

## Editors' Introduction

JACQUELINE FEAR-SEGAL AND REBECCA TILLET

When working on the island of New Caledonia, the French missionary and ethnologist, Maurice Leenhardt (1878–1954), in conversation with his most trusted Native informant, Erijsi Boesoou, proclaimed: “In short, what we’ve brought into your thinking is the notion of *esprit*” [spirit or mind]. To which Boesoou retorted: “Spirit? Bah! We’ve always known about spirit. What you brought was the body.”<sup>1</sup> James Clifford recounts this story in his classic biography of Leenhardt. Outlining how Leenhardt strove to comprehend the different structure of experience that could make such a response possible, Clifford presents Leenhardt’s subsequent ethnographic theorizing as a direct, or sometimes indirect, exposition of this rejoinder. He notes how “a dialog of interpretations is portrayed in the anecdote,” because it was “an exchange that turns upon Western mind-body dualism and finally unravels it.”<sup>2</sup> The story, which has become apocryphal, presents us with a clear reminder of how the concept of “the body” has very specific cultural, historical, and ideological roots. It offers a powerful illustration of how the body’s meanings are unstable, open to contest, and can be interpreted differently in contexts where understandings of embodiment are fed from different cultural, or different historical sources. In Paul Rabinow’s words, “the intimate linkage between the two key symbolic arenas, ‘the body’ and ‘the person,’” would have to figure prominently on any list of distinctively Western traits.<sup>3</sup>

Acknowledging not only the power of this Western binary but also its dominance and endurance, the chapters in this collection unpack and interrogate this imposed construction, in order to challenge its presuppositions and review, relocate, and reclaim the density and complexity of traditional indigenous beliefs. This book is concerned with the indigenous body as a site of persistent fascination, colonial oppression, and indigenous agency, and the endurance of these legacies within Native communities. At the core of

this collection lies a dual commitment to exposing numerous and diverse disempowerments of indigenous peoples, and to recognizing the many varied ways in which these same peoples retained and/or reclaimed agency. Of crucial importance to the contributors to this volume are the ways in which culturally diverse indigenous peoples were—and continue to be—forced to confront and engage with the imposition of the Western mind-body binary as part of a legacy of conquest.

Western concepts of the body have not been static. The earliest split between mind and body derives from the writings of Plato (429–347 BC) and his separation of matter and form. Yet the prevailing modern medical-scientific discourse of the body, as Jonathan Sawday has convincingly argued, has its roots in two distinct but intertwined discursive strands—science and colonization—which simultaneously worked to map the physical body and the larger world, and assert dominion over both. Sawday draws a direct parallel between the dissections and discoveries that were taking place in the famous anatomy theatres opening across Europe—the first in Padua in 1594, followed by Leiden, Bologna and Paris—and European explorations of and encounters with the New World. Eschewing theologically-bound prohibitions on knowledge, he outlines how these scientists accepted no limits on the possibility of gaining understanding. They delved into the inner secrets and recesses of the physical body, which in a previous, church-dominated era, had been considered sacrosanct. “The process,” Sawday explains, “was truly colonial, in that it appeared to reproduce the stages of discovery and exploitation which were, at that moment, taking place within the context of the European encounter with the New World.”<sup>4</sup> Sawday sees the scientist and the explorer as blood brothers, both intent on knowledge and exploitation, and impatient about notions of mystery and the sacred.

The two interrelated strands of science and colonization came together most fully in the seventeenth century, where the overwhelming impatience to uncover the secrets of the sacred that Sawday describes anticipated René Descartes’ profoundly influential scientific philosophy, which separated minds from bodies and atomized each “whole” into its component parts. Emerging as it did alongside the settlement of the “New World” and the development of European empire, Descartes’ influence was unprecedented; his infamous cogito of 1637, “I think, therefore I am,”<sup>5</sup> marks the moment when Europe rejected a more holistic worldview and embraced the notion that “the mind . . . is entirely distinct from the body.”<sup>6</sup> Such concepts, which were subsequently a central feature of Enlightenment philosophy, had profound implications not only for political thinking about the New World in a burgeoning age of empire, but also its practical application by European colonists; the insistence of the Cartesian scientific “method” that the world—plants, animals, peoples,

cultural artefacts—could be broken down, analyzed, and categorized, had an immediate impact in the newly discovered territories.

