

Human Body in Social Change

Practice of Modification and Medicine

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Preface

This project aimed to reveal how the human body has changed and is changing in various social contexts by focusing on the practices of body modification and medicine, both of which physically influence and transform the human body. The core members are Yujie PENG, working on the body modification of the Baka people in Cameroon; Reiko HATA, working on New Zealand Maori tattooing; and Kei NAGAOKA, working on Monpas' traditional medicine in the Himalayas. All members are doctoral students at Kyoto University in Japan.

We had an international study meeting in Yaounde, Cameroon, in cooperation with the Department of Anthropology, University of Yaounde 1. This report contains a brief summary of our meeting and the preparation process, and also overviews our short trips to some of the Baka settlements in Cameroon.

この共同研究は、身体装飾と医療という共に身体に直接的に働きかける実践に注目することで、社会変容の中で時に受動的に、また時に能動的に変化する身体と人間の生を捉えることを目的としました。共同研究のメンバーは、カメルーンにおける身体加工を研究する彭宇潔、ニュージーランドにおいてタトゥーを研究する秦玲子、ヒマーラヤ地域において伝統医療を研究する長岡慶です。

私たちはカメルーン、ヤウンデ第一大学の社会学・人類学専攻の協力を得て研究集会を開催するとともに、カメルーンに住むバカの人々の集落を訪れ、医療と身体加工についての小規模な調査を行いました。本書では、研究集会の準備過程や開催状況、報告した研究内容に加え、カメルーンにおける調査の概況について報告します。

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Yaounde/ ヤウンデの町の様子

1. *Project*/ プロジェクト概要

Outline

Preparation

Our preparation began in May 2013 in Japan. We had several meetings and discussed the theme, venue, and so on. In October 2013, Nagaoka and Hata came to Yaounde and met Peng, who was already there, and started the preparation. In Yaounde, the team started the preparations on October 14. The work ranged from program planning to inviting speakers and participants. Prof. MBONJI Edjenguélé, head of the Anthropology Department of the University of Yaounde 1; Dr. Luc MEBENGA TAMBA; Prof. Antoine SOCPA; and Prof. Godefroy Ngima MAWOUNG kindly supported us. We also received great cooperation from the graduate students and worked especially on informing and inviting people using invitation letters and posters.

研究会の事前準備として、日本で2013年5月より打ち合わせを重ね、開催地や研究会のテーマを決定してきました。2013年10月30日のワークショップ開催に向け、10月にはいよいよ長岡と秦がカメルーンに渡航。すでに渡航していた彭に合流し、10月14日からカメルーン、ヤウンデにて準備を行いました。ヤウンデ第一大学では、社会学・人類学専攻長のProf. MBONJI Edjenguélé、Dr. Luc MEBENGA TAMBA、Prof. Antoine SOCPA、Prof. Godefroy Ngima MAWOUNGらの指導を仰ぎながら開催場所やプログラムを決定しました。また、ヤウンデ第一大学の学生たちと協力しながらポスターを作成、広報に力を注ぎました。

Our progress

【In Japan】

- May 28 - Discussion on the theme, title, time, and venue of our international meeting
- June 13 - Writing application and sharing our common research interests
- 20 - Writing application
- July 7 - Discussion on the schedule and practical requirements
- Early October - Preparing for photo exhibition

【In Cameroon】

- October 14 - Meeting again as a team in Cameroon and starting preparation
- 17 - Visiting University of Yaounde 1 and discussing the program
- 18 - Visiting University of Yaounde 1 and discussing the program
- 19 - Making invitation letters and posters
- 20-24 - Short research trip to Lomie (see Chapter 3)
- 25 - Discussion of the program
- 26-29 - Preparing all the requirements for the meeting
- 30 - International meeting at Meumi Hotel



Meeting at Kyoto University



Making Posters at University of Yaounde 1

International Study Meeting

Our international study meeting was held at the Meumi Hotel in Yaounde on October 30. At the meeting, six speakers presented on their research. More than 45 people participated in the meeting and had a lively discussion. A special photo exhibition by Kyoto University students provided an image of the lives of Baka, Monpa, and Maori people from Cameroon, the Himalayas, and New Zealand.

研究集会当日は、あっという間にやってきました。メウミホテルのレストランを貸し切り、ヤウンデ第一大学出身、もしくは在籍中の3人のスピーカーを招いて研究発表を行いました。参加者は発表者を含めて45人に達し、大盛況の中、フランス語と英語をもちいて活発に議論し、カメルーン、ヒマーラヤ、ニュージーランドでメンバーが撮影した写真も展示しました。



Photo Exhibition



Discussion

(Reiko Hata/ 秦 玲子)

Program

Study Meeting with Doctoral Students from Japan & Cameroon (Anthropology)

Human Body in Social Change **: Practice of Modification and Medicine**

1:00pm-5:00pm 30th Oct. 2013 at Restaurant in Meumi Hotel

- with **Special Photo Exhibition** from Cameroon, Himalaya & New Zealand

Moderator: Dr. Luc MEBENGA TAMBA [University of Yaounde I]

Opening Address 1:00pm-1:10pm

/ Prof. Antoine SOCPA [University of Yaounde I]

Section 1: Human Body in Social Change 1:10pm-2:40pm

“Changing Body Modification among the Baka Hunter-Gatherers”

/ Yujie PENG [Kyoto University]

“Revitalization of Tā Moko/ Maori Tattoo in New Zealand”

/ Reiko HATA [Kyoto University]

“Socialization of Human Body through Tibetan Medicine in the Himalayas”

/ Kei NAGAOKA [Kyoto University]

Discussion (15minutes)

Break (30minutes /2:40pm-3:10pm) - Please Enjoy the Photo Exhibition

Section 2: Social Change in Cameroon 3:10pm-4:50pm

“Baka and Bakola strategies of resilience in Cameroon”

/ Jean pierre NGUEDE NGONO [Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales de Paris]

“Women, Health, and Household Waste Management in the Beti Rural Central Cameroon”

/ Germaine NGA ELOUNDOU [University of Yaounde I]

“Dynamics of Anthropization of Body among Beti, Bulu, and Fang in Southern Cameroon”

/ Paul ABOUNA [University of Yaounde I]

Discussion (15minutes), Comments (10minutes)

Closing Address 4:50pm-5:00pm

/ Prof. Godefroy Ngima MAWOUNG [Chef de Division de la Promotion et de l'Appui a l'Innovations ,
Ministere de la Recherche Scientifique et de l'Innovation du Cameroun]



Participants / 研究集会の参加者

2. *Presentations*/ 発表内容

Abstracts

Changing Body Modification among the Baka Hunter-Gatherers

Yujie Peng (彭宇潔) / Kyoto University (京都大学)

The Baka in southeastern Cameroon are a hunter-gatherer groups living in the tropical rain forests of central Africa. They typically have many scars on their skin resulting from treatments for diseases or procedures to protect themselves from disease. However, they also have some scars that are only for aesthetic purposes. Sharpened front teeth, tattoos, brandings, and piercings are common body modifications among the Baka. Tattoos have the greatest variety of design among the four types of body modifications, and they typically appear on the face, arm, chest, abdomen, waist, and leg. This paper treats over 1000 points of data about Baka body modification, observed in the East Province of Cameroon through my fieldwork of about fifty weeks in 2010, 2011, and 2013.

The performance of body modification is not a mandatory ceremony in Baka society, but it is a tradition that is kept to this day. However, in some areas, the young Baka prefer modern fashion to the painful traditional modifications.

This paper's aim is to identify factors that are influencing the changes in body modification among the Baka. I make a comparison between the past and present practices of body modification among the Baka, and discuss the changes in their body modifications through (1) a comparison of the variations in design that occur across gender, generation, and area, and (2) a discussion of the change in their meaning for the Baka.

狩猟採集民バカは中部アフリカ熱帯雨林で生活しているピグミー系狩猟採集民の一つで、アフリカの代表的な狩猟採集民として知られている。彼らは治療のために体に傷を作って薬と思われるものを傷口に塗り込む一方、おしゃれのための身体加工も行う。刺青、前歯加工、火傷による瘢痕とピアシングは現在の狩猟採集民バカに見られる一般的な身体加工である。その中で、とりわけ刺青は最もバリエーションに富んだ加工である。バカにおける身体加工はどれも強制的ではないが現在まで伝承されてきた。ところが、現在のバカの若者はいわゆる伝統的な身体加工より、近代的なファッションを好む傾向がある。この発表は、2010年、2012年、2013年のフィールドワークで収集した1000人以上のバカの身体加工に関するデータを分析し、バカの身体装飾の変化と、その伝達における男女の役割を明らかにすることを目的としている。バカの身体加工の現在と過去を比較し、その変化を以下の2点から捉える：1) ジェンダー、年齢と地域におけるデザインのバリエーションを比較する；2) バカにとって身体加工の意味を議論する。

Revitalization of Tā Moko/Maori Tattoo in New Zealand

Reiko Hata (秦 玲子) / Kyoto University (京都大学)

The purpose of this presentation is to reveal how people revitalized tā moko (Maori tattoo—the art name and the process) and moko (Maori tattoo—the tattooed mark).

The Maori people strongly revitalized many cultural aspects in New Zealand from the 1960s to the 1970s. Tā moko is one of the cultural aspects that has been revitalized, and now moko, especially facial moko, is acknowledged as an important cultural aspect of the Maori and often symbolizes the Maori on television or in magazines.

However, the process of the revitalization of tā moko is unveiled. From the early contact period, the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, the moko have always attracted people's attention. There are many European writings and drawings of the moko and some studies that examine those historical records. However, the research on the revitalization is not fully advanced. Although there are some photographic works and academic studies on the revival, it is still unclear how the revitalization occurred and how tā moko is practiced now. This presentation examines and puts in order the history of the revitalization. The main materials used to draw the picture are local magazines, newspapers, and interviews with artists.

The dynamic change in tā moko is connected with changes in New Zealand and Maori society, such as the Maori political or cultural movement. The key aspect of the revitalization is detaching tā moko from the marginality or stigmatism of "TATTOO," which is also paralleled with giving the Maori a more positive public image. After the practice of tā moko stopped in the middle of the twentieth century, tattooing practice was carried out by local gangs and activists. Though gang and global tattoo culture played a great role in maintaining the practice, the tattoos of gangs or political activists were sometimes seen to be a sign of hostility or radicalism by mainstream society and the tattoos were no longer considered "normal" practice for Maori people. Those who started the revitalization of tā moko and who reclaimed the normality of tā moko for the Maori people were the artists who came in the late 1980s–1990s from Maori arts. Through "tā moko *wananga*" / learning or seminar and tā moko events, these artists educated people and reclaimed the positive view of moko within Maori culture.

Now, tā moko is becoming more and more common in New Zealand, and for some artists and wearers, wearing tā moko means the wearer is living the Maori lifestyle. Under the various mutual domestic/international influences, tā moko and the Maori people have changed and will continue.

本発表の目的は、マオリのタトゥー、モコ¹の復興の過程を明らかにすることである。マオリの人びとは、1960年代・70年代以降、多くの文化実践を力強く復興してきた。モコもまた、復興された文化の一つである。モコは、ヨーロッパ人とマオリの接触当初から人びとを強く魅了してきた。しかしモコに関する記録は多く存在するものの、復興後のモコについての研究はまだ十分に行われているとはいえない。本発表では、地域雑誌や新聞、アーティストへのインタビューに立脚し、モコの断絶と復興がどのように進展してきたのか、どのような人びとが復興を成し遂げたのかを明らかにする。

1. モコとは彫られたタトゥーそのものであり、モコを彫ることはタ・モコである。ただし、日常生活においてモコとタ・モコの区別はしばしば明確ではなく、人々はタ・モコという語をより頻繁に使用する傾向がある。芸術名としてもタ・モコが多く用いられるが、ここでは煩雑さをさけるために「モコ」で統一した。

Socialization of the Human Body through Tibetan Medicine in the Himalayas

Kei Nagaoka (長岡 慶) / Kyoto University (京都大学)

I discuss how traditional medicine acts as a mediator between the individual human body and society, and the importance it has in people's lives in the context of contemporary social change in Tawang, the west part of Himalayas (India). My study found that medicine involves social knowledge and practices intended to improve the body's condition.

