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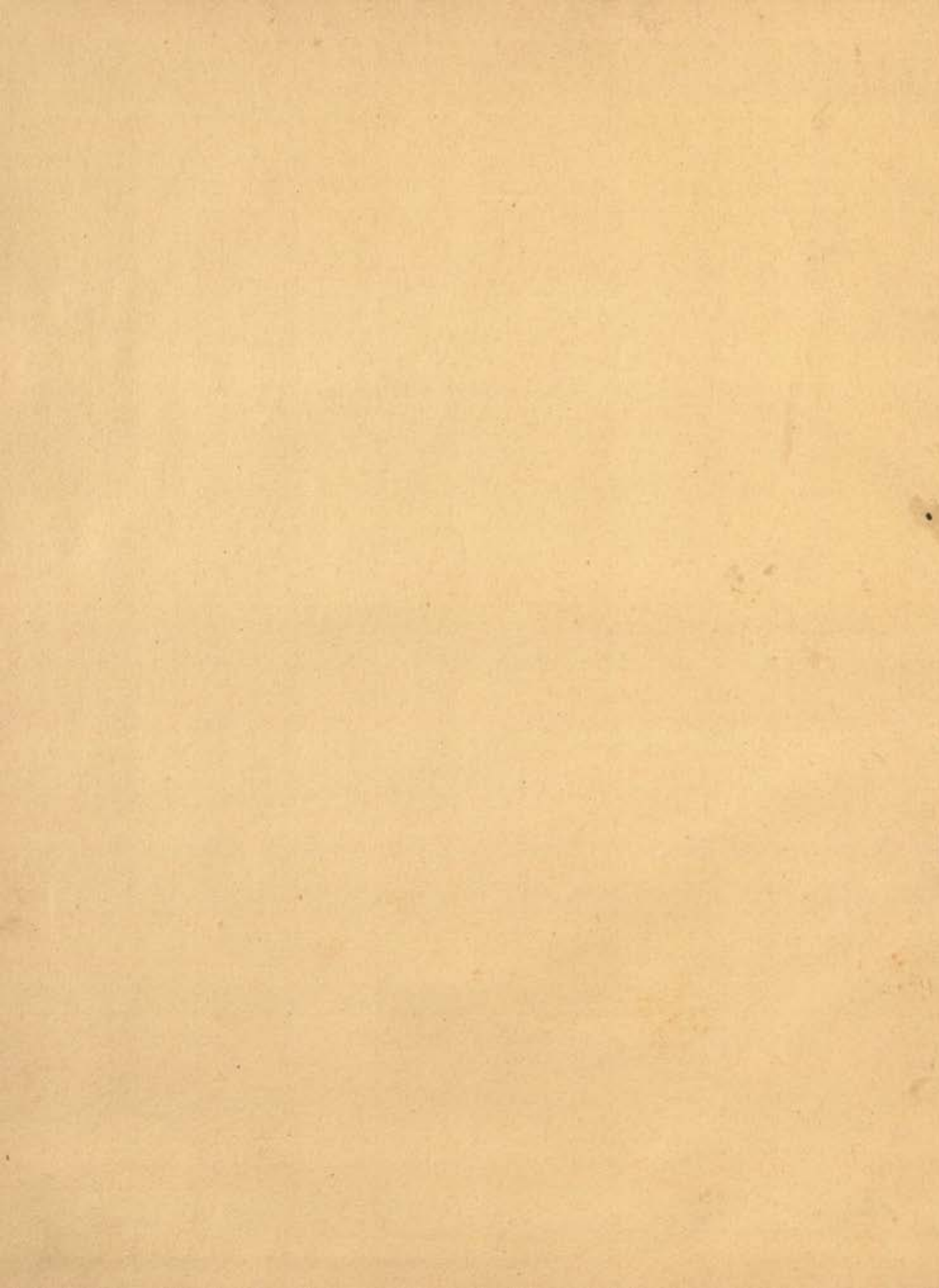
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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

BRONISLAW KASPAR MALINOWSKI. Born 1884—Died 1942. *By Audrey I. Richards. With Plate A.*

I Bronislaw Malinowski died suddenly at Yale on May 16th, 1942, after taking the chair at the formal opening of a Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences, of which he had been chosen President. He had spent the last three years of his life in the United States, the first on a sabbatical year's leave from the London School of Economics, when he made a field-trip to study some of the Mexican market systems; and the second as the Bishop Museum travelling professor at Yale University. He had recently plunged with his usual energy into planning for post-war reconstruction. He had always claimed that the anthropologist had a special contribution to make to the study of modern society, and used constantly to stimulate his students by comparing primitive institutions and their own. His reaction to the world situation was therefore characteristic. From 1933 onwards he immersed himself in an analysis of the whole institution of war, and of intertribal and international relations. When he died, he had practically completed a book on the concept of freedom in human society; and this, it is hoped, will be published. He was also at work on a study of culture contacts between primitive and European peoples. Death therefore struck him at a time of great intellectual activity. It certainly came as a sudden blow to anthropology in this country, where it will be difficult to replace his stimulus and leadership when empty lecture-rooms begin to fill after the war.

Malinowski was born at Cracow in 1884. He took his Ph.D. in physics and mathematics in 1908, and it was only ill-health that stopped him from giving his life to research in these fields. However, as he left the University to recuperate, he struck accidentally a copy of Frazer's *Golden Bough*, and this immediately awakened his interest in the study of human culture. He worked for a short time under Karl Bücher at Leipzig, and then came to England in 1910. Here he became a student at the London School of Economics, and was one of the many who owed the beginnings of their anthropological career to the help and encouragement of C. G. Seligman. Thenceforth this country became his home. He mocked at English customs, and hurried each vacation to the more congenial atmosphere of the Tyrol, but London remained the centre of his intellectual life and interests, and he wrote of it with nostalgia during the last years of his life.

Malinowski was appointed a lecturer at the London School of Economics in 1913, but left for the Pacific with the Robert Mond expedition in 1914, and there spent two-and-a-half years in the field, chiefly in the Trobriand Islands. In 1924 he was appointed to a Readership in Social Anthropology, and in 1927 to the first Chair in Anthropology in the University of London. In 1935 he made a flying trip across Africa, visiting a number of his students at work in the field in Tanganyika, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, and Swaziland. He lectured in Geneva, Vienna and Oslo. His contacts with the United States were close. He toured there in 1926 at the invitation of the Laura Spelman Memorial Trust, and returned in 1936 to receive a D.Sc. from Harvard University.

Malinowski's field of experience was therefore an unusually wide one. The range of subjects he dealt with was equally large. Much of his working life was given to the study of the family and kinship—a subject on that border-line between psychology and sociology that held such fascination for him. His first book, a student thesis called *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (1913),

dealt with primitive kinship. His later *Sexual Life of Savages* (1929), based on his own field material, is one of the fullest descriptive accounts of primitive marriage that exists. In *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (1926) he broke new ground by challenging current psycho-analytical doctrines on family relationships—views which he first found stimulating as a student of psychology, and later, as a sociologist, dissatisfying. The bulk of his systematic material on kinship unfortunately remains unpublished.

The integrative function of magic and religion was another subject which continually absorbed his interests. Initially he followed Durkheim in his stress on the social importance of religious rites and beliefs, but these views he reformulated in the light of direct observations on primitive societies. He also combined them with a definitely psychological approach, that is to say, with an emphasis on the part played by magic and religion in the life of the individual. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1928) deals with the place of fishing and trading magic in the Trobriand culture, and *Coral Gardens and their Magic* (1935) with the importance of their garden cults. *Myth in Primitive Society* (1926) gives a short exposé of Malinowski's views on the social function of myth, later developed more fully in a number of his descriptive works. Other aspects of human culture to which he made continuous contributions were primitive law, on which he published a short book called *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (1927), primitive economics, and the social function of language. Lastly, in order to meet the needs of students going to work in the rapidly changing societies of modern Africa, he adapted his theoretical approach to the study of culture contacts, and was largely responsible for the rapid spread of interest in the practical applications of anthropology in the field of colonial administration. A five-year plan of research on changing tribal life organized by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures was chiefly due to his inspiration, and he acted for some years as chairman of the applied anthropology committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

To anthropological science Malinowski's chief contribution was probably the entirely new standard of field work he set up. His quick sympathies and his unusual linguistic gifts and powers of human contact made it possible for him to share in a quite exceptional way the life

of the people whom he had gone to observe. A field-trip to him was an intense experience, emotional as well as intellectual, and he described it as a personal adventure. His vivid accounts of scenes and personalities not only brought him a wide circle of general readers, but gave a new touch of reality to the formal outline descriptions of native societies which were then usual. Immersed in the life of the Trobriand islanders, he set out to find how their small society worked, and what their different institutions really meant to them, and did for them. At the time this was a new type of sociological analysis. Malinowski soon became impatient of the largely antiquarian interest of much of the current anthropology. In fact the term 'functional anthropology,' which he afterwards used to describe a special method of detailed analysis of particular cultures, he first adopted to stress his claim to study the 'function' of native customs, as actually observed, as distinct from their interest as clues in the reconstruction of some historical event or evolutionary series. He attacked earlier writers with his usual energy and emphasis. His views often provoked violent controversy, but they were certainly largely responsible for the recent rapid development of anthropology as an observational science.

The techniques of this science he developed as he worked, by trial and error in the field, and afterwards in writing up his material. From the first, he analysed critically his own methods of observation. He spent what was then an unusually long period of study in a single community, and quickly began to abandon the fixed interview and the native interpreter for the participant observation that is more common nowadays. Though he never made full use of the statistical methods that have been shown since to be possible and necessary, yet he collected copious native texts, and his documentation in the form of charts, maps, diaries, and concrete case-histories was little short of a revelation to the anthropologists of his time. *Coral Gardens and their Magic* is, and will probably remain, an education in field method. His passion for detail was combined with the true field-worker's gift for swift, almost intuitive, judgment of social situations and a power of formulating quickly the problem at issue. His field-work lectures were full of warnings of the dangers of merely collecting facts without system or purpose. Students whom he later visited in

the field were often amazed at this unusual combination of quick and almost facile apprehension of the relevant facts, with his infinite patience in amassing data, once his theoretical interests had been aroused. The charm and ease of his shorter descriptive books give little indication of the mass of information on which they were based.

To general sociological theory, Malinowski's chief contribution was probably his analysis of human culture into those basic institutions that exist to fulfil such fundamental human needs as food, sex, procreation, shelter, or defence. By institutions he meant a complex of interrelated features or 'aspects,' such as the type of social grouping which must come into being to carry out such needs, the rules obeyed by its members, its traditional activities, formulated beliefs, values and knowledge, and the material culture and environment that determine its form. To describe such basic institutions meant in fact studying every aspect of a society from the viewpoint of particular biological needs. With this theoretical approach, Malinowski evolved a system of analysing the institutions of any society, primitive or modern, and worked it out in the form of elaborate charts, which he taught students to use when collecting facts in the field. One of the chief merits of his famous 'functional method' was, in fact, this systematic technique for studying the interrelationship of different aspects of a particular culture—a technique which forces a field-worker to see each fact in a variety of different settings, and hence stimulates him to follow a number of alternative lines of research. This power of seeing the interrelationship between one element of human culture and another gave to Malinowski's work that precious quality that a historian has recently described as 'span.' To it was added his gift for coining phrases which readily evoked those complexes of activities, laws, values, and beliefs which he sought to describe—such phrases as, for instance, 'mythical charter,' 'dogma of procreation,' or 'principle of legitimacy.' Whether Malinowski's methods can ever be used successfully as a basis for systematic comparative work remains to be seen, and he never made this attempt himself. The technique certainly makes for a most detailed and fruitful examination of particular cultures.

Finally, Malinowski's influence on the general development of British anthropology was in many

ways remarkable, although it is one that posterity may easily forget. Many of the doors at which he hammered with such violence are now open, and his stimulus was given as much through the spoken as the written word. The exact nature of this influence is difficult to describe since it was part and parcel of the strong personality that was splashed so large across his work. The sheer intensity of his work was probably the strongest impression he made on students. He worked at all hours of the day and night, in bed, out of bed, eating and walking. His output was enormous, in spite of the constant ill-health which was his fortune from early youth. Work absorbed him and possessed him, and into the whirlpool of his activity students were temporarily plunged, to sink or to swim. They learned to discuss their theses on bus-tops or dodging the market-barrows down Holborn side-streets. He gave his time generously to his students, and demanded theirs in return. He tended to regard them rather as a team engaged on a joint battle than as a number of individuals with different interests and needs. They learnt a particular method of work and a particular theoretical interest, rather than a body of detailed facts.

Malinowski early abandoned formal lecturing, and always ignored the prescribed University curriculum. Students worked at any problem in which he was at the moment intensely absorbed. It was in seminars that his teaching gifts were best displayed. These weekly discussions became famous, and attracted students of the most different types. Colonial officials on leave valued Malinowski's live approach, if they were not too much alarmed by his question-and-answer method of teaching. Senior research students came from many parts of the world, and Malinowski would often flash retorts in four or five different languages. University lecturers sat side-by-side with the veriest amateurs. These seminars varied, but at their best they were brilliant performances. Malinowski was a man of wide culture and great personal charm. He could be provocative and prejudiced, but he could also be profound, penetrating, and constructive. His wit was proverbial. There was a curious kindling touch in all he did, and a rare power of evoking ideas in others. His directness forced students to get to the bottom of a problem and express its essentials simply. Pupils might be irritated by his intolerance, or inspired by his enthusiasm.

They were never bored. 'Invite Malinowski to the opening session of a conference,' said a shrewd missionary. 'Half the audience will disagree with him violently, but the discussions will go with a swing from the start.' 'I have just had a letter from Malinowski,' said another ruefully. 'His language is so appalling that I cannot let my secretary file the note. But he has given me enough ideas to work on for half a year.' In this power of stimulus his genius lay.

It is a tragedy that Malinowski did not live long enough to prepare some of the material hammered out in these joint discussions in a more permanent form. The very fertility of his intellect left his path littered with unfinished projects, and some

of his most illuminating ideas survive only in the form of slight essays or rather inaccessible articles. Two or three of his books must be reckoned as land-marks in their way, but the full possibilities of his sociological method have perhaps not yet been realised. But his name deserves to be remembered as one who set up a new standard of field-work, trained a new school of field-workers, opened up new possibilities in the application of anthropological knowledge to colonial problems, and breathed a fresh spirit into the anthropology of his time. He made enemies as well as devoted friends, but no one will deny his originality and brilliance, or the passionate sincerity of his devotion to anthropological science.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE U.S.S.R. THE [FOREST ZONE. *By Professor V. Gordon Childe, F.B.A., University of Edinburgh.*

2 When at the close of the Ice Age forest invaded the steppes, the old economy based upon the collective pursuit of big gregarious beasts by large bands of hunters (MAN, 1942, 60 (p. 103)) broke down. But at the same time the once frozen north was opened to settlement, provided the settlers equipped themselves with tools for dealing with the forest and adjusted the technique of the chase to the new conditions. The rudiments of a carpenter's kit had already been created by the steppe societies of the ice age as represented at Kostienki, Mezin, and Borchevo (*ibid.*, pp. 101-2). Round the Baltic the successive stages in the colonization of the North, the development of wood-working tools and the adjustment of general economy, correlated with the changing levels of land and sea and—by pollen-analysis—with climatic phases, are fully documented in the Hamburg, Lyngby, Maglemose and Ertebølle cultures of the Late Glacial, Pre-Boreal, Boreal and Atlantic phases respectively. These illustrate not only a progressive development of chopping tools (*Antiquity*, 1942, 258-264), but also an economic evolution. In Lyngby we still have hunting by small nomadic groups combined with fishing. The summer camps of the Maglemoseans in Zealand and at Duvensee disclose increased reliance on fishing by groups that are still nomadic. First with Ertebølle do we meet a really sedentary economy based on fishing and the collection of shell-fish combined still with

hunting—an economy that is continued into Sub-Boreal times by the late Ertebølle culture of Denmark and the Dwelling Places of Scandinavia and the East Baltic, which are found all over North Russia too. The intervening stages are very imperfectly reflected in Russia proper. The Sviderian encampments on the high dunes may be stadially comparable to Lyngby, but their chronological horizon is rather vague and their locations exclude the conservation of bone and so of any 'heavy industry.' On the coasts north-west of Murmansk, Soviet archaeologists have recently explored 'Arctic palaeolithic' stations, equivalent to the Norwegian Finnmarkian, but assigned on geological grounds to the Boreal phase and yielding chopping tools made by the tranchet technique stadially equivalent to Maglemose (*S.A.*, v. (1940), 107-143).

Only in the 'Dwelling Places' (*stoyanki*) with pit-comb ware does the archaeological record become comprehensive and clear. Such are scattered all through the forest zone from the edge of the pre-steppe to the White Sea coasts and from the Baltic to the Volga-Kama junction. But their antiquity cannot be determined so precisely as in Finland, where Äyräpää has established a sequence of styles by correlations with the progressive regression of the sea. His style I is only and doubtfully represented by Maryanivka in the Ukraine (*Antropologiya*, Kiev, iii, 1929), Yazikovo north of the Volga in Tver

(S.A., iii, 217), and Medvezhdei Gora in Karelia (K.S., vii (1940), 28), which we may take to represent group A. A larger group B, classically represented by Lyalovo near Moscow (R.A.Zh., xiv, 1925, 37-82), might be parallel to the Finnish style II, 1, but the still larger group C (best represented at Fedorovo—T.S.A., iii, 26-32) is equated by Äyräpää with his style III, and later groups diverge still further from the Finnish.

Tretyakov's 'K Istorii doklassovogo obshchestva Verkhnego Povolzhya' (IGAIMK., 106, 1934) is a model account of the economy revealed by the dwelling places of groups A to C in north and central Russia. All are low-lying, but are located on sandy soil and not on the banks of major rivers but rather on the shores of meres, backwaters, and sluggish tributaries. They occupy areas up to 3,000 sq. metres in the Oka Basin and 2,000 on the Upper Volga. Such represent the permanent settlements of groups, larger than a 'natural family,' but of less than 300 souls. Temporary summer camps are also known, notably on the White Sea coasts (Smirnov in S.A., iv, 1937, 180 ff.). The foundation of this sedentary economy, as the location of the *stoyanki* itself implies, was fishing, though naturally combined with hunting and collecting. In fact their excrement shows that even the dogs were fed on fish (Tretyakov, *loc. cit.*, 125). The fishers' equipment comprises bone 'harpoons' quite in Maglemosean tradition and fish-hooks, both of the bone type that was used already at Kunda in Boreal times (from Kubenino and Pohorilova) and a composite form consisting of a stone sinker notched at both ends and a barb of bone or wood tied on (S.A., iii, 101-4; v, 44). But net-fishing, regarded by Tretyakov (pp. 118, 137) as a communal activity, was perhaps the most productive method. Imprints of nets have been noted on pots from several sites, while net-sinkers are common. The principal object of the chase was the elk, then bear, boar, beaver, swans and other birds, rarely forest deer and reindeer, seals naturally only on the coast. The only domestic animals' bones found in groups A-C—one bone of domestic ox found at Fedorovo before the scientific excavation of the site is rejected as intrusive by Zbruev (S.A., iii, 35)—belong to dogs. These belong to the variety *Canis ladogensis*, akin to recent sledge dogs, and may therefore have been used for transport too since a sledge-runner found in Finland was allegedly embedded in Boreal peat

(S.M., xlii, 21-2). The hunters' equipment comprised darts tipped with slotted bone points, bows and arrows armed with conical bone points or flint heads that are leaf-shaped or hollow-based and worked on both faces, not derivatives of the *petit tranche* nor the asymmetrical Sviderian point and clubs. These include the rhomboid type perforated by percussion, which is presumably derived from the spiked weapons found further west in Boreal times (Clark, *Northern Europe*, fig. 38, 2), but unfortunately not accurately dated in Central Russia; on the Lower Volga a specimen was found in an ochre grave (MAN, 1942, p. 132).

Carpenters' tools, 'celts' of polished stone, are rare in the early *stoyanki* in comparison with the large numbers found on Finnish and Swedish dwelling places. Their bone and antler precursors did indeed persist at Lyalovo and Pohorilova, but roughly chipped flint celts of a Campignyan aspect seem to appear first on sites in groups C and even D! Perhaps owing to the extensive dune formations tree-felling was less urgent in the coniferous forests of Central Russia than in the deciduous forests of the Baltic; polished flint axes and adzes are in any case associated with the first indications of a new agricultural economy (*infra*, pp. 6-7).

Weaving is not attested.

Pottery (Voyevodskii, S.A., i, 54 ff.) was made as a domestic industry by women (the fingerprints on the interiors of vases from Fedorovo have been examined and diagnosed as female by an expert in daktylography). The vessels, in all cases built up in rings, though often large enough to serve as storage jars, 50 cm. high and 40 cm. in diameter, were all ovoid with rather pointed bases in groups A and B; variations with rudimentary necks and more rounded bases begin to appear in C, and subsequently become more marked and numerous. Ornamentation too was at first monotonously uniform, but Voyevodskii infers that, as the 'ornament' was applied to the interiors as well as the exposed external surfaces, its function was magical. In groups B and C it consists of rows of pits made with the end of a belemnite and comb—impressions executed with the curved and notched edge of a slate pebble—the actual stamps have been found at several sites. Later the belemnite was replaced by a stick leaving a flat-bottomed pit, and the notched pebble by a square-toothed bone comb, and the patterns like the forms are more varied. Cord-

imprints occur as early as Lyalovo, as in the Finnish style I (in the form of whipped cord and 'maggots'), but are still commoner later and even in the Iron Age. Ornamentation by the impression of a netted fabric (*setchataja* ornament) combined with pits and comb-imprints becomes increasingly common after group C. Tretyakov (*IGAIMK.*, 106, 141) explains the monotonous uniformity of groups A-C as a result of matrilineal marriage, whereby the female potters in each little group handed on their traditions from generation to generation undisturbed by external influence. The variety of later groups would reflect the introduction of patrilineal marriage (coincident with economic changes mentioned below) which under exogamy mixed up the potters from different communities. On the other hand, the late netted ware is so homogeneous that Tretyakov (*ibid.*, 138) and Voyevodskii regard it as the standardized product of experts and so an indication of the division of social labour.

Intercourse between the little communities is indicated by the occurrence of amber, first in group C, presumably 'traded' from East Prussia that is part of the pit-comb ware province, by the distribution of the zoomorphic stone weapons and finally by the first copper objects—an awl from Fedorovo, group C.

The ideology of the fisher-hunters has to be inferred from rare burials and works of art. At Yazikovo (*S.A.*, iii, 217-220) and Kubenino (*S.A.*, v, 38 ff.) extended skeletons were found in the settlements, at Fedorovo and Kolomtse extended and contracted burials among kitchen refuse. At Kubenino lumps of red ochre had been deposited by one skeleton, a practice recorded also in graves of the Forest culture-cycle in Esthonia and Gotland as well as on the Pontic steppes. Only at Kubenino were regular grave goods observed—in one grave arrow-heads of bone and flint, a necklace of beavers' tusks and a bone figurine (? female), in another two figurines, ornaments, and awls of bone. Incidentally two very conventional clay figurines were found at the site and agree exactly with one from a similar site in Finland (*E.S.A.*, x, 161-3).