Descartes' thesis was highly attractive: through correct scientific categorization, "a practical philosophy can be found by which, knowing the power and the effect of fire, water, air, the stars, the heavens and all the other bodies which surround us . . . we might put them . . . to all the uses for which they are appropriate, and thereby make ourselves . . . masters and possessors of nature."<sup>7</sup> Re-inscribing biblical categories that elevated man above the natural world, Descartes' "method" also inscribed new hierarchies between human groups, as subsequent Enlightenment philosophers and scientists detailed the proximity or distance that a variety of human groups had to or from the "natural world." In this context, the greatest impact of Cartesian dualism was in the implementation of a series of ideological hierarchies: minds were elevated (and celebrated) above bodies; human "civilization" and "progress" was ranked by the willingness of social groups to embrace mind-body dualism and by their distance from "nature;" and further physical hierarchies, including those marked by bodily "difference," were justified, facilitated, and imposed, often for economic ends.

The drawing by the Flemish artist Jan van der Straet, depicting Amerigo Vespucci's arrival on the new-found continent (c. 1575), provides a powerful visual allegory of these processes. It was the best-known of many similar images in which the New World was personified as a naked woman wearing only a feather headdress. The focus of much recent scholarly analysis, this portrayal of the contrasting embodiments of Vespucci and "America" carries powerful resonance for this collection.<sup>8</sup>

The image draws clear distinctions between two disparate cultural groups: to the left, Europe, represented by the identifiably patriarchal figure of Vespucci; to the right, America, represented by the figure of a native woman. Yet these distinctions, although initially perceived as cultural, are also political; a recognition of hierarchies of civilization and savagery, and of power and powerlessness. Accordingly, Vespucci stands fully clothed over America's reclining nakedness, surrounded by the symbols of European "civilization": the monetary wealth reflected in his clothing, the scientific and technological instruments that have guided him across the ocean, the military power evident in his ship with its advanced weaponry, and the flag that represents the advanced development of a national identity. By contrast, America's proximity to nature is evident in her lack of fine attire, and in the simplicity of her weaponry; her desire for the progress that Vespucci represents is evident in the delight of her expression as she leans forward to reach for the civilization that he represents. Significantly prefiguring Cartesian dualism, the image behind America of the "cannibal feast" depicts her peoples already actively participating in their own reduction

into body parts. Significantly, it is this active indigenous "participation" that continues to be celebrated in Western colonial thinking through the wilful misrepresentation of brutal conquest as mutually beneficial "encounter."

Importantly for this collection, what is striking about this image is the ideological European conflation of indigenous bodies and the lands they inhabit. While it is made evident that America desires European "civilization," America's own representation—her nakedness and her facial expression—suggests a reciprocal European desire for both indigenous bodies and indigenous lands. As Louis Montrose has suggested, this mode of representation acts quite specifically to "sexualiz[e]" the imperial project of "exploration, conquest and settlement."<sup>9</sup> And this sexualization and eroticization of indigenous bodies represents a further development in European ideology that reflects the desires of empire, as complex and nuanced connections between imperial exploration and pornography are made explicit. Matthew H. Edney persuasively argues that clear parallels can be drawn between pornography and imperial cartography "in terms of the objectification of 'other' landscapes and cultures and their subjugation to an empowered imperial vision."<sup>10</sup> Identified variously as "geo-pornography" and "gynocartography,"<sup>11</sup> this recognized patriarchal method of feminizing lands identified as ripe for male conquest also ensured that physical indigenous female bodies could be interpreted and commodified as sites of sexual pleasure and possession; violence and conquest were eroticized and legitimized. From first contact in the Americas, and in Australasia too, colonial articulations of indigeneity were therefore shaped by and contingent on corporeality.

Recent decades have witnessed a wealth of scholarship on the body in a wide range of disciplines, informed by the work of Michel Foucault and his understanding of the intimate relationship between political power and ways in which the body is perceived, managed, and controlled. Two important recent collections have addressed this topic. In 2008, Shino Konishi, Leah Lui-Chivizhe, and Lisa Slater edited a special edition on "Indigenous Bodies," (*Borderlands* e-journal, 7:2), which focused on indigenous Australian issues. A year later, Damian W. Riggs and Barbara Baird edited *The Racial Politics of Bodies, Nations, and Knowledge* (2009), which employs a racial frame to engage specifically with whiteness studies, again within an Australian perspective. *Indigenous Bodies* extends this field in exciting new ways, drawing together the wide range of disciplinary expertise—anthropology, art/art history, community studies, creative writing, gender studies, health studies, history, literature, political studies, museology, new media technologies, religious studies, visual media—of Native Studies scholars from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Poland, Taiwan, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, and emphasizing an international perspective.

