



Südostasien

Working Papers

Band 2

ISSN 1810-7354

Helmut Lukas

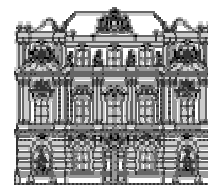
Kommission für Sozialanthropologie
Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften

***Can "They" save "Us", the Foragers?
Indonesian and Thai Hunter-Gatherer Cultures under Threat from Outside***

This is a slightly revised version of a paper that appeared in:
"Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion". 18-20 September 2001, Chiang Mai,
Thailand. Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission (ONEC) 2002:116-147

DOI 10.1553/soawp2

Redaktion:
Stefan Khittel
c/o Kommission für Sozialanthropologie
Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Schwindgasse 14/6 - 1040 Wien
Fax: 01/ 503 68 73/ 6680
E-Mail: working.papers@oeaw.ac.at



Can "They" save "Us", the Foragers? Indonesian and Thai Hunter-Gatherer Cultures under Threat from Outside.

by

Associate Prof. Dr. Helmut Lukas (Vienna, Austria)
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Commission for Social Anthropology
University of Vienna, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology
Ludwig Boltzmann Association, Institute for China and Southeast Asia Research, Vienna

This is a slightly revised version of a paper that appeared in:
Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion. 18-20 September 2001, Chiang Mai, Thailand.
Bangkok: Office of the National Education Commission (ONEC) 2002:116-147

1. Introduction

The subject of this contribution is focused on the comparison between two marginal ethnic communities, one in Indonesia and the other in Thailand, and between their interethnic relationships in the past as well as in recent times. The problems both ethnic groups are faced with are a matter of great scientific concern. It is impossible for both of the groups in question to resist external threats ensuing from unfavorable political, economic and ecological developments in the present nation-states. In this light, responsible anthropological policy means detecting and translating their real needs as well as realizing sound concepts of protection. Both ethnic cultures are worth being protected due to their ideal sustainable utilization of natural resources. Both, the Anak Dalam and the Maniq, represent the periphery, which according to the cultural symbolism of Southeast Asian states is regarded as a negative reflection the core area, the state society: in terms of its ecology, its religious practices, its social structure, its governance, and - at least in the case of the Anak Dalam - its fugitive dissident population. Why has the state almost always been the enemy of people who move around? The contention of James Scott is that hunter-gatherers and hill societies in Southeast Asia represent the illegible, non-state space, where state control has always been tenuous. Consequently, the kingdoms of the past as well as the modern nation-states see these peripheral peoples not only as peoples who are just out of reach: "*They see them instead as examples of all that is uncivilized, barbaric, and crude. Even when they are looked at with some sympathy, as they are by current «developmental regimes», they are seen as benighted primitives, «our living ancestors» who need to be developed, brought into modern life. They are thought of as what we were like before we discovered Islam or Buddhism, rice cultivation, sedentary life, and civilization.*" (Scott 1999:45) No doubt, all forms of discrimination that the hunter-gatherers of Indonesia and Thailand are faced with are basically indigenous (cf. Woodburn 1997).

The *Anak Dalam* or "*Kubu*" represent the first ethnic community concerned. The dense rain forest in the provinces Jambi and Palembang (former sultanates of Southern Sumatra),

Republic of Indonesia is inhabited by the *Anak Dalam*. The outsiders refer to the forest people pejoratively as "*Kubu*", but they call themselves *Anak Dalam* or "People of the Interior". Today the *Anak Dalam* form a small minority of only 1.4% in the midst of Islamic *Malay*. Besides foraging the *Anak Dalam* also practice to a less extent shifting cultivation. However, the *Anak Dalam* mostly depend on hunting and gathering in the forest. As the majority of the foragers of Southeast Asia as well as of the world the *Anak Dalam* are secondary hunters and gatherers, in other words, formerly they used to be sedentary agriculturists who changed into a predominantly hunting-gathering mode of life. The *Anak Dalam*'s language is a kind of archaic *Malay* without any influence of Arabic loanwords and Islamic terminology. In all probability, the ancestors of the recent *Anak Dalam* retreated into the jungle in order to avoid Islamization and subsequently separated themselves from the *Malay*. Like many other hunter-gatherer societies of Southeast Asia the *Anak Dalam* are the descendants of riverain or coastal peoples who rejected Islam. Because they did not want to give up their gods, or their pigs, or because they were afraid of slaving raids, the most common case. The system of interethnic relations between the *Anak Dalam* and the *Malay* as well as the changing position of the *foragers* in this interethnic interaction with their sedentary neighbors due to the rise of the modern Indonesian nation-state is the focus of interest. In order to get a deeper insight in the interethnic relations we should try to view them through the eyes of the *Anak Dalam*: According to their dualistic world view the *Anak Dalam* contrast the mutually contradicting ways of life, customs and values of "*Anak Dalam*" (= "People of the Interior") and the "*Orang Terang*" (= "People of the Bright World", that is to say, the Islamic *Malay*).

The *Maniq*, the second ethnic group to be dealt with, are hunters and gatherers in Southern Thailand who have established long trade relations with their sedentary neighbors. Unlike the *Anak Dalam*, there is no evidence of a former cultivation (agriculture). The *Maniq*, therefore, could be called primary (pristine) hunters and gatherers. In contrast to other tribal peoples of Thailand the *Maniq* are almost totally ignored, that is neither regarded as a problem (as the so-called "hill tribes") nor considered to be protected. Provided the present destructive development (deforestation, encroachment by intruding legal/illegal settlers etc.) continues, the *Maniq* are in great danger of extinction as an ethnic group (ethnocide or even genocide).

2. Background and Situation of the *Anak Dalam* of Sumatra (Indonesia)

Anak Dalam is an endonym and means "People of the Interior", "Inland People". "*Kubu*" (possibly from *ngubu*, "elusive") is an extremely pejorative exonym and has the connotation of "backwoodsman" or "primitive" (LeBar 1972:46). In dealing with the *Anak Dalam* one should avoid this term in any case.

At present something like 20.000 *Anak Dalam* live in Southern Sumatra. But only a part of the total *Anak Dalam*-population is today living as hunters and gatherers in the forests of Sumatra. This development is mainly based on two reasons. On the one hand, the former "New Order" government of Indonesia launched many projects in the course of the "Five-Year Development Plans" intended to integrate the so-called "isolated tribes" (*suku-suku terasing*) into the society of the nation-state. On the other hand, the living space of this originally roaming foragers was increasingly reduced by large-scale clearings of foreign as well as domestic logging companies over the last 30 years. Moreover, the government "transmigrated" poor people

