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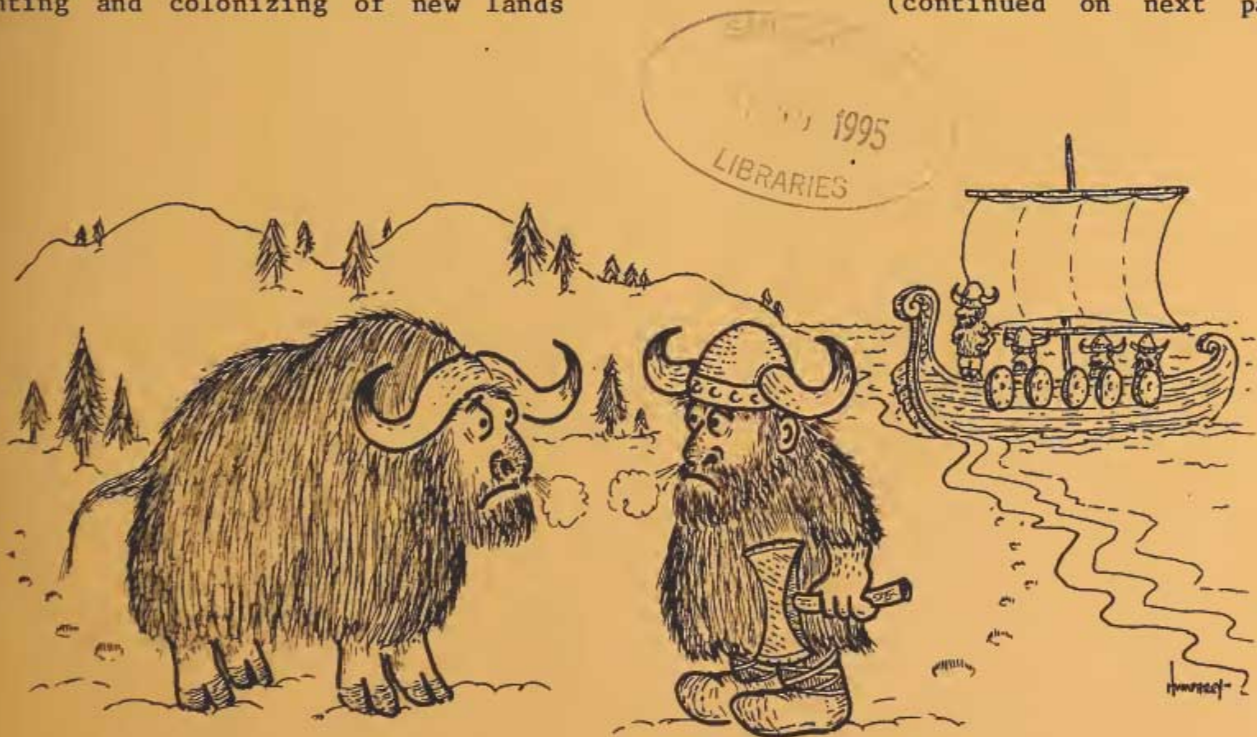
"VINLAND" REVISITED: 986-1986

In 1987, Americans will celebrate the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution; in 1992 they will celebrate the quincentennial of Columbus' discovery of the New World. But an important and far older event will go almost unnoticed: the 986 millennial of the first recorded European discovery of North America.

Who were these first recorded European colonists and is there any evidence that confirms their tale? The Greenlander saga, written in the 13th century, describes the somewhat complicated story of exploration and discovery, which culminated in the sighting and colonizing of new lands

west of Greenland, presumably in North America. The story begins 1000 years ago this summer, in the year 986 when Eirik the Red, accompanied by Herjulf, father of Bjarni, and a small group of colonists left the Norse settlement in Iceland to found a new colony in Greenland. Later that summer, Bjarni sailed from Norway to Iceland to spend the winter with his father. When he discovered that his father had already left with Eirik, Bjarni departed for Greenland on the same course they had taken. Unfortunately, as soon as Bjarni's ship was out of sight of land, the east wind failed and the ship wandered for many days in the fog. When the fog cleared, the wind had shifted to the south, and Bjarni sailed on a

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westward course for a day until he sighted land.

The land Bjarni saw was not the mountainous Greenland coast with its many glaciers but a low wooded country without mountains. (This description fits several locations in New England as well as in southwest Nova Scotia.) Consistently refusing his men's entreaties to go ashore for water and fuel, Bjarni sailed northeast along the coast for two days, out of sight of land, until he made a second landfall on a heavily forested coast (Nova Scotia?). A third land, seen after three further days voyage, was high and mountainous. Sailing north along the coast, Bjarni perceived that this was an island (Newfoundland?). Four days sail to the northeast across the open sea brought him to Greenland and Herjulf's farm, where Bjarni remained.