The Tawang people, one of the ethnic groups in the Himalayas, often use alternative medical care, such as Tibetan medicine, biological medicine, ritual performances, and folk (domesticated) medicine, depending on the circumstances of each illness. The Tibetan government-in-exile founded an institution of Tibetan medicine, known as Men-Tsee-Khang, in Dharamsala, India in 1961. Men-Tsee-Khang clinics have been established in and around Tawang since the 1970s. Men-Tsee-Khang began the reconstruction of Tibetan medicine by taking it out of the monasteries and modernizing its medical practices, while positioning it as a political symbol of "Tibetan culture". In social context, the people's use of Tibetan medicinal pills makes those pills important mediators in the relationship between individuals and society in contemporary Tawang. Though an investigation of their practice of Tibetan medicine, I explore, from a cultural anthropological perspective, how Tibetan traditional medicine socializes the individual human body within contemporary society.

本発表は、ヒマラヤ東部のタワン地域（インド）における近年の社会変容において伝統医療がいかん人々の身体と社会を媒介し、生活するうえで重要なものとなっているかを論じる。タワンでは、病いや不調の状況に応じて、チベット医学や生物医療、儀式、家庭での民間医療が利用されている。インド、ダラムサラにあるチベット亡命政府は、1961年チベット医学組織メンツィカンを組織し、1970年代以降、メンツィカンの診療所がタワンやその周辺に設置されるようになった。メンツィカンはチベット医学を僧院から分離し近代化するとともに「チベット文化」の政治的象徴として再構築する。一方で、タワンの人々はこの新たなチベット医学を様々な用途で利用し、社会と人々の関係を調整するうえで重要なものとしてとらえている。本発表では、チベット医学に関するタワンの人々の実践に焦点をあて、現代のタワン社会におけるチベット医学を通じた身体の社会化の側面について明らかにする。

Baka and Bakola Strategies of Resilience in Cameroon



Jean Pierre Nguede Ngonu

/ Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales de Paris

This paper proposes a thorough analysis of socio-environmental resilience in two communities of hunter-gatherers, the Baka and the Bakola, in Cameroon. These formerly nomadic communities once lived in the forest, from which they drew most of their livelihood and survival. Today they have been displaced from their ancestral lands for the sake of creating protected areas, agro-industrial endeavors, forestry, and major mining projects. These communities are in touch more than ever with the Bantu peoples, which largely influences their lifestyle (hunting, gathering, and fishing) and often determines their future.

To cope with these changes, the government of Cameroon as well as national and international organizations, through extensive programs, are assisting the Baka and Bakola people in gradually rebuilding a new life that incorporates the requirements of “modernity.” Despite this support, these people are still afflicted by the scourges of alcoholism, disease, malnutrition, marginalization, un-schooling, non-recognition of their rights, etc. How do they cope with the changes occurring in their lives?

This thesis aims to identify the different mutations affecting these societies, and to describe and analyze the adaptation strategies established by the Baka and Bakola. Some of these mutations may appear, on the surface, not to call into question their fundamental attachment to the forest and their ancestral values. However, different exogenous pressures (such as settlement and globalization) and endogenous pressures (such as individual attitudes and transmission), which determine the degree of progress of the various mutations, should not be underestimated, as they can pose a threat to development.

本発表は、カメルーン内の2つの狩猟採集コミュニティであるバカとバコラにおける、社会環境への対応を詳細に分析するものである。バカとバコラのコミュニティは、かつては森林を移動しながら生活し、森林から多くの生活資源を得ていた。しかし今日、彼らは森林保護区の指定や農工業、林業、大規模な鉱山開発などのためにその土地を追われ、狩猟や採集、漁労などの人々の生活はかつてないほどにハンツナーの影響を受けている。こうした変化の中、カメルーン政府と国内・国際組織による大規模なプログラムは、徐々にバカとバコラに「近代」の要求を組み込んだ新しい生活をもたらしている。しかし、バカとバコラの人々はアルコール依存症や病気、栄養失調、周縁化、教育の欠如、権利意識の希薄さなど、様々な苦しい状況にあるのも事実である。かれらはいかにして生活の中で起こる変化に対応するのだろうか。本発表は、生活における様々な変容を明らかにし、バカとバコラの適応戦略を描き、また分析する。こうした変容の中には、一見、森林や先祖伝来の価値観に疑う余地なく結びついているように見えるものもある。しかし、多様な変容の進展を決定する様々な外的な圧力（例えば、入植やグローバル化）、また内的な要因（例えば個人の態度や伝達）についても考慮し、これらの変容を捉える必要がある。

Translated by Reiko Hata/ 翻訳 秦 玲子

Women, Health, and Household Waste Management

In the Beti Rural Central Cameroon

Germaine Nga Eloundou / University of Yaounde 1



Household waste (*ngum*) management is the occupation of women, just like any other domestic work, among the Beti. This waste is dumped behind the house in a hole or on a flat surface called *ikukuna* after having been swept, lifted, and transported using a piece of wood and a palm-frond broom and put in a raffia basket or waste buckets. Waste is dumped behind the house for secrecy because of its filthiness; this place is also used for some healing rites and the burying of the placenta.

It is forbidden to throw refuse during the night because the Beti people believe that their ancestors spend their time at the dumping ground to protect their descendants. In the case of a death in the family, waste disposal can only be done after the burial, and all the materials around the corpse are buried with the deceased.

With today's changes, the quality and quantity of household waste has changed; tins, meshes, plastics, and other materials are dumped instead of easily perishable waste like nut shells, remains of nuts, and vegetables. Although the system of dumping waste has not changed, and the women and their families are exposed to pollution risks leading to coughs, lung cancer, headaches, and more, it should be noted that there are also traditional risks, like the breach of taboos by dumping waste at night, which is believed to cause the death of children and barrenness.

ベティ社会では、家庭ごみ（ングム）の処理は他の家事と同じように、女性の仕事だと考えられている。ゴミは家の裏側にある「イククナ」と呼ばれる平地や穴にそのまま捨てられる。ゴミはほうきや木の板で清掃され、ヤシの繊維で作られたゴミ箱に入れられる。ゴミは不潔だと考えられ、家の裏側に捨てられるが、その場所は治療儀式が行われたり、胎盤を埋めたりする場所としても使われている。家族が死んだ場合、遺体とその周囲にあったものがすべて埋葬された後、ゴミ捨てが可能となる。現在、ベティの女性たちはゴミの処理に関して二つの危険にさらされている。一つは伝統的タブーに関わるものである。ベティ達は自分の祖先が夜ゴミ捨て場において子孫を守っていると考えており、夜のゴミ捨ては禁じられている。もし夜ゴミを捨てると、子どもの死亡や不妊を招く危険がある。もう一つは現在のゴミの変化に伴う危険である。現在では家庭ごみの質も量も変化している。昔は落花生の殻や野菜など早く腐敗するゴミが主であったが、最近では缶、ファッションカツラ、プラスチックなどが増加しており、女性たちは咳、肺がん、頭痛などになりやすい汚染された環境におかれている。

Translated by Yujie Peng / 翻訳 彭宇潔

Dynamics of anthropization of body among Beti, Bulu, and Fang in southern Cameroon

Paul Abouna /University of Yaounde 1



The body appears immediately as an element that nature provides to humans. Among the Beti, Bulu, and Fang, its anthropization and treatment by man make it a part of culture. This discussion aims to describe and understand the dynamics of artificial transformations of the body in this cultural universe for culinary, aesthetic, magical-religious, therapeutic, social-differentiation, and social-stratification purposes.

This body management is found in cultural elements such as body techniques, aesthetic elements, rites, sexuality, and medicine. They are considered projects of transformation of nature but also as an ambition to protect, perpetuate, and embellish life in the society.

身体は、自然が人間に与える一つの要素である。ベティ人、ブル人、ファン人において、アンソロピゼーション、つまり人間の身体に対する働きかけが彼らの文化の一部を形成している。本議論の目的は、この文化的宇宙における、料理、美、呪術・宗教、治療、社会の差異化や階層化のために行われる人為的な身体変容のダイナミクスを描き理解することである。

ベティ人、ブル人、ファン人の身体の管理は文化的な諸要素、たとえば、身体技術、美術、儀礼、セクシャリティ、医療のなかにみうけられる。それらは、自然が与えた身体を変えるプロジェクトであると同時に、その社会において生活を守り、継続させ、飾ることに対する意欲としてみなされている。

Translated by Kei Nagaoka/ 翻訳 長岡 慶

Changing Body Modification among the Baka Hunter-Gatherers

Yujie Peng/ Kyoto University

Introduction

The Baka are one of the Pygmy hunter-gatherer groups living in southern Cameroon, northern Gabon, and northern Congo Republic. Their population is about 30,000–40,000 (B. Hewlett 1996). While they have settled down around the main road near the Bantu-speaking people and adapted themselves to cultivation, they still like to spend months hunting and gathering in the rainforest. This report aims to determine the changes in the Baka's body modifications and to uncover the factors influencing these changes among the Baka society.

The Baka have four body modifications for decoration: the piercing is called *yuku*, the sharpened front-teeth *sange*, the brand on the woman's arm *batabata*, and the tattoo *tele*. Moreover, we found

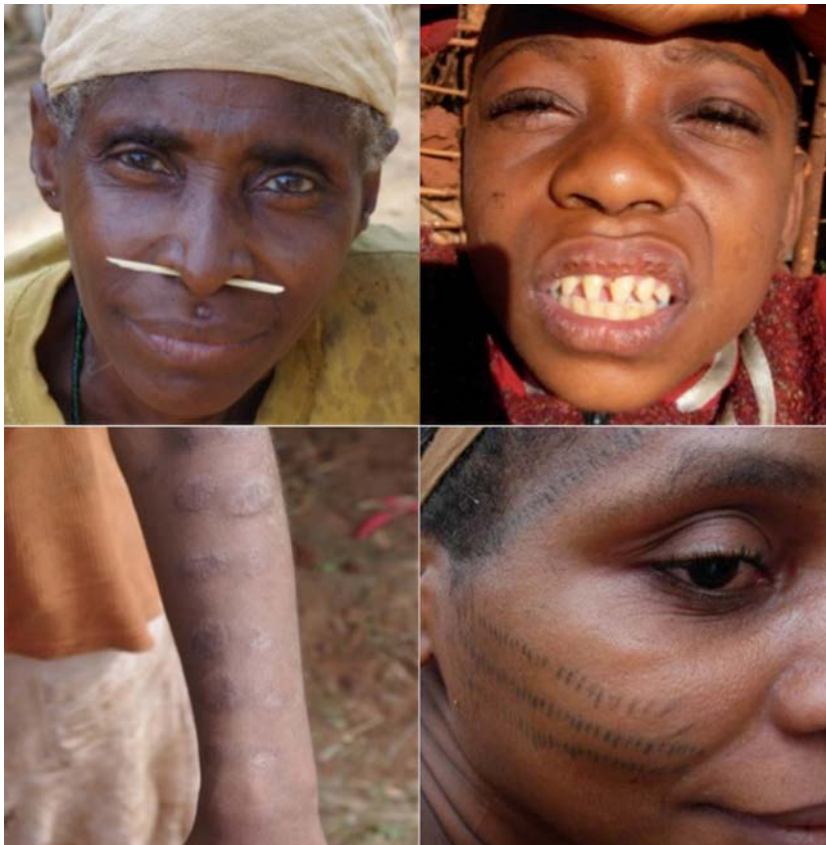


Figure 1 Piercing, sharpened front-teeth, brand, tattoo



Figure 2 Blood letting treatment



Figure 3 Modern tattoo

some scars following the medical treatment of bloodletting. The Baka people say these markings are different from a tattoo or brand. They have different words for them, *ka na ko* (scar of sickness), *ka na sondo* (scar of razor), or *ka na laami* (scar of razor). This bloodletting is a common medical treatment among the Baka.

There are two types of tattoos. One is relatively traditional and common. The other is modern and is only observed on the youths' arms. The traditional tattoo consists of three simple patterns, but the modern tattoo has more motifs; for example, it could be someone's name, a leaf, a fish, a snake, or a scorpion. In the case of the traditional tattoo, women use a razor to carve some scars and rub some charcoal into the wounds. When they find scars that do not bleed, they must carve and rub the charcoal again. I didn't observe the practice of creating the modern tattoo, but according to the Baka youth, they use needle and ink.

1. Method and Fields

The data in this paper are based on interviews with 1,134 Baka people from southern Cameroon through my fieldwork in 2010, 2011, and 2013 and include information on sex, age, and clan and pictures of their body modifications. In the interviews, participants were asked for stories about their body modification experiences. I also spent over 10 months at Song Ancien village for the purpose of observing their daily activities. The orange line is the arterial road, and the black spots are camps I visited. I divided the camps I visited into five areas to analyze the variation across areas: Y-L, Y-B, S-G, G-K, and D-M.

