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Research Article



# The art of Station Time: the Aboriginal experience of pastoralism in Australia

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From the 1800s to the 1970s, Australian Aboriginal people were employed to work on cattle and sheep stations across the north of the country. While historians argue over whether the relationship of these labourers was a form of indenture or slavery, artists testify to the various experiences of this long period of Australian history. Ceremonial life adapted to the arrival of new animals and stations with new song-cycles that incorporated the dancing figures of cattle and station 'bosses'. Art that survives from the period including incised shields and drawings evidence both ceremonial life and frontier violence. Today the ex-stockman Alan Griffiths memorializes Station Time with heroic paintings of rounding up cattle, while the younger artist Dale Harding commemorates the punishment of women forced into domestic service on stations. These artists testify to the ways that Aboriginal workers experienced pastoralism, the industry that drove the invasion and settlement of the greater part of Australia. On the one hand, these artworks testify to the violence and suffering endured by workers, while on the other, they celebrate the autonomy that Aboriginal people achieved through their excellence in labour. Indeed, as Aboriginal people moved into positions as head stockmen, they themselves become the bosses of non-indigenous workers. In this way, the art history of Station Time revises the history of Aboriginal Australia as one of indenture, slavery, suffering and violence, giving rise to a more nuanced history of the Aboriginal experience of pastoralism.

**Keywords:** Aboriginal art; Australian art; pastorialism; labour history; cattle; Australian history; Aboriginal history

In 2007, the auction house Sotheby's offered two wooden shields of Australian Aboriginal manufacture for sale, with the letters of a cattle brand burned into them, one of which is illustrated here (Figure 1) (Sotheby's 2007, 17). The shields combine two temporalities, the pre-colonial and the colonial, into a multivalent historical object. They are multivalent

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Figure 1. Shield from Queensland, Australia, hardwood and branded with the letters LC. Image courtesy the National Museum of Australia.

because they are neither of classical Aboriginal design, nor are they artefacts of the Australian pastoral industry. Within these branded letters lie the complexities of life on the colonial frontier. For people whose lives and families were transformed by the arrival of pastoralists, living and working on the new cattle stations represented a way of surviving the invasion of the Australian continent. The letters burned into hardwood here mirror the superimposition of pastoral empires over a classical Aboriginal world. Yet they also mark out a new kind of identity that arose from life on stations for those subject to the invasion and their descendants. For as they came to work and live on stations, Aboriginal people also came to identify with them, and to use station brands to identify themselves to each other (McGrath 1987, 150). So it was that 'Station Time' came about in Australia – a period that in the north of the country dates back to the 1880s, when Aboriginal people are first recorded working as stockmen and domestics. Station Time follows 'Killing Time' or 'Wild Time' – terms that describe the period of violence that came with the arrival of pastoralists – and is contemporaneous with 'Mission Time', which describes the situation of those who lived on Christian missions rather than stations (Trigger 1992, 18). Station Time describes the way that pastoralism and Aboriginal labour coincided across the north of the continent, and the way in which both cattle and labourers moved across droving routes between stations, slaughterhouses and ports. The conditions under which Aboriginal people worked differed according to the policies of colonial, state and national governments, and were subject to degrees of violence or benevolence employed by different pastoralists. The experience of Station Time also varied according to the strategies adopted by local Aboriginal people to survive. Art made in and about Station Time maps out these lived experiences of pastoralism.

## Dancing and singing

Historians have described the state of Aboriginal labourers on stations as slavery, and certainly on some stations the workers were like vassals, treated as the property of pastoral empires. Yet there is another history of Station Time too, aside from the structural conditions by which Aboriginal people were tied to station labour. For in many places the indifference or benevolence of station owners made it possible for people to carry on with classical life, in dancing and singing, ceremonies and cross-continental trade. This trade was conducted not only in material goods, but in song cycles, detailed performances that were passed from one group to another, entertainments that were often tied to dream visitations and magical incantations. When people moved between stations, song cycles passed through the country as they did before the invasion (Trigger 1992, 39). These performances came to incorporate pastoral themes. The Muldunga or Mulunga song cycle originated in Queensland before crossing the country in the early twentieth century. Witness Mick McLean recalls that the dancers 'had horns like a bullock' (cited in Hercus 1980, 18). The dance was said to be an attempt to magically exorcize the invaders. Later, in a song cycle from the north-west, beef, bread, sugar and tea featured in a performance by a 'boss', 'clerk', 'mailman' and 'pickybas' or 'police-boys' (Lommel 1950, 23).

