailed data sets
- > Field-research. Make detailed reconstructions of the near past. Use the indigenous language - their own symbol system (!) - to describe the ethnographic group that you study.
- > Cultural relativism. No group can claim to be superior. Industrial town – arctic bay: no difference: Creativity is an universal human trait.
- > Cultural standstill is the only thing that definitely does not exist. Culture everywhere is dynamic & changing. That makes it necessary to study - also the more recent - history of the group.

Research History

Historical Particularism, U.S., 1890-1940



“Left Naked?” – A Criticism of Boas’ Particularism

How can we match cultures under the circumstances that every household is unique, an own cosmos? > Particularism does not allow any overarching theory or comparison of larger regions!

Different to evolutionism any new theory would have to account also for history & small-scale cultural differences.

Such one attempt for wider comparison was “Diffusionism”.

This approach took the idea of history to an extreme.

It explained the looks of cultural traits not by an evolution or human creativity but exclusively by the borrowing from cultural centres (Egypt, Babylon).

How far or near native groups lived to these civilizations determined what mix of cultural traits they received.



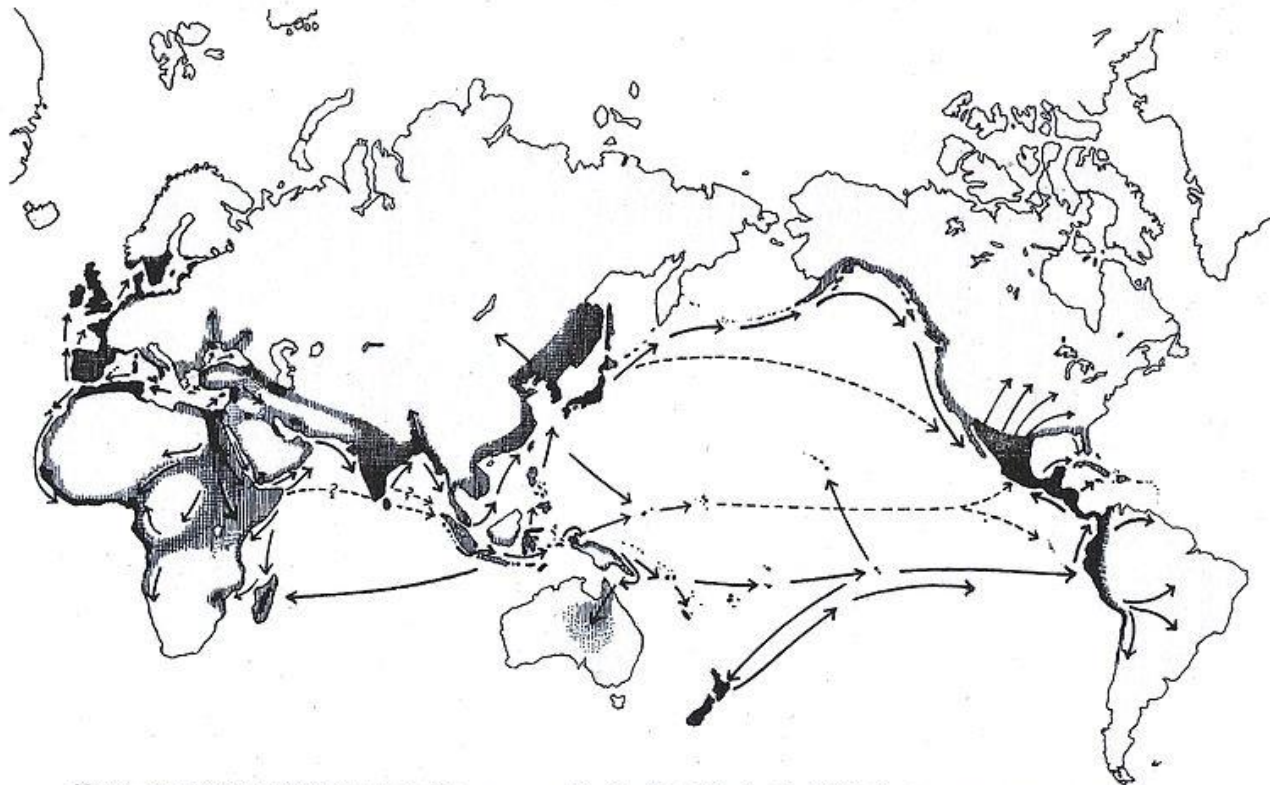
Research History



Diffusionism, Ger. & Engl.; End of 19th century – 1920

Similarities, variations and dissimilarities between distant were explained by Diffusionism that way:

Cultural elements, invented at a cultural centre, 'travelled' wide distances through space unchanged. Remote folks received the cultural traits in a sometimes corrupted form which they subsequently reproduced.



Map 2.—An attempt to represent roughly the areas more directly affected by the "heliolithic" culture-complex, with arrows to indicate the hypothetical routes taken in the migrations of the culture-bearers who were responsible for its diffusion.

[From: G. Elliot Smith,
[The Migrations of Early Culture, 1929](#)].

Great Britain > Grafton E. Smith,
William J. Perry (Heliolithic
Diffusionism, a 'Pan-
Aegypticism')

Germany > Friedrich Ratzel, Fritz
Graebner, Bernhard
Ankermann.

Austria > 'Wiener Schule der
Kulturkreislehre'
(Schmidt/Koppers/Gusinde/Sc
hebesta)

Research History



Diffusionism, Ger. & Engl., End of 19th century – 1920



[Kulturkreise

Counter to Boas' advice huge cultural entities ("Kulturkreise", cultural provinces) were claimed on the basis of the similarity of selected traits (e. g. the way the string was attached to the bow, musical instruments etc.).

Different to evolutionism the explanations of Diffusionism were *explicitly historical* (Egypt, Babylon!)]

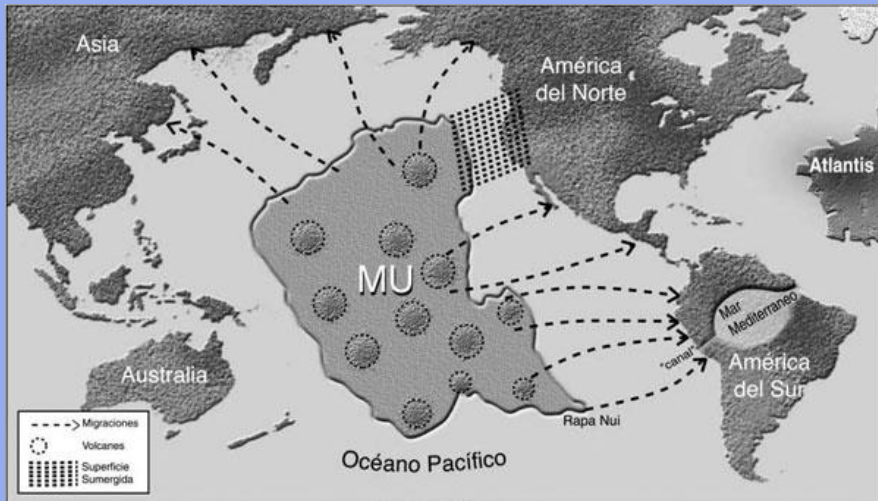
Leo Frobenius: African 'Kulturkreise'
(Note: it is only 3 for the entire continent.)

Research History



Submitting Egypt/Balbylon itself to Diffusionism:

The hypothesis of a sunken continent.



'Mu'



'Lemuria'



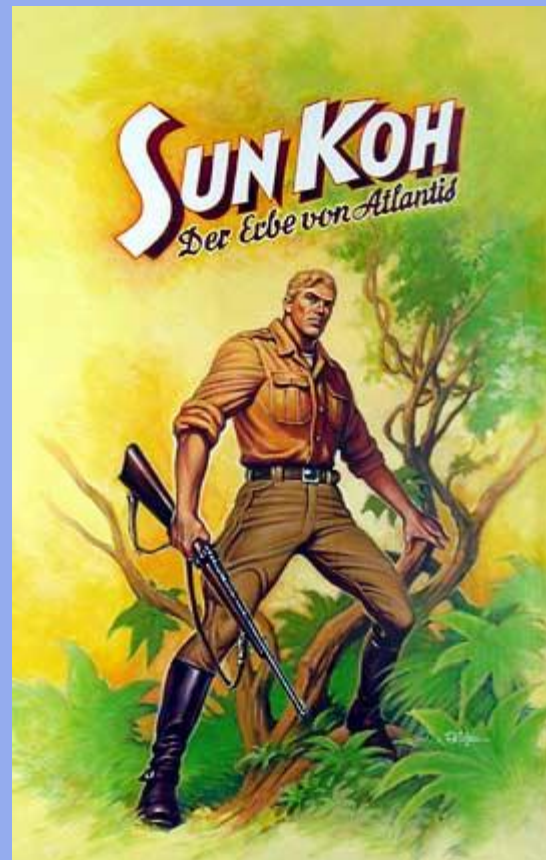
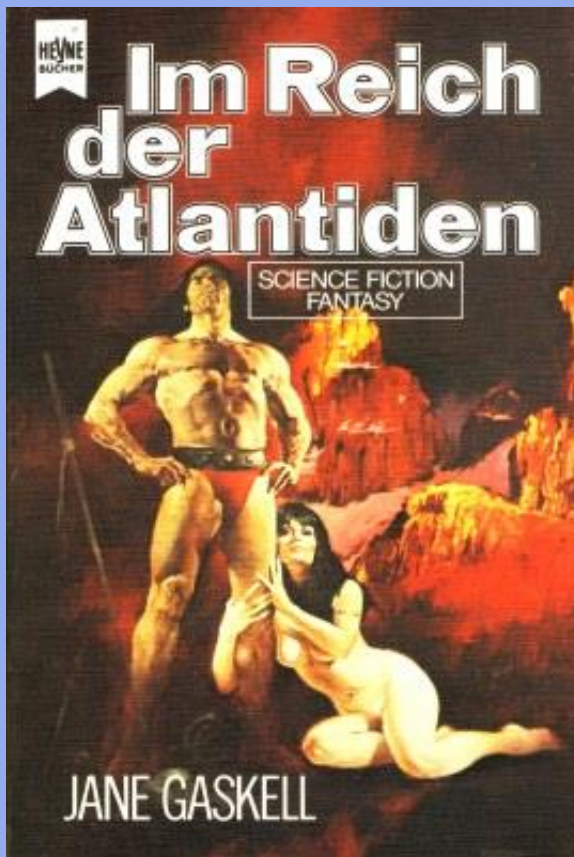
'Atlantis'

[Note: The bigger the scope of the hypothesis: the less justice to cultural self-definition (Europe: a uniform block); a "hyper-diffusionism"]



Research History

Hyper-Diffusionism: The hidden idea of superior civilizations/races.



Research History



Critique of Diffusionism

[> This delivery of cultural packages across wide distances of course mirrors 19th cent. colonialism (legitimizes it).

> Mechanistic, sweeping concept of the dispersal of cultural traits.

> History: "broad-brush".

> Largely a scholarly theory not based on factual field-work (contrary to Boas' school Diffusionism = "museal-librarian" research)

> Native cultures are reduced to recipients of the traits that come from superior civilizations (Egypt, Babylon etc.). They are not themselves styling their culture but rather copying/borrowing.

A highly problematic concept: It distinguishes between advanced & creative societies and passive cultural groups only capable of "copying" the cultural elements they accidentally receive (cf. the NS racial doctrine).

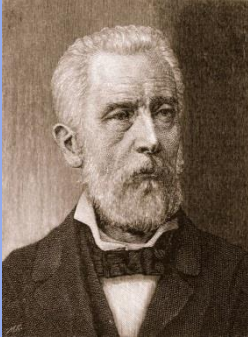
Note the big difference to Boas' concept of universal creativity.]

This concept provoked intellectual resistance - > E.g. by Adolf Bastian.

Research History



Adolf Bastian, Ger., End of 19th Cent.