The Osage poet and scholar, Carter Revard, has written a foreword to this collection, which stands as both synecdoche and explication of the vast cosmic powers and cultural intricacies that are incorporated and harmonized in indigenous bodies and societies. Revard writes in a wide arc, embracing the stars of the Osage Creation Story, the songs of the storm and of deer mice, and the purposeful activities of tumblebugs rolling cattle dung on the meadows of the Osage Reservation. He relishes and illuminates tiny, obscure, yet profound mysteries that are part of the ebb and flow of life; so his discussion of the humble dung beetle's energetic gathering and shaping of fresh cow manure, is accorded the same eloquence and attention as are the ideas of Ovid and Darwin, deliberately un-doing imposed Western biblical hierarchies and scientific categories in order to emphasize and celebrate an holistic indigenous worldview that not only recognizes but is also organized by symbiotic interspecies relationships. Revard structures his foreword around six of his poems—"Doppelgängers: A Nativity Ode"; "Coyote Tells Why He Sings"; "Æsculapius Unbound" (Ovid and Darwin in Oklahoma); "December Transient"; "Deer Mice Singing Up Parnassus"; "Tumblebugger"—which he uses to guide the reader toward an appreciation of the profundity and inter-relatedness of all life and, by implication, the trite and damaging reductionism of binary thinking about indigenous bodies.

Revard's foreword immediately establishes the collection's focus on the importance of both indigenous worldviews and indigenous self-representation. It also draws attention to, and refocuses attention on, significant critical developments in the field. Important amongst these is a growing exploration of tribal nationalism and Native sovereignty as scholarly strategies through which to make explicit the otherwise often hazy links between "literature" and "communities," in order to promote and maintain "the intellectual health of Native communities and the quality of critical discourse" within Native Studies.<sup>12</sup> As Jace Weaver, Craig Womack, and Robert Warrior argue in *American Indian Literary Nationalism* (2005), "being a nationalist is a legitimate perspective from which to approach Native American . . . criticism. We believe that such a methodology is not only defensible but that it is also crucial to supporting Native national sovereignty and self-determination, which we see as an important goal of Native American Studies generally."<sup>13</sup>

*Indigenous Bodies* addresses just such issues. The collection is organized into six parts. Section I addresses visual representations. Both chapters engage with historic representations of the peoples Europeans encountered in their "discovery," explorations, and settlement of new lands. More importantly, they also demonstrate and explore indigenous agency within a colonial relationship that consistently demanded European dominion over indigenous bodies. The widely circulated 1494 illustrated edition of Columbus' letter to

King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain promised rich lands, gold, spices, and cotton, as well as slaves, and included the first visual images of the New World—the five woodcuts, which supposedly illustrated his voyage. Europe's first sight of the inhabitants of the Americas presented the indigenous population “naked, men and women, as their mothers bore them,” signalling a focus on the indigenous body that would have an enduring legacy. Although part of the bounty Columbus offered to Ferdinand and Isabella was indigenous souls, for “turning . . . to our holy faith,” more significantly for the purposes of this collection, he also tendered their bodies, to be “slaves, as many as they shall order.” From the spoils of his “victory,” Columbus believed “all Christendom will have hence refreshment and gain.”<sup>14</sup>

Christendom's refreshment and gain demanded America's conquest and domination. In 1992, the Native American artist, Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, chose to mark the Columbian quincentenary by creating *The Red Mean: Self-Portrait*, an art work that tells the story of the damage and destruction wreaked on indigenous bodies and cultures by Europe's “discovery” and invasion of the continent. In Chapter 1, Carolyn Kastner analyzes this work to show how Smith uses her own body to parody Leonardo da Vinci's study of human proportion, *Vitruvian Man*, and, creating a collage from elements of her entwined American and Native American identities, stakes her claim on both American history and Western art history. Kastner continues her examination of the subversive power of Smith's art with *Paper Dolls for the Post-Columbian World with Ensembles Contributed by the United States Government* (1991). This is a single artwork consisting of thirteen paintings that depict narrative moments in the history of the extended contact between the Flathead people and the U.S. government. Three separate paintings of the Plenty Horses family—Barbie, Ken, and their son Bruce—set up a parody of the commercial Barbie Doll, even as it delivers a potent political message. Kastner shows how by creating sets of clothes for their lives away from the reservation, Smith shocks viewers with the enormity of the Plenty Horse family's isolation, loss, and degradation, and the disparity between the two Barbies: Barbie Doll has an infinite wardrobe, while Barbie Plenty Horses has only one dress. The ironic humor of the clothing Smith creates for her paper dolls is essential not only to convey their misfortunes and Smith's political message, but also to the creation of Smith's vibrant artistic narrative, which ensures that the Plenty Horses' story will not be forgotten. Smith insists that she is “never telling stories about ‘poor pitiful,’” but “stories about hope with humour,” and Kastner illuminates how her art actively reclaims, reconfigures, and reinvigorates stories closed by written history.