Where a lively ceremonial culture survived, songs and dances were traded between stations across the country. The branded shields, collected from a pastoralist in the 1890s in south-west Queensland, may well be relics of a hybrid performance like the Muldunga. For the song cycles were ways by which Aboriginal people made sense of the present. The features of Station Time, such as cattle, were incorporated into these performances not as a break with the classical mode of life but as a way of ensuring its continuity. Ceremony 'bosses' ran the song cycles to ensure the health of people faced with new diseases such as leprosy and syphilis (Lommel 1950, 23). In the 1970s the so-called 'Balgo Business' was using old stockyards as ceremonial sites, where the boss flashed a lighter upon a locket that featured an image of a stockman who would pursue you if you didn't follow the classical law. Song cycles were also performed seasonally. In the north-west they took place in great gatherings during the hot and wet months of the summer. While on many missions and ration stations ceremonial grounds were inaugurated not far from the sight of the mission itself, in the summers of the north-west Station Time became Law Time. This was to the advantage of pastoralists who did not have to distribute rations for this season, as the Aboriginal people turned to hunting and gathering to survive (Foster 2000, 20). In these wet areas, root crops were easily found, and game was prolific (Crawford 1982, vii). Some station managers gave the groups a 'killer', a freshly killed bullock, so

that they would not be tempted to kill their own on their journey across the country. The 'wet season walkabout' or 'holiday time' could mean people travelling on foot for hundreds of kilometres, to meet for dances and for more restricted and formal ceremonies such as initiation (Bulla in Shaw 1986, 159; Lewis and Rose 1988, 15).

## Labour

In the north-west, Aboriginal people would gather for ceremonies after walking from stations across the north (Mulvaney 1996, 6). As late as the 1960s, Miriwoong and Gayadawong people walked as far as 300 kilometres to Doolyngin (Argument Gap), over the Northern Territory border, for such occasions (Griffiths and Kelly n.d.). Seasonal pastoral work enabled the continuation of traditional socio-spiritual practices related to maintenance of tracts of country and the kin networks embedded in them, so that there remained 'the vestiges of a traditional culture – sustained through structural continuities with the pastoral industry' (Kleinert 1994, 180). Not only ceremonies and song cycles, but stock work also enabled Aboriginal people to maintain ties to their country, as they turned their intimate knowledge of this country into a means of employment, and sometimes to cattle and horse theft, or duffing. In the Northern Territory, cattle and horse thieves drove hundreds of animals over stony, wet or sandy ground, attempting to blur their tracks, or would keep a herd of legal animals to obscure the presence of stolen ones over the next range. Stations and townships along the Northern Territory border with Queensland were among the best places to dispose of stolen animals (Kimber 1986, 17). Such droving expeditions, legal or illegal, more often than not followed walking routes long established before the arrival of stock. Because droving routes arose between watering places, where bores and windmills had taken the place of waterholes (Kimber 1986, 12, 30; Swain 1993, 229), stockmen settled into a life that, while dominated by the interests of pastoralists, was also one in which a certain equilibrium was achieved in working life. For despite the imbalance of power between races, Aboriginal stockmen and -women working on stations were able to forge a new identity amid the common interest both pastoralists and workers had in the country itself.

