

# Ethnocultural History of Southeast Asia as Based on the Materials of the 14th Pacific Sciences Congress (Khabarovsk, August 1979)

*Received 28 November 1980*

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**A**T THE 14th Pacific Sciences Congress, a special Section III was arranged to deal with the problems of ethnocultural history. Within this section there were a few symposia. The second ("Ecological Problems of Traditional Societies of the Pacific"), the third ("Ancient Cultural Ties and Migrations in the History of Maritime Countries of Southeast Asia and of the Islands of Oceania"), and the fourth ("Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene Cultural Ties of America and Asia") symposia fall into the range of my scientific interests to a much greater extent than the others. To make the discussion fruitful and because my competence is limited, I shall try to concentrate in the present review on the most significant points covering Southeast Asia. As for the rest, I shall note only that the papers presented at the Congress devoted much of their attention to the recent studies and investigations in Oceania, Soviet Primorye [Far East], and Northwest America.

An active part in the work of the Congress was played by Vietnamese scholars, who delivered a number of papers at the sessions and submitted to the Congress some more papers which were not, unfortunately, on the agenda as the symposia were too heavily overloaded. It seems expedient therefore to take them up in this review, for in this way we shall be nearer to a more complete view of the present state of affairs in the branches of knowledge we are interested in.

Some valuable data on man in the Pleistocene were contributed by Vietnamese scholars Hoang Xuan Chinh, Nguyen Lan Cuong, and Vu The Long (1979). Several caves have yielded teeth of middle and late pleistocene man, whose age is comparable to that of *Zyn-*

*janthropus*, as well as some remains of *Homo sapiens* 20,000 or 30,000 years old. Viet-Nam probably has some links connecting *Homo erectus* to *Homo sapiens*. Manmade tools of the Middle Palaeolithic have been found in a grotto 120 km north of Hanoi. According to the authors of the paper, these tools seem to be connected with the Sangiran technique in Java and with the flake technique from Tjabengè in southern Sulawesi. A Soviet scholar, P. I. Boriskovsky, has pointed to scrapers and disc-shaped nuclei from Mieng Ho that are similar to the Mousterian ones. In his opinion, this industry is distinctly different from any other Palaeolithic industry of Indochina. Boriskovsky (1977) observes in this case some traces of contamination with the Palaeolithic of India.

In a paper on the Hoabinhian Culture, Hoang Xuan Chinh points out that in recent years, 38 new sites of this culture, mostly limestone caves, have been investigated in Viet-Nam. And only in Sap Viet, found on the Da River bank in Son La Province, was the site discovered in the open. Of interest is the report of several Hoabinhian burials where skeletons lay contracted and covered with yellow ochre. The burials contained some stone tools.

New radiocarbon dates have been obtained. The Tham Hoi grotto, with its contents characterizing the early Hoabinhian, has yielded the age of  $10,875 \pm 175$  (Brl 1275). The finds from the Hang Dang grotto are younger, dating by  $^{14}\text{C}$  to  $7665 \pm 65$  (Brl 9131); among these remains are already some polished adzes.

A new interpretation of the Hoabinhian suggested by Hoang Xuan Chinh is of great importance. His elucidation proceeds from the fact that nearly three-fourths of all the sites yield adzes at different depth levels. These adzes are represented quite significantly among the other tools and reach 18 percent in the Hangmoui grotto. Transition to polishing he regards as a typical trait of the Hoabinhian. Because of this evidence, he postulates the Hoabinhian to be a holocene culture that had originated in the Mesolithic but whose life was mostly in the Neolithic. According to Hoang Xuan Chinh, the thing which some authorities (H. O. Beyer, J. Golson, W. G. Solheim II, F. L. Dunn, C. Gorman) see as the "Hoabinhian culture of the Pleistocene" should be classed as a pre-Hoabinhian culture. Its concrete expression in Viet-Nam is the Son Vi Culture discovered in 1968.

