

MAIN TRENDS IN THE USSR
IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY
OF PACIFIC ISLANDS PEOPLES, 1961-1986,
WITH A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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In 1961 I presented to the 10th Pacific Science Congress a paper that summed up some of the results of the ethnographic study in the USSR of the Pacific Islands peoples. The paper was published in Russian, English, and French (172). Now that a quarter of a century has passed, it is worthwhile to consider how this research developed further.

In the 1961-1986 period, study in the Soviet Union of the Pacific Islands peoples substantially intensified, developing greater versatility and reaching a higher stage. According to incomplete data, more than four hundred relevant publications made their appearance in the Soviet Union during this period. Naturally, the present paper is too brief to list all these publications (including individually authored and corporate monographs, research articles and reviews, prefaces and commentaries to Russian translations of books by foreign scientists and travelers, popular and reference works, and so on). I have decided, however, not to confine myself to a review of the main lines of pertinent research and will name a considerable proportion of these publications in the appended bibliographical list with a view to making them known to my colleagues abroad.

This paper includes references to publications by more than sixty authors. Among them are ethnoceanists (specialists in the ethnography of the Pacific Islands peoples); although they comprise a distinct minority, they have authored the majority of the said publications. Problems pertaining to the study of the Pacific Islands peoples have also been developed by ethnographers whose basic research interests are not connected with Oceania, including general ethnographers and specialists in other disciplines-physical anthropologists, demographers, sociologists, historians, linguists, and so on. Such a wide-ranging specialization of the authors, just as the increasingly versatile, interdisciplinary approach to the study of the Pacific Islands peoples, stems not only from the extremely wide scope of the problems posed by their study and not only from the tendency toward the general integration of scientific knowledge (a characteristic of our time), but also from the specific features of ethnographic science as understood in the Soviet Union in the last few decades.

According to this understanding, ethnography is a social science that studies peoples-ethnoses and other ethnic entities, their cultural and historical relations, and especially their traditional cultures, which determine their ethnic make-up. Whereas territorially, ethnography embraces all the peoples of the world, chronologically, its scope extends from early times to our days. An ethnos is a dynamic system. Therefore one of the main tasks facing ethnography is the study of the changes of the characteristic features of ethnoses with time, that is, of ethnic processes beginning from ethnogeny and the early stages of ethnic history and up to the present-day shifts in the fundamental characteristics of these systems (158; 159). *

Being an integral branch of knowledge with an exceedingly wide spectrum of problems subject to research, ethnography solves many problems facing it in the course of interaction with other fields of science. For instance, problems of ethnogeny are evolved jointly with physical anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics; the study of economic activity and social organization is linked with the economic sciences and sociology; migrations and the numerical strength of peoples are studied in collaboration with demography, and so on. It is not an accident that considerable development in the Soviet Union has been registered by "borderline" research disciplines, which arose at the

*Concerning the relationship between ethnography and cultural/social anthropology see 159, pt. 2, ch. 2.

boundaries of ethnography with other sciences, such as ethnic anthropology and ethnoecology. These tendencies in the development of Soviet science have exercised an inevitable impact on the approach to the study of the Pacific Islands peoples. It is characteristic that not only scientists working in related fields have been ever more intensively "invading" the subject matter of ethnography, but also that ethnooceanists at times go beyond its confines, for instance, in historical-ethnographic research or in the study of certain aspects of present-day socioeconomic development.