from Java into this "empty" land and in this way produced a population pressure not yet existing by then (cf. Persoon 2000:162-170; *Tempo*, 15th December 1990; *The Jakarta Post*, 23rd April 1991; http://www.preventconflict.org/portal/main/background_transmigration.php; <http://nativenet.uthscsa.edu/archive/nl/9406/0160.html>). During the last few years vast areas of Sumatra covered with forest were just burned down, in order to open big plantations. These illegal actions of scorching the forests were often ordered and protected by powerful politicians and tycoons. The big forest fires of 1997 and afterwards which raged in Sumatra and Kalimantan destroyed many hundred thousands of hectares rain forest. The impact of this forest fires on the hunter-gatherers can not be estimated at the moment. Fortunately, since the end of the "New Order" government of General Suharto in May 1998 a fundamental change of the attitudes towards the hunter-gatherers and other peripheral minorities has been going on. During a demonstration which marked the start of the Indigenous Peoples' Congress in Jakarta in October 1999, the *Anak Dalam* succeeded for the first time to attract the attention of the public (*Down to Earth Special Issue*, October 1999; cf. <http://dte.gn.apc.org/SIpol.htm>). Moreover, for instance, the pejorative term "isolated tribe / isolated community" (*suku terasing / masyarakat terasing*), formerly used by government officials, was replaced by the more honorable designation "adat society" (*masyarakat adat*)¹. In sharp contrast to the past the peripheral minorities are now more and more described as very just and democratic societies and as native ecologists who are protecting the ecological environment, if necessary also against the pressure of profit-oriented timber-hungry groups of the "modern" Indonesian society. On 31st January 2000 the "head" (*tumenggung*) of an *Anak Dalam* band, who waged peaceful resistance campaign against the mindless destruction of the Hompongan forest in Jambi, was called "environmental savior" and received the Kehati award 2000 from a non-governmental organization fighting for saving the bio-diversity in Indonesia (cf. *The Jakarta Post*, Tuesday, February 8, 2000:7; *Suara Pembaruan*, 1st February 2000:16; *Kompas*, Kamis, 3rd February 2000). Nevertheless, due to the ongoing invasion of forest concessionaires, illicit loggers and transmigrants the *Anak Dalam* still face extinction.

The preferable living space of *Anak Dalam* is the upper courses of rivers (right in the vicinity of the headwaters) or the small tributaries, whereas the *Malay* live along the banks of big rivers. There is a comparatively low population density in the whole area. The average population density in the province of Jambi is around 18 people per km² (average density in Indonesia = 111 people per km²). The *Anak Dalam* are gathering, hunting, fishing and in some cases working in small swiddens cleared amidst the forest. The *Anak Dalam* don't have domestic animals (pets), because according to their custom they are not at all allowed to eat them. The *Anak Dalam* say that the meat of domesticated animals has a very bad smell. Eating it would inevitably lead to vomiting. The *Anak Dalam* are therefore entirely dependent on the protein sources of their hunting and fishing activities. Besides gathering, hunting and fishing many, but not all *Anak Dalam* bands practice shifting cultivation (yam, sweet potato, taro, banana, sugar cane) to varying degrees. The term for shifting cultivation in the language of the *Anak Dalam* is *tani tahon* which roughly means "to plant in the fields in order to survive or to get through", until the next fruit season is approaching. In the meantime one is willy nilly forced to fill the belly with tubers and bananas. Crops not planted by the *Anak Dalam* are rice and vegetable. The band of Air Hitam I encountered in the early eighties has only very small fields abandoned soon after planting, with the result that these *Anak Dalam* hardly ever tend

¹ The traditional behavior system including the values and norms attached to it, is a decisive factor of the culture, for which today the term *adat* is referred to by the Indonesians. A long time ago different terms were used in various vernacular languages of Indonesia for the diverse local norm- and behavior-patterns. Later on these terms were replaced by the standard word *adat* originating from the Arab language (= "custom", "habits", "tradition", "statutes of the ancestors"). Today the common forms of translation for *adat* are: (1) "Habit", "custom", "tradition"; "customary law", "traditional institutions"; (2) "Customary practices", "morality", "proper behavior". In the eyes of the Indonesians, firstly *adat* makes men human beings proper; that is, the possession of *adat* distinguishes them from animals.

their fields; they come back only to harvest. Fortunately tubers need not much maintenance and the harvest time is also not precisely prescribed as, for instance, in wet rice cultivation. Obviously, there is a clear preference for products of hunting-gathering activities. This indicates a strong inclination of *Anak Dalam* to live in the forest or the other way round a strong aversion to adopt the way of life of Muslim *Malay*. It is no accident that Loeb (1935:283) observed that the "*wild Kubu have no rice, and are unwilling to eat it.*" Eating domesticated animals (like goats, chicken etc.) is strictly forbidden. It is also prohibited to hunt and to eat elephants, tigers and monkeys.

Trade and commodities: In fact, the term "commodities" is misleading, since nearly the entire interethnic exchange is confined to barter and is run without any money. In addition there is no and was never "free" exchange between the *Anak Dalam* in the forest and the *Malay* villagers. The exchange has to flow through the *jenang*, a kind of mediator (see below). In former times the valuables of the *Anak Dalam* never entered the market, but were handed over by the *jenang* to the king of Jambi. The *Anak Dalam* of the past were, therefore, never – not even indirectly – connected with the market. Virtually all the bartering objects (like rattan and resins) originate from gathering. Today the *Anak Dalam* exchange their goods for products from the *Malay* such as salt and cloths.

Besides, the *Anak Dalam* sometimes work for the "People of the Bright World" (*Orang Terang*) living near to their camp as well. The *Anak Dalam* call this "*ambil upah*", which literally means "*to take remuneration / reward*". "*Ambil upah*" stands for work in exchange for payment in kind: As a rule, the *Anak Dalam* work on the dry fields or swiddens of the *Malay*, help to clear the forest, or get the order to collect rattan. In exchange for this work they get salt, rice, cloth etc. In comparison with the common wages the *Anak Dalam* are "satisfied" by only small quantities of cheap products. The "silent barter", a common and recurrent topic in the old literature on "*Kubu*", probably never existed and is merely a legend originally introduced by the Arabs.

3. Changing Position of *Anak Dalam* in the Interethnic System

Concerning their origin the oral tradition of the group living in Air Hitam has it as follows:

"A long time ago when the *Orang Kayo Hitam*, who ruled over the sea from the strait, Tanjung Jabung until Muara Sabak, was at war with Selaro Pinang Masak, the *ratu* of Jambi, the *Datuk Perpatih Na Sebatang*² from Minangkabau sent troops to Jambi. But the way through the vast forest to Palembang was long and our forefathers lost their way as a result of it. The supplies were already finished. Knowing that they were already late our ancestors could not continue their way to Jambi. But in this case the king (*rajo*) of Jambi would punish them. Supposing they returned, they would lose their face and would be cursed by the *rajo* of Minangkabau. In case they tried to escape upwards, they would be killed by a falling tree. If they tried to escape downwards, they would be stung by a big bumble-bee. As a result, they decided to stay in the forest and to separate themselves (*mengkubukan diri*) from the "bright world" (*dunia terang*). Accordingly, our ancestors left behind the *syarak* [= Islamic Sharia-law] and that is the reason why our forefathers kept and preserved the *adat*. Since then we have had to stay in the forest and we are not permitted to eat domesticated animals" (cf. Muchlas 1975:6).

² The *Anak Dalam* mention the name of *Datuk Perpatih Na Sebatang*, who was a famous "secretary of state" during the reign of Adityavarman (±1320 – ±1375), the greatest king of the Pagaruyung empire!

The above-mentioned account reflects a claim of the *Anak Dalam* on deliberate and active isolation from their ethnic environment. Thus they are strongly opposed to the exonym "*Kubu*" (literally: "fence", "entrenchment"; in a wider sense: "elusive backwoodsman") assuming an isolation of the forest people by the *Malay*.