This is not to say that life was free of violence, or that Aboriginal people were always free to move between stations. As the twentieth century wore on, pastoralists held more desperately onto their labour force, conspiring with governments to restrict the movement of workers, who required police permission to move away from their assigned stations. In the north-west, the police enforced the interests of the pastoralists so diligently that local workers thought that they worked for these overlords. Some managers had better reputations than others, and although police would

chase and return people who had left their posts, families would inevitably gather at those places where the managers were less cruel. Some bosses were known for their brutality, 'revolver men' who beat and horsewhipped their workers (Paterson 2008, 212). 'When we were big boys on the stations we used to get hidings from white people', recalls Mandi, a maker of didgeridoos, boomerangs, spears and carved boab nuts in the Kimberley in the early 1970s (cited in Shaw 1986, 36). In some cases, revolver men would wake to find the entire workforce had abandoned them in the night, destined for better situations on other stations, ration depots, or mines (Paterson 2008, 213). Such revolver men were not always white. Trusted Aboriginal men were given revolvers and firearms too, and were also expected to commit violence against their own people, but more often those from other language groups (Batty 2007, 23). Such strategies date back to the nineteenth century, when in Queensland young men and boys were conscripted into the Native Police, who would enact invader policies upon people from other Aboriginal nations.

In Queensland's far north in the late nineteenth century, a young boy called Oscar represented the ways in which Killing Time overlapped with Station Time, and the employment of Aboriginal police to enforce the new pastoral order. Oscar's scrapbook is typical of a handful that have survived from this time, as books and pencils were given to local people to fill in with pictures of their lives. These books often mix drawings of costumed dancers and Aboriginal life, but they are also some of the earliest examples of art made in and about Station Time, showing the detail of station homesteads, horses and stockyards. Oscar's scrapbook was likely given to him by Rocklands Station manager Augustus Henry Glissan, and captures some of the chaos of this period of Australian history. Pictures of Chinese miners and people in the township show his sense of humour, his eye for comedy amid the dramas of the settlement. There are also disturbing scenes of chaining, whipping and execution. His drawing *Dispersing Usual Way, Good Shooting* shows bearded men firing weapons into the distance, in what is probably an illustration of 'land clearing' for new pastoral operations (Figure 2). Artist Fiona Foley has memorialized the term 'dispersed' in a sculpture that spells these letters out in capitals, with the D written in bullets. The term 'dispersal' was used, along with 'shaking up' and 'frights', to describe violent expeditions taken into regions that had not yet been cleared of Aboriginal people (McGrath 1987, 13). Local newspapers advertised 'land clearance' as a service for pastoralists hoping to set themselves up in new places. In the Victoria River Valley, on the Wave Hill and Victoria River Downs stations in the Northern Territory, Deborah Bird Rose estimates that the Killing Times and Settling Down periods overlapped from between 1900 and 1940 (Rose 1992, 9). During this time a war was waged between not only station men and local Aboriginal