Animal carvings in flint from the Zolotitsa R., east of Archangel, and from the Summer Shore of the White Sea (*S.A.*, iv, 180), have been long celebrated, as have the 'axes' with butts carved realistically to represent elks' heads, mostly made of Olonetz stone but distributed as far as Sweden

on the west and the Pekhora R. on the east; stylistically at least these agree closely with the hilt of a copper knife-dagger from Seima and the handles of ceremonial ladels from Gorbuno in the Urals, that all belong to the late Copper Age (*infra*, p. 8). Soviet prehistorians take all these animal representations as evidences for totemism.

Engravings on the ice-smoothed rocks sloping up from the waters of L. Onega, known already before the Revolution, and others subsequently discovered on the White Sea coasts have been studied and splendidly published by Ravdonikas (*Naskalnie Izobrazheniya Onezhskogo ozera i Belogo morya: Les Gravures rupestres des bords du lac Onéga et de la mer Blanche*, Akad. Nauk SSR., *Trudy Instituta Etnografii*, IX-X, 1936, 1938), who identified *stoyanki* yielding pit-comb ware, flint, arrow-heads, and net-sinkers near the sites. The designs, pecked out with stone chisels, represent men, swans, geese, elks, fishes, lizards as well as geometrical figures like circles. Ravdonikas (*S.A.*, iii, 19-32) shows that many of the beasts are really men dressed in the skins of birds or animals. He concludes that they record and magically perpetuate totemic ceremonies designed to ensure the fertility of the game represented. In the geometric designs he (*S.A.*, iv, 11-32) sees symbols connected with an equally magical cult of the sun. Whatever the stylistic and temporal relation of these Russian rock-pictures to the two Scandinavian groups, they reflect the same absorbing productive pursuits as the older 'naturalistic' series and belong to the same stage of hunting and fishing as contrasted with the 'conventional' Bronze Age series. In the far northern forests the old gathering economy persisted much longer than in Sweden, or for that matter in the Volga-Oka basin of Central Russia.

Transition to Food Production.—The first explicit indications of a new economy in Central Russia can be seen better in the graves of the Fatyanovo culture (Tallgren, *SMYA.*, xxxii, 2; *F.M.*, 1924) than from any settlement. Such extend in a compact group from the headwaters of the Oka and Volga to their confluence near Gorki, and both in ritual and furniture seem to present a sharp break with older Central Russian traditions. The dead are no longer buried extended in the settlements, but contracted or exceptionally cremated (Vinogradov, *Problemy GAIMK*, 1934, 11-12) in pit graves forming cemeteries of 6 to 14 graves outside them. Bones

of pike (*S.A.*, ii, 29) and teeth of bear, wolf, fox, lynx and reindeer and shells used as ornaments do indeed illustrate the persistence of the old forest gathering economy. But the meat furnished to the dead is no longer represented by bones of game animals, but of domestic cattle, swine, sheep, goats and horses. A grain-rubber from a grave at Govyadinovo (*S.A.* ii, 32) and hoe-like tools from Vaulovo are accepted by Bader as evidence for plot-cultivation too. The practice of mixed farming to supplement the products of the chase and fishing is implied also by the extension of settlement (as inferred from the cemeteries) beyond the low grounds chosen by the earlier fisher-hunters. For instance, of ten Fatyanovo cemeteries in the Rzhev-Kalinin region half lie in the valley of the Volga and its tributaries like the earlier *stoyanki*; the rest have pushed up on to higher ground right to the Volga-Oka watershed, invading heavily wooded soils where the gatherers never settled but better suited to pasture and tillage than the colder valley soils (Bader, *S.A.*, ii, 33-5). Polished flint adzes and axes from the graves must, Bader thinks, have been used for clearing the land the new economy required.

Moveable wealth in cattle and pigs provided an economic motive for wars more serious and frequent than are attested among the gatherers. So splendid battle-axes in addition to arrow-heads give the graves a martial aspect lacking at Yazikovo or Kubenino. The battle-axes themselves include, besides the standard type repeatedly figured, many less elaborate weapons usually treated as degenerations thereof (e.g. by Äyräpää, *E.S.A.*, viii, 16-23), and at least one heeled battle-axe appropriate to the South Russian Catacomb Graves from Trusovo (*S.A.*, iv, 302). In another grave in the same cemetery the Bowman was provided with arrow-shaft-straighteners, again of Catacomb type.

The pottery is also novel and varied. The vases are globular, but sometimes with flattened, never with pointed, bases, and generally provided with distinct necks. They are ornamented with imprints of cords, square-toothed combs, and other stamps, usually only on neck and shoulder or radially round the base, the patterns being sometimes arranged in panels. The variety would reflect patrilineal marriage and so the patriarchal organization regarded by Soviet prehistorians as appropriate to a pastoral economy.

Small copper ornaments—rings, disc-pendants, a cuff-armlet, a neck-ring—and silver ear-rings indicate commerce with the south, while an amber bead from Kuzmino must have been brought from East Prussia (*E.S.A.*, x, 165).

The Fatyanovo culture has been generally presented as a brief episode, but a detailed study of the varied closed grave groups brought to light during the industrial development of the last ten years will certainly permit of the distinction within it of at least as many typological phases as are recognized in the analogous battle-axe cultures of Denmark and Sweden. For the moment a reliable synchronism of one phase with Period III of the Pontic Copper Age (MAN, xlii, 74, is provided by the finds from Trusovo, but Tretyakov (*IGAIMK*, 106, 133) reports from a Fatyanovo grave near Ivanovo-Voznesensk a metal object of Galich type that should belong to Period IV (*infra*, p. 8). In the settlement of Bolcheye Kosino IV (Balakhna, *E.S.A.*, iv, 73 and 97) Fatyanovo pottery is associated with a late phase of pit-comb ware, while the still later netted ware was found above the graves at Govyadinovo (Tretyakov, *l.c.*, 148), but direct contact with the *gorodishche* culture is suggested by the distribution; Fatyanovo graves were actually found within the *gorodishche* of Likachevo (*S.A.*, ii, 20 ff.) and Vinogradov (*Problemy GAIMK*, 1934, 11-12) derives the cord-ornament on *gorodishche* pottery from that on Fatyanovo vases.

The emergence of this alien-looking culture has generally been explained by the assumption of an invasion from north Central Europe. While the general similarity of the Fatyanovo battle-axes and vases with those of Jutland, Central Germany, Poland and East Prussia may be admitted, no single group there combines all the distinctive features of the Fatyanovo complex. Russian prehistorians emphatically reject the invasion hypothesis. Fatyanovo represents for them just the adaptation of the old fisher-hunter population to a new productive economy with the appropriate social (patriarchy) and political (war) consequences. The partial coincidence of the distribution of Fatyanovo cemeteries with that of fisher-hunters' *stoyanki* and their extension thence on to new territory is just what would be expected to result from the adoption of a new method of life by the established population. Yet it is frankly admitted that the material bases of

the new economy were derived from outside the forest. Zbruev (*S.A.*, iii, 38) notes that of the domestic animals only pigs could have been tamed in the forest zone. Tretyakov (*l.c.*, 160) insists on the absence of horses from the game pursued by the early hunters, and concludes that the horse reached Central Russia as a domestic animal.

Presumably live-stock, like the axe and arrow-straighteners from Trusovo, were derived from the steppe societies further south. In fact the dune site of Lipki on the Lower Kliazma near Vyazniki (*E.S.A.*, iv, 102-115) and eight other late *stoyanki* in the Oka Basin (*ibid.*, 93) have yielded, together with netted ware of the forest pattern, Khvalynsk pottery appropriate to the Lower Volga steppe culture of Period IV (*MAN*, 1942, 74, pp. 131-4).

The standardized character of the netted ware found widely distributed in the forest zone at this phase suggests to Tretyakov (*l.c.*, 138) intra-communal specialization of labour. He mentions also some inadequately explored 'workshops' of rather doubtful age as indications of specialization in the flint-industry too. Society could now produce a surplus to feed specialists. And warfare, now economically motivated, would promote a demand for reliable metal weapons. There are no ores in Central Russia to supply it, but around the Urals a metallurgical industry had already been established by Period IV, mainly dominated by the Steppe cultures termed Khvalynsk on the Volga and Andronovo in Siberia. East of the Volga steppe extends to the Ufa and the left bank of the Belaya, while in Sub-Boreal times it may have reached a line from Kungur on the Sylva to Malmizh on the Vyatka, *K.S.*, ix, 37. But the Forest peoples controlling no substance in general demand like amber to exchange for metal, it remained extremely rare in Central and North Russia till an effective demand for furs arose among steppe societies in the Ananino epoch.

Before that, the celebrated hoards of Galich and Seima illustrate the percolation westward of Ural metalwork. The peculiar socketed celt (with hexagonal section) from Seima must rank as Late Bronze (Copper) Age; it is a type distinctive of other sites on the Kama, in the Urals, and eastward to Omsk and Tomsk (*K.S.*, ix, 41), where the pottery suggests a blend of Steppe with East Russian Forest cultures. The remaining types look so archaic as to seem even 'Chalcolithic.'

But an axe with drooping shaft-hole (G), a plano-convex bracelet (G), spear-heads with folded sockets (S), flat *srubno* daggers with bronze (both) and stone (G) hilts prove that neither hoard can be older than Period IV of the Pontic Copper Age. Indeed, fresh excavations at Galich in 1924 by Gorodtsov convinced the excavator that the hoard was really contemporary with the Iron Age settlement, identified by Tallgren before the Revolution (*SMYA.*, xxxii, 33-6); if so, it belongs to Period VI! In addition stray 'bronzes' from East Russia, notably socketed celts, mostly of Ananino age, were traded across the forests to the White Sea coasts, Finland, Finnmark, and Lappland (*E.S.A.*, xi, 14-18); even Andronovo pottery has turned up in Finland (*ibid.*, 43).

On the other hand, Scandinavian bronzes, notably socketed celts of Mälar type, at home in Central Sweden, occur all across Northern Russia to the Kama (*E.S.A.*, xi, 22-30). Such lay in two graves in a cemetery of extended skeletons north of the well-known neolithic *stoyanka* at Volosovo, together with tutuli of Swedish type, iron knives, stone mace-heads and sherds of netted pottery of the local Forest pattern. Tallgren (*ibid.*, 30-9) attributes these graves to Teutonic 'Varyags' who had conquered for themselves strongholds to control the natural trade routes that converge round Gorki.

The Iron Age.—Against this background, out of a fusion between Steppe and local Forest cultures on the Lower Kama, arose the culture termed Ananino after a large and rich cemetery there (*SMYA.*, xxxi, 1919), and known still better from hill-forts or *gorodishchya*. Graves at Ananino (*S.A.*, ii, 105-8) and Lugovo nearby (*K.S.*, ix, 39) have disturbed dune settlements yielding Khvalynsk pottery, while on the Belaya at Karman-tau a similar settlement is juxtaposed to a *gorodishche* with true Ananino pottery. In the *gorodishche* of Grokham, Khvalynsk pottery and bronzes (such as a two-eared celt) were found with net and comb ornamented wares of Ananino type. In the latter the round-bottomed vases decorated with pits combined with cord and net impressions denote the dominance of Forest traditions. Similarly the hexagonal Ananino celts (of bronze) are derived from the Seima type (*K.S.*, ix, 42), while spear-heads with lunate openings in the blade look almost British. But the domestic animals and cultivated plants on which the Ananino

economy was based had been contributed by the Steppe culture (*K.S.*, ix, 40).

But the most striking feature in the osteological remains from the Ananino *gorodishchya* is the high percentage of bones of small fur-bearing animals (Schmidt, *IGAIMK.*, 106, 74 ff.). Such were hardly gathered for food or local needs, but to meet the demands for furs of the rich Scythian and Sarmatian principalities on the steppes. An effective demand has arisen for forest products, and hunting for the market replaces subsistence hunting among its human denizens. In satisfying the new demand the societies on the Kama assumed the role of middlemen and earned considerable wealth. They may have sent out trapping expeditions to the White Sea coasts, where cord-ornamented pottery and bronzes of Ananino type occur. But they seem simply to have exploited the backward populations nearer at hand in Central Russia; for in the *gorodishchya* there, that by their position, their pottery (netted ware), and bone tackle are the successors of the *stoyanki* of the Fatyanovo phase, the wealth in metal, distinctive of Ananino on the Kama, is conspicuously lacking. So the rise of the Metal Age in Central Russia, like the Fatyanovo culture, can be explained, without recourse to immigration

hypotheses, in purely economic terms. The skulls from Ananino itself, Maklasheevka, and Polyanski, are classed by Debetz as Europeoid (*E.S.A.*, vi, 96). According to Trofimov indeed, those from the contemporary cemetery of Lugovo show Mongoloid traits (*K.S.*, ix, 43), but even those from the neolithic burials at Yazikovo are classed as Lapponoid (*S.A.*, iii, 220).

Chronology.—No dateable imports from the south compel us to accept the traditional figure 600–300 B.C., for the Ananino culture, or to put its beginning before 400 at most. The preceding Late Copper Age, judging from pollen-analyses of the relevant Ural peats (*IGAIMK.*, 106, 183), goes back well into Sub-Boreal times and is partly contemporary with Periods IV–V in the Pontic sequence, but even so need not go beyond the first millennium (MAN, 1942, p. 131). The Fatyanovo stage represented at Trusovo falls within Period III in the same sequence, but whether this stage is nearer the beginning than the end of the Fatyanovo epoch in Central Russia is still uncertain. It takes us back to 1500 B.C., but not necessarily earlier. For the older *stoyanki* east of the Baltic no geochronological nor other absolute dates are yet available.

THE POT-OVEN IN WALES. By Iorwerth C. Peate, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A., Department of Folk Culture and Industries, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. Illustrated.

3 In his 'Notes on the Irish House' and elsewhere,¹ Dr. Åke Campbell refers to the "old Irish method of bread baking, i.e., "in the bastible, *bácús*." The Irish fireplace, he concludes, represents the "pure hearth-type, "no trace whatever being evident of the influence "of the built-in oven culture. It stands in direct "contrast with the Middle- and especially East-European tradition, where the stone-built oven "completely dominates the fireplace, indeed "even the whole kitchen. Thus Ireland is, in "this respect, the antithesis to Finland and "Russia."

In the present paper it is intended to show that in Wales methods of baking (and of meat-roasting)

were similar to those of Ireland over large areas of the country until recent times.

The baking pot (fig. 1) is invariably of cast-iron, but differs from the cooking-pot (*crochan*) in that its sides are straight. It has a lid which is flat or almost flat. It is known by different names in different parts of the country. In parts of Caernarvonshire, Denbighshire, and Merionethshire it is known as a *cetal* or *celtel*, obviously a borrowal from the English *kettle*,² but a borrowal of some antiquity since Wiliam Llŷn, a sixteenth-century poet, in his *Geirlyfr*³ defines *callor*, a term used in the old Welsh laws,

¹ *Folkiv*, 1937, pp. 207–234, and also the same author's 'Irish Fields and Houses' in *Béaloideas*, 1935, pp. 57–74.

² Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (sv. 'kettle') describes 'kettle-bread' as 'bread baked at home under a pot or kettle' and notes Devonshire as the area where this meaning was found.

³ J. C. Morrice (ed.): *Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn* (Bangor, 1908).

as *padell fach*, *cettel* [a small pan, kettle]. In parts of Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire the pot is known as *crochan pobl* (baking cauldron). In Cardiganshire the term used is *ffwrn* or *ffwrn fach* (oven or little oven). In this respect, it is interesting to note that through large areas of north Wales, *ffwrn* in the sense of 'oven' is unknown, the normal word being *poply* (lit. 'bake-house').

In Pembrokeshire, the pot was known either as *crochan* or *cidl* (? 'kettle'). I have no infor-



FIG. 1.—BAKING POT AND TRIPOD FROM LLANGOLLEN, DENBIGHSHIRE, NOW IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WALES: NINETEENTH CENTURY: DIAMETER AT LIP, 30 CM.

By permission of the National Museum of Wales.

mation at present concerning the more eastern counties of South Wales.

The methods used in baking bread in the pot vary in different districts. Where peat was the normal fuel, the most general method appears to have been to place the dough in the pot, which was then placed, with the lid on, on the red peat-fire, the pot and the lid completely covered with burning peat. This is the method still in use in parts of Cardiganshire, where I am told by one informant from the Ystrad Meurig district, the loaves, sponges, and cakes baked are

'far better than any from the modern bakeries'! I have similar information from Ynys-las, Cardiganshire; where "about 45 years ago "I well remember my aunt doing a lot of baking of "pies, tarts, small loaves, etc., in *y ffwrn fach* "hung over a red turf fire with red hot turf all "over the lid." An informant from the Blaencaron district of Cardiganshire writes: "Our "fireplace is an open down-hearth on which my "mother used to bake *bara ffwrn fach* (baking- "pot bread). She would place the pot-lid "against the fire so as to heat it thoroughly and "then place it on the pot which was set on the "fire and completely covered with burning peat. "She made tarts in the same way and (the "tastiest morsel of all) sparerib on potatoes "roasted in the same way. This indeed was the "only means we had of roasting meat." Similar information comes from Llanbryn-Mair and Staylittle, Montgomeryshire. At the latter place, high up on the Pumlumon moorland, one of my informants writes that they had no other oven of any description in the house. The same method was used in the Llangernyw district of Denbighshire and in the Vale of Conwy.

But in many districts peat was neither plentiful nor was it the normal fuel. In the Vale of Aeron (Cardiganshire), for instance, where the same method of baking was known, they used dried cow-dung (and occasionally peat) on the lid. Dried cow-dung was also used in the Harlech district of Merionethshire. This use of dried cow-dung (*gleiad*) as fuel was, of course, well-known in medieval times. In a farmhouse near Strumble Head, Pembrokeshire, they baked "in the *crochan* which stood on a tripod on the "big hearth. The lid was put on and a fire of "gorse twigs placed under the pot and on top "of the lid." In a cottage in the Penmon district of Anglesey the baking was done in an outhouse. Fern was burned *on the hob* and the pot placed on it and covered with fuel.

A second method of baking in the pot was to place the dough on a griddle (*gradell*), a flat circular slab of stone or iron, and the baking-pot inverted over it, one Anglesey variant being to use *two* baking pots, one inverted over the other, the lower pot replacing the griddle. This was done either on a tripod stand on the hearth, or more frequently outside the house. I have details of this method from Anglesey (various districts), Caernarvonshire (Llanfair-fechan, the

Llŷn peninsula, Llanllyfni), Denbighshire (the Llangollen district), Merionethshire (Blaenau Ffestiniog), and south Cardiganshire (Aberporth).

In all the Anglesey instances the baking was done outside the house, and was known in most places as *pobi yn y baw* 'baking in muck' (or, possibly 'dung'). A fire was lit outside the house and kept burning with furze, dried cowdung, and any material, e.g., flotsam, which could be found. The pot inverted on a griddle (or as in the Holyhead district, on another pot) was placed in the red-hot ashes and a fire kept burning so as to cover the pot. I am informed from the Llangollen district of Denbighshire that "it was invariably the custom to bake out-side the house." My colleague, Mr. F. G. Payne, tells me: "In 1920 when seeking information about baking in the pot near Aberporth, Cardiganshire, I was told that such baking had usually been done outside the cottage on an outcrop of bare rock. The rock would be brushed clean and the pot inverted over the loaves. The fuel heaped around the pot in my informant's immediate neighbourhood was chiefly furze. Incidentally, it was stated that if the fire were kindled with straw from the same threshing as the grain from which the flour was ground, the bread would be sweeter." It would be of interest to know how widespread such a belief may be.

One further method of baking and roasting outside the house remains to be described. This is reported to me as having been practised "about 45 to 50 years ago in a cottage a few miles out of Fishguard in Pembrokeshire." The method was, to use my informant's actual words, as follows. "The chicken was cooked in an iron *crochan*, or *cidl* as it was called in Pembrokeshire. A hole was made in the ground outside the cottage: it was lined, bottom and sides, with red-hot peat, the crock put in with the lid on, and then covered with more peat and left to bake. The tart was done in the

"same way and I can assure you that the dinner left nothing to be desired. Loaves of bread were baked in the same way and it was the nicest bread I ever tasted."

I acknowledge with gratitude the help of the many collaborators who supplied me with the information which has made this paper possible. In all cases, it is shown that the method of baking was well-known from Pembrokeshire through mid-Wales to Anglesey and as far east as Denbighshire down to the second half of the nineteenth century, and that in certain areas, notably considerable parts of Cardiganshire, it is still practised. It is difficult at the present stage to distinguish references to the baking-pot *qua* baking-pot in the old literature since such pots were used for a variety of purposes. But it may be noted that the Welsh Laws refer to *e badell ar trebed*⁴ (pan—or pot—and tripod) as the wife's property. It is possible that these may be the objects illustrated in fig. 1.

I propose, when opportunity permits the collection of data, to examine the distribution and (as far as is possible) the history of the built-in oven in Wales and its relation to the pot-oven culture. The use of the term *popty* (bake-house) for 'oven' in certain areas is in itself a problem of considerable interest. The presence too of earthenware wall-ovens of sixteenth-century date in the Vale of Glamorgan is significant. The last century has seen the intrusion of bricked wall-ovens into parts of the Welsh moorland where they were formerly not general. To distinguish it from the pot-oven (*ffurn*) the wall-oven is known in several areas as *ffurn fawr* (big oven) or *ffurn wal* (wall oven). But whether the built-up oven has a long history is a matter still to be determined. It is, however, evident that the pot-oven remained a characteristic feature of Welsh (as of Irish) life until modern times.

⁴ J. Gwenogvryn Evans: *Facsimile of the Chirk Codex of the Welsh Laws* (Llanbedrog, 1909), p. 33.

OMENS AND CELTIC WARFARE. By Ellen Ettlinger.

4 An attempt will be made in these pages to reconstruct some ways of early thought by examining omens as far as they are connected with Celtic warfare.

The life of primitive man depended upon his

unceasingly vigilant attitude towards the phenomena of nature. Among these there were uncanny accidents, strange coincidences or vivid dream-impressions which took hold of his imagination. By pure intuition and without any analogy

man interpreted a stirring natural happening as a warning of trouble ahead. Similar or recurrent experiences caused the attribution of an evil foreboding to a particular event. The newly-won knowledge was passed on to the medicine-man who handed the facts and the meaning of the 'omen' down to his successor. As time went on the functions of the medicine-man gradually separated more and more from each other and developed along their own lines.¹ Magicians, diviners, leeches, judges, and poets emerged and were initiated into the omen-language in order to satisfy the requirements of their respective activities.

While Diodorus' statement about Gaulish bird-omens (V, 31) refers to professional diviners, there is, I believe, only one allusion in Irish legend to druids who 'watched' the voices of birds.² Another passage reveals not only that the Irish kept ravens and wrens for the special purpose of divination, but also that bird-omens had become intelligible for everyone.³ The same phase is presumably reflected by Alcuin, who, writing in A.D. 735 to Charlemagne, simply stated that auguries were drawn by the British from the flight and cries of birds.⁴ In regard to the popular understanding of bird-omens general remarks (such as 'Birds presaged the troubles of Lloegyr'⁵) are exceptional, and descriptions of dark birds, appearing in great flocks, hoarsely croaking or loudly screaming⁶ are more common.