A typical feature of the world view of these hunter-gatherer bands is the binary opposition of *Anak Dalam's* and *Orang Terang's* way of life: The *Anak Dalam* are contrasting the mutually contradicting ways of life, customs and values of "*Anak Dalam*" (= "People of the Interior") on the one hand and the "*Orang Terang*" ("People of the Bright World", that is to say Islamic *Malay*), on the other hand (cf. Drexler/Lukas 1986:190-202).

binary opposition of *Anak Dalam's* and *Orang Terang's* way of life

<i>Anak Dalam (Orang Dalam, Orang Rimbo)</i>	<i>Orang Dusun (= Malay)</i>
Living in the forest (roaming, mobile)	Living in permanent villages/ <i>dusun</i> (sedentary)
Laws/rules of the ancestors; own religion and magic (kept secret)	Islam (" <i>syarak</i> " = Sharia, Islamic law)
Living in the dark forest (<i>rimbo</i>) of the interior (<i>dunia dalam</i>)	Living in clearings or in areas bare of trees, that is the "bright world" (<i>dunia terang</i>)
Hunting of game (incl. wild pigs) and gathering	Agriculture incl. breeding of domesticated animals (except pigs)
Taboos concerning consumption of domesticated animals	Consumption of domesticated animals (except pork)
Leaving behind the deceased (who lies on the ground and is only wrapped in bark), running away and weeping/crying at the same time (= " <i>melangun</i> ")	Burial of the deceased within one day, interment of the dead body (wrapped in a white cloth)
Supply the <i>Orang Dusun</i> with forest products earned from hunting and gathering activities	Supply the <i>Anak Dalam</i> with salt, cloth, iron etc.
Popular foodstuff: fruits, meat from game, wild tubers and roots, honey (not rice)	Popular foodstuff: rice and meat from domesticated animals

The ethnic identity of the *Anak Dalam* implies an ethnic boundary segregating them from the *Malay* environment or "bright world" (*dunia terang*). This ethnic identity reveals itself by the hunting as well as the consumption of game (like *kuau*-bird or *kijang*/small deer etc.) and by the prohibition of breeding and eating domesticated animals (like chicken and goats). The social consequence of this sharp opposition of their own living world and the outside world is the institutionalized limitation of the contacts with the neighboring *Malay* to the necessary minimum: exchange of goods and communication between *Anak Dalam* and *Malay* have to be performed by an intermediary (mediator) called "*jenang*" acting according to the *adat*-rules. When I asked the *Anak Dalam* whether they want to take up residence in villages built especially for them by the Indonesian government, they replied with a proverb, whose text reads as follows:

"*Atap sikai, berinding banir; mbak ayam kuau, berkambing kijang.*"

Translation: "Our roofs are the leaves of the *sikai*-tree, our walls are the big roots of the trees above the surface of the soil; we are hunting and eating the *kuau*-bird; its counterpart among the villagers is the chicken; we are hunting and eating the small deer (*kijang*); its counterpart among the villagers is the goat."

Meaning: We are living in the jungle (*sikai*-leaves as roof etc.), we have to hunt game and cannot eat domesticated animals.

By that way the *Anak Dalam* express that they cannot take up residence in a permanent village and adopt the life of Malay villagers. Even if they could continue their hunting and gathering activities after settling down in a village, they have to leave the village sooner or later. The reason for this is the institution called "*melangun*": If somebody dies, the whole band has to leave the camp or village immediately, leaving behind the deceased who lies on the ground and is only wrapped in bark. They will run away and weep at the same time. This is called "*melangun*". If somebody falls ill and the disease proves to be serious, the whole band leaves the camp and abandons the sick person who had been previously provided with provisions in addition to other equipment (spear, knife etc.). If the sick person recovers, she/he can join the band again (cf. Loeb 1935:285).

The following ideological concept of the *Anak Dalam* explaining and justifying their mobility (frequency of macromoves) is connected with the above-mentioned custom: In case of a disease, the band has to move out of the camp or to increase their mobility. Conversely, if the band stays too long at one place, disease will inevitably break out.

Since the "*Anak Dalam*" have had no access to salt and are unable to produce iron for their weapons and tools, they are economically dependent on the *Orang Terang* or *Malay* villagers. Despite their inclination to separate themselves from the *Malay* and to maintain their own way life, the *Anak Dalam* have to approach the *Malay* villagers from time to time. Every encounter with the *Orang Terang* is for the *Anak Dalam* unpleasant and embarrassing. The average *Malay* views the *Anak Dalam* as dirty poor savages and unbelievers. The opinions of *Orang Terang* about the *Anak Dalam* are usually highly biased and are lacking in factual substantiation. Oddly enough, the average *Malay* villager who, on the one hand, often speaks with disgust about the forest people but, on the other hand, avoids direct contact with the *Anak Dalam* because they are said to dispose of a very strong magic. Consequently, the normal villager avoids entering the dark forest, an uncanny place full of evil spirits, and he is not willing to be confronted with this forest people inspiring little confidence. Every material transaction or communication with the *Anak Dalam* is therefore entrusted to the *jenang* (*wakil jenang*, *kepala waris*, *ujung waris*), an intermediary whose function is inherited through the patrilinear line (from father to son). Until the 19th century the intermediary of the village (*jenang*) was connected through several intermediate links (village heads/*rio* etc., territorial chief/*pasirah*) with the king (*rajo*). The *Malay* forced upon the egalitarian *Anak Dalam* their own hierarchical structure: In the graphic representation of the interethnic system seen from the perspective of the *Malay* you will find a hierarchy of functionaries whose titles (*tumenggung* = "state minister"; *depati* = "resident" or "governor"; *menti* = "minister") without exception are derived from Indianized kingdoms (as Pagaruyung, Majapahit etc.) (see table).

TABLE:

System of interethnic relations between *Malay* and *Anak Dalam*

(Seen from the viewpoint of the *Malay*)

Orang Terang ("People of the Bright World") = <i>Malay</i> villagers (Muslims)	DUNIA TERANG (bright world)
Rio / kepala dusun/ kepala kampung = heads of the villages	World of Islamic and sedentary Malay villagers
Pasirah = <i>marga</i> -chief ⁴ (head of a district)	Synonymic terms for the <i>Malay</i> villagers:
Jenang (<i>wakil jenang, kepala waris, ujung waris</i>) = mediator between the "bright world" / <i>dunia terang</i> (world outside the forest) where the <i>Malay</i> are living and the world of the forest (<i>dunia dalam</i> , "the Interior World"), where the <i>Anak Dalam</i> ("People of the Interior") are living	Orang Dusun "Village people", Orang Jambi "People of Jambi", Orang Batin ³ , Orang Terang "People of the Bright World"
Tumenggung ("state minister") ⁵	RIMBO (forest)
Depati ("governor") ⁶	Anak Dalam / Orang Dalam ("People of the Interior")
Menti ("minister") ⁷	Orang rimbo ("People of the Forest")
Anak Dalam ("People of the Interior", "Inland people")	