Adolf Bastian
(1826-1905)

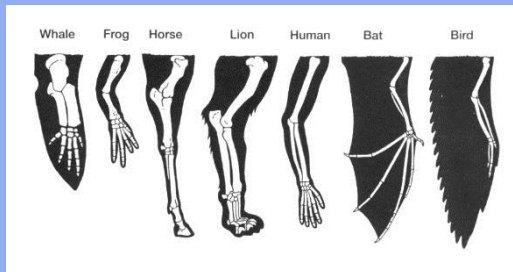
Studied law, medicine & natural sciences

Past 1850: Work as a ship's doctor

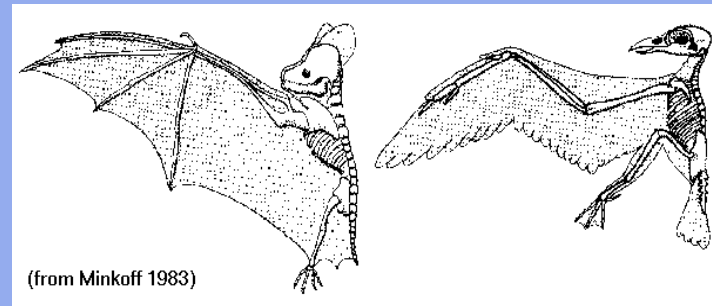
Past 1873: First director of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin

A. Bastian atomized Diffusionism.

Homology



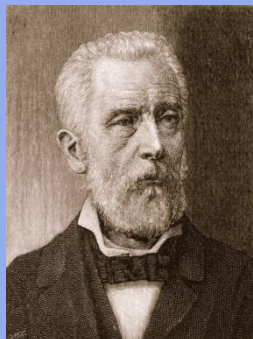
Analogy



Research History



Adolf Bastian, Ger., End of 19th Cent.



Adolf Bastian
(1826-1905)

Schooled in anatomy he reminded the cultural researchers:

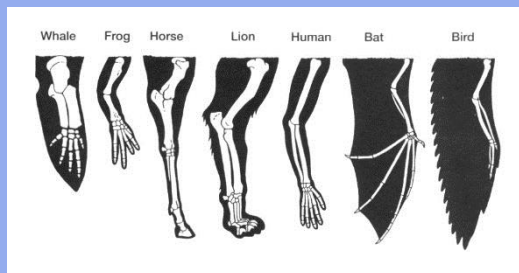
If similar cultural traits are found in different parts of the world that does not mean that they have the same cultural origin. Hence no need to think of borrowing (diffusion) either. Rather: similar things can be developed in different parts of the world independently as functional analogies.

Similarity in animal extremities can be caused by

↓
Homology

or

↓
Analogy



Similarity via common ancestry
(historic-genetic parallel)

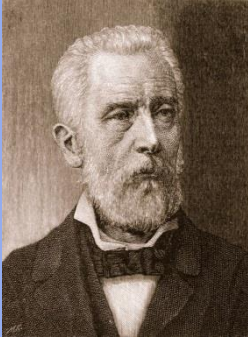


(Insect & bird = unrelated)

Similarity caused by solving the same basic problem
(functional parallel)

Research History

Adolf Bastian, Ger., End of 19th Cent.



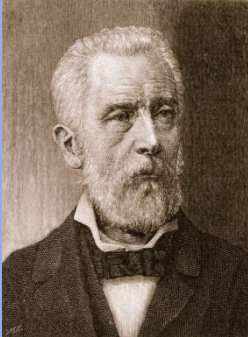
Adolf Bastian
(1826-1905)



E.g.: Need the elevated thrones of both China and Germany really be the result of a cultural diffusion process?

Research History

Adolf Bastian, Ger., End of 19th Cent.



Adolf Bastian
(1826-1905)

Parallels: Homologies or Analogies?



[Scale armour in various corners of the world need not be interpreted as the result of a cultural contact or a common origin. They can also be explained as the result of the response of creative human mind to the same functional problem.

Same with some social institutions, he thought.]

Research History

Adolf Bastian, Ger., End of 19th Cent.

Parallels: Homologies or Analogies?

The Hawaiian noble headdress *mahiole* has sometimes been cited as an indicator of a Greek or a Spanish influence (as Capt. Cook's men thought) in the dark past (migration or cultural borrowing).

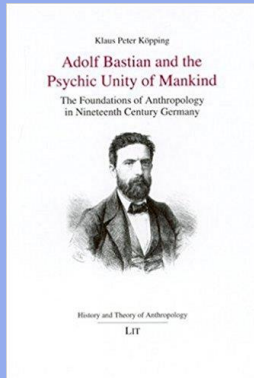
It is perhaps easier to explain it as a functional analogy (Elementargedanke: "Becoming more impressive by one's increasing height") and sophistication over time of a local cultural trait..



© Jorge Barrios



Research History



Adolf Bastian, Ger., End of 19th Cent.



Bastian's *Elementargedanke* („the elementary thought“):

Cultural similarities are the result of elementary thoughts that are universal and occur worldwide. .
Pladoyer the genuine creativity of all peoples. There is only one mankind. All groups are equally skilled. No superior group exists.

Bastian's *Völkergedanke* („the folk thought“):

The specific way how the elementary thought is expressed in each culture as a consequence of different environments and historic influences. This factor is responsible for the differences and the individual appearance we observe > Differences have the same „psychic basis“!

[Bastian claimed a „psychic unity“ of mankind. This is strongly counter diffusionist thinking!]

[His concept tries to reconcile both universal human creativity and the regional differences. Critique: While being able to deal a blow to diffusionism his concept still stayed to vague to be much of a help for a cultural anthropologist.]

The next concept (British Functionalism), however, was quite utilizable in practice.



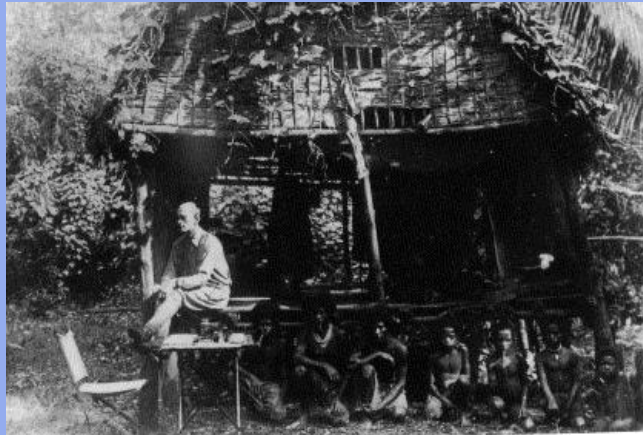
Bronislaw Malinowski

British Functionalism, 1920-1960



(1884-1942)

- Influenced by Linguistics/Maths/Psychology
- During WWI: detained in Melanesia, Trobriand Isl. (intensive field-research period).



- 1922-1939: Teaching at London School of Economics
- Withheld in USA when WWII broke out; there BM died in 1942, aged 58.

[His long field stay led to the most complete observations so far. These completely lifted the difference between a Trobriander and a British in terms of ambitions, goals or behaviour..]

Research History



British Functionalism, 1920-1960

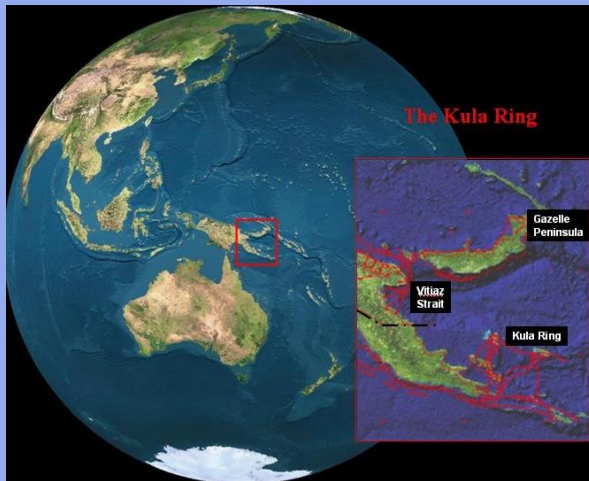
Bronislaw Malinowski



(1884-1942)

[Stuck on the Trobriand Islands during WW1 BM dwelled among islanders for a long period, learned their language & finally understood their central cultural practice: the passion of exchanging shell trinkets - the famous "Kula".]

Ethnographic Example
Trobriand Islanders,
Melanesia,
Kula-Trade



In Kula Trade worked shells are exchanged between the involved islands in perilous voyages. The whole event is deeply imbued with zeal, magic & prestige.

Research History



Bronislaw Malinowski

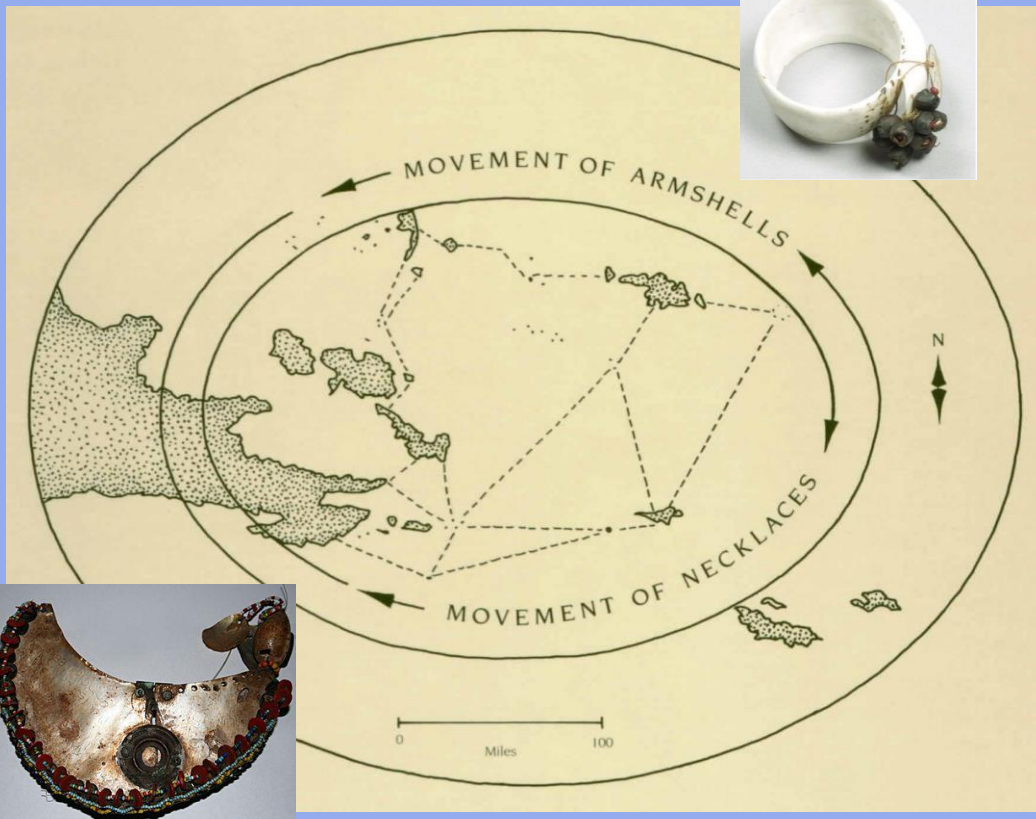
British Functionalism, 1920-1960



(1884-1942)

Ethnographic Example
Trobriand Islanders,
Melanesia,
Kula-Trade

[Malinowski's *'Argonauts of the Western Pacific'* (1922) is unique in depicting the imponderabilities, the lust and the magic of Kula Trade.]



[What the Trobrianders did not know but BM discovered: the shell items travel in circuits – not only this, they move in opposite direction.]

Obviously the shell items are traded for same items - a "Zero-sum-game" (!?)

Research History

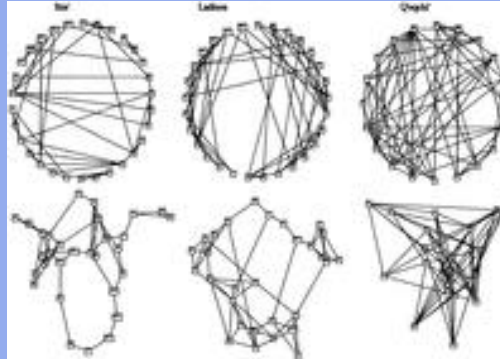


Bronislaw Malinowski

British Functionalism (1920-1960)



(1884-1942)



BM concluded:

- > Not the visible cultural traits of Kula are relevant, but underlying functions!
- > **The functions serve to satisfy basic needs (physiological, psychic, social needs; individual, collective needs.)**
- > From the point of view of the mentioned functions there is no basic differences between far-away ethnic groups and industrial societies (focus = on social life as such -> emergence of Social Anthropology).
- > Interplay of 'sectors' of a society & the motives of the acting individuals become visible for the first time in anthropology .
- A boost for ethnographic field research, aiming at sharing the indigenous 'world vision'. Study of as many aspects community life as possible - they are all interrelated!