Figure 5 shows the categorized designs of the traditional Baka face tattoo. These designs are not categorized by the Baka; I distinguished them after observing their practices or asking them, "When did you get what tattoo, where, and from whom?"

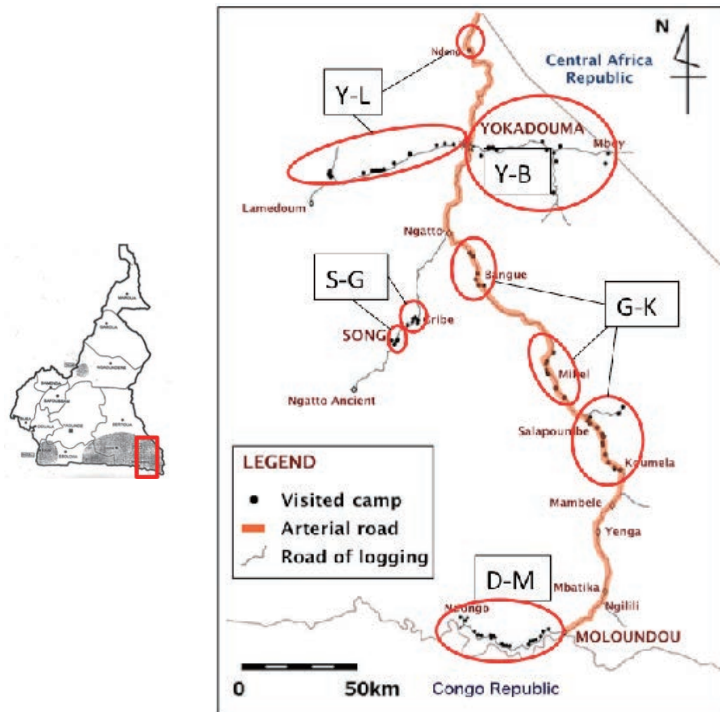


Figure 4 Map of visited areas

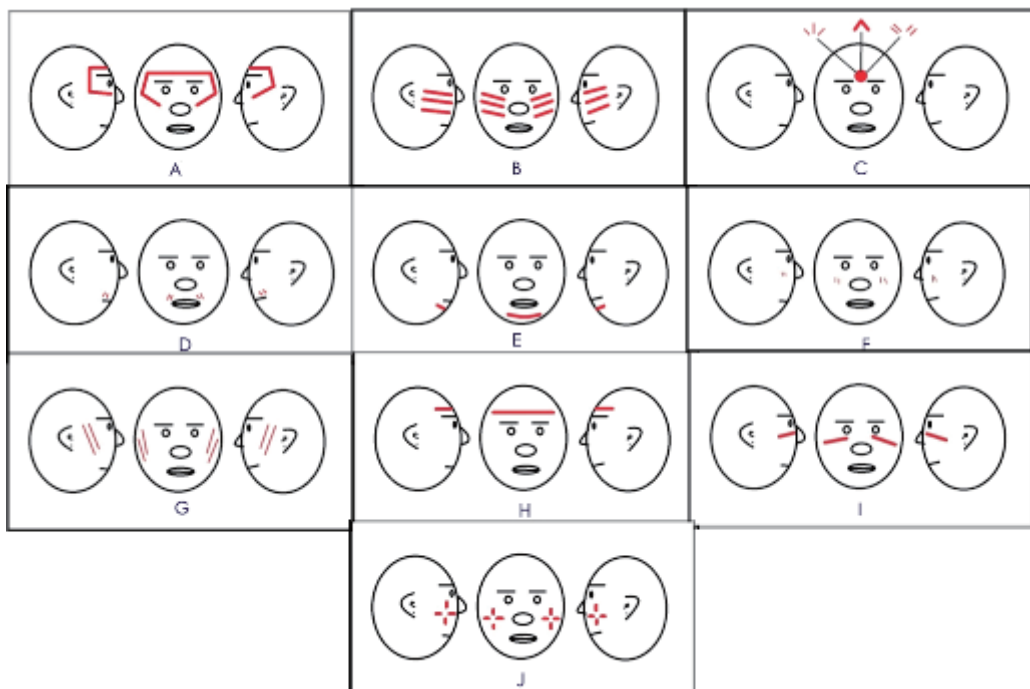


Figure 5 Designs of traditional tattoo on face

There are also categorized designs of traditional Baka body tattoos using the same method of categorization. These patterns are usually observed on the arm, chest, abdomen, waist, and leg.

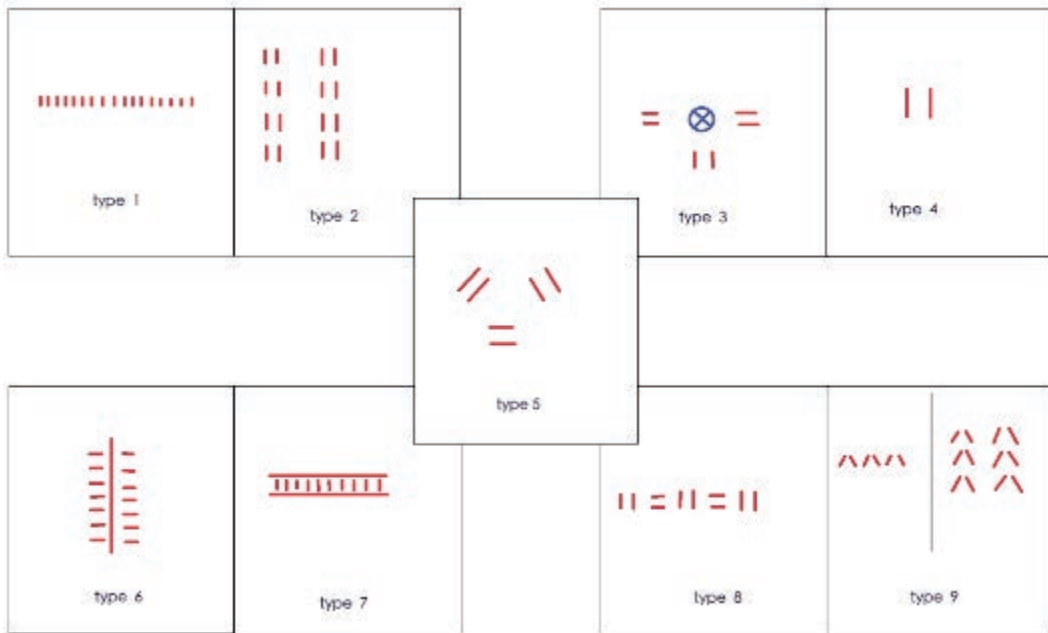


Figure 6 Designs of traditional tattoo on body

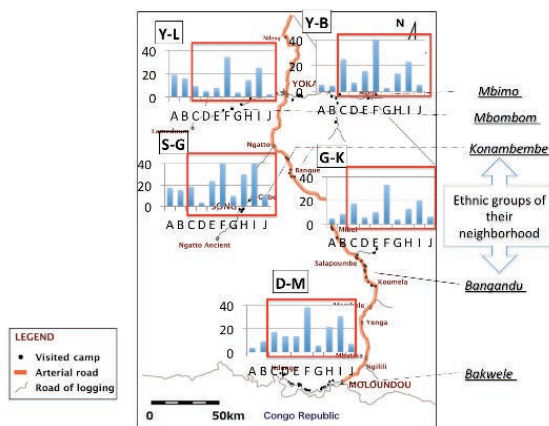


Figure 7 Distribution of design (face)

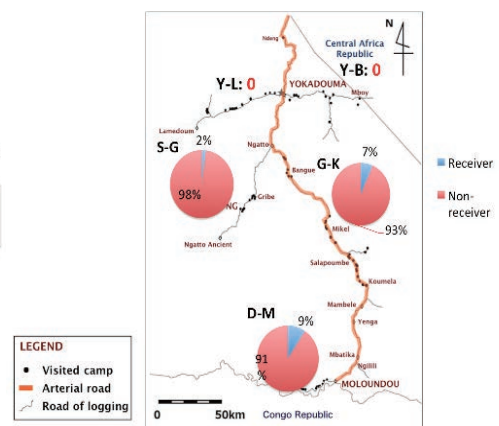


Figure 8 Distribution of modern tattoo

2. Variation in area

Figure 8 shows a map with the percentages for each design in five areas. The shapes of types C to J are very similar, but the shapes of types A and B are dissimilar in different areas. Those two types are considered more difficult to carve than others, and receivers have to bear more pain; hence, practitioners' skill levels are suggested divided. However, the location of the camp and the neighborhood ethnic group show no link to the distribution of the designs. Thus, the practitioners' skills and the receivers' ideas may be the strongest factors affecting design distribution. In contrast, the modern tattoo has a very obvious gap between areas. Most collectors reside around the main road or a large village.

3. Variation across generations

Figure 9 and 10 shows the variation in designs according to generation. The N value is the frequency of designs in a generation. In children, these designs are limited, but new designs (types A, D, and J) showed up when they became teenagers. After that, all of the designs' percentages got closer together. Significant change was not found after age 30. The chart of designs after age 70 is not accurate, because it is difficult to recognize the designs on participants of that age. According to the interview, most of the Baka start receiving tattoos before they are married. This means that Baka children and youth either actively receive designs or start to choose not to receive those tattoos.

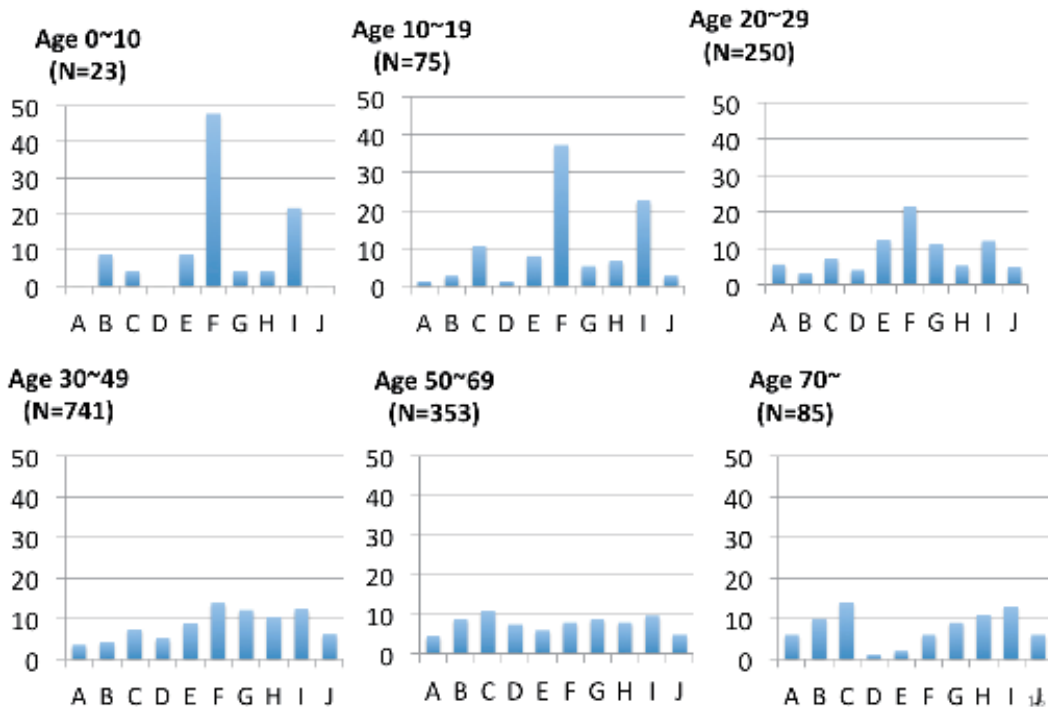


Figure 9 Variation of design (face) in generation(%)