The question of Son Vi throws light on the historical place of the Hoabinhian, and we shall therefore undertake here a brief description of that late palaeolithic culture. Its problem is touched upon in the materials of Hoang Xuan Chinh, Nguyen Lan Cuong, and Vu The Long. The culture is distinguished for its pebble tools of elongated forms; it has no short Hoabinhian axes or Sumatraliths, nor is there any polishing. In the Con Moong cave, the Sonvian layer ran under the Hoabinhian one. The radiocarbon dates (as based on the shell material) are  $18,390 \pm 128$  (Ong Quen, Brl 1735) and  $11,330 \pm 180$  (Hang Pong, Brl 1351). Hoang Xuan Chinh (1979) believes that similar material is to be found among the pebble tools in Laos, as well as in the Pamong district of Thailand, as discovered by D. T. Bayard and T. T. March in 1973-1974, and in Sai Yok.

Even before the radiocarbon dates were available, P. I. Boriskovsky (1977) had expressed his agreement with his Vietnamese colleagues that the Hoabinhian Culture is antedated by the older culture of Son Vi. In his opinion, the discovery of Son Vi fills the gap in Viet-Nam between the old Palaeolithic (i.e., the finds from Do Mountain) and the Hoabinhian (1977:188).

According to the line of thought developed by Hoang Xuan Chinh (1979), the Hoabinhian is a holocene culture that was developing within the Southeast Asian pebble tradition, and polished adzes are organically inherent in the Hoabinhian. The group of

Hoabinhian sites is related in some ways to the Baksonian Culture, and the latter is either a local variation or a stage in the general Hoabinhian-Baksonian culture.

A most significant achievement of Vietnamese archaeologists in this direction is the discovery and studies in the late palaeolithic Son Vi Culture, whose materials have contributed greatly to the understanding of the genesis of the Hoabinhian. The question about the early Hoabinhian's dating, however, still remains rather obscure. In fact, if the dividing line between the Pleistocene and the Holocene is 10,000 B.P., then the  $10,875 \pm 175$  date is already beyond the Holocene. And the age is even greater in the cases of the Ongba cave in Thailand ( $11,180 \pm 180$ ) and the Padahlin cave in Burma ( $13,400 \pm 200$ ) (U Aung Thaw 1969). It seems obvious that climatic changes as such were not significant in the tropical and subtropical areas of Southeast Asia. Of much greater importance must have been the rise of the sea level that had flooded some of the land area and shaped new coastlines there. This problem is being animatedly discussed lately (Chappel and Thom 1977), but with no complete agreement as yet on the effect of this 6000- to 4000-year-old sea level rise on the mode of life of the Hoabinhian communities. It is quite evident, however, that in intensifying the growth of isolation in some instances and causing the development of naval contacts in others, the sea level rise did alter the general conditions in Southeast Asia and the general cultural background of the life of the local groups of the Hoabinhians. A number of researchers (e.g., F. L. Dunn, W. G. Solheim II, C. Gorman, J. Golson, and others) are applying their efforts now to find out this general background, and their work is expected to produce essential results. The Sunda platform having been flooded, Southeast Asia lost half of its land area and its demographic density was probably increased. Unfortunately, it remains utterly unclear whether the Hoabinhian was a single culture or a conglomerate of a few. The viewpoint that tools of the Hoabinhian type are widespread from Indochina to Australia, on one hand, and to Soviet Primorye on the other, is sufficiently extensive in scientific literature. Quite convincing in this respect appears to be a suggestion by C. Gorman to see in the Hoabinhian a "technocomplex" with some regional or specialized subcultures. Another argument for this viewpoint is supplied by the burial rite variations found over the territory of Vietnam only. Future studies will, we hope, produce more materials on the problem of regional variation in the Hoabinhian.

The conclusion that the Baksonian is closely related to the Hoabinhian has already been stressed by W. G. Solheim II (1969:133) and Ha Van Tan (1971), and the new ideas by Hoang Xuan Chinh provide more support for this viewpoint. A study by Hayden (1977) convincingly demonstrated the great importance that the sharpening of the pebble tools had, having been caused by the growth in the volume of woodworking in the context of accelerating transition to the sedentary mode of life and to the intensive use of vegetable products for food. As has been pointed out earlier (Solheim 1969:128), the flat Hoabinhian tools were functionally applicable not only to cracking bones but also for soil digging. There are now more grounds for classing the conditions ensuring domestication of plants under the Hoabinhian.