Research History



Bronislaw Malinowski

British Functionalism, 1920-1960



(1884-1942)

Critique of the Functionalism:

- If the functions are practically the same: What causes major cultural differences then?
- Human need are changing and dynamic.
- What about the impacts on the functional systems by historical events (e.g.: colonialism).
- More than he understood MB's theory mirrored the power-relations & social roles of British Empire than it did indigenous life.

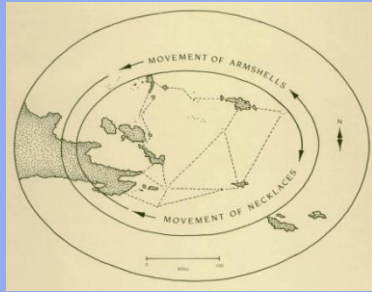


Research History

British Functionalism (1920-1960)



Bronislaw
Malinowski
(1884-1942)



Is this London...

...or rather the felt one?:



Research History



Bronislaw Malinowski

British Functionalism (1920-1960)



Bronislaw
Malinowski
(1884-1942)

Malinowski's functional approach: A possibility is found to

- by-pass the *Boas' dogma* of particular historical events
- to respect fully Bastian's & Boas' idea of universal creativity
- to generalize, to compare world-wide &
- to still to explain handy details - of native life as well as of ours in Europe!

[Understandably this is the turning point in the history of cultural anthropology. Remarkably it all started with staying with the indigenous people "day & night" - almost too late to do so: shortly after the tragedy of WW1 & the advent of a 2nd catastrophic war.]

•

•

Research History

French Structuralism (1950-1970)



[Somewhat later French research contributed a completely different way of interpreting native life & to learn from it profoundly.

This *new type of thinking* neither too focused on particular or general history (like Boas or the evolutionists) nor were the explanations as psychological as the ones of Bastian or socially-focused (functionalist) as those of Malinowski.

This new theoretical approach became a hype in intellectual circles & beyond in politics & art: **Structuralism.**]

Research History



French Structuralism (1950-1970)

Claude Levi-Strauss



(1908-2009)

Studied initially law & philosophy.

1935-1939 visiting professor in Brasil.

During that time: ethnographic field research at the Bororo, Nambikware (Mato Grosso)

A leading intellectual

Author of a series of 'mile-stone'-publications influencing society as a whole in the 1960's.

[Elementary structures of kinship (1949)

Tropes tristes (1955)

Structural anthropology (1958)

La pansee sauvage (1962)

Mythologiques (1971)]

Research History



French Structuralism (1950-1970)

Claude Levi-Strauss



(1908-2009)

Influenced by linguistics he looked not so much at the cultural traits themselves as their position to one another:

How relatives dealt with one another, how people arranged motives in art, how ritual followed on after the other in a cycle seemed to express patterns deeply buried in culture: the structures.

These are *not* the same as essential functions & needs of humans. But principles of arrangement like we find them if we describe the grammar of a language.

Structures like a dual arrangement (Heaven: Earth, Male:female, Holy:profane etc.) seemed fundamentally human, universally spread and therefore completely untouched by historic change (1).

Studying this “matrix” it was thought it would be possible to understand the much differing cultural behaviour more deeply than ever before..

Research History



French Structuralism (1950-1970)

Claude Levi-Strauss



(1908-2009)

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Studying this “matrix”, it was thought, it would be possible to understand the much differing cultural behaviour more than focusing on what they did in history!

Research History



French Structuralism (1950-1970)

Claude Levi-Strauss



(1908-2009)

The Ultimate Matrix: Structures in the sense of Levi-Strauss

Humans often arrange entities as duals



[Note the dualism in the strict symmetry of halves in the ornaments of the native art of British-Columbia!]

Research History



French Structuralism (1950-1970)

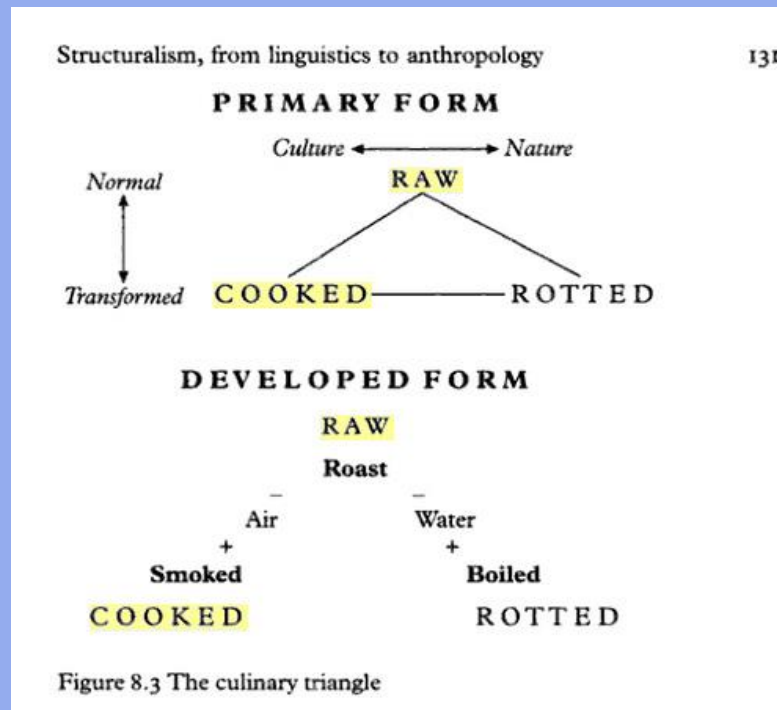
Claude Levi-Strauss



(1908-2009)

The Ultimate Matrix: Structures in the sense of Levi-Strauss

Phases of processes mankind likes to arrange in a "triangular way" (before – under way – after)



Research History



French Structuralism (1950-1970)

Claude Levi-Strauss



(1908-2009)

The Ultimate Matrix: Structures in the sense of Levi-Strauss



Structures are manifest in dance, mythology, artefacts, customs, eating, social practices etc.

As a most basic quality of organisation, structures might appear unchanged in diverse historical contexts.

Research History

French Structuralism (1950-1970)

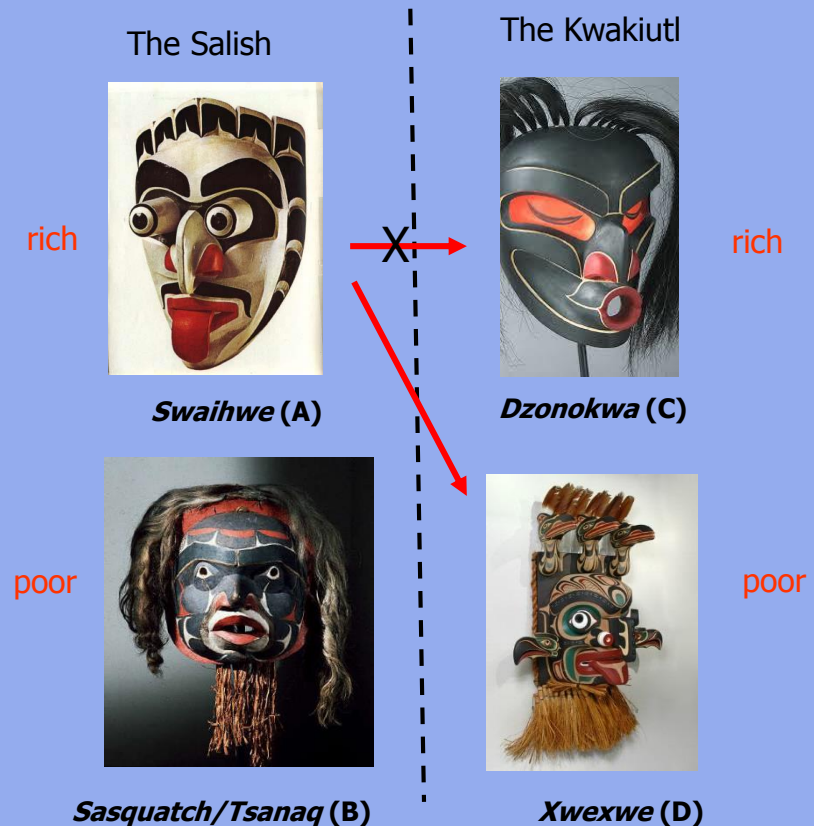


Ethnographic Example
Salish Art, British Columbia

[The Salish & Kwakiutl are culturally similar. - But when the revered white mask symbolizing wealth for the Salish (A) enters Kwakiutl Society it receives exactly the opposite meaning of 'poor' of the own black mask (C). (For no other reason than: the meaning of 'rich' is already embodied by a black mask in Kwakiutl society (B). To keep the cultural grammar intact (A) *must* make the striking change of meaning!)]

More important than to keep the true meaning is to maintain the structure (A : B = B : D).]

Note the masks' dualism: Sunken eyes/dark colour/open mouth <> Protruding eyes/light colour/protruding tongue



Research History



French Structuralism (1950-1970)

Claude Levi-Strauss



(1908-2009)

[Again we find the idea of a unity of mankind - irrespective of whether individuals do fishing on a Melanesian island or sit in an office in Rome.]

Criticism of Structuralism:

S. is “a-historic”. A very important concept but not likely to fully capture the overwhelming dynamics of some historical processes, human decisions & desire.

[As expected the pendulum swings to the opposite site:
The next break-through in cultural anthropology did less focus on the creative, functional or structural unity of man (Bastian, Malinowski, Levi-Strauss).

It more strongly consider the historical process & cultural differences (as had Unilinear Evolutionism, Boas particularism, Diffusionism, “Kulturkreise”).]

Next to come: **Multi-lineal evolutionism**, a very handy concept - especially for the archaeologist..

Research History

Evolutionism reloaded (USA, 1940-1960)

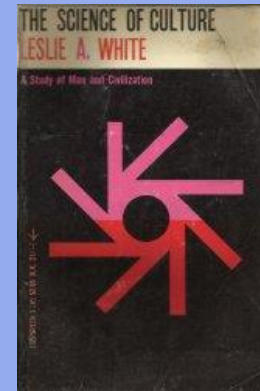


[Advocates of Neo-evolutionism:
Leslie White & Julian Steward, USA]

Leslie A. White (+ 1975)

- Materialistic approach
- Technology -> social organization -> ideology
- Evolutionary trend: Technologies raises the ratio of energy extraction.
- White conceived his evolutionism as a synthesis of synchronic functionalism and diachronic particularism - being both generalizing **and** historical.

So, general principles can be found (a similar level of exploitation leads to similar social and ideological systems). Contra Boas culture *per se* exists and can as such be studied empirically.



1949

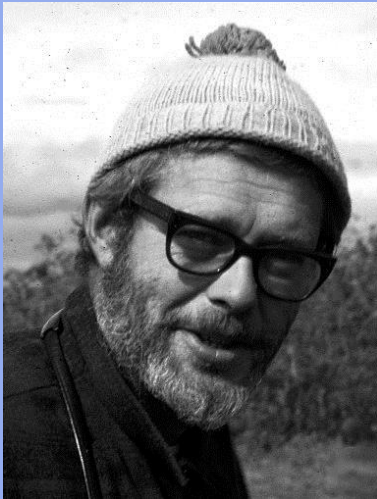


Research History

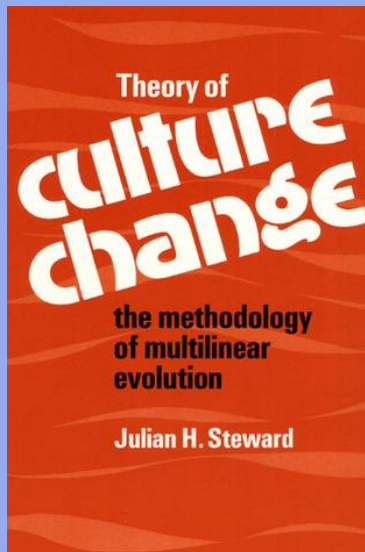


Evolutionism reloaded, USA, 1940-1960

Julian Steward



- Advocated "multilinear evolutionism": In spite of Boas' dictum some characteristic sequences can be observed. – But nowhere identical (in the full length, caused by the same factors in the same direction or at the same pace).
- In the study of cultures focus on the influence of natural environment, the distribution of resources, production empiric data (fore-runner of 'Cultural Ecology', 1960-1980)



[Irrigation field. Measuring the productivity of the garden plot with Taro fruit (Hawaii)]

Evolutionism reloaded (USA, 1940-1960)



[Critique of Neoevolutionism

- Considered to be deterministic. Model-centred & in search for “the main factor”.
- The observation of individual cultural development makes it hard to apply the resulting models elsewhere].