The interdisciplinary approach and research coordination are furthered by annual conferences studying Australia and Oceania, which have been held in Moscow beginning in 1968. Along with ethnographers, these attract historians, sociologists, economists, linguists, and specialists in other humanities. Furthermore, since 1979, Leningrad has been the venue of somewhat more specialized Maclay commemorative readings, so called in honor of N. N. Miklouho-Maclay (1846-1888), a distinguished Russian traveler and Pacific Islands explorer whose name has been given to the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The interdisciplinary approach to the study of the problems in question is not limited to the social sciences and the humanities. Continuing to work in such customary "borderland" areas as ethnobotany (for example, see 42), Soviet ethnographers have launched fruitful cooperative activities with specialists in a number of natural sciences. For instance, the joint work of an ethnooceanist with a researcher of the processes of air and water circulation in the Pacific basin has led to a substantial specification of the scientific conceptions about navigational conditions on the sea routes leading to Polynesia (in the context of a discussion about the settling of Polynesia) and to a refutation of relevant erroneous views (145; 180). Another pertinent example is the research carried out by a group of Soviet geologists on Easter Island, which has helped to clear up some puzzles of this "island of mysteries" and to reinterpret debatable questions about the history of its population and of the development of its distinctive culture (86; 87). Soviet ethnooceanists strive to broaden their cooperation with natural scientists.

For several decades Soviet ethnographers had been denied the opportunity to conduct field research in the Pacific Islands. Therefore their participation in two expeditions carried out aboard the research vessel *Dmitriy Mendeleev* has become a landmark in the development of the Soviet ethnographic investigations in this area of the world. In the course of these expeditions, held in 1971 and 1977, the ethnographers

visited many Pacific islands. But of particularly vital importance were their two stays in Bongu village (on the northeast coast of New Guinea), the scene of the research conducted by N. N. Miklouho-Maclay a hundred years ago. On the basis, or with the extensive use, of the materials collected during these expeditions participants jointly wrote a monograph *On the Maclay Coast* (97), several other books, and many articles (see, for instance, 9; 10; 20; 21; 26; 74; 94; 95; 102; 112; 113; 132; 148; 165; 174; 176). Regrettably, these two expeditions have had no sequels, so far. Soviet ethnooceanists strive to compensate for the shortage of field materials by meticulous study and critical analysis of all sources within their reach. These include museum ethnographic collections, writings by navigators and other travelers who visited the Pacific Islands at the early stages of contact between their inhabitants and the Europeans, works by various explorers of the South Seas islands, the publications of folklore texts, "oral histories" and historical manuscripts written by islanders themselves, and so on.

In the 1961-1986 period Soviet specialists in the Pacific Islands peoples studied practically all the main problems that enter into the subject matter of ethnography. For instance, considerable attention was given to the origin of these peoples and to the history of the settling of the Pacific Islands. Alongside survey publications concerned with problems of the ethnogeny of the peoples of Oceania and its subregions (47; 105; 106; 111, ch. 1), research appeared on the origins of the populations of individual islands and archipelagoes (15; 27; 28; 70; 76; etc.). Of particular interest were problems of the ethnogeny and ancient migrations of the Polynesians. In the 1960s Soviet scientists put forward certain comparatively new ideas, which were developed in subsequent researches (145). In addition to works treating ethnogenic problems in integral terms, on the basis of the use and comparison of the data of various scholarly disciplines Soviet ethnographers published works in which these problems were considered predominantly on materials pertaining to one branch of science. This applies, for instance, to articles about the origin and migrations of the Polynesians according to data of linguistics (12) and physical anthropology (123; 124). A note should also be made of a series of works on the craniology of the Papuans of New Guinea and their position in racial systematics. Along with data derived from scientific literature, the author makes use of the results of the study of craniums collected by nineteenth-century Russian travelers and explorers (2; 3; 4; 156). Additional material for the solution of problems posed by the ethnogeny of the Pacific Islands peoples is yielded by odontological and serological studies (1; 13; 139; 154; 155). For the same purpose use is made of the results of folklore studies and of the investigation of kin-

ship systems (28; 88; 96; etc.). Some of the newly published works represent inquiries into ethnogenic and ethnocultural contacts in the transitional zone between the Pacific Islands and Southeast Asia (43) and consider the problem of ancient contacts between the peoples of Polynesia and South America (53).

Soviet ethnooceanists exhibit a keen interest in traditional economy and material culture. These questions are discussed not only in specialized works, but also in more general research publications as well as in articles devoted to other aspects of the culture and everyday life of the South Seas islanders (see, for instance, 7; 16; 26; 97; 146; 175; 179). Special attention is given to the analysis of the specific features of the development of productive forces and their influence on social relations.