Once the importance of omens had been recognized, they were certainly sought everywhere. An unlimited number had to be avoided. Therefore they were apparently restricted and selected by admitting only those occurrences as ominous which corresponded to general conceptions. Nature-study, belief in magic, as well as religious thought are reflected side by side in Celtic omens. Sometimes it is obvious to which of these three categories the omen belongs—at other times they are so commingled that it is almost impossible to discern which category had priority.

Three main features are outstanding :—

1. Spontaneous omens have always been associated with isolated short episodes in the very near future. This characteristic discloses that primitive man's mind was preoccupied only with the very next event, and that he regarded it as an isolated occurrence without any connexion with previous or ensuing

happenings. Such an attitude is also emphasized by his constant search for portents.

2. The belief that bad fortune, though announced by an omen, could be turned away by abstaining from action conspicuously points to the same origin as the conception of taboo (which Prof. Warde Fowler has put forward as pre-animistic).⁷
3. The warning character of the spontaneous omen is so predominant that it is difficult to resist the impression that the 'good' omen belongs to a later period than the 'bad' omen; possibly to a period in which the constant fear of threatening danger no longer haunted man. The establishment of the 'good' omen may be connected with a considerable change in man's attitude towards the 'bad' omen. Action was no longer avoided, plans were no more given up, but merely postponed until a favourable omen appeared. Such a waiting attitude has been twice described in the Táin.⁸

However, warfare does not often allow of delay. Hesitation which might prove fatal was prevented by inducing the means necessary for divination and by interpreting the omen thus obtained according to preconceived ideas. We may suppose that, at first, the unbiased and impartial character of the omen was respected. Later on, a degradation of the omen-idea was caused by the magicians' struggle for increased power over their tribe, by their deliberate attempts to influence the outcome of the omen according to their own needs. Gradually the omen lost the character of a pure sign, and became a magic-carrier like a charm or a spell. Omen-rites were performed, the luck-bringing aspect of which relegated their ominous character more and more into the background.

Celtic omens can be divided into two groups. Firstly, fortuitous omens; secondly, omens initiated by human agency. A great number of the fortuitous omens was derived from the flight and cries of birds. Pliny has recorded an experience which can be found amplified in Celtic legend,⁹ namely, that men who had lost their way reached safety by following the direction of a flying bird. Does not the conclusion suggest itself that the bird possess secret knowledge of things hidden to man?

The Celts looked upon crows and cranes as

bringers of evil tidings. The presence of crows frequently observed near the slain on the battlefield may have brought about their association with death and disaster, and consequently with the war-goddess, the Morrigan.¹⁰ Crows flapping and croaking around the house were taken to be the Morrigan, in her favourite disguise, announcing death and destruction.¹¹ Mostly the war-goddess, who could take many different forms, prophesied in the shape of a bird.¹² Does this not point to the probability that the omen preceded prophecy?

D'Arbois has set forth that the three cranes of Irish legend represent the three hypostases of the war-goddess, Morrigan, Badb, and Macha.¹³ However this may be, cranes were 'birds of evil' omen, and so much so that no warrior who chanced to see them would proceed on his way to 'battle that day in spite of his having bound himself to go.' The observation that cranes eat serpents—chthonic animals par excellence—may have given rise to the belief that their knowledge and wisdom came from the powers of the nether world 'which nobody would willingly visit.'¹⁴ The crane's association with Mider, 'who was one of the kings of the other world,' designates Mider's theriomorphic past. When he was anthropomorphized the crane became his attribute, retaining its previous 'power with many virtues.'¹⁵

Animal-worship survives in the use of former sacred animals as omen-bringers. Dio stated in his *Roman History* (LXII, 6):

When the British Queen Boadicea had finished speaking to her people, she employed a species of divination, letting a hare escape from the fold of her dress; and since it ran on what they considered the auspicious side, the whole multitude shouted with pleasure, and Boadicea, raising her hand towards heaven, said: 'I thank thee, Andraste . . . I supplicate and pray thee for victory . . .'

Boadicea's attribution of the omen to a purposive divine will is unique in Celtic tradition unless this feature belongs to Roman rather than to Celtic thought. But her choice of a hare as an omen-giving animal may well have been in accordance with Celtic belief.¹⁶ The way a hare runs doubtless appeared mysterious, and may have greatly contributed to its being regarded with awe.

Universal is the belief that domestic animals foretell by strange behaviour the approaching death of their master. Conaire clothed in words

the meaning of his lapdog's sudden howl, which portended the coming of battle and slaughter.¹⁷ The restive behaviour of Cuchulain's horse is one of the sure forebodings of the hero's death.¹⁸ The origin of the prophesying horse lies deeper than mere natural observation, and becomes more obvious in relation to Celtic oracles. Here the moving meeting between St. Columba and the pack-horse may be recalled,¹⁹ because it reflects so strikingly the presentiment of death ascribed to the horse, and shows at the same time the Celtic liking for marvellous traits.

In turbulent epochs terrifying but natural occurrences became mixed up with imaginary events. Tacitus (*Annals*, XIV, 32) has handed down to us that just about A.D. 61

from no ostensible cause, the statue of Victory at Camulodunum (Colchester) fell down, with its back turned, as if flying from the enemy. Frenzied women sang of coming destruction: outlandish cries had been heard in the council-chamber, and weird howlings in the theatre: an image of the colony in ruins had been seen in the estuary of the Thames; a blood-red ocean, and impression of human bodies left by the receding tide, were interpreted as hopeful signs for the Britons.

Throughout the ages blood was looked upon as the very life-giving power, and it can be readily understood that its appearance portended death.

Among Cuchulain's death-omens there is described how his mother Dechtire 'proffered him that vat from which to take a draught before journey or expedition' undertaken was to him a certitude of victory; but '(this time) what would be in the great vessel but 'crimson blood alone.'²⁰

Blood is mentioned in Celtic legend colouring the waves of the sea. The bed of the river became red with gore when Badb appeared as a 'Washer-at-the-Ford' foretelling death to Cuchulain and Cormac.²¹

Apart from the colour of the waves of the sea, their sounds too were taken to be ominous. The three celebrated Waves of Erin warned of deadly danger, or foreboded the approaching death of kings or chieftains, by their unusually loud and solemn roar in stormy weather. Néde cast a spell upon a wailing wave, 'that it might reveal to him what the matter was.' The Celtic saints did not need to have recourse to magical practices. God Himself had granted them to understand what the waves were singing.²²

Since Celtic imagination willingly responded to sound-omens, is it to be wondered at that man's future destiny could be divined from the sound of his voice? Dil, the blind magician, shared this deep insight with several saints.²³

Miraculous voices as well as miraculous appearances have been recorded. We read that weapons uttered cries when falling from their appointed places. Tulchinne the Juggler experienced a similar miracle.²⁴ The circumstances vary which cause the spontaneous moving and crying of the weapons—the omen, however, retains its disastrous nature. That prophetic weapons did not always predict evil is attested by Cuscraid's spear announcing the eve of triumph, when its silver windings ran round by the side of the bands of gold.²⁵ Although prophesying weapons appear at first sight to be mere products of poetic licence, they are in fact reminiscences of a former cult of weapons, survivals from an earlier period when spirits were believed to reside in weapons, and when arms were used in ritual.

So far all the omens under consideration were fortuitous ones; druids and magical means have been mentioned only in passing. In the second group, human agency is the decisive factor. The endeavour of the magician to influence the nature of the omen to his own advantage becomes apparent. Among the evidence for initiated omens the first rank appertains to omen-fires foretelling victory or defeat by the direction of their flames and smoke. Their popularity still lives on in the Welsh name for a 'bonfire,' *coel certh* ('a sure omen').²⁶

It is evident why omen-fires were frequently used in warfare. They could quickly be prepared whenever or wherever needed. Magicians, who always accompanied the army had to perform the ritual of kindling the omen-fire because they were trusted to produce infallibly a victory-omen by commanding the wind to blow in the luck-bringing direction. The psychological influence upon the fighting spirit of the gathered warriors, to whom the rising flames were easily visible, was certainly taken into account.

Magicians were not the only human beings reputed to control the storm. The Gauls credited the nine priestesses of Sena with the extraordinary gift to rouse the seas and the wind by their incantations.²⁷ Theodore's reference in his *Penitentials* (XXVII, 31) hints at the frequency of storm-raisers in his time. The three witch-daughters of Calatin,²⁸ like many other witches throughout later centuries, sent forth storms. A fortunate coincidence has preserved 'in truly historic documents' some details about the life of

one of the most famous Irish magicians, Mogh Ruith, as well as a most elaborate description in Irish legend of his omen-fire-ritual.²⁹

Cormac's chief and oldest druid, Ciothruadh, advised a druidic fire against the enemy . . . 'let our men go into the forest, and let them cut down and carry out loads of the quickbeam, of which large fires must be made; and when the fires are lighted, if the smoke goes southwards, then it will be well for you to press after it on the men of Munster; and if it is hither or northward the smoke comes, then, indeed, it will be full time for us to retreat with all our speed.' So Cormac's men forthwith entered the forest, cut down the wood indicated, brought it out, and set it on fire.

. . . Mogh Ruith, perceiving what the northern druids were preparing for, immediately ordered the men of Munster to go into the wood of Lethard, and each man to bring out a faggot of the rowan-tree in his hand; and that the king only should bring out a shoulder-bundle from the side of the mountain, where it had grown under three shelters . . . Mogh Ruith's favourite pupil built the wood up in the shape of a small triangular kitchen, with seven doors; Mogh Ruith then ordered each man of the host to give him a shaving from the handle of his spear, which . . . he mixed with butter and rolled up into a large ball, at the same time pronouncing words in rythmical lines . . .

'I shall bring the rout on them now,' said Mogh Ruith; 'let my chariot be ready, and let each man of you have his horse by the bridle; for, if our fires incline but ever so little northwards, follow and charge the enemy.' . . .

Mogh Ruith enquired three times of his people about the conditions of the flames from the two fires, for Mogh Ruith was blind. When he learnt 'they had risen up to the clouds of Heaven, and were like two fierce angry warriors chasing each other,' . . . he flew up into the air to the verge of the fires, and commenced to beat and turn them northwards. When Cormac's druid, Ciothruadh, saw this, he also ascended to oppose Mogh Ruith; but the power of the latter prevailed, and he turned the fires northwards, and into Cormac's camp. . . . Cormac, on this, ordered a quick retreat out of the province.

Ciothruadh's advice either to attack or to retreat, according to the direction of the flames, was certainly dictated by his conviction that the enemy's power would extend to wherever the smoke of the omen-fire floated. The same idea is also manifest in the counsel which the druids gave King Laoghaire at the sight of St. Patrick's fire.³⁰ Mistaking St. Patrick for a cunning magician, and his paschal fire for an omen-fire, King Laoghaire's druids suggested its immediate quenching to prevent flames and smoke from spreading over their territory. Analogous to this is the passage which tells how the druid Lugaidh ignited a large fire and commanded his five sons to follow its five fiery streams, assuring them that these would lead them to their future inheritances.³¹

While in this legend there is no hint as to which kind of wood was used for the omen-fire, Mogh Ruith as well as Ciothruadh chose faggots from the rowan-tree just as the druids of the Dessi before their victorious battle at Inneoin (*see* p. 13). A fire from rowan-tree-wood served also for a druidical ordeal.³² Sir John Rhys ascribed the power of inspiration attached to the rowan-tree to the use of its scarlet berries for intoxicating, inspiring drinks.³³ Anyhow, the use of rowan-tree-branches for divining purposes reveals that the Celts credited the whole tree with inherent magic virtue. The same applies to the yew-tree: it was by the help of four wands of yew that the druid Dallan discovered where Queen Edain was concealed.³⁴ This parallel shows that both beliefs go ultimately back to tree-worship.

There is no literary evidence for the casting of lots in relation to warfare, although it is proved by the Irish word *crann-chur* that the 'act of casting wood' was performed by the Celts.³⁵ From legendary descriptions of ordeals by means of lots,³⁶ one conclusion may be deduced, namely that poets and judges participated in the ordeal. Did the poet alone cast the lots for divination?

Warriors too took part in omen-rites. Their dances before battle and after victory are well-known; is it not possible that the hero's magical posture of 'standing-on-one-foot' represented a kind of solo-dance? We read that the performance was carried out by Cuchulain, by Sol (one of King Arthur's warriors), and by Cicul.³⁷ A reference in the *Táin* seems to indicate that Cuchulain had been instructed in this feat by his master Fergus, probably because of the great significance of the amazing exertion of will-power, which has parallels in different parts of the world.³⁸ Divine assistance was invoked, and if the rite could be carried through in the 'correct' way, it was at the same time considered a fortunate omen. The psychological effect of this omen-rite upon the onlooking host is reflected in the following passage:

Lugh was heartening the men of Ireland that they should fight the battle fervently so that they should not be any longer in bondage . . . Wherefore then Lugh sang . . . as he went round the men of Erin, on one foot and with one eye (closed) . . .³⁹

Numerous other instances from Celtic legend permit us to assume that Lugh's circuit was made right-handwise, sun-wise, around his army. As the walk *deisseil* is undoubtedly connected with

sun-worship, Lugh's circuit 'on-one-foot' supports Loomis' theory that the idea underlying this magical posture should be traced back to the 'wide-spread Celtic conception of the anthropomorphic sun.'⁴⁰ Celtic saints frequently circumambulated their army sun-wise before hostilities started; sometimes modifying the pagan practice by carrying sacred relics with them, and ascribing victory to the virtue of their relics.⁴¹

It is possible that the circuit was undertaken in order to lustrate the army. Lustration of the pagan army is alluded to in St. Columba's prayer before the Battle of Cúil Dremne, in which the saint denounced the opposing 'host that marches round a cairn.'⁴² Being in harmony with the divine power was a preliminary condition for a victorious combat. Therefore the army marched towards the right, sun-wise, and offence against the sacred tradition was punished by defeat. The sons of Eochu Feidlech 'marched left-hand-wise 'round Erin . . . with the result that they were 'defeated and decapitated.'⁴³ That turning a chariot right-hand-wise was looked upon as a good omen is related in the *Táin*.⁴⁴ In further extension of this belief the right hand became associated with good luck while the left hand was considered as unfortunate. For that reason Cuchulain tried to avoid his doom by taking the dogflesh, which was strictly taboo for him, in his left hand, saving his right hand for battle.⁴⁵

I have dwelt at some length on the 'correct' ritual performance because its importance should be fully realized when we approach the problems of omens received by means of sacrifice. Tacitus' statement about sacrifices in the island of Mona is strikingly in favour of their religious background.

The next step (of Suetonius) was to install a garrison among the conquered population, and to demolish the groves consecrated to their savage cults: for they considered it a pious duty to slake the altars with captive blood and to consult their deities by means of human entrails. (*Annals*, XIV, 30.)

But again we should not forget that Tacitus 'naturally, perhaps inevitably, used the language of the ritual and religion of Rome, much as (Caesar) attempted to identify the Celtic with 'the Roman Gods.'⁴⁶ This view may be corroborated by the fact that among the druids in the British Isles there were neither 'augurs' nor 'priests' in the strict sense of the word. As far as we can judge from Tacitus' record, the omens obtained by sacrifice did not greatly differ

from other portents. We have already mentioned the miraculous appearance of blood, which has its natural counterpart in Celtic sacrifice. Involuntary bodily movements, such as sneezing, were among the most common omens in every-day life.⁴⁷

In Y Gododin we are told that 'the sacrifice (was) brought down to the omen fire.'⁴⁸ Does this mean that the victim was to be thrown into the fire and that the nature of future events was divined from the changes of the victim's colour or from its shrivelling form? Was it the duty of the magician to perform the sacrifice, and divine again from the aspect and the direction of the flames? Unfortunately no final answer can be given in view of the extremely scanty evidence in Celtic legend.

I should like to conclude these considerations by referring to the 'victory-omen.' Druids proclaimed before the battle that victory would be theirs, as surely as a certain visible event would take place. To gain knowledge by any possible means of his opponent's preconceived 'victory-omen' became of vital importance to the magician. Once he knew the well-guarded secret, it was easy for him to trick the enemy into committing an act of evil omen.

On the eve of the Battle at Inneoin the druids of the Dessi made Dil (the blind druid of the men of Ossory)

drunk and learnt from him that whichever of the two armies should first kill or wound any one of the other should be the loser of the fight. On the morning of the battle Dil proclaimed that not one of the Dessi should be slain or wounded there by the Ossory men. 'But the druids of the Dessi formed an old serf, 'Docheth by name, into the shape of a red (hornless) cow. . . . Then the cow went to encounter the men of Ossory and flings herself upon them . . . and is killed. . . . And then they saw it was the body of a man that had been slain. The men of Ossory were routed.'⁴⁹

An amazing victory has been recorded—unfortunately too laconically—by Tigernach.

In the Battle of Cúil Dremne Fraechán made the 'druid's fence' for Diarmait, the Christian (!) king who headed the southern Hy Neill army. Tuatán overturned the 'druid's fence.' Maiglinde (from the opposing northern Hy Neill army) went across it, and he alone was slain (while Diarmait lost 3000 men).⁵⁰

Comparison with the foregoing story suggests that the following facts underlie this rather obscure passage: Tuatán learnt—perhaps by a trick—Fraechán's intention to proclaim before the battle that victory would be with his warriors as surely as the enemy would be unable to penetrate his 'invisible magic barrier.'⁵¹ He persuaded Maiglinde to cross the 'magic barrier.' The sight of the reversed omen plunged Diarmait's army into utter confusion, and caused its complete annihilation.

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AN OLD PWO-KAREN ALPHABET. By G. Marin. Illustrated.

5 The alphabet at present used by the Pwo-Karen is an adapted form of the Burmese, and was introduced not very long ago by Christian missionaries.

As I was travelling down the Salween River in 1934, I learnt that, in earlier times, the Pwo-Karen used another form of script which looked somewhat 'like the scratchings of a chicken on the ground.' The Burmese kings, I was also told, prohibited under threat of capital punishment the use of this ancient writing, as of other things likely to sustain local nationalism; but a spark of the old Karen tradition smouldered in the jungles, and, at one place at least, was still alive.

After searching for this spot, I discovered it at some little distance from the village of Hnikya (Burmese: **nitka*; Pwo-Karen: **thane:itai*), which lies below Pa'an, on the right bank of the Salween. Here, in a jungle glade, I found a large hall, raised on posts, but open to the winds;

access was by means of a ladder. This was the headquarters of what was known as the **le'ke* community, so called from the name of their sacred book. Here I made the acquaintance of **phu'wei baux*, a kindly, bedridden old man who was their religious chief. Unfortunately the only inhabitant of Hnikya who could serve as an interpreter, and who very obligingly accompanied me, had an extremely limited knowledge of English, and I had practically none at all of any of the local languages. This made conversation rather difficult.

I learnt, however, that the religion of the **le'ke* had been founded at this very place in 1860 by the present high priest's grand-parents, **phu-thi-thau-tho* and his wife **phi-mai-ka-li*, and that it numbered to-day a few thousand followers among the Pwo-Karen, mainly on the eastern bank of the river. These worship a single deity called **arija*. Their holy day is the Saturday,

Consonants:

Old	၁	/	၂	<	၅	၆	၇	၈	၉	၁၀
New	m	a	c	o	ɔ	ɛ	ɨ	ɜ	ɞ	ɟ
I.P.A.	ka	kha	ga	tɕa	tɕha	ɲa	ta	tha	na	ɕa

Old	၁	၂	၃	၄	၅	၆	၇	၈	၉	၁၀
New	u	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
I.P.A.	pa	pha	ma	ja	ra	la	wa	θa	ga	ha

Old	၁	၂	၃	၄	၅
New	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ
I.P.A.	xa	ɣa	ʔa	ba	da

Vowels & Tones:

Old	၁	၂	၃	၄	၅	၆	၇	၈	၉	၁၀
New	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
I.P.A.	ka	ka:	ku	ki:	ku	ku:	ke	ke	ko	ko

Old	၁	၂	၃	၄	၅	၆	၇	၈	၉	၁၀
New	m:	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
I.P.A.	kan	'kah	ku	k	-ka:	'ka:	-ka	'kah		

Specimen:

၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၁၀
၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၁၀

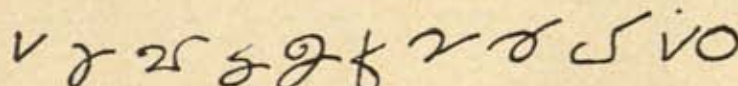
when they attend to religious performances, abstain from work, kill no living thing, and refrain from eating animal flesh. Some of these observances obviously betray the influence of the Adventist missionaries' teaching. Their year consists of 12 months of 30 days with no correction whatever. The first day of *la-nax* is their New Year, when they all meet to read their Book, and to partake in a common vegetarian *agapē*. They count their years from the foundation of their sect. The day of my visit, 4 April, 1934, was their 'year of our religion 74, month of *la-ja*, day 24th,' which shows an advance of 33 days on the official Burmese luni-solar calendar—or more probably of 13 moons + 3 days, i.e. 387 days, a displacement which would correspond exactly to the accumulated deficiency of the *le'ke* 'round years' elapsed since the religious reform.

A school had been open here for the past thirteen years. I found the teacher busy engraving sacred texts with a style on strips of palm leaves in the ancient Pwo-Karen script. After having some passages of the **le'ke* chanted to me, he very kindly taught me the old alphabet, which I reproduce here. Though of the same Indian origin as the other alphabets of Indo-China,

the characters have been so battered by the stream of time as to have become unrecognizable. It will be noticed, moreover, that the characters 11 to 18 and 21 have been obtained by mere reduplication of the first 9 letters, hence the peculiar appearance of the written text noted by my informant. I have added beneath each character what I believe to be its correct equivalents in the modern Pwo-Karen and in the International Phonetic alphabets. I have noticed, however, that there is some discrepancy between the orthography used with this old alphabet and the present day pronunciation, which is a sure indication of its antiquity; for instance, words spelt *khap* and *khek*, in accordance with an archaic pronunciation, are now both read as *khau*, etc. The specimen given on p. 18 is in the schoolmaster's own handwriting; it translates as follows: "If 'the Karen do not follow their religion, they will 'surely be in trouble.'"

In the International Phonetic (I.P.) system *j* stands for English *y*, *ɲ* for Spanish *ñ*, *ʋ* for Russian *u*, *ɛ* for an open *e*, *ɔ* for an open *o*, *q* is the unvoiced prepalatal fricative, *x* and *ɣ* the unvoiced and voiced uvular fricatives, *ɣ* the voiced uvular fricative, *ʔ* the glottal plosive, *ɲ* a neutral nasal sound, *ɲ* an unvoiced *n*, and *** is used as a substitute for a capital letter.

Numerals:



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

6 *The Future of Social Anthropology. Summary of a Communication by the Rt. Hon. Lord Raglan, 27 October, 1942.*

Social anthropology is on the wrong track; the collection of facts about savages, instead of being regarded as a preparation for building up a science of human culture, has come to be regarded as an end in itself. As savage cultures die out, so will social anthropology itself die out, unless it adopts a different outlook.

