

**Interactions between Hunter-Gatherers and Farmers: From Prehistory to Present.** Kazunobu Ikeya, Hidefumi Ogawa, and Peter Mitchell, eds. *Senri Ethnological Studies* 73. Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology, 2009, 280 pp. Price unknown, paper.

This volume, based on a symposium held at the 2006 World Archaeological Congress in Osaka, combines archaeological and ethnographic investigations of prehistoric and modern foraging/farming interactions and transitions in Asia and Africa. The editors ask how far the field has come since the 1980s and 1990s, when Headland, Wilmsen, and others challenged traditional assumptions of hunter-gatherer isolation and raised questions about the historical and ecological significance of interactions between foragers and farmers. An international group of scholars offers case studies based in diverse regional research traditions.

A striking feature of this collection is its broad temporal and geographic scope. After a brief introduction by the editors, ten chapters are grouped into three sections. The first, "Archaeology in Africa and Asia," addresses long-term interaction between hunter-gatherers and farmers in southern Africa (Mitchell), south China (Lu), and the Philippines (Ogawa). A section titled "Jomon, Yayoi, and Ainu in Japan" presents archaeological cases studies on adoption of rice agriculture by late Jomon and Yayoi societies (Takahashi), elite power among prehistoric Yayoi farmers (Hosoya), and Japanese trade goods in historic Ainu material culture (Tezuka). The final section ("Ethnology and Linguistics") includes ethnographic studies of forager-farmer relationships in Thailand and the Philippines (Minter, Nan, and Ikeya and Nakai) and a comment on language change and population history by discussant Lawrence Reid.

As in many edited collections, some contributions engage the editors' questions more directly than others. Several would benefit from clear site or region maps accessible to non-area scholars. Though at first glance the volume may show little thematic unity, it has a great deal to offer. Readers interested in forager/farmer transitions and interactions will find new data, a variety of methodologies, and thought-provoking discussions of recent archaeological

and ethnographic research. Contributions intersect along several common themes.

The archaeological case studies emphasize regional datasets and multiple methods for exploring the history and diversity of forager-farmer interaction. For example, Mitchell's review of recent research in the Maloti-Drakensberg mountains of Lesotho and South Africa combines historic and archaeological evidence, emphasizing the need for "multiple lines of evidence, . . . [and] detailed attention to context" to avoid the circularity of assuming that particular categories of material culture can be attributed to hunter-gatherers (pp. 24–25, cf. Ogawa). Mitchell presents evidence for a "mosaic pattern of . . . change and adjustment" in subsistence, technology, and social practices over 1,800 years (p. 37). He argues that pottery (including local production by hunter-gatherers) had broad impacts on food preparation and storage, while domesticated plants and animals were integrated into shamanic practices and the region's famous rock art (p. 29). Lu reports on a regional comparison of archaeological and botanical evidence for varied subsistence economies in Neolithic western South China, arguing for coexistence of rice farmers and foragers 7000–3500 bp.

Takahashi's chapter on the Jomon/Yayoi transition is one of several contributions that shift attention away from forager/farmer dichotomies toward social processes, such as labor organization, that crosscut differences in subsistence economy. He compares architecture, faunal assemblages, and gear for fishing, hunting, and divination, concluding that ecological differences and regional variations in the structure of late Jomon societies led to diverse combinations of rice farming with fishing and hunting through seasonal, task group, or village-level specialization. Similarly, Hosoya notes that studies of early agriculture need to move away from "a dichotomy of pre- and post-agriculture" (p. 99).

Both archaeologists and ethnologists ask whether interactions between foragers and farmers or state-organized neighbors are mutually beneficial or are "best considered as varying degrees of subordination and exploitation that can only be understood in terms of class relations" (p. 210). Minter's nuanced analysis of Agta oral histories concludes that neither symbiosis nor subordination models do justice to the diversity of interactions at the "micro" scale of particular cases. Nan uses the lens of political ecology to argue that if Mlabri/Hmong relations were once mutually beneficial, they have been reshaped by Thai state control of land rights and commoditization of identity through tourism. Ikeya and Nakai take an ecological approach to the same case, acknowledging Mlabri dependency while emphasizing sustained symbiosis (p. 249).

Overall, contributions in this volume (though they may address and answer shared questions very differently) demonstrate the impact of debates about the history and ecology of forager-farmer interaction on anthropological research agendas. The most striking shared theme across the volume is simply the expectation that foraging and farming must be seen in the context of regional interactions that are likely to be both diverse and dynamic. Although hunter-gatherer studies have diverged in many theoretical and empirical directions since the 1990s, many scholars are striving to combine historical and ecological approaches in a way that enhances the study of both foragers and farmers. International symposia such as this one, bringing together diverse area specialists, can play an important role in building on these efforts.

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