In the period under review progress was made by the study of traditional Pacific Islands agriculture and the related problems of agroethnography. One of the works concerned with the genesis of agriculture in this region embodies an attempt to explain why the culture of rice did not penetrate into the Pacific Islands (with the exception of Guam) before contact with the Europeans (42). A special study has been made of the traditional economy of the Bainings of New Britain, based on primitive slash-and-burn agriculture in the conditions of seminomadism (70). Another publication deals with the economic-cultural type of wild sago gatherers widespread in New Guinea. They draw sustenance from a highly productive food-gathering economy on the verge of a transition to the food-producing type (133).

One of the key directions of relevant research is the study of the regularities governing the development of the communal clan system and of the formation of classes and statehood based on materials of concrete ethnic entities of the Pacific Islands. Naturally, Soviet ethnographers are aware that general regularities of social development exist "in a pure form" only in textbooks. Operating in multiform conditions, they "imbibe" the specific features of the subjects of historical action as well as of the social and natural environment. This fusion of general sociological regularities and of the exceedingly diverse situations in which they manifest themselves reflects a dialectical notion of the unity and multiformity of historical development. Within the framework of this approach, Soviet ethnooceanists identify in the study of traditional Oceanic societies certain stages in the development and disintegration of the communal clan system as well as different forms and stages of the transition from preclass to class society, and trace the emergence of chiefdoms and (in the cases of Hawaii, Tonga, and Tahiti) the formation of early class states.

In the period under consideration, the attention of the Soviet ethno-

oceanists was primarily attracted by the social media that were found, as it were, at the opposite ends of the scale of development of the Oceanic social forms—the comparatively egalitarian societies of New Guinea and the stratified societies of Polynesia. A number of works contain detailed analyses of different variants of the late clan social organization characteristic of the majority of the peoples of New Guinea, such of its major institutions as the community, family, and clan; the formation of the institution of leadership, especially the status of “big men”; the social functions of initiation rites; and so on (7; 16; 17; 22; 23; 70; 97; etc.). In the study of Polynesian societies, parallel with a survey of their inherent localized forms of social organization and of the descent groups, emphasis was placed on inquiry into the processes of social and property differentiation, of the formation and isolation of social strata, and of the development of the institution of hereditary chiefs. The ethnographers analyzed the specific socioorganizational features of the chiefdoms and the ways whereby they become early class states (26; 30; 52; 71; 121; 143; 175; 179). These works contain different assessments of the level of socioeconomic development of Polynesian societies directly before their first contacts with the Europeans and different interpretations of certain specific features of their social structure. One of the recently published articles represents an attempt to consider traditional Tongan society as a multidimensional system and to identify two basic types of social rank in the discussion of its hierarchical structure (83). The ethnooceanists also gave attention to various forms of men’s societies—men’s houses, characteristic of New Guinea, secret men’s societies and graded societies of northwest and central Melanesia, and the Areoi society of eastern Polynesia (6; 10; 46). On the basis of the Oceanic ethnographic material, the splitting of the culture of ethnos with the development of social differentiation was studied. The ethnographers put forward the idea that stratified preclass societies had formed two subcultures (of the ruling stratum and the rank-and-file community members) (30; 133).

As part of the study of traditional social organization, Soviet ethnooceanists investigate such specific areas of human contacts as kinship. The period under review brought the publication of works dealing with the kinship systems of a number of peoples of Polynesia and Melanesia, including New Guinea. Alongside data taken from scientific literature, use was made of the authors’ own recordings of kinship terminologies made in Bongu village (New Guinea), on Eromanga island, and on Funafuti atoll. The analysis of the concrete kinship systems was used, in the first place, for specifying the ideas pertaining to crucial elements of

social organization and, as said earlier, in ethnogenic studies. Furthermore, the authors proceeded from Oceanic material in discussing certain questions of the origin of classificatory kinship systems-in particular, the role of adoption in this process and the influence of crisis demographic situations on the formation of the "Hawaiian type" systems. The authors also debated such general theoretical questions as the essence of the phenomenon of kinship, the relationship of the biological and the social in this phenomenon, and so on (7; 16; 24; 26; 30; 51; 82; 88; 91; 97; 165).