The substance of the paper, and of the discussion which it provoked, will be printed hereafter in MAN.

7 *North Syria as a Cultural Link in the Ancient World. The Huxley Memorial Lecture, by Sir Leonard Woolley, F.S.A., 24 November, 1942.*

The Huxley Memorial Lecture will be printed in full in the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and will also be published by the Institute in separate form.

OBITUARIES

Fritz Sarasin. 3 Dec. 1859-23 March 1942.

8 Fritz Sarasin was the youngest son of Bürgemeister Felix Sarasin, and showed promise of distinction in his schooldays, carefully fostered by his distinguished mother. He was deeply influenced at the University of Geneva by Ludwig Rütimeyer, and at Würzburg by Karl Semper, and by his cousin and contemporary, Paul Sarasin. Graduating in 1883, the two Sarasins set out at once for Ceylon, continuing zoology with sympathetic study of the Veddas. The results of



Fritz Sarasin, 1859-1942

this journey were worked over in Berlin, where their importance was recognized by Virchow, Richthofen, Bastian and others. In 1889 they went, accompanied by Leopold Rütimeyer, to Egypt and Sinai, and in 1890 to Northern India, and again to Ceylon, and after an interval for publication, to Celebes, then very little known, where they stayed three years (1893-6). Fritz Sarasin was now appointed Director of the Museum at Basel, and remained its President for twenty years, well supported by colleagues and staff. The new Ethnological Museum opened in 1917 was essentially his creation.

As president of the Swiss Natural History Society, 1905-10, he devoted much care to local studies, edited the collected works of Leonhard Euler for the Society, excavated prehistoric cave-dwellings in the Birstal, and organized the protection of sites and objects of zoological and botanical interest. In 1901 he was again in Celebes, where he had to be rescued by Dutch troops; in 1907 again in Ceylon; in 1911-13 he spent two years in New Caledonia, in 1925 he went to Ceylon once more, and in 1932, at the age of 72, to Siam and Bali.

Excellent health, personal charm, ample resources, many friendships, and insatiate thirst for knowledge enabled him to devote his great abilities to fruitful research over a wide field. In his native city he was a leading figure and above all in his beloved Museum.

He was an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute. J. L. M.

Sir Flinders Petrie. F.R.S. 3 June 1853-28 July 1942.

9 William Matthew Flinders Petrie was the son of William Petrie, a civil engineer, and Anne, daughter of the explorer of Australia, Capt. Matthew Flinders. As a boy he collected coins, and his *Inductive Metrology* was published at the age of 22. He became an expert and rapid surveyor, and studied prehistoric sites, and wrote on Stonehenge, exploding current theories and laying the foundation for scientific exploration. More momentous was his visit to Egypt in 1880, and *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh* which performed the same necessary service, and led to his engagement by the newly-formed Egypt Exploration Fund as the colleague of Edouard Naville of Geneva, a disciple of Mariette and faithful to an older tradition. Petrie's training in metrology and numismatics led him into new ways of research; his extraordinary rapidity of thought and handiwork, and his knowledge of his native workmen, enabled him to establish a method of discovery and record which has become classical, and has not in essentials been modified. Chronology, for him, was another aspect of metrology: where stratigraphy failed him, as in extensive but shallow cemeteries, typology rationalized and graduated gave him what he called 'sequence dating' of least-perceptible changes of technique and style. If documentary evidence confirmed (or was confirmed by) this objective test, so much the better, but Petrie was not an Egyptologist in the linguistic sense, but rather an ethnologist who had strayed a few thousand years up Nile.

Brought up austere, and physically tough, he was able to dig where others fainted or starved; ingenious pilferers met their match; fellahin became keen and efficient workmen; the oddest volunteers grew to be a team, though some fell by the way; prompt publication, a summer exhibition which became an event of the 'season,' and brilliant popular lectures, earned, in the off-season, the

revenue for the next campaign. Partnership with the Egypt Exploration Fund was succeeded by an independent 'Egyptian Research Account' later renamed the British School of Archaeology in Egypt without premises or academic connexions, except the Edwards Professorship at University College, London, of which Petrie was the first holder (1892-1933). Here in top-lighted attics, a mass of material was collected, but could not be displayed; and indeed much, under political restrictions, never left Egypt, and much more was dissipated among subscribing Museums. The British Museum did not subscribe, but Manchester in early days, and the Ashmolean Museum later, acquired precious and coherent series. Later still, very important objects, such as the Lahm jewellery, went to the United States.

Beside the annual volume on the season's work—and sometimes a second, when the going was good and helpers adequate—Petrie usually published a lighter book on some aspect of Egyptian culture, folk tales, arts and crafts, decorative art, foreign relations, methods and aims in archaeology, or reflections on wider or remoter subjects; and he found time to organize, on a new archaeological basis, a *History of Egypt*, though he only wrote the earlier volumes himself. When the war of 1914-18 prevented excavation, he substituted inventories of

principal categories of antiquities—pottery, implements, and ornaments—for his annual reports, and thereby put on record much of his unique experience of Egyptian technology. Under the new conditions after 1918 archaeological research in Egypt fell on evil days; but there was a British Mandate in Palestine, where Petrie had broken ground at Tell-el-Hesi in 1890; and to Palestine the School of Archaeology in Egypt was summarily transferred, without change of title, or link with the new British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Here work went on, perhaps too long, and with less adequate assistance; when field-work ceased, Jerusalem became Petrie's home, as a Palestinian subject; and here at the age of 89 he died, still at work in his remarkable library, and still aided by his devoted wife who had shared with him the full burden of such an excavator's life, since their marriage in 1897. Besides many other distinctions, Petrie was a Fellow of the Royal Society and the British Academy, and was knighted in 1923. His autobiography, published in 1931, is a vivid and plain-spoken account of a zealous uncompromising pioneer, a man of brilliant insight and wayward energy, fierce with opponents, but extraordinary kind to anyone willing to learn from him and tread his path.

J. L. M.

REVIEWS

SOCIOLOGY

The Cambridge Evacuation Survey. A Wartime Study in Social Welfare and Education. Edited by Susan Isaacs, with the co-operation of Sibyl Clement Brown and Robert H. Thouless. London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1941. 235 pp.

It may be thought that some apology is needed for a lengthy review in this journal on the subject of evacuation, but anthropology is the study of man in all cultures, not only of primitive man, and the child is father of the man, so the adaptation of children in our own culture to war conditions is not only worthy of the attention of anthropologists, but is a question of paramount importance. Anthropologists have always paid attention to the family structure peculiar to each culture; the inviolability of the family and the principle that a man's house is his castle, which have both been taken for granted in England, have been attacked by the evacuation scheme.

Thus the evacuation of school children from the larger cities is a phenomenon of great sociological significance. Before 1939 only a small proportion of England's children went away from home for their education, the custom was confined to the upper and middle classes and mainly to boys. A number of waifs and strays were boarded out in families in the country, and of these some became practically adopted by the families where they were boarded, but most of these children had no homes of their own, and they were taken on a basis of profit by the householders.

The present situation is entirely different. Two new principles are involved—not only are parents bidden to give over the care of their children, which they had

previously regarded as a binding duty, but the population in the reception areas are, in theory at least, obliged to take them in; they are asked to give them parental care, and are only paid for the cost of their food. Family life both in the evacuating and the receiving areas has thus become fundamentally altered. Any analysis of the results of this colossal experiment are welcome.

The present survey was completed in July, 1940, before any blitz had been experienced, so that it is surprising to find that about half the number of cases examined had remained in billets. Attention is usually drawn to the failures in the scheme, but the successes are really much more remarkable and instructive. The Cambridge conditions are not, however, typical of all receiving areas. The geographical conditions are favourable; a small town can accommodate reasonable-sized groups, and provide co-ordinated opportunity for recreation, etc.; the school groups need not be broken up—the advantage of this factor is of prime importance. Further, a body of practical workers was organized to assist the Chief Billeting Officer and the assistance of the Child Guidance Training Centre was freely given.

The survey deals with children coming from only two London schools. In these favourable circumstances out of the 656 children examined only 8.2 per cent. showed definite maladjustment to their new environment, and it is probable that a certain number of these children were already maladjusted at home. The great majority of these children were over 11 years of age. Another finding of importance is that regular visits from parents were helpful. These factors should be considered in all evacuation schemes.

From this it may be inferred that English children under eleven, accustomed to home life in towns, belonging to a class to which the idea of boarding-school is quite foreign, on the whole adapt well to a complete change in environment.

It seems clear that a family that provides a good background for its own children is capable of accommodating other children. Tables showing the percentage of unhappy children in billets are particularly interesting. Out of 587 cases 8.4 per cent. children are listed 'unhappy,' of which 10 per cent. are in billets where there are no other children and 18.5 per cent. are in billets where the only other children are also evacuees; whereas in those cases where siblings are billeted together, whether with or without other evacuees or children belonging to the billets, the percentage is lower. Another table is made (this time with 538 cases, and no reason is given for the difference in the total) in which it is shown that twice as many of the unhappy children had no brother or sister in their billets as those who had siblings. Stress is laid on the fact that this indicates that a child parted from its parents is better off, if the family tie is not entirely broken, and siblings remain. No one will quarrel with this finding, in spite of not infrequent cases where siblings quarrel, or become more manageable when parted. But it seems to me that, as the percentage of unhappy children was the same—8.5 per cent.—whether billeted with siblings, with evacuees or with Cambridge children, the more significant factor is that 9.5 per cent. of the unhappy children were in households where there were no home-children, as compared with 10 per cent. who were without siblings. It is remarkable that jealousy of the householder's children does not appear to be a cause of unhappiness.

One great difficulty in the scheme is the insecurity of tenure; a child may be removed from a billet for sound or for apparently trivial reasons—reasons which would not be considered in a hostel or school. Whatever the cause of the change of billet, whether due to the child or the householder, the child undoubtedly suffers from the sense of insecurity and with successive changes tends to become unbilleteable.

It would seem that the adaptation of householders to evacuees is a factor of as much importance as that of children to the billet, and the greatest number of failures occurred where the householder had no other children. It may be presumed that these householders were either childless, or their children were older and had left home.

Considering the intimacy that cannot be avoided in a household and the fact that the evacuees, being children, necessarily accept a junior and hence inferior status, it argues well for the adaptability of the young that the percentage of unhappy cases was so low. (It will be remembered that about half the children had already returned to London—though not necessarily because they were unhappy.) Compared with the non-adaptability of adults, this result is remarkable. The failure of the evacuation of mothers with infants or children under school age is too well known to require comment.

The survey demonstrates the partial success of this quasi-adoption method of evacuation without any form of selection, the adaptability of the children, and the capacity of parents to extend their parental attitude to strange children. And this is noteworthy, for throughout the survey great attention is given to the psychological difficulties arising within the parent-child situation. But this method is not the only possible one and it is obvious that it can be improved upon. No investigation was made of children evacuated to institutions; it is to be hoped that any further survey may include such children, so that the pros and cons of the two systems may be tested.

Further surveys, which may be undertaken now of such children who have remained in billets since September, 1939 (and there are some!), and those who have been billeted since the *blitzkrieg* began, may give us information which should be invaluable, not only for immediate action in wartime but for reconstruction of our educational system after the war. We want to get as complete a picture as possible of the changes in physical, intellectual, and emotional make-up in the child, brought about by his sudden uprooting. What has the experience done for him? Has the break in education always been harmful? In what special ways has it been harmful? How could this be remedied? Has the widening of experience and improvement in health, brought about by the change, compensated for loss of educational continuity? Has it been found that any parents cannot be traced, so that the children have become deserted? Where he has been happily billeted, has loyalty to two groups, the home and the foster group, set up inner conflicts? A detailed examination of all children reaching school-leaving age while in billets, and the occupations taken up, would be valuable; records of the numbers of billeted children taking scholarships and passing on to technical and other schools, sub-normal children and cases of delinquency in billets, should be obtained.

The provision for children under five cuts further into the structure of the family, and the gradual formation of those sentiments which arise within the elementary family and lay the foundations of the child's character. Sending the children into billets with their mothers failed. Now the Ministry of Health has adopted the principle of resident nursery schools and nursery parties. A considerable number of the former have been opened and are being opened. These usually provide for children from 2 to 5 years in groups of from 25 upwards. It may be that by two years the child's sentiments towards both parents are so well crystalized that, provided the staff is well chosen, he is already capable of making substitute-attachments that will give him the necessary security for full development. Except in the case of twins, the child under two has rarely made any deep attachment to his siblings. By two he is just beginning to become a social animal, and the speeding up of this process by the presence of numerous substitute-siblings is not likely to be harmful, except to very timid temperaments.

The adjustment to substitute-parents is a more delicate matter, and needs watching with great care. The guardians must not fall into the Scylla of aloofness, or the Charybdis of over-devotion. The child must not feel deserted—yet the affection that he is given and gives should leave space for the reappearance of the mother without another serious wrench. It is inevitable that substitute fathers cannot be provided. The part played by the English father to the child under five follows no fixed pattern, and varies with the temperament and circumstances of the individual. Or perhaps the pattern has been undergoing considerable change in this generation, from one of studied aloofness to that of co-operative affection and care. The great interest shown in all male visitors by a group of six little children of both sexes under my care, contrasted with their initial shyness with female visitors, seems to demonstrate that they feel the lack of a father or father-substitute.

In a group of from four to eight children the home conditions that we associate with the family, and which are regarded as the normal background for a child's development, can be approximated. It might be a good thing if the age for such groups could be raised to seven. Above that age, children in all cultures tend to form groups. The boarding-school system has been con-

sidered generally successful for the upper and middle classes; there is no *a priori* reason why it should not be equally good for all classes. But old institutions should not be imitated too closely; family ties should not be entirely broken; the children should find security in the new group, and have the opportunity to form new affections and loyalties. Return home for long holidays in the family may be impossible, so hostel accommodation for visiting parents should be provided. Given reasonable equipment and good food, the success of a

school depends on the enlightened attitude of the staff, and their relation to their pupils, not on the ratio of expenditure. Experience has shown that the billets in good families have now been filled, and with the call-up of women fewer will be available. If the war continues, and the evacuation of children remains a Government policy, boarding-schools with holiday-camps must come, and this may prove the beginning of a great social change.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN.

INDIA

Some Aspects of the Cultural Life of the Khasas of the cis-Himalayan Region. By D. N. Majumdar. *Journ. R. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VI, 1, 1940. 44 pp., 3 plates, sketch map.

This article is an interesting examination of the society of a sub-Himalayan area in Northern India. A brief general account of the racial composition and the economy of the people is given, and this is followed by a closer examination of the marital systems of the area, and the inferences to be drawn from them. The study is important as relating to a polyandrous society which is at the same time patrilineal and patrilineal; the accepted standard of female behaviour is exacting when the wife is living in her husband's village; whereas she is allowed great laxity of conduct when she is spending one of her periodic visits to the village of her parents. Co-husbands are normally brothers, and an only son finds it so hard to get a wife, that he generally has to share with cousins or collaterals of some kind if he can find them agreeable.

Dr. Majumdar quite rightly, in the reviewer's opinion, interprets the unusual pattern of Khasa marriage as due to the impact of a patrilineal upon a matrilineal culture, a phenomenon which has probably been far more widespread in India than is generally recognized; though it

seems hardly likely to have been generally attended by the emergence of a society such as Dr. Majumdar reports, incidentally, of the Tharu, whose womanfolk even trap and hunt, to say nothing of producing female artists who decorate their houses with mural paintings of warriors and battle scenes.

It is not so easy, however, to follow Dr. Majumdar in all the details of his study. He writes of an 'Austrie' race and of an 'Austrie' culture, though that adjective is strictly applicable only to language. Again he writes of his sub-Himalayan people as being composed of three racial elements—Mongoloid, Indo-Aryan, and 'Austrie' or 'Pre-Dravidian,' but it is clear, if only from the cerebrals used in Sanskrit, and the islands of Dravidian tongues isolated in Baluchistan and in the Rajmahal Hills, that Dravidian-speaking peoples once occupied much of northern India, while some of those physical types of the sub-Himalayan region, which tend towards brachycephaly, suggest an Armenoid or Eurasiatic basis, rather than a Mongolian one, and their culture contains scattered survivals of the worship of snakes and of the Great Mother.

As a study of patrilineal polyandry in the working, Dr. Majumdar's article is a contribution to Indian ethnography of considerable importance. J. H. H.

AMERICA

Hernán Cortés. By Salvador de Madariaga. London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1942. 554 pp., with 3 plates.

12 This book, being a life of Cortés, and nothing else, does not contain any ethnographical material, but is a good history of the conquest of Mexico. It is unfortunate that the author's racial and religious views lead him to take a distinctly anti-Indian tone throughout, but with this reservation the book is a good piece of work and fair in its judgments. It is certainly true that Cortés was much superior intellectually to and less cruel than the other Spanish conquerors of his time. The conquest was a marvellous achievement and he was an able general and governor. One can understand the author's anxiety to uphold his hero at all costs, but when it comes to extenuating the egregious Alvarado's massacre it is rather too much. However, he does not excuse the torturing of Cuauhtemoc. The statement that Montezuma had no conception of such a thing as 'wrong' is an amusing example of anti-Indian bias. As he had been captured by treachery, he was certainly justified in intriguing to liberate himself. In fact Cortés and he were much alike in moral character, each being brave, cruel, treacherous, and polygamous. Notwithstanding what the author says, the condition of the natives after the conquest was terrible, both from the oppression of their lay masters and from ecclesiastical persecution.

Apart from these matters, the author rightly says that Montezuma was neither a coward nor a fool, and in the reviewer's opinion he is justified in holding that the Aztec rulers of that time had very considerable power, and in rejecting the current American view that they

were mere tribal chiefs. The comparison with the Holy Roman Empire is distinctly good, though of course it cannot be pressed too far.

It is curious to find the Aztec date of the entry of Cortés into Mexico given as the third day of Quecholli instead of the ninth. But the author is not strong in calendrical matters and seems not to know of the work of Seler or of Caso. He is, however, quite right in saying that he does not know on what authority the editor of the Codex Mendoza states that the ceremony of the new fire took place on 16 November. The reviewer has also been unable to find any authority for that statement.

Cuauhnahuac is wrongly translated 'Eagle of the Nauacs.' It should be 'Beside the Woods.'

The book is extremely well written and there is a good index. RICHARD C. E. LONG.

Catalogo de la Biblioteca del Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. By Jorge A. Vivó, Director. Publ. 47. Tacubaya D.F., Mexico. 1940. 412 pp. Price not stated.

13 This is so serviceable an inventory of Americanist publications of all kinds that it deserves the encouragement of students of these subjects. As the library appears to depend in part for its information on exchanges of periodicals, societies and publishers of journals can help materially by sending review-copies, which are added to the Institute's library, and acknowledged by inclusion of their titles in the next issue of the Catalogue.

The Panamerican Institute issues other publications of its own, but has omitted to describe them by their titles in its own *Catalogo*. This, however, will no doubt be

remedied. As the Institute was only founded in 1930, it has a good record of publication; 47 volumes in 10 years. J. L. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Myth of the Giridēvi kathāva, in Ceylon.

14 SIR.—Professor Malinowsky has stressed the importance of the myth, and written much to establish its true position in the functioning of early society. The myth has played a considerable and characteristic role, not only in moulding the character of less civilized man but also in the enforcement of customs and traditions by acting as a warrant or charter against their transgression.

Such myths relating to incest are found in most societies. Egypt and India have preserved written records of such stories; for example, *Rig Veda*, Bk. X, 10. Certain other countries have preserved them through oral transmission. All these are held in great respect and veneration.

In Ceylon we have a myth known as 'Nagā-mala-alé,' popular in certain villages of the upland areas (R. L. Spittel, *Wild Ceylon*, 1924, p. 195; Pieris, *MAN*, 1935, 111). So far as the writer is aware there is no written record of this either in the printed books or on palm leaf manuscripts. On the other hand, there is a myth of incest which is not popularly known throughout the country (the writer has not heard it) but which has been preserved in a palm leaf manuscript belonging to the Colombo Museum, Ceylon. The story is known as the Gīrī-devī-kathāva (Ms. A.R./10 folios 11), i.e. The Story of Princess Gīrī. This forms the basis of the story of Garā Yakā, who is invoked in a demonological dance which is performed at the end of every *bali* performance. The story runs as follows:

In the pleasant city of Danta in India lived a noble king called Hansavati. His daughter was a beautiful princess. At her birth, when the Brahmins were consulted, it was foretold that, later, a prince also would be born to the queen. Further it was prophesied that an incestuous union would take place between the brother and sister, since it had been their wish in a previous existence. Nothing could prevent such a calamity; not even the gods.

The parents were greatly perturbed and grieved to hear the shameful news. The king devised a means of preventing such a union. He caused to be constructed a grand and beautiful tunnel where the princess was made to live in the company of five hundred wet nurses. The princess Gīrī shone like the full moon. And at the age of seven she appeared to be a full-grown beauty resembling a golden image. The proportions of her body conformed to the classical description, not only in detail but also in appeal and symmetry.

When the princess attained puberty at the age of sixteen, her thoughts wandered only in the direction of sexual desires. Such passions obsessed her. The handmaidens informed her brother Dala about the strange mental disposition of his sister.

The 'salu-mangalle' (cloth ceremony associated with the first menstruation) was performed by washerwomen in the presence of the queen. Seven curtains enclosed the spot at which the cloth was displayed before the queen amidst the sounding of musical instruments.

Prince Dala assaulted one of the washerwomen, and inquired about his sister. The woman related the recent incident and told him where the princess was living. The prince decided on a plan of action. He pretended to be ill. The illness was the strong desire to see his sister. He demanded that his sister should

be brought into his presence. He raged like a rutting elephant and threatened to abstain from food and drink until it was promised to bring before him his sister, the princess Gīrī.

Regardless of all the shameful consequences predicted by the Brahmins, the princess was brought into the presence of the prince her brother. She wore her golden anklets. A curtain was drawn around the persons. The prince then led his own sister by her soft, golden arms and took her to his bed where he satisfied his long-cherished carnal desire. The thought of such ignominious behaviour made her weep despite her youth. The prince tried vainly to pacify her, but she wept, saying that her handmaids would ever despise her.