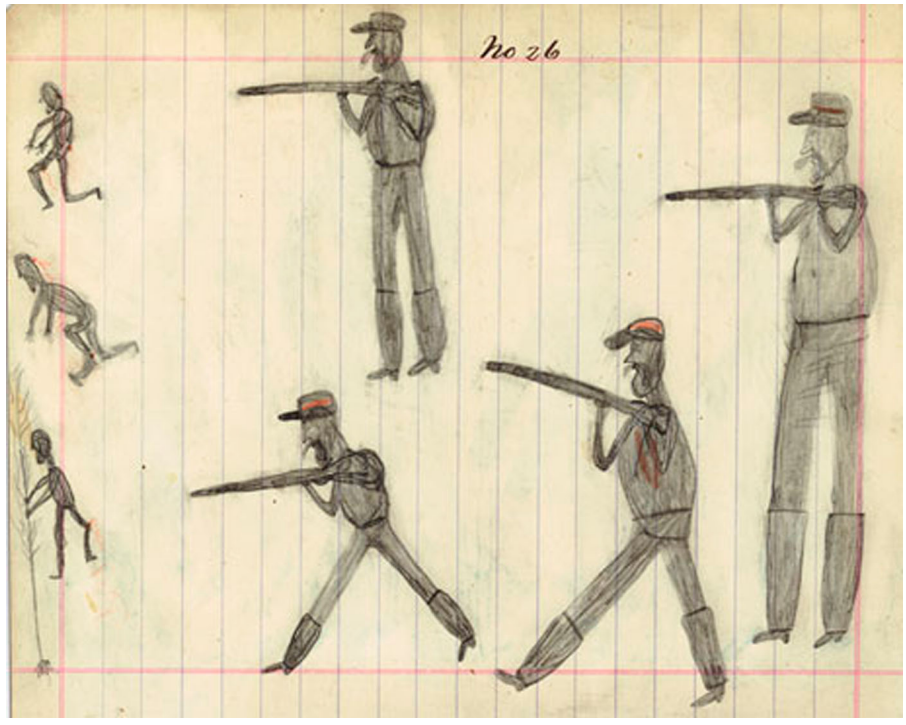


Figure 2. Oscar, *Dispersing Usual Way, Some Good Shooting*. Pencil on paper, 1898. Image courtesy the National Museum of Australia.

groups, but between Aboriginal groups who were forced to take refuge in sandstone country (Rose 1992, 9–13).

Just as African American slaves enabled an expansion in American agriculture, the First Australians enabled Australia's remote economies to expand and flourish. The similarities to American slavery, or to the peonage of local people to the Spanish rule of Mexico, lies in the fact that labour on stations was hardly a choice for many of the First Australians. To roam freely over the country as they once did was to face starvation or death by violence. So it was that men and women undertook hard labour, while children undertook menial work (Laufer 2001). Children learned to ride horses as young as 6 or 7, while women were employed as trackers, guides, stockmen and musterers (McGrath 1995, 274; Rose 1992, 14). In earlier periods of pastoralism, Aboriginal women had more freedom to undertake such roles than European women, who were scarce on the frontier, and in some cases confined to their station homesteads. As the historian Anne McGrath writes in her book on Station Time, *Born in the Cattle*:

> White women also came to rely heavily on Aboriginal women's skills; they performed most of the domestic work and also acted as midwives during

> labour. The remoteness of cattle stations and their husbands' frequent absence created a trusting reliance and often strong bonds. (McGrath 1987, 3)

Aboriginal women were far from exempt from hard labour, however, as they fixed and hauled around stations, as well as taking up stock work, including mustering, droving, breaking in horses, castrating, branding, saddling, cattle-dipping, ear-marking, spaying and separating weaners.

With the progressive colonization of the country, and the different policies and personalities of the frontier, the situation for women became very different, as a moral economy drove women from labour in the new capitalist economy. In the Victoria River Valley, women were increasingly confined to domestic chores during and after the 1930s, after working with horses and cattle in earlier years (Rose 1992, 19). Queensland artist Dale Harding commemorates the suffering of women who had little choice but to grow up in dormitories and to enter domestic service. Harding's grandmother and her sister were removed from a loving family into two different dormitories when they were small children. At around the age of 12 or 13 they were taken to work on stations under government contract, to be wards of the local police station while labouring under the orders of station owners. They were selected from line-ups of children, boys in one line and girls in another, in the late 1930s and early 1940s. *Of One's Own Country* (2011) is a ball of old-fashioned steel wool, designed to unravel from the wall over the course of its exhibition, a single strand falling onto a narrow plinth below. It is designed to look like pubic hair, and refers to the experience of women in domestic service. *Bright Eyed Little Dormitory Girls* (2013) is a series of miniature hessian sacks with collars sewn into them, could well be mistaken for oversized dolls' clothes, their petite forms showing off Harding's craft skills (Figure 3). Here too the artist uses the work as a means of explaining his own family history, and Aboriginal history more generally. His grandmother was forced to wear a hessian sack as a punishment for resisting the sexual advances of a whitefella. Harding has attempted to redeem this horrific experience in the work, by sewing soft, feminine collars onto this tough material.

Aboriginal men and women particularly excelled at stock work, as they understood the country around them better than the settlers. While their living standards varied widely and rations were the standard method of payment, pride in work constituted a form of resistance to the oppressive paternalism and racism that was by this time entrenched in mainstream social attitudes to Aboriginal people. After traditional roles had been undermined, work on stations offered Aboriginal men new opportunities for leadership and pride within their own communities. As McGrath (1997, 13) wrote in one government report:


Figure 3. Dale Harding, *Bright Eyed Little Dormitory Girls*, detail (sack 1), 2013. Image courtesy the artist and Miani Gallery Brisbane.