If focused on certain regions archaeological studies result that are *outstanding* in their temporal scope, their portrayal of ecological/economical/social interdependence as well as the historic detail.]

Research History

Cultural Anthropology Today

Postmodernism (since 1980ies)

Clifford Geertz



(1926-2006)

- Culture is a patchwork, always 'work in progress'.
- Interpretations & content constantly change.
- Culture: constantly redefined in the day-to-day behaviour (by performance)



Cultural Anthropology Today

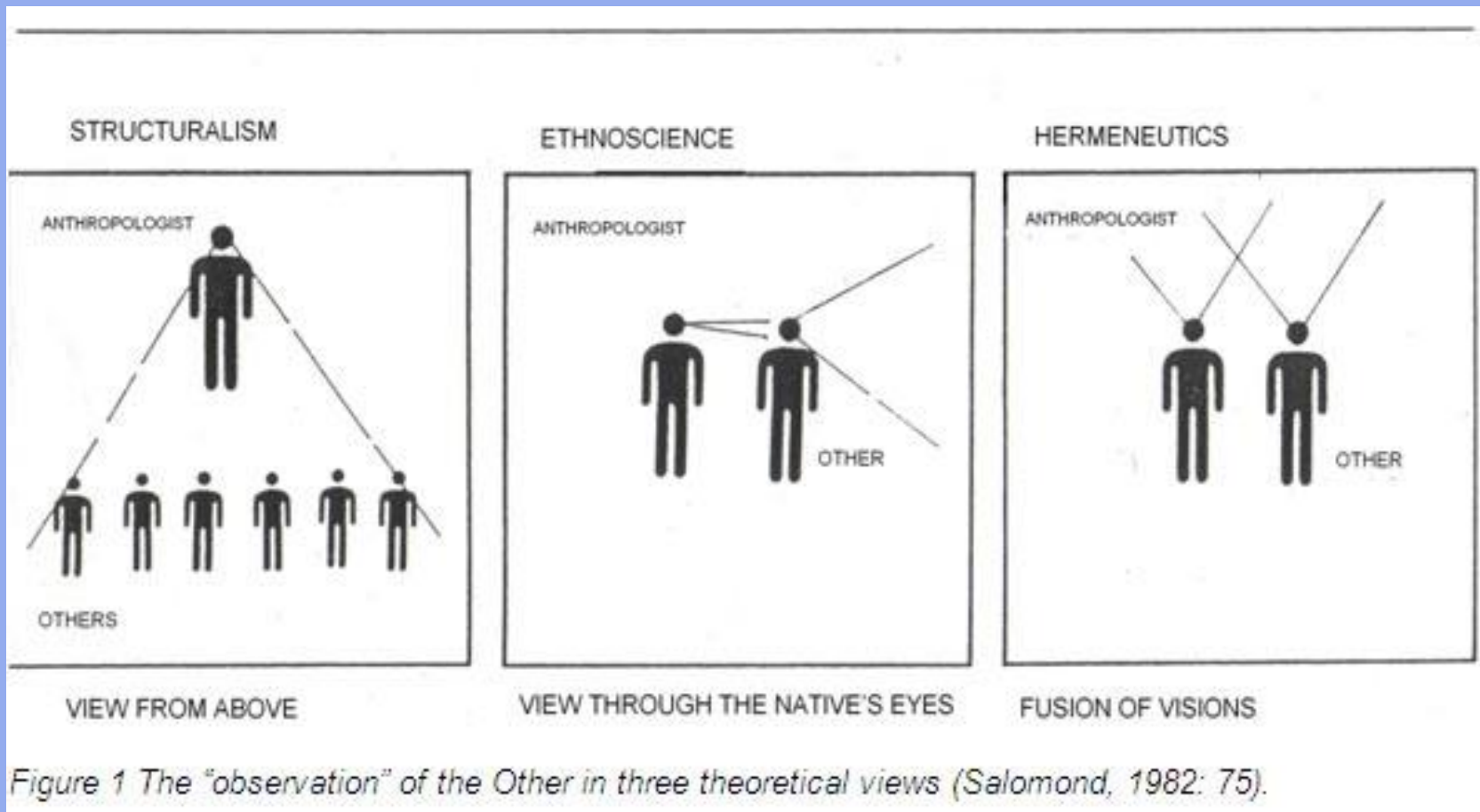


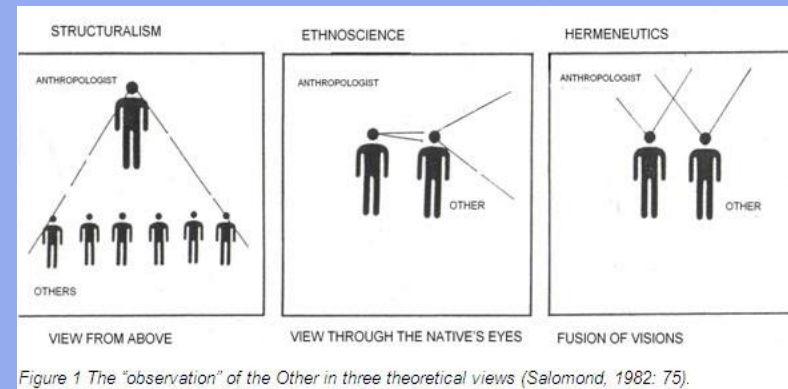
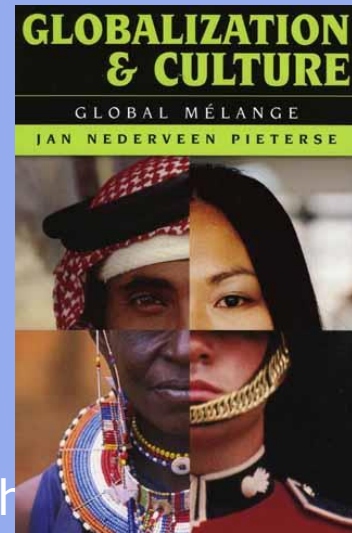
Figure 1 The "observation" of the Other in three theoretical views (Salomond, 1982: 75).

Research History

Cultural Anthropology Today

Postmodernism (since 1980ies)

- Many 'objective facts' reveal to be culture-bound.
- Science is but one way of a 100 ways of conceptualizing the world.
- No system of explanation is privileged.



Consequences for the anthropological practice:

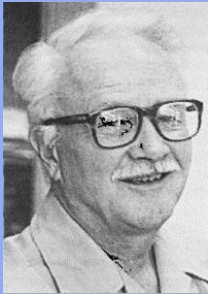
- Give the 'Others' a voice, instead of talking 'about' them.
- Science hides power relations. - So include the circumstance of 'knowledge productions' in your works.

4 Modes of Economy

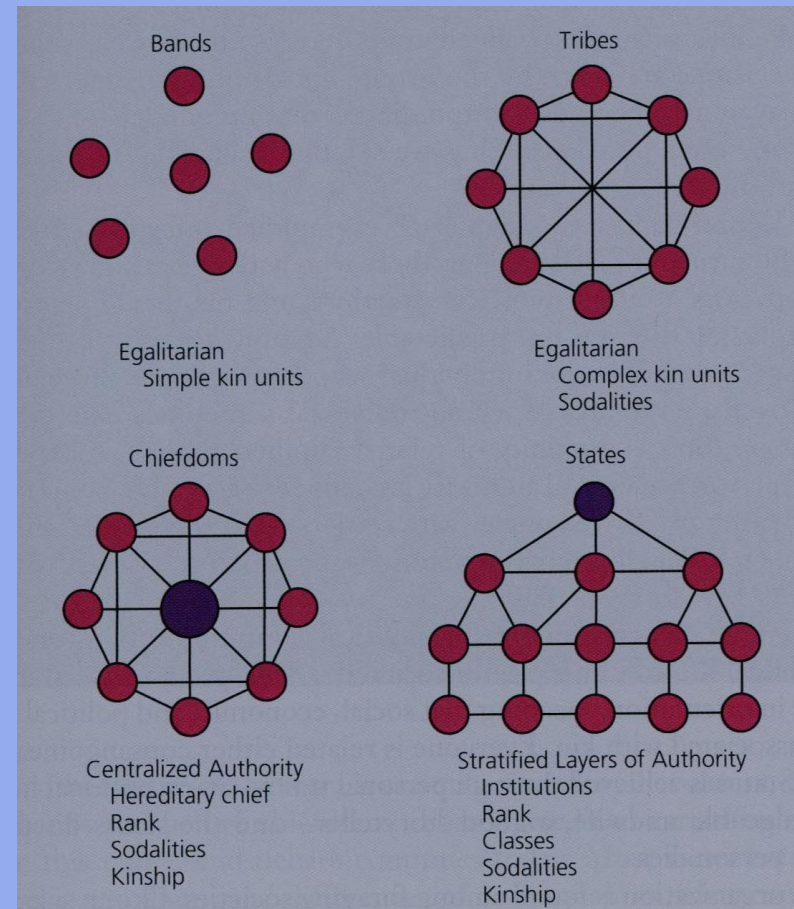
FORAGING - HORTICULTURE - PASTORALISM - AGRICULTURE

EXCURSUS #2 (a preview of the 2018 semester)

Elman Service (US)



Primitive Social Organization
(1962)

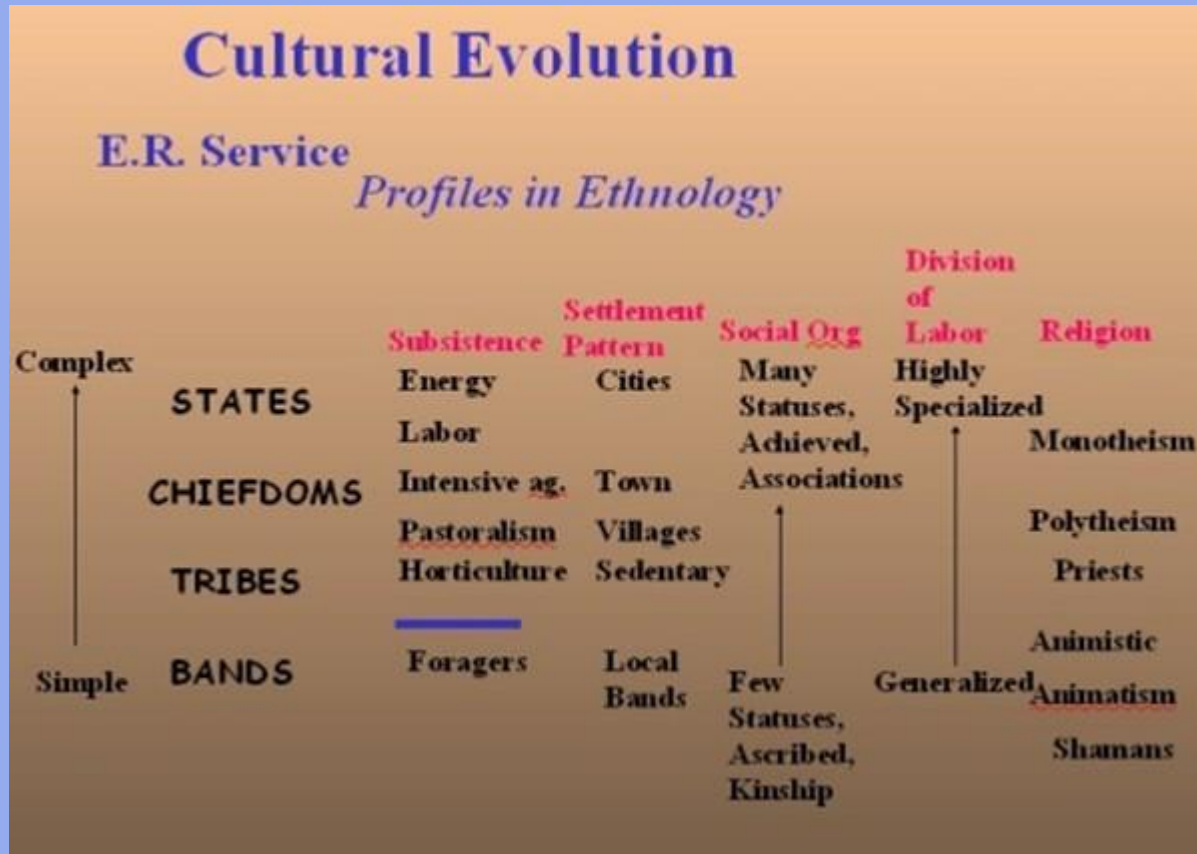


[the dark "ball" > formal leadership emerges]