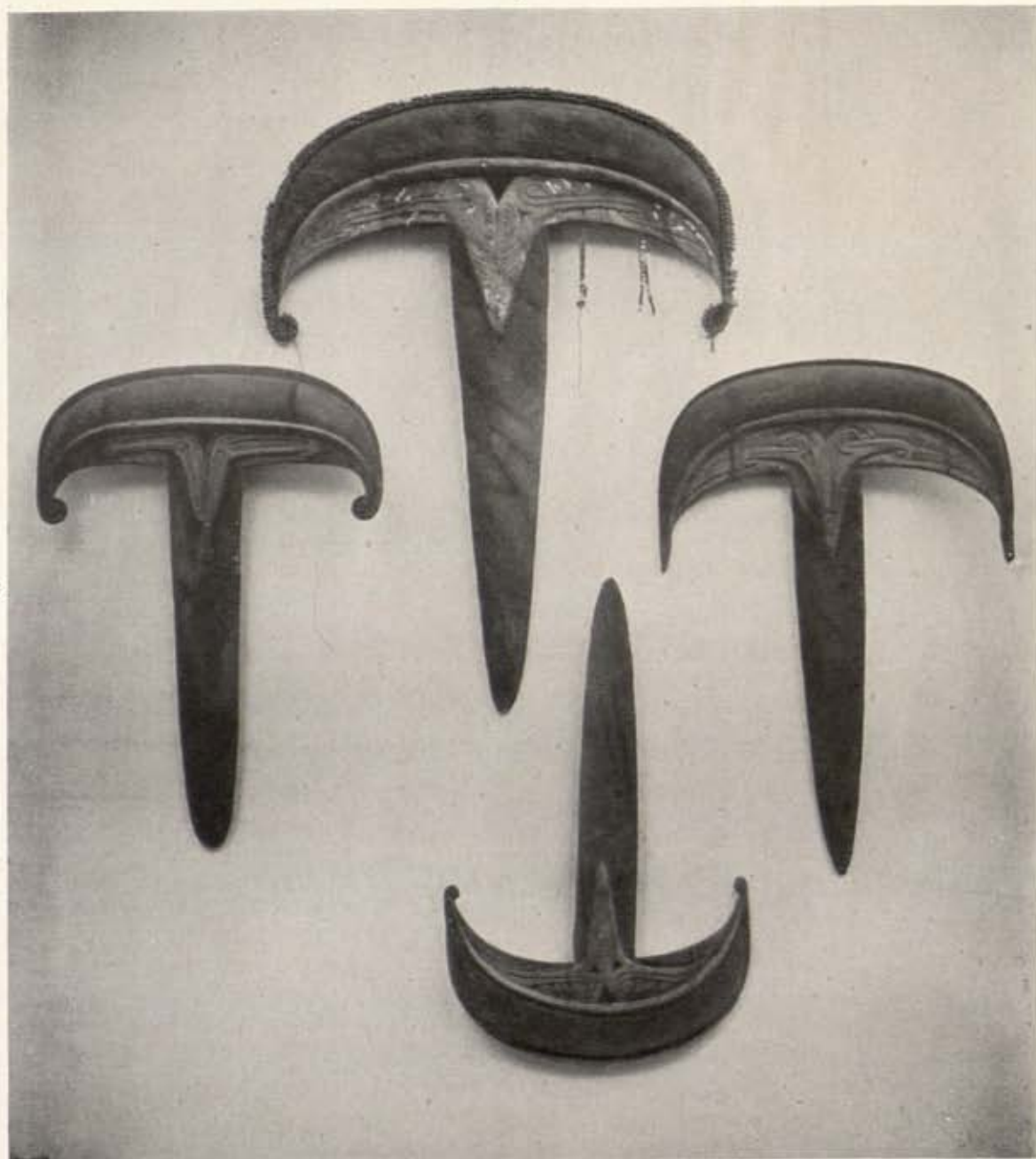
'Do not weep, dear sister, I have only expressed my true feelings towards you. You alone possess a form equal to myself and you alone can gratify my desires.' Then the princess asked: 'Why did you love me?' 'Although you speak so shamelessly, people of the world, especially women, will ridicule me.' He replied, 'My love for thee will never change. Will the spots on the moon ever change? Will the spring forsake its native pond? And the bees give up the flowers from which they gather honey?' Then replied she, 'It seems as if my stomach were enveloped in burning flames. My life will not endure. Alas! not even the gods see my woes. How can I endure having once slept with my own brother as my husband?'

When the prince fell asleep on her lap, she stole away and hanged herself on an *Āsala* tree (*Cassia fistula*). But the God Sakra's intervention saved her life.

Awaking from his deep slumber, prince Dala noticed the absence of his sister-consort. Enraged with grief and maddened with anger, he began to destroy the hills and valleys, the earth and the nether world. He even swept the sands of the sea. Finally, approaching Sakra, he inquired whether he had seen his beloved wife. Sakra assembled all the celestial maidens and requested him to choose his wife from among them. Not one, said he, was worth the little finger of his wife, his sister the princess Gīrī. Then Sakra conducted prince Dala to the spot where Gīrī was seen hanging from the tree. In great grief Dala climbed the tree, kissed her, and brought her down. Sakra sprinkled nectar on her body and revived her. Later a poisonous fluid was smeared on the husband, who disappeared into the woods leaving his wife behind. The God Sakra took Princess Gīrī to his heaven, where even to this day she lives as one of the celestial maidens.

In both the Vedic story of Yama and Yami and the Sinhalese Nagā-mala-alé, it is the sister who takes the initiative, whilst the brother is the unwilling victim. But in the case of this story, the brother is the seducer, whilst the sister unwillingly succumbs. It must also be noted that these stories are still preserved in the remote villages of the island, and are in fact believed to be myths by those who relate them. The writer has inquired from a few informants whether such things actually took place. 'No, certainly not,' was the reply. Of course an element of magic comes into play, whereby the crime is explained in such stories. In the story of Gīrī the temptation and seduction are attributed to their mutual determination in a previous existence.

N. D. WIJESEKERA.



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CEREMONIAL LIME SPATULÆ FROM BRITISH NEW GUINEA

From a photograph in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

CEREMONIAL LIME SPATULÆ FROM BRITISH NEW GUINEA. By T. Elder Dickson, M.A., Ph.D., A.B.P.S., F.R.S.E. Cf. MAN, 1942, 29. With Plate B.

15 Through the good offices of Dr. H. Meinhard, of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, have been traced other nine specimens of ceremonial lime spatulæ from British New Guinea, to add to those published in MAN, 1942, 29. Unfortunately no evidence is available to enable us to record their place of origin with certainty, but it seems evident that they are all from the Louisiades. Specimen 2, in Plate B, which is the most elaborate in its decoration, might be made of turtle shell; the others are apparently of wood, probably ebony.

Seligman states (*Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 528) that most of these ceremonial spatulæ are carved at Misima and that they constitute articles of great value locally and among other islands of the group. The shell discs, which are a usual feature of their decoration, are generally added by the purchaser. It will be noted that Plate B, nos. 1 and 3, and no. 8 of fig. 1, have no

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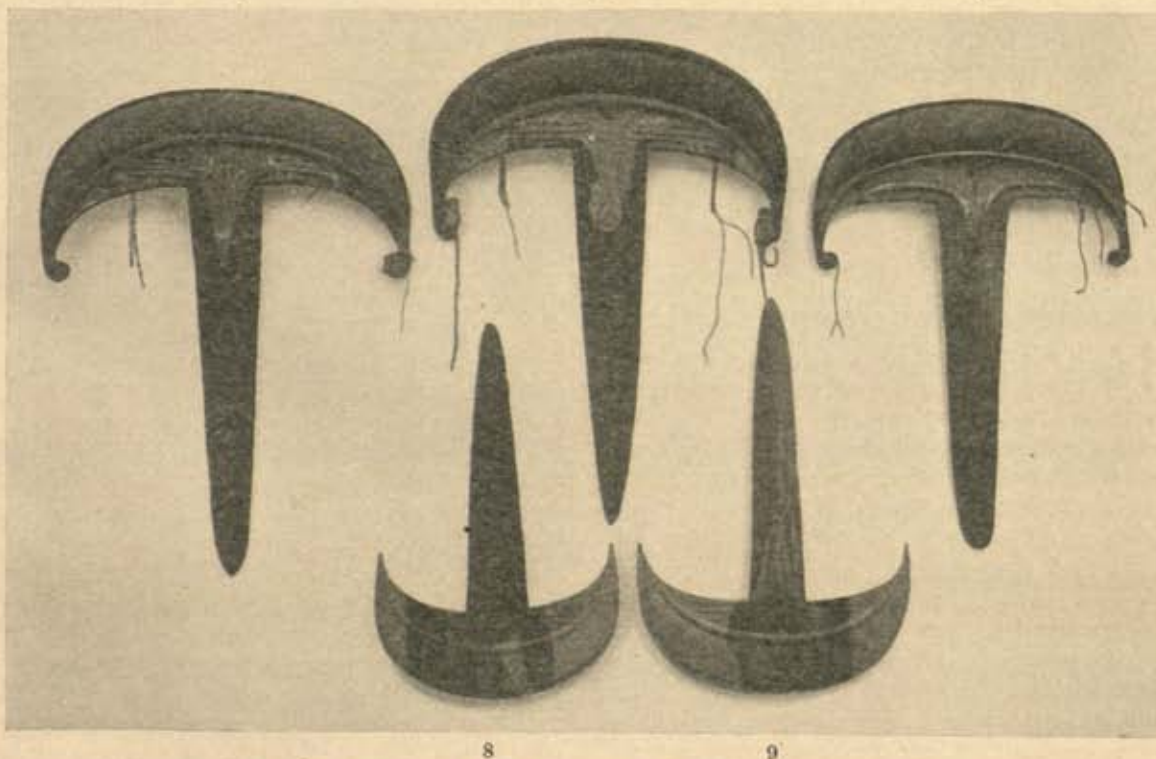


FIG. 1.—CEREMONIAL LIME SPATULÆ FROM BRITISH NEW GUINEA
From a photograph in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

perforations along the outer edge of the handle. These it would appear have never been traded and may have formed part of the stock-in-trade of the vendor craftsman: or they may be older, for as Haddon (writing in 1893) points out, 'There is now a tendency for recently made spatulae to be turned out in a more perfunctory manner. Degeneration in artistic excellence is the almost universal result of the influence of the white man. Time is now beginning to mean money to these people, and there is a gradually increasing feeling among natives who have become influenced by white men, to be content with utensils which are undecorated, or of which the ornamentation is scamped. The natives have, by this time, sold a considerable portion of their old and well-carved objects, and they find that the trader does not insist upon perfection in more modern objects.' (*The Decorative Art of British New Guinea*, pp. 202-3.)

All the others appear to have been traded or put into ceremonial use and, with one exception (no. 7), are noticeable more elaborate in their ornamentation.

Owing to the absence of information it is not possible to ascribe the specimens figured to any particular island within the Louisiade group. The curvilinear style of the decoration, suggestive of the head and neck of the *boi* or reef heron, is characteristic of the area. In the specimens which we have been able to trace, there is sufficient

variety in the decoration to suggest that a considerable degree of freedom of invention was permitted. The crescentic handle is, of course, typical, and while a symmetrical type of design predominates, asymmetry is occasionally employed with great effect and ingenuity: e.g. no. 6, where the 'beaks' have been intertwined at the base of the prong. The designs on no. 7 is a very degenerate example of the bird motif; very little of the natural form has been retained with the result that the design is completely lacking in organic character. Two of the specimens, fig. 1, nos. 8 and 9, are so alike in design and finish that they may even be the work of one man.

There is reason to believe that the series reproduced were originally collected by my friend, Professor Seligman. The plates belong to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. I am unable to say with certainty where the originals are, but the most likely place is the University Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge. Miss O'Reilly, the present acting Curator, to whom I sent the photographs, recalls specimens exhibited before the war, one of which might be either no. 6 or no. 2. Mr. H. J. Braunholtz of the Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, is practically certain that the specimens are not in their collection. Until the war is over, the question of their *locus* must remain doubtful.

THE EGYPTIAN FERTILITY-RITE: POSTSCRIPT.

16 My last article on the fertility-rite (MAN, 1941, 71) has called forth some kindly criticisms from good authorities, including those of Professor Rose (MAN, 1941, 103). To begin with the latter, I must apologize for an omission which led to a want of clarity in my dealing with Plutarch's note on the names of Isis. On p. 94 (par. 3, l. 5) the word 'her' was intended for Hathor, the original Egyptian mother-goddess whose functions were largely transferred to Isis on the entry of the Osiris-cult into Egypt. The two deities are confused in Plutarch's text, of which, by the way, I understood the sense in the same way as Professor Rose: the interpretation of *Mut* as 'mother' is correct, but *Athyra* is simply the graecized form of Hathor, while the

By G. D. Hornblower, F.S.A.

explanation of *Methyr* is entirely fanciful, its real meaning being 'Mother of Horus' (Egyptian *Mut-her*), which is the very epithet applied to Hathor in the text from Lanzzone referred to by me. That text accords with the somewhat cryptic reference to the womb, attributed to Plato by Plutarch, who, however, ignores the true application and refers all to Isis. The figuring of Hathor as mother of Horus is in keeping with her name, 'House of Horus,' though it might, in perhaps greater likelihood, mean his wife; for that is the relationship accorded to the goddess in her precincts at Denderah and Deir-el-Bahri, where she is represented as suckling the infant Horus in the security of the tall marsh-reeds. But in Osirian texts, as at

Abydos, that is the function of Isis; and thus Plutarch, with his mind full—like that of many of his contemporaries—with thoughts of Isis, may be held excusable in ignoring the earlier Hathor. In either case, the feature of importance for the matter in hand is the confusion between Mother and Wife characteristic of the myths woven round the old fertility-rite.

On another point Plutarch was rightly informed—the myriad names given by the people to Isis, which was the result, of course, of her penetration, as avatar of the primeval Great Goddess, into local cults, exactly comparable in this respect, as in others, to her Indian equivalent noted by me (MAN, 1937, p. 155) and to the Mesopotamian Ishtar. This multiplication of epithets and names occurs also, as we should expect, for Hathor, and was in her case extraordinarily great, as Lanzzone has shown (*Diz. Mit.*, pp. 875–887), far exceeding that of Isis; and quite naturally, since Hathor was the primary avatar of the Great Goddess in Egypt, established long ages before memory, and adopted by the Falcon-folk as their great patron-deity.

From all this confusion the inference seems to emerge that the conception of the group of divine Mother, Son, and Spouse, as essential for human prosperity, was established in Egypt in its earliest stage of settlement.

With regard to Mother Earth, no doubt, as Professor Rose has remarked, Plutarch had in mind the equation of her with the Great Mother, as exemplified in Plato *Timæus*, 52d. But this passage has no reference to any name and is of general scope; I can only suggest, tentatively, that the statement fathered on Plato, if really his, appeared in a treatise now lost; he, indeed, or perhaps an imitator, summarized the idea in the words attributed to Socrates: 'Woman in her conception and generation is but the imitation of the earth, and not the earth of the woman' (Plato: *Menexenus*, 237–8; Jowett's trans., III, 1520). Lucretius (II, 598 ff.), expounding Greek ideas to Rome, says in his account of Earth (*Tellus*) that she is 'great mother of the gods, mother of beasts and parent (*genetrix*) of our body.' In Egypt, too, and equally in Mesopotamia, the Great Goddess was hymned as 'Mother of the Gods' and, in many parts of the Near East, as 'Mistress of the Beasts.'

Egypt, however, had a quite different conception of the Earth-deity (*Geb*), who was male;

and we might infer that here was one more example of Greek misunderstanding derived from uninformed popular sources. But the Greek idea had entered Egyptian theology in the Later Period, probably under the Ptolemies, for it appears then at Philæ, which had become a centre of Isis-cult. A 'Hymn to the Nile,' of late date, recorded there, equated Osiris, in the old way, with the Nile while Isis was identified with the irrigated land (Junker: *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, p. 38). The hymn contains other features in the conception of Isis, much limiting her original scope as mother-goddess. Confusedness is also apparent in another passage of the text, which equates Osiris with Orion and Isis with Sirius; this was doubtless a survival from the old astral system of religion which once reigned in Egypt and has left clear traces, notably in the Pyramid Texts, in spite of its submersion beneath the weighty flood of the Sun-cult which in those texts was at its height (Budge: *From Fetish to God*, pp. 41 and 240–6). But the astral equation of Osiris was of vague character, for in some classical texts he was identified with a 'planet,' the Moon; indeed, it seems a question whether all such catasterisms were not of a similarly mobile nature; or perhaps this one arose from the circumstance that Osiris was of foreign and not primarily native origin.

It may also be noted that in the late Gerzean period Horus, as Dr. Elise Baumgärtel has pointed out, seems to have been connected with the moon—see, for example, the carving on a stone vase illustrated by Petrie (*Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. xix) and reproduced by Capart (*Primitive Art in Egypt*, fig. 73 of the English version).

Another interesting feature in the Hymn to the Nile is the infiltration of foreign ideas and their acceptance by the priesthood—a sure sign of the weakening of the official national cult, which was indeed inevitable and opened the way, not long after, to the triumph of Christianity, with its ideal of individual, and not mainly communal, good life, and its prospect of a happy After-life, so dear to the Egyptian.

It may be noted as a rider to my former remarks on Plutarch (MAN, 1937, pp. 154 and 176), that, according to some good authorities, his account of Isis at Byblos, which fills much of his story, must have been drawn from tales current in Syria but without base in Egypt. He may have annexed them to his work as additional

attractions, trading on that common human weakness for the mysterious and miraculous, which forms so prominent a feature in all legend-mongering, and is copiously illustrated in medieval 'Lives of Saints' where the hagiographer, keen for the magnification of his subject but short of exciting matter, lifts it unconcernedly from other Lives, ready quarries being available in such collections as 'The Paradise of the Early Fathers,' of the fourth century, translated by Budge.

The need of great caution in using Plutarch's accounts of foreign myths is amply proved by his own confession at the beginning of his *Life of Theseus* that his 'fabulous material, being 'moulded by reason, may accept the form of 'history' and, when this cannot be done, that 'my readers may be indulgent and receive with 'kindness the fables of antiquity' (Jane Harrison's translation, *Themis*, p. 317).

It seems clear that he has fallen into the error of taking certain myths and practices of other people known to the Greeks as equated with or derived from those of Egypt. A further example of this may be seen in his account of the dismemberment of Osiris by Set which does not come from any known Egyptian source but formed part of the myth of Dionysus—of course without Set—and was a practice fairly common elsewhere, as Frazer has shown in *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, Vol. 2, pp. 97 ff. Herodotus, too, is not free from this error; when he ostentatiously refrains from naming Osiris in various passages of Bk. II, he seems to have been actuated, perhaps almost unconsciously, by a knowledge of the similar silence (*euphemia*) enforced in the Dionysiac rites, thus following a course of thought contrary to his usual theory that Greece largely followed Egypt in matters of religion.

The *psychostasia* (I regret using the Low-greek final *s*) has been discussed by Jane Harrison and illustrated from a vase-painting (*Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, 3rd ed., pp. 183 ff., fig. 26). There is no clear allusion, as my critic has remarked, to a moral content—and I did not posit one—but, as the name shows, it was 'lives' that were weighed up, or 'souls,' and in primitive thought a religious idea is easily connected with these vague entities. Another name was *kérostasia*, 'weighing of fates,' or, as she would suggest, of 'spirits of the dead,' for thus she has interpreted one aspect of the *kér* (p. 165). This

fragment of eschatology must have been a matter of general belief, for it is recorded by Homer who, with Æschylus, made Zeus the umpire, and it continued till the full Hellenic age, when it was spread abroad on such articles of wide commerce as Attic pottery; its position in popular thought is well illustrated by the comic allusion to it in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. Hermes may have been finally adopted as umpire on account of his function as *Psychopompos*, 'conductor of souls,' to their future world. The general idea may well have originated in Egyptian pictures which reached the Greeks, who did not, however, learn their whole meaning; for them it was the mere weighing of fates, devoid of purely moral implications, of which, nevertheless, it bore the dormant seeds which had a vigorous sprouting in after times, especially in Christianity. For there we find the archangel Michael, scion of both Orient and the West, deputy in many matters for the Almighty, acting not only as Leader of the Heavenly Hosts but also as the great Angel of the Dead, and Conductor of their souls to Paradise, but not till he had weighed them in his scales—in fact, like Hermes, both *Psychopompos* and Weigher of Fates (see Mrs. Jameson: *Sacred and Legendary Art*, I, pp. 111–114, figs. 39, 42). This inheritance of functions seems to have originated in the early Christianity of the Near East, which confused him with Hermes or Mercury, as general theory has done till now, though it has its heretics such as Olga Rojdestvensky (*Le Culte de S. Michel et le Moyen Age Latin*, Paris, 1922). The seed-bed may have been in Egypt, for there, as noted in my preceding article (p. 96, 1st par.), St. Mercurius largely replaced Osiris in the popular mind, and Osiris had been the mighty Umpire at the soul-weighing; thus we may here have gained an illuminating glance into the mechanism of the fusion of new with old at the replacement of one religious system of beliefs by another. A very modern incarnation of the myth has been kindly brought to my notice by Professor Myres who witnessed it in the streets of Athens in 1893, during Carnival, and published it, with illustrations, under the title 'The Miser's Doom' (*J.A.I.*, XXV, pp. 102 ff.). The miser died, his soul was extracted, then weighed and found wanting, and underwent its due torture, all at the hands of strolling mummers. The idea of angels of inquisition for the souls of the dead was further

engrafted on Islam in its dread pair, *Munkir* and *Nakeer*.

In dealing with the pronunciation of θ I followed many authorities in considering it, as does Professor Rose, as an explosive t , similar to that of the Chinese language, which contains several consonants of the same character; but if, in the word 'sweetheart' the final '-cart' is removed, the emphatic h following the t can only be pronounced as a very strong out-breathing, and this, I take it, would be the case with $\Sigma\eta\theta$, where it would represent the final soft guttural in *Sutech* as nearly as the Greek alphabet would allow; this guttural, however, was very commonly represented in hieroglyphs as *sh*; compare the English and American pronunciations of *schedule* and *eschholtzia*.

These points, as Professor Rose has said, do not affect the essential question of the fertility-rite, but the rock-drawings of Cogul bear on it closely, just as the objects deposited with the dead in the Upper Palaeolithic Age bear on the question of belief in a kind of personal survival after death. The genuineness of the drawings has been attacked, as must always be expected with discoveries of disturbing novelty, which, to acquire real value and consequent currency, must undergo the ordeal of severe critical examination. But archaeologists in general have now settled down to acceptance of their authenticity, and Miles Burkitt, who has examined them minutely, tells me that there can be no doubt about it, adding that some of the women-figures were probably painted after others, in which conclusion he is supported by other authorities. They agree, too, that it would not be safe to infer a fertility-rite or dance. About this matter complete assurance is of course unobtainable, but much can be said for a high probability. An objection has been made that actual mating cannot have been intended or the male organ would have been otherwise depicted; this is true, but mating could hardly have been actual in a public dance in which several women took part, as they do in the drawings at Cogul and the Amratian jar at Brussels described by Scharff—their similarity in this respect may surely be taken as pointing to their probable identity in meaning and purpose, and not mere 'convergence.' Petrie interpreted the subject on the vase in University College, London, as a fight, but Scharff could offer no explanation of the Brussels example.

Both authors take the small figures for males as well as the larger, despite their manifest points of difference. The masculinity of the larger is plain to see; the sexual distinction in the smaller is most marked as fig. 2 shows, drawn after Scharff (*J. Eg. Arch.*, XIV, p. 267); it was of course intentional and had a definite purpose which fits exactly with the interpretation of the group as representing a fertility-rite. The limited means at the artists' disposal made impossible a naturalistic rendering of the organ, but, as it was



FIG. 2.—AMRATIAN JAR AT BRUSSELS.

essential for their purpose that it should be readily recognizable, they resorted to the artifice of drawing it as protruding from the body, keeping quite clear its distinctive shape. This kind of artifice, designed to exhibit the very quiddity of its object, is well known in early art and lies at the root of many peculiarities of the art of ancient Egypt throughout its history; at Cogul it was unnecessary, the women being clothed. For an interesting parallel we may turn to the method of discriminating sex in Chinese ideograms, illustrated in Dr. L. Adam's 'Pelican' booklet on *Primitive Art*, p. 34, fig. 5.