The stress Hoang Xuan Chinh lays on ceramics as an integral element of the Hoabinhian seems to be very cogent and in line with the views developed by J. Golson (1971:139), C. Gorman (1969), W. G. Solheim II (1969), F. L. Dunn (1970), and C. Mourer and R. Mourer (1970). The author of the present review, however, draws particular attention to the cases of discontinuity in the ceramic traditions, which are best illustrated by the materials of B. Peacock (1971a, 1971b) as derived from the Hoabinhian camping sites

of Kota Tongkat, Gua Tampak, and Gua Orang Bertapa. The decrease and even disappearance of ceramics from the upper layers seem to me to signal the formation of a specialized economico-cultural type of forest gatherers who were constitutionalized on the basis of certain divisions of labor with the agrarians (Chesnov 1976:25). B. Peacock (1971) emphasizes in his work the important role the forest products gathered by such groups played. For all the difficulties involved in studying this problem, it should always be kept within our line of sight. Unfortunately, research in the matters of local-geographic division of labor among the ancient population of Southeast Asia lags much behind studies in ecologico-adaptational problems.

A number of presentations by Vietnamese scholars were on the Neolithic, a most extensive coverage of which was presented in the paper by Nguyen Van Hao (1979). He proceeds from the  $^{14}\text{C}$  radiocarbon data of the Berlin Laboratory and dates the first appearance of the Baksonian Culture to the seventh millennium B.C. In contrast to the Hoabinhian Culture, the presence of tools with double-faced finish is registered here. The Baksonian Culture is concentrated in the mountainous areas (in Kao Bang and Bak Thai provinces).

As evidenced by the material from Halung Cave, in the fifth millennium B.C. the neolithic population came down from the mountains in the northeast of Viet-Nam to the seacoast, where, apart from the polished Baksonian axes, some bone tools and ceramics are encountered. The third stage of the Neolithic is connected, in the view of Nguyen Van Hao, with the extensive peopling of the entire territory of Viet-Nam and with the prevalence of open-air camping sites. And, at the same time, the sea became a major source of food products. In the fifth and fourth millennia B.C., the sea was invading the land all along the seacoast line of Viet-Nam, that epoch being represented in Halong Bay with a camping site on Cao Beo Island and with the already well-known Da But and Quinh Van shell mounds. These sites have yielded round-bottomed ceramics with rope ornamentations. The fourth stage of the Neolithic is characterized, according to Nguyen Van Hao, by great changes in production affected by the growing specialization of tools. As a sign of development in agriculture, shoulder-type adzes and hoes appeared. Stoneworking technique was enriched with the spread of sawing and drilling. Ceramics became flat bottomed, and significant changes occurred in ornamental patterns, which thereafter included geometrical designs.

Late neolithic settlements were situated in the maritime zone and belonged to a population well acquainted with the sea. Such are the campsites found along the coast and on the islands of Ha Long Bay, as well as those belonging to the Thach Lak Culture which succeeded the culture of Quin Van, and also the campsites of the Bau Cho Culture, which has some connections with a later culture of Sa-huỳnh.

The problem of marine resource use by the neolithic population occupies an important place in the paper presented by Ngo The Phong (1979), which is a classification of stone axes and adzes of Southeast Asia in the late neolithic and early bronze ages. According to his suggestion, the broad-bladed stepped tools widespread in the coastal areas are the kind of adzes needed to make dugout boats.