When creating her self-portrait, Smith meticulously constructs the complex layers of her multifaceted identity; at all times it is she who fashions and manages how it looks and the messages she wants it to carry. Nineteenth-

century indigenous subjects of portraiture, whether paintings or photographs, had no comparable control over the creation of their likenesses. In Chapter 2, Stephanie Pratt presents compelling evidence to show how, nevertheless, some native subjects were able to use their sittings as opportunities to contribute actively to self-expression and self-representation. Analyzing three portraits of distinguished individuals (one of whom is of her great-great-grandmother) Pratt concedes that all these images were made as part of a larger project to provide a record of Native Americans, who were presumed to be in decline and close to extinction. Referencing Mary Louise Pratt's work, Stephanie Pratt goes on to argue that portraits of Native Americans made by painters and photographers from the dominant society can be read as contested sites and should be included as one of the "arts of the contact zone." Stephanie Pratt shows how some objects of material culture, chosen by sitters for inclusion in their portraits, are items of symbolic capital carrying very specific meanings for both them and their communities. By eluding the comprehension of a viewer from outside the culture, such objects are implicitly oppositional; other deliberately selected objects, which are able to be interpreted from within mainstream society, Stephanie Pratt argues, are directly oppositional. While acknowledging the difficulties associated with analysing the significance of each sitter's selected objects, Pratt positions her observations within the growing literature that challenges the colonizer/colonized binary and explores the processes of mediation within cultural products.

The second section engages with the persistent dismemberment and display of indigenous bodies. The frequent and often forcible transformation of indigenous bodies into subjects of entertainment and display was clearly a further result of the colonizer/colonized binary, which fostered a pseudo-scientific fascination with dead as well as living indigenous bodies. In 1882, Phineas Taylor Barnum assembled examples of what he described as "all the uncivilized races in existence," and paraded them round Europe and the United States as a freak show. Barnum's extravaganza provides an illustration of the blurred boundaries between spectacle and science when anthropologists visited his "savages" to take measurements and photographs.<sup>15</sup> Such investigations were widespread in the laboratories and museums of western nations; once deceased, indigenous bodies could be controlled, dismembered, and owned in ways not possible when they were alive. Collected in drawers and boxes and displayed in museum cases and cabinets, indigenous bones and body parts were treated as elements of scientific investigation, not the remains of individuals. They were granted none of the respect normally accorded the dead. For many indigenous peoples, such treatment was not just profane, it was dangerous. As James Riding In (Pawnee) explains, "the acts committed against deceased Indians have had profound, even harmful, effects on the living."<sup>16</sup> The scientific community, triumphant heirs of the Cartesian divide, always viewed the body

as the rightful subject of their investigations, and indigenous bodies, deemed to hold the proof of their presumed inferiority, were “docile” and so readily subjected to scrutiny and management, in death as much as in life.<sup>17</sup>

Both chapters in this section on dismemberment and display demonstrate the role played by supposedly neutral scientific investigation in the racialization of indigenous bodies. In Chapter 3, Jacqueline Fear-Segal looks at the complex processes by which supposed racial differences of indigenous peoples were visually constructed and presented for public viewing in the Smithsonian National Museum. Underscoring the public educational function of the museum, she analyzes a single element in the Smithsonian's extensive exhibition—a set of Native American plaster busts that were commissioned by the Smithsonian, using life-masks taken of sixty-four Plains Indians held prisoner in Fort Marion, Florida. Unpacking the power structures that enabled their creation, the motivations for their production, and the manner of the busts' display, she reveals the complex processes by which racial difference (and implied inferiority) of indigenous peoples was categorized, constructed, and exhibited to the public in the nation's capitol. Native American bodies (with special focus on the head) were purposefully included in the Smithsonian ethnology exhibit. The busts' inclusion was crucial, because their presence provided tangible evidence of a racial hierarchy that confirmed the United States' national supremacy. It also legitimated Native American dispossession, explaining and sanitizing the inevitable extinction of America's indigenous peoples.