At Cogul the subsequent addition of female figures provides good evidence for their magico-religious value, exactly as in the figures of animals, superposed, in the caves of Altamira; their value as instruments of the people's prosperity demanded that they should be renewed or

strengthened as occasion required; similar superposition occurs in the rock-drawings of Wadi Hammamât described by H. Winkler and published by the Egypt Exploration Society.

The date of the Cogul drawings cannot be exactly determined: generally accepted as epipalaeolithic, they may come down, as Burkitt has said, to the early Neolithic period and be not far removed in time from the Amratian.

This interpretation receives much support from ancient China, whence the idea may well have spread from the West with other elements of culture, such as the plough, as recent Sinological authorities have deduced. It is strongly insisted on by M. Granet (*Fêtes et Chansons anciennes de la Chine*) where he traces the idea as background to the festal rejoicings of the peasants at spring and on other occasions; he sums up in another work (*La Civilisation Chinoise*, p. 133), 'to inaugurate work in the fields, sexual collaboration was necessary.' In chap. II, section 4, he records the close connexion of agriculture with women—indeed, of the 'feminine principle'—and their metaphorical identification with the earth. This refers to the mass of peasantry, but when we come to royalty the principle was greatly emphasized (p. 219): 'The Rites proclaim that the greatest affair of the State is the marriage of the Prince; on it depends the order of the world and of society; the universe is at once deranged if the union between king and queen becomes imperfect'—and the king was of the same divine order as the Pharaohs, being the 'Son of Heaven.' The idea of man's 'completion' by marriage rests on the same basis as this exalted notion about royal marriages; it has a striking parallel in ancient Greece where *telos*, meaning 'completion' was applied to the act of marriage while the plural *telê* signified 'mystery rites' (see Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 620 ff.). This point has been somewhat elaborated by Professor George Thomson in his book on *Æschylus and Athens* (London, 1941), p. 127; he gives the name *teleios*—'the completed'—not only to the initiated in the mysteries but also to the newly wedded youth, a striking parallel to the Chinese view reported on p. 102 of my previous article. Similarly, on p. 21, he has voiced the old suggestion that human mating was in very remote times seasonal, basing himself on Robertson Smith's remarks on the customs of an Australian aboriginal tribe (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 406); he has added

the further suggestion that in those early days the couples believed their action to have real influence on natural fertility. This addition seems to gain support from the Chinese evidence as presented by Granet. However the early case may be, in Greece the two meanings of *telos* lead naturally to the inference that there, too, some form of hierogamy existed as a fertility-rite, which indeed we find at Athens, where the marriage was annually solemnized between the god Dionysus and the wife of the King Archon—herself called 'Queen'—as Professor Rose has noted (*Primitive Culture in Ancient Greece*, p. 185). In his twin book on ancient Rome he has traced the idea of man's 'completion' by marriage in one of the many *tabus* binding the special priest of Jupiter, the Flamen Dialis, who must resign his office if his wife died (pp. 112, 118); on pp. 142 ff. he deals with the general sacramental aspect of Roman marriage.

Thus it appears that practice of a generative rite for promoting the people's prosperity extended over an exceedingly wide space, from Europe to China, flourishing greatly in Egypt, Mesopotamia and India. Add to this an equally remarkable extension in time, since it survives, for example, in India, and we see how deeply implanted was its principle in man's imagination; it can accordingly be safely placed in a very remote period, impossible, of course, to fix with any definition, for want of records, but reaching back, as we can well infer, to the drawings at Cogul and on the Amratian jar.

If the suggestion can be accepted that human mating was once seasonal and was then believed to have magical influence over natural fertility, we could conclude that with the growth of social organization such influence came to be regarded as a speciality of chiefs, priests, or kings, and their spouses. The suggestion of seasonality is not new; it appears to find a degree of confirmation in the Chinese evidence, as presented by Granet.

In this connexion Professor Fleure has made the comment that I seem to have placed too late a date on the definite discovery of the physiological facts of paternity. To approach this matter is of course one of the most prickly of archaeological adventures, and I could only suggest, in the first and second paragraphs of p. 100 (MAN, 1941), that it might possibly have been made by mere hunters or food-collectors, difficult though it would be for them. Peake and Fleure ('Peasants

and Potters,' pp. 33-4) have made a more likely suggestion that, in respect of cattle, cows were first domesticated, bulls still roaming wild but joining the cows in the time of rut; the cows, mindful of safety and food for their helpless calves, would willingly (the first fears passed) accept man's protection. This suggestion received living support from an episode in the desert of Upper Egypt, of which an account was given in *The Illustrated London News*, 28 July, 1934, by Sir Thos. Russell Pasha and formed the object of a note by me (MAN, 1935, 195), under the title *The Domestication of Cattle*. The very conditions of mating suggested by Peake and Fleure were observed for ibexes round a water-hole in the desert, protected by Albanian guards who lived there, cultivating some crops on the water at the hole. In such a case a settled community would before long perceive definite evidence of the physiological facts, which it would be difficult for mere hunters to obtain, unless, indeed, they had some agricultural resources enabling them to form a settlement. Here perhaps we may find a bench-mark by which to fix a date, however approximate, to this momentous discovery, namely the early Neolithic Age—perhaps the epipalaeolithic people of the Danish shell-mounds may have made it from their tame dogs, their fishing resources taking the place of agriculture—unless a recent theory is correct, that they really belonged to an outer fringe of full Neolithic. A parallel case to that of the ibexes, as Fleure has reminded me, is that of swine in parts of Melanesia, where young male pigs are killed off and breeding is left to the feral boars running wild in the jungle, for these are supposed to sire stronger progeny than the domesticated ones. Lately, however, in his *Obituary Notice of Sir James Frazer* written for the Royal Society (Vol. III, no. 10) he has given reasons for placing the discovery in the pre-agricultural age. An interesting view of the matter, regarding aborigines of North-west Australia, was published in Rose and Jolly's article on tabus concerning the mother-in-law (MAN, 1942, 5).

Egyptian hieroglyphs yield some evidence of the connexion of the discovery with the domestication of cattle. The determinative symbol for bulls, and also for boars, was the outstretched human phallus, while for cows it was the vulva—neither bull nor cow had the usual determinative for animals (Newberry: *J. Eg. Arch.*, XIV, p. 212);

it was used, however, for swine and this may be an indication that they underwent domestication later than horned cattle.

The myth of Mother, Son, and Spouse, as Professor Sidney Smith has reminded me, has a somewhat different character in the Babylonian version from that of Syria, Marduk and Tammuz being distinctively apart. The differences in detail are considerable, but the general features of likeness are outstanding, and must surely point to a single origin, probably remote, the immediate one being perhaps not the same in both; he has suggested Syria as the possible originator of the myth (*J. Eg. Arch.*, VIII, pp. 41-44). In my remarks on this article (MAN, 1941, p. 97, last par.) I regret to have omitted mention of the name *Asari* which is of essential importance. Smith, accepting Sayce's philological identification of it with *Osiris*, suggested that it was a link, not wholly cleared up, between Marduk and Osiris as agricultural divine powers; *Ashur*, chief god of Assyria, must be included, as his name implies. It may not unreasonably be inferred that the name points to a very early agricultural deity whose cult was followed in large regions of Hither Asia before the development of urban civilization and the consequent emphasis on royalty; the cult was then modified in its outward features, accepting kings on something like equal terms with gods. In Egypt the entrance of a reformer hero, identified with *Asari* as *Osiris*, and the new organization of agriculture through flood-irrigation, produced a still further development, discussed in my previous articles.

Professor Smith has further suggested that the myth of Marduk contained an astral element. That would mean an interfusion of astral with agricultural, a quite usual event in the realm of religion, for the new agricultural system was of overwhelming importance and the older astral, born perhaps of hunters' imagination, would of necessity give it place, while still retaining an important part in the agglomeration composing the religious system of the country.

Professor Smith also commented on the omission from my remarks (p. 101) on the curve-headed *heq* sceptre, of a note on its existence in Hither Asia. It is depicted, for example, in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Plates, Vol. I, p. 214), in the representation of the statue of Ashur-nasir-pal III, and my commentator has referred me to H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*

(Leipzig, 1926) and his own review of it in *J. Eg. Arch.* XIII (1927), pp. 277-8. Bonnet interpreted the sceptre as originally a throwing-stick, used for both hunting and war; somehow it came to be confused in art with the curved 'sickle-sword,' or scimitar, well known in Egypt as the *khepesh*, and was tightly conventionalized into the object employed in Egypt as the symbol of overlordship. The confusion, seemingly so unlikely, may perhaps be understood on comparing the various forms of Egyptian throw-sticks shown in Bonnet's fig. 50 with the short Assyrian scimitar (his fig. 51) which, he says, was common throughout Hither Asia; on this point some useful remarks will be found in Sidney Smith's review. Lenk-Chevitch (MAN, 1941, 60) adopts the interpretation of the *heq* as a scimitar; he supposes the cutting edge in the Assyrian example to be on the outside of the curve, but in the Egyptian examples (his figs. 8-10 and 12) it is on the inside. Petrie (*Tools and Weapons*, figs. 190, 191, 193-200) considers the weapon to have been made for a 'wiping blow.' W. Wolf (*Die Bewaffnung des altägyptisch Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926) considers that the throwing-stick was used solely for hunting, and not for war.

The question of a possible boomerang-like quality has been discussed but not resolved. It may be useful to record that Howard Carter once told me that he had discovered a tomb containing many throwing-sticks, and that he threw several to see if they would return, but without success, till at last one did so—possibly an accidental occurrence; their form, as explained to me, was similar to Bonnet's fig. 50b.

Newberry's learned article (*J. Eg. Arch.* XV (1929), pp. 84-94) is the classic for both the *heq* sceptre and the flail which he interprets as a shepherd's implement for collecting ladanum-resin: his fig. 1 shows the oldest surviving representation of the *heq* sceptre which is much nearer in appearance to a throwing-stick than to a scimitar. In *Beni Hassan*, Vol. I, Pl. 31, one of the beduins in the 12th Dynasty carries a crooked staff of the size and shape of the Roman shepherd's *pedum*; it would serve well not only as a weapon of defence against robbers and wolves but also for killing snakes for which, as Newberry says, a straight staff is a bad weapon. He refers also to long-handled 'crooks' used by tribes round the two first cataracts for pulling down branches of the *sunt* acacia, to feed their goats with the

leaves: in Egypt itself, though rarely, I have seen men from those parts pulling down branches with such crooks to collect the pods for tanners. The implement was rather like the early Persian polo-stick; with shortened handle it formed the camel-stick used by some modern beduins, illustrated by Seligman (*J. Eg. Arch.*, III, 2 (1916), p. 127) from a specimen collected by me. This shorter 'crook' resembles closely the sceptre called *was* to which I have referred (MAN, 1941, p. 100, last line but one).

On the main question under examination, the part of women in the generative rite is reflected in their position in the religious organization of Egypt, of which Professor Blackman has given an account (Hastings, *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 777, and his article 'The position of 'Women in the ancient Egyptian Hierarchy,' *J. Eg. Arch.* VII (1921), pp. 9, 11, 12 and 14). He notes, in particular, that temple-priestesses were termed Hathors. Now Hathor was the pre-Osirian Great Goddess and had a duplicate in every district (Lanzzone, pp. 873-887). It is probable that the priestesses were given this title as vehicles, or representatives, of the local Hathor, and were in fact the surviving relics of the women who in pre-Osirian times took part in the fertility-rite, and acquired a degree of sacredness by reason of their office. Further, the chief priestess, who was often a royal person and sometimes the Queen herself, enjoyed the title of 'the god's wife,' which seems to mark an advance in religious ideas in the urban stage, when the god, who had developed a highly definite individuality, was the principal in the fertility-rite with the Chief Priestess as coadjutor.

In early Greece (Jane Harrison: *Prolegomena*, pp. 260-6) maiden-spirits, corresponding essentially to the Egyptian local Hathors, are to be identified in the *korai*, and even *nymphai*, of the city-states. They were apparently survivals from pre-Hellenic times, and were too deeply ensconced in the old beliefs to give way before the invaders, who, like others of early mentality, held in respectful fear the protective spirits of strange lands. The primitive *korai*, it would appear, preceded individual goddesses; they had no male consorts, nor even sons, not having come under Oriental influences in this respect.

But in this matter belief in Egypt was the same as in Mesopotamia, where local Ishtars were worshipped in various cities, as many remains

attest, such as the great prism of Sennacherib in the British Museum. Other features of minor interest common to the two countries, in addition to those referred to in MAN, 1941, 71, pp. 97-98, concern the date-palm and the human placenta. The palm was always highly considered in Southern Mesopotamia and must have been hardly less so in Egypt, where even to-day it is called 'Aunt Palm'—a common epithet denoting affection and consideration; it is said to have been created out of the same clay as 'Father' Adam, and it might be inferred that it came into Egypt with the Osirian cycle and, if so, from South Mesopotamia beyond the Red Sea.

The subject of the placenta and its probable connexion with the *ka* in ancient Egyptian beliefs was first dealt with in its physiological aspect by Drs. Margaret Murray and Seligman (MAN, 1911, 97), and developed by me (*Ancient Egypt*, 1923, part iii, and particularly in part iv, 1929). Its importance was later transferred, as in other countries, to the umbilical cord, and has survived to the present day, as attested by Miss W. Blackman (*The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, pp. 63 and 287); it is recorded for parts of modern Mesopotamia by Mrs. Drower (*Iraq*, V, 105 ff.), where it appears to be connected, as in Egypt, with a kind of *ka*, an approximate equivalent, it might seem, of the ancient Mesopotamian 'personal god'; but this is a point requiring the attention of Mesopotamian experts. Still another point is the ancient belief in both countries in the grisly woman-demon who snatches away unguarded infants, known in Mesopotamia as *Lamashtu* (R. Campbell Thompson: *Semitic Magic*, p. 42).

A correspondent has remarked on the absence of some notice of Min, the archaic god of procreation, who received bare mention (MAN, 1941, p. 100, 2nd col., end of first par.). Any satisfactory treatment would require much more space than is available, and here I will only suggest that in pre-Osirian times he acted as divine head of the fertility-rite for at least a district of the country, possibly for the whole, or only for Upper Egypt, and that, on the establishment of the cult of Osiris, that function was transferred to him.

It is interesting to remark the transfer of the modern Egyptian equivalent of *mana* (MAN, 1941, p. 102, first col.) from one person to another, exemplified in a common habit of wrestlers noted by me (MAN, 1928, 43, p. 65). They go through

a little ceremony of taking *mana* from friends among the spectators as an aid to victory, before they tackle their opponents: the action is called *tebarrak*, that is 'taking *barakeh*.'

The town of Damanhour (according to the map of Ancient Egypt published by the Egypt Exploration Fund) was known in Greco-Roman times as *Hermopolis Parva*, which shows it to have been the city of Thoth who was identified by the Greeks with Hermes: had it been an important town following the mighty Horus, it could not have acquired that name.

A final reference concerning the fertility-rite shall be to the licentious figures found by Quibell in the 'Bes chambers' attached to a temple of the Late Period (*Excavations at Saqqara*, I, pp. 12-14) and thus described by me (MAN, 1926, 52, p. 83): 'painted figures of Bes furnished with great phalli and holding a figure of a naked woman at each arm, were fixed to one wall, and figures of naked women stood opposite, fixed to the other'; various other obscene figures, made on the spot, gave colour to the suggestion that their object was aphrodisiac magic, but I would now suggest that they were founded on the principle of the fertility-rite. A similar group in modern Egypt was figured in MAN, 1927, 97, p. 152 (cf. MAN, 1941, p. 100, top of first column); despite their great superficial differences, over the deep gulf of separating time, their kinship is apparent.

A figurine of stone representing naturalistically an actual human *coitus* is published by M. Neuville (*L'Anthropologie*, Vol. 43 (1933), pp. 558 ff., with admirable illustrations). It is said to be of 'calcite, slightly translucent,' which most probably refers to the kind of calcite better specified as 'oriental alabaster'—once thought, though wrongly, to be aragonite. It came from the regions of Palestine and was identified by l'Abbé Breuil as Natufian mesolithic. It probably had a magical value and may have been connected with the primitive Fertility-Rite with which I have been dealing.

An excellent example of the *Maneros*, of considerable length, compiled in the Ptolemaic period, has been most commendably published by R. O. Faulkner ('The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus,' *Jour. Eg. Arch.*, XXII, 2, pp. 121-140). Besides adding appropriate notes, he has arranged the matter in its dramatic form in accordance with the now recognized character of such ritual docu-

ments, as explained by Sidney Smith (cf. MAN, 1937, p. 174, top of second col.). This version begins with a rubric, ordering the parts of Isis and Nephthys to be taken by two girls who must be virgins. The wifely relation of Nephthys to Osiris is plainly indicated in lines 3, 16-22.

In *J.E.A.*, XXIII, 13f. (succeeding paragraphs), is a long list, comparable to those of Lanzone, of multiple epithets and titles given to Hathor. Faulkner has also published a new translation of another version of the *Maneros* long known as 'The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys' (*Mem.*

Instit. français, LXVI, 337-348; see also *Records of the Past*, II, 117 ff.). It was to be recited in alternate strophes by two women labelled as Isis and Nephthys, inside the temple, at the established times. A line recited by Nephthys (p. 340, 1.5/5) supports the suggestion (MAN, 1937, p. 171, col. 1) that Nephthys may have been a duplication of Isis, for she speaks to Osiris of 'thy little son Horus born of Two Sisters'—a truly astonishing statement, offering an excellent example of the wild extravagance found at times in a certain kind of priestly utterances.

THE MESOLITHIC AND NEOLITHIC IN NORTHERN EUROPE. By Professor V. Gordon Childe F.B.A., University of Edinburgh.

17 Since the publication in 1936 of Dr. Graham Clark's masterly survey, *The Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe*, the fruitful soil of Denmark and Scania has yielded fresh surprises that threaten to upset the established scheme he so lucidly expounded as far as his Period III is concerned. They have received no attention in English periodical literature, and had not been fully digested when I re-wrote the *Dawn of European Civilization* during 1938 nor even when Hawkes completed the *Prehistoric Foundations of Europe* a year later. It seems, therefore, desirable to summarize them here.

The accepted view in 1936 was that in Denmark the Ertebølle or Shell-mound culture typified Period III. The genuine Ertebølle shell-mounds were more or less contemporary with the marine transgression that flooded the Baltic basin with salt water and ushered in the 'Atlantic' climatic phase. The Ertebølle culture was older than any neolithic associated with cereal-cultivation or domestic stock, and was classically represented by the rich finds from Brabrand Sø in Jutland. It is true that some modifications had already been suggested. Nordmann (*Finskt Museum*, 1929) had shown that core- and flake-axes and pots, regarded as typical of Ertebølle, were associated with neolithic remains of the Passage-Grave period at Havnelev. The subsequent discovery of a house-foundation at Strandegaard in Southern Zealand (*Acta Arch.*, ii, 1931) left no doubt that such flints and pots were still being made and used, at a time when pots ornamented with simple and whipped cord impressions were

also being made, oxen bred, and wheat cultivated. On the other hand, Otto Rydbeck had argued already in 1920 and more fully in 1928 (*K. Human, Vetenskapssamfundets Årsberättelse*, Lund, 1927/8) that besides the well-known early Atlantic (mesolithic) transgression there was at least one other, no less extensive, in the Passage-Grave phase of the neolithic. Ramsay in Finland too had identified a second transgression (*Fennia*, 1926). And Thomassen subsequently presented a still more complicated picture for Blekinge (*Göteborgs och Bohusläns Fornm. Tidskr.*, 1936, 35-56). Till 1937 these complications were not allowed to disturb the symmetry of the Danish system.

In that year Iversen and Troels-Smith from Soborg near Klampenborg and Kørup in Djursland adduced evidence for three or four transgressions dated respectively by pollen-analysis to early Atlantic (lower Zone VII), full Atlantic (upper Zone VII) and the Atlantic-Sub-Boreal transition (VII/VIII border). At Samsø, Troels-Smith reported three distinct strands, 1 m., over 1 m., and 2.50 m. above present sea-level. On and above each were three distinct shell-mounds, Alstrup A I, A II and A III, A III being later than the highest and last transgression. A comparative statistical study of the flint celts from these showed that the latest assemblage—that from A III—typologically agreed most closely with that from the supposedly early Ertebølle site on Brabrand Sø (*Acta Arch.*, viii (1937), 278-290). This led to a re-examination of that site in conjunction with Jessen (Troels-Smith,

'Pollenanalytisk Datering af Brabrand Fundet,' *Danm. Geolog. Undersøgelser*, R 4, Vol. 2, No. 16, 1937). In a small section, close to the original excavation, they found the spread of shells with apparently atypical flints in a sandy bed, intercalated tongue-like into a deep deposit of water-laid clay (*grus*). The shells and sand are taken to be contemporary with the shell-mound; the included artifacts would have fallen or been thrown into the waters during the occupation of the settlement (at a still unidentified spot) from which had come also the relics recovered in the 1905 excavations. Now the deposits yielded ample pollen, which led Jessen to the following conclusions: 'Already at the beginning of the upper part of Zone VII, perhaps even earlier, salt water entered the Brabrand Sø basin. The water level continued to rise, and the maximum lay at the transition from VII to VIII.' In other words it was the late Atlantic transgression that converted the lake-basin into a gulf; it reached its maximum about the time of the transition from the Atlantic to the Sub-Boreal phase. To this phase the Brabrand shell-mound would belong. But so, according to Jessen, does the settlement at Troldebjerg on Langeland, dated by pottery and artifacts to early Passage-Grave times. Hence, far from being 'Mesolithic' the Brabrand shell-mound is fully Neolithic; it belongs not to Mesolithic III but to Neolithic III on Montelius' division!

The recognition of a late Atlantic transgression that, at Brabrand Sø and Samsø, exceeded the earlier ones, need not in itself relegate all middens located on raised beaches to the end of Atlantic times. At worst it makes the age of individual relics from them uncertain; for Rydbeck (*l.c.*, 36-37) had drawn attention to the intercalation of marine layers in the shell-mounds at Ertebølle, Aamølle, and Bilidt. Such would now naturally be accepted, as Rydbeck had contended, as deposited by the late transgression. On the other hand, it is no longer legitimate to infer an 'early Atlantic' date from the mere fact that a shell-mound has been disturbed or submerged by a marine transgression, as at Blockbjerg (Westerby, *Stenåldersbopladsen ved Klampenborg*) and Langø (*Aarbøger*, 1928, 148), unless that has itself been dated by pollen-analysis. And an element of uncertainty has been introduced into the dating of individual relics from a shell-mound, even when the latter probably go

back as a whole to the time of the first transgression.