Religious beliefs and rituals offer vast material for the study of the early forms of religion and of the reflection of social relations in it. In the 1961-1986 period the development of these problems continued. In addition to a general review of the religions of the Pacific Islands peoples, articles were published about the Polynesian pantheon, traces of shamanism in Polynesian folklore, ritual objects on Easter Island, the reflection of the natural environment in the religious beliefs of the Melanesians, ritual head-hunting, the yam cult in New Guinea, and other subjects (22; 38; 39; 40; 54; 61; 64; 68; 104; 136; 140). Soviet scholars study religious beliefs and rituals in the awareness of their major importance in the life of traditional Pacific Islands societies. But they are not inclined to overestimate this factor and continue to research the positive knowledge accumulated by the South Seas islanders before their contacts with the Europeans (see, for instance, 49; 138, ch. 1; 143, ch. 1).

Considerable development in this quarter-century period was recorded in the Soviet Union by the study of folklore. Above all are two fundamental publications of folklore texts-Fairy *Tales and Myths of the Pacific Islands* (135) and *Myths, Traditions, and Legends of Easter Island* (96). Both books include research articles and detailed commentaries. A recently published monograph surveys the mythology, rituals, and songs and musical folklore of New Guinea, considering them as forming a syncretic unity (118). Another book and several articles are devoted to the songs and musical folklore of both individual South Seas islands and of the entire Pacific Island world. These publications are partly based on tape recordings made in 1971 during the expedition aboard the *Dmitriy Mendeleev* (113; 115; 116; 117; 119; 169). A group of articles is concerned with the folklore of Easter Island, the folkloric texts being used as a source for the reconstruction of the history and culture of this island (47; 48; 52; 54; 60; 76; 161; etc.). One of the works traces the contacts between the young literatures of the Pacific Islands and folklore and traditional culture in general (103). Several works

treat the distinctive fine arts of the peoples of this region (55; 69; 72; 81; etc.).

Easter Island (Rapanui) is the only place in Oceania where writing (*kohau rongorongo*) antedated contact with Europeans. Since the end of the nineteenth century many researchers have been trying to read the puzzling local script carved on wooden tablets. Among them were scholars whose work I discussed in my previous survey (172). In the 1961-1986 period they continued their planned, systematic research of *kohau rongorongo*. Considerable successes were achieved in the analysis of this writing system, cogent arguments were put forward in favor of the local origin of *kohau rongorongo*, interesting hypotheses regarding the content of the texts under study were formulated, and variant readings of individual fragments were advanced. But the problem of decipherment as a whole has not yet been solved. The difficulties of decipherment are compounded by the small number of preserved texts and by the fact that the recordings must have been made in the ancient Rapanui language, which is different from the modern. Therefore the Soviet scholars engaged in the decipherment of these inscriptions conduct their research on a broad front, meticulously studying the history and traditional culture of Easter Island, analyzing all available folklore texts and all attempts to "read" *kohau rongorongo* by local people, and reconstructing the specific features of the Rapanui language at different stages of its history (25; 28; 50; 57; 58; 160; 162). Proceeding from the results of the positional-statistical analysis of *kohau rongorongo* texts and of their computer processing, the majority of Soviet specialists-associates of the group of Ethnic Semiotics of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences-assume that Rapanui inscriptions were made at the early stage of the formation of hieroglyphic writing (56; 57; 58; 77; 78). At the same time, it was recently suggested that hieroglyphs in *kohau rongorongo* had been combined with signs that had functioned as mnemonic devices (27).