Recent studies in Taiwan indicate that the ethnocultural processes that were taking place on that island are, to a certain extent, similar to those occurring in Southeast Asia. That was the reason for the great interest aroused by the presentation of S. Kuczera (1979) devoted to the Neolithic of Taiwan. The speaker stated that, judging by the radiocarbon data, by the Late Palaeolithic the island had already been peopled (flake industry

on the Ch'ang-pin campsite). By the seventh and, according to some other data by the ninth to tenth millennia B.C., late palaeolithic man's activities had left considerable impact on the ecological surroundings of the island, evidenced by the palynological analysis of the specimens taken from the bottom of the lakes there. The earliest neolithic ceramics, represented by vessels with cord-impressed ornamentation, are dated by  $^{14}\text{C}$  to the fourth millennium B.C. In the Late Neolithic, the Yuan-shan Culture shows indications that rice and possibly millet were cultivated (the mid-third millennium B.C.). As Kuczera noted, the Taiwan data can be interpreted either as evidence of independent transition to agriculture or as some elements of the continental process, meaning that of continental China. The latter supposition he characterized as purely hypothetical. Indeed, the evidence in favor of agriculture in Taiwan would be logically interpreted with reference to earlier experiments of this type undertaken in Southeast Asia and Oceania with tuber-bearing plants and some cereals. As for the rice, Kuczera thinks it possible to link its appearance in Taiwan with the Hemudu Culture in Chjsetszyan Province that yielded the earliest rice findings. (The Ho-mu-tu date is 4360–3945 B.C.). The finds from the island's eastern coast, however, bear some resemblance in their inventory to the finds from Palawan Island (the Philippines), and this can signal a different direction of ties—that is, to the insular world of the Pacific. On these grounds, Taiwan can be regarded as an important stage in the line of migrations of the Austronesian-speaking peoples. Kuczera hypothesized that the presence of common traits in the assemblages from Island Southeast Asia and the continent seems to indicate that the original areas had been in South China and perhaps embraced the northern areas of Viet-Nam; what is meant, then, is ancient Mainland Southeast Asia.

With reference to the cardinal questions of palaeo-economics, Kuczera's major conclusions (1979) are as follows: (1) it seems most likely that Taiwan was staging its own process of creating a productive economy, and (2) the spread of rice cultivation was connected with the movements of ethnolinguistic communities. These conclusions are quite in accord with those arrived at by researchers of Mainland Southeast Asia, whose conclusions have been partially described earlier in this review.

The problem of origin and development stages of productive economy in Southeast Asia remains complicated. For the time being, science is accumulating relevant evidence along two lines of approach: namely, on one hand it is searching for and analyzing botanical evidence on agriculture (plant remains and their imprints on ceramics), and on the other hand it is after any information that can be obtained from the material of implements of labor (stone axes and adzes, reaping knives, metallic tools in later epochs). The question of neolithic axes and adzes remains unsolved. We do not know for sure whether they were applied as hoes or not. With reference to the late neolithic culture of Phung Nguyen, Hoang Xuan Chinh and Nguyen Ngoc Bich (1978) postulate the slash-and-burn character of agriculture, with stone axes used to chop down forest and digging sticks to plant rice (which was undoubtedly known to this culture). Questions of this kind can be solved, of course, only in conjunction with the reconstruction of ancient systems of agriculture, while the latter should be in a state of certain balance with the surrounding medium, and the development of planned palynological studies of the ancient places of habitation would be a very valuable undertaking. There are no data as yet on the earliest irrigation systems, nor is there any material evidence from the fields of the neolithic peoples. Such studies are bound to face considerable difficulties caused by the specific natural features of Southeast Asia.

But the early metal period has been thoroughly studied in recent years, especially in Viet-Nam and Thailand. For more than 50 years, the bronze age in Indochina has been associated with the brilliant Dongson Culture, famous for its bronze drums. But for specialists in Southeast Asia, its importance is by far superior to its purely artistic charm, for the Dongson era was the time when the foundation of the ethnogenesis of the Viets and other peoples of Indochina and even of Indonesia was being laid. Dated by different researchers to c. 800 B.C.–c. A.D. 100, this culture seemed to the eyes of many as if transplanted from some nearby or even outlying regions. The origins of bronze in Indochina and, particularly, in the territory of Viet-Nam have remained until very recent years a difficult historical problem. The works of Vietnamese scholars on the Early Bronze as reported to the Congress are among its grandest contributions to science.