Otherwise the new date for Brabrand Sø is less disconcerting than might at first appear. The appearance of high antiquity here was in reality deceptive. Hatt (*Landbrug i Danmarks Oldtid*, p. 24) mentions an imprint of *Einkorn* from 'Brabrand' (? shell-mound); Troels-Smith reports from the site the bone of a domestic ox, containing pollen that dates it to the period of the shell-mound. The same author has worked out a provisional typology for the flint celts of Denmark's 'older stone age' from the Maglemose phase to early neolithic (*Acta Arch.*, viii, 278-295). Statistically the assemblage from Brabrand is furthest from the admittedly Boreal assemblages from Klosterlund, Mullerup, Svaerdborg, and Holmgaard, and closest to that from Alstrup A III; while Ertebølle and Alstrup A II occupy intermediate positions. So the Ertebølle culture may cover the whole long period from early Atlantic to early Sub-Boreal times, just as the more continental Gudenaa culture does (*Aarbøger*, 1937; esp. pp. 58-61, 69, 130 ff.). But the association of cord-ornamented pottery with Ertebølle types, as at Strandegaard and Solager, does not in itself prove the culture thus defined to be particularly early. At Solager the pottery in question, as at Langø, seems to come from a layer separated from the lower levels by a marine deposit, that may to-day be regarded as representing the late Atlantic transgression.

This conclusion is reinforced by the results obtained at Siretorp in Southern Sweden, published by Bagge and Kjellmark in 1939 (*Stenåldersboplatserna vid Siretorp i Blekinge*). In the dunes there, four thin occupation-layers were distinguished, separated by layers of drift sand. The lowest layer yielded sherds ornamented with simple and whipped cords, and probably a saddle-quern (pl. 26, 10a); the next, typical Ertebølle pottery, Limhamn axes, and transverse arrow-heads; the next again, corded-ware together with the neck of a collared flask, an arrow-shaft straightener, part of a knobbed battle-axe, Limhamn axes, and polished thin-butted celts; the uppermost, 'dwelling-place' pottery, boat-axes, thick-butted flint celts, etc. The neolithic 'corded ware' culture is here earlier than the Ertebølle, but geologically it is later than the late Atlantic transgression (L.III of Thomassen). Bagge admits that a sort of Ertebølle culture with

flake- and core-axes antedates even the early Atlantic transgression, L.I, but finds no proof of Ertebølle pottery in Sweden before the 'Dolmen Period.' The position in south-west Sweden is thus similar to that in Finland, where Suomusjärvi sites without pottery are found along the L.I strand; dwelling-places with pottery, sometimes cord-ornamented, on the lower L.II A shore line.

It is too soon to evaluate the effect of these rather startling discoveries. One inference perhaps emerges already. The Ertebølle culture, based on sedentary collecting, does not of itself develop into a neolithic culture based on agriculture and stock-breeding, as might have been inferred from the discoveries of bones of stock and corded sherds, in some shell-mounds, and the occurrence of Ertebølle types in a fully neolithic context. On the contrary, it persists with its proper economy into a period when truly neolithic cultures of a quite distinct character were well established in Denmark and south Sweden. Isolated neolithic objects from shell-mounds, like the ox-bone from Brabrand Sø, seem just the results of contact between the strandloopers and the farmers. This is just what Matthiassen infers from comparable finds on Gudenaa sites. A distinct (and doubtless early) neolithic culture is certainly represented by corded-ware settlements and the contracted burial at Virrings in Denmark (Brøndsted, *Danmarks Oldtid*, I, 130-141, 338-339). But though this culture overlaps with Ertebølle

at Strandegaard and precedes it at Siretorp, it does not grow out of it. The origin of the neolithic economy is bound up with that of this corded-ware culture.

It is now arguable that pottery in Sweden was derived from this culture, and even in Denmark this possibility is once more open. Nevertheless, the finds from Bloksbjerg and Langø, including pottery, still look early. Moreover, Westerby (*Acta Arch.*, viii, 296-300) has described a site at Mosegaard in Aamose, Zealand, where potsherds are associated with a Maglemosean equipment, and the pollen is said to confirm a Boreal age. This dating of Mosegaard has not, however, been universally accepted in Denmark; so that, the excavations having been on a very small scale, the preliminary report must be accepted with reserve.

In any case the 'polished stone celt,' once the differentia of the neolithic, now goes back to Boreal times in Kunda, and to glacial in the Ukraine. But the 'Nordic' polished thin-butted celt of flint (*dünn-nackige Beil*), that once defined Montelius' Neolithic II (Dolmen Period), does not seem to be descended from the flaked flint core-axes of the northern mesolithic. At least the latter's development, as traced by Troels-Smith, would lead to the 'pointed-butted celt' (*spitz-nackige Beil*) through what he terms the 'specialized core-axe.' But even the latter at Brabrand Sø and A1.A III are later than the *floruit* of the thin-butted celt, and therefore not its parents.

THE OTUTU AND THE HIONTE OF WEST AFRICA. By M. J. Field, B.Sc., Ph.D.

18 Nearly every deity of the Gold Coast coastal plain possesses a collection of sacred insignia which is buried underground. This collection is called the deity's *dibo*. If the tribe migrates, special pains are taken to dig up the *dibo* and take it to the new home.

The deities are not fetishes: they are regarded as invisible, omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent, and their activities are not dependent on the presence of anything material; they can be effectively invoked in any place.

Nevertheless, the deity is believed to have condensed into the *dibo* a quantum of its own power.

The burial place of the *dibo* is usually marked by an '*otutu*.' The *otutu* may be a single rough slab of stone, a cairn of stones, a clay mound or,

in these latter days, a cement mound. If it be desired to keep the place of the *dibo* quite secret, there may be no surface indication at all.

Medicines activated in ways other than by the power of a recognized deity may also be preserved underground and covered by an *otutu*. Such medicines are usually prophylactic and designed to ward off some specified danger such as lightning, witches, or ghosts. They may be either privately owned or publicly owned.

In earlier days each 'quarter' of a coastal town possessed its own war *otutu*. The manufacture of the 'medicine' buried under this *otutu* involved human sacrifice 'to make the medicine strong.' Often the victim was buried alive. At the present day a live goat, dog, or other animal is

sometimes used in the preparation of a new *otutu* for any private owner.

The war *otutu* was always the scene of a warriors' dance on the eve of battle, and the power of the medicine was stimulated by the sacrifice of at least one victim whose blood was spilt upon the *otutu* 'in order to save the lives of many more.'

In exterior form the *otutu* varies in both size and shape. It may be anything from six inches to six feet in height. It may be dome-shaped, conical, or pyramidal. It may resemble the frequently recorded phallic pillar, and be topped with a pot. Often it consists of a series of platforms, one upon the other, each smaller than the one immediately beneath. The top of the *otutu* is usually surmounted with a pair of tiny iron horns curved into rings. The stepped platform on which a chief's chair is placed in his courtroom is not simply to elevate him above the crowd: it is an *otutu* covering a powerful buried medicine to protect him from magically projected evil and to give him strength and life.

Among the articles most frequently included among the *dibo* buried under the *otutu* are thunder-stones—the chisel-shaped celt and the holed quartz disc whose primary use is wrapped in mystery.

On the coastal plain the holed stones are known as *hionte* and their special virtue is believed to be that of *preserving life*.

Two African explanations of their origin have been given to me. The first is that the holes were made by '*asamanukpa*' dwarfs,¹ in catching the stones between the finger and thumb as they fell from heaven. The dwarfs, which are believed still to lurk in certain places, are also held to use these stones as missiles. This suggests the possibility that the primary use of the holed stone was as a missile and that the two opposing pits drilled in its two surfaces allowed it

to be fixed in some sort of sling or bentwood catapult.

The other African belief concerning the nature of the holed disc is that it is the 'wife' of the chisel-shaped celt, or 'god's axe.' The latter is male and falls from the sky during thunderstorms, often cleaving trees on its way down. It falls to the earth where it meets the female round stone. 'The axe is fierce and destructive. The round stone is calming and 'soothing.' The one attacks; the other preserves life.

As a life preserver, the holed *hionte* is widely used by physicians. Sometimes fragments are ground from it and mixed with various brews. Sometimes it is placed, whole, in water to endow the water with life-preserving power.

Tribal deities frequently have some of these stones in the water pot or *klo* from which the deity's holy herbal water is dispensed to worshippers. For instance, in the pot belonging to the deity *Okumi* at Gbugbla, there are seven holed stones. If a worshipper finds a holed stone in his farm or in the bush he brings it to *Okumi's* priest who adds it to the seven in the pot. 'Then if you want to go to war or into danger, the priest takes it out again and gives it to you together with some of *Okumi's* herbs, and you take it with you to bring you life.'

Another deity of the same district, called *Osabu*, was primarily a war-god, and his priest told me that the *dibo* under his *otutu* consisted of the redwood called *koleawotso*, *Osabu's* own leaves, and a collection of *hionte* stones. He told me that in the old days of warfare, every warrior brought, on the eve of battle, one pebble to the priest 'to show the number of people in the town.' Those who could procure holed stones did so; others brought ordinary pebbles. The stones were blessed and given back to the bringers. 'Your life was in your stone.'

The fact that holed discs are frequently found in buried hoards is often taken to indicate that their original use was as currency. My own suggestion is that the underground hoards are secondary, comparatively recent, and that they formed a part of buried *dibo*.

¹ See an earlier article on 'The Asamanukpai of the Gold Coast,' by the present writer in MAN, 1934, 211. When I wrote that article I did not know that the word *asamanukpa* is a combination of the Kpeshi *asaman*—a ghost, and the Ga *onukpa*—a senior. The word therefore means 'the senior ghosts' and supports the theory that a race of dwarfs once inhabited the Gold Coast.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS

North Syria as a Cultural Link in the Ancient World.

19 *Summary of the Huxley Memorial Lecture delivered by Sir Leonard Woolley, Kt., M.A., Hon. D.Litt., Hon. LL.D., 24 November, 1942.*

The geographical importance of North-West Syria in the Ancient World has been revealed by recent excavations on the site of Alalakh and Ugarit.

In the eighteenth century B.C., while Egyptian control had been exercised by the XIIth Dynasty kings, the cultural effect was small. Cretan imports occur but are isolated. Alalakh especially was culturally Asiatic, belonging to the Amorite sphere, and in touch with Mesopotamia. But the buildings show that North-West Syrian influence was strong both in Crete and in Anatolia. In the seventeenth to sixteenth centuries, the pottery shows closer connexion with S. Syria and Palestine and also with the Hyksos of Egypt. In the fifteenth century, Egyptian contacts are closer, but the main link is with Cyprus: there is the possibility that Cypriote Bronze Age pottery originated in the Asiatic mainland.

In the fourteenth century there are western repercussions. At Ugarit there is Aegean colonization; and at Alalakh, Late Minoan II objects show trade connexions. Sculpture at Alalakh shows the origin of Syro-Hittite art to be related to that of the Anatolian Hittites. The decorated 'Atchana' pottery of the thirteenth century is a belated echo of M.M. III Cretan pottery. After the break-down of Hittite rule, Aegean influence on North-West Syria is strengthened. The twelfth century marks the end of Alalakh and Ugarit; Poseidon replaces Leukos Hormos as the Greek harbour for North-West Syria, and there is Cypriote trade. From the eighth to the fourth century there is Greek trade with North-West Syria, and Syro-Hittite and Urartu art influence the art of early Greece; and finally the Athenians establish a trade monopoly.

The lecture will be published in full in the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and may be obtained also separately.

The Development of Literature in Negro and Hamitic-Semitic Languages.

20 *Summary of a Communication by Miss Margaret Wrong, 24 February, 1942.*

Number of languages.—It is impossible to say how many languages and dialects are spoken. A thousand forms of speech labelled 'language,' and a larger number of 'dialects,' have been noted, and this list is not exhaustive. There is no ancient literary heritage, though there are texts in Arabic characters in Swahili, Hausa, and Fulani, as a result of the penetration of Arabic culture. Most of the transcription of African languages is recent, and has been due to the initiative of missionaries who have wished to give the Bible to the people in their own tongue. The Bible or portions of it is now published in 288 African languages in Roman script.

Need of surveys.—There is need of comprehensive

linguistic surveys over whole language areas. These often cross political frontiers, and such surveys involve collaboration between governments and a number of missions which have done the pioneering work on transcription and production of the first literature in the languages concerned. Here the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures has given great assistance in the unification of orthography and the study of language. Valuable work has been done in South Africa under the direction of Dr. Doke.

Factors affecting literary development.—The following factors have to be considered in relation to literary development:

1. The size of language areas. Where a language is spoken by only a few thousand people, no extensive literary development will be possible.

2. The spread of languages: Causes include

(a) The breakdown of isolation between African peoples which leads to the adoption of *lingua franca* for purposes of communication.

(b) The spread of languages along trade routes: certain languages which were originally used only for trade purposes are now developing a literature—e.g. Lingala, Belgian Congo.

(c) The policy of governments with regard to the use of African languages.

(d) Languages of education; e.g. African languages are used in elementary schools in British territories and in the Belgian Congo, but in French and Portuguese territories the policy is to use French and Portuguese as the medium of education.

(e) Religion. The use of many African languages for the propagation of Christianity has been a main factor in the transcription of these languages and the publication of material in them.

Production.—Accurate statistics of what production has taken place in African languages is impossible, owing to the fact that much printing is done on small mission presses which do not issue catalogues. A *Bibliography of African Christian Literature* was published at the request of the British missionary societies in 1923, and a supplement to this bibliography was published in 1927. From 1931 onwards, lists of publications in African languages have been printed in *Africa*, the journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

Lists of literature in South African languages have appeared in South Africa. In *Books for Africa* (1939) statistics were compiled based on available records, the object being to show trends of development in literature in African languages, and to discover what had been produced between 1928 and 1938. This count revealed that production is irregular, and that in some cases it is difficult to trace evidence of planned programmes extending over a period of years. It showed publications in 302 languages and dialects. There had been some publications in 247 of these since 1927. The first

publications in 100 of these languages had appeared after 1927. In 118 languages, only one book or booklet had been published since 1927. In only one of these languages had publications reached over 200 books or booklets since 1927. Classification of publications under subjects showed that the largest group is material on the Bible and the Christian faith; the second largest, school books and linguistics, and the third, general literature.

Work by African authors.—Considering how recent is the development, there is a surprising amount of original work by Africans, including collections of folk-lore, history, proverbs, biography, novels, drama, essays on current issues, verse and books on the teaching of Christianity. The greatest development of original work has taken place in South Africa.

A valuable stimulus to production has been provided by the setting of competitions for manuscripts, notably the competitions carried on from 1930 to 1938 by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. During this period the Institute received 314 manuscripts on a wide variety of subjects. This competition, which was discontinued on the outbreak of war, is being revived this year.

Unfortunately there has been no adequate provision for publication of many manuscripts of value, including material of anthropological interest.

Some have been translated into a European language and published in scientific journals or in book form.

The scientific value of much of this material is great. Authors describe customs which were followed in their boyhood, but are fast changing through contact with European life. Their method of approach and their attitudes illustrate the meeting of cultures which is taking place all over Africa; so they reveal in their work the thought of people in whom two cultures are meeting and blending. They write not for the European but for the African, which may be a useful check on material provided by informants to field workers.

The Future.—The fostering of this literary development requires:

- (a) Planned linguistic research by Africans and Europeans for which trained workers are necessary: see Dr. Ida Ward's suggestions for the training of Africans, in her report, *Ibo Dialects and the Development of a Common Language*;
- (b) The planning of literature programmes, and provision for necessary editorial work in different areas;
- (c) Central collections of publications in African languages, and recordings, for purposes of study. Such a collection is needed in London, including published and, if possible, unpublished texts.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES

The Belgian Congo: Its Administration and Indigenous Institutions. *Summary of a Communication by M. Dumont to the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures: 8 December 1942.*

Every colonizing power, at its first contact with the indigenous population, is faced with the question, what principles are to determine the future relations of the two peoples. Will the colonizing power dominate and ultimately assimilate the indigenous population, or will it allow the native peoples to rule themselves according to their ancestral traditions, while guiding them towards an improvement in their living conditions?

In the past, most colonizing powers have tended to regard the new world in which they found themselves with a vision more or less distorted by habits of mind which were the natural product of their own very different history and social institutions. There was every excuse for this, because scientific principles were lacking by which the attitude of the colonizing power to the native peoples might be determined. The science of ethnology, even fifty years ago, was a dubious and uncertain guide, to which the accounts of travellers and explorers had contributed little of value. Colonial administrators were seldom qualified to make the patient and exact observations of native customs and institutions which science demands. Further, native peoples themselves, suspicious of the coloniz-

ing power, often concealed or misrepresented their own social institutions. For these and other reasons the social structure based on the government of the native chiefs, undermined by the advent of the colonizing power, tended to disintegrate, with the consequent destruction of the whole fabric which for generations had sheltered native society.

It has been suggested that such destruction is the necessary prerequisite for the building of a new social structure; but this is not necessarily so, and is not the view taken by the Belgian Government, which has devoted its efforts rather to the reintegration of native society within its customary and traditional framework.

The stages in this work of reconstruction are marked by the following enactments:

1. The decree of 15 April, 1926, relating to native administration of justice.
2. The decree of 5 December, 1933, dealing with native areas (circonscriptions).
3. The royal proclamation of 6 July, 1934, coordinating the decrees of 23 November, 1931, 6 and 22 June, 1934, relating to extra-customary centres.

The law relating to the Belgian Congo is summed up in what is known as the Colonial Charter, which is in fact the Constitution of the Colony. Legislative power is vested in the legislature of the mother-country, which, however, only intervenes in certain specified cases, in the King and in the Governor-

General. In practice, the legislative power is exercised by the King, who acting on the advice of the Colonial Council, promulgates decrees. The Colonial Council, which is modelled on the British Council of India, and is presided over by the Minister for the Colonies, consists of fifteen members, some chosen by the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate, and some appointed by the King. During the thirty years of the Council's existence, no decree has been promulgated in the face of its opposition. The Governor-General of the Colony has limited legislative powers; he can suspend the execution of decrees and issue legislative ordinances, but only in circumstances of emergency, and all such ordinances must be ratified within six months by the Council.

It is not by chance that the first of the decrees mentioned above regulates native administration of justice. The decree in fact merely gives legal recognition to what had been the practice in the Colony ever since 1889, when the Government had recognized the effective jurisdiction of the native chiefs, and the application of native custom in every case of infraction of the law by a native, involving injury to another native. This decree, and its place as the first of the enactments regulating native organization, recognizes the fact that the authority of the chief depends on his power to administer justice, and that to define and confirm this power will also establish his political authority, and facilitate the organization of native communities.

In studying any sort of judicial system, three points may be noted.

1. *The law enforced by the courts.*—This in principle is custom; but where any custom is contrary to law and order or to civilized ideas, it will become a dead letter; also any custom which is contrary to the statutory law which has been devised for the protection of the native, will be over-ruled. It may be noted that in some cases, *e.g.* adultery, native custom enforces penalties which have no place in the general penal code of the colony. Native opinion attaches great importance to the stability of marriage as being necessary to the stability of the race.

2. *The organization of native courts.*—This is necessarily complex, in view of the variety of situations to which it has to be adapted. Three types of organization may be distinguished.

a. Existing native groups which have survived intact. These are preserved in their entirety, the government merely giving them official recognition. Such are the chiefs' courts.

b. Groups which are disintegrating, and of which only scattered elements remain in the form of small, independent communities, obviously deriving originally from one tribal group. Here the task of the government has been one of reconstruction—the forming of these small groups into a coherent whole under the authority of a chief; if possible, one who, by custom and tradition, would naturally fill the position; the newly formed group, known as a 'section,' has a native court, with a chief or

other local notable as president, and possesses also an advisory council of notables.

c. Groups of natives centering round some European establishment. The members of such a group are of divers origins and have lost touch with native tradition and custom. Here the government has had to construct an organized group and create an authority. Here also the native court will be the most efficient auxiliary of the European authority.

Outside these three types of native court there is the territorial court, which acts as an ordinary court in the rare cases where no native court exists, and on occasion, as a court of appeal.

The European court, the court of *Parquet*, functions as a court of final appeal.

The native courts try civil and criminal actions; indeed conceptions of law recognize no distinction between these two types of cases.

3. *Procedure.*—This is regulated by custom, but the government insists on the keeping of a written record of all judgments, either by a clerk of the court or by the judge himself. This is considered to be an indispensable condition for the proper administration of justice, and the records so kept will in the future provide a most valuable account of native customs.

The value of the native courts, and their great success, are due to the fact that all cases are heard in the vernacular, and the law enforced is the customary law with which all parties are familiar. The European authority exercises such surveillance as is necessary for the prevention of abuses. Native courts are not at present competent to inflict severe penalties or to try the most serious sorts of crime; but it is to be expected that in time any infraction of the law by a native will be tried by a native court.

The formulating of the decree relating to native courts, and their actual functioning under European control, made possible legislation which confirmed the customary law and regulated the position of the chiefs, making them, perhaps to an undue degree, the representatives of the European authority and its intermediaries. Later legislation has aimed at creating an additional intermediary, not, like the chief, within the framework of the European administration, but deriving solely from native tradition.

The most remarkable part of the decree of 1933 was the creation of the 'section,' and the institution of its court. The system of organization devised for the chiefs was extended to include the sections. Throughout the Colony, a census was taken of every adult native, by areas (*circonscriptions*), where these were already defined, or by territories—the territory being the basic administrative unit. To-day there exist accurate statistics of the population of every village. This has made possible the organization of native groups; in order to prevent their disintegration, migration is controlled; no native may change his place of residence without applying to the European authority for a passport. The whole native population, therefore, is registered

either in the domain of a chief or in a section. The difference between these communities has been pointed out; the one being a natural entity, and the other an artificially constituted group.

The decree of 1933 also provided native communities with financial resources, establishing in every area (*circonscription*) a treasury, which is supplied in part by a quota consisting of 20 per cent. of the tax payable by the native population, in part by revenues accruing from land values, from taxes payable in respect of certain services, and from fees, fines, etc., derived from the proceedings of the native court. Rents traditionally due to the chief continue to be collected by him, except in cases where the District Commissioner, in consultation with the Council of Notables, may decide that such revenues should be devoted to the use of the area (*circonscription*). In these cases, the chief receives a fixed allowance.

The organization of these native areas (*circonscriptions*) is an achievement of which Belgium is proud, and the credit for which is due to M. le Vice-Gouverneur-General Moeller.

With regard to the extra-customary centres, the Government has pursued the same policy, organizing these groups as far as possible on the basis of customary law and tradition. At the head of each group is a chief, assisted by a deputy chief and an advisory council appointed by the District Commissioner. In the absence of any living body of custom and tradition, guidance and control are exercised by an agent appointed by the European authority; but as time goes on, his control will become less and less, till, with the evolution of their own traditions and customary laws, the centres attain the same degree of self-government as the domains of the chiefs and the sections.

[The full text of this paper will be published in *Africa*, the quarterly journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.]

22 The Anthropological Approach to Problems of Education and Society. Notes from an Address by Dr. Margaret Read at the Winter School of Sociology and Civics, 5 January, 1943.