One of the major lines of investigation being carried out by Soviet ethnooceanists and researchers working in related fields is the study of the social and cultural changes generated by contacts with the bearers of Western civilization and determined by colonialism. In the years 1961-1986 a large number of books and articles were published devoted to various stages of social and cultural change in the Hawaiian Islands, Samoa, Tonga, New Zealand, Fiji, New Caledonia, Guam, and some areas of New Guinea (5; 8; 33; 84; 93; 97; 99; 101; 143; 146; 175; 176; 179). Special studies consider changes in the material culture, folklore, and some other aspects of the traditional pattern of life. The function-

ing of the institution of "big men" and the use of shell money in modern Melanesia were considered (18; 29; 74; 113; 115, ch. 4; 169). Several works analyzed the role of missionaries in social and cultural changes, the connection between missionary work and European and American colonialism, and the specific features of the syncretic religions and rituals that arose in contact situations (11; 35; 36; 141; 146; etc.). Another facet of research was the study of ethnocultural and other aspects of the development of education in this region (94; 97; 98, ch. 4; 144; 147).

In keeping with the general theory of ethnos, on the basis of Oceanic material the notion of "ethnic situation" has recently been developed. By this notion is meant the ethnic composition of the population of a certain country or region and the processes and factors variously influencing this composition and causing it to change. Among such processes and factors are the types of the ethnic entities that populate an area, the degree of development of ethnic self-awareness, ethnic processes (consolidation, assimilation, interethnic integration, separation, and so on), the ethnic aspects of demographic and migratory processes, national-linguistic problems, policies on the nationalities question, and interethnic relations. A special, recently published monograph represents a generalized study of the present ethnic situation in the Pacific Islands (111). These problems were also developed in a large number of books and articles that discussed individual aspects of the ethnic situation in the Pacific Islands (14, ch. 8; 16, ch. 2; 41; 90; 98; 105; 106; 108; 109; 167; 168). On some of these questions different points of view were expressed. For instance, Soviet researchers put forward different views with regard to the potential of the Neo-Melanesian language (Tok Pisin) and its prospects for becoming the national language of Papua New Guinea (45; 110).

Giving central attention to the study of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Islands, Soviet ethnooceanists included within the scope of their research interests the non-indigenous population of this region. The most intensive study was made of such major groups as the Indians of Fiji and the French of New Caledonia. An article about the Chinese living in the Pacific Islands was published (44; 79; 92; 105; 106; 107; 111; 122).

Soviet ethnographers participate in the interdisciplinary study of certain trends in the present-day socioeconomic development of the Pacific Islands peoples. For instance, a theoretical analysis was carried out of the basic types of traditional communal structure and of ways of changing their nature and of their disintegration under the impact of the money-commodity economy and other forms of Westernization. On this

basis were expressed considerations about the possibilities of, and prospects for, the cooperative movement in the Pacific Islands (157). One of the recently published books reviews present-day ethnonational and sociopolitical processes in Papua New Guinea (95). Another work is concerned with the ethnosocial aspects of the development of interstate cooperation and regional integration in the Pacific Islands (100). A critical analysis was made of the conception of the "Pacific Way" and its subregional and insular variants ("Melanesian Way," "faaSamoa," etc.). In the opinion of Soviet researchers, such conceptions largely idealize the social relations and systems of values that existed in traditional societies and objectively camouflage developing capitalist relations, creating illusions of "national unity" (98).

A valuable aid in the study of the material world of the traditional cultures of the South Seas peoples is the rich Oceanic collections of the Leningrad Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Russian abbreviation: MAE) of the USSR Academy of Sciences—one of the biggest depositories of such treasures in the world. The study and publication of these collections form an important aspect of the research of Soviet specialists on the Pacific Islands peoples. Alongside a general survey of MAE's Oceanic stocks (130), the period in question saw the publication of collections brought from the Society Islands, the Marquesas, Samoa, Tonga, and New Zealand (32; 59; 62; 125; 127). Another type is the publication of objects from the MAE collections representing a specific element of traditional culture—pottery, tapas, musical instruments, and one type of ritual sculpture (85; 114; 129; 136). Collections delivered by individual enthusiasts were published (73; 128). Of particular interest are articles about an MAE collection received from fellow travelers of famous Captain Cook in 1779 (75; 126). Archival searches have made it possible to specify the composition of this collection and to effect a more substantiated attribution of some items (171). So far, the ethnographic collections brought back by participants in the two *Dmitriy Mendeleev* expeditions have been published only in part (20; 21).