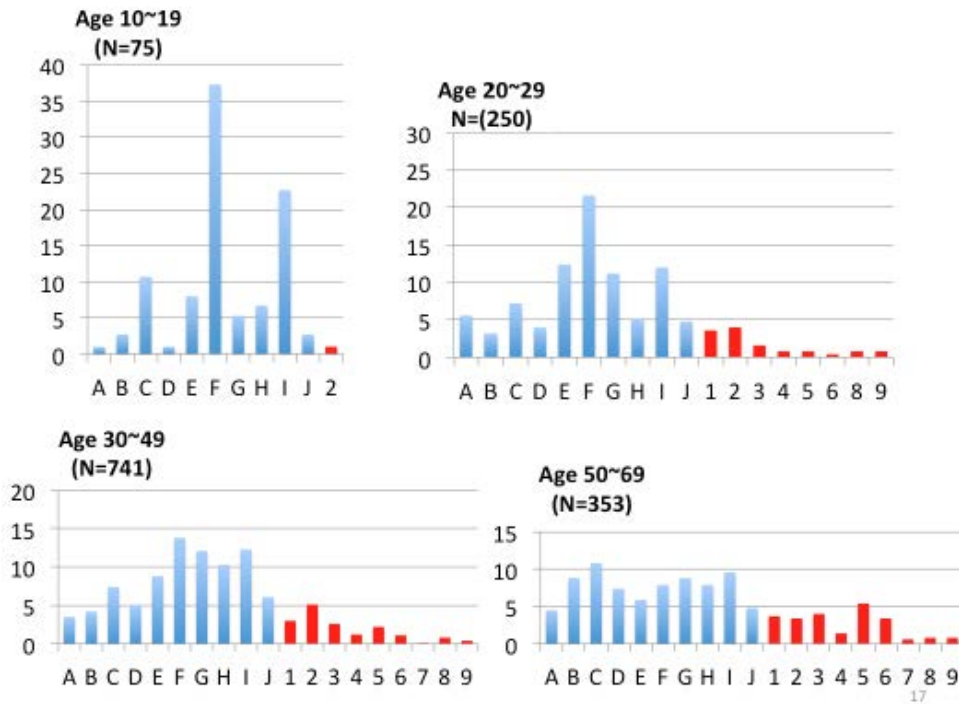


Figure 10 Variation of design (whole body) in generation

During the interviews, the Baka explained that they usually receive tattoos during adolescence, so I picked up the data from roughly age 10 to age 70. The generation gap is more apparent in this data. Only type 2 is observed in adolescents, but from age 20 to 29 the designs increase in variety, and there is a little increase after age 20. After that age, most Baka women have gotten married and given birth. According to their own explanations, they rarely receive any modifications again after marriage and birth. Therefore, we can suggest that traditional tattoos, especially on their bodies, have been abandoned by young Baka. Young Baka prefer new fashion such as modern tattoos, hair dye, or nail polish.

4. Gender gap in body modification

As shown in Table 1, the difference between sexes is more obvious. Even the ratio of sharpened teeth is nearly equal, although some data show that females are in the majority. There are some men who have an ear pierced. According to the interviews, those Baka men are almost all under age 30. The arm branding is a good example of the gender gap, as is the traditional tattoo. Most of the Baka men who have traditional tattoos are older than 50. In contrast, the modern tattoo is popular among young Baka because it is new for the culture. There is also a gender gap in practitioners. The teeth sharpening practitioners are men because they have to use daggers, which usually belong to men.

Table 1 Body modification's receivers and practitioners in gender

	Sharpened teeth	Piercing	Brand	Traditional tattoo	Modern tattoo	N
Female	58.3%	97.5%	55.6%	69.4%	5.9%	671
Male	57.5%	30.7%	0.6%	37.1%	3.2%	463
Practitioner	Male	Female (mainly)	Female (themselves)	Female (mainly)	Male (mainly)	—

The situation is similar for piercing; because women usually have needles, the piercing practitioner is usually a woman. The modern tattoo is a new fashion for the Baka, so receivers and practitioners are all young Baka; this suggests that young Baka appreciate new fashions and have more interest than the older Baka in new techniques.

5. Meaning and the past

In my interviews, I also asked the Baka about the meaning of their body modifications. When asked about the sharpened front teeth, they gave me a number of answers, including “for eating meat,” “for fashion, beauty,” “to identify as a Baka,” or “just followed others.” There was considerable disagreement in their answers. Thus, I presume that there was some meaning for their body modification in the past, but for some unknown reasons, they forgot them and continued with them for no reason or based on their own explanations. When asked, “Why do you not receive a modification?” they responded that it was because it hurts or is forbidden by school educators or churchmen.

Through analyzing their daily conversations and the interview, I uncovered some information about the history of their body modifications. In the past, male Baka have used the “traditional” tattoo that is now predominantly found on the women. In addition, there were some male tattoo practitioners in the past. Lip and nose piercing is now only observed in older Baka women, and adolescents rarely brand their skin, so lip and nose piercing and branding are old fashions.

I also found little information about their body decoration from books and papers. The Baka told me they used to paint their bodies with special plants, like *lesa* and *lingembe*. You can see examples in my pictures, but the practice is now only considered child’s play. Bark cloth is used by the Mbuti people, another Pygmy hunter-gatherer group, but the Baka have completely abandoned it. Even old Baka do not know it.

Conclusion

Through this report, we can conclude that village location, school educators, and the church

could be influential factors in the changing of body modification among the Baka. Body modification, except for medical treatment, is a part of their decoration culture. It was popular but might soon be abandoned and replaced by some new body decoration in the future. Therefore, I suggest that body modification is not transmitted as identification or ritual in Baka society, and its meaning has no importance for them nowadays.

On the other hand, the male Baka rarely receive or conduct body modification, but it is obvious that, in the past, they have practiced something similar to what the female Baka now do. However, this means they abandoned some old fashion and tried a new fashion earlier than the women. Based on this assumption, I presume that the men, while not in the majority, may serve as the primary pioneers or innovators of body decoration culture in the Baka society.

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Revitalization of Tā Moko/ Maori Tattoo in New Zealand

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1. Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is revealing how people revitalized tā moko/ Maori tattoo in New Zealand.

When considering tā moko, it is important to understand that tā moko underwent a discontinuation and a revitalization. The Maori people had moko (the tattooed mark) before contact with European people in the eighteenth century. However, after European contact, in the twentieth century, the tā moko practice stopped. Half a century later, tā moko underwent a powerful resurgence in the 1980s and 1990s. Today, tā moko is broadly regarded as one of the most important cultural practices of the Maori, and people think that moko is a beautiful and sacred part of Maori culture.

The paper aims 1) to reveal how tā moko has changed in a social context, 2) to examine how the image of tā moko has drastically changed from something unusual to a sacred Maori cultural practice, and who changed it, and 3) to discuss how the Maori people of today regard tā moko, given the variety of mutual domestic/international influences.

Point of View

A preceding study on tā moko can be seen in the works of the Waikato University research group headed by Dr. Te Awekotuku [Nikora & Te Awekotuku 2002; Nikora, Rua & Te Awekotuku 2003, 2005, 2007; Te Awekotuku 1997, 2002a, 2002b 2006; Te Awekotuku, Nikora, Rua, Karapu & Nunes 2007] . They cover not only tā moko in the old days, but also tā moko in the present day. They have attracted people's attention to the beauty of moko. However, they mainly focus on the experience of each individual and the spiritual continuity of tā moko from the past to the present.

The originality of my study is based on my 1) paying attention to social change, especially how the image of tā moko is shared in society, and 2) recognizing the discontinuity of tā moko practice and understanding tā moko and Maori in the dynamic revitalization movement.

2. Methodology and Subject of Research

This study was conducted mainly using data that I collected during my 128 days of fieldwork (Feb.-Mar., Jun.-Sep., Nov.-Dec. 2010/ Preliminary fieldwork 28 Sep. 2009- 26 Nov.). I also studied at the University of Auckland for 10 months (Feb. -Dec.2011) and collected some data there. The

research area was the whole of New Zealand, but my main research was conducted in the towns and cities on the north island.

During the fieldwork, I participated in tā moko and tattoo events and visited and stayed at artists' homes to interview them¹ and observe their practice. Additionally, national or regional newspapers and magazines and TV programs were used as important sources in reconstructing the history of tā moko revitalization.

New Zealand is an island country that ranges 270,534 km² and the population is 4,184,600. The population consists of, Maori descendants (14.9%), Asians(9.7%), Middle Easterners(0.92%), Pacific Islanders(7.2%), European descendants etc. (76.8%)³.

The Maori are the indigenous people of New Zealand. As an indigenous people, the Maori led the movements for indigenous rights. They strongly appealed their rights in society and started the cultural revitalization movement. Their struggle has finally bore some fruits. For example, the Maori language was officially authorized as the national language of New Zealand in 1987.

Terminology

In this paper, “tattoo” refers to a mark with an indelible design that is created by inserting pigment into punctures in the skin. “Tattoo” can be expediently classified into three categories. 1) Tā moko: the traditional/conventional tattoo of the Maori people of New Zealand. Tā moko is the name for the tattooing process and also often used as the art name. The mark itself is called moko⁴. 2) “Global tattoos”: tattoos that are done around the world in the USA, Japan, Europe, and so on. It is a mixture of diverse tattoo practices from all over the world. 3) “Gang/prison tattoos”: tattoos worn by criminals or gang members.

In certain contexts, some people use the word “tattoo” to differentiate between “global tattoos” or “gang/prison tattoo” and the Maori's tā moko. To clarify this intention to differentiate, I use the word “TATTOO” in capital letters. This is done on the basis of my informants' intention of differentiation, not mine.

Visual Feature of Today's Moko

Now, it is very common to wear moko on the arms, shoulders, legs, back, or behind the ears. The

1. I have had interviews with more than 19 artists.

2. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/nz/data.html> 14 Dec.2010

3. Statistic NZ based on 2006 census data <http://wdmzpub01.stats.govt.nz/wds/TableView/tableView.aspx>

4. However, the difference between tā moko and moko is not necessarily clear in daily usage. It is common to use the word tā moko for both process and the marks.

face, thigh and buttocks are not as common, and are seen as “culturally important” “sacred” parts for moko.

The tools used to be *uhi* or tattoo chisels made of bone, rock or later metal, but the techniques were lost. Instead, modern tattoo guns are usually used for today’s tā moko. The photo on the left is a moko design drawn by pen before being tattooed. The photo on the right is a completed moko, tattooed with a tattoo gun.

Diverse spirals are featured in moko design. Negative and positive space created with black ink is regarded as traditional design.



Tattoo gun (2010.02.09 Boydie)



Moko (Iain by Inia)

3. History of Tā Moko

European Contact

One of the few ways to learn about moko before European contact is the historical record of the myths and lives of the Maori people by European people. After European contact in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, tā moko and moko changed drastically⁵. In the early contact period, many people such as whalers or explores were fascinated by moko [Nikora, Rua & Te Awekotuku 2004]. However, in the colonization, moko was becoming seen as something negative. For many missionaries, moko was a mark of hostility and savageness⁶.

As a result of the major social change after contact, male facial moko was stopped in the nineteenth century⁷, and female facial moko was stopped in the middle of the twentieth century [King & Friedlander 2008 (1972): 13].

5. Tā moko and moko experienced various changes in terms of the technique, physical appearance, tools and so on. The age of wearers and the social value of the moko also changed [King & Friedlander 2008 (1972)].

6. There would be the influence of British etiquette that required clothing to cover the body [Paama-Pengelly 2010].

Moko on *Kuia*, or Elderly Women

In the 1960s to 1970s, moko was only seen on the chins of elderly women and some people were beginning to pay attention to the tā moko practice once more. Many people thought that both tā moko and the Maori race was being lost.

“Their passing was seen as a symbol for the passing of a whole way of life” [King & Friedlander 2008 (1972): 13]

Gang tattoo- “Hostility, Poverty, Violence” / Activists or Political Advocates- “Radicals”

The other people who had tattoo before the 1980s were gang members. It is universal phenomenon for gangs and criminals to wear tattoos, but Maori gangs wear dots, stars, and lines on their face, and they sometimes shares the designs as moko. Whether or not these tattoos are moko or not is still controversial, but some artists say that gangs played a great role in revitalizing tā moko⁸.

The other people who have a strong connection with tā moko are political activists. Katz told that the political advocates with facial moko had a positive influence on the people’s feeling.

“ [when the Maori political movement bore some fruits, other Maori people started to think] ‘he was fighting for our land, and he had the face [=facial moko] . I gonna get the face now. (20 Feb. 2010 Katz)”

In the political sphere, tā moko has strongly appealed the presence of Maori and Maori culture in New Zealand.

Moko: Māori Tattoo [Nelman, Iti, Turei & Macdonald 1999], one of the first books focusing on contemporary moko, shows the various elements connecting with moko in the 1980s and 1990s, such as Maori political movements, gangs, and Rastafarians. Though the book is photograph orientated and the information is limited, it is clear that some of the moko are tattooed in the 1980s. The texts include the claim for Maori rights written by Tame Iti, a famous Maori political advocates, the

7. Interestingly facial moko underwent resurgences in the 1860s and 1930s. The last recorded male facial moko was done in 1865, and the last recorded female facial moko by Maori artists was done in 1956[King & Friedlander 2008 (1972)]. After that some women visited non-Maori artists and wore moko[King & Friedlander 2008 (1972); Nikora, Te Awekotuku& Rua 2007].