This address centred round a definite problem: the School and Society, and it was illustrated from an area in Africa, namely Nyasaland, which cannot be described as 'primitive,' because there has been primary education there of some sort for 60 years, and nearly 60 per cent. of the people are literate in their own vernaculars. There is a certain value in comparisons between our society and one which is really primitive, in the sense of being untouched by European influences. But there is perhaps even more to be learned from a society where the schools have already made some progress and have become a very potent factor in the social changes which are taking place.

A number of leading questions suggest themselves to anyone who is making an anthropological study in an area such as this:

1. What are the people being educated for? The

official Colonial Office policy has been set out in Cmd. 2374 of 1925 and in Colonial 103 of 1935, and the latter emphasizes the place of the school in the community, and the importance of community education.

2. What part does the school play in local society? Who is connected with it? Who controls it?
3. Is the school in its curriculum and methods adjusted to the present society? Or is it wholly alien? Or is it creating a future new society?
4. In what sort of a society does the school function? What is the community like? What is its environment and livelihood, its institutions and governing social principles, its dominant interests and social values?
5. What relation is there between the formal school education and the training given to children in their home, age-group, village and political unit?

In connection with these questions it is illuminating to study the results of mass education in China and Russia, and the experience of the Netherlands Indies and the Southern States of the U.S.A.

A study of the results on village life in Nyasaland of emigration to labour centres revealed the importance of the schools in the changing life of the villages: cf. *International Labour Review*, June, 1942. In one area, for example, in Northern Nyasaland there are 20 schools in a population of about 20,000 inhabitants. It is an agricultural area, remote from direct European contact, but with a heavy emigration of men, and a consequent influx of money and new ideas into the villages. The contacts of these villagers are with the whole of South and East Africa from Cape Town to Somaliland.

The investigation was based on two years previous anthropological study, and some knowledge of the local vernaculars. Selected African teachers from the schools were trained to assist by collecting factual data, such as:—

1. Village plans showing huts and communications and other significant buildings.
2. Census of population, including those in the village and those away at work.
3. Sketch maps to show relation of certain villages to other villages, through marriage ties, political affiliation, clan organization, school and church connexions, and so on.
4. Genealogical tables of families in the villages.

These data were subsequently checked, and further studies made of the principles of social grouping, mutual obligations and services, economic organization including the change over from a subsistence to a money economy, and calendars to show daily and seasonal work.

The results of the inquiry showed how many changes were taking place. The standard of living was altering as money was coming into the villages, and this was illustrated by an inventory of houses, furniture, and possessions. The social structure showed, among other significant changes, a replacement of large heterogeneous villages by much smaller, more homogeneous units. Polygamy was

giving place to monogamy. The cessation of tribal warfare had rendered useless the former military organization of the people. Social values and points of view were also changing. Africans were weighing up their traditional culture against that of Europeans, and discussing what to retain and what to select in both; and many others were comparing African life under different European governments, such as South African, Southern Rhodesian, the British Colonial Office, Belgian, French, Italian.

The techniques used in the study brought out the importance of certain kinds of concrete data in reviewing these social changes.

1. Data related to the *land*, or to geography in a narrow sense, such as details of land settlement, land tenure, and the use of the environment.
2. Population statistics, involving the analysis of the population, problems relating to density of population, and to the movements of population.
3. Historical data, relating to the time-element in these changes. Such include the original habitat of the people, the dates of settlement and of migration, the advent of the Europeans and the first beginnings of schools.

The school, and not education, has been emphasized here, because anthropological field-studies centre round institutions, using that term in the anthropological sense. They are also concerned with the inter-relation of institutions such as the family and the school, the church and the school, agriculture and the school; as well as with the changing forms of institutions due to culture contact and other causes. Anthropological research in Africa can assist in the study and control of the changes which are taking place to-day, and can help Africans themselves to understand these changes.

The Cave of Lascaux near Montignac, Dordogne.

23 Summary of a Communication by Professor Dorothy A. E. Garrod, F.S.A., to the Society of Antiquaries of London.

The cave of Lascaux near Montignac (Dordogne) was discovered in September, 1940, by three school-boys, who noticed that a stone thrown through a hole in the limestone plateau fell far into a cavity below. The hole proved to be the blocked-up entrance to a cave containing Palaeolithic paintings in a marvellously fresh state. The paintings were studied by the Abbé Breuil before his departure from France, and direct photographs were obtained. Breuil found that the superimposed friezes which covered the walls of a large chamber and two lateral galleries could all be referred to the first cycle of Palaeolithic art, which ends with the Upper Aurignacian; Magdalenian artists had apparently never penetrated into this cave. The paintings range from figures in flat wash, red or black, through a superb series in black outline, to red and black bichromes in the style dated as Aurignacian by Didon's discoveries at Sergeac. The animals represented are chiefly horses, oxen, and red deer; bison are rare, and the mammoth and reindeer absent. A striking scene represents a conventionalized human figure with bird-like head lying on the ground, killed, apparently, by a bison with lowered head, whose belly is transfixed by a spear. A woolly rhinoceros turns his back on this scene, and appears to be walking away in the opposite direction. Breuil describes Lascaux as the 'Altamira of Aurignacian art.' He has published a preliminary account with plates in the *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, but full publication must await happier times.

OBITUARY

Marcellin Boule: 1 January 1861-July 1942.

24 News has recently come from France of the death of Marcellin Boule. With his death there disappears a man gifted with great vitality, energy and pronounced personality, who for half a century has been a central figure in prehistoric circles, not only of France but of all the world. He was intensely jealous of the honour and prestige of his native country: one can realize what recent events must have meant to him in his later years. It was in the pages of *L'Anthropologie* in the 'nineties' of last century that I got to know him first—the indomitable reviewer and annotator of all that relates to the pleistocene—its geology, its fauna, its stone cultures, its humanity; how hard he read, thought, and wrote! And so he continued, in its pages, during the first three decades of the present century. He was a man who abominated what he called *bric-à-brac*—imperfectly authenticated thoughts, discoveries, and specimens; he would not give them even temporary quarters either in his mind or his museum. He swept coliths and rostro-

carinates aside; for him, human stone industries began in the Chellean and the Chellean began in the lower pleistocene. He refused to recognize in France more than two glacial epochs—the ultimate or Würm, and the penultimate or Rissian, which he placed in the opening phase of the lower pleistocene—thus preceding the appearance of Chellean man in Europe. Pithecanthropus he regarded as a giant gibbon; Piltown man he accepted with reserve, and gave his cultural date as Acheulean. Boule demanded and expressed clear-cut judgements in science as in everyday affairs. His affirmations were of greater scientific value than his denials; when Boule made an affirmation, it was accepted by most of us as something we might build on.

Marcellin Boule, baptized Pierre-Marcellin Boule, was born at Montsalvy, Cantal, 1 January, 1861, and died there July 1942, being thus in his 82nd year. He was a student in the University of Toulouse. He became (1890) one of the founders of *L'Anthropologie*, but made his outstanding contribution to prehistory in the *Revue d'Anthropologie*

of 1888. It was a scheme of chronology based on data drawn from geology, fauna, and archaeology—the first scheme so based. Then in 1908 came the opportunity of his scientific career—the discovery of a perfectly authenticated complete fossil skeleton, of Mousterian age, in the cave at La Chapelle-aux-Saints. He was then in the prime of his maturity, not yet fifty years of age, equipped as anatomist, palaeontologist, geologist, and culturist; he seized his opportunity with both hands, and for the first time we were given a complete and clear account of a Neanderthal man, so far as we can know him from his fossil bones. In the same year—1908—Hauser unearthed the skeleton of Le Moustier youth, which was purchased by Berlin and described by Klaatsch. One has only to compare Klaatsch's description with that of Boule, to see how much the French account excelled the German. The acquisition by Germany of the Le Moustier skeleton was a transaction which rankled in Boule's memory for many a day. Nor was he quite fair to his German contemporaries, when he came to place Neanderthal man in relation to modern man; Prof. Schwalbe of Strassburg had reached in 1901 the conclusion which Boule reached in 1909.

In 1913 he made La Chapelle man the central figure of a text-book of human palaeontology—*L'Homme Fossile*. A second edition appeared in 1923; it was this edition which Professor James Ritchie and his wife translated so excellently for

English readers, *Fossil Men* (1923). Professor Ritchie supplied his readers with details relating to Professor Boule's career. From this source we learn that Boule imbibed his knowledge of, and love for, prehistory from Emile Cartailhac, under whom he studied and worked. Afterwards he was assistant to Professor Albert Gaudry, who held the chair of Palaeontology in the National Museum of Natural History, whom he was destined to succeed in 1903. Thus he became familiar with the fossil fauna of France, particularly with its cave fauna. He was also a geologist in the strict sense of the term, carrying out investigations in France and also in Madagascar. Just before the first world war the Prince of Monaco built and endowed the *Institut de Paléontologie Humaine* in Paris; Boule became its director, and thus responsible for the series of magnificent publications which have issued from the Institut. In his student days he was attracted by the writing of English prehistorians—such as Lubbock, John Evans, Prestwich, and Boyd Dawkins, and also by the anatomical writing of Huxley. He never ceased taking an interest in the work of his British colleagues. His merits were recognized by various societies in England and Scotland, particularly by the Royal Anthropological Institute, which invited him to give the Huxley Lecture in 1922, when it bestowed on him its Huxley Medal.

ARTHUR KEITH.

REVIEWS

INDIA

Mother-Right in India. By Baron Omar Rolf Ehrenfels, Ph.D. *Osmania University Series*. Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press; printed at the Government Central Press, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1941. xi+229 pp. 12s. 6d.

The enterprise of the Osmania University in producing this important and suggestive work has been more than justified by its content. The volume bears witness throughout to the careful comparative work of Baron Ehrenfels, and throws a most suggestive light on the past history of matriliney in India. The author ingeniously, and in some respects convincingly, argues that the Rigvedic invasion of India in the second millennium B.C. was preceded by a social order of a matrilineal type akin to the traditional society of the Nayars of Malabar, which had in turn been preceded by at least two other types of matrilineal societies of cruder pattern. To the characteristics of this matrilineal society, which he associates with the Indus civilization, the author attributes many phenomena of ancient and of surviving culture throughout India. Thus the efflorescence of Buddhism, the practice of vegetarianism, the institution of the *ghar-jamai*, and certain characteristics of Rajput society, such as the use of cattle in marriage processions, and the practice of *johar* by Rajput women, are all to be regarded as having their origins in the matrilineal society of the Indus culture; while head-hunting, the megalithic cultures of India, and perhaps sacrifice by decapitation belong to an earlier and more primitive stratum of matrilineal culture. Totemism, on the other hand, is

found to be of patrilineal origin in India, while such institutions as that of the bride-price, hypergamy, and child-marriage are the direct result of the impact of a patrilineal upon a matrilineal culture.

Much of this is suggestive, but much of it is also of necessity hypothetical, and the author's outlook is so saturated with the assumptions of the *Kultur-kreise* school of Graebner, Schmidt, and Koppers, that his conclusions must be treated with reserve. It should be clearly understood that no migration of peoples is necessary to bring about successive extensions of cultures or languages. Very great changes may be brought about by the communication of a single new idea. Thus given a matrilineal society, attaching but little importance to, and perhaps without vivid realization of the father's share in reproduction, one may readily conceive of the revolutionary effect which might be produced by the dissemination of the Brahman theory of paternity, according to which the mother is merely the soil in which the seed of the male is sown, contributing nothing to the new-made child but its nourishment. Such an idea, plausible enough in itself, might appear in the nature of a revelation, and it is surely to the impact of such an idea on uncritical minds that we must attribute such extremes of belief as that which led a Brazilian tribe to encourage its women to cohabit with male captives in order that their offspring might be available as food, since no kinship through the mother was recognized at all.

Apart from his *Kultur-kreise* bias, Baron Ehrenfels is not always very clear, and a certain tendency towards

obscurity in general presentation extends sometimes to details. Thus he states (p. 9) that 'the far more progressive branch [of matrilineal cultures] III/b seems characterized by the cultivation of rice and millet respectively.' He may mean that rice is associated with III/b as contrasted with millet associated with III/a, but apparently means that both rice and millet are associated with III/b in contrast to root cultivation (yams and taro?) associated with III/a. If he does mean this, his conclusion is questionable, as there is much to indicate that millet is older than rice as a cultivated crop in south-east Asia, and it seems likely that rice came into India as an irrigated crop when millet as a dry crop was already well established. The author's conclusion as to the previous 'patriarchal' nature of Garo society seems dubious, and his statement that the Khasi family is ruled by 'the eldest female' is misleading, for the office of family priestess descends in ultimogeniture to the youngest daughter, who inherits her mother's house. He states that there is no survival of the sacrifice of human beings at funerals in India except in the north-east; but apart from the well-known prehistoric burial at Jewurgi (Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 471), it has been reported of the Rajputs of Kachh and Kathiawar that they encouraged their concubines to commit *sati* instead of their wives, since that was a custom of low castes and derogatory to Rajputs (Wilson, *Infanticide in Western India*, p. 74); while the fact that those Gujarat Rajputs who allowed widow remarriage were called *Pādhrā*, 'Straight,' as distinct from the *Vānkā*, 'Crooked,' who forbade it, also goes to support Ehrenfels' view of the true nature of early Rajput society. The Kabirpanthis cannot properly be described as a 'Muslim sect'—they are rather Hindu than Muslim; and Sir John Marshall's ill-considered distinction between the bull-worship of the Indus civilization and the supposed cow-worship of the Rigvedic invaders has no sort of validity. Again, although the reviewer is inclined to accept, as Ehrenfels does, Heine-Geldern's identification of the shorthorned bulls on the Indus seals with the *gaur*, he feels it necessary to point out that so important an authority on Indian cattle types as Col. Oliver rejects it. The use of the terms 'Dravidian' and 'Aryan' in a racial sense is objectionable. It is to be questioned whether the difference between fraternal and non-fraternal polyandry is as unimportant as the author suggests. In the Khasa country of the Himalayan foothills, fraternal polyandry is patrilineal, but appears to embody survivals of matrilineal marriage, and suggests that the whole system is another result of the fusion between patrilineal and matrilineal peoples. Indeed, the value of the volume is not a little impaired by the omission, from the survey, of the societies of the lower Himalayan slopes generally, with their frequent survivals of worship of the Great Mother, of snake cults, and of polyandry, from the Punjab hills to Assam. The tribes of eastern Assam have also been passed over, for although the Khasis and Garos, of course, find frequent mention, the Kuki-Chin tribes do not. They are, it is true, emphatically patrilineal, but the Thado retain a megalithic ceremony in honour of the chief woman of a family, while the Lakher have a custom which appears specially devised to provide for the transmission of hereditary chiefly insignia through the female line, and affords a very striking memorial of the conflict between patrilineal and matrilineal inheritance. When dealing with the position of the mother's brother, too, the author might have referred to the Punjab custom (Rose, *Tribes and Castes of the Punjab, etc.*, p. 392) of calling in the daughter's or sister's son to perform religious ceremonies, instead of a Brahman, who is only used when no such

relative is available. While agreeing with the author that the custom of paying a bride-price is often attributable to a transition from matriliney to patriliney, the reviewer, with much practical administrative experience of the social effect of bride-prices, would demur very forcibly to the suggestion that the practice does in effect tend to lower the status of the wife. On the contrary, he would contend that it enhances it, and the status of a wife, where a heavy price is paid, is higher than it is in those communities in which a price is paid for a husband.

The most serious criticism, however, to be made of this work is its failure to appreciate the fact that the essentials of Brahmanic religion and the bases of caste are far more ancient in India than the Rigvedic invasion of the IIInd millennium B.C. Both are essentially opposed to the spirit of the Rigveda and to all that is known of the society of the invaders who composed it, in which the patrician ruler was of higher standing than his family priest. The distribution of brachycephaly in India, ably worked out by Guha in 1931, gives a very clear indication that the invasions of c. 1500 B.C. were preceded, probably in the third millennium B.C., by invasions from the direction of the Iranian plateau, which penetrated down the west coast of India as far as Coorg, and apparently succeeded in throwing out offshoots down the Jumna and Ganges valleys to the Ganges delta. There is a gap between the end of the Indus civilization, the population of which seems to have been almost exclusively dolichocephalic, and the Rigvedic age, which, taken with the existing distribution of brachycephaly, can without difficulty only be interpreted by some such hypothesis, and it is known that the third millennium was a period of unrest in the steppes north of the Iranian plateau likely to produce movements of this kind, which, besides brachycephaly, may have introduced the Dardic group of languages, and the kindred tongues of the 'Outer Band' of Indo-European languages, which preceded the purer Sanskrit of the Rigveda, the speakers of which were dolichocephalic and patrilineal. Orthodox Hinduism claims to be in India *ab origine*, and there is every reason to suppose that it has, like the worship of Shiva, its roots in the Indus culture. Chanda, in his *Indo-Aryan Races*, has shown that there were at least two sets of Brahmans of different origin; caste, closely associated as it is with the notion of cooked food as a source of pollution, is clearly based on taboo, and associated with that institution from India to New Zealand, and depends on ideas far more ancient than the time of Manu, or even of the Rigveda. It is worth drawing attention here to the table of caste-precedence in Manu's code which places at the top of the list the Brahman, who may without impropriety marry wives of at any rate Kshatriya or Vaishya class as well as of his own, and at the bottom the *pratiloma* castes derived from the converse union between a Brahman woman and a Sudra man. Here perhaps is an indication, which our author may have missed, of the contact between patrilineal and matrilineal systems. For it may be suggested that while the offspring of a patrilineal Brahman male by a matrilineal Sudra woman would be sure of his inheritance and his social status in either society, the child of a patrilineal Brahman woman by a matrilineal Sudra man would inherit nothing and have no status in either society, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the memory of the social disturbance resulting from such a conflict is to be seen in the extraordinary code of caste precedence propounded by the lawgiver at a much later date.

The foregoing criticism, however, is in no way intended to suggest that Baron Ehrenfels' book is other than of great importance in Indian anthropology. In particular

one values his suggestive comparisons of the Nayars with the Rajputs, and a reviewer may perhaps be permitted to add the suggestion that the Sun-descended and Moon-descended clans may conceivably represent respectively patrilineal and matrilineal sources of origin, the Fire-descended being doubtless, in accordance with tradition, drawn from the stock of subsequent immigrations. It may be relevant here to point out that the stone-pulling ceremonies associated with megalithic culture in Assam and in parts of Indonesia seem to have left a survival in Rajputana in the ceremony known as *Ghas-Bavji* in which a boulder, apparently representing the godling of vegetation, is pulled round the village on a wooden sledge. Another megalithic survival is to be found in Rajputana in *sati* stones. The more recent all seem to have taken the form of menhirs, but it appears that anciently some memorials, for women at any rate, consisted rather of a built up *chhattri* suggestive of the dolmen pattern, often symbolic in Assam of the female principle as the menhir is of the male. Such a *sati* memorial was still to be seen in Bundi State in 1930.

It remains to add that the printing of the volume is excellent, and shows a gratifying freedom from the misprints that so often mar the work of Indian presses; the only two noticed were in proper names. There is a useful bibliography and an index.

J. H. HUTTON.

Bhagwān, the Supreme Deity of the Bhils. By W. Koppers. Reprint from *Anthropos*. XXXV-XXXVI, 1940-1941. 264-325 pp.

In this monograph Dr. Koppers gives an account of the investigations he carried out between the end of October 1938 and the beginning of December 1939 among the primitive tribes of Central India. The Bhils in the north-western part of this area, being a pre-Aryan people, provided material for a study of the belief in a Supreme Deity prior to the introduction of Hindu influences in the district, and it is upon this evidence that he concentrates attention in the paper before us. After a preliminary survey of the ethnology of the selected field of research, and an analysis of the religion and sociology of the Bhils, some essential points relating to Hindu influence are discussed and illustrated by the attitude adopted towards creation in the myths and legends. 'The idea of a personal god creating out of nothing is one which runs counter to almost every system evolved by Hindu mentality,' and, therefore, when Dr. Koppers finds that Bhagwān is the central figure, existing alone in the beginning, responsible for the creation of plants, animals, men, and inferior gods and goddesses, he concludes that the deity has not been borrowed from Hindu sources. This is confirmed by the deluge of myths in which, while both Brahma and Bhagwān are conceived anthropomorphically, Bhagwān has retained more of the character of Supreme Deity and Creator. It is he who made the brother and sister who survived the flood and joined them together in marriage to propagate the race. In Hindu mythology his place is taken by Manu, the Noah of the story, who became the father of future generations by magical methods which, it is alleged, reveal a pantheistic trend absent among the Bhils.

Nevertheless, as is admitted, Bhagwān was occasionally identified with Rama, and like Brahma, 'he has much of the character of a *deus otiosus*.' Prayers are said to have been addressed to him as 'the giver of corn' and protector from sorrow and distress, and it is declared that he plays a special rôle as compared with the Sun-goddess, the Earth-mother, or the New Moon Mata. He alone gives health, and magnanimity even towards

enemies. But intercourse with him is not of a filial or affectionate nature, and this is explained on the ground that India is a 'mata-land' rather than a 'father-land.' The name 'Bhaga' is pre-Vedic, and is thought by Hillebrandt to be a prehistoric designation applied to 'a god or goddess.' Later it acquired a solar significance, but it is probably true that, among the new Indo-Aryan deities, Bhagwān corresponded most closely to the Supreme Being which in one form or another had been worshipped in earlier times. It seems clear that he was not a creation of either Christian or Moslem missionary enterprise, and his connexion with the Sun is apparently a Vedic accretion.

This is not the only instance of a more personal conception of deity behind Hinduism. In the light of the recent excavations at Mohenjodaro in the Indus valley, there is reason to think that the worship of Shiva, who personifies the reproductive powers of Nature, goes back to the pre-Aryan civilization, while in the polytheistic system of the ancient Vedas the personality of the gods, though not strongly defined, was at any rate latent. Out of this pantheon the Hindu Trimurti emerged as the threefold aspect of deity, creative, sustaining, and destructive. In this triad Brahma, like many another All-Father, fell into the background, leaving Shiva and Vishnu in possession of a cultus. It is not unreasonable to assume that in the primitive substratum of Hinduism belief in a Supreme Being was an established feature, as Dr. Koppers argues, but it does not follow that this involves the notion of monotheism. The confusion that has arisen with regard to 'high gods of low races' is largely the result of equating these beings with the abstract conception of Deity as the sole ground of the universe, creating all things *ex nihilo*. That Bhagwān, or any other similar god, represents such a concept, certainly has not been demonstrated.

E. O. JAMES.

Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture. By T. G. Aruvamuthan. Bombay (Karnatak Publishing House), 1942. iv, 76 pp., with illustrations.

The excavations in the Punjab have revealed to us a culture which is long anterior to the date ascribed to the Aryan invasions. It seems to have been about contemporary with the Sumerian civilization of Irak, and though Mr. Aruvamuthan declares that it vanished in a short time, further research may yet show that it enjoyed a longer life. Even so it is said to have been 'in full blossom about 2800 B.C.' and this suggests that we do not know how far back it may have extended.

The author's thesis is the survival of the culture, or at least traces of it, in later times. He confesses frankly that his study is speculative, and it is probable that numismatic experts will find much to criticize, as always happens when new theories are offered on what must be more or less defective evidence. But whether or not they are finally accepted, they are certainly