> Within a context of structural inequality and exploitation, pastoral workers sustained an environment of richer human interaction. Station employment and prestigious roles such as head stockman enhanced the authority and dignity of Aborigines in the eyes of the wider community, as well as being a source of personal self-esteem.

Despite the racial divide, the colonized rose to become head stockmen in pastoral empires across the country, and were often the bosses of white workers. Traditional obligations were supplemented by loyalties forged between workers, and formed a distinction between 'station blacks' who were 'not like the "blackfellas" still living in the bush' (Benn, cited in Peattie 2011, 2). So says the Northern Territory painter Billy Benn Perrule, who began his career in art by drawing pictures of cowboys and women. Working in the Kimberley and western Northern Territory, however, the oral historian Bruce Shaw says that the distinction between 'station blacks' and 'bush blacks' has been overstated, as people 'freely shifted from one category to the other' (Shaw 1986, 5). In the Victoria River Valley, station people sought refuge with bush relatives when the station got rough, and bush people sought the company and resources of station people (Rose 1992, 17). Tim Rowse (1987, 96), a close reader of Shaw's biography of stockman Jack Sullivan, points out how easily some station bosses shifted freely between ritual life and station life, playing a role as diplomats between the bush and the pastoral empires attempting to control it. He reports on a man called Boxer who was originally from Queensland, and who in the early twentieth century brought song cycles to one of the biggest and oldest pastoral stations in the north-west (Rowse 1987, 94–95). Boxer also managed this station, a ritual and labour boss in classical and colonial worlds. In shifting between categories, stockmen were the middle classes of a new cosmopolitan society that wavered between pastoral and classical modes of life. They travelled between Aboriginal cultures, as well as within and without the camps of Chinese miners and Afghan cameleers, and in exceptional circumstances into white society.

In this milieu the little remuneration that stockmen got for their labour, including hats, pants, shirts, belts and boots, came to assume a new significance. As early as 1901 Francis Gillen wrote in his diary that Parunda, a local boy picked up in the pastoral town of Oodnadatta, was taking his pants in tighter and sewing a bright red flannel on his hat. This tightening of the pants may have originally been because they were oversized, manufactured by companies such as Fang, Chong, Loong and Company who advertised cheap clothing for the 'natives' (McGrath 1987, 129). Such clothes were made for adults only, while many of the stockmen and Parunda himself were the age of boys. But Gillen reports that Parunda has an eye for the ladies, and with such a sense of style 'will be simply irresistible' (Gillen 1901, 163). By the 1920s, Aboriginal stockmen were having their clothes made by professional tailors (Beckett 1978, 17). From early days in the history of colonial Australia, Aboriginal men were attracted to the clothing of stockmen, and used the term 'flash' to describe the way that they looked (Batty 2007, 23). Shiny decorations on belts and hats were believed to

possess love magic. In an email to me on 4 December 2015, Jason Gibson told me that in Central Australia, such items had their precedent in *Ilpentye/Ilpintja*, or love magic, their flash in the sunshine meant to catch the eye of a coveted woman. Photographs of Aboriginal people from this time, invariably by non-indigenous people, show men posing in their hats and pants, often dressed handsomely and with pride in their status as workers. For stock work provided them with an identity in the transforming society of remote Australia, and like any identity, created a visual culture of dress and behaviour.

## Alan Griffiths

The cosmopolitanism of remote Australia during Station Time is perhaps best represented by the north-west artist Alan Griffiths. Born on Victoria River Downs, or 'The Big Run', around 1933, his life story ventures through some of the complexities of the frontier and its aftermath. His father was a Japanese cook on the station, but he was raised by Ngaliwurru parents and his grandfather. Deborah Bird Rose (1991) and Darrell Lewis (2012) have documented the violence that came with the occupation of this part of the country, and the way that the cattle station was a sanctuary from the shooting gallery taking place beyond. Yet the station was no sanctuary for Griffiths, who lived in the bush with his grandfather after the station manager tried to have him taken away, due to his lighter shade of skin (cited in Neate 2013). Griffiths worked moving 2000–3000 head of cattle at a time through remote Australia, on various stations in the north and north-west, including on Beswick Station, where he was manager. He also laid pipe in the north-west town of Wyndham, and drove a tractor on a cotton farm (Griffiths and Kelly n.d.). This is a typical biography of people who lived through Station Time, and who shifted between stations and, later, between labour opportunities, before in the late 1960s a series of strikes and the politics of eastern Australia led to a decision to afford equal wages to Aboriginal people. Subsequently, stockmen like Griffiths no longer had the opportunity for this kind of work. As stations lost their indentured labourers, Aboriginal people were forced onto government settlements and to the fringes of towns. For many of this generation, this represented the loss of a way of life:

> Where Aboriginal people used to work on the stations they were contented. But ever since then things have changed altogether. They were happy. Well most of the people grew up on the stations and they didn't know anything, never went to school. That was all they knew you know the work on the stations, and they grew up to be stockmen. And then the wages came on. They started paying them wages. And later they changed altogether. They had to put a lot of the womenfolks, married people off the stations to cope

> with the wages they were going to pay. That was around 1968. (July Oakes, cited in Shaw 1992, 296)

After 1968, Station Time came to an end in Australia, as equal wages were rolled out across the country, and labourers were moved off the stations that had long been home for them and their families. On the Kimberley, this gave rise to refugee camps in places like Fitzroy Crossing and Turkey Creek. This was the situation that brought Griffiths and many others to make art, as he began to carve boab nuts and didgeridoos for a tourist market. The rise of art centres and an appetite for Aboriginal painting in Australian cities gave Griffiths the chance to commemorate Station Time in paintings of cattle in yards.

Griffiths revises the gum tree school of Australian painting, which liked to show cattle in picturesque bush. Instead, Griffiths paints his cattle from the point of view of the stockman, who knows his cattle both individually and as a great moving mass. Cattle are depicted not as restful, grazing animals but as dramatic and sublime as they converge into a mob to be driven overland for weeks at a time. Their shapes sway and shift in the eye, in an illusion of movement that simulates the life of a stockman on horseback. In one painting, Griffiths and his mate are taking a nap while the boss is away. In others, he is riding on his white horse Sugarloaf, as in the untitled painting of Figure 4. In European art, history painting emerged as a way of attempting to envisage the drama of contemporary times. When classicism dominated the academies and halls of the European artworld, history painting appeared as its rebellious child, attempting to put the French Revolution and other bloody conflicts beside the great Hellenistic and Christian myths. In these Station Time paintings, Griffiths is part of a history painting movement that rebels against an Aboriginal art industry dominated by ethnographic themes of classical life, such as Dreaming stories and pictures of bush tucker. Instead, history painting sets out to commemorate Aboriginal histories of remote Australia.

Griffiths' series of stockyard paintings is supplemented by another series of *joonba*, song-cycle paintings. Speaking about the beginnings of this genre, Griffiths says that 'I asked [gallerist] Kevin Kelly about putting a corroboree on canvas and he said "he might be alright, try him". So I did and he said "bloody hell, that's good"' (*Kimberley Echo*, 23 April 2009). These are paintings of crowded scenes of dancers of *joonba*, rows and rows of decorated figures performing and dressed differently, arranged into sections of the overall composition (Figure 5). Many of these dances are of Griffiths' own *joonba*, the Bali Bali Balga, which was first given to him by his grandfather and subsequently in dreams. Row after row of dancers wave their arms like windmills, some carrying the great *balmoora*, tall thread crosses that must have appeared unreal by firelight, and seem in his paintings to glow like orbs of some surreal visitation

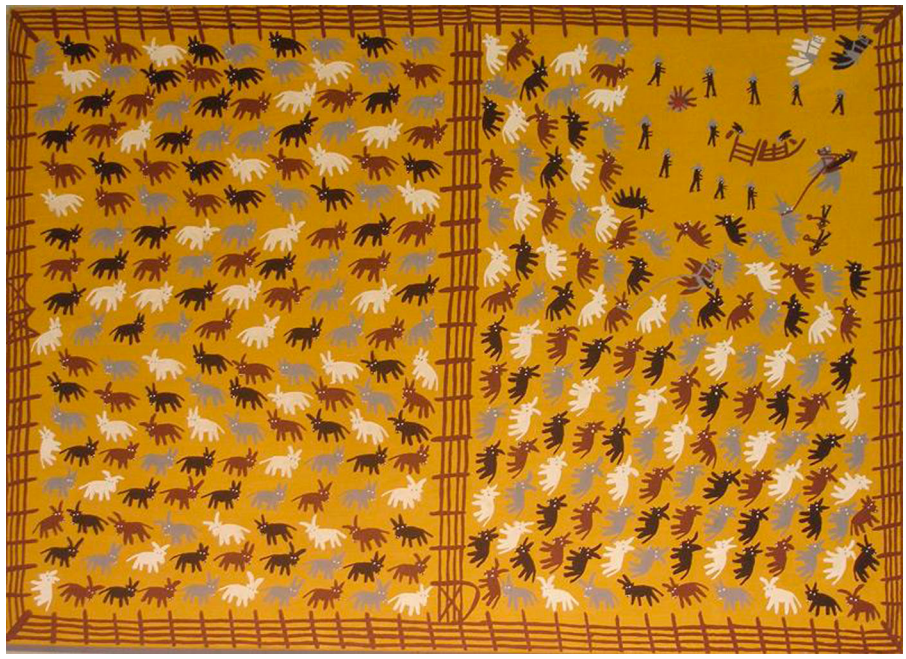

Figure 4. Alan Griffiths, Untitled, 2006, ochre and acrylic on canvas, 100 × 140 cm. Image courtesy the artist and Waringarri Aboriginal Arts.

among the dancers. The sections of the canvas are like animated sequences, as one dance follows another in a great gathering of people. The artist recalls, as a child, being part of a celebration at a waterhole on Victoria River Downs. Two police trackers arrived to apprehend three fugitives, and sat on a hill for two days trying to spot them, but the group disguised them until they could sneak away.

These *joonba* paintings hold within themselves the exuberance of ceremony time, just as his cattle paintings play out the crowded and busy musters of Station Time. The various dances within them echo the way that cattle that are penned into yards or between rocky ridges in his cattle paintings, as if he is drawing their figures into a mandala of memories. There is movement built into both the *joonba* and cattle series, as the repetition of figures, and the way that they lean this way and that, gives rise to an illusion of movement along their rows and shapes. It is as if Griffiths wants to place us amid the ecstasy of ceremony, or the smelly, noisy chaos of a cattle run. Like the great canvases of Delacroix commemorating Napoleon's victories in France, Griffiths' history painting holds within it the exuberance of these two sides of Station Time, a time that represents not only a life with cattle but a rich ceremonial culture. Their dialectic of nostalgia and glory is visible here in figures that move with the eye, sweeping like the soldiers of Delacroix's French Revolution

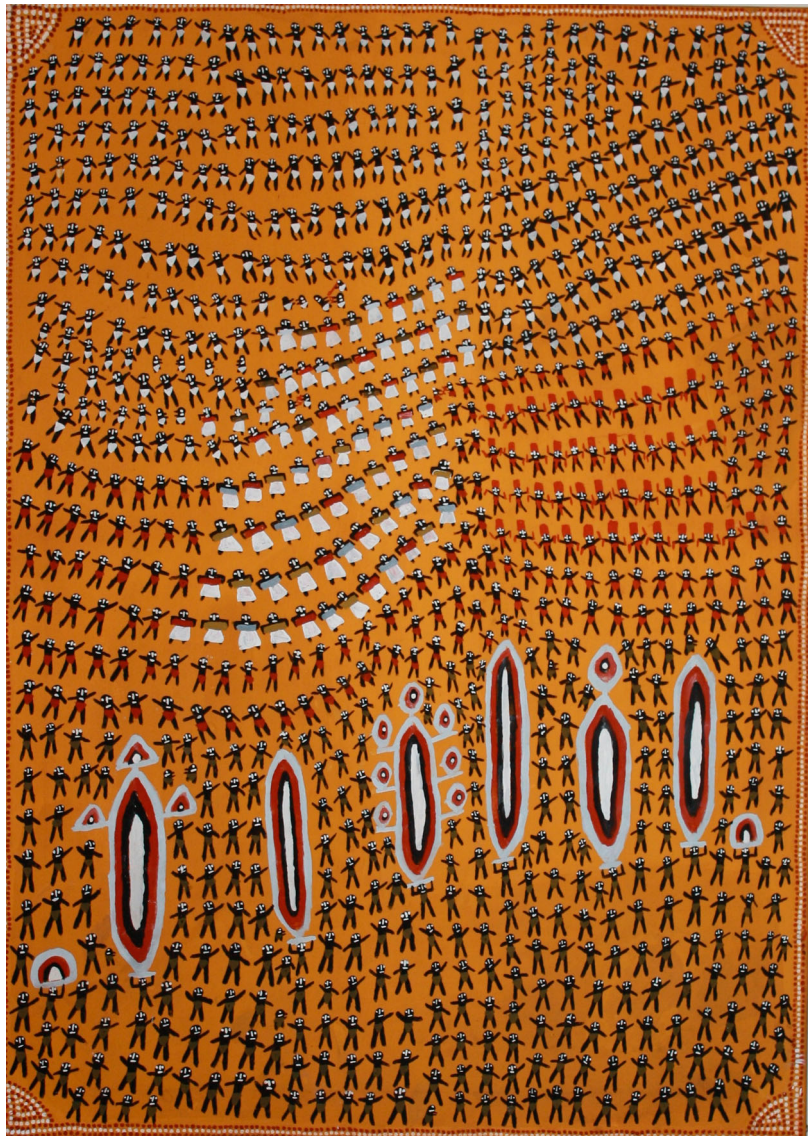

Figure 5. Alan Griffiths, *Moonga Moonga, Joonba and Bali Bali Balga*, ochre pigments on canvas, 100 × 140 cm, 2010. Image courtesy the artist and Waringarri Aboriginal Arts.

across the surface of the picture. Cattle and humans alike are swept up by powers that exceed them, in a muster or a ceremony. They are carried away by the power of history, and history's power to create. Read alongside each other, these two genres of Griffiths' paintings show how it is that the one, classical life came to echo the other, pastoral life in a rhythm of the seasons.

On the rocks of the Victoria River region there are rows of dancing figures painted as Griffiths paints his dancers, dressed in tall headgear in

*joonba*. So too amid the sandstone is an early, spectacular painting of a stockman herding cattle, the animals overlaid on each other on a sandstone wall. A handprint lies to the left of it, and a snake is underneath. Though Griffiths' recent paintings give the cattle more discipline, fencing them into yards, it was on rock that the genre of Station Time art began in Australia. For early rock art pictures of pastoralists and police began to cement the relations between invader and invaded. The white men often ride their horses with hands on their hips, a pose that, archaeologist Alastair Paterson argued (when he spoke to me in 2013), conveys the power of survey and conquest. In other rock art paintings the riders have their arms outstretched, gripping the reins or an undefined object (Layton 1992, 122). There are other representations too, and questions around them have to do with questions of first contact, or at least the sightings, of non-Aboriginal people by locals. It is to such representations and issues around coming in and working on stations that we can turn in order to think through the ways in which art practices, from performance to rock art to contemporary painting, encode relations between one people and another. Contemporary artists such as Griffiths can be nostalgic about their time on stations, looking back with a sense of loss, taking pride in the work that they did to build the region, its fences, roads and yards. Deborah Bird Rose (1992, 24) describes the reason for these feelings, the reason they 'hang on to the memory of those times because invasion still controls their lives, and because remembrance still encompasses the longing for freedom'. In Western democracies, art has come to represent freedom where this freedom is missing from everyday life. Here, too, art about labour on stations represents the contradictions of freedom, the way equality and esteem were accomplished in a situation in which the classical modes of achieving these were under threat from the violence of invasion. In this, the art of Station Time enables a modified view of the history of pastoralism in Australia, one that is not confined to slavery or indenture. The art history of Station Time also visualizes freedoms achieved through labour, and the complexities of classical modes of life that carried on in spite of the pastoral regime.

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