The Greenlanders, pre-occupied with establishing their settlement, appear to have ignored Bjarni's tales of another land to the west. But sixteen years later on another voyage to Norway, Bjarni and his tale caught the interest of Norway's ruler, and Norwegian excitement over possible new lands and sources of ivory spread back to Greenland when Bjarni returned in about A.D. 1002. In the following year, Eirik's son Leif purchased Bjarni's ship and set sail for the west with 35 men. Leif first landed on a barren and rocky coast with distant ice mountains. He named the area "Helluland", identified today as probably a location in the Canadian high arctic, possibly the east coast of Eaffin Island or the north coast of Labrador. The next landfall southward he called "Markland", a heavily forested coast with low sandy stretches that may have been in central or southern Labrador. Finally two days later, he sighted a wooded land, and, in late August, landed there, on the west side of a long, northward pointing cape. He then sailed up a short river and built a large sod house by a lake to shelter

his men through the winter. The land was distinguished by its long winter days, "sweet dew," and abundant supplies of salmon. The discovery of "wine berries" led to its naming as "Vinland". The following spring, Leif and his men returned to Greenland, following Bjarni's route.

According to the saga, ensuing years witnessed several voyages to and short settlements in "Vinland", the first captained by Leif's brother Thorvald. Thorvald's murder of eight Skraelings (war-whoopers) as they slept under their "skin" (or possibly birchbark) canoes, and the Skraelings' murder of Thorvald constitute the first recorded meeting of Native Americans and Europeans. This meeting also marked the first time humans encircling the globe from west and east had met.

Following this unhappy meeting and the return of Thorvald's men to Greenland, another Norseman, Thorfinn Karlsefni, sailed to Vinland and founded a colony. The colony prospered on whale meat, game and fish, and traded the milk of their cattle to the Skraelings for skins. Thorfinn's wife Gudrid gave birth to a son, Snorri, the first European child born in North America. But relations with the Skraelings soon deteriorated, and Thorfinn was forced to return to his home in Iceland, where his descendants wrote down the tale of these voyages sometime in the thirteenth century. A second saga (Eirik's saga) concurs with many of the above details but describes Leif Eiriksson as the discoverer of Vinland during a voyage from Norway, not from Greenland. Most authorities lean toward the Greenlander saga as the more accurate account.

Are these sagas entirely mythical, or are the voyages to Vinland based on reality? What evidence do archeologists cite for contact between the Vikings and some Native Americans or for Norse settlements in the New World?

To be accepted as proof of Norse-Native American contacts, archaeological evidence must conform to several standards. First, the evidence must consist of material objects that are indisputably linked to one culture but found in the territory of the other. The linkage between object and people can be through style in form or decoration--a curvilinear Norse pin, or an Indian arrowhead--if the style is specific enough to identify the maker. Linkage can also be through a manufacturing technology known to one group but not to the other, or through raw material, such as a special stone type, limited to one group's territory. Additionally, the object must be found in a well-dated context of the appropriate age, so that it is clearly not a later introduction or even a forgery.

Several archaeological examples substantiate Norse and Native American contacts. Some of the most exciting are from the Canadian high arctic. The east coast of Ellesmere Island is only 25 miles from the northwest coast of Greenland. There, on a prehistoric Inuit (or Eskimo) house floor, less than 800 miles from the North Pole, a fragment of European chain mail was excavated in 1978. Other finds including bottoms of wooden barrels, iron boat rivets, knife blades and a piece of woolen cloth were all dated to between 1190 and 1390 A.D. Since Inuit neither raised sheep, spun or wove clothing, stored food in barrels, or wore chain mail, these objects clearly represent Norse finds in a native American context. Although Inuit hammered tools out of meteoric iron, the low nickel content of the pieces shows that they were smelted from other ores by techniques known only to Europeans and other Old World peoples.

From the Norse perspective, the impetus for these early contacts and for Norse penetration deep within the Arctic Circle was clearly economic: Greenlanders and Icelanders alike

needed new sources of valuable commodities to support their precarious existence in the world's northernmost settlements. In exchange for metal, cloth, and other items of European manufacture, the Norse brought home skins, narwhal tusks, and walrus ivory to Greenland to trade for food and metal items which Greenland could not produce. The Greenland Norse even paid taxes to Norway and tithes to Rome in walrus ivory; in 1327 Greenland's bishop sent a tithe of 400 tusks. On the west coast of Ellesmere Island, a folding bronze balance from a 14th century Inuit site suggests the visit of a Norse trader. Further to the west, fragments of smelted copper, iron, and bronze from Bathurst Island, Cornwallis Island, and the east side of Hudson Bay testify to the penetration of Norse goods well into central Canada.

Inuit style ivory and wooden carvings, perhaps representing Norsemen, are among the most intriguing bits of evidence for Norse-Native American contacts. Two possible examples come from Ellesmere Island and another from the southern coast of Baffin Island, in a house floor dated to the 13th century. This particular carving is typically Inuit in its stumpy arms and lack of facial features, but the figure is dressed in a long European-style surcoat, embellished with a cross on the breast. Since the Greenland Norse had accepted Christianity around the time of Leif Eiriksson's voyage, this carving probably represents a contemporary Inuit view of a Norseman, possibly carved locally given its general style.

Even this find, however, does not prove that Norsemen settled in North America, since objects can travel from hand to hand across long distances without any direct contact between the maker of an object and its final owner. There are two such examples relating to Norse-Indian contacts (as opposed to Norse-Inuit contacts): a chert arrowhead in the southern Labrador/

Newfoundland Indian style, recovered near an eroding Norse graveyard in Sandnes, Greenland; and the Maine penny, minted in Norway between A.D. 1065 and 1080 and found at the Goddard prehistoric Indian site near the mouth of Penobscot Bay. These objects do not necessarily demonstrate Norse settlement in New England or even contact between Norse and Indians, since they were probably traded through Inuit intermediaries.

Colonization can only be demonstrated by architecture in a foreign style, or by overwhelming evidence of technological or economic activities not practised by the original inhabitants nor likely to have been invented by them. For years, archaeologists searched for the original location of the Vinland settlement from Nantucket to Labrador. Finally in 1963, at L'Anse aux Meadows on the northern tip of Newfoundland, a Norwegian archaeologist, Helge Ingstad, discovered remains of three long sod houses by a sheltered harbor, on land visited both by ancestral Eskimos before the Norse era, and by Indians. Greenland Norse houses had stone foundations. But these New World houses lacked such foundations and so could be explained as temporary dwellings. Furthermore, one of five small outbuildings contained a substantial amount of slag from an iron smithing operation. Radiocarbon determinations of charcoal associated with the slag suggest an age of around A.D. 1000. Over 100 objects of European manufacture were unearthed at L'Anse aux Meadows. A spindle whorl attests to the weaving of wool and to the presence of women. A cloak pin of bronze, a material unknown to Native Americans, was similar in style to those found in Viking settlements of the British Isles. Finally, some wooden floorboards from a boat indicate directly the presence of Norse ships. The authenticity of the L'Anse aux Meadows site as a Norse settlement of brief duration has been widely accepted by archaeologists. Whether or not this site was

Vinland cannot be determined. Grapes never grew at L'Anse aux Meadows, but wine can be made from other berries. On the latter point, however, one of Thorfinn Karlsefni's own men appears to have dismissed the grapes as a piece of 11th century false advertising.

To date, no other Norse colonies in the New World have been discovered, nor is there any accepted evidence of Norse visits to areas outside the northeastern corner of the continent. Enigmatic stone cairns, thought to be Norse navigational aids or megalithic monuments, were probably constructed by Native Americans, whereas other finds, such as the well-known Kensington runestone from Minnesota represent archaeological hoaxes. Since Norse exploration in the North Atlantic was directed towards new sources of portable wealth in general and walrus ivory in particular, it is unlikely that they would have explored the interior or southern coasts of the North American continent.

Were there any European colonies or visits to the New World prior to the Norsemen? It is impossible to argue that no Irish fisherman was ever blown across the north Atlantic in a storm. But deliberate trade and colonization efforts were unlikely prior to 986, since the Norse were the first to develop the sailing technology necessary to exploit the distant islands of northwest Europe and eastern Canada and to tie the newly founded colonies back to a central power.

Why did the Norse settlement or settlements in the New World fail, when the Vikings were such feared conquerors and successful colonizers throughout Europe? European weapons of the 10th to the 14th centuries were not markedly superior to those possessed by the Skraelings, and the latter's boats would have been more maneuverable in inland waters. Supply lines between the mainland of North America and the Norse

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TEACHER'S CORNER: TEACHING ANTHROPOLOGY THROUGH FOLKLORE

[Editor's Note: The following article is reprinted (though not in its entirety) from the Anthropology And Education Quarterly, vol. 16, 1985, with permission from the American Anthropological Association.]

Although storytelling as a teaching method seems to be restricted to the elementary grades in the American school system, I suggest that storytelling can be used successfully to teach basic anthropological concepts and methods as well as cultural values and traits to older students including high school and college level classes. For the past ten years, I have been using folklore as a teaching aid in both introductory and advanced anthropology classes. In this article, I describe three somewhat separate uses of folklore: analyzing themes in folklore, teaching folklore through puppetry and plays, and collecting folklore through field interviews.

FOLKLORE ANALYSIS

Just as anthropologists may utilize folktales for sources of information and insights on child-rearing and educational practices of other cultures and on values, morals, and cultural themes, anthropology teachers can make effective use of folktales as a teaching method by having students analyze folklore materials. Since few students have much familiarity with any culture other than their own in such areas as values, kinship and marriage, and culture and personality, I find it more effective to use folktales from American or European cultures. It is easier for students to isolate and to identify values and precepts with which they are already familiar than those from an unfamiliar culture.

For introductory students, I use folklore drawn from the European tradition, specifically Grimm's fairy

tales, rather than such American legends as Paul Bunyan, Pecos Bill, and John Henry. Fairy tales such as "Hansel and Gretel" and "Little Red Riding Hood" not only share the same basic themes of Western culture, they are more universal in their distribution than tales about regional heroes. The latter are useful in courses on American culture, American ethnic groups, and culture and personality.

Folklore analysis is assigned in conjunction with the study of art, where folklore is discussed as part of art traditions and where the function of art in projecting and reflecting basic values and cultural traits of a society is demonstrated. Students are given their choice of "Hansel and Gretel" or "Little Red Riding Hood" for analysis, both still popular in American culture despite Medieval European origins and cultural change. Since the two stories are culturally relevant, students analyze the story looking for contemporary values



preserved and transmitted to our children.

Students must reread the story before writing their analysis. The paper is not a retelling of the story but an analytical discussion of the values and cultural content implicit in the story and reflected in its symbolism. These two tales were selected because of basic themes of Western civilization and the Judeo-Christian tradition that can be found in them: good overcomes evil; virtue, good, or innocence will be rewarded and greed and evil will be punished; the importance and role of the family and family members; altruism and humanitarianism in the care of the elderly or sick (Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother) or the weak (Hansel's care of Gretel); obedience; appropriate sex roles; distrust of strangers; and "appearances can be deceiving" (gingerbread houses and wolves). It should be noted that some versions of "Little Red Riding Hood" do not have the almost universal happy ending: there is no woodsman who, at the last minute, saves Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother by killing the wicked wolf. In newer editions of the stories published in the United States, the wolf is killed and the two innocent and helpless (female) victims are rescued by the big, brave, and strong (male) woodsman, leading to some interesting observations about sex roles, as does the fact that Gretel saves Hansel from the wicked witch, but only because Hansel's intelligence earlier had outwitted the female witch.

DRAMATIZATION OF FOLKLORE

Although not all anthropology teachers are raconteurs, stories can be presented dramatically as plays or puppet shows, using student actors or puppeteers. This will involve more effort by the teacher in researching and preparing materials from folktale analysis or oral history collection,

but it is worth the effort. This method of folklore study can be used for all levels, kindergarten through senior citizen. For those asked to give speeches or programs about other cultures to public school groups and civic organizations, puppet shows and plays can be especially effective ways of teaching anthropology to other than college audiences.

This method has been used in both introductory and advanced anthropology classes. For introductory classes, I have students read roles from a script I prepared, dramatizing a Cherokee legend. The script was written to incorporate cultural data into dialogue and narration, and the story was modified to fit the cultural traditions of storytelling (the story is narrated by a grandfather telling his grandchildren stories explaining origins of cultural practices in events that took place long ago). Class time involves one class period for the presentation of the drama and a discussion that deals with the cultural content and values transmitted through the dramatized legend.

For advanced classes such as primitive art, culture and personality, or special classes such as one I offer for school teachers on development of Indian Studies curriculum units, students select a myth or legend from the tribe or culture they are studying and dramatize it to communicate cultural content and values. This necessitates additional ethnographic research by the student to incorporate cultural data into the script; thus, such projects are assigned as special projects, term papers, or take-home exams. Usually these legends are dramatized as puppet plays, and students must make puppets, clothed appropriately for the tribe or culture area. Puppets range from stick puppets to imaginative and well-executed soft-sculpture or papier-mache puppets. To facilitate presentation of puppet shows, students are encouraged to

record the dialogue on tape, allowing for additional sound effects and music, enhancing the dramatic presentation. Through background research for script writing, students learn about another culture in some depth and also see a demonstration of the efficacy of folktales as educational devices.

When it was impossible personally to meet all the requests received for American Indian programs, I developed a special program to train college students in techniques of using puppetry and plays about American Indians. These students presented programs throughout the state--puppet shows to small audiences and dramas in which the students acted the roles in the play to larger audiences. Students received academic credit for participation. (Scripts for these plays about Cherokee and Catawba cultures may be obtained by writing the author.)

COLLECTING FOLKLORE

In addition to collecting valuable historical and ethnohistorical data, collecting folklore or oral histories also introduces students to basic methods of fieldwork, interviewing, data collection, and analysis, and it increases their awareness and understanding of their own culture and social system.

Oral history collection is a required part of my introductory anthropology course. For example, relative to the topic of cultural change, students are assigned to the task of interviewing senior citizens about social change (as opposed to technological change) during the past fifty years. Written instructions include a list of suggested or appropriate topics, e.g., courtship and marriage, family forms and functions, the role of the church and religion, holiday traditions and practices, medical practices (folk or home

remedies and practices), entertainment, and work.

To begin, students read Rhoda Levin's article from *MINNESOTA HISTORY* (1979:70-74) that covers the ethics of interviewing and data collection, the importance of getting written permission for use of oral history materials, the protection of informants' anonymity, and "how-to" information, such as the use of tape recorders and transcribing and organizing data. Students also receive written and oral instructions from the teacher on interviewing techniques, data analysis, and organization of data into a paper.

Students spend several hours interviewing their subjects who are senior citizens. Some students let the informant select the subject matter, but many prefer to select the topic themselves and to prepare questions in advance. Although most students record their interviews and transcribe the tapes, the final product is not a verbatim transcription of their interviews but a written analysis of social change in one particular area of life as related by one informant. Final papers include an introduction, an identification of the subject, the data, and conclusion. The conclusions are the student's perceptions of the changes that have taken place and explanations for such changes, based on an understanding of anthropological concepts of culture and cultural change.

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[Volume 16 of the Anthropology and Education Quarterly is devoted to articles on teaching anthropology. This volume may be ordered by writing: "Teaching Anthropology", American Anthropological Association, 1703 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Cost for members is \$5.00; nonmembers \$7.50.]

SOMETHING FOR THE PALATE

I thought collecting exotic recipes from members of the Smithsonian's Department of Anthropology would be a rather simple task. But I was mistaken. Doing ethnographic or archeological fieldwork does not necessarily mean that researchers share in the "fruits" of the land with the people among whom they are working. Dr. William Merrill has studied the Tarahumara Indians of Mexico for many years, but has not acquired a taste for their food, which he will flavor with his own condiments. And, the Tarahumara have not acquired a taste for the canned food he often brings. A typical Tarahumaran meal might include boiled greens and fresh corn tortillas. For major feasts, sheep, goats, or cattle are butchered and the cut up meat boiled for hours. The animal's blood is also boiled, resulting in a kind of pudding.

Over the 22 years Dr. William Crocker has conducted ethnographic research among the Canela Indians of northeastern Brazil, he has acquired a taste for their foods, though they were totally lacking in condiments except for the occasional use of black pepper. The Canela's main staples are manioc, which has an acidic taste and is used in making pancakes, mush, and flour, and boiled rice. Meat, hunted or bought, is rarely part of the diet. The head of a cow and its internal organs are a special delicacy eaten only by the young or old, since the Canela believe such foods cause infertility.

Unfortunately, it is often difficult to reproduce the unique flavors obtained by the traditional methods, such as those produced by cooking in a well-seasoned clay pot over an open fire or by using manually ground corn. In addition, we usually cannot obtain essential ingredients that give regional food its unique flavor, in spite of the proliferation of gourmet and other specialty food shops. Take,

for instance, seal oil and whale blubber, or boiled monkey.

Fortunately, the Smithsonian's large anthropology staff has, in fact, managed to compile recipes, using widely available ingredients, from cultures in Africa, Asia, Polynesia, and the Southwestern United States for an adventure in eating.

SENEGAL: Mafe ("peanut butter stew")

Mary Jo Arnoldi, Curator, West African Ethnology

Saute 2 chopped onions and chunks of fish, meat, or chicken in peanut oil. Add water to cover. Stir in until dissolved approximately 1/4 to 1/2 cup of peanut butter and 2 tbsp. of tomato paste. Add salt and red and black pepper to taste. Cook until tender. (Optional: soy sauce, boullion cube or meat paste.) Add large, bite-sized pieces of vegetables (i.e. eggplant, carrots, white or sweet potatoes). Add more tomato paste or peanut butter if necessary to obtain the consistency of a thick cream sauce. Separately cook long grain white rice.

The Senegalese eat out of a communal bowl. To serve, layer the cooked rice at the bottom of a large, wide and shallow bowl. Ladle the sauce over the rice, being careful not to make the rice soggy; the stew will be eaten with the fingers. Drain the meat and place it in the center of the rice and surround the meat with vegetables. An alternative would be to serve this dish in individual bowls. This meal is prepared mid-day when the Senegalese eat their major meal; any left-overs might be eaten in the morning. In this society, there is a tendency for the men and women to eat separately, the men, of course, being served first. Today, however, there is more variation in eating behavior to accommodate the changing times and the need for practicality.

Strict etiquette is observed during mealtime. After washing their hands, family members sit around the bowl of food tucking their legs underneath them to take up the least amount of space. The host or hostess makes sure each person receives an equal share of the portion; guests may receive a special vegetable. The proper manner of eating is to take some rice and roll it into a small ball. Following the rice, the vegetables and meat are eaten, though separately. Four important rules to follow are: 1) food should only be eaten with the right hand, 2) eat only the food directly in front of you, 3) do not lean over the bowl, and 4) always leave some food in the bowl to demonstrate that more than enough food was offered.

During the meal there is little conversation. After the meal, soap and water are brought in to cleanse the hands and young girls or the junior wife remove the food and sweep the area clean. Drinking water is then passed around and people relax and converse.

The Senegalese generally enjoy hot, spicy food and have borrowed flavors from Portuguese and French cooking, since much trade takes place between the countries. Cheb-u-jin (rice and fish) is their national dish.

KOREA: Bul-kogi ("fire meat")

Chang-su Houchins, Museum Specialist,
East Asia

Slice 2 pounds of tender beef (i.e. sirloin tip or delmonico) into thin pieces of approximately 3" or 4" in length. Marinate for 30 minutes to one hour in: 1 tsp. salt, 1/2 tsp. black pepper, 1 tbsp. sesame seed oil, 1/4 cup Japanese soy sauce, 1/4 cup chopped scallions, 1 tsp. minced fresh garlic, and 1 tsp. sugar. For best results, broil over a grill. If broiling indoors, leave broiler drawer partially open to allow air to circulate to obtain the desired crispness and juiciness. Cook 5-10 minutes.



This dish may be served as an hors d'oeuvre or as an entree with rice, dipping each slice of meat in a sauce consisting of Japanese soy sauce with vinegar or lemon to taste and served in a shallow dish. Another alternative is to wrap a small amount of rice with a slice of meat in a lettuce leaf, preferably romaine. Traditionally, approximately 12 dishes were served at once among the leisure class, consisting of a pickled vegetable; soup, consisting of chicken or beef broth with a few vegetables usually including mushrooms; fish, meat, or poultry; a salty dish such as preserved fish; and a bowl of rice. Since soup provided the liquid during the meal, tea and fresh fruit followed. The peasant class ate little meat, relying primarily on tofu and miso soup for protein along with vegetables and the staple, rice.

Adult male and elderly female members of the family would kneel at an individual serving table, while the mother and the children would sit together. Now families usually kneel or sit around one large table. The eating utensils consist of chopsticks and spoons. Silver spoons and chopsticks were prevalent among the upper class and brass was used by the peasants; today, wooden, plastic, and stainless steel utensils are common. At the commencement of the meal, some Korean families say what would be translated as "I shall eat" or "I shall take" to express gratitude for the food they are receiving.

Traditionally, children were supposed to remain silent at mealtime, during which there was minimal conversation. However, to show appreciation for the appetizing food, slurping and chewing noises would be emitted and to top the meal off--a burp. Such a show by young women was considered ill-mannered. Western influence has since made these gestures inappropriate for all.

HALMAHARA ISLAND, INDONESIA: Hiode (in Tobelo "meat accompanying a starch stable")

Paul Taylor, Curator, Asian Ethnology

Cut up chicken into bite-sized pieces (pork or other meat can be substituted). Mix with ginger, chili peppers, and tumeric to taste. Stir fry ingredients in coconut oil in a wok until cooked.

This dish, which constitutes the usual method of preparing birds and mammals, may be served with fried or boiled plantains, boiled manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, or cooked rice. Any of these starch staples may be served with a pickled vegetable sauce consisting of palm wine vinegar (any vinegar might do) with minced shallots and chili peppers.

A popular meat used to prepare this native hiode dish of the Tobelo people of Halmahara Island, Indonesia is dog--the household variety. Dog meat, though really very tasty, is bland and requires a heavy hand with the chili peppers. Also the longer an animal has been dead, the more spices are added, since there is no refrigeration. Civets, flying foxes (large bats), and deer are also common foods prepared in this manner.

The meal is served in individual plates and eaten with the hands. Gather a small amount of rice between your first and third finger of your right hand only (never touch food with your left hand), and flick the food into your mouth with your thumb nail. You may find that the Tobelorese method of eating will take some practice. Palm wine or boiled water, from the local stream, are commonly drunk with the meal.

The main meals in this agricultural and fishing society are eaten mid-morning and evening with much snacking in between. If guests are invited to dinner, the men eat first, served by the women. Each Tobelo likes to leave the table as soon as he or she feels full. As each person finishes his meal, he leaves to go to another room where after dinner conversation takes place. Eating itself is not generally a social event--men eat quietly, leave one by one, then the women do the same.

The Tobelo have some strict rules of etiquette that express not only their generous hospitality but also their distrust of one another. For instance, houses consist of split bamboo or split palm trunk walls and are easily seen through. If someone should walk by the house, the family is obliged to call that person in to eat, even if that person did not observe the activity going on inside. Fear of murder is pervasive and thus it is bad etiquette to use or sharpen a knife during a meal. If a guest brings a

beverage such as palm wine, he or she must be the first to take a drink to show that it is not poison. The guest must also drink the last drop to show that there is no poison at the bottom of the container. And if a gecko should happen to squeal while a beverage is being poured, it is an omen of poisoning.

The Tobelo also adhere to individual food avoidances, depending on the magic learned or one's ancestry. For example, a person who knows the magic to prevent bullets from piercing his skin will not eat watermelon, because watermelon are hollow and can be easily pierced. People temporarily avoid some foods during illnesses. For example, people with fungal skin infections do not eat dried anchovies during treatment, for fear that the "itchiness" of the rough, dry food will make their skin itch more.

NAVAJO: Na'neskhadi' (Navajo fry bread. Literal meaning - "slapped again and again")

Erenda Manuelito, Fellow
SI Native American Program

Mix together 4 cups of Gold Medal* white flour, 2 tbsp. Calumet baking powder, and one tsp. of salt in a large bowl. (* The commercial brands mentioned in this recipe have given the best results.) Add up to 1 1/2 cups of warm water. Knead the dough. When it starts pulling away from the bowl, it is ready to roll. Take a portion of the dough, about the size of a small peach, and flatten it with the palms of your hands. Then roll it out into a circle with approximately 1/4" in thickness.

(The traditional method of flattening the dough is done by making a fist with each hand and slapping the dough back and forth, turning the fist over and against the other with the dough in between. At the same time, gently pull down the edges of the dough.)

When the dough is stretched to 6" to 8" in diameter, cut a small slit in the middle. This allows air to escape so the heat is more evenly distributed, producing even browning. Lay the rolled dough in a frying pan with about an 1/2" of hot Crisco oil. The dough will bubble. Turn it over once with a fork to brown the top side. Drain the bread on a paper towel and serve hot. Salt can be sprinkled on the bread or the less traditional seasonings, honey or cinnamon sugar.

Fry bread is a traditional Navajo food usually accompanied by mutton stew and coffee, served as the two main meals of the day. It is also made in enormous quantities by the women at Navajo ceremonials as well as at tribal fairs where it has become quite popular. In this matrilineal and matrifocal society, men are not embarrassed to cook a family meal when the need arises.

Traditionally, the Navajo ate out of a common bowl while sitting on the floor of the hogan. There were no strict rules concerning eating behavior, though traditionally the women sat at the north end of the hogan, the men at the south end, and guests at the west end. The door always opened east. During the meal, conversation might center on local gossip. When the Navajo depended on crops for their sustenance, they would often pray for an abundance of food by holding stirring sticks (sticks bundled together and used for stirring food in large cooking pots) straight upwards and calling on the Holy People.

KENYA: Akapulu (Iteso for "bush vegetable")

Ivan Karp, Curator, West African
Ethnology, and Patricia Karp

Wash one pound of spinach, and remove the stems, and cook until tender in the water that clings to its leaves (approximately 5 minutes). Drain and

set aside. Cook 1 chopped medium-sized onion and 2 minced cloves of garlic in 3 tbsp. of ghee or butter until lightly browned. Add 1 tsp. salt, 2 tsp. curry powder and 1 chopped tomato and cook for about a minute. Add the onion mixture to the spinach and heat through. This "relish" dish is served as an accompaniment to atap, the basic food starch in the form of maize or cassava and millet bread eaten by the Iteso of Kenya.

No meal can be eaten without a starch, which is a bread made by pouring a flour of cassava and finger millet or sorghum into boiling water and cooking until it is too thick to stir. Sometimes the bread is made of cornmeal or plantains. Accompanying the starch is a relish made of boiled vegetables or meat served in a sauce consisting of the broth in which they were cooked. Curry powder is a common flavoring.

Only women can cook a starch, and it must be cooked inside the cooking-house on the women's fireplace constructed of three stones. Men, on the other hand, can cook meat, but only outside and only by roasting. Men cooked for such occasions as funeral sacrifices and, during precolonial times, for age-set ceremonies when cattle were sacrificed.

The Iteso start their day with a small meal, usually a thin porridge of cassava or millet flour and water or a piece of boiled cassava. The beverage is made of a strong, smoky-flavored tea boiled with large amounts of milk and sugar. Children are considered as needing a greater variety of foods than adults and some foods such as certain fruits were considered "children's food." The second and last meal of the day is eaten in late afternoon or early evening. It consists of atap and an accompaniment, referred to as a "relish" or "vegetable." The meat is usually beef or, for special occasions, chicken, and the vegetable is often

found growing wild. A favorite is ekwala, which is similar in taste to spinach. The meat is boiled for hours with a little curry powder. The vegetable may also be cooked for a long time, usually with spices or sour milk.

In this polygamous society, most meals are taken inside the sleeping house of the wife who has done the cooking. If there are guests, the meal is served in the husband's guest house. Each wife occupies a separate house where she feeds herself and her children. Children especially eat wherever they happen to be when food is served. Most people sit on the floor to eat, though some sit at tables and chairs made by local carpenters. Atap is eaten from a communal plate, but each person has his or her own bowl of relish. A small amount of atap is taken with the fingers of the right hand and formed into a ball. Then a depression is made in the center of the ball with the thumb. It is then dipped into the relish and eaten.

The sharing of food and drink is particularly important in Iteso society. After the initial greeting and exchange of news and inquiries about each other's health, two questions are asked by the Iteso. The first question asks at whose home beer is to be had that day, and the second question asks about the kind of food in your home that day.

TONGA, POLYNESIA: Lupulu ("lu" - made with taro leaves, "pulu" - corned beef)

Adrienne Kaepler, Curator
Pacific Ethnology

Have ready 16 taro leaves, 4 medium onions, 1 tin of corned beef, and a can of frozen coconut cream, defrosted. To prepare the leaves for stuffing, wash them thoroughly and remove the large stems. Take 4 of the heart-shaped taro leaves and arrange them in the shape of a cross with the narrower ends overlapping in the center. Slice the

corned beef into quarters, placing one slice in the middle of the leaves. Top with one chopped onion and a quarter of a can of coconut cream. Fold up the leaves and wrap in aluminum foil. Repeat this procedure three more times, using the remaining 12 taro leaves. Bake the stuffed leaves for 1 1/2 hours at 350 degrees until the leaves are well cooked. If undercooked, a chemical substance in the taro leaves can cause an itchy throat.

Lupulu is usually prepared for a special occasion or for Sunday dinner. Vegetarians can prepare the Samoan version called palusami by omitting the corned beef. If taro leaves are unavailable, spinach leaves may be substituted to make many smaller stuffed leaves. Aluminum foil replaces the traditional use of banana leaves, which are discarded after the leaves are baked in an earth oven.

The Tongans eat their main meal in the afternoon. This meal usually consists of starchy tubers such as yams, taro, sweet potatoes or breadfruit. Most of the meat and fish is imported in tins. Coconut milk or water with freshly squeezed lemon or lime juice accompany the meal. Leftovers are often eaten the following morning for breakfast.

The Polynesians are a hierarchical society with a very complicated ranking system. Within the nuclear family expressions of rank may be relaxed, though the father as head of the household always sits at a particular section of the grass or wooden house. Women are considered to have prestige while men possess power. For example, a sister outranks her brother and at feasts brother-sister avoidance is strictly observed, by sitting separately, as are other observances of societal and social rank.

At large public feasts the highest ranking men and women sit at the head of the "table" (at such occasions

people traditionally sit on the floor). These individuals also eat at the first of several sittings. Men carry large quantities of cooked food--young pigs, chicken, fish, large tubers--on long stretchers called polas made of coconut leaves. The polas are placed on the floor and the highest ranking men and women cut portions of the meat and vegetables and place them on a banana leaf. After they have eaten their fill and discarded the banana leaf and their uneaten portion, the next in rank sit down to partake in the feast. This procedure is followed until all have shared in the feast.

Not only are people ranked but so is food, pork being the most prestigious and eaten only at large feasts, with chicken coming in second. Even the parts of the animal hold prestige, the highest ranking individuals enjoying the highest ranking cuts such as the meat on the pig's back.

For further reading:

Farb, Peter and George Armelagos. Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating. Washington Square Press/Pocket Books, 1980.

DeVore, Sally and Thelma White. The Appetites of Man; An Invitation to Better Nutrition From Nine Healthier Societies. Anchor Books, 1978.

Kuper, Jessica, editor. The Anthropologists' Cookbook. New York: Universe Books, 1977.

Harris, Marvin. Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture. Simon and Schuster, 1985.

Ann Kaupp

(continued from p.4)

settlement in Greenland were impracticably long and dangerous, even during the relatively mild climates of the 11th to the 13th centuries. When the climate deteriorated after about 1300, the life of the Greenland Norse became increasingly precarious. Around the time of Columbus' "discovery" of the New World, the Greenland colony was abandoned.

Norse contact with Native Americans appears to have ceased around the time of the first Spanish colonies in the 16th century. Were the Spanish aware of the Norse voyages across the North Atlantic and of a colonization effort some 500 years older than their own? An old controversy persists whether or not Columbus made a secret voyage to Iceland for directions across the Atlantic. We may never learn the answers to these questions, but archeological evidence certainly suggests what some in the United States still deny, or, at least, overlook--the Norse discovery of America one thousand years ago.

Suggested Readings:

Gordon, Kate. The Vikings and Their Predecessors, with a contribution by Robert McGhee. Ottawa, Canada: National Museum of Man, 1981.

Jones, Gwyn. The Norse Atlantic Saga. Oxford University Press, 1964.

McGhee, Robert. "Contact Between Native North Americans and the Medieval Norse: A Review of the Evidence," American Antiquity 49(1):4-26, 1984.

Schledermann, Peter. "Eskimo and Viking Finds in the High Arctic," National Geographic (May 1981):575-600.

Alison S. Brooks

SMITHSONIAN HIGH SCHOOL INTERNSHIP

The Smithsonian Institution is offering two five-week internships to 40 students who will graduate from high school this year. The first session is from June 8 - July 11; the second session from July 13 - August 15. Seniors may apply for positions in various areas including archeology, biology, public affairs, photography, history, veterinary science, art, carpentry, library science, and computer science.

Students chosen for the program will each receive a living allowance of \$500. Interns who come from outside the Washington area will receive housing in a nearby dormitory and their transportation to and from Washington.

Acceptance is based not as much on academic achievement as on a demonstrated interest in a particular subject area or career; the program has been designed to enable students to pursue their special interests while working with museum professionals.

For applications and complete information, high school seniors should telephone (202) 357-3049 (voice) or 357-1696 (Telecommunications Device for the Deaf) or should write to INTERN '86, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, Arts and Industries Bldg., Room 1153, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560. APPLICATIONS MUST BE REQUESTED BY MARCH 17 and COMPLETED APPLICATIONS MUST BE POSTMARKED BY MARCH 21.

SNEAK PREVIEW: CLAN OF THE CAVE BEAR

On January 6, about a dozen staff members from the Smithsonian departments of anthropology, paleobiology, and education attended a film preview of Jean Auel's first bestseller about the Paleolithic, The Clan of the Cave Bear. The distributor had invited us to make comments for the film's editors.

Overall, the movie is a close adaptation of the book. Principal changes occur at the beginning of the movie. Ayla's mother falls into a crevice during an earthquake rather than dying in a rock slide within the family cave. At the end the shaman Krib has not yet died but holds onto Ayla's son as she departs into exile. On the whole, though, the movie sticks to Auel's story and translates well the emotional impact of some scenes. This is especially evident in the hunt of the musk-ox, in the birth scene, and in Ayla learning how to throw stones with a sling. However, the film lacks continuing dramatic tension and comes across more as an ethnographic documentary than a piece of theatre.

The interpretation of Neandertal is especially skillful and is what makes this film worth seeing. The Neandertals in the clan communicate with both spoken words (not sentences) and hand gestures. (Sub-titles are provided for the film viewers.) They look much like modern man; the heavy browridges and larger but lower cranial vault are the main differences. Whether or not the Neandertals could count further than five, or treated their women so badly (death for touching a hunting tool or a weapon), or performed sex only in the manner described in the book cannot be proven. But Broud is a fine villain and Ayla is well portrayed by Darryl Hannah, the mermaid from "Splash," a 1984 movie hit. She plays Ayla with a winning combination of innocence and sincerity.

Some errors did creep in: the first sentence of the introduction states that Neandertal was present at the "Dawn of Mankind," and the fishing scene shows the Neandertal using leister spears, a technology too advanced for their time. A little more smoke and dirt would have increased the sense of realism.

The introductory close-ups of the upper-Paleolithic cave paintings, the beautiful mountain backgrounds of British Columbia and Vancouver, and the pleasant musical score make "The Clan of the Cave Bear" worth seeing, especially if you are a fan of Auel's books and are interested in Neandertal man and woman.

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