8. There are some artists practicing tā moko who used to be a gang member or in prison, and some of them played a certain role in the revitalization movement[Anon. 2001]. In my interview, some artists who started tā moko in 1980s-early 90s also said they learned how to use tattoo guns from the people who were in prison. In the 1980s and early 1990s, the other way to learn tattooing techniques was reaching global tattoo.

celebration of Black Power gangs' influence on tā moko revival and the Rastafarian philosophy.

However, the tattoos of gangs or political activists were sometimes seen to be a sign of hostility or radicalism by mainstream society and the tattoos were no longer considered “normal” practice for Maori people. The critical comments on *Moko: Māori Tattoo*[Nelman, Iti, Turei & Macdonald 1999] by Paama-Pengelly⁹[2000] clearly shows the stigma opposed on these tattoos. For her, the book mixed Maori tā moko and “TATTOO”.

One can't help but notice that there is a mixture of work represented in *Moko-Māori Tattoo*, and that there is a decided lack of any informative discourse or korero on the development of ta Moko. I suspect that many will be more shocked to see the over-representation of gang tattoos and work from the East Coast Māori Rastafarian community, with a page of writing dedicated to the Rastafarian community alone[Paama-Pengelly2000]. (*Attack Counter Attack! Tū mai* Vol.12 2000.4)

4. Revitalization: Changing the Image

After tā moko ceased to be normal, the situation changed drastically once more in the late twentieth century.

It was the Maori artists who started the revitalization of tā moko and who reclaimed the normality of tā moko for the Maori people¹⁰. Around 1990, artists of various Maori arts, such as carving and visual arts, started tattooing. The artists organized Te Uhi ā Mataora, a national committee of tā moko (tattooing) in 2000, and for many years, they have held educational workshops in Maori communities. Many of them were already famous artists or art teachers at that time.

Tā moko vs. TATTOO

During and after the revitalization, Maori tā moko and TATTOOs are often compared with and differentiated from each other. For example, gang tattoos are seen as artless, “crude” and unhygienic and global tattoos are seen as “commercial” and as being “meaningless fashion.” On the other hand, tā moko is a meaningful Maori cultural practice, based on *whakapapa* /genealogy.

“TATTOO is like just a printing on a T-shirt. You know, you wear it, so it looks good

9. She is one of the leading artists of revitalization movement and also an academic.

10. Note that my discussion focus on the image on moko and tā moko. It is important that there were some artists from gang and global tattoo before the revitalization movement by Maori artists, and they often played great roles in the revitalization and the tā moko practice today..

on you. Then it doesn't tell us story. We call, what we call no *mauri*, or no life force in it. So, for me, that is the main difference between moko and tattooing. Moko is life, and has a family tree, genealogy or *whakapapa*. Tattooing is just a something put on the skin to [make] beautiful oneself." (26 Nov. 2010 Q)

That is, the revitalization of tā moko is a movement to differentiate *pākehā* or European TATTOOs and tā moko once more, and to reclaim the normality and the cultural importance of tā moko. The revitalization of tā moko is strongly connected to other Maori political or cultural movements, which grew in the 1960s and have borne many fruits. The Maori people have strongly reclaimed their rights to the land, and have revitalized language and many cultural practices. They also struggle for spiritual decolonization through the cultural practices.

The dualistic view of TATTOO and tā moko is parallel to the dualistic view of *pākehā*/European and Maori in these political movements. It is a very common discourse that the Maori are community-orientated, spiritual, and nature-friendly and the *pākehā* are individualistic, rational, and destructive to nature. The revitalization of tā moko is strongly connected to the other political/cultural movements, and the Maori artists came to the tā moko world in the larger context of Maori political/cultural movements.

Reclaim the positive image

Let us examine what the Maori artists did to achieve the revitalization of tā moko in the 1990s.

The first thing they did was to reclaim the positive image and the sacredness of tā moko. Artists actively commented in regional or national newspapers and magazines on the cultural importance of tā moko. They also had many *wānanga*/workshop or seminar in Maori communities and talked directly to the people about the cultural importance of tā moko.

The Ta Moko Wananga held at the Ukaipo Galley and sponsored by Creative NZ was very successful. Approximately 600 people attended the Wananga during the week.

Mark Kopua, Kaimahi [=practitioner] Moko, stated that the wananga [=workshop or seminar] was very successful because of the information at all its different levels had the desired effect. Participants gained a clearer understanding about the differences between moko and tattoo, health standards, required clinical measures and cultural measures [Anon. 2000]. (Ukaipo Ta Moko Wananga huge success *Pipiwaharaura* Vol.8 No.9)

11. Te Papa Tongarewa HP <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/Education/OnlineResources/Moko/Pages/overview.aspx> (2010.12.15)

One achievement of the revitalization movement was an event called “Tā moko, a history on skin” at the New Zealand national museum Te Papa Tongarewa in 2004, by the national committee Te Uhi a Mataora. The purpose of this event was providing people with the opportunity to see tā moko and to learn how moko represents the personal/ tribal identity¹¹. Six artists actually tattooed moko and explained the name, meaning, and history of tā moko to the participants (21 Jun. 2010 Julie).

In 2000s, the revitalization looks accelerating and bore some fruits. Some tā moko events were held. For example, “Moko Otautahi” was held in Christchurch in 2001, which focused on the traditional tattoos in the Pacific [Wakefield& Te Aika 2001]. The books focusing on the tradition and contemporary practice of tā moko, such as *Dedicated by blood* [Hatfield and Steur 2002] or *Mau Moko* [Te Awekotuku, Nikora, Rua, Karapu & Nunes 2007], were also published in 2000s and attracted people’s attention to the beauty of moko.

It was a historic event that some groups of women took the facial moko in honor of the late Te Aikini Dame Te Atairangikaahu (Maori queen) in 2007. It was happen in Waikato area and Gisborne, and about 50 women aged from 20 to 77 received moko [Findlay, Fox and Corfield 2007].

The Sophisticated Beauty of moko

In addition to reclaiming tā moko’s cultural importance, Maori artists improve the moko itself and make tā moko acceptable to mainstream society. In the past, Maori people used tattoo chisels made of bone. However, during the revitalization, tattoo guns became more common. One of the reasons for this change is that they lost the knowledge and the technique of the old way. As a result of the change, tā moko became more beautiful than before. Tattoo guns can create tiny fine lines, which makes it possible to tattoo various contemporary designs in a hygienic way.

Artists are sophisticated at creating moko, and the beauty of moko attracts many people. One artist talked to me about their artist spirit. “It is becoming bored” so “it is natural to seek a new way.”

Artists learned tā moko and the traditions of tā moko in the past. At the same time, they have developed more sophisticated moko with their artistic sense.

Educating the Maori Community

The Maori artists then changed the Maori communities themselves. The Maori were seen to have many social problems, such as alcohol, drugs, domestic violence, health problems, lack of education, and gangs. The negative image of gang tattoos was also an image of the Maori themselves. The artists tried to educate the Maori communities and it changed the community in a way that is healthy and acceptable to mainstream society.

For example, some of the artists were strongly aware of smoking, alcohol, and drug issues in the Maori community and they talked about these issues and tā moko at the same time. For some people, wearing moko represents stopping smoking, drugs, or alcohol and becoming a good Maori.

It is also important for some leading Maori artists to provide education on hygienic and safe tattoo tools, that is, professional tattoo guns rather than sewing needles or homemade tattoo guns.

[The organizer of *hui*/ gathering on moko said] “The aim is to hold and host a ‘ta moko whakairo’ [= tā moko] education wananga [=workshop or seminar] targeting youth at risk”... “It’s about providing a safe learning forum for 11 to 19 years plus who are dabbling or close to the activity of home-made tattooing which is unsafe, unhealthy, and unknowing”

“Some institutions have already identified that this will be an excellent way to empower our youth with an opportunity to have hands on experience and to participate in a marae [=traditional meeting place] -based learning environment encompassing human values”

[The organizer] Tui said ta moko whakairo offers an alternative tattooing process that enhances change through learning and understanding the kaupapa [=purpose] of ta moko patterns and tribal designs, history, whakapapa [Anon. 2002]. (TA MOKO v TATTOO *Pikiao Pānui* 55)

The artists reclaim the positive value and the beauty of moko to make it acceptable to mainstream society, and, at the same time, they reclaim the beauty of the Maori people themselves.

Tā moko Now – Stigma to Beauty/ Sacredness

It is now becoming more and more common to see moko on people’s bodies. Around 1990, the revitalization started, and it was the mid-2000s when the revitalization progressed and tā moko gained greater acceptance as an important part of Maori culture.

The revitalization achieved a great change in the image of tā moko, Maori, and Maori culture. The drastic change happened over just 10 to 15 years.

5. Moko and TATTOO are in the Same World

During and after the revitalization, tā moko has taken on many aspects of TATTOO. For example, it is common to use tattoo guns or tattoo ink, and some Maori artists have tattoo studios in town. Especially for the young generation, it is becoming common to participate in international tattoo events like many global tattoo artists.

The relationship between tā moko and TATTOO can be dangerous for tā moko, however, since it can blur the lines between tā moko and TATTOOS, even if they are clearly different for Maori people. Some artists express anger and dismay to the international artists who try to tattoo moko. For some international artists, tā moko is one of the many tattoo cultures all over the world. Some Maori artists say, “They don’t know the proper meaning of moko” or “It is not moko; it is just a TATTOO.” However, in the small country of New Zealand, they are mostly limited to merely criticizing the appropriation.

Educate the world: Moana Moko

Despite these difficulties, a Maori artists group, Moana Moko, started a unique challenge against the appropriation. Moana Moko is a young artists group based in Tauranga. Six artists in their 30s are leading the group.

Their intention is to actively approach and educate the global tattoo community rather than criticizing them or trying to keep tā moko in Maori’s hands only.

“It [=non Maori tattoo Maori designs or symbols.] is inevitable, ay? That’s happening, happening throughout the world now. No matter what we do, it is gonna happen. So, the best we can do is trying to inform them, as much as possible.” (Karem 2010.11.27)

“To inform and educate them” (27 Nov. 2010 Q)

They had a 3-day *hui* /gathering to talk and educate the international tattooists in November 2010. It was aimed at the international tattooists who visited New Zealand for an international tattoo convention soon after the hui. Including me, there are six participants. We paid 800 NZ dollars (about 600 US dollars) to participate. The participants are from the US, Australia, and England, and me. We stayed at a Maori gathering house and shared everything for 3 days.

The program included visiting the mountains and talking about the nature of this area. We also cooked a Maori traditional meal, *hangi*. We also visited a local elementary school and saw Maori dances by children. During the hui, the Maori artists emphasized the connection between nature and the Maori. The hui was about tā moko, but they never talked much about the skill or the design of it.

The program showed the idea of Moana Moko that tā moko is a part of Maori life; talking about the Maori is talking about tā moko. A leading artist Stu said, in my interview,

“I believe...first, they have to come here, so we can immerse them into the environment. Because I have tried to educate them overseas, but it was hard. Because

it was without people. No big house like that. So they cannot see carvings of ancestors, photos on the wall. So for us, it's the vital parts of moko. You have to understand it before you understand moko. ” (27 Nov. 2010 Stu)

It was also obvious that the hosting Maori artists and the guests developed strong friendships. One Maori lady, who looked after the guests closely, said to one of the guests from England, “Ben has the same *wairua* or spirit as the Maori. The hosts and guests grew close friendship by spending time together.

The new friendships could be seen in the exchange of tattoos. Some guests and hosts tattooed each other. Tattooing naturally involves spending a great deal of time together. Their friendships grew tighter through an exchange of tattoos.

Although Moana Moko intended to educate international artists, the new friendships made changes on the Maori side, too. The artists of Moana Moko and their family or friends saw many beautiful TATTOOs on the international tattooists. Especially a female artists from Australia, Claire, attracted many people. Everywhere, people asked her to show them her tattoos. One lady told me, “We have always talked about *tā moko*, but now I want a TATTOO!”

For Moana Moko and their people, *tā moko* and TATTOO are obviously different from each other, but the negative feelings about TATTOO have certainly changed through the contacts and close relationships with international tattooists.

6. Summary and Conclusion

As we have seen, people revitalized *tā moko* from around 1990, and there was a drastic change in the image of *tā moko* and Maori culture itself, from negative to positive. Though there were artists who practiced tattooing in the context of gang/ prison tattoo or global tattoo, it was the Maori artists who started the revitalization of *tā moko* and who reclaimed the normality of *tā moko* for the Maori people.