A very important and useful concept for hunter-gatherer-study was developed by the German anthropologist Wilhelm Mühlmann (1964:58-61, 194-212): According to Mühlmann, the real topic of anthropology is not the tribal society itself, but rather "*interethnic relations as well as their regularities and typical processes.*" The focus of anthropological research should therefore be the study of interaction between neighboring ethnic groups (Mühlmann 1964:59f; translation from German is mine, H. L.). Seen from this viewpoint any monographic approach to "primitive isolates" proves to be obsolete. It is a matter of fact that the ethnic groups living side by side are not on the same social level; they are rather placed vertically on different ranks according their size of population, influence and political power etc. As a rule the hunter-gatherer societies with "*poor technology*" are at the bottom of this "*interethnic hierarchy*" (ibid.). It is paradoxical that classless hunter-gatherers like the *Anak Dalam* of Sumatra as well as the *Wedda* of South India and Sri Lanka and the *Ngo' Pa / Maniq* of

³ Interestingly, the meaning of the word "*batin*" (derived from Arab language) is also "(the) inside", "inner", "internal", but also "spiritual", "mystical", "esoteric"

⁴ *marga* = (in Southern Sumatra) "district"

⁵ *tumenggung* (or: *temenggung*) = (class. Malay/Javanese) "title of high ranking royal official", "regent"

⁶ *depati* (or: *dipati / adipati*) = (class. Javanese, skr.) "(vice-)regent", "head of a regency", "prince"

⁷ *menti* (or: *manteri, menteri*) = (class. Malay/Javanese, skr.) "minister", "low ranking gvt. employee"

Southern Thailand are integrated as the lowest class or caste into highly stratified societies. In his article "Die Wedda, Pygmäen und Pygmoide als «Gastvölker»" ("The Wedda, Pygmies and Pygmoids as «Guest People») Mühlmann (1964:194-212) has shown the common denominator of these different "*interethnic systems*" which connect the hunter-gatherer societies living in the forest (*Wedda, BaMbuti, Negrito* and *Anak Dalam / Kubu*), on the one hand, and their neighboring agriculturists living in open landscapes (*Sinhalese, Malay, Filipino, Bantu* etc.) on the other hand. Compared to this recent pattern of relationship the hunter-gatherers in the past were often placed by the encompassing societies on a much higher rank than now: Based on their role as scouts, emissaries, vassals, archers, suppliers of valuables like ivory, resin, game etc. the hunter-gatherers possessed the so-called "*monopoly of the forest*". In other words, at the beginning the relationship between hunter-gatherers and agriculturists turned out to be a "*symmetrical*" and "*reciprocal social symbiosis*". The forest-dwellers occupied a comparatively high position in this interethnic system. Since the forest was in the course of time more and more colonized by agriculturists and "*disenchanted*", the hunters and gatherers lost step by step their former monopoly of the forest. By this way the interethnic system became more and more "*asymmetrical*". The pattern of economic exchange became increasingly unbalanced and the hunter-gatherers were more and more dependent on farmers. In other words, former unconstrained and voluntary contacts became steadily forced and unbalanced contacts.

A weak point of this theory is the one-sided concentration on farmers (or pastoralists). Furthermore it has to be called in question whether this decay of forest monopoly is exclusively caused by the colonization (clearing) of the forest as well as by the transfer of the forest-know how to the settled people in the direct neighborhood of hunter-gatherer societies. It is rather a question whether in addition to that transformations in the political and economical system of the so-called "host-people" entail a fundamental change of the interethnic relationships. Finally a decisive shortcoming of this theory consists in the restriction of interethnic systems on the immediate neighbors only. By this way Mühlmann excludes the nation states and the government officials as well as supraregional market forces as determining factors of interethnic systems from theoretical consideration. However, today's hunter-gatherers are willy-nilly members of nation-states, in which nationalism is altering and radicalizing the attitudes of majorities towards peripheral ethnic groups (incl. hunters-gatherers).

As far as I know the interethnic relations between the *Anak Dalam* and the *Malay* were exposed to fundamental changes: The interethnic relationship which was once characterized by symmetry and reciprocity changed into a relationship of dependence and exploitation although to a great extent the formal structure of the interethnic system remained unchanged. Similar to the *Wedda* of Sri Lanka, the *Anak Dalam* lost their "monopoly of the forest". Until the end of the 19th century the *rajo* Jambi, the king or sultan (*rajo*) of Jambi, was the one who received most of the valuables collected by the *Anak Dalam*. In his relations with foreign countries the king of Jambi used the *Anak Dalam* as scouts for the visitors from abroad who had to cross the then still vast jungle. If in times of war the king had to take refuge to the deep forest, he was hidden and protected by the *Anak Dalam*. The *Anak Dalam* supplied the king with highly esteemed rare and sometimes strange valuables from the forest like ivory, resin, living elephants, dragon blood, game, drugs and other magical medicine (among other remedies for infertility) etc. In the war against the Dutch colonial army the *Anak Dalam* supported the Sultan of Jambi. After the annexation of Jambi the Dutch deposed the Sultan. This resulted in the loss of the most important demand-institution on the part of the *Malay*. Moreover, the "monopoly of the forest" was lost not only by passing over to the *Malay*, but rather by its devaluation: After the arrival of the Dutch the much sought-after valuables of the past were often replaced by new and cheap substitutes (e. g. chemical colors or manufactured lacquer instead of dragon blood and other resins from the forest) or were now not at all needed

(e. g. elephants). However, the most decisive factor for the transformation of the interethnic system was the break down of the old socio-political system. This is the reason why the institution of the mediator (*jenang*) controlling the entire exchange of goods and the communication between *Malay* and *Anak Dalam*, is not more embedded in the old socio-political system. Prescribed by the *adat* (tradition) the *Anak Dalam* of the past supplied mainly the Sultan (*rajo*) with certain valuables. Only in the second place they supplied the villages in their near vicinity with forest products. Under these circumstances the function of the *jenang* could not yet become a source of individual enrichment. Today, however, the regulation of interethnic relations by the *adat* is not so strict as in the past. In addition to that, the interethnic relations are no more supervised by the authority of the *rajo*. The Sultan is no longer behind the *jenang*, but the market. The (deteriorating) rates of exchange are not only determined by the market. Likewise by its demand the market determines which forest products are to be supplied or not.