[Foraging..... bands
Horticulture & pastoralism.....tribes
Farming - husbanding..... chiefdoms
Agriculture.....states]

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIVrrNImJyg>

EXCURSUS #2 (a preview of the 2018 semester)



[Source: Julianna Bryan, <http://slideplayer.com/slide/10122122/>]

[Foraging-Horticulture-Pastoralism-Agriculture]

TYPES OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION				
The symbol → indicates that the attribute varies between less and more complex societies of that type.				
	BAND	TRIBE	CHIEFDOM	STATE
MEMBERSHIP				
Number of people	Dozens and up	Hundreds and up	Thousands and up	Tens of thousands and up
Settlement pattern	Mobile	Mobile or fixed: 1 or more villages	Fixed: 2 or more villages	Fixed: Many villages and cities
Basis of relationships	Kin	Kin, descent groups	Kin, rank, and residence	Class and residence
Ethnicities and languages	1	1	1	1 or more
GOVERNMENT				
Decision making, leadership	"Egalitarian"	"Egalitarian" or Big Man	Centralized, hereditary	Centralized
Bureaucracy	None	None	None, or 1 or 2 levels	Many levels
Monopoly of force and information	No	No	No → Yes	Yes
Conflict resolution	Informal	Informal	Centralized	Laws, judges
Hierarchy of settlement	No	No	No → Paramount village or head town	Capital
ECONOMY				
Food production	No	No → Yes	Yes → Intensive	Intensive
Labor specialization	No	No	No → Yes	Yes
Exchanges	Reciprocal	Reciprocal	Redistributive ("tribute")	Redistributive ("taxes")
Control of land	Band	Descent group	Chief	Various
SOCIETY				
Stratified	No	No	Yes, ranked by kin	Yes, by class or caste
Slavery	No	No	Some, small-scale	Some, large-scale
Luxury goods for elite	No	No	Yes	Yes
Public architecture	No	No	No → Yes	Yes
Indigenous literacy	No	No	No → Some	Often

PART D - FORAGING

[The description of foragers follows the convention. It portrays groups which many see as the *classical* forager: highly mobile, food-extracting groups in the arctic, desert or tropical zone.

Note:

1) All communities also take part in modern life-style nowadays. (Our take on foragers is often nostalgic).

(2) Rather sedentary, populous hunter-gatherer existed in the *resource-rich* Eco zones (e.g. Kwakiutl). Seen by us as the "exception", they may in the archaeological past have been much more frequent.]

FORAGING

Foraging: food extraction not food production. Extensive exploitation of wild animal/plant species in a *vast* territorial unit (as opposed to irrigational agriculture.)



Current research by Dr. Kh. Hakami, Vienna at the Maniq, a forager community of S- Thailand. [Invited to PANE in the 2018 semester.]

Khaled Hakami ©

FORAGING



[Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Adam & Eve*, ca. 1508]

[Dawn of Mankind: Taking instead of making food.

Quadruped animals often eat & drink “on site”.

Developing the upright gait early freed the hands of early hominids. It made their bodies’ sexual signals *permanently* visible (factor in stable pair-bonding). And it allowed our progenitors to carry resources where they were most meaningful for survival:

In support the offspring who matures partly “extra-uterine” through intensive multigenerational care & take a very long time to become reasonably biped.]

FORAGING



Foraging

= exploitation of wild animal/plant resources in a vast territorial units (opposed e.g. to irrigational agriculture.)

= a extractive system of making one's living (opposed to producing food)

= combined economy (typically: fishing + hunting + gathering)

= a flexible life-mode (economically as well as socially)

FORAGING



Some key facts..

- 99% of it's history our mankind exclusively relied on foraging ('food extraction'). Obviously it is a life-mode extremely fit for H. sapiens in many ways.
- Actual food *production* started only some 10.000 years ago.

FORAGING



History

Mary Leakey found in Laetoli,
Tanzania:

Hominid traces (A. afarensis?)

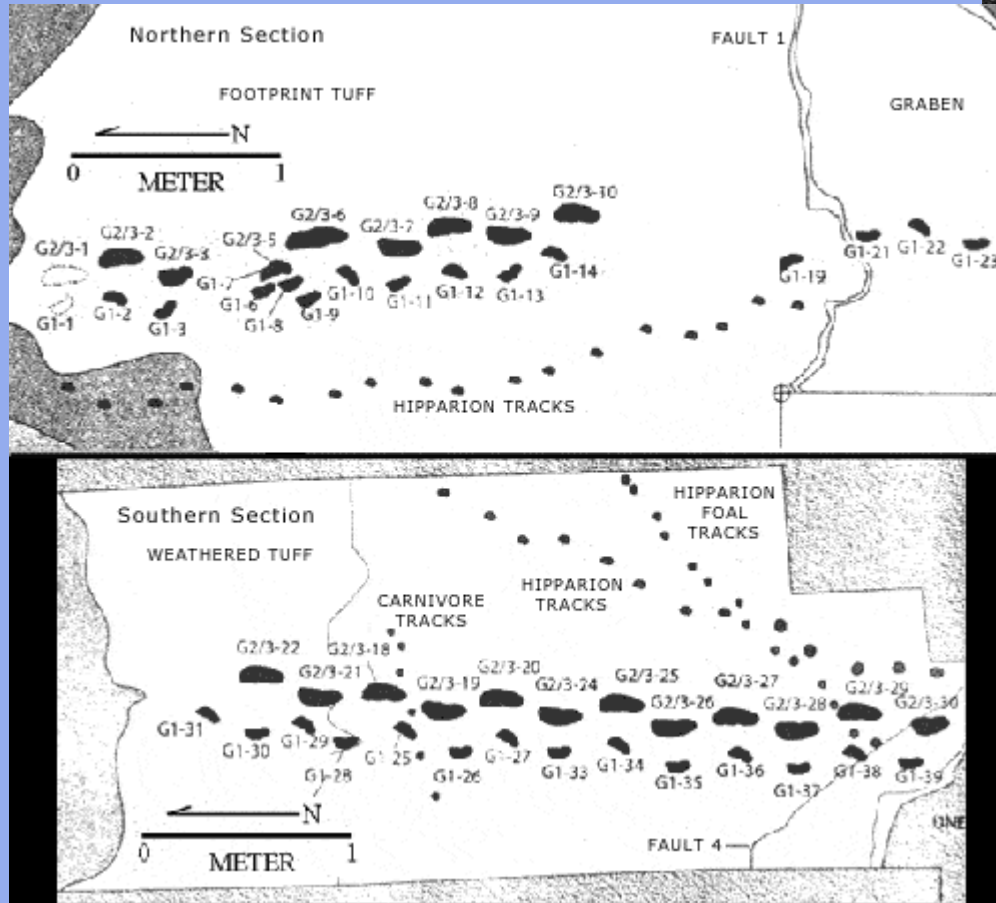
[Together with the traces of 20 animal
species, petrified volcanic ash]

3,6 Mio ys.

[Scientific sensation: Despite many other differences (skull) the legs of Australopithecus were practically as that of "me & you". - The extreme development of brain did happen after early hominids had fully acquired the upright gait. ->The ability to move from place to place 2 legs must have been most meaningful..]

FORAGING

History



Laetoli, Tanzania, 3,6 Mio ys.

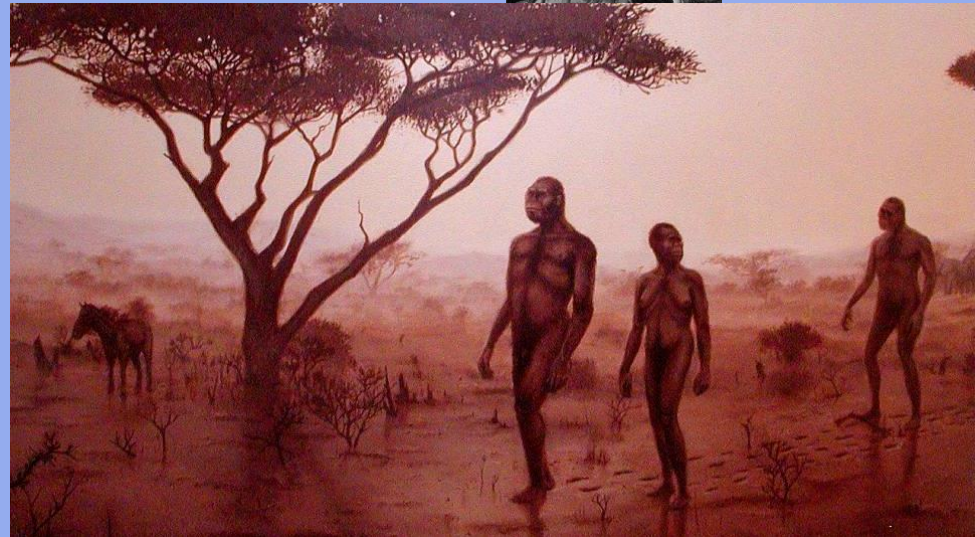
©Laurie Grace

http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/evolution/library/07/1/image_pop/l_071_05.html

FORAGING



History



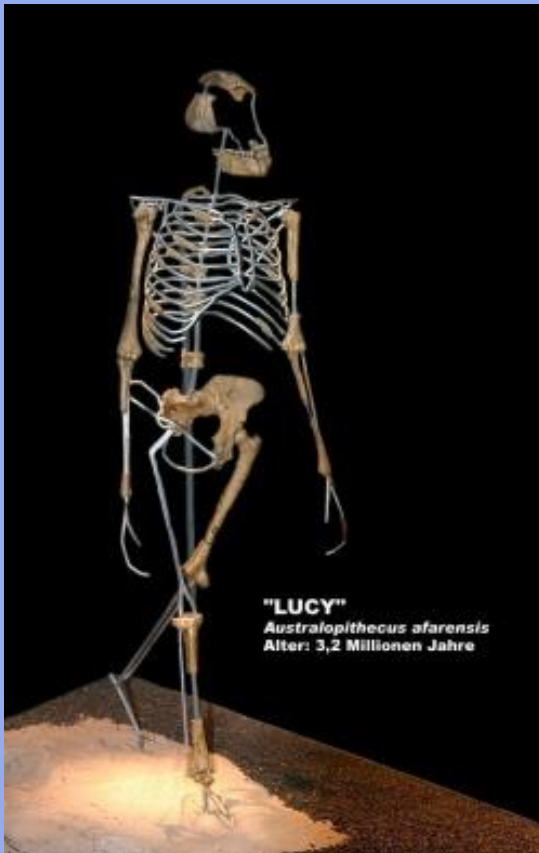
[Differing reconstructions of the foot prints were offered the time.

Lately it is thought that one of the individuals carried an asymmetric load (an *infant* too young to its own legs on the walk?)]



FORAGING

History



- Foraging = walking plus picking up things...