While Native American extinction was being enthusiastically and scientifically (but erroneously!) advertised and anticipated, in Tasmania it appeared that the recently-arrived settlers had already succeeded in wiping out the local indigenous population. William Lanné, a thirty-two-year-old whaler who died in 1869, was widely believed to have been the “last” Tasmanian Aboriginal man. After his death, his skull was removed and his body was dismembered in the interests of pseudo-science. Some parts were thrown away and, after his entire body had been exhumed, it was ultimately discarded or lost. This macabre episode in colonial history and scientific vandalism has echoed down the ages and continues to haunt the present. In an effort to reverse this process, whereby Lanné the historical figure became Lanné the anthropological specimen, in Chapter 4 Lynette Rysell reconstructs his life story. She reveals a man who, during sixteen years of whaling, developed competencies and skills that permitted him to transcend the racial categories that might otherwise have restricted him. From the bloodied table of the morgue, William Lanné emerges as someone who was liked and respected with many friends, and who exercised agency over his own labor and daily life. It was only after death, when his body was purloined as a “scientific” specimen to be fragmented, probed, and desecrated, that William Lanné became fully racialized, and co-opted into a divisive racial narrative that his own life had refuted.



Section III explores the exploitation of the indigenous body as a site of sexual pleasure. While there has been much discussion of the male gaze directed at female indigenous bodies, both chapters here engage with the different exploitative piquance associated with the male indigenous body, which is amplified when that body is linked to homosexuality. Drawing upon theoretical ideas that the body is an object and target of power, both chapters discuss how regimes of knowledge produced in colonial situations construct highly specific readings of sexuality.

Drawing on these established discourses of indigenous sexuality, in Chapter 5 Max Carocci traces the ongoing compulsion of the imperial gaze in contemporary gay perceptions and textual representations of indigenous male bodies. Observing the multiplicity of ways in which the male indigenous body has been variously re-imagined, interpreted and articulated in gay cosmopolitan subcultures via texts, pornography, popular music, etc., Carocci argues that the image of the "Indian" emerges as convenient trope that encapsulates many ideas valued by contemporary cosmopolitan gay men. An examination of a long history of perceptions and representations that associate Native Americans with homosexuality and gender deviance, demonstrates an intricate set of relationships between projected and lived realities that identify the male indigenous body variously with sodomy, ambiguity, and feminization. Whilst reflecting on the impact of marginalized groups on the West's own minoritarian constituencies, these intricate relationships invite a reflection on the dialogic relationship between dominant and subaltern positions, in both colonial and postcolonial contexts. Accordingly, Carocci assesses the ways in which American Indians have been represented as emblems of an idyllic and utopian sexual Arcadia, subjects of erotic fantasies, and icons of masculinity, or gender variation. More importantly, Carocci concludes his analysis with a consideration of the ways in which contemporary indigenous gays, lesbians, and transgender people have appropriated/are appropriating and deploying these racist and paternalistic stereotypes to disrupt the ongoing commodification of indigenous bodies in the Western imagination.

In Chapter 6, Murielle Nagy builds on the theoretical structures outlined by Carocci in order to examine the late nineteenth-century work of the Oblate Mission in northwest Canada. Her analysis focuses on one of the missionaries, Émile Petitot (1838–1916), who worked to convert the Inuit, Dene, and Metis peoples, while simultaneously studying the details of their cultures and writing ethnographic texts. Embedded in his ethnographic writing, Nagy reveals a wealth of information about Petitot's own values, emotions, and sexuality, including a relationship with a young, Dene man. Analyzing the many contradictions in Petitot's physical and moral descriptions of indigenous individuals, Nagy uses his life as a means to explore the complexity of the missionary encounter, its problematic relationship to established discourses

of indigenous sexuality, and the need for it to be sensitively investigated and evaluated on many levels.

Section IV, on imagination and commodification, addresses the ways in which the fetishization of indigenous bodies as “commodities” throughout the imperial encounter is clearly linked to complex and ongoing colonial discourses. Indigenous bodies are fetishized as savage bodies, enslaved bodies, conquered bodies, sexualized bodies. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, this fetishization clearly continues in anthropological and legal discourses that aim to identify and evaluate the “authentic” indigenous body; in popular cultural celebrations of indigenous “authenticity;” and in the marketability and profitability of the indigenous body. As both chapters argue, contemporary Native writers are not only engaging with such bodily fetishes, but actively appropriating, challenging, and usurping them.