Central to the problem of the Early Bronze is the Phung Nguyen Culture, which was discovered in 1959 in Fhu Tho, Ha Tau, and Vinh Phu provinces. Typological characterization of the culture is rather difficult. According to an opinion first ventured by Hoang Xuan Chinh (1966), it is a neolithic culture developing in its late stages into the bronze age. Among the Vietnamese archaeologists another point of view is also current, according to which the Phung Nguyen Culture is a more complicated phenomenon, namely, a culture neolithic in its appearance that knew at the same time copper and bronze (Ha 1968).

The Congress was presented with an interesting paper by Nguyen Linh (1979), which was an attempt at finding out the character of regional distribution of the Phung Nguyen and other late neolithic cultures and of the chronology of stages preceding the Dongson. He lays his main emphasis on the cultures of Phung Nguyen, Dong Dau, and Go Mun found in the zone of foothills in Bakbo, and on the cultures of the Dongnai River Basin in the south of Viet-Nam. The Phung Nguyen, within which the tendencies that later led to the Dongson had developed, differs from the other contemporary cultures in its more developed inventory of stone implements (rectangular axes and various smaller tools of stone). The technique and ornamentation of the Phung Nguyen ceramics left their imprint in the later developments. The flourishing culture was based on irrigated rice cultivation, with cattle, pig, and poultry breeding. This economy was supplemented with hunting and fishing. In the late third-early second millennia B.C., the acquaintance with copper processing developed into the production of bronze.

The development of the production of bronze tools and weapons characterizes the Dong Dau period. Stone tools of the Phung Nguyen type were finished in a finer way. The Dong Dau epoch ran through the mid- and late second millennium B.C.

At the end of the second and in the early half of the first millennia B.C., a new period directly preceding that of the Dongson—that is, the Go Mun period—began. Bronze came to be used for making sickles, and the typical Dongson bronze axe with a curved blade made its first appearance. Stone industry was on its way out.

The coexistence of the Phung Nguyen with the other cultures (such as Go Ma Dong, Hoa Lok, and Ha Long) points probably to a complex ethnic composition in which the Viets' ancestors were undoubtedly included. There are no obvious grounds as yet for identifying each of these cultures ethnically. The Vietnamese archaeologists and historians think that the Phung Nguyen Culture belonged to the ancestors of the Viets.

Some new material on another bronze age culture—Sa-huỳnh—was presented by Chu Van Tan (1979). Having been discovered much earlier by the French, this culture has been attracting great attention from specialists because its ceramics display certain links

with the ceramics of the Philippines and with the ancient ceramics of Oceania. After 1976, the number of sites discovered by Vietnamese researchers has doubled, reaching 36, and, what is particularly important, they have been skillfully investigated. It has been discovered that the settlements of the Sa-huỳnh Culture were situated both along the seacoast and in the inland regions of the country (in Kongtum and Quangda provinces). The study of the early and later stages of that culture is now complete. The Sa-huỳnh Culture is dated to the second millennium B.C. and, according to Chu Van Tan, it was consistently developing in the direction of a class society. At the late stages of its development, metallic articles appeared. The economy of the Sa-huỳnh society was based on agriculture and extensive use of waterborne resources. In the early first millennium B.C., there are already some signs of property stratification, and there is every reason now for qualifying this culture as the basis of the Champa state that emerged in the early centuries A.D.

The Vietnamese researchers are quite justified in their stand that the cultures of Phung Nguyen (in the north of Viet-Nam), Sa-huỳnh (south of the Haiwan passage), and the third culture of Doc Chua in the extreme south of Viet-Nam are a result of the ongoing processes that led to the establishment of class societies.

The prominent role of metallurgy in these tendencies was analyzed by Nguyen Duy Ty (1979) and Van Trong, deputy director of the Institute of Archaeology. From the chemical composition table of ancient bronzes supplied by Nguyen Duy Ty, it follows that the stage of pure copper articles was not characteristic of Viet-Nam; even the earliest bronzes were of the pewter type. In the Dongson era, the tin came to be mixed with considerable quantities of lead. The specific quality of the Vietnamese bronzes points to their local origin. Van Trong (1979:1-8) has studied in detail the territorial distribution of the bronze age sites in the north of Viet-Nam and emphasizes that the area of concentration of the most characteristic of them—that is, of those belonging to the Phung Nguyen, Dong Dau, and Go Mun periods—coincides with the ancient area of the Phongtyau, the latter being regarded as the center of the Van Lang state founded by the ancestors of the peoples of the Viet-Muong group (1979:5-6).