4. The *Maniq* of Southern Thailand: A forgotten minority

The *Maniq* are hunters and gatherers in Southern Thailand. The *Maniq* belong to the *Semang*, a very dark skinned *Negrito* tribe living in Southern Thailand and Northern Malaysia. In Southern Thailand are now about 200 *Semang*. The *Maniq* belong to the northernmost group of the *Semang* numbering altogether 2.000 to 2.500 people. Similar to other hunter-gatherers of this world the *Maniq-Semang* are adapting themselves to the scarce and scattered resources of their natural environment by their basic mode of social organization, i. e. bilateral bands with fragmented nuclear families. The *Maniq* of Southern Thailand consist of small groups roaming in the forest. The band size ranges from 10 to 55. In all probability the *Maniq* have already long trade relations with their sedentary neighbors. Since there are no evidences for a former cultivation (agriculture) the *Maniq* could be called primary (pristine) hunters and gatherers in one breath with the *Andaman Islanders*, the Pygmies of Central Africa (*BaMbuti*) or the Aborigines of Australia (Hoffman 1986). "***Maniq***" is an endonym of the Kensiw-speaking *Semang* in Satun, Trang, Phatthalung and Yala⁸ and means "us". The *Maniq* call their neighbors *Hamiq*, that is "them" ("the others"). Because of their curly hairs which is reminiscent of the hairy skin of the rambutan fruit (*luk ngo*) the *Thai* people call these foragers "***ngo' pa***" ("wild/forest rambutan"). Other exonyms used in Thailand are "***khon pa***" or "***chao pa***", i. e. "People of the Forest" (cf. Keyes 1995:32; Credner 1935:149). The old *Malay* exonym "***Sakai***" had the connotations: "slave", "serf", "bondman", "dependent". Due to its pejorative meaning this exonym passed out of use in Malaysia and was in the sixties replaced by the term "***Orang Asli***" ("Aborigine", "Autochthonous"). Like the old name "*Sakai*" the new term "*Orang Asli*" is applied indiscriminately to all ethnic groups living in the mountainous inland, no matter they are *Semang*, *Senoi* or Austronesian speaking groups like the *Jakun*. In Thailand, however, "*Sakai*" is still widely used by archaeologists as well as by the administration. The local population of Southern Thailand prefers the terms "*chao pa*". By analyzing these more or less pejorative exonyms we could quite easily reveal the asymmetric interethnic relationship between the ethnic groups of the mountainous inland, on the one hand, and the *Malay* or *Thai* on the other hand. In the past the *Malay* preferred to hunt the foragers in slave raids, to enslave them, and to use them as *hamba* or *abdi*, servants or slaves, in the households or courts. Since the Muslim *Malay* were not allowed to enslave their fellow-believers, they directed their search for new slaves at the "*Sakai*" of the interior, because they

⁸ The *Maniq* of Trang and Yala are already sedentarized.

were regarded as "unbelievers" (*kafir*). Only the *Orang Laut*, the seanomads, enjoyed a special position in this interethnic system.⁹ According to the accounts I could gather from the *Maniq* the relations between the *Semang* and Buddhist *Thai* were by no means less violent. It is not until recently that raids, murder, rapes, kidnappings, and other atrocities were common. Even today villagers occasionally shoot at a *Maniq*. At present, however, they have to find excuses like the following one: "I just mistook him/her for a game." Robbing the forest people still seems to be common. Without any feeling of injustice the intruding villagers turn the forest people out of the forest and clear the forest for the purpose of their rubber plantations.

As in many other traditional non-western societies the "economy" of the *Maniq* is "embedded" in the social structure¹⁰. The main subsistence activities of *Maniq* are gathering (wild plants and fruits), hunting (game) and fishing. This subsistence pattern and the use of non-domesticated resources require comparatively small groups ("bands") roaming in a vast area (territory) of the rain forest. The high mobility of these bands is combined with a marked egalitarian social structure and a strongly developed etiquette of reciprocity. Unlike some *Semang* groups of Malaysia the *Maniq* of Satun do not practice any shifting cultivation along with hunting and gathering. It has to be emphasized that the *Maniq* are one of the very few surviving societies of this world which are quite "pure" foragers, that is they are exclusively living on gathering, hunting and fishing! The reason for the absence of agriculture is not their ignorance of permanent agriculture or shifting cultivation, but taboos exclusively based on their religion. The plant-taboo fosters the flexibility and spatial mobility of the foragers: Provided the *Maniq* would have the intention of depending on small fields in the forest all the year round for their subsistence, they would lose their capacity to evade the unbearable pressure of villagers. Moreover, the life of full-time farmers serves as a negative contrast to their own way of life.

Accordingly, the *Maniq* of Satun and Phatthalung are (almost) completely dependent on the forest. The *Maniq* live in shelters covered with leaves where they keep one or two fireplaces keeping away mosquitoes and other prowling animals. *Maniq* men hunt (with blowpipe/*bolau*) or trap game. Besides, men manufacture blowpipes, weave rattan bags and baskets and make fire by using the fire saw (consisting of bamboo, wood and rattan)¹¹. Gathering is, for the most part, the task of women. Women collect (wild growing) tubers (mostly *Dioscorea*), roots of different rattan varieties, fruits and small animals as well as herbs and medicine. *Maniq* men who are skilful tree climbers collect honey and tree fruits. As in most other foraging societies gathering contributes much more to the subsistence rather than hunting. Moreover, gathering is a much more reliable subsistence activity than hunting. Some products of the forest like wild honey, parkia pods, riang pods, herbs and medicines are in the first place gathered for the exchange with *Thai* or *Malay* (barter). Occasionally the *Maniq* are working for their sedentary neighbors. Owing to the ever increasing number of farmers and traders penetrating into the

⁹ In the Malay principalities the *Orang Laut* could sometimes achieve very high positions, as for example the post as *Laksamana*, that is to say leader of a fleet or admiral (In this connection I refer the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the story about the *Malay* Hero Hang Tuah who was a member of *Orang Laut*-society).

¹⁰ The founder of the so-called **substantivism** in economic anthropology, Karl Polanyi, maintained that in non-market exchange (pre- or non-capitalistic) societies the economic system is "embedded" in the encompassing social relations. It follows from this that in these societies do not exist separate economic institutions; in other words, the economy is only a function of the society (Polanyi 1978; 1979:215-226). In a kinship based society reciprocity is the dominant form of integration (Polanyi 1979:189, 225). Similarly, Marshall Sahlins states that in such societies "the economy" as a separate and specialized organization do not exist; the "economy" is rather a function of social structures, especially the kinship relations: "[...] *even to speak of «the economy» of a primitive society is an exercise in unreality. Structurally, «the economy» does not exist. Rather than a distinct and specialized organization, «economy» is something that generalized social groups and relations, notably kinship groups and relations, do. Economy is rather a function of the society than a structure, for the armature of the economic process is provided by groups classically conceived «non-economic».*" (Sahlins 1972: 76)

¹¹ When the *Maniq* of Satun and Phatthalung stay in the deep forest and do not want to approach villagers for getting lighters they still use the traditional way of making fire.