In a consideration of contemporary Native fiction, in Chapter 7, Joanna Ziarkowska assesses the ways in which writers such as Leslie Marmon Silko, Louise Erdrich, and Sherman Alexie engage with the marketing of indigenous bodies in popular American culture. Identifying the body as a commodity that is susceptible to the laws of demand and supply, Ziarkowska argues that indigenous bodies become desired and desirable “products” because they are culturally “attractive,” because they represent colonial fantasies of cultural dominance, and—perhaps most importantly—because they are financially lucrative. However, in order to fulfill such fantasies, indigenous bodies are perceived to require reshaping, enhancing, and improving; in other words, they need to be both “authenticated” and modified by Western culture in order to have “value” (achieve profit) in the cultural exchange. Through an emphasis on physicality and sexuality, and on colonial interpretations of Native “authenticity,” indigenous bodies are thus modified and made marketable; while their constituent parts are identified and broken down, enabling a simultaneous appropriation both of the indigenous body and, more problematically, of “indigeneity.” Tracing the links between these processes and capitalist gain, Ziarkowska firmly locates such processes within the ongoing legacy of colonial fantasy and its conscious (ab)use to identify the ways in which Native writers are interrogating physical stereotypes in order to demonstrate contemporary Indian realities.

Such contemporary physical realities are also evident in Ewelina Bańka's Chapter 8, which explores the relationships between indigenous bodies and spatial locations in the writing of the Diné (Navajo) poet, Esther G. Belin. Tracing the significance of place and emplacement to Native cultures, Bańka explores the complex interactions between the body and the land, between “home” and identity, between communities and individuals, between families and wider kinship groups, and between maps and mappings of all kinds. Emphasizing the urban Indian experience and the history and legacies of fed-

eral urban relocation policies, Belin employs the indigenous body to represent ongoing Native resistance to the colonial fragmentation of Native lands and to situate a reclaiming of both home and indigenous autonomy. Here, the indigenous body graphically represents the impact of ongoing colonial ideology on the urban Indian experience; while the indigenous body itself becomes a site of resistance to racial and sexual discrimination, social marginalization, and cultural estrangement alongside popular appropriation and commodification. Deploying the image of the belly/womb, Belin foregrounds the physical body of the indigenous mother to present a "creation story" and a story of life. This story of "nurture" represents not only Belin's own matrilineal and matrilocal Diné culture, but also acts to affirm the physical survival of indigenous bodies and cultures in the contemporary United States.

Section V explores bodily dis-ease and healing. Regularly viewed as objects of fascination, allure, and desire, indigenous bodies have just as frequently been regarded with disgust and horror, judged to be deviant and requiring control and reform. A drive to reform indigenous bodies (as well as save souls), accompanied almost all government educational policies directed at indigenous peoples across the world. Not just beliefs, but also behavior and outward appearance had to change to match Westerners' notions of the "civilized." Students would be taught to read and write, but they were also required to change their diet, hair styles, and dress. As a result, not all white-educated indigenous people were able to retain a firm sense of identity and pride while undergoing the rigors of a mission or government boarding school education. Many students returned home reluctant or unable to speak their mother tongue, with scant knowledge of their own traditions and culture and a conflicted sense of their identity. And, for some, their education was accompanied by physical and/or sexual abuse.<sup>18</sup> The damage inflicted by these schools is slowly being uncovered. The two chapters in this section analyze the enduring impact of this damage on present-day communities, and examine strategies for healing that reconnect individuals with the beliefs, values, and practices of their traditional cultures.

Suzanne Owen, in Chapter 9, examines how among the Mi'kmaq in eastern Canada, traditional ceremonies, which are accompanied by discomfort and pain, have recently been revived, and other ceremonies involving physical suffering have also been borrowed and adapted from neighboring indigenous peoples. Owens examines the social and psychological significance of these developments. Exploring the interconnections between the experience of physical and psychological pain, she argues that for some Mi'kmaq such ceremonial suffering can provide a means to assuage psychological pain and suffering that is linked to individual and community cultural losses and abuse. In this context, she suggests, physical suffering is regarded as a sacrifice, or gift to "spirit;" when something is asked for—visions, healing—then some-

thing must be given in exchange in order to restore the balance. Locating her study within the wider context of the long-term effects of colonialism, Owen uses both interviews and written testimonies to support her argument that the intense physical ordeal of these ceremonies is a way of expressing or expunging suffering that is already present. Prayer with pain in a ceremonial context not only links the individual to community, but can also transform personal suffering into empowerment and healing.