Scientific literature knows of many views already expounded that the Muongs, populating the foothills areas in Ha Son Binh and Thanh Hoa provinces, have preserved to a certain extent the cultural traits of that epoch. But these polysemantic links seem to be described most convincingly by the Vietnamese scholar Nguyen Tu Chi (1979). In his study presented to the Congress, he shows the connection between the Dongson ornamental patterns and such an ethnographical item as the embroidered Muong skirt, which depicts animals between two bands of geometrical designs. Among the animals are dragons, birds, fish, frogs, and other beings typical of Dongson depictions. The paper also shows the resemblance between numerous geometrical motifs and, in particular, of the running spiral with a dot, of a toothed motif, and the like. An important point in the work of Nguyen Tu Chi is that he has established the regularities in the transition between bronze ornament and clothing ornamentation via the technique of weaving and embroidering. In Nguyen Tu Chi's opinion, the echo of Dongson ornamentation is readily noticeable in the art not only of the Muongs and Chams but of the other peoples of Viet-Nam as well.

A general characteristic of the Bronze Age in Southeast Asia was given by the Soviet scholar D. V. Deopik (1979). While adopting the mid-fifth millennium B.C. as the beginning of the metal age here, the author draws attention to the slow rates of transition to ear-

ly class societies (mid-second to early first millennia B.C.). In *Fore-Asia*, class societies came into being much faster—that is, by the fourth millennium B.C., after only a millennium of the Eneolithic and the Bronze. The specific traits of Southeast Asia Deopik sees as explained by the cultivation of irrigated rice. Nevertheless, he also establishes a number of important typological correlations between Southeast Asia and *Fore-Asia*.

The facts obtained by archaeology during the last 20 years in Southeast Asia present an independent problem for understanding them from the viewpoint of world history. The new data are pertinent to such cardinal questions as the development of productive economies, the emergence of metal, and the formation of early civilizations. Quite recently, archaeologists have put forward a few models that explain the specifics of historical development in this area. A general evaluation of these theories was undertaken by Ha Van Tan (1979), who has demonstrated that these models either diffuse the specifics of one area onto the whole of Southeast Asia or else, while embracing it entirely, produce a considerable oversimplification. Worthy of great attention, from the viewpoint of Ha Van Tan, is the evolutionary concept developed by Karl Hutterer (1976). But the latter has overestimated the significance of ecological diversity, which resulted, in his opinion, in the fragmentation of cultures in Southeast Asia. Ha Van Tan points out that ecological and other factors were also at play in the direction of homogeneity. Thus, for instance, the absence of sharp climatic changes in the period between the Pleistocene and the Holocene explains the steady continuity in the development of tools whose rather large size was conditioned by the preservation of forests; the Hoabinhian tools were widespread over the continental and insular regions; characteristic of the entire area were polishing of the working edges of axes and their shoulder-type forms as well as ceramics with engraved or relief ornaments; the influence of the Dongson Culture was widely felt. Southeast Asia has always constituted a single ethnohistorical area within which cultural contacts and exchanges were maintained and migrations occurred.

Set forth in a number of papers presented to the Congress was the thesis of the unity of Southeast Asia. Pham Duc Duong and Pham Nguyen Long (1979) and Trang Quoc Vuong (1979) have made it their task to analyze this problem from the standpoint of actual plurality of forms so characteristic of the sociocultural history of Southeast Asia. Complexity and diversity are, in the words of Trang Quoc Vuong, a constant in this area. Therefore, the unevenness and delays here were, in the opinion of Pham Duc Duong and Pham Nguyen Long, always accompanied by progressive development in, let us say, the rice-cultivating civilization and in the sites of the Borobudur, Angkor, and Pagan types. There are very good reasons for the Vietnamese scholars to have raised the question of borrowings made from Southeast Asia to the centers that have always been treated as the “donors” of the good things of civilization—that is, of borrowings to China and India (Pham and Pham 1979:81–82). The merits of the peoples of Southeast Asia were described in an extremely convincing manner on the materials of arts by Cao Xuan Pho (1979) and on the literary material by Nguyen Nam (1979).