Soviet ethnooceanists make an intensive study of works by Russian circumnavigators of the first half of the nineteenth century (which contain unique material pertaining to the ethnography of these peoples) and provide new editions of these works with research articles and commentaries. At the same time, scholars continue the archival search for unknown manuscripts left behind by these navigators. Some of the discovered manuscripts have already been put into research circulation (131; 175; 179).

An exceedingly fruitful source of material used by specialists is the

diaries, travel reports, and articles of N. N. Miklouho-Maclay—the first European to land on the northeast coast of New Guinea. Arriving in 1871, this distinguished Russian explorer spent a total of almost three years there, visiting the southeast and western shores of this colossal island and many other islands and archipelagoes of Oceania. Soviet ethnographers not only make extensive use of his materials in their research, but also continue to devote special articles to various aspects of his scientific heritage (19; 34; 69; 119; etc.). Furthermore, in the period under review several books and articles were published outlining the lifepath of this eminent scientist and humanist and his noble advocacy of the Pacific islanders (63; 80; 120; 142; 149; 150; 151; 152; 170; 177; 178; etc.). After major preparatory efforts in the years 1950-1954, the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences published a five-volume collection of his works, furnished with photographs of his drawings and ethnographic collections, articles about his life and endeavor, and detailed commentaries. But even this fundamental publication did not bear an exhaustive character. In the last three decades, both in the USSR and abroad, many additional manuscripts and drawings of Miklouho-Maclay and other materials pertaining to his life and activities have been found. In particular, I have discovered interesting pertinent materials in archives and libraries of Australia, Britain, France, and the German Democratic Republic. An expanded edition of the works by this scientist, which will include all these finds, is currently in preparation.

Soviet ethnoceanists are taking a major interest in researches pertaining to the history and culture of these peoples that are in progress in other countries. The journal *Sovetskaya etnografiya* readily publishes articles concerned with these questions by our foreign colleagues. In turn, as can be seen from the bibliography that follows, works by Soviet ethnoceanists are included in research publications that appear outside the USSR. An important role in furthering international scientific cooperation, including in the study of the Pacific Islands peoples, is played by Congresses and Inter-Congresses of the Pacific Science Association. Soviet ethnoceanists were happy to receive a large group of specialists in the Pacific Islands peoples who arrived at the 14th Pacific Science Congress held in Khabarovsk in 1979.

In my opinion, a promising form of cooperation is ethnographic exhibitions. For instance, a major success in many Soviet cities fell to the lot of the exhibition "Ethnography and Art of Oceania," composed of collections of the N. Michoutouchkine-A. Pilioko Foundation (Republic of Vanuatu). In connection with this exhibition a research catalogue,

guidebooks, and several articles were published (65; 66; 67). And quite recently, in January-March 1987, in Helsinki, the capital of Finland, was held a Soviet exhibition of cultural treasures from the Pacific Islands, which the Finnish called "Travel to Oceania." This exhibition, which aroused major interest in Finland, embraced almost six hundred showpieces from the Leningrad Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. The Finnish organizers published a richly illustrated catalogue with facing texts in English and Finnish written by a group of Soviet specialists (166). Timed to coincide with the opening of the exhibition was a symposium, "History and Culture in the Pacific," which attracted researchers from eight countries—the USSR, Finland, Australia, New Zealand, the USA, Britain, Italy, and Denmark.

Soviet ethnooceanists champion further contacts with their colleagues abroad, including with scientists of newly independent states of Oceania. Such cooperation may contribute not only to the progress of science, but also to mutual understanding between the peoples, so vital in our nuclear age.

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SE *Sovetskaya etnografiya* (Moscow).

Sb. MAE. Sbornik Museya antropologii i etnografii. Leningrad: Nauka.

[The Russian transliteration system used in this article varies from that of the Library of Congress and others most commonly used in the West. -ED.]

A. In Russian

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