Darrel Manitowabi and Marion Maar, in Chapter 10, extend this exploration of the importance of traditional knowledge and practice to the well-being of indigenous communities. They examine the epidemic rates of type 2 diabetes and its devastating impact on the bodies and lives of indigenous people in Canada, whose over-all health is generally much poorer than that of non-indigenous peoples living with diabetes. In contrast to the physical risk factors linked to this disease in biomedical research, Manitowabi and Maar foreground the indigenous concept of a sense of community well-being (*mnaamodzawin*). They explore how loss of *mnaamodzawin* can be linked to legacies of the colonization process, and is a vital determinant of indigenous health. Analyzing the narratives of eighteen indigenous people living with diabetes on Manitoulin Island, Ontario, their research reveals how cultural, historical, spiritual, and emotional factors impact on both the development and the management of diabetes. This chapter suggests that assessments of the causes and management of diabetes need to embrace historical and political processes *outside* of the body as bearing relational consequences *within* the body, in order to provide alternative ways to improve the understanding and management of type 2 diabetes.

A crucial part of contemporary healing strategies is the relationship between indigenous bodies and the land, which is examined in the final section (VI) of this volume. As the earliest visual representations indicate, in the colonial mind the indigenous body is equated quite simply with the land itself: as Edney comments, indigenous bodies quite literally become “maps” of the newly colonized territories.<sup>19</sup> With a burgeoning European explorative imperial impulse wedded to the newly emerging but increasingly influential Cartesian desire to classify and atomize, the project of mapping “new worlds” became central to the colonial enterprise and, ironically, the indigenous body became central to representations of the “terra nullius.” As Jeremy Black argues in his study of *Maps and Politics*, such maps demonstrate “the powerful ability of visual images and messages to represent and advance [political] agendas;”<sup>20</sup> and the long-established coupling of indigenous peoples with the land by the nation-state is evident in a range of academic discourses, including museological representations that display indigenous bodies as “natural history.” While such representations foreground the complex contemporary definitions of indigeneity in settler states, and expose the ongoing legal impli-

cations of relationships to the land in the context of indigenous sovereignty, they fail to address or recognize powerful and enduring cultural and spiritual relationships to place. More importantly, they fail to recognize the ways in which the long and contested political history of maps and mapping has been reappropriated by contemporary Native groups, to resituate indigenous bodies in their correct relationships with and to the land. The final two chapters in Section VI, Physical Landscapes, address the ways in which two distinct indigenous cultural groups are working to remap their cultural and spiritual connections to the land, both as a process of communal healing and well-being, and as a means by which to promote cultural continuance.

In her analysis of two indigenous Pacific writers, Epeli Hau'ofa and Syaman Rapongan, Hsinya Huang, in Chapter 11, moves beyond established geographic, ecological and archaeological discussions of the South Pacific islands as parables of environmental destruction and cultural collapse, to trace the ways in which indigenous authors celebrate an alternative Pacific where epiphanies, tropes, and regenerations of native attitude are currently taking place. Moving determinedly beyond both recycled nostalgia and misdirected millenarianism, these visions and counter-memories review indigenous performance of bodily techniques and retrieve indigenous body memories. In doing so, they not only reframe macro-geography and micro-politics across the postcolonial trans-Pacific region, but also reclaim indigenous agency. Deploying Hau'ofa's conception of "Our Sea of Islands" (from *We Are the Ocean* (2008)) as a trope, Huang argues that Hau'ofa's work demands a new paradigm for the Pacific to forge a holistic perspective of visionary amplitude and cosmopolitical renewal, through a vast oceanic perception of place, transnational community, islander space, myth, and language. This chapter asserts that Hau'ofa enacts "our sea of islands" as a speech-act of performative and auto-critique, as a way of troping and narrating the nation-leaping expansiveness of the watery Pacific Ocean; and, in so doing, registers counter-memories through an evocative sensibility for "Oceania," with a vision of place and indigenous body in intimate connection.