forests by then only inhabited by *Maniq* the exchange with the sedentary neighbors as well as occasional work for villagers gained in importance (Schebesta 1954:130ff). The reciprocal transactions among the *Maniq* themselves, however, are linked with a specific etiquette: Nearly all exchanges take place among relatives or at least between close friends, who attach great emotional importance to the giving, the receiving and the use of gifts. On this occasion the reciprocity in the transactions is bound up with an etiquette requiring modesty in the reciprocal exchange and condemning boastful demonstration of one's own generosity. Under these circumstances of "generalized reciprocity" (Sahlins) it is considered to be impolite to express one's thanks to someone and to show by it that one has calculated the amount of a gift or share and that one did not expect the donor to be so generous. Typically enough, the *Maniq* of Satun, Phatthalung and Trang have no word for "thank you"! The *Maniq* who do not practice agriculture failed to develop groups of families identifying with definite territories; consequently, neither did they develop unilinear descent groups nor exclusive property rights to resources (cf. Harris 1995:85-93; Hayden 1994; Lee/DeVore 1968:30-43). Within the territory used for hunting and gathering the men of the *Maniq* assert individual rights to *ipoh*-trees (*ipoh* is the poison used for the blowpipe darts) as well as to the durian trees. This is the only evidence for immovable property of families or individuals. There is every indication that the sedentary neighbors of the *Maniq* (*Thai* or *Malay*) neither understand nor respect this concept of property applying to trees as well as the socio-cultural background for the almost complete absence of exclusive ownership of resources (Schebesta 1954:229ff; Endicott 1988). On account of the recurrent need to break camp and to travel long distances on foot (high mobile life style) the accumulation of material possessions is rigidly limited. The material culture of the *Maniq* is therefore comparatively "poor". This is the reason why James Woodburn, a foremost authority on foragers, stated that "only poor hunter-gatherers are pure hunter-gatherers". The average Thai villager, however, pity the poor and miserable forest people. The *Maniq* of Thailand as well as simple hunter-gatherers like *!Kung* (Botswana, Namibia), *Hadzabe* (Tanzania), *Malapantaram* (Southern India), *Naiken* (Southern-India), *Paliyan* (Southern-India) or *Batek De'-Semang* (Malaysia) have an economy where the people as a rule receive an immediate yield for its labor, where the yield of labor is used with minimal delay only and where property rights are only minimally stressed. The detachment of people from property and the concomitant ideology of non-competitive egalitarianism are intrinsic and essential components of these so-called "immediate-return economies" (Woodburn 1982:445; Woodburn 1988:11). Obviously, the *Maniq* are quite closely approximating to the ideal type of a simple hunter-gatherer society with immediate return system. It is most obvious that the following major characteristics of this variety of hunter-gatherers quite exactly apply to the *Maniq* of Southern Thailand: low-population density; not dependent on stored foods; live in temporary camps most of the year (nomadic life style); the resources are comparatively stable, but limited, fluctuating and highly susceptible to excessive exploitation; the subsistence is very diversified; limited (not maximal) use of resources ("underproduction"); "generalists", that is to say broad spectrum hunters and gatherers; immediate return system; flexible social groups with constantly changing group composition ("flux"); no (exclusive) ownership of resources, i. e. common (general) access to the basic resources; no interpersonal dependencies; reciprocity and egalitarian sharing ethic; nearly no specialization and minimal social stratification; (at most) weak distinctions of rank (cf. Burch/Ellanna 1994:223-239; Woodburn 1980, 1982, 1988; Harris 1995:47). Owing to the fact that these hunter-gatherers have no political integration, which goes beyond the local group (cf. Forde 1963:12, 15; Helbling 1987:78), any political mobilization of *Maniq* hunter-gatherers for a joint action against intruders, illegal loggers, poachers and the like seems to be doomed to fail from the start!

5. Intrusion of villagers, deforestation, ethnic discrimination, detrimental projects: Is there a way out of it?

Many observers draw the conclusion that the *Maniq* are by far the oldest inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula from the fact that the *Maniq* are at present living in isolated retreat areas and in the past inhabited many times vaster expanse of land than today! Through marriage and exchange of goods the *Maniq* had long contacts with their neighboring ethnic groups which outnumbered them. Nevertheless, the *Thai* and the *Malay* were without exception regarded as *hamiq*, "foreigners" (cf. Schebesta 1954:218). After years of martial law and the fight against Islamic and Communist guerrillas in the jungle of Southern Thailand the outer influences and the threat to the culture of *Maniq* increased as a result of it. The close of the guerrilla war and the new peace in 1990 by no means resulted in any improvement. Quite the contrary, since the late eighties and the early nineties both many small farmers and partly rich plantation owners invaded the jungle untouched by them, and cleared the forest. Despite the fact that the *Maniq* live in a national park area the ever decreasing forest had to make room for a myriad of rubber plantations. In doing so, the forest is doomed to vanish rapidly, and the situation for the *Maniq* is changing for the worse. Now it seems to be high time the *Thai* government and the public changed the "traditional" behavior of overexploitation of nature and reconsidered obsolete views on the "backward" forest people (*ngo' pa* = "forest/wild rambutan"). Why do we take it for granted to call this people "*ngo' pa*" ("the Forest Rambutan") the "*pa*" (forest) of whom we are going to destroy completely? If this process of large scale destruction of the natural habitat of the *Maniq* is going on at the same speed, the *Maniq* will be faced with the alternative either to leave the forest or to lose their cultural identity (ethnocide), or even worse, to perish in the near future (genocide). The unique tropical rain forests of Southern Thailand did not survive despite the existence of the *Maniq* but rather with and because of them. The protection of the forest means simultaneously "salvaging" and "conserving" the "People of the Forest" (*ngo' pa*).

At the fringes of the forest area where some peripheral *Maniq*-groups roam are many villages with rubber plantations in their vicinity partly erected in the very recent past. In these locations clear signs of forest degradation, of heavy erosion, and of the emergence of *Imperata cylindrica* are visible. The constant deforestation has a dramatic impact on the *Maniq*: their primary source of subsistence is destroyed; to say nothing of the demoralizing effect of the disappearance of their cultural and religious world. As a rule the *Maniq* express a strong desire to preserve their traditional culture and ethnic identity.

It is through the roads connecting even the remotest villages with the cities that the *Maniq* living at the fringe of the Banthat mountains and forests are subject to increasing invasions of farmers clearing the forest. In short, these are the communities exposed to serious threats and on the way to becoming easily controllable semi-nomads, "Pseudo-*Maniq*", who can only enter the lowest social stratum below the lowest farmers. Though less dependent on forest products than their fellow-people in the interior, they hunt and fish regularly and do some collecting of forest products for trade. This already happened in other areas so that somewhere between 50 and 80 *Maniq* were already compelled to settle down. Nevertheless, these former *Maniq* who already settled down do still depend on forest resources (mainly for trade and to a lesser extent for subsistence) for their livelihood as well. As a rule the *Maniq* who still earn their livelihood to a large degree out of hunting and gathering do NOT regard this sedentarized people as "*Maniq*" ("us") but rather put these deserter-like people into the category "*Hamiq*" ("them"). This process of settling down seems to be a painful loss for the *Maniq*: For one thing, they lose fellows and feel to become weaker (as a group); for the other, the already small pool of marriage partners becomes even smaller. Consequently, I advise government

agencies or NGO's against carrying out development projects which aim at changing the *Maniq* into small-scale farmers who are adapted to the "normal" (Southern) *Thai* way of life. No *Maniq* of the groups in Satun and Phatthalung I visited was married to *Thai* farmers. On the other hand, about 4 families among the *Maniq* of Satun, Phatthalung and Trang are of "mixed" composition that is one of the parents of the conjugal family originates from a *Thai* village. As a rule male *Thai* villagers marry a *Maniq* woman who leaves her people and the forest after marriage and subsequently takes up residence in the village of her *Thai* husband. In this way the children are unable to learn their mother tongue and are thus alienated from the way of life and the customs of the *Maniq*. What is more: They learn to despise their mother's people of origin. Only in one case a *Maniq* man married a *Thai* woman. In this case the loss is felt more painful by the *Maniq* and the alienation of the children from their people of origin seems to be even more extreme. From the anthropological point of view, it is very interesting to obtain some reliable source of information about the opinions and assessments the *Maniq* have on this splitting-off process which started in the very recent past. It is of vital importance to know how the newly sedentarized *Maniq* build up an ethnic boundary: In one way or other they seem to invent distinctive markers distinguishing as well as segregating them from their former fellows. In this way they try to identify themselves with the villagers and to adapt themselves to their new environment. To what extent this strategy is successful cannot be stated now. We can only wait and see what the future has in store for us. There is no denying the fact, however, that this splitting off process will lead to the disappearance of the *Maniq* as an identifiable ethnic group (ethnocide) in the long run. In view of the fact that the majority of the villagers in the South are reluctant to accept the *Maniq* as equals, this process of sedentarization and villagization, is most unlikely to lead to assimilation of the former hunters and gatherers but rather both to a total marginalization and heavy deterioration of their life quality (cf. Gomes 1990).