Through the revitalization of *tā moko*, Maori artists appealed the difference between *tā moko* and TATTOOs, and reclaimed the beauty and the cultural importance of *tā moko*. They make *tā moko* acceptable for society by reclaiming *tā moko*'s sacredness and positive image in national/regional newspapers or magazines and in many workshops. It was also important to make moko more sophisticated. Interestingly, it is also connected to the social problem of the Maori community, and the revitalization movement of *tā moko* influenced Maori communities.

Now, *tā moko* is becoming more and more common in New Zealand, and for some artists and wearers, wearing moko means living the Maori lifestyle. However, at the same time, *tā moko* and TATTOOs are in the same world, and they have influenced each other. *Tā moko* and the Maori people

have changed and will continue to as a result of dynamic social change.

Appendix: Articles from Local Magazines and Newspapers

Title		Magazine, Newspaper	Vol.	page
Tattoos are Back	1993.4/5	<i>Mana : the Maori News Magazine for all New Zealanders</i>	2	4-11
Aim to Promote Moko Art Form	1993.12	<i>Turanganui a Kiwa Pipiwharauora</i>		34
Ta Moko a Uetonga raua ko Mataora	1994.10	<i>Pu Kaea</i>		
Ta Moko Belongs to the People	1997.10	<i>Te Maori : Nga hui hui nga korero o Aotearoa</i>		
'About Face' Ta Moko	1997.3	<i>Pū Kāea</i>		17
Taa Moko Rite of Passage	1999.5	<i>Pū Kāea</i>		4
Visible On Our Skin, Close To Our Hearts	2000.1	<i>He Kupu Tiori</i>	4	6 - 7
Attack Counter Attack!	2000.4	<i>Tū mai</i>	12	38-40
Ukaipo Ta Moko Wananga Huge Success	2000.9	<i>Turanganui a Kiwa Pipiwharauora</i>	Vol. 8 No.9	14
The Magic of Tā Moko	2001.4	<i>Kōkiri Paetae</i>	32	
Ta Moko Wananga/ Ta Moko Group Established to Identify Needs, Promote Art Form	2001.9	<i>Turanganui a Kiwa Pipiwharauora</i>	Vol. 9 No.9	1,4
Moko Ōtautahi	2001 winter	<i>Te Karaka : the Ngāi Tahu magazine</i>		10-11
TA MOKO v TATTOO/ Moko Whakairo	2002.12	<i>Pikiao Pānui</i>	55	22
Mata Ora- The Face of Ta Moko	2002.4	<i>Tū mai</i>	32	24-25
Ta Moko Comes Under the Spotlight	2003.2	<i>Te Karere News : National Maori Community Newspaper</i>	Vol. 3 No.1 20	

Book Launch Overwhelming Success! Dedicated by Blood	2003.3	<i>Pikiao Pānui</i>	56	4-5
Moko-Whakairo in Demand	2003.3	<i>Pikiao Pānui</i>	56	5
Moko: My Journey, My Birthright/ Tā Moko Artist Honoured with National Arts Award	2004.12/ 2005.1	<i>Mana : the Maori News Magazine for All New Zealanders</i>	61	50-51
A Woman's Touch	2006.12/ 2007.1	<i>Mana : the Maori News Magazine for Everyone</i>	73	76-78
Beyond Ink, Beneath the Skin	2007.2	<i>Tū mai</i>	83	18-20
Maori Women Reclaim Art of Moko	2007.7.2 5	<i>Otago Daily Times</i>		35
Fellowship of the Moko	2007.12. 22	<i>The Dominion Post</i>		E6,7
Moko Kauae an Indelible Statement	2007.12/ 2008.1	<i>Mana : the Maori magazine for All New Zealanders</i>	79	26-37
Up Close to the Moko	2008.1. 19	<i>The Press</i>		D11
Ta Moko is All about Whanau	2010.1. 22	<i>Auckland City Harbour News</i>		6

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Socialization of the Human Body through Tibetan Medicine in the Himalayas

Kei Nagaoka /Kyoto University

Introduction

I discuss how traditional medicine mediate between individual human body and society in the contemporary social change of Himalayan region. My study found that medicine involves the social knowledge and practice of making the body be in better condition in the same way that body adornments make the body more ‘beautiful’. After their transcultural encounter (Pratt 1992) with the West and India since the 20th century, the Himalayan people have more complex and hybrid structures (Latour 1993) in their concepts of health. For instance, they seek treatment from healers professing Tibetan medicine, Biological medicine, ritual performances for treatment, and their hybrids. These healers and clinics coexist in the Himalayan landscape with their distinct theories, systems and policies. Their social relationships and ties support as well as alter people’s health and their own “dividual” body in that landscape (Marriott 1976). In terms of the human body from a social context perspective, the cultural anthropologist Terence Turner who conducted research on body painting in the Amazon pointed out that the surface of the body, as the common frontier of society, the social self, and the psychobiological individual, becomes the symbolic stage upon which the drama of socialization is enacted (Turner 2012: 486). He discusses how dress and bodily adornment encodes social identity and class as a system of values and relationship structures. I focus on Tibetan traditional medicine which is used by Tibetan and Himalayan people through his perspective of ‘socialization of human body’. This study is based on three months of fieldwork I conducted between 2009 and 2012 in Tawang, which is located in the eastern part of Himalayas.

Tibet emerged in the 7th century as a unified empire founded by The King of Songtsän Gampo. Under the next few Tibetan kings, Buddhism was established as the state religion. The Tibetan fundamental medical text, called “*Gyüshi*” (Fourfold Treaties) was founded by a Tibetan physician in



(Source: Tibetan medical paintings *Thangka*)

the eighth century. This medical theory was based on the concepts of Buddhism and Indian medical texts. The *Gyüishi* was likely codified in the twelfth century and Tibetan medicine became popular. In the seventeenth century, the Tibetan government was established by Dalai Lama the 5th. He established a medical school and endeavored to develop Tibetan medicine. Tibetan medicine was one of the most important acts of Buddhist monks.

1. Reconstruction of Tibetan Medicine in in the late 20th century

Nowadays, Tibetan medicine has political importance for the people who used to live in olden Tibetan area, and it is reconstructed by their medical institutions. Tibet was located in a plateau region and Himalayan mountain region from 7th to 19th century, although the east part of Tibet were at various times under Mongol and Chinese over lordship. In 1904, a British expedition invaded Tibet and imposed a treaty to open Tibetan country to foreign trade and diplomatic relations. The British India had drawn border in the Himalayan region, and the Himalayan ethnic groups were incorporated in British Empire. On the other hand, from 1950 Chinese troop started to invade the Tibetan plateau region. In 1959, when the 14th Dalai Lama refuged to India, Chinese troop finally invaded the central Tibet, and then Tibetan plateau region was incorporated under the Chinese government. From 1960's, many Tibetan refugees escaped from Tibetan plateau region to the Himalayan region and other place of India.

The resistance movement of the Tibetan refugees is performed to acquire the right to self-government and to protect their "Tibetan culture". The Tibetan government in exile was established in Dhramsala, north-west India in 1960. The government quickly founded the institution of Tibetan medicine (called Men-Tsee-Khang) in 1961. The official medical institution, Men-Tsee-Khang started the reconstruction of Tibetan medicine by separating from monasteries, but as the political symbol of "Tibetan culture". It accepted students from the Tibetan, Himalayan and Mongolian communities both to provide medical care for the Tibetan refugees and to preserve this symbol of

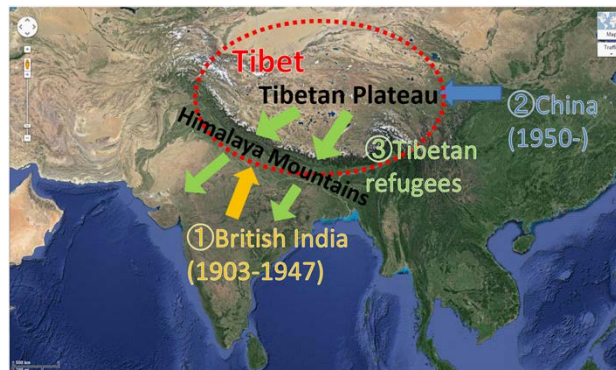


Figure 1 History of the Himalayan Area



Figure 2

Pharmaceutical factory of Men-Tsee-Khang in India

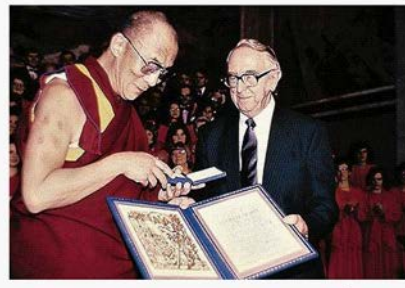


Figure 3

Nobel peace prize for the Dalai Lama

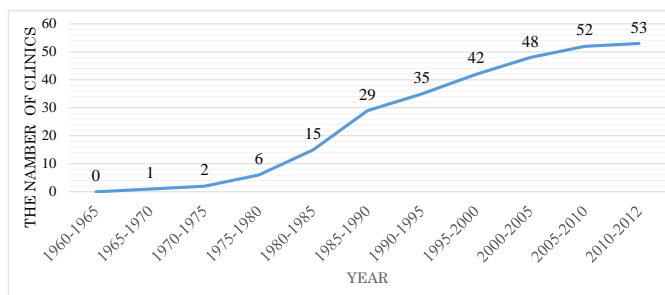


Figure 4 The number of Men-Tsee-Khang clinics (1960-2012)

Source: official website of Men-Tsee-Khang

<http://www.men-tsee-khang.org.brance/main.htm> (2014/01/09)

their culture of Tibet. The Institute now oversees the operation of more than fifty branch clinics, and more than one hundred twenty physicians and several hundred staff members work there (Kloos 2011). Their new elite levels of doctors become not just medical healers but also political leaders (Pordié 2008). Tibetan medicine links to modernization and the Clinics of Men-Tsee-Khang began to expand to India and Nepal since the 1980's. Tibetan medicinal pills are made from natural herbs, animals, and minerals, but are manufactured in factories. Tibetan medicine became known in Western countries during the Tibet boom that took place around the Dalai Lama the 14th won the Nobel peace prize in 1989. The education of Tibetan doctors and manufacturing Tibetan pills has been supported by the donation from Western countries.

2. Research Area Tawang and its History of closure border

My research area Tawang is in the eastern Himalayas. Tawang was a part of Tibet until the early 20th century, but now it is under the Indian administration. The ethnic people who live there are called Monpas and they are mostly Tibetan Buddhist. In Tawang, Monpas wear unique dresses. The color, design, and quality of the dresses indicate the identity and social status of the person. Monpa dresses are mainly pink in color and have

complicated geometric patterned embroidery. Children wear dresses without geometric patterned embroidery. Monpa people also wear black caps made of yak fur or caps made of cloth. The

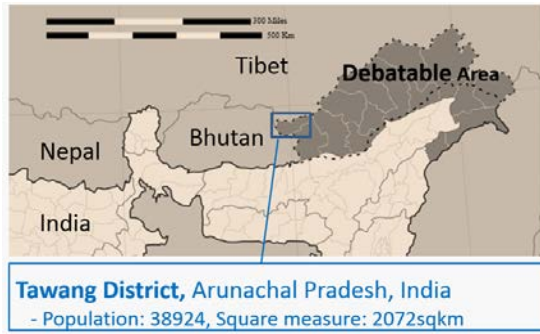


Figure 5 Location of Tawang District



Figure 6
The Monpa people

difference in caps indicates the local subgroup of Monpas. They wear traditional dress at festivals, at New Year, and other special events where various Himalayan ethnic groups come together.

Before the closure of the border, Tawang has been one of the nearest transit points to Tibet for the trans-Himalayan trade between Tibet and India since ancient times. Since the 17th century, the taxation system imposed by Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, on Tawang defined the village economy and social life of the Monpas. At that time, Tibetan medicine was introduced into Tawang society and Buddhist monks played an important role as practitioners of this medicine. In the Tibetan period, there were various movements of people and goods by the network of trade and taxation between Lhasa and Tawang. But the border was changed by the British invasion in the early 20th century. According to the Simla Accord of 1914, the McMahon line was drawn to separate Tibet and Tawang. Tawang became under British India but this accord was never accepted by China (Maxell 1970).