[In early humans this activity created a stimulus for important things:

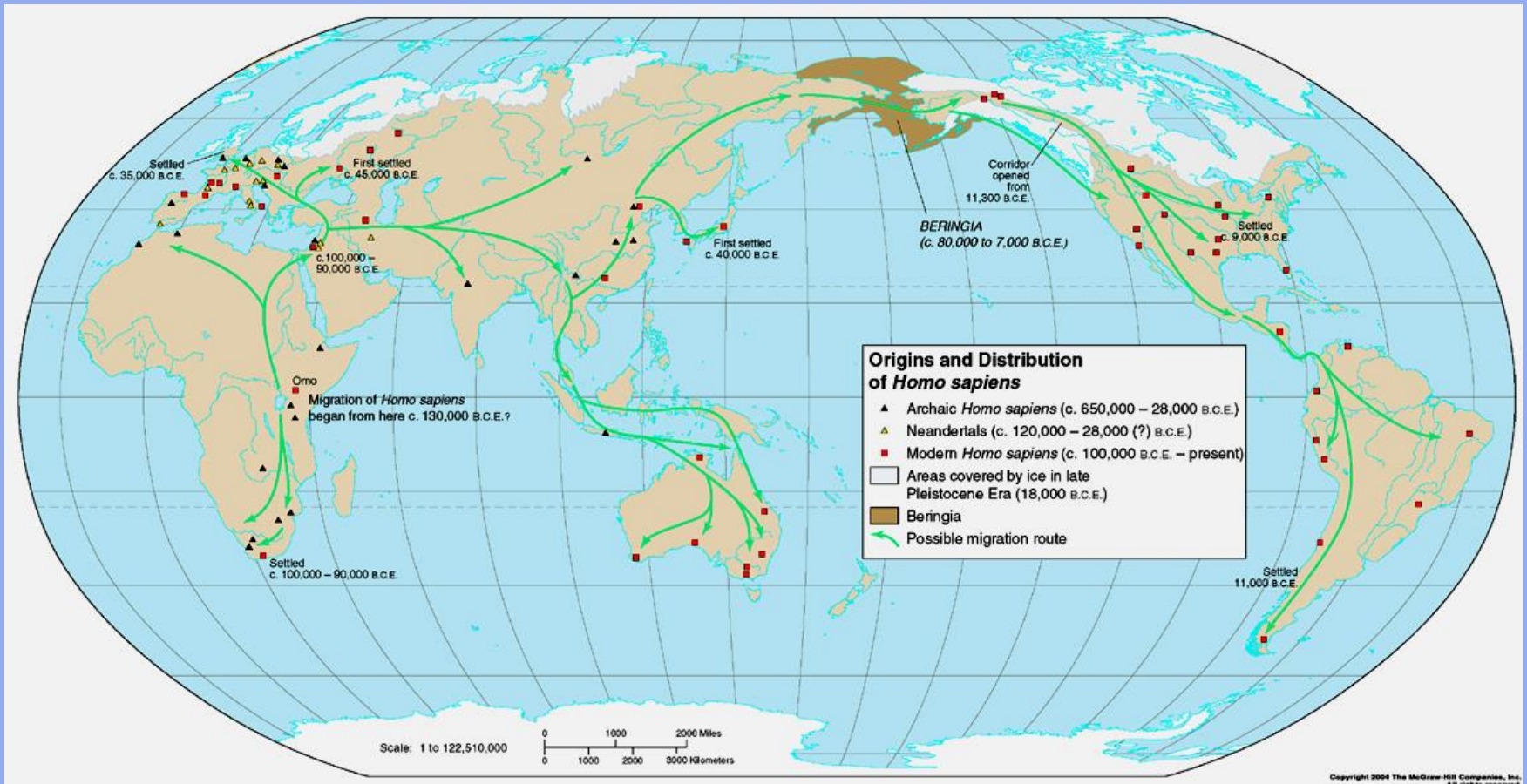
- Dexterity
- Eye -> brain (increase of information, stimulation)
- Enhanced experience of space
- Permanence of the sexual appeal (different to other primates, a factor in pair-bonding & caretaking for newborns/mothers)
- Mixed grouping of the young & old (intergenerational learning)
- Creating one's material & social habitat via logistic solutions].

[Lucy: walking on today's legs..]

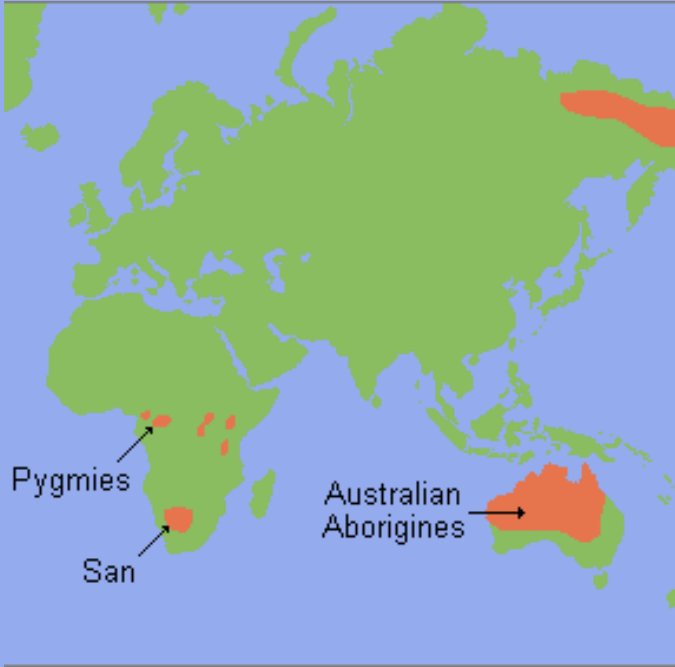
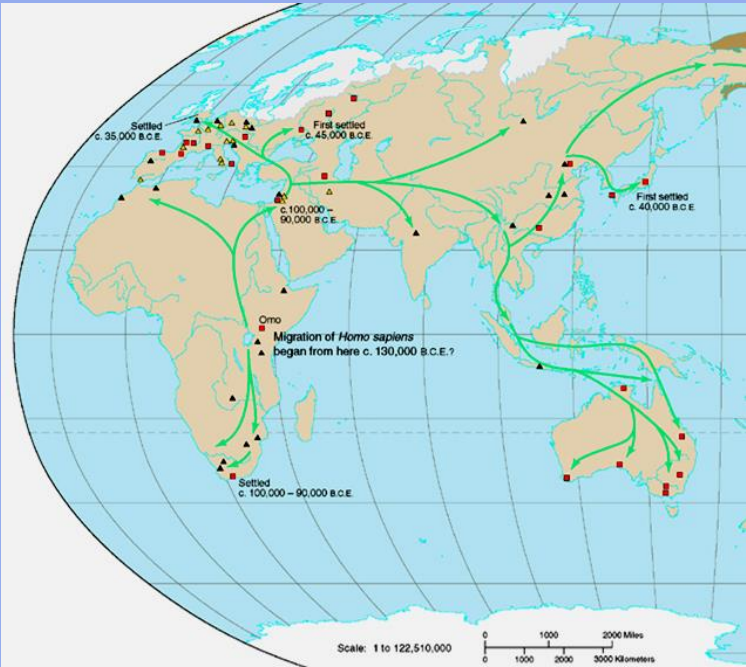
FORAGING

Locations

Foraging – A marginal economy? - Early hominids obviously used many places that are considered relatively favourable & central.



FORAGING



[Compare their past/present spread]

FORAGING



Locations



© 2001-2006 by Dennis O'Neil

pedestrian



equestrian



aquatic

Once highly adaptive, restricted to marginal zones 'nowadays'

FORAGING

Locations



(Classical) Hunter-Gatherer Communities, arid regions

Kalahari (*San*)

Arizona, Utah, New Mexico (pre-contact *Navaho, Apache*)

FORAGING



Locations

(Classical) Hunter-Gatherer Communities, tropical regions

Tropical Central-Eastern Africa (*Mbuti, Efe, Hadza*)

Madagascar, SE-Asia (*Mlabri*)

Malaysia (*Semang*)

Sri Lanka (*Vedda*)

i

India (*Chenchu, Birhor*)

Philippines (*Agta*)

Indonesia (*Kubu*)

Andaman Islands

South-America (*tribes of the rain forest*)

Paraguay (*Ache*)

FORAGING



Locations

(Classical) Hunter-Gatherer Communities, temperate regions

Arctic regions (*Inuit*)

tribes of thre arid areas and wood-lands of America (Plains/Great Basin/
Northwest Coast/Plateau) i

Patagonia (*Selk'nam, Tehuelche*)

Russian Fed. (*Chukchi*)

FORAGING



Population size

On the (Classical) Hunter-Gatherer Communities

- Now: 0.005 % of world population, only 1/4 million today
- In all known instances foragers were cornered by pastoralist and sedentary populations leaving the former hunter-gatherers without the “main ingredient” their existence: vast & free roaming territory.
- Partly foragers & sedentary were antagonistic, partly they were periodically in touch & formed symbiosis (Mbenga & hunters & Bantu farmers).

FORAGING



Foragers: typified as exposed, deprived, struggling.



Indigenous of Patagonia,
Smyth's Channel/Chile

[Early evolutionists branded hunter-gatherers as “primordial groups”, “relics”]

FORAGING



“Truth Is..”:

High knowledge of the natural habitat & managing skills.

- long-term processes in nature
- distribution of resources
- animal behaviour,
- wild plants reproductive cycles
- micro-climate
- weather phenomena
- soil types
- medical plants etc.), instead of a control of the living conditions of animals/plants and the preservation of food..

Competences in social life & the assessment of the socio-economic balance.

(Skill in realizing “life satisfaction”).

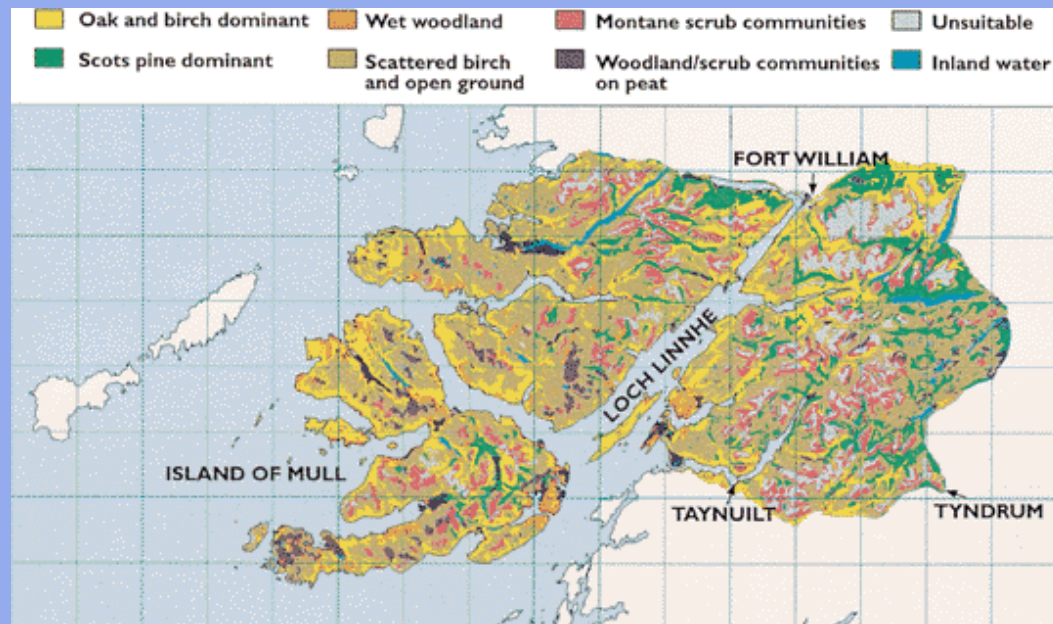
(Developed spirituality)

FORAGING



Exploitation wild animal/plant species in a large territory means:

A remarkable 'mapping & cataloguing operation' (especially in the case of marked seasonal changes).



[Vegetation pattern, W-Scotland.]

[Dena'ina of South Central Alaska use of the habitat

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g36oIvod2-k&list=PL4cegg1q2GAKvD6IS03FslAaIY-7IjTM3>]

FORAGING



Hunting skill is but one of the necessary skills. Male & female in foraging groups need:

- > Trained observational/memorizing skill
- > Good feel for what group-size a stretch of land will sustain ("carrying capacity"),
- > Anticipation when resources will be abundant/exhausted,
- > Exact knowledge of the properties of natural resources (e. g. some poisonous stable plant can only be made use of after intricate processing),
- Capability to respond to sudden changes aptly/promptly.

That is...

FORAGING

...skills no less than that of our managers.



/Koece Ghau, Ju/'hoansi
© Dave Bruce

Spelling:
http://anthro.palomar.edu/subsistence/sounds/Ju_hoansi.mp3

[Though being aestheticized for the Western consumer the photo has been picked:
It subverts the conventional presentation of foraging peoples "running after animals,
making fire, making traps etc., i.e. being always busy with basic food or tool
procurement.]