The collection concludes with an overview of a remarkable digital project to map contemporary physical, cultural, spiritual, and geographic Māori bodies. In Chapter 12, Khylla Russell and Samuel Mann demonstrate the importance and value of a project that makes links between generations, and actively involves younger peoples in the digital remapping of Māori cultural and spiritual space. Conceptualizing a *whānau* (family) or *hapū* (clan) as an epistemological and cultural beginning point, it is made evident that *taha tinana* (a bodily aspect) is part of a wider conceptualization of *takata whenua* (people of the land) and has other aspects which make the whole human. Identifying bodily, psychic, and spiritual connections with *whānau*, *hapū*, and *Iwi* (tribe/bones), living, yet to be born and dead, Russell and Mann reveal that

this is how the Māori connect themselves, through traditional knowledge, to people and landscapes, cultural and geographical. Since land and seascapes are physically connected to through their humanization, the project traces and demonstrates how Māori perceptions of land and seascapes have altered, and have altered them. Creating a profoundly empowering synthesis of old ways of being with those imposed through the processes of colonization, the SimPā Project recalls and reaffirms indigenous storytelling and histories, as part of the bodies of landscapes that the Māori continue to occupy if not own.

The chapters in this collection developed out of presentations and conversations between Native Studies scholars at an international conference, organized by the Native Studies Research Network UK, at the University of East Anglia in 2009: *Indigenous Bodies: Reviewing, Relocating, Reclaiming*. Topics covered in this collection are wide-ranging but not exhaustive: Native art and artists; historical indigenous portraiture; museum display and the dismemberment of indigenous bodies; repatriation; missionary ethnography; gender, sexuality and homosexuality; bodily commodification and mapping; disease and healing; prayer and ceremony; the intimate and profound connections between bodies and lands; and the deployment of new media technologies within traditional cultural practices. Moving scholarly discussion forward in ways that are both innovative and imaginative, the unique international perspective offered here reveals the disturbing ubiquity of the imposition of the mind/body split, and its disastrous implications for indigenous peoples around the world. It also illuminates the creative ways in which indigenous peoples have consistently worked to retain, reclaim, and reinscribe their own cultural values and beliefs.

## Notes

1. James Clifford, *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1982), 172. This story has become integral to scholarly discussions and is referenced in Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 11, and Paul Rabinow, *Essays on the Anthropology of Reason* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 129.

2. Clifford, *Person and Myth*, 172.

3. Rabinow, *Essays on the Anthropology of Reason*, 129.

4. Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, 25.

5. René Descartes, *Discourse on Method and The Meditations* (London: Penguin, 1968), 53.

6. Descartes, *Discourse*, 156.

7. Descartes, *Discourse*, 78.

8. Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), xxv–xxvi; Louis Montrose, “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,” *Representations*, No. 33, Special Issue: The New World (Winter, 1991), 1–41; Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (New York: Methuen) 1986, 1–3.

9. Montrose, “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,” 2.

10. Matthew H. Edney, “Mapping Empires, Mapping Bodies: Reflections on the Use and Abuse of Cartography.” *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia*, 63, 2007, 91.

11. See Edney, “Mapping Empires,” 88.

12. Jace Weaver, Craig S. Womack, and Robert Warrior, *American Indian Literary Nationalism* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), xxi.

13. Weaver et al., *American Indian Literary Nationalism*, xx–xxi.

14. Christopher Columbus, *Letter to King Ferdinand of Spain describing the results of the first voyage*, 1493, <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/hns/garden/columbus.html>.

15. Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

16. James Riding In, “Repatriation: A Pawnee’s Perspective,” in Devon Mihesuah, ed., *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 108.

17. Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1981).

18. The governments of Australia and Canada (but not yet the United States) have both issued public apologies and the Canadian justice minister described the abuse suffered by First Nations children as “the single most disgraceful, racist and harmful act” in Canadian history. More recently, in the United States, a Roman Catholic religious order in the Northwest, known as the Northwest Jesuits, has agreed to pay \$166 million to more than 500 victims of sexual abuse, most of whom are American Indians and Alaska Natives who were abused decades ago at boarding schools and in remote villages. This settlement, with the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus, is the largest abuse settlement by far from a Catholic religious order, as opposed to a diocese, and it is one of the largest abuse settlements of any kind by the Roman Catholic Church. See William Yardley, “Catholic Order Reaches \$166 Million Settlement With Sexual Abuse Victims,” *New York Times*, March 25, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/26/us/26jesuits.html>.

19. See Edney, “Mapping Empires,” 83–104.

20. Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 9.