Actually, Tawang was still functionally a part of Tibet until recently, because the McMahon line was not effective for more than 40 years and the British had no political power there. In 1951, the Independent India government gained practical control by cutting the network of the Tibetan tax system and introduction of Indian administration system. The Indian government assumed sovereignty over the area by legitimacy of the McMahon line. The border conflict between China and India led to the Sino-Indian War in 1962. The Social change of Tawang resulted from the complete closure of the border due to the Sino-Indian War (Dhar 2005, Nath 2005). The Indian government started a military-buildup and development policy to protect Tawang as its “defense wall” of Indian Territory. This meant the progressive incorporation of Tawang into the Indian regime. Every development policy made the Tawang people and society “Indianized” through introduction of Indian system of medicine, education, food corporation, agriculture and an inflow of Indian workers. The Tawang people experienced social unrest as a result of the growing economic divide, the tribe discrimination against Mongoloid minorities, and the increase in lifestyle-related diseases.

3. Treatment of Tibetan Medicinal Pills in Tawang

There are a Tibetan medical clinic, a district hospital and 8 health centers, and tantric and shamanic ritual performances in Tawang society. The Tawang people insist that “there was no illness in olden Tibetan days in Tawang” but nowadays there are so many kinds of illness here.” They also say “Tibetan food such as burned barley flour, yak meat and lake fish is good for health.” They came to believe that their body is unbalanced after they lost their ‘Tibetanness’ by closing border.

The local clinic of Men-Tsee-Khang, the Tibetan official medical clinic, was established in Tawang in 1998. The Tawang people have continued to cure unbalanced bodies with Tibetan medicinal pills in the following case-1.

Case-1 Hearing loss

An old man came from Eastern Bhutan. He had hearing loss in his right ear. A Tibetan medical doctor made the following diagnosis: excessive *lung* (the nature of wind element) had brought cold to his body and this unbalance caused his hearing loss. In his treatment, the doctor chanted mantras and placed a burned iron bar with gold on the top over points on the patient’s head to heat his cold body. Next, the doctor prescribed pills.



Figure 7

Treatment for hearing loss by Tibetan medical doctor



Figure 8

Tibetan medicinal pills

Tibetan medicine doctors prescribe two types of medicine for morning and night or three types of medicine for morning, noon, and night. If the efficacy of the medicine is good and the patient live far from the clinic, the doctor prescribes medicine for two or three months. The Tawang people often say that they have relapses of internal diseases in biological medicine but that Tibetan medicine can cure the fundamental causes of internal disease and that, although it takes more time, the disease neverrecurs. The price of Tibetan pills is almost three to five dollars, which is cheaper than biological medicine in Tawang.

Table 1 Details of illness and medicine dispensed in the one day (December, 2011)
 1Rs(Indian Rupee) \doteq 0.016USD

Sex	Illness	Dosage and time of medication	Total Price
A. Female	<i>Yama</i> (Bad condition of face)	2 (morning/night)	195Rs. (60 Pieces)
B. Male	<i>Powa natsa</i> (chronic gastritis)	3 (morning/noon/night)	315Rs. (90Pieces)
C. Female	<i>Tipa natsa</i> (liver problems)	3 (morning/noon/night)	170Rs. (90 Pieces)
D. Male	<i>Tipa natsa</i>	3 (morning/noon/night)	170Rs. (90 Pieces)
E. Female	<i>Yama and Tipa natsa</i>	3 (morning/noon/night)	285Rs. (90 Pieces)
F. Female	<i>Trak gi natsa</i> (high blood pressure)	3 (morning/noon/night)	270Rs. (90 Pieces)
D. Female	<i>Sogpo kyopo</i> (Weak in body)	3 (morning/noon/night)	285Rs. (90 Pieces)
E. Female	<i>Tsa gi natsa</i> (Neuralgic pains)	3 (morning/noon/night)	270Rs. (90 Pieces)

4. Ordinary Pills and Precious Pills

The people take medicinal pills to treat body imbalances of the Tibetan concept of the five elements (such as nature of fire, water, earth, wind, and void), gods, evil spirits, poison (including black magic), and insects. There are two classifications of pills in Tibetan medicine. The first is ordinary pills and the other is precious pills. Ordinary pills have fixed and definite potencies for each disease, but precious pills are panacea and can be used for every disease. In other words, the potencies of precious pills are ambiguous and are strongly affected by religious beliefs. These precious pills play a very important role in Tawang society. Tawang people use precious pills individually on their own, as emergency medicine, as preventive medicine, or as an alternative medicine when they have used up the medicine prescribed by a physician. They also often use these pills as gifts and souvenirs, as ritual offerings for the safety and well-being of the family, or as good luck charms to prepare for a trip abroad and a difficult exam. For example, *rinchen rilbs* is

the general name for special precious pills (Table2). Eight sorts of *rinchen rilbs* that are packaged in blister packs to meet global standards are available in the Tawang clinic. They are very expensive in comparison with other ordinary pills. These prices are about three to ten times the cost of ordinary pills.

Table2 *Rinchen rilbs* in a Tibetan medical clinic (Tawang)

English Name	Nature	Price (1 Piece)
1.The Great Cold Compound Precious Black Pill	Slightly cool	35Rs
2. The Precious Wish Fulfilling Jewel	Neutral	30Rs
3. The Great Hot Compound Precious Pill	Hot	20Rs
4. The Great Multi-Compound Precious Pill	Slightly cool	15Rs
5. The Great Precious Purified Moon Crystal	Slightly cool	13Rs
6. The Great Precious Old Turquoise Twenty	Slightly cool	10Rs
7. The Great Precious Iron Pill	Slightly cool	10Rs
8. The Precious Coral Twenty five	Cool	10Rs

Tawang people used this kind of precious pills in the following cases in my research.

Case-2 Stock-farmers who bought many pills

A group of many young and senior stock-farmers who lived in a remote village came to a Tibetan medical clinic but unfortunately a physician did not stay to take part in the ritual. They said, “We want to have *rinchenrilbs* now because we cannot come here again easily.” They looked very healthy but they wanted to have every eight sorts of *rinchenrilbs*, which was a compound of various herbs and minerals. They kept these pills in their homes and shared them in their village to have good fortune. A person who worked as an assistant in the clinic gave *rinchenrilbs* to them without a prescription.

Case-3 Medicinal gifts from relatives

A woman named Dolma who was in her 50s was suffering from a common cold during the cold winter. She could not eat any food and was unable to move. She took several pieces of *manirilb* and *dukzye*, which are Tibetan precious pills, and drank local wine. *Mani rilb* is made from ritual offerings made in powders of burned barley and *dukzye* is a kind of herbal powder that is burned to create smoke that is used in the treatment of illnesses. The patient opened her mouth and inhaled clouds of *dukzye* smoke. They were gifts from relatives who were supplied in return for donations to the famous monasteries in India. The next morning, while, I asked if she was okay. She replied, “Yes,

I got well,” and she was cooking breakfast for her family and me.

5. Sharing Medicine

In this way, the Tawang people share precious pills among their family, relatives, and friends to improve their relationships to confirm and strengthen their identity, and to treat their unbalanced body after they lost their ‘Tibetanness’. Sharing medicine with other people signifies their mercifulness, tolerance, consideration, and thoughtfulness in Tawang society, which is deeply connected with the values of Tibetan Buddhism. If you give a present to someone, you should take account of his likes and dislikes, but anyone who has a Buddhist identity wants precious pills, which are panacea for individuals and relationships. People who have many precious pills (which means that they have contributed to a monastery by many donations) and shares them with many other people are highly honored.

Nowadays, monasteries and medical institutions produce many kinds of precious pills with modern packaging in the Himalayan region. These precious pills mediate the political authority of the monastery and institution. The precious pills that are made by more famous monasteries and medical institutions seem to be higher ranked and more effective and valuable for the Himalayan people. They often go on short pilgrimages using the large transportation network, such as buses, railways, cars, and domestic airplanes, between Himalayan regions and other areas in India constructed under Indian political control after the Sino–Indian War. They can get and share various precious pills with valuable social rank by a contemporary style pilgrimage during times of social change in the Himalayas.

Conclusion

In conclusion, my study in Tawang suggests that traditional medicine socializes individual human body by political and cultural use of the pills. In the current context of social change of the Himalayas, the precious pills mediate the authority of the medical institution or the monastery through the process of modernization, on the other hand, they mediate social relationships through sharing with other people. The Turner’s perspective of socialization of human body is useful in discussing not only body adornment but also medicine in the studies of cultural anthropology. In the dynamic change of the human life, medicine has enacted and encoded more complicated social meanings by mediating between individuals and society.

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Baka Children (Sissoh)/ シソ村の子供

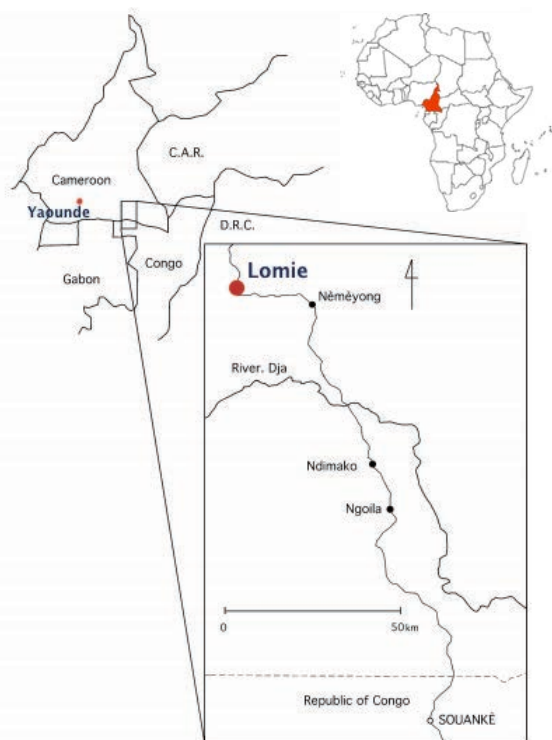
3. *Notes from the Forest
of Cameroon*
/ カメルーンの森から

Overview

We went to Lomie, which is a town in the Lomie District in the Upper Nyong division of the East Province of Cameroon, for five days between October 20 and 24. We visited three villages, Sissoh (about 3km from central Lomie), Payo (about 9km from central Lomie), and Abakoum (about 18km from central Lomie), and talked with the Baka who live there. The main habitants of these villages are the Baka and the Njime, one of the Bantu-speaking ethnic groups in these villages. The Baka living there had already adapted themselves to village life, and it is typical for all Baka children to go to school every morning while the adults go farming, hunting, or gathering.

We carried out a small study examining their knowledge of giving tattoos and using medical plants. They hunt wild animals, gather wild plants, and cultivate plants such as plantains, cassavas, and bananas in the surrounding tropical forest. Most Bakas live in rectangular huts made of leaves or bark, mud, and wood, but some Bakas live in traditional-style huts called *mongulu*, which are domed shaped and made of branches and leaves. These villages follow an unpaved road, and many trucks came and went carrying timbers when we stayed there.

(Kei Nagaoka)



Payo Village

Wild Medical Plants in Payo Village

We visited Payo village on October 21 and 23, 2013. On the first day, we went into the forest near the village with various health conditions (see Table 1, Nos. 1–11). On the second day, we met a female nganga (herbalist or spiritual healer in Africa) who lived in the village. She and three other women told us about the use of plants for pregnancy and delivery in the forest (see Table 1, Nos. 12–17). These women were skilled in using various wild plants in all their forms, such as trees, leaves, fruits, and roots. Their term for medicine, ma, includes broad social meanings such as having a good dream, a good hunting excursion, or a good marriage. Their practice of making ma seemed to refer to treating illness and infertility.

1. Stripping the bark from a tree
→ Putting the bark on the skin
→ Drinking the grindings of bark with (boiled) water
→ Drinking or administering latex pressed out from grindings on the skin
2. Burning fruit and root into soot
→ Rubbing the soot on the skin after bloodletting
3. Mashing leaves into a pulp
→ Drinking with (boiled) water
→ Eating with other food stuffs
4. Also: rubbing the raw fruit on the skin/dropping boiled latex of root into the nose by wrapping it in other leaves



We saw some Baka women, including nganga, using modern pharmaceutical products in the village for a young child. They acquired these products in Lomie town and other places. There is a small shop selling medicinal drugs, a plastic drip infusion set, and other pharmaceutical products manufactured in Africa and imported from France and other European countries, from India and from China. Mr. Wickham Jean Pierre and a young staff worked in the shop. He has traveled to sell drugs in Ghana, Congo, Gabon, and Chad in the past. He came to Lomie town a month prior to our visit, and the staff stay there when he travels elsewhere. One woman came to buy medicinal tablets for a headache, and another woman bought a drip infusion set while we were talking with him. Mr. Wickham said that the Baka people also came to his shop to buy drugs and that most of them bought drugs for muscle pain and weakness from exhaustion.