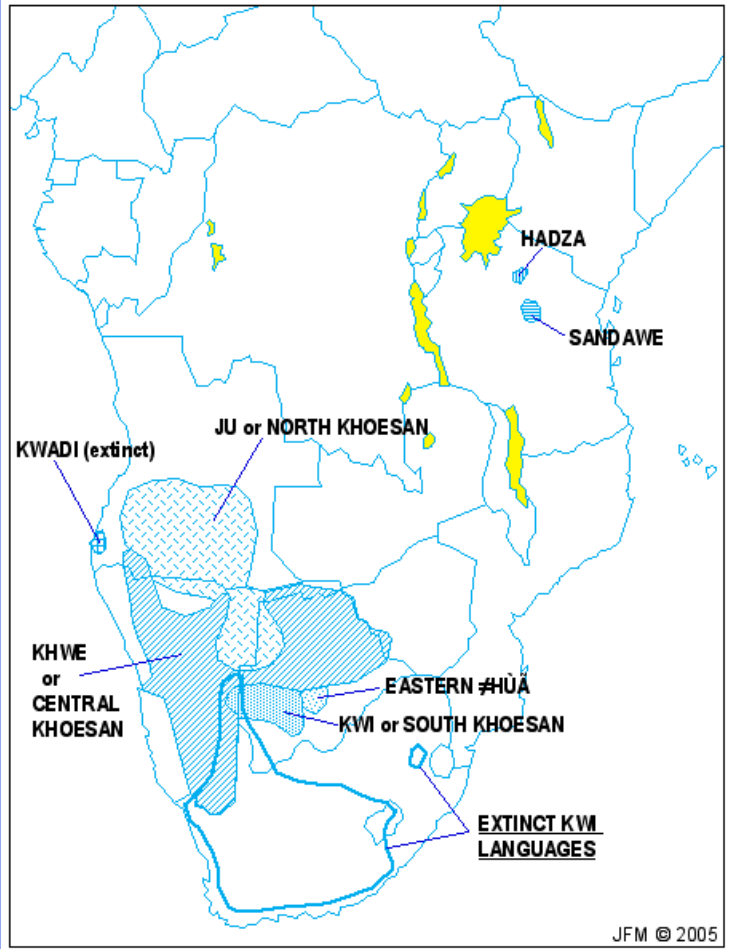
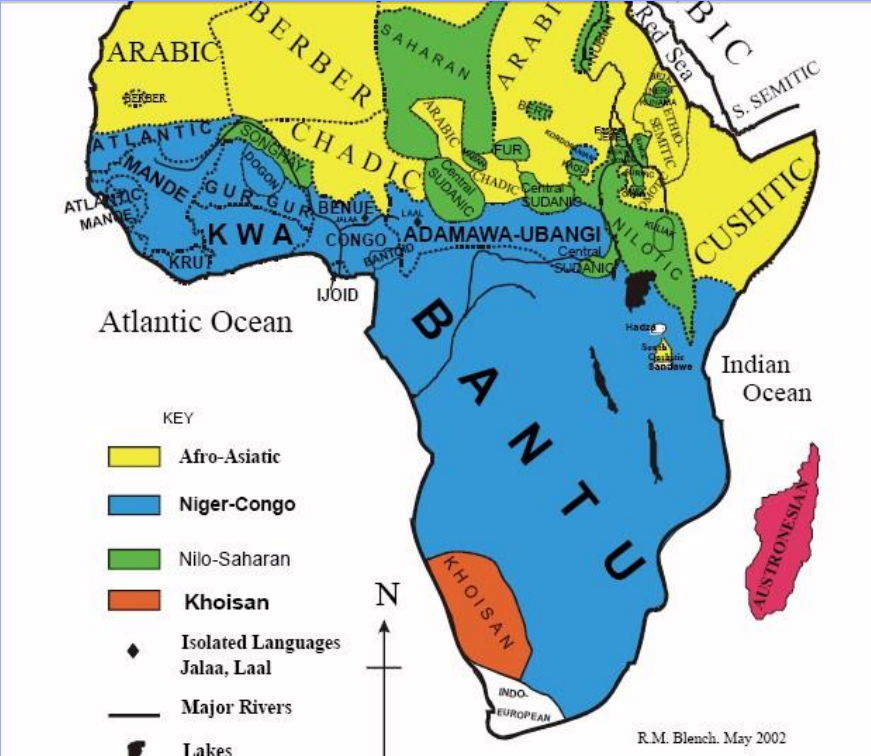
[Some researchers assumed that despite the harsh environments (classical) foragers inhabit, many of the small groups spent less hours per week "making their living" than members of industrial societies. This led to the popular concept of the "original superfluent society" (Marshall Sahlins 1966) https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Original_affluent_society.]

FORAGING

Ethnographic Example

The Ju'/hoansi of Angola/Namibia/Botswana

(= "Classical" hunter-gatherer communities. Inhabiting an esp. dry environment)



FORAGING

Subsistence

Ethnographic Example
Ju'/hoansi, Angola/Namibia/Botswana



The seasonal variations and the exploitation of scarce natural resources necessitate mobility.



FORAGING

Subsistence



Hunting. Any time hunters fail, they turn to gathering.

Ju'hoansi men use 4 methods in hunting: bow and poisoned arrow, hunting with dogs, digging out ground-living animals and snaring.]

FORAGING



Subsistence

Gathering: making a wide use of the resources in their territory (including wild plants and animals species for food)



[The **Ju'/hoansi**:100 species of plants (nuts fruits, berries, melons, roots, greenery etc.) are collected. Especially the *mongongo*-nut is rich in carbohydrates, fats and protein. 50 animal-species offer meat.

FORAGING



Subsistence

[Ethnographic Example
Aka, Central African Republic, Congo]

Silent Trade, Barter

3-4 months each year individual Aka work for Bantu-speaking farmers in exchange for manioc.

They trade products of the rain-forest with the neighbouring agrarians ('Silent Trade').

The, Mbuti from Ituri similarly exchange with Sudanic, Bantu-speakers in Congo.

Also the Ju/'hoansi barter with surrounding agrarians.



FORAGING



Ownership



Mbuti/Congo

[The necessity to be constantly on the move limits the possibility to accumulate material possessions, and a classical forager economy does hardly create storable goods.]

FORAGING



Possession of tools

Foragers are nomadic. Through much of their history they did not possess beasts of burden.

All personal belongings have to be carried on the back, when the band moves collectively to a better area of exploitation.



["It is not the man who has too little, but the man who craves more, that is poor." – Seneca, Roman philosopher.]

Foragers are not poor. Like we they had all equipment that matters.]

[The individual belongings of the Ju/'hoansi remarkably do not outweigh 12kgs, although they encompass everything that is necessary for hunting, gathering, fishing, building, cooking etc.).

FORAGING



Possession of tools

Counter to what was sometimes claimed, egalitarian foragers do not “practice communism”. - Tools are produced and owned by the individuals.

Extra efforts may legitimate *exclusive* rights of use, however, borrowing of these implements happens freely.



ulu-knife/Inuit

[If game has been shot by the arrow of an other person, the owner of the owner of the tool is entitled to receive part of the pray.]

FORAGING



Possession of resources

Although bands exploit certain territories, the claim for it cannot be enforced.

There is no individual right to the pristine resources within the foraging-circle of the group ('first come – first serve').



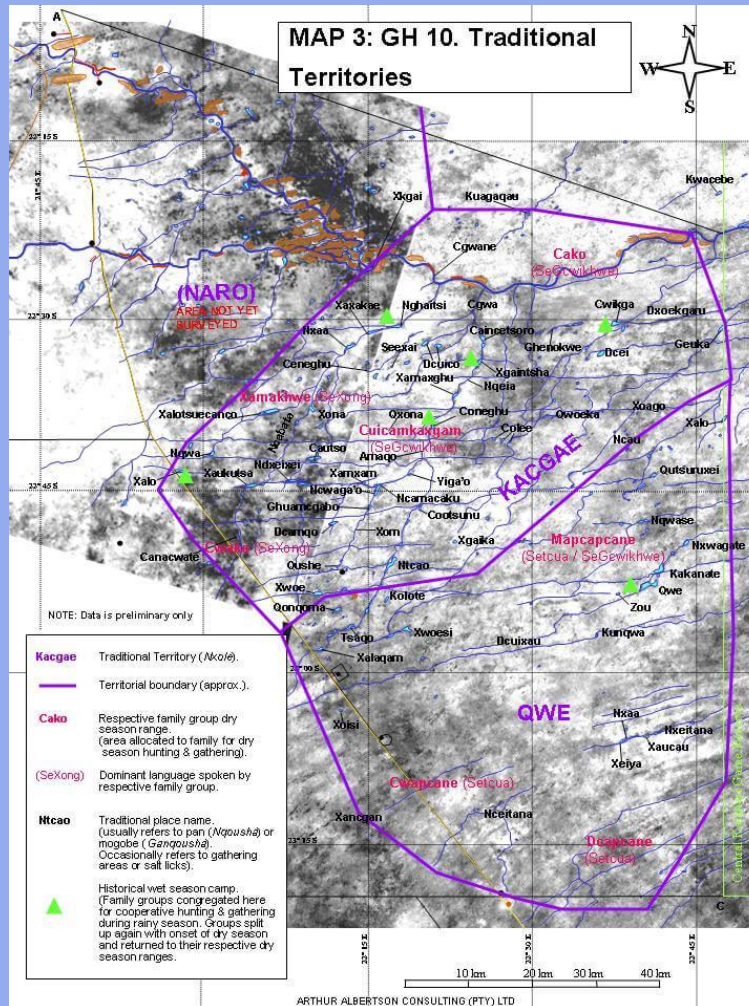
Working the honeytree, Hadza/Tanzania

[For example, in the case of the Mbuti/Congo a honeytree is exploited its finder and all that get a notion of it indifferently (similar practice: Shoshone/Great Basin).]

[Ju/'hoansi women exploit different sections with berry-bearing trees after marriage. Also in the case of the Yurok/N-California resources may be considered a family possession (however, this group already possessed certain prestige-items.)]

FORAGING

Territory



[Source: <http://www.kalahariwildlandstrust.com/participatory-mapping.html>]

Although a group may be adhere to a particular area, kinship ties may allow individuals to roam farther & join other related groups, either more permanently or temporally (seeking a marriage partner, visiting, enforcing or relieving groups, curiosity, avoiding personal conflict etc). A constant coming & going!

FORAGING



Social unit

Foragers live(d) in small groups that migrate to exploit the natural resources in their territory.



Ju/'hoansi, Namibia

The decisive social unit is special in structure & is correctly labelled: a "band".
[Band size: not stable!]

FORAGING



Group size



Ju/'hoansi, Namibia

Max. 50-100 individuals. Usually well below.

[Limited size allows to meet the main socio-economic factors of moving foragers: mobility - carrying capacity - social integration - social fluctuation - buffering of existential threats etc.]

FORAGING

Group structure

The structuring principle is kinship.

Relatively small family units (nuclear families) together loosely form the larger band.



Ju'/hoansi,
Angola/Namibia/Botswana

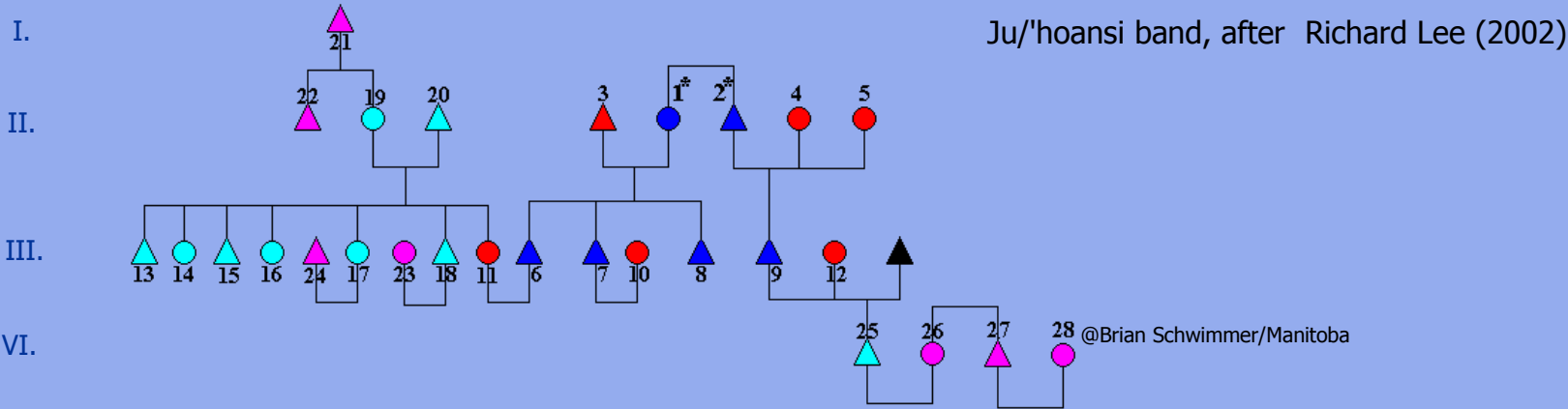


[*Nuclear family* = parents & their kids.]

