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The Study of Shifting Cultivation¹

by Harold C. Conklin

This paper consists of a brief discussion of problems involved in the study of shifting cultivation, a topical outline for further research, and an extensive but selected and geographically-indexed bibliography of world literature.

SINCE THE NEOLITHIC, extensive areas of forest land have been farmed every year under conditions of shifting cultivation (which can be defined minimally as any continuing agricultural system in which impermanent clearings are cropped for shorter periods in years than they are fallowed). Today, the total area of such swidden farming has been estimated at 14 million square miles (36 million square kilometers), inhabited by 200 million people (FAO staff 1957: 9). In vast tropical and subtropical regions of Africa, Asia, and the New World, shifting-field cultivation is coextensive with agriculture. In Southeast Asia, for example, Dobby estimates that it accounts for one third of the total land area used for agricultural purposes (1954: 349). And in some regions, it has been estimated that the practice of this form of agriculture is more common at present than it was a century ago (Leach 1959: 64).

Despite the apparently widespread character of this type of land use, the associated critical limits and significant relations of time, space, technique, and local ecology have rarely been stated explicitly; the varying methods and consequences of shifting cultivation—for man, plants, and soils—are only beginning to be under-

stood. The specific form that a system of swidden agriculture may exhibit within a given geographical or cultural province depends on the extent of available land, labor, and capital; the local settlement pattern; the degree of social and political integration with other segments of the larger society; and on a large number of more specifically agronomic variables, such as the kinds of principal crops raised (grains, root crops, etc.), types of crop associations and successions, crop-fallow time ratios, the dispersal of swiddens, the presence of livestock, the use of specified tools and techniques including special methods of soil treatment, the vegetational cover of land cleared, climate, soil conditions, and topography (Conklin 1957b: 2).

Apart from our minimal characterization of shifting-field agriculture, it is difficult to give a list of elements universally associated with this type of economy. Swidden soil may or may not be worked with hoes and other bladed implements; swiddens may or may not be fenced; swidden farmers may live in isolated and very temporary dwellings or in sedentary villages; etc. In areas where light scrub and grassland are cleared, exclusively *hoe-and-burn* (de Schlippe 1955c: 119), rather than *slash-and-burn*, clearing techniques may be observed. Unwanted vegetation is usually burned off after it has been cut, but in the continually-drenched jungle of the Colombian Chocó, the *slash-mulch* cultivation of a special variety of maize excludes the use of fire (West 1957). And on Mentawai, in another tropical area of

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CONKLIN has done ethnographic and linguistic field work in the Philippines, in other parts of Southeast Asia, and in Central and North America. He has been concerned with problems of ethnoscience and cultural ecology, especially with regard to varying cultural adaptations to tropical environments. Much of his recent field research in the Philippines (1952-54, 1955, 1957-58) has been directed toward the analysis of systems of shifting cultivation. His monograph, *Hanunóo Agriculture* (1957) provided a summary of this work up through 1955.

Before the present paper was submitted to CURRENT ANTHROPOLOGY, CONKLIN had sent earlier drafts of its several sections to a number of interested colleagues for comment and criticism. The response was encouraging. Wherever possible, correspondents' suggestions and additions have been incorporated in the present version.

¹ The research on which this paper (including the Topical Outline and Bibliography) is based has been generously supported by grants from the National Science Foundation and the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. Many individuals have provided helpful criticism and suggestions at various stages. Those to whom I am particularly grateful for specific comments include Barbara Adams, Richard N. Adams, Edgar Anderson, the late H. H. Bartlett, Robert L. Carneiro, Francis P. Conant, Ursula M. Cowgill, Charles O. Frake, J. Derek Freeman, Robert F. Heizer, Felix M. Keesing, Frederic K. Lehman, Karl J. Pelzer, Hugh Popeno, Joseph E. Spencer, William C. Sturtevant, Andrew P. Vayda, Charles Wagley, Philip L. Wagner and R. F. Watters. Numerous additions to my original bibliography were provided by many of those just mentioned, as well as by Nancy

well-distributed, heavy rainfall, a similar practice associated with taro cultivation has been reported (Maass 1902: 150). In general, the range of variation, even in such matters as the minimum duration of fallows, is expanded in those parts of the tropics where unusual conditions of precipitation and moisture prevail. In the low-rainfall, grass-fallow swidden and grazing area of upland Uganda, for example, there is often little difference in the length of the cropping periods and of the time intervals between them (Tothill 1940: 42-46). The fact of great variability from one system of shifting cultivation to another is well documented, although its significance has not yet been fully established.

With these factors in mind, it is evident that the study and analysis of the complex relations in shifting cultivation can profit greatly from a combined ethnographic and ecological approach. In recently published surveys, cultural geographers have strongly emphasized this view (Pelzer 1958a; Simoons 1958; Watters 1960a); and, with respect to a number of specific problems, the same point has been underscored anthropologically (e.g., Conklin 1959a; Leach 1959; Scott 1958). The special complexities of agriculture in tropical environments and the pitfalls of temperate zone ethnocentrism have been pointed out by Anderson (1952: 84), Bates (1952: 271-72), Tempany and Grist (1958), and others. An important introduction to the general potentialities and limitations of swidden farming has been outlined and revised by Pelzer (1945, 1958a), and these factors have been delineated more specifically for particular regions by such writers as van Beukering (1947) for Indonesia, Kolb (1942: 105-40) for northern Malaysia, and de Schlippe (1955c) for central Africa. In assessing these systems, Leach (1949; 1959) has stressed the importance of estimating total yield per unit of labor, and of expressing economic advantage in terms of available capital and other resources. General problems of demography, burning, soils, and crops have been discussed by Gourou (1956: 336-49), Bartlett (1956: 692-720), Pendleton (1954), and Masefield (1951) respectively. The frequently ignored but widespread practice of extensive intercropping has been documented by Anderson (1953: 84), Conklin (1957b: 73-86), Merrill (1909: 179-80), Segawa (1953), Skutch (1959), and R. C. Wood (1934). Major requirements for the study of ecological changes related to shifting cultivation have been discussed with respect to climax forest and second-growth vegetation (Richards 1952; Symington 1933), specific crops and crop successions (Burkill 1935; Grist 1955), tropical soils (Popenoe 1959; Trapnell 1953), and critical carrying capacities (Allan 1949; Carneiro 1960; Conklin 1959b; van Klaveren 1953).

This sampling of the literature indicates a cumulative awareness of some of the more interesting problems, but relatively few of these have yet been dealt with thoroughly by ecologically-oriented field investigators

Bowers, H. C. Brookfield, Hugh Cutler, H. Th. Fischer, Michael J. Harner, R. B. Lane, Donald W. Lathrap, D. J. Maltha, F. A. McClure, J. R. McEwan, Betty J. Meggers, Rhoads Murphey, John K. Musgrave, D. T. Myren, Jock Netzorg, Jesse P. Perry, Jr., John H. Rowe, P. Voorhoeve, Karl A. Wittfogel, and Richard B. Woodbury. Maria de Azevedo Brandão, Jacques Bordaz, Howard P. Linton, and Annemarie de Waal Malefijt have provided special bibliographical assistance. For help in preparing the manuscript and in checking references I am deeply indebted to Jean M. Conklin, Joan Gordon, and Robert Harrison.

working in an ethnographic context. Among the more complete published reports on specific systems of shifting cultivation are monographs by Izikowitz (1951) for the Lamet of Laos, de Schlippe (1955c) for the Azande in Africa (cf. Tondeur and Bergeroo-Campagne 1956), Freeman (1955) for the Iban of Sarawak, Condominas (1957) for the Mnong Gar of Vietnam, and Conklin (1957b) for the Hanunóo of the Philippines. No detailed study, however, has yet been based on more than one or two consecutive years of actual observation despite the fact that, with field-forest rotation, the agricultural cycle for any given swidden site is rarely completed in less than eight to ten years.

In tallying the numerous issues discussed and written about by students of shifting cultivation, I find that almost all the questions that have been raised eventually converge on the same problem area, within which two principal topics—*population* and *productivity*—are of primary interest. This is well illustrated by the extensive literature on pre-Columbian and contemporary Mayan agriculture. In almost every report or interpretive discussion, there are lengthy sections devoted to one or both of these central topics (e.g., Altschuler 1958; Bullard 1960; Bushnell 1958; M. D. Coe 1957; W. R. Coe 1957; Cowgill 1960; Emerson 1953; Hester 1954; Kempton 1935; Lundell 1933; Meggers 1954; Palerm and Wolf 1957; Perez Toro 1946; Popeno 1960; Sanders 1957; and Stadelman 1940). Considerable controversy often accompanies the discussion of these issues, partly because accurate estimates of the desired quanta are neither easily made nor readily verified.

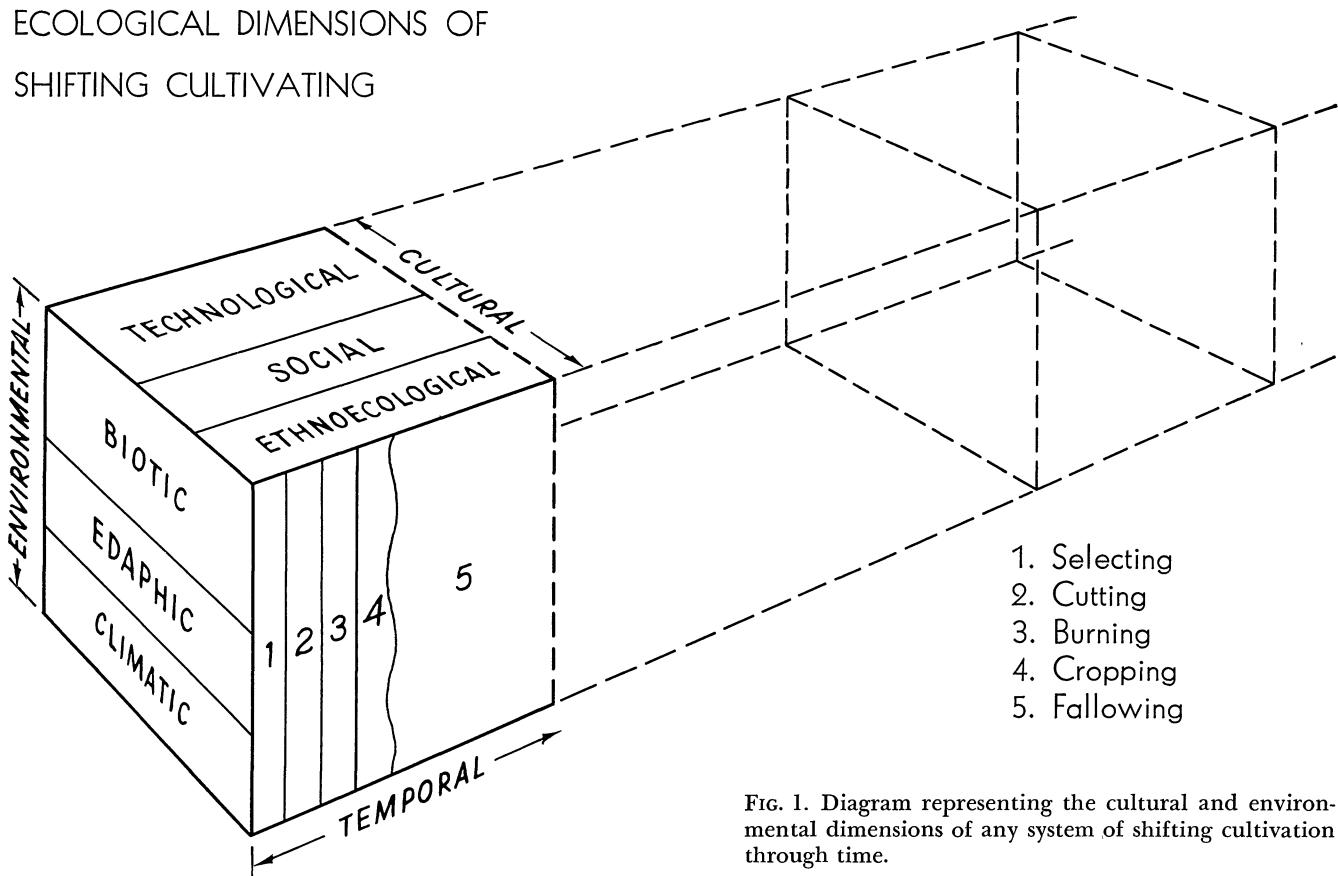
Some of the specific difficulties encountered in field research designed to investigate swidden productivity in terms of crop yields and labor efficiency include: (1) extensive intercropping; (2) the usual lack of cadastral surveys and census or agronomic data in swidden regions; (3) the common necessity of checking all sites on foot, making even simple periodic checks extremely time-consuming and sometimes impossible; (4) the widespread disinclination of swidden farmers to divulge precise or even approximate figures as to the extent of their own recent plantings or harvests; and (5) the prevalence of ritual taboos which prevent the charting or measurement of plots containing sacred crops.

On the other hand, where intimate contact with swidden cultivators has already been established, valuable field investigation of factors determining costs and yields is possible, and adequate techniques of indirect as well as direct checking can be devised. The opportunity to carry out this type of continuous, first-hand study of swidden farming economy frequently falls to the anthropologist.

Under such conditions, field research is facilitated by an awareness of the ecological and cultural matrix within which swidden activities take place, and by the recognition of as wide a range as possible of problems faced by swidden cultivators at each stage in the agricultural cycle.

The three-dimensional diagram in Fig. 1 provides an ecologically-oriented frame of reference which I have found helpful in discussing such problems. The placement and relative width of the labeled bands subdividing each of the three visible faces of the diagrammatic cube are significant. A few words of explanation may

ECOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF SHIFTING CULTIVATING



help to clarify the implied distinctions of arrangement and content.

Along the *environmental* axis, climatic factors refer to such conditions as moisture in its many aspects, temperature, air movement, and sunlight. Edaphic factors relate to general soil conditions including parent material, fertility, porosity, texture, relief, and drainage. Biotic factors pertain to floral and faunal components of the environment. Of these three general environmental categories, and under conditions of shifting cultivation, climatic factors are least amenable to cultural control or change, in contrast to biotic factors, which are most highly correlated with cultural activity and which also contain the greatest number of discrete sub-distinctions (e.g., particular plant types) which are important to swidden agriculturists. This explains the sequence and relative width of the general environmental divisions noted in the diagram.

Along the *cultural* axis, three distinctions are noted: technological, social, and ethnoecological. Technological factors refer to the ways in which the environment is artificially modified, including the treatment of crops, soils, pests, etc. In systems of shifting cultivation, these relationships are of primary importance and often exhibit great complexity; hence, the relatively greater width of this sector. Social factors involve the socio-political organization of the farming population in terms of residential, kin, and economic groups; etc. These factors are usually well within the domain of anthropological interest. Ethnoecological factors refer to the ways in which environmental components and

FIG. 1. Diagram representing the cultural and environmental dimensions of any system of shifting cultivation through time.

their interrelations are categorized and interpreted locally. Failure to cope with this aspect of cultural ecology, to distinguish clearly between native environmental categories (and associated beliefs) and those used by the ethnologist, can lead to confusion, misinformation, and the repetition of useless clichés in discussing unfamiliar systems of land use.

The numerically labeled *temporal* distinctions refer to the five successive phases of swidden farming: selecting, cutting, burning, cropping, and fallowing. The first three phases involve the removal of old vegetation; the last two, the control of new vegetation. The wavy line separating phases 4 and 5 indicates that in any given environmental setting the relative duration of the cropping period may vary more than that of the preceding clearance phases. The proportionately greater width of the phase-5 band, the broken lines at one side of the cube, and the dotted extensions in the same direction, represent the longer, yet variable, periods of fallowing.

The special importance attaching to the temporal dimensions of the diagram stems from the fact that the study of swidden farming—more than that of permanent-field agriculture—must include the investigation of farming practices over extended periods of continuous cultural and environmental change. The dotted cube represents repetition of the cycle.

Once the range of locally significant variations along each of these dimensions has been worked out, one can frame questions more systematically—and at varying levels of generalization—about the interrelation be-

tween different ecological components of a given system. This approach can be illustrated by a very simple example. If one were to examine carefully the factors operative within that sector for which the diagram would suggest the designation "biotic-technological relations during the burning phase," he might be led to ask such questions as: Are all forms of vegetation killed by cutting and by the intense heat of subsequent burning? If not, what are the assumed reasons? Natural coppicing, resprouting? Artificial protective covering? Firebreaks? Techniques of slashing and felling? Others? The answers to such questions are rarely found in the literature, but they may be of crucial importance in terms of the choice of a new swidden site and the nature of the succession of regrowth during the fallowing period, which in turn may partly determine the length of the swidden cycle.

One cannot anticipate all significant avenues of field inquiry merely by being aware of these broad ecological dimensions. Even in the brief illustration just cited,

considerable knowledge of the actual range of problems in swidden agriculture is presupposed. The extent of such problems, and of their varied solutions among different groups of swidden cultivators, is suggested in the following topical outline. This inventory of swidden activities, arranged largely according to the sequence of phases mentioned above and indicated along the temporal axis of the diagram, is designed primarily as an aid to future field research. The original content of this outline reflected primarily the patterns of Malaysian integral swidden farming (Conklin 1957b: 2-3) among those groups with which I am most familiar. It has been further augmented, however, by suggestions from the literature and from students of similar systems in other areas. For coverage of factors especially important in regard to partial systems of swidden agriculture, I have been less successful, though some published and manuscript questionnaires prepared by government agencies and by FAO have been helpful (e.g., Wind, *et al.* 1930-31: 1022-33; de Haan 1959: 1953-54).

Topical Outline

This composite outline of topics to be investigated in the study of shifting cultivation stems from diverse sources. It is not exhaustive or complete for any particular system. Nor does it provide a set of fixed rules for field research. It does comprise, however, an ordered listing of suggestive topics intended to draw the investigator's attention to factors which have proven significant in some areas and which might otherwise be neglected. The first section of the outline deals with cross-cutting, general considerations which are not restricted to a particular stage in the swidden cycle. The succeeding sections are sequentially organized. Considerations implied throughout the outline, but not usually specified, include: (a) native categorization of relevant natural and cultural phenomena, (b) correlates, (c) incentives, (d) available alternatives, and (e) differential results.

- 0. General considerations
- 1. Site selection
- 2. Cutting
- 3. Burning
- 4. Cropping
- 5. Fallowing

0. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

0.1. Group

- 0.1.1. Identification (political, social, linguistic)
- 0.1.2. Larger group identification
- 0.1.3. Subgroups
- 0.2 Population
- 0.2.1. Size and distribution
- 0.2.2. Lowest density (population/total area)
- 0.2.3. Economic density (population/cultivable area)
- 0.2.4. Other demographic considerations (e.g., growth, dependent population)
- 0.3. Location
- 0.3.1. Spatial location
- 0.3.1.1. Of the area studied (geographic co-ordinates, including altitude)
- 0.3.1.2. Within the area studied (micro-geographical co-ordinates, including distances, elevation, etc.)

0.3.2. Temporal location

- 0.3.2.1. Time period(s) covered by study
- 0.3.2.2. Timing of specific events (date, duration)

0.3.3. Quantification

- 0.3.3.1. Measurement (including local measures of time and space [linear, area, weight, volume])

- 0.3.3.2. Enumeration (including local techniques)

- 0.3.3.3. Incidence (abundance in time and space)

- 0.3.3.4. Distribution (frequency in time and space)

- 0.3.3.5. Variation (range, reliability of estimates)

0.4. Environmental conditions (regional and local)

0.4.1. Climatic factors

- 0.4.1.1. Precipitation and humidity (moisture, available water resources)

- 0.4.1.2. Temperature

- 0.4.1.3. Wind (direction, velocities, seasonality)

- 0.4.1.4. Storms

- 0.4.1.5. Sunlight

0.4.2. Edaphic factors (soil and terrain conditions)

0.4.2.1. Relief (topography)

- Elevation

- Slope

- Drainage

0.4.2.2. Soils (zones, types, etc.)

- Parent material and age

- Fertility (in terms of physical properties and nutrients)

- Texture and porosity

- Aggregation and compactness

- Soil moisture

- Subsurface macro- and micro-biology

0.4.2.3. Other terrain features

- Outcropping of rock

- Results of wind and water erosion

0.4.3. Biotic factors

0.4.3.1. Flora (local plant associations and successions in terms of their botanical and ethnobotanical composition)

- Climax vegetation (e.g., rain forest, grassland)

- Second growth vegetation

- Swidden vegetation (including weeds)

0.4.3.2.	Fauna (local forms of animal life in terms of their zoological and ethnozoological classification and importance)	0.5.2.2.	Labor arrangements
	Wild fauna (especially swidden pests— insects, birds, other vertebrates, and mammals)		Division of labor
	Domesticated fauna (see 0.5.1.3)		Overall swidden work pattern
0.4.3.3.	Disease (types, prevalence, etc.)		Seasonal distribution of labor
	Plant and animal diseases (especially of domesticates)		Labor requirements (per task, per area)
	Human health and disease		Man-hour input
0.5	<i>Cultural setting</i>		Energy input
0.5.1.	Technological factors	0.5.2.2.	Labor arrangements within smallest economic unit
0.5.1.1.	Crops (classification and handling of domesticated plants [and useful nondomesticates])		Recruitment of additional labor (types, combination), by
	Crop list (including nonswidden domesticates)		Obligation
	Crop associations and successions		Request
	Crop uses (seasonal pattern, preferences)		Exchange, of
	Food (diet, meal pattern, relative proportions of various foods, etc.)		Equivalent labor
	Drink		Other services
	Technology		Feasts
	Ritual		Payment (in crops, cash, other media)
	Cash		Task basis
	Other purposes		Time basis
0.5.1.2.	Tools (implements and techniques of use)		Other arrangements
	Cutting implements (e.g., axes, adzes, knives, machetes, hoes; and sharpening devices)		Loss of productive agricultural labor within the smallest economic unit
	Digging implements (e.g., dibbles, planting and digging sticks, digging bars, picks, hoes)		Agricultural work outside the unit
	Carrying equipment and containers (e.g., nets, baskets, bags, lines, tubes, boxes, bins)		Nonagricultural activities
	Food crop preparation equipment (e.g., scrapers, strainers, sieves, slicers, pounders, grinders, mortars and pestles, presses, sifters, flails, winnowing devices, chopping blocks, and mats)		Illness
	Special harvesting equipment (e.g., reaping knives, cutting rings, climbing devices)		Other reasons
	Other movable equipment	0.5.2.3.	Local group organization
0.5.1.3.	Domesticated animals (classification and treatment)		General settlement pattern (including seasonal variation)
	Kinds of domesticated animals		Kinds of local groups (including social composition)
	Significance for swidden agriculture		Domestic units
	Traction and transport		Settlements
	Feed requirements		Larger units
	Crop damage		Internal relations of local groups
	Manure		Interrelations between local groups
0.5.2.	Social factors		Settlement location with respect to cultivated swiddens
0.5.2.1.	Property ownership and economic transactions		Permanency of settlement location
	Kinds of agricultural property (including land, crops, animals)	0.5.2.4.	Social structure
	Social significance of agricultural property		General pattern of kinship and social relations (including principles of affiliation and descent)
	Types of ownership and usage rights		Family organization
	Establishment of new property rights		Larger social groups within the society
	Transfer of established property rights		Marriage and residence rules
	Inheritance		Patterns of authority
	Gift exchange		Social stratification
	Purchase/sale		Local
	Lease		Within wider contexts
	Rental		Political organization
	Settlement of disputes over property rights		Local
	Loss of agricultural property by		Regional
	Theft		National
	Litigation	0.5.2.5.	Contact
	Destruction		General pattern of relationships with members of other societies
	Safeguards against losses		Contact with other swidden farming groups
	Transactions involving agricultural products		Local contact with representatives of non-swidden-farming groups, including
	Within the local community		Hunters
	Beyond the local community (including participation in external market economy)		Traders
	Other economic considerations		Miners
			Foresters
			Lumbermen
			Cattlemen (herders)
			Homesteaders (settlers, land buyers)

- 0.5.2.5. Contact (*Continued*)
- Surveys
 - Swidden laborers (from other societies)
 - Missionaries
 - School teachers
 - Government officials (including the military)
 - Agricultural extension personnel
 - Anthropologists
 - Others
 - Contact, in other regions, with non-swidden-farming groups
 - By performing labor in areas of permanent-field agriculture
 - By using, visiting, attending
 - Markets, stores
 - Schools
 - Government offices
 - Religious centers
 - Medical centers
 - By other means
- 0.5.3. Conceptual factors
- 0.5.3.1. Local interpretation of general agricultural activities, with regard to
- Environmental relations
 - Group relations
 - Individual involvement
 - Motivation
 - Ideology
- 0.5.3.2. Local interpretation of ritual aspects of agriculture
- Seasonal pattern of agricultural rites
 - Magical principles employed
 - Relations with supernaturals
 - Tabooed activities (including use of sacred areas)
- 0.5.3.3. Local interpretation of unanticipated swidden crises.
- 0.6. Change
- 0.6.1. Processual changes within the swidden cycle (see 1. through 5. below)
- 0.6.2. Environmental changes during the last decade (and during the last century) which have affected the availability and distribution of natural resources
- 0.6.3. Sociocultural changes of agricultural significance which have occurred during the last decade (and during the last century) and which involve:
- 0.6.3.1. New cultivated plants (annuals; perennials)
- Food crops
 - Cash crops
 - Cover crops
- 0.6.3.2. New agricultural techniques
- 0.6.3.3. New domesticated animals
- 0.6.3.4. New markets
- 0.6.3.5. New roads
- 0.6.3.6. Immigration, emigration
- 0.6.3.7. Change in social structure
- 0.6.3.8. Combination of swidden farming with other systems of land use (e.g., grazing, plantation agriculture)
- 0.6.4. Correlation of local environmental and cultural changes with modification of external
- 0.6.4.1. Commercial interests
- 0.6.4.2. Administrative policy
- 0.6.5. Present trends and future possibilities

1. SITE SELECTION

1.1. Preliminary considerations

- 1.1.1. Land considered uncultivable, because of
- 1.1.1.1. Poor drainage
- 1.1.1.2. Limiting surface conditions (e.g., rocky, sandy, or eroded terrain)

- 1.1.1.3. Limiting vegetation (e.g., some grassland associations)
- 1.1.1.4. Religious taboos (e.g., sacred groves, cemeteries)
- 1.1.1.5. Other systems of land usage
- 1.1.2. Variables considered within cultivable area (including preferences)
- 1.1.2.1. Distances from one's own previous swidden and settlement sites
- 1.1.2.2. Distances from present swidden and settlement sites (including those other than one's own)
- 1.1.2.3. Topography (including slope)
- 1.1.2.4. Exposure to sun and wind
- 1.1.2.5. Soil conditions
- 1.1.2.6. Type of vegetation
- 1.1.2.7. Ownership and previous use of land
- 1.1.2.8. Anticipated labor requirements
- 1.1.2.9. External considerations (e.g., government restrictions, crop quotas)
- 1.1.3. Timing
- 1.2. Procedures
- 1.2.1. Preliminary surveying (visits to potential sites)
- 1.2.2. Planning (including personnel and timing)
- 1.2.2.1. Informal discussions
- 1.2.2.2. Formal discussions
- 1.2.2.3. Resolution of conflicting interests
- 1.2.3. Ritual testing of site (e.g., by location augury)
- 1.2.4. Definitive surveying and marking of swidden site
- 1.3. Results
- 1.3.1. Selected sites (number, area)
- 1.3.2. Characteristics of swidden sites
- 1.3.2.1. Topographic orientation
- 1.3.2.2. Size (dimensions)
- 1.3.2.3. Shape
- 1.3.2.4. Divisions
- 1.3.2.5. Borders
- 1.3.2.6. Degree of separation from other swidden sites
- 1.4. Related Activities
- 1.4.1. Traveling, visiting, feasting
- 1.4.2. Shifting of residence or settlement site
- 1.4.3. Ritual observances

2. CUTTING

2.1. Preliminary considerations

- 2.1.1. Kind of vegetation at the site
- 2.1.1.1. Virgin growth (initial clearance)
- 2.1.1.2. Previously cleared
 - Climax growth
 - Second growth
- 2.1.2. Provision of necessary tools
- 2.1.3. Labor arrangements
- 2.1.4. Timing
- 2.2. Procedures
- 2.2.1. Rituals
- 2.2.2. Cutting low forest growth
- 2.2.2.1. Slashing of low undergrowth and small trees
- 2.2.2.2. Lopping of saplings
- 2.2.2.3. Removal of wood for
 - Construction (e.g., fences, dwellings)
 - Fuel
- 2.2.2.4. Spreading of cut debris
- 2.2.3. Cutting of high forest growth
- 2.2.3.1. Notching techniques
- 2.2.3.2. Felling of large trees
 - Scaffolding construction
 - Mishaps
 - Kickbacks
 - Snaps
 - Entanglements

- 2.2.3.3. Girdling of trees
- 2.2.3.4. Pollarding (cutting off branches of trees left standing)
- 2.2.3.5. Trimming (cutting off only the leafy tips of trees left standing)
- 2.2.3.6. Leveling (further cutting of felled timber)
- 2.2.3.7. Covering (spreading of debris)
- 2.2.4. Clearing of open land vegetation
 - 2.2.4.1. Scrub clearance
 - 2.2.4.2. Grassland clearance
 - 2.2.4.3. Techniques other than slash-cutting (e.g., digging, hoeing)
- 2.2.5. Supplementary cutting outside the swidden site
 - 2.2.5.1. To provide more wood for firing
 - 2.2.5.2. To remove excessive shade
- 2.2.6. Drying
- 2.3. Results
 - 2.3.1. Swidden sites covered with dead, drying vegetation
 - 2.3.2. Partially cut sites, abandoned
 - 2.3.2.1. Because of illness
 - 2.3.2.2. For other reasons
- 2.4. Related Activities
 - 2.4.1. Maintenance and repair of cutting implements
 - 2.4.2. Clearing of new trails
 - 2.4.3. Early planting of root crops
 - 2.4.4. Charcoal manufacture from excess timber cut
 - 2.4.5. Incidental harvesting of other forest products exposed during cutting

3. BURNING

- 3.1. Preliminary considerations
 - 3.1.1. Necessity of burning
 - 3.1.2. Parts of site not to be burned (because of fruit trees, etc.)
 - 3.1.3. Surrounding vegetation
 - 3.1.4. Timing, in relation to
 - 3.1.4.1. Kind of vegetation to be burned
 - 3.1.4.2. Dryness of cut vegetation
 - 3.1.4.3. Rains
 - 3.1.4.4. Other signs
- 3.2. Procedures
 - 3.2.1. Preparatory
 - 3.2.1.1. Protective clearing
 - Around productive plants
 - Around swidden site
 - 3.2.1.2. Protective covering of young plants and tree crops
 - 3.2.1.3. Protective burning to prevent later escapes
 - 3.2.1.4. Arrangements with cultivators of adjacent or neighboring swiddens
 - 3.2.2. Main burning
 - 3.2.2.1. Actual firing
 - Ritual aspects
 - Technical aspects
 - 3.2.2.2. Controlled burning
 - Section firing
 - Backfiring
 - 3.2.2.3. Uncontrolled burning
 - 3.2.3. Reburning
 - 3.2.3.1. Piling of incompletely burned debris
 - 3.2.3.2. Secondary firing
 - 3.2.3.3. Tertiary firing
 - 3.2.4. Treatment of unburned logs and stumps
 - 3.3. Results
 - 3.3.1. Swidden sites completely cleared by fire
 - 3.3.1.1. Ash cover
 - 3.3.1.2. Modified soil conditions
 - 3.3.1.3. Modified biotic conditions
 - 3.3.2. Swidden sites not completely cleared by fire

- 3.3.2.1. Cases of poor burn (overall)
- 3.3.2.2. Cases of incomplete burn (spotty)
- 3.3.2.3. Cases of no burn
- 3.4. Related activities
 - 3.4.1. Use of fire in hunting and gathering activities
 - 3.4.2. Fire fighting

4. CROPPING

- 4.1. Preliminary considerations
 - 4.1.1. Cropping pattern in terms of
 - 4.1.1.1. Main crop focus:
 - Annual grains
 - Root crops
 - Tree crops
 - 4.1.1.2. Main crop associations and successions
 - 4.1.1.3. Environmental requirements of principle crop types
 - 4.1.2. Labor requirements
 - 4.1.3. Timing of initial planting, in relation to
 - 4.1.3.1. Date of completed clearance (burn)
 - 4.1.3.2. Seasonal climatic changes
 - 4.1.3.3. Calendric agricultural rites
 - 4.2. Procedures
 - [Main cropping: 4.2.1–4.2.9, Secondary cropping 4.2.10]
 - 4.2.1. Main planting
 - 4.2.1.1. Rituals
 - Magical techniques
 - First planting rites
 - 4.2.1.2. Preparation of soil
 - None, other than burning
 - Turning, digging, hoeing
 - Mounding
 - Ditching
 - Ridging
 - Terracing
 - Other techniques
 - 4.2.1.3. Marking of swidden subdivisions
 - 4.2.1.4. Handling of special features
 - Termitaria
 - Depressions
 - Stumps
 - Rocks
 - Others
 - 4.2.1.5. Preparation of seed (of nonvegetatively-propagated crops)
 - Seed selection
 - Ritual seed
 - Nonritual seed
 - Mixing of seed (types combined)
 - 4.2.1.6. Seed planting
 - Spacing and timing
 - Dribbling (or other) equipment and techniques
 - Seeding equipment and techniques
 - Individual placement
 - Dropping
 - Sowing (broadcast)
 - Ritual plot treatment
 - Protection of planted seed (from insects, birds, etc.)
 - Use of leftover seed
 - Replanting or transplanting
 - 4.2.1.7. Preparation for planting of vegetatively-reproduced crops (e.g., root crops)
 - Selection of source plants
 - Storage and transport of parts removed
 - 4.2.1.8. Planting of vegetatively-reproduced crops

- 4.2.1.8. Planting vegetatively-reproduced crops (*Cont.*)
 - Spacing and timing
 - Use of planting sticks and other equipment
 - Preplanting in moist area; later transplanting (e.g., taro)
 - Ritual treatment
- 4.2.1.9. Interplanting of other annuals and perennials
 - Spacing and timing
 - Filling in a sparsely planted crop
- 4.2.1.10. Planting difficulties
 - Seed shortage
 - Labor shortage
 - Delayed planting
 - Failure to plant a burned site
- 4.2.2. Fencing
 - 4.2.2.1. Need for fencing
 - Domesticated and wild mammals
 - Other reasons
 - 4.2.2.2. Types of functional fencing
 - 4.2.2.3. Types of token fencing
- 4.2.3. Guarding
 - 4.2.3.1. Guarding maturing crops against
 - Birds
 - Monkeys
 - Other animals not stopped by fences
 - Theft
 - 4.2.3.2. Watching techniques
 - Tree lookouts
 - Swidden shelters
 - 4.2.3.3. Scaring techniques
 - Scarecrows
 - Manually-operated noise-making devices
 - Wind-blown noise-making devices
- 4.2.4. Weeding
 - 4.2.4.1. Weeding of swiddens to
 - Prevent crowding; allow tillering, etc.
 - Control rodent population
 - Allow for continued intercropping
 - 4.2.4.2. Types and techniques of weeding
 - Pulling up weed sprouts and seedlings
 - Cutting back herbaceous growth
 - Digging out herbaceous growth
 - Cutting down coppice shoots from live stumps, etc.
 - 4.2.4.3. Weeding stages
- 4.2.5. Ritual and other techniques for crop protection from:
 - 4.2.5.1. Wild animals
 - Hunting techniques
 - Trapping techniques
 - 4.2.5.2. Insects
 - Use of fumigants
 - Use of smudges
 - 4.2.5.3. Lodging due to wind
 - Shielding
 - Bending
 - 4.2.6. Care of maturing crops
 - 4.2.6.1. Thinning, pruning
 - 4.2.6.2. Mulching
 - 4.2.6.3. Manuring
 - 4.2.6.4. Digging or hoeing
 - 4.2.6.5. Irrigating
 - 4.2.7. Main harvesting
 - 4.2.7.1. Rituals
 - Magical techniques
 - First handling of mature crops
 - Special harvesting taboos
 - 4.2.7.2. Preparation of harvesting equipment
 - Cutting or digging implements
 - Gathering containers
 - Carrying containers
 - 4.2.7.3. Harvesting procedures
 - Spacing and timing
 - Cutting, picking, or digging techniques
 - 4.2.7.4. Carrying in of harvest
 - 4.2.7.5. Yields
 - 4.2.7.6. Preliminary treatment of harvested crops
 - Distribution of shares
 - Threshing
 - Drying
 - Other
 - 4.2.7.7. Main harvest-ending celebration
 - 4.2.8. Storing of crops
 - 4.2.8.1. Rituals
 - 4.2.8.2. Division of crops for storage
 - Seed for planting
 - Crops for local consumption
 - Crops for sale or trade
 - Crops for ritual use
 - 4.2.8.3. Techniques of storage
 - House storage (in rafters, tubes, baskets, etc.)
 - Storage in special structures
 - Granaries
 - Caches
 - Racks
 - 4.2.8.4. Storage difficulties
 - Spoilage
 - Damage by animal pests
 - Theft
 - 4.2.8.5. Handling of unusually abundant crops
 - 4.2.9. Cleaning of swidden site
 - 4.2.9.1. Secondary harvesting (rereaping, gleaning)
 - 4.2.9.2. Cleaning and weeding of swiddens
 - 4.2.9.3. Cultivation of remaining intercropped plants
 - 4.2.10. Secondary cropping
 - 4.2.10.1. General pattern
 - Incentives
 - Spacing and timing (especially of planting and harvesting activities)
 - Crop associations
 - Specific crops
 - Relative yields
 - 4.2.10.2. Dry season cropping of annuals (e.g., maize) and ratooning perennials (e.g., sugar cane)
 - 4.2.10.3. Continued and extended cropping of perennials (e.g., root crops, bananas)
 - 4.2.10.4. Wet season recultivation of annuals
 - 4.3. Results
 - 4.3.1. Cultivated swiddens
 - 4.3.2. Fallow swidden sites (see 5.)
 - 4.3.2.1. Unfinished swiddens (i.e., cleared but unplanted sites)
 - 4.3.2.2. Sites from which most cultivates have been removed
 - Beginning of succession to cultivable (desired) form of second growth vegetation
 - Beginning of succession to uncultivable type of vegetation (often grassland)
 - Factors fostering this succession
 - Local deterrent factors
 - 4.3.3. Harvested crops
 - 4.4. Related activities
 - 4.4.1. Planting and cropping activities outside the main swiddens
 - 4.4.1.1. In old swiddens
 - 4.4.1.2. In houseyards
 - Plots for medicinal, ritual, ornamental, spice, or supplementary food plants
 - Experimental plots
 - Children's play swiddens
 - 4.4.2. Processing of harvested crops
 - 4.4.2.1. Food products

- 4.4.2.2. Fiber products
- 4.4.2.3. Cash crops
- 4.4.2.4. Other agricultural products
- 4.4.3. Construction of
 - 4.4.3.1. Field huts
 - 4.4.3.2. Storage facilities
- 4.4.4. Nonagricultural activities linked to cultivation of main crops
 - 4.4.4.1. Observance of general ritual taboos during growing period
 - 4.4.4.2. Ceremonies
 - 4.4.4.3. Feasting, drinking
 - 4.4.4.4. Traveling
 - 4.4.4.5. Hunting, gathering, fishing

5. FALLOWING

- 5.1. Preliminary considerations
 - 5.1.1. Necessity of fallowing
 - 5.1.1.1. Excessive weed growth (evidence)
 - 5.1.1.2. Soil depletion (evidence)
 - 5.1.1.3. Other reasons
 - 5.1.2. Given factors influencing duration and quality of fallow
 - 5.1.2.1. Original vegetation cleared
 - Selective cutting during clearance
 - Fire resistance of plant species
 - 5.1.2.2. Kinds of second growth vegetation in region
 - Forest types
 - Scrub types
 - Grassland types
 - 5.1.2.3. Dispersal of swiddens
 - 5.1.2.4. Exposure of swidden site to wind-blown seed
 - 5.1.2.5. Previous burning of vegetation at the site
 - Time lapsed since initial burn
 - Repeated burning
 - 5.1.2.6. Preferred vegetation for new swidden clearance

Bibliography

The following bibliography comprises a selected list of more than 1200 references to books, articles, reviews, and some publicly-available but unpublished works which contain direct and significant statements regarding swidden agriculture. For purposes of this listing, an ethnographic report which states merely that such-and-such a tribe "practices slash-and-burn agriculture" or that the group raises "corn, beans, pumpkins, and chilies by the usual primitive farming techniques practiced in this region" does not constitute a significant reference, and therefore it is not included. On the other hand, I do include some borderline cases where information is provided regarding poorly documented areas. General works and textbooks containing only brief references to shifting cultivation are excluded, as are sources treating related problems (e.g., food, labor, crops, weeds, grazing, grass fires), but lacking any explicit statement regarding swidden activities. Though no

other general restrictions—geographical or topical—are intended, many gaps undoubtedly exist. References to works in non-European languages are very few, and the literature on Southeast Asia and Malaysia is probably more adequately covered than that for other tropical areas. I would greatly appreciate having important omissions brought to my attention.

A number of specialized bibliographies, the coverage of which includes many of the specific interests of this paper, are listed below as regular entries (see especially Bartlett 1955, 1957a, 1961; Bergaw *et al.* 1940; E. E. Edwards 1942; Forde 1956b; MacLeish *et al.* 1940; and U.S. Department of Agriculture 1942—).

To save space, full entries are listed only once, and are arranged alphabetically by author. A terminal 'x' indicates a source particularly useful in preparing the Topical Outline above; a terminal 'o' indicates a source of probable importance but one unavailable at the time of this compilation. Inasmuch as many of the important general discussions of shifting cultivation and all of

the actual field reports are regionally specific, the main listing is followed by a Geographical Index.

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Geographical Index

In this index, the main regional headings follow a general east-to-west sequence, beginning in the Pacific. With few exceptions, subheadings reflect considerations of bibliographical and geographical convenience. They do not indicate cultural provinces as such, but are intended primarily to facilitate unambiguous reference to particular areas with a minimum of necessary cross-referencing.

0. General
1. Oceania
2. Eastern Asia
3. Southeastern Asia
4. Southern Asia
5. Europe

6. Africa

7. New World

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1.2. Micronesia: Barnett 1949; Barrau 1956e; Bascom 1948; Block 1933; Burrows and Spiro 1953; Crozet 1891; Eiler 1935; Pelzer 1947.

1.3. Melanesia (excluding New Guinea): Allan, C. B. 1957; Austen 1945-46; Babcock 1946; Barrau 1954, 1956a,b,c,d, 1958a,b, 1959; Bell, F. L. S. 1946-48, 1953; Belshaw 1953; Blackwood 1935, 1950; Bromilow 1910; Brown, G. 1910; Codrington 1891; Deacon 1934; Frake 1959; Friederici 1912; Glaumont 1897; Guiart 1956, 1958; Guiart and Robert 1960; Guiart and Tercinier 1956; Hadfield 1920; Hogbin 1937, 1939a; Hogbin and Wedgewood 1953; Humphreys 1926; Ivens 1927, 1930; Leenhardt 1937; Malinowski 1935; Oliver 1949, 1955; Powell 1883; Spoehr 1958; Woodford 1890.

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3.4. Taiwan: Chi-lu 1956; Dampier 1697; Hoffman 1912; [Ishii] 1911; Ishii 1915-16, 1917; Kano and Segawa 1956; Segawa 1953; Wiedfeldt 1914.

3.5. Malaya: Annandale and Robertson 1903; Arnot and Smith 1937; [Barnard] 1954; Begbie 1834; Birch 1910; Burkhill 1918-21; Coombs 1918; Coulter, J. K. 1950; Craig 1933; Dobby 1951; Douglas 1897; Favre 1865; Grist 1950; Ironside 1957; Jack 1923; Ja'far 1897; Logan 1849; Marshall, C. 1952; Ooi Jin-Bee 1959; Strong, T. A. 1934; Symington 1933; Thomas, W. L. 1957; Williams-Hunt 1952; Willis 1905.

3.6. Northern Southeast Asia (including Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam): Allan, C. W. 1916; Allsop 1953; Anderson, J. 1876; Atkinson 1948; Aymonier 1895, 1897; Barthelemy 1899, 1904; Baudesson 1919; Bernatzik 1947; Bernatzik H. A. and E. 1941; Bertrand 1952; Bigandet 1866; Blanford 1950; Brerault 1905; Brien 1885; Carey and Tuck 1896; Carrau 1882; Champion, H. G. 1929; Chemin-Dupontes 1909; Condominas 1957; Consigny 1936; Credner 1935a; Cuisinier 1946; Cupet 1900; Davis, A. P. 1923; Devereaux 1958; de Young 1955; Dumoutier 1891; Ferrars, M. H. 1875; Ferrars, M. and B. 1900; Garnier 1885; Girard 1903; Gouin 1891; Gouin and Moulié 1886; Gourou 1936, 1940b, 1951, 1955; Guignard 1911; Haguet 1905; Halpern 1958; Harmand 1877a,b, 1879, 1879-80; Hoffet 1933; Huard and Maurice 1939; Huke 1954; Human 1884; Hunerwadel 1952; Izikowitz [sic] 1951; Izikowitz [1944], 1951; Joubert 1933; Kauffmann 1935; Kurz 1875; Lafont 1959; Leach 1949, 1954, 1959; Lehman 1959; Loetsch 1958; Lunet de Lajonquière 1906; Marshall, H. I. 1922; Mason 1860; Maurice and Proux 1954; McMahon 1876; Mouhot 1864; Pendleton 1939; Ross, D. 1892; [Scott, J. G.] 1882; Scott, J. G. 1906; Smalley 1956; Spate 1945, 1954; Stamp 1925, 1926; Stevenson 1943, 1944; Taylor, G. D. 1953; Thomas, W. L. 1957; Tournier 1900; Verdaguer 1912; Ward, F. K. 1921.

4. SOUTHERN ASIA (General and comparative): Bartlett 1957a, 1960; Grist 1955; Huberman, et al. 1949; Spate 1954; Wickizer and Bennett 1941.

4.1. India, Pakistan: Allen, B. C. 1908; Anver 1934; Bailey 1945; Ball, V. 1880; Banerjee 1942; Barton and Tuljashankar 1880; Bernot, D. and L. 1958; Biswas 1956; Bompas 1909; Bor, N. L. 1938, 1942; Bower 1950a,b, 1953; Bradley-Birt 1905; Brecks 1873; Browne 1929; Buck, E. 1915; Burkhill 1924; Butler 1855; Campbell, J. M. 1883, 1884; Campbell and de Souza 1883; Campbell, J. 1864; Chambers 1889; Champion, H. G. 1923, 1929; Chaturvedi and Uppal 1953; Chaudhuri 1925; Cleghorn 1861; Dalton, E. J. T. 1845; Dalton, E. T. 1872; Das 1937, 1945; Davis, H. P. 1935; De 1918;

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4.2. *Ceylon*: Ceylon, Government of, 1951, 1953; Chapman 1947; Clifford 1927; Farmer 1953, 1954a, 1957; Farrer 1908; Freeman, H. R. 1913; Hiller and Furness 1902; Holmes, C. H. 1951; Joachim and Kandiah 1948; Leach 1959; Murphrey 1957; Nijhawan 1944; Parker, H. 1910; Paul 1949; Ponniah 1956; de Soysa 1944; Stockdale 1926; Udagama 1947; Wikramatileke 1957; Willis 1907.

5. EUROPE: Beckinsale 1945; Childe 1950; Clark, G. 1946; Clark, J. G. D. 1952; Costa 1915; Darby 1956; Ehrenfels 1957; Garcia-Badell 1951; Greenaway 1956; Iversen 1941, 1949, 1956, 1960; Jørgensen 1953; Kivekas 1939, 1941; Lyashchenko 1949; Pfeiffer 1956; Piggott 1959; Smith, R. E. F. 1959; Steensberg 1955; Troels-Smith 1954.

6. AFRICA (General and comparative): Busse 1908; Chantran 1957; Chevalier 1909, 1929, 1933; Dundas 1944; Forde 1956b; Githens and Wood 1943; Great Britain: Colonial Office 1950; Greaves 1935; Hailey 1945; Harrooy 1944; Masefield 1951; Morgan, W. B. 1957; Murdock 1959; Phillips 1959; Porteres 1952; Royer 1956, 1958; Shantz and Marbut 1923; Shantz and Turner 1958; Stebbing [1942]; Vine 1955; Whittlesey 1937a,b; Worthington 1938.

6.1. *Western Africa* (from Gambia to Nigeria and the British Cameroons): Alexander 1908; Allison 1941; Ashmun 1825; Barnes 1956; Beckett 1947; Bégué 1937; Benoit 1926; Bergeroo-Campagne 1956; Bertin 1920; Bohannan 1954; Briggs 1941; Browning, Capstick and Waldock 1951; Buchanan 1953, 1954; Buchanan and Pugh 1955; Bumpus 1951; Burton 1863; Busse 1907; Cabral 1954; Cardinal 1931; Chipp 1926a, 1927; Dennis 1944; Dresch 1949; Dubié 1953; Ekandem 1957; Faulkner and Mackie 1933; Feilberg 1958; Field 1943-44; Forde 1937, 1953; Forde and Jones 1950; Forde and Scott 1946; Griaule and Dieterlen 1954; Grove 1951; Haswell 1953; Hedin 1934; Irvine 1953; Johnson, B. F. 1958; Johnston 1906; Jones, G. H. 1936; Kaberry 1952; Keay 1951; Köbben 1956; Lamb 1942; Lester 1943; Lynn 1937; McCulloch, Littlewood, and Dugast 1954; McElberry 1942; Meek 1957; Mercier 1953; Morgan, W. B. 1959; da Mota 1950, 1951, 1954; Nigeria, Forestry Department 1949; Nye 1957, 1958; Nye and Bertheux 1957; Nye and Stephens 1958; Patullo 1942; Paulme 1954; Pitot 1952, 1953; Prothero 1957; Ratnay 1932; Ribeiro 1953; Ross, R. 1954; Rouanet 1952; Rouch 1954; Smith, M. G. 1952; Stamp 1938; Steel 1948; Thomas, N. W. 1914, 1916; Vine 1953; White, S. 1944; Wood, R. C. 1934.

6.2. *Central Africa* (including the former

French Equatorial Africa, the Sudan, the Congo area, and Uganda): Allsop 1955; Barbour 1953; Barth 1857, 1859; Bartholomew, Meyer and Laudelout 1953; Beirnaert 1941; Bernard 1945; Blohm 1931; Booth 1905; Burnett 1948; Burton 1860, 1863; Cameron 1877; Casati 1891; Catford 1951; Champion, A. M. 1912; Chevalier 1907-08; de Coene 1956; La Commission pour l'Étude de la Jachère Institut National du Centre de Recherches de Yangambi 1949; Corfield 1938; Cottes 1911; Crowther 1948; Delevoy 1928-29; Drachousoff 1947; Du Chaillu 1861, 1867; Dugast 1944; Dumont 1957; Duvigneaud 1949; Everaerts 1939; Ferguson 1948; Fickendey 1950; Focan and Laudelout 1950; Geortay 1956; Gleichen 1905; Goma Conference 1949; Guttmann 1956; Haig 1940; Heck 1956; Henry 1951a; INÉAC 1947; Jewitt 1950; Johnson 1958; Jurion and Henry 1951; March 1936; Masefield 1948; Matheson and Bovill 1950; Noyon 1954; Rahmann 1957; Reining 1958; Roscoe 1911, 1923a,b, 1924; Samuel 1950; Sautter 1954; de Schlippe 1948, 1954, 1955a,c, 1957a; de Schlippe and Batwell 1955; Seligman 1932; Staner 1957; Tondeur 1955, 1956; Torday and Joyce 1911; Tothill 1940, 1948; Westermann 1912.

6.3. *Eastern Africa* (including Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanganyika): Alvino 1939; Baker 1868; Chiuderi 1942; Edwards, D. C. 1950; Gillman 1949; Glover, H. M. 1953, 1954; Griffith and Stuart 1955; Hall, A. D. 1930; Jensen 1954, 1959; Lewis, E. A. 1953; Matheson and Bovill 1950; Meiklejohn 1955; Nadel 1946; Paterson 1956; Paulitschke 1893, 1896; Phillips 1930; The Round Table 1950; Stiehler 1948; Thornton and Rounce 1936; Wilson 1950.

6.4. *Southern Africa* (south of the Congo area and Tanganyika): Allan, W. 1945, 1949; Allan, Gluckman, et al. 1948; Andersson 1856; Cameron 1877; Clairmonte 1896; Clements 1933; Costa Junior 1956; Gluckman 1941; Gomes e Sousa 1949; Hudson 1935; Junod 1927; Livingstone, D. 1875; Livingstone, D. and C. 1866; Morgan, W. B. 1953; Peters 1950; Richards, A. I. 1948, 1951, 1958; Scudder 1960; Smith and Dale 1920; Trapnell 1943, 1953, 1959; Trapnell and Clothier 1937.

6.5. *Madagascar*: Besson 1897; Brockway 1876; Catat 1895; Chapotte 1898; de Cointet 1897; Condamby 1899; Copland 1822; Dommergues 1952; Durand 1897; Duruy 1897; Ellis 1838; Faublée 1955; de Flacourt 1661; Humbert 1927; Jeannelle 1900; Joubert 1933; Keller 1901; Linton 1933, 1939; Petit 1937; Pierre 1897; Rabe 1952.

7. NEW WORLD (General and comparative): Bergaw, Hannay, and Larson 1940; Carrier 1923; Edwards and Rasmussen 1942; Moore 1960; Sauer, C. O. 1944, 1958; Weatherwax 1954; Willey 1956a, 1960.

7.1. *North America*: Byers 1946; Castetter and Bell 1951; Day 1953; Driver and Massey 1957; Flannery 1939; Fowells and Stephenson 1934; Hatt 1953; Hill 1938; Johnson, A. 1917; Kinietz 1940; Linton 1924; Maxwell 1910; Morgan, L. H. 1954; Newcomb 1956; Parker, A. C. 1910; Rainey 1936; Swanton 1946; Voegelin 1941; Waugh 1916; Will and Hyde 1917; Wilson, G. L. 1917.

7.2. *Mexico and Central America*: Adams, R. N. 1957, 1959; Allen, P. H. 1956; Alt-schuler 1958; Anderson, E. 1952; Anderson and Williams 1954; Armillas 1949; Asch-

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mann 1960; Beals 1943; Bennett and Zingg 1935; Blom and Duby 1955; de Borhegyi 1956; Budowski 1956a,b; Bullard 1960; Bushnell 1958; Carrasco 1960; Carr 1953; Chiuderi and Boninsegni 1952; Choy 1955; Coe, M. D. 1957; Coe, W. R. 1957; Conzemium 1932; Cook, O. F. 1909, 1921; Cook, S. F. 1958; Cooke 1931; Cowgill 1960; Drucker and Heizer 1960; Emerson 1953; Emerson and Kempton 1935; Erasmus 1956; Foster 1942; de la Fuente 1949; Gillin 1951; Gómez González 1956; Guiteras Holmes 1952; Guzman 1956; Hester 1952, 1953, 1954; Higbee 1947, 1948; Hooper 1945; Hoyt 1955; Johnson 1948; Kelly and Palerm 1952; Kempton [1935]a; Kirchhoff 1948a; La Farge 1927; La Farge and Byers 1931; LeBeau 1956; Lewis, O. 1951; Linton 1940; Loeholdt 1953; Lundell 1933, 1937, 1938; McBride and McBride 1942; McBryde [1947]; Millon 1955; Morley 1947, 1953, 1956; Palerm 1954, 1955; Palerm and Wolf 1957; Perez Toro 1946; Perry, Bautista, and Rabaj 1958-59; Perry, Gil, Franco, and Martinez Lima 1958; Perry, Rachie, and Martinez Lima 1957-58; Popeno 1959, 1960; Pozas 1959; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934; Reh 1939; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1961; Roys 1943; Rubio 1950; Sanders 1957; Sapper 1890, 1934; Schmiedler 1930; Skutch 1959; Stadelman 1940; Standley 1945; Stegerda 1941, 1943; Steward 1946-50; Stone 1949; Strong, W. D. 1947; Tax 1953; Thompson 1930, 1954; Tozzer 1907; Valladares 1957; Villa Rojas 1945; Vogt 1960; Wagley 1941; Wagner 1955, 1958; West 1948; Willey 1956b; Willey, Vogt, and Palerm 1960; Williams, L. O. 1957; Wisdom 1940; Wolf 1959.

7.3. *South America*: Aschmann 1955-56; de Azara 1809; Ball, J. 1887; Bates, H. W. 1864; Bates, M. 1955; Braun 1956; Budowski 1956a; Bushnell 1958; Camargo 1959; Carneiro 1956, 1957a,b, 1960, 1961; Carneiro and Dole 1955; Caspar 1952; Choy 1955; Cooper 1946; Crist 1943, 1944, 1952; Cutler 1946; Dansereau 1948; Davis and Richards 1932-33; Denis 1823; Dobrizhoffer 1784; Dye 1957; Erasmus 1956; Evans and Meggers 1955a,b, 1960; de Fautereau 1955; Fernandes 1949; Freise 1939; Geyskes 1954; Gillin 1948; Glover, H. 1951; Goldman, I. 1948; Gumilla 1791; Guppy 1887; Hoehne 1937; Hohenthal 1951; von Humboldt 1850; Im Thurn 1883; Kirchhoff 1948b; Koch-Grünberg 1923; Lange 1914; Leeds 1961; Lévi-Strauss 1948a,b; Lowie 1946, 1948; Martius 1840-1906; Meggers 1957; Meggers and Evans 1956, 1957; Métraux 1946a,b, 1948a,b,c; Mishkin 1946; Murphy 1960; Murphy and Quain 1955; Nimiundajú 1939, 1946; Oberg 1949, 1953; Park 1946; Patiño 1956; Pittier 1936; Quintus Bosz 1954; Rodriguez, A. 1952; Rondon n.d.; Roosevelt 1914; Steward 1946-50, 1948, 1949; Suárez de Castro 1953, 1957; Suárez de Castro and Rodriguez 1955; Vayda 1961; Wagley 1951, 1953; Wagley and Galvão 1948a,b, 1949; Waibel 1948, 1949, 1955; West 1957; Whiffen 1915; Yde 1957; Zerries 1956.

7.4. *West Indies*: Ballet 1894; Beard 1946, 1949; Blaut 1959; Cater 1939; Delararde 1938; De Young 1958; Durland 1922; Hardy, Duthie, and Rodriguez 1937; Her-skovits 1937; Hodge and Taylor 1957; Holdridge 1947; Lovén 1935; Marshall, R. C. 1934; Oviedo y Valdés 1526, 1851-55, 1942, 1959; Pérez de la Riva 1951; Sturtevant 1961.