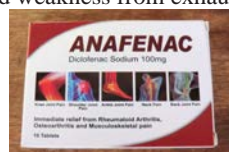


Table 1. Medicinal Plants in Payo Village

This table includes the comments of Mr. Anbasa (marked with an asterisk, *), a member of the Bakas from the village near Payo, who told us about some of these plants.

No.	Vernacular Name in Baka	Estimated Scientific Name with reference to AF ¹ ora ¹	Plant Form	Use	Method
Sources: Baka men in Payo village					
1.	<i>Jyaka</i>	—	Fruit	To treat lower back pain	The fruit is first burned, then the resulting soot is mixed with palm oil and applied to the lower back, after bloodletting.
2.	<i>Botung (Botunga?)</i>	<i>Polyalthia suaveolens Engl. & Diels var. suaveolens. Annonaceae?</i>	Root	To treat headaches	The root is first burned, then the resulting soot is mixed with palm oil and applied to the temples, after bloodletting.
3.	<i>Nbanjya</i>	—	Fruit	For a good marriage	The raw fruit is rubbed on the surface of the stomach.
4.	<i>Tukusa</i>	<i>Rourea obliquifoliolata Gilg. Connaraceae</i>	Leaf	To treat gastritis	The leaves are mashed into a pulp and drunk with a liter of boiled water up to one or two times.
5.	<i>Guga</i>	<i>Alstonia boonei. / Rauwolfia vomitoria Afzel. / Alstonia congensis. Apocynaceae</i>	Bark	To treat a cold *To treat malaria	The bark is stripped from the tree and the sap is extracted and added to a liter of boiled water to be drunk.
6.	<i>Baraka</i>	—	Bark	To ward off bad dreams	The bark is stripped from the tree and the sap is extracted and added to a liter of boiled water to be drunk.
7.	<i>Etenge</i>	<i>Pycnanthus angolensis (Welm.) Warb. Ochnaceae</i>	Bark	To treat a cough and nasal mucus To treat wounds *To treat pregnancy and labor pains	The bark is stripped from the tree and the sap is extracted and added to a liter of boiled water to be drunk. The sap is extracted from the ground bark and applied to the wound, which is then bandaged.
8.	<i>Fando</i>	<i>Tabernaemontana crassa</i>	Root	To treat headaches	Liquid is extracted from the root and mixed with boiled water. The solution is

¹ AF¹ora is the database of plant utilization by the local residents in Africa, which is built by Kyoto University, Japan.

<i>Benth.</i>		*To boost vitality		then dropped into the nose using a wrapping of leaves.
<i>Apocynaceae</i>				
9.	<i>Ekuwe</i>	—	Bark	To stop itching Bark grindings are mixed with boiled water and applied to the skin after bathing.
10.	<i>Botenge</i> (<i>Bokembe?</i>)	<i>Diospyros hoyleana</i> F. White. <i>Euphorbiaceae?</i>	Bark	To treat wounds Bark is stripped from the tree and applied to the wound.
11.	<i>Bomaka</i>	—	Fruit	For successful hunting The raw fruit is rubbed on the forehead.
<i>Sources: Baka women in Payo village</i>				
12.	<i>Njyaya</i>	—	Leaf	To encourage pregnancy The leaves are mashed into a pulp, drunk with boiled water, and eaten alongside other food (e.g., salt and nuts).
13.	<i>Fifi</i>	<i>Microdesmis puberula</i> Hook. <i>f. ex Planch. var. macrocarpa</i> <i>Pax & K. Hoffm. Pandaceae</i>	Leaf	To avoid pregnancy To treat a cold The leaves are mashed into a pulp and eaten alongside other food (e.g., pepper).
			Root	To treat a headache The root is first burned, then the resulting soot is mixed with palm oil and rubbed on the head, after bloodletting.
14.	<i>Mabe</i>	—	Bark	To revitalize the body after giving birth Bark grindings are rubbed on the thigh. (<i>Manbu</i> and <i>Biiwa</i> are also used to treat problems after delivery.)
15.	<i>Bo</i>	—	Stem	To promote easy labor and delivery The stem is first burned, then the resulting soot is rubbed on the head, below the navel, the thighs, and the lower back, after bloodletting. (Only a husband may perform this for his wife.)
16.	<i>Boso</i>	<i>Petersianthus macrocarpus</i> (<i>P. Beauv.</i>) <i>Liben.</i> <i>Lecythidaceae</i>	Leaf	To promote easy labor and delivery *To treat cough with a slight bleeding The leaves are placed over the patient's underwear while the patient sleeps at night. *The leaves are mashed into a pulp and drunk with boiled water.
17.	<i>Lebel</i> (Payo women only knew French name)	—	Leaf	To treat infections caused by parasites The leaves are mashed into a pulp and drunk with boiled water.



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4



No. 5



No. 6



No. 7



No. 8



No. 9



No. 10



No. 11



No. 12



No. 13



No. 14



No. 15



No. 16



No. 17



Female Nganga



Bomaka,
fruit for successful
hunting

Palm Wine in Payo Village

Two young men took us to the place where they made palm wine. There were many palm trees planted in the forest. One of the men made palm wine after he had cut a palm tree two months prior.

He opened the palm bark covering the cut part of the tree.



The sap coming from the cut was fermented into white-colored wine in a plastic container.



The man added some sugar and bark grindings from other trees into the sap to promote fermenting and make a stronger wine.



When we drank his palm wine, it was very tasty, sweet, and easy to drink. He told us he sometimes distilled this palm wine into even stronger wine. He added some peppers in the distillation process to stop the wine from becoming poisonous. The men of this village sell their homemade palm wine whenever they need money. The man said, "I sell the weak wine for 600 FCFA and the strong wine for 600 FCFA in a bottle of plastic pet (350ml)."

(Kei Nagaoka)

Sissoh Village

Tattoo practice in Sissoh village

We visited Sissoh village on October 22, 2013.



A Tattoo Practitioner

Begua

Her mother was also a tattoo practitioner in the old days.

施術者ベグアさん。子供の時に母親から施術方法を習ったという。

Tattoo wearers

Yeyu

The design is a group of short lines.

イエユさん。
短い線が縦に
連なったパタ
ン。



Esanga

The design uncommonly includes a figurative butterfly motif on her cheek.

エサンガさん。頬のモチーフは蝶。



Process of applying a tattoo

① Grinding the soot from a lump.

ランプの煤を取り細かな粉にする。



② Drawing designs with eboo plant string, which is used for the roof of houses.

家の屋根に使用している植物素材（エボオ）に煤をつけデザインを描く。



③ Cutting skin with a razor.

カミソリで傷をつける。

④ After washing the blood away with water, the tattoo practitioner adds some soot and rubs it into the skin. She repeats cutting and rubbing until the black color stays.
 肌を水で洗い煤を刷り込む。傷をつけながら煤をつける作業を繰り返す。



⑤ Rubbing pepper leaves on the skin and then putting some soot on it.
 唐辛子の葉を刷り込み、煤をつける。



⑥ Washing it away and rubbing soot into the skin. The procedure can be repeated.
 水で洗い流してもう一度煤をつける。これを繰り返す。



⑦ Soot is applied to coat the whole design.
 しっかりと煤をつけて完成。

(Reiko Hata)



Pepper in Sissoh Village

Mrs. Begua, who lives with her mother's big sister and her children, including a son and three daughters, showed us a pepper plant growing behind her house. She uses boiled pepper as an enema when she suffers from constipation or diarrhea. She also drinks water after boiling pepper when she has a cold. She does not eat pepper leaves in daily life (she said some Baka eat them) but always uses them in tattoo practice. She rubs the pepper leaves on the cut part of the face colored black by lamp soot because that part of face becomes swollen if she doesn't rub them. She doesn't use other leaves at all for this process. She brought the pepper plant from her birth village when she moved to live in her husband's home village after marriage.



She never uses the white ashes of firewood to provide the black color on the skin in the tattoo practice though people use firewoods when they cook and get warm in their house. She said these ashes are dissolved in water and drunk when someone has a stomachache or a cold.



(Kei Nagaoka)

Abakoum Village

We visited Abakoum village on October 24, 2013. To welcome us, the Baka of Abakoum consented to our request and showed us the practice of sharpening front teeth. This body modification is common among the Baka society, but Baka youth have started to abandon it recently because of the pain it causes.



The practitioner, Mr. Mosolo, is an old man about 40–50, the only person who has the skill of sharpening front teeth in this village.

Madam Lona, the volunteer for this practice, is a middle-aged Baka woman who already has a teenage daughter. According to my own observations and interviews over about 10 months with more than 1000 Baka people, this is considered unusual because the Baka usually receive sharpened front teeth at about 10–15 years old.



The tools Mr. Mosolo used were a knife, which can easily be bought from the Lomie center market for about 900 FCFA (≈ 180 JPY), a stick of wood—the plant is called *ffi* in the Baka language, and its leaves are used to heal some common sicknesses—and an iron stick that he took from a discarded car.



First, Mr. Mosolo asked the woman to lie down on a piece of cloth—usually the Baka use their special straw mat called *bungu*—and asked her to bite on the wood stick.

Another man helped her to open her lips to show her front teeth clearly. Then, Mr. Mosolo started to cut off both sides of her four upper front teeth. This process only took about 10 minutes.



The process looked extremely painful, but Madam Lona maintained her smile during this practice.

However, Mr. Mosolo's skill at sharpening front teeth is not considered advanced because the shape of the sharpened front teeth was not as good as what I had observed on Bakas from another area.

(Yujie Peng)

4. Members

Yujie Peng is a doctoral student of the Graduate School of Asian and African Areas Studies of Kyoto University. She is the first Chinese student to study Pygmy hunter-gatherers and has already become the



Yujie Peng

Award-winning photographs by Yujie Peng



expert on Baka body modification. Her focus is on the Baka people, one of the Pygmy hunter-gatherer groups living in the eastern Cameroon rainforest. Her main topic of interest is their body decoration and cultural transmission. She has traveled to the Cameroon rainforest three times over one year of fieldwork with the Baka. She was the runner-up of the Body Canvas Photography Competition sponsored by the Royal Anthropological Institute in 2012. The award-winning pictures, "Do You Want to be Pretty"(left below) and "New Style"(right below), were also exhibited during the international study meeting. Yujie has already joined one of the Baka's clans and has been given the Baka name "Ambala." The best times of her life are when she is with her Baka families in the forest.

Kei Nagaoka is a doctoral student at the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies at Kyoto University, Japan. She studied geography (geomorphology) and cultural anthropology in her undergraduate coursework. Her research topic is Tibetan medicine in the Himalayas, where there is a complicated border area among India, Nepal, Bhutan, and China. Focusing on the social process of the reconstruction of Tibetan medicine across borders, she explores the social meaning of medicine as it is deeply connected with people's life, nature, and science. She has already stayed in northern India (main research field), Bhutan, and Nepal for more than a year in total. Her publications are "Ruptures in the Everyday Life and the Practices of Repair through Tibetan Medicine in Tawang, Eastern Himalaya," *Ruptures and Repairs in South Asian History* (Onta, Prayoush and Yogesh Raj, eds. Nepal: Martin Chautari. 2014 [in press]). Her favorite thing in Cameroon is *gombo fufu* (okra soup with cassava).

Kei Nagaoka



Reiko Hata



Reiko Hata is a doctoral student in Human and Environmental Studies at Kyoto University and a researcher for JSPS. Her main research topic is the moko (tattoos) of the New Zealand Maori people. Focusing on the revitalization of the traditional practice, she has deepened her understanding of the power and flexibility of the people and their culture. Her love for Maori culture led her to New Zealand, and she has already stayed in New Zealand for more than one and a half years in total. Now, she is fascinated by the art of moko and the people surrounding its practice. She says she also loves Maori *kai* (food).

Her first trip to Cameroon was a new experience for her. She said it was wonderful to see the tattooing of the Baka people, which is very different from moko in terms of the design, tools, and circumstances of tattooing. Plantain bananas became one of her favorite foods through this trip.

5. Gallery

Photos from Yaounde



Sunset



Electrical appliance store



Fufu with okra soup



Plantain banana



Town



Town



Shoes salesman

Photos from Lomie



Interview with women at Payo



Mongulu/ traditional style hut



Payo village



Mongulu with children



Lomie Center



Bike taxi

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Yujie PENG
Kei NAGAOKA
Reiko HATA



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