FORAGING



Genealogical "depth": max. 4 generations (I.-IV.).
 So: in a *band* relationship entirely focuses on the living, not on a common dead ancestor - as it is characteristic for the numerous people that form, for example, a *clan*.



[Because of the *bilineal* relationship (to both the mother & father side) the nuclear families of bands are relatively easy to 'untangle'. They may split into smaller groups or join into larger units as it is "good for the season".]

FORAGING



Group structure



[Organizational flexibility!

If there is a seasonal abundance of resources, *nuclear families* may gather at a favourable place and stay together for some time (maximum size of bands).

Once the locally abundant resources diminish

- as season progresses
- or the resources within the 'foraging-circle' are exhausted (due to the concentration of individuals),

the maximal unit (*band*) breaks up into smaller units who make their living during the rest of the year independently.]

FORAGING

Group structure



[So there is a constant subtle *interplay* between social and economical needs in nomadic foraging communities.

Part of their ingenuity lies in *keeping this in a balance* in harsh ecological settings.]

It has been observed that large groups already start to split and disperse *before 1/5 of the carrying capacity of the territory is reached!* - That means that indeed foragers need relatively large, open tracts of land for living & risk-buffering!

FORAGING

The factor of seasonality



Contrary to us classical foragers may live quite different "behavioural cultures" during different seasons.

[Ethnographic Example
Ju'/hoansi, Angola/Namibia/Botswana



Kalahari waterhole

June-Sept (no rainfall):

20-50 individuals group at the remaining water-holes, feeding on the nutritious *mongongo*-nuts. (Meeting other individuals, exchanging news, marrying partners etc.)

After a while the exploitation of less liked plant-products: bitter melons, roots & gum starts; gets more difficult to get to the needed stuff (socially a vague "feeling of tense" may grow)

Humid season:

Filling up of the surrounding less permanent smaller water-holes; the large band splits up into smaller units, who roam freely through the surrounding land & alone make their living.]

FORAGING



Marriage

Foragers practice exogamy (marrying out of the own group).

Postmarital residence: optionally *patrilocal* ("side of the father") or *matrilocal* ("side of the mother").



Aché family (E-Paraguay)

FORAGING



Marriage

[Ethnographic Example
Ju'/hoansi, Angola/Namibia/Botswana

Getting married/postnuptial residence: female are engaged with the age of 8 or 9 years. The couple stays some time with the family of the bride's father ('bride-service').

- Spouses: Monogamy prevails with 95%. (Healers may turn to polygyny to emphasize their special status.)
- Childcare: lactating occurs several times/hour. Nursing lasts 4 or 5 years. So a spacing in pregnancies occurs.
- Divorce: easily obtained & common, as are second marriages. When a separation does occur, the children remain with their mother.]



FORAGING



Marriage

[Ethnographic Example
Ju'/hoansi, Angola/Namibia/Botswana

Main social binding force:
consanguinity & marriage.

Putative ('claimed kinship') relations
are also accepted.

Exogamous marriage: Relatively broad
scope of non-marriageable persons
(excluding 75% of members). Ties
with a outward groups = encouraged.



(<https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinnimg.com/originals/e4/2a/01/e42a01b87a1d1222336a622c78a81c1c.jpg>)

FORAGING

Division of labour by gender



Ju'/hoansi, Angola/Namibia/Botswana

[Ju'/hoansi, Angola/Namibia/Botswana: Men and women equally often leave the camp(3 days/week). In both cases the working hours are ca. 43 hours/week. Nor is the task easy: they cover approx. 12 miles/day and carry a load of 15 kg plus their children. [(Draper 1975, R. Lee 1993

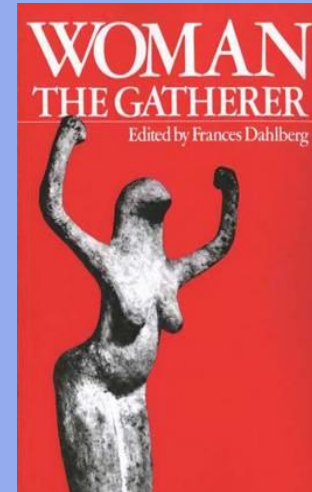
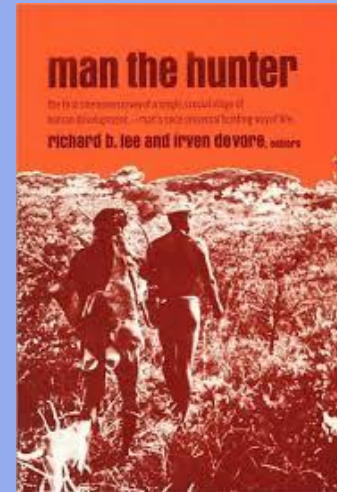
FORAGING

Division of labour by gender



[Hunt - High expenditure of energy, plus risk to be injured (not seldom negative energy-balance; bonus: amino-acid for vital protein as well as social/symbolic significance).

Gathering - Low energy-spending, low risk, reliable intake.



- Women also prey on fish, small animals when they come across them during their gathering activities.
- During their excursions they gather information important for the hunters: the moves of game.
- With nuts etc. they “fuel” the energy-consuming meat hunt.]

EXCURSUS #3 Reciprocity

[Sahlins (1968), Service (1966)]



General reciprocity: In a community giving and receiving occurs in such a natural way that no one wants nor will be able to keep track of the amount of things shared. Infinite care of parents for their children vice versa is of such kind. This is not the same with balanced reciprocity

Balanced reciprocity: a return present of exactly the same value as the one given is expected within an certain period of time. This is a wide-spread mechanism to establish reliable relations with distant persons (e.g. ritual gift-exchange, trade).

Negative reciprocity: 'selfish' trial to overreach persons with which we do not need to establish balanced, frictionless relations (extreme form: raiding)



Ache/E-Patagonia



Lampung/Sumatra



Plains Indians

FORAGING



Distribution

The overarching concept – kinship-ideology/general reciprocity – inhibit the idea of a higher social rank.

Amassing goods by an individual would not result in a higher status. It would lead to the contrary : ridicule and withdrawal. And it can not be realized technically for want of storage facilities, conservation practices and beasts of burden..



[Sharing: investment, long-term insurance]

**Ba'Aka/Cameroon, Congo,
Central African Republic, Gabon**

FORAGING



Distribution



Mbuti/Congo

Male hunters are often obliged to share their prey with not only with their all members of their nuclear family, but with the entire band. Sharing entitles you to take a share of meat next time if your hunting attempt fails, but another hunter has made a kill.

Though hunting success is never predictable a constant inflow of important food (meat of game) is thereby realized. - Same as our risk-sharing assurance system.

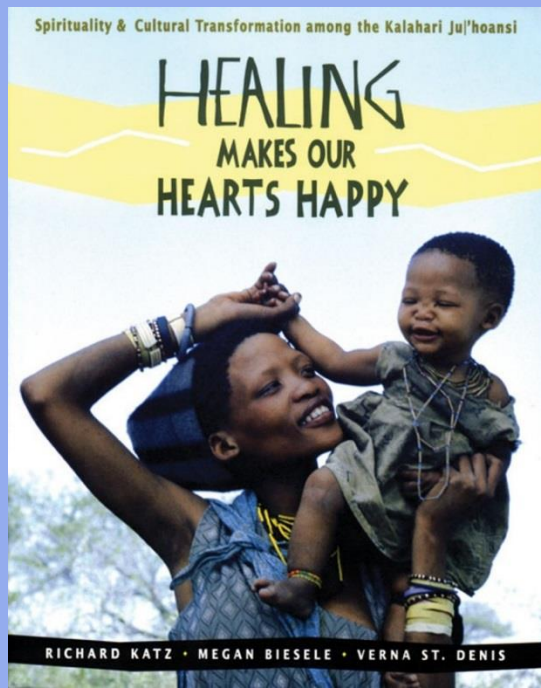
FORAGING

Distribution



Contrary to that woman are not compelled to generally share with the band. (Food intake by gathering is predictable).

A woman can distribute according to her will the yield of gathering (fruits, nuts, tubers, small animals etc.). She supports individual households. This may be a way how to influence life within the band.



FORAGING

Social stratification



- The 'classical' forager groups were egalitarian:



- No social division of labour (exception: ritual specialists, persons accomplished in certain techniques).

FORAGING



Social stratification

No political institutions or formal authority.

Classical foragers are egalitarian, within the same social category (of age or gender)

Leadership: informal ('*primus-inter-pares*') - persuasion instead of enforcement of decisions.



[Exceptions: The owners of the nets for rabbit-hunting of Shoshone/Utah, Nevada. Likewise the captains of whale-boats Inuit/N-Alaska are given command.]

Washo/Great Basin: leaders may be persons with some special skill as advisors, healers, midwives, warriors or hunters.]

FORAGING



Division of labour

According to the 'kinship-ideology' of foragers: along the lines of age & gender.



Aka, Congo

[Tropical region: contribution of gathering women to the total diet may up to 60-70%. Different in the arctic region: scarcely any exploitable plants exist. (Arctic zone: the roles of men and women in hunter-gatherer society are less balanced).

In foraging societies women are excluded from certain rituals. Some ritual exclusion exists for the males also, e.g. the ritual avoidance in connection with the hunt]

FORAGING

Division of labour



Agta/Philippines

[Agta females are reported do hunt with dogs while carrying their babies (Griffin & Estioko-Griffin 1985).

The Washo of the Great Basin (N-America): both female and male were engaged in gathering and fishing]

FORAGING



Division of labour



Contrary to the common stereotype, percentage of time that foragers have to invest in primary economical activities is astonishingly low (e.g. 40 hrs/week to give just some figure). A high proportion of time & effort flows into the social interactions of group members that dwell together.

[Observations among the Aka by Barry Hewlett indicate that the male hunters play a major role in the infants care, including hugging for prolonged time etc. Males: accessible for infants approx. 47% of the time].

Aka/Congo

[<http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2005/jun/15/childrenservices.familyandrelationships>]

FORAGING



Managing conflict

Low competitiveness.

No social incentives, special precautions or provisions for violence.

Mobility eases off the tensions.

Spontaneous feuds occur. Individual causes (adultery, witch craft etc.).

[Tension control Ju/'hoansi San: The composition of the bands constantly changes.

Individuals are free to join related groups in some distance. They will also exchange visits, which may last for a week or two. This should allow individuals 'to find their place' in the larger social web.

Arctic Inuit: public 'song battles' as a means of for conflict-resolution.]

FORAGING

Aging

Ethnographic Example

Ju'/hoansi, Angola/Namibia/Botswana

Retirement with about 60. The old may hunt for themselves, but do not contribute to the band.

Freed from eating taboos.

Mature persons serve as personified 'lexicons' for the community.



[Hadza/Tanzania: Elder women significantly contribute, to support younger women with children.]



FORAGING



Spirituality



Many rituals are performed by the individuals themselves.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gjPHmrU2B1E> Kosmology: Aborigine dreamtime



Collective rituals: healing trance, initiation.

FORAGING

Spirituality



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IyLF3y1YJKA> Healing



[Part-time ritual specialists: *shamans* (healer/medium/diviner) who act because of a personal vocation.

They perform for other members of the group, but are not exempt from primary production.

Shamans sometimes set themselves off from ordinary people by different/ambiguous sex/gender roles; see Chukchi (Bogoras 1904)]

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