The *Maniq* do not only deplore the loss of all the good land taken over by the farmers, rubber plantations, and projects etc., but are also reminiscent of the forest areas lost mainly in the recent past. *Maniq* are aware of the fact that the forests which are now peripheral and to a large extent degraded, about 10, 20 or 30 years ago still represented the "deep forest" which did not only serve as a basis of livelihood but also as a safe haven where the *Maniq* could retreat and which was to a great extent not accessible to villagers and other outsiders (incl. some not adaptable scientists!). The deep forest areas constitute their favorite environment: The forest is a cool place, provides the basis for their subsistence, is a barrier for diseases, and provides relief from the heat of the villages. Unfortunately, there are no plans to establish reserves for the *Maniq* up to the present day.

The *Maniq* represent an exceptional low conflict society. Mostly non-violent and particularly vulnerable, the *Maniq* fear contact with the outside world. Owing to their absent political integration beyond the local group the *Maniq* are not in the position to organize any kind of defense mechanism nor have they launched any counter-attacks. Consequently, the usual reaction of *Maniq* to the aggressive intrusion of villagers in the past was to retreat. But nowadays these strategy borders on a limit, since there is no longer enough forest where the *Maniq* could find refuge.

To an increasing extent the recent *Maniq* seem to be forced to adapt themselves to the way of life of the villagers. Are the *Maniq* really damned to follow the villager's way of life in order to survive? The fact is that nowhere can we see a serious attempt to understand the *Maniq*-perspective, how they perceive the world in a more different way than we do. This *Maniq*-perspective seems to be badly needed for improving our one-sided perspective about the hunter-gatherer life style. We should bear in mind Woodbin's warning: " ... *we should be extremely careful before we believe outsiders' views about stigmatised groups. ... What we need, of course, is more field research among the hunters and gatherers themselves to clarify the situation.*" (Woodburn 1988:41f; emphasizes are my wording)

Why do the *Maniq* persist as an identifiable ethnic group with marked cultural differences (e. g. in mode of subsistence, behavior, values, religion, customs, language etc.) and reject any ethnic assimilation (de-ethnicization) despite their low status in interethnic contact and the continuous experience of covert or overt discrimination? Why the "*Maniq*" are contacting the villagers ("*Hamiq*") and sometimes living in camps close to the villages whereas on the other hand they are stressing their autonomy? By and large the *Maniq* are to a great extent economically independent. The villagers therefore try (intentionally or unintentionally) to tie the *Maniq* to their village community by non-economic means and to "fix" *Maniq* in camps which are near to the village. By "fixing" (settling down) them to a semi-permanent camp and within easy reach, the *Maniq* are more and more becoming (economically) dependent, because the livelihood by hunting and gathering is becoming increasingly difficult. Furthermore, the villagers prevent them from going fishing in the nearby rivers. Eventually the *Maniq* are forced to work in the nearby plantations in order to get additional food.

When the *Maniq* get into touch with the *Hamiq*, they seem to have an ethnic endo-perception marked by a sense of inferiority: They seem to be ashamed of their own culture and their behavior is marked by an exaggerated timidity as well as a striking servility. But when they are in the forest and among themselves they tend to show a quite different behavior. In fact I assume that the *Maniq* are proud of their own culture and their way of life. This may be the main reason why the *Maniq* are not at all attracted by the culture of the adjacent *Thai* villagers who are in material terms by far richer than the people living in the forest. A similar contrast between the behavior during contacts with outsiders and the attitudes towards members of the same ethnic group was found by Turnbull among the *BaMbuti* of the Ituri-forest in Congo (Turnbull 1966:21-26).

The non-reciprocal or unequal exchange practiced by villagers using cheap *Maniq* labor force is in sharp contrast to the egalitarian ethic of sharing of *Maniq* people. This ethic is typical of hunter-gatherer societies. According to Woodburn, hunter-gatherer societies with "immediate return system" are characterized by an ideology of "non-competitive egalitarianism": This ideology disengages people from property and makes people independent on possessions. In this way the opportunity to create dependence via property rights is eliminated. Without leading to poverty, this principle can only be realized in hunter-gatherer economies (Woodburn 1980; 1982; 1988). Like the *Batek De' Semang* the *Maniq* never developed a concept of property for land or forest (cf. Endicott 1988). Consequently, they do not defend their rights against invading villagers who are not only occupying the land formerly used by *Maniq*, but even prevent them from catching fish in nearby rivers or they are usurping their right to use fruit trees (e. g. *luk riang*) in the parts of the forest which are within easy reach.

Projects, an underestimated danger: Efforts of NGO's to save the *Maniq* by moving them out from the National Park Area and to bring them to a so-called "safe haven" seem to be highly irresponsible. I hope the government of Thailand does NOT give any permission to remove the *Maniq* against their will from the environment they are acquainted with !!! As far as I know there is a NGO operating in Southern Thailand which attempts to resettle about 50 *Maniq* of Phatthalung and Satun to Trang. This NGO (which is – as can be proved - responsible for the death of at least 1 *Maniq*!) bought 8 hectare forest land, located in the middle of villages and rubber plantations and far from the National Park. As is already proven by researches in human ecology the hunters and gatherers have to move around the forest all year round, even during the rainy season in order to hunt and collect forest products. In view of the high macromove frequency (more than 20 times/year) and the high dimension of the territory, that is to say the total of the ranges used during one year, which exceeds 800 km², every effort to confine a group of 50 people to 8 hectare would be an highly irresponsible, if not criminal act. Why did the *Maniq* never ask for help, why did the *Maniq* who represent the by far oldest population of Southeast Asia never insist on their rights on the land? The reason for that has to

be looked for in the social structure (absence of exclusive property rights to land/territory, egalitarian ethic; see above) and in the in the religion of the *Maniq*: For the *Maniq* the earth was created for all to use, *Maniq* and non-*Maniq*. But they do take into account the place where a person grew up, spent his/her childhood, and for which strong feelings remain even if one is presently living far away from it; but there is no sense of ownership. The territory, vast and traditionally open to all, has lost much of its land today to the plantations. Owing to their suspicion of outsiders as well as to the above-mentioned ideology the *Maniq* have no idea of asking outsiders to help them attain legal recognition of "their rights". Without any outside help based on profound knowledge of *Maniq* economy, social structure and ideology, the *Maniq* who are doomed to live in increasingly densely populated areas will be greatly disadvantaged in the competition for the land with *Thai* farmers and subsequently disappear as an ethnic group.

Available ethnohistorical data give evidence that in the past the *Maniq-Semang* held a high position in the interethnic relations. The oldest reliable source about *Maniq-Semang* produced by a European is an article written by John Smith, a British people, who around the year 1600 worked as adviser of the Queen of Pattani, a Malay kingdom in today's Southern Thailand. John Smith had an exceptionally good knowledge about the *Maniq-Semang* which proved to be very useful for the Queen of Pattani: "*He [John Smith] even waged a war with the Perak-Malay on behalf of the Queen [of Pattani] and he enrolled in his army among others also Semang-archers. According to his report the Semang were so highly respected that they performed special posts of honour, that is to say at the enthronement of a new Raja, and in general they were reputed to be the real masters (aborigines) of the country.*" (Schebesta 1952:17; translation from German is mine, H. L.). Obviously, this is a clear evidence for a fundamental change of the pattern of interethnic relationship. Beyond it since the 18th century the dominant influence of *Malay* culture was more and more replaced by the influence of *Thai* culture and language. Since there are at present no further detailed ethnohistorical sources concerning the interethnic relationship between the sedentary peoples of this region and the *Maniq-Semang* for the time between 1600 and the 19th century (Schebesta 1952:17) we are not able to describe how the recent asymmetrical pattern of interethnic relationship came into being. For the time being, however, we can come to the conclusion that, compared with the above described past, the present state of interethnic relationship between *Thai* and *Maniq* is a change for the worse which does not at all deserve to be called "evolution" or "progress".

Bibliography

- Burch**, Ernest S.: The Future of Hunter-Gatherer Research. In: Burch, E.S./Ellanna, L.J. (eds.) 1994:441-455
- Burch**, Ernest S., Jr./ **Ellanna**, Linda J. (eds.): *Key Issues in Hunter-Gatherer Research*. Oxford/UK., Providence/U.S.A.: Berg Publishers 1994
- Credner**, Wilhelm: *Siam, das Land der Thai. Eine Landeskunde auf Grund eigener Reisen und Forschungen*. Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn's Nachf. 1935
- Drexler**, Wolfgang/**Lukas**, Helmut: Gesellschaftliche Landnutzungssysteme und ökologische Probleme. Beispiele aus Indonesien. In: H. Dürr u. R. Hanisch (Hg.): *Südostasien*. Georg Westermann-Verlag, 1986:190-202
- Endicott**, Kirk: Property, Power and Conflict among the Batek of Malaysia. In: Ingold, T./ Riches, D./Woodburn, J. (eds.), Vol. II, 1988:110-127
- Forde**, C. Daryll: *Habitat, Economy and Society. A Geographical Introduction to Ethnology*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1963

- Gibson**, Thomas: Meat Sharing as a Political Ritual: Forms of Transaction versus Modes of Subsistence. In: Ingold, T./Riches, D./Woodburn, J. (eds.), Vol. II, 1988:165-179
- Gomes**, Alberto: Demographic implications of villagization on the Semang of Malaysia. In: White, N., B. Meehan (eds.): *Hunter-gatherer Demography: Past and Present*. Sydney: Oceania Publications, 1990:126-138
- Harris**, Marvin: *Cultural anthropology*. New York etc.: Harper Collins College Publishers 1995
- Hayden**, Brian: Competition, Labor, and Complex Hunter-Gatherers. In: Burch, E.S./Ellanna, L.J. (eds.) 1994:223-239
- Helbling**, Jürgen: *Theorie der Wildbeutergesellschaft. Eine ethnozoologische Studie*. (= Campus Forschung Band 521) Frankfurt a. M.: Campus Verlag 1987
- Hoffman**, Carl: *The Punan. Hunters and Gatherers of Borneo*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms 1986
- Ingold**, T./**Riches**, D./**Woodburn**, J. (eds.): *Hunters and Gatherers*. Vol. I: *History, Evolution and Social Change*. Vol. II: *Property, Power and Ideology*. [= Papers from the Fourth International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies, held at London School of Economics and Political Science, Sept. 8 - 13, 1986] N.Y., Oxford: Berg Publications Limited 1988 (Paperback ed.1991)
- Keyes**, Charles F.: *The Golden Peninsula. Culture and Adaptation in Mainland Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: School of Hawaiian, Asian & Pacific Studies 1995 (1st edition 1977)
- LeBar**, Frank M. (ed. and comp.): *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia*. Vol. 1: *Indonesia, Andaman Islands, and Madagascar*. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files Press 1972
- Lee**, Richard/**DeVore**, Irvén (eds.): *Man the Hunter*. Chicago: Aldine 1968
- Loeb**, Edwin M.: *Sumatra: Its History and People*. Wien: Verlag des Institutes für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien 1935 (Reprint: Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta: Oxford University Press 1974)
- Muchlas**, A. Ch. Munawir: *Tambo Anak Dalam (Asal usul dan seluk beluk) dalam daerah propinsi Jambi*. Jambi: Kantor Departemen Sosial 1975
- Mühlmann**, Wilhelm: *Rassen, Ethnien, Kulturen. Moderne Ethnologie*. (= Soziologische Texte, Bd. 24) Neuwied und Berlin: Luchterhand 1964
- Peerson**, Gerard A.: The Kubu of Central Sumatra, Indonesia. In: Sponsel, Leslie E. (ed.): *Endangered Peoples of Southeast and East Asia. Struggles to Survive and Thrive*. Westport (Connecticut), London: Greenwood Press 2000:157-172
- Polanyi**, Karl: *Ökonomie und Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1979
- Polanyi**, Karl: *The Great Transformation. Politische und ökonomische Ursprünge von Gesellschaften und Wirtschaftssystemen*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1978 (engl. Orig.: 1944)
- Sahlins**, Marshall: *Stone age economics*. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton 1972
- Schebesta**, Paul: *Die Negrito Asiens*. I. Bd.: *Geschichte, Geographie, Umwelt, Demographie und Anthropologie der Negrito*. Wien - Mödling 1952
- Schebesta**, Paul: *Die Negrito Asiens*. II. Bd.: *Die Ethnographie der Negrito Asiens*. 1. Halbband: *Wirtschaft und Soziologie*. Wien - Mödling 1954
- Scott**, James: How the Valleys Make the Hills in Southeast Asia. The State and People Who Move Around. *IIAS News Letters* 19, June 1999:3, 45
- Turnbull**, Colin M.: *Molimo. Drei Jahre bei den Pygmäen*. Darmstadt, Berlin, Wien: Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft 1966 (engl. Orig.: *The Forest People*. New York: Natural History Press 1961)
- Woodburn**, James: "Egalitarian Societies." *Man*, 17/3, 1982:431-451
- Woodburn**, James: "Hunters and Gatherers Today and Reconstruction of the Past." In: Gellner, Ernest (ed.): *Soviet and Western Anthropology*. London: Duckworth 1980:95-117
- Woodburn**, James: African Hunter-Gatherer Social Organization: is it best understood as a Product of Encapsulation? In: Ingold, T./Riches, D./Woodburn, J. (eds.), Vol. I, 1988:31-64
- Woodburn**, James: Indigenous Discrimination: the Ideological Basis for Local Discrimination against Hunter-Gatherer Minorities in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* vol. 20/2, April 1997:345-361