Apart from Nguyen Tu Chi, ethnographical materials were also used to reconstruct the past of Southeast Asia in the papers by Y. V. Chesnov and S. A. Arutyunov, both of the U.S.S.R.

A pure rice diet entails a dangerous disease, beriberi; combined with fish products, however, it ensures quite healthful nourishment. That is why, in the paper by Y. V. Chesnov, an attempt is made to characterize the history of water resource exploita-



tion in Southeast Asia. To achieve this aim, it was necessary to study fishing techniques (including vessel-building technologies) and methods of cooking and distributing fish products (Chesnov 1979). A conclusion has been reached about the wide penetration of fish products into the interior of Indochina when trade was intensively developing in the period of centralized states. The specific features of the rice diet should probably be seen as the reason behind the uneven rates of the spreading of rice cultivation in Southeast Asia, and we should not neglect the great role played in this process by the maritime peoples who gradually became skilled masters in obtaining albuminous food from water reservoirs.

S. A. Arutyunov (1979) gave a summary of various local food systems of the peoples of South, East, and Southeast Asia, having presented them in the form of somewhat abstract food models. Used as the basis for the latter were some combinations of starch-containing components with the albuminous and taste-bearing ones. While reflecting the adaptive function of material culture, these models are, in Arutyunov's opinion, at the same time shouldering a great ethnogenetic burden. Represented in the Pacific zone are an Austroasian (root crops and meat products) and an Austronesian (rice and marine products) model.

Thematically related to these papers was the presentation by M. A. Chlenov (1979) who dealt mainly with the lexical aspects of the names of domesticated animals and plants in East Indonesia and the neighboring regions. On the basis of grouping the types of lexemes, the author has put forward some hypotheses about the derivation of the names of some cultivated plants to the pre-Austronesian substratum in East Indonesia. This hypothesis seems quite reasonable in the light of archaeological evidence of the recent years that points to the very ancient age of Oceanic agriculture.

In the materials on physical anthropology presented at the Congress (by N. N. Cheboksarov, U.S.S.R., G. A. Aksyanova, U.S.S.R., Nguyen Dinh Hoa, S.R.V., and K. G. Turner, U.S.A.), one can easily notice the common character of the problems discussed by all. The most important, and least studied, problem is still that of the Austro-Melanesian population and its part in the formation of the physical types of Southeast and East Asia. In a number of his works as well as in his Congress paper, the late N. N. Cheboksarov (1979) elaborates on the idea of a chain of populations intermediate between the Australoids and the Mongoloids—that is, those represented among the ancient population of the Asiatic part of the Pacific. The southern Mongoloids, who are territorially and morphologically closest to the Australoids, were the ancestors of the Thai, Austroasiatic, and Austronesian ethnoses. The craniological series from Minh Hou in Phut Cieng Province Cheboksarov considers as belonging most probably to the Austronesian ancestors.

In discussing the origin of the so-called Indonesian group of anthropological types, Nguyen Dinh Hoa (1979) points out that it is difficult to distinguish them from the Vedoid types if only craniological material is used. The Vietnamese anthropologist holds that the Indonesian group of types had differentiated from the composition of the racially intermediate Mongoloido-Australoid population through the development of a formative center within the Indochina peninsula in the direction of mongoloidization. The formation of the Negrito types in Southeast Asia, on the other hand, appears to Nguyen Dinh Khao (after M. G. Levin) to be connected with geographic factors (i.e., their living in tropical forests) exerting their influence on the conditions of isolation. According to him, this formative process began in the Malacca-Sumatra area or somewhere nearby; from

there, the Negritos spread to the other areas of Southeast Asia, including the Andaman Islands, the Nicobars, and the Philippines. In the Saoch of West Kampuchea the author of the hypothesis discerns a remnant of such a Negrito population and admits that it was possibly represented in Viet-Nam, too.

As is well known, the theory of the primordial antiquity, as compared with all of humanity, of the pygmyoid types and of the culture represented among them was once current in the circles of the Vienna Catholic School headed by Pater W. Schmidt. Later on, the theory was criticized by M. B. Levin and seems to have undergone no further revivals.

On the other hand, the question concerning the wider distribution of the Negrito types within Africa or Southeast Asia is quite natural and deserves to be studied in its archaeological and ethnographical aspects. Unfortunately, this subject has been almost completely neglected in recent years. All the more interesting, therefore, was the paper presented at the Congress by H. Reynolds (1979) of the Philippines, "The Negritos in Southeast Asia and in the Pacific Area." Having briefly described the supposed migrational period in the life of the Negritos, the author emphasizes the importance of searching for food in the context of gathering, hunting, and fishing, and their conscious striving for isolation from contacts with their neighbors, who were enslaving and pushing them away from their own age-old territories. Much attention is paid in Reynolds' paper to the Philippine government's policy of trying to develop among the Negritos of the country a sense of the Philippine national consciousness.

Turning back to anthropological subjects proper, we shall point to the materials presented by a Soviet physical anthropologist, A. G. Aksyanova (1979). She has collected data on the odontological types of three peoples of Viet-Nam, namely, the Viets (the Viet-Muong group of the Austroasian family), the Thai (the Thai group of the Chinese-Tibetan family, or of the Austro-Thai family, according to P. Benedict), and the Churu (the Indonesian group of the Austronesian family). Data on the specific patterns of tooth structure are grouped into three odontological types: The first, characterized by a high concentration of Mongoloid traits, is well expressed among the Viets. The second is registered among the Churu and differs from the former in having low Mongoloid frequency. The Thai (from Thanh Hoa Province) are characterized by having the traits of the first and second types, with the reduction level of the molars being low. This odontological typology has enabled Aksyanova to outline the following trends in anthropological ties: "The type of the Viets gravitates towards the population of the territories north of Viet-Nam (the Mongols and the Chinese); the Thai groups and particularly the white and black Thais—towards the Vedoids of the northeast of India (the Munda, Oraons, and Santals) and also, probably, to the peoples of South China; the Churu—towards the peoples of Oceania (Indonesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia)" (1979:134).

It was also on the basis of odontological data that an American anthropologist, K. G. Turner (1979), arrived at some very important ethnogenetic conclusions. Among the Mongoloid population, he distinguishes and analyzes two odontological types: (1) sinodonty, the type pointing to the North Asiatic and characteristic of many peoples of Siberia, the population of Japan (after the Jomon period), and of the aborigines of America, and (2) sundadonty, the type characteristic of the ancient and contemporary population of Southeast Asia. The latter is partially represented among the Australo-Melanesian population. Turner's conclusions refer mainly to the history of the population of North-

east Asia and America. He believes that the Palaeo-Indians reached the northern parts of the Bering Sea from East Asia via the Lena and Yenisei basins or via the latter only. The proto-Aleutian Eskimos came from the Amur area and the Okhotsk seacoast.

What, then, is the state of research in the ethnocultural history of the western areas of the Pacific?

1. The most important role of Southeast Asia in the history of all the western part of the Pacific has been brought to light. A great contribution to this area has been made by the scholars of Viet-Nam.
2. More and more data are being accumulated on the specific nature of the processes in the southwestern parts of the Pacific first begun among the Australo-Melanesian population. These data refer both to the peculiar nature of the formation of productive economies there and to the role of the Australo-Melanesian racial types in the ethnogenesis of Island and Mainland Southeast Asia.
3. The need for deeper studies in the formative processes of the south Mongoloid populations in Southeast Asia becomes progressively evident.
4. The sum total of the latest data places China (up to the late bronze age) in a position of equal partnership with the neighboring Pacific areas and channels the search for the reasons behind its particular growth in the first millennium B.C. in the direction of its ties with an entirely different world of cattle-breeding and agrarian peoples of the deep interior regions of the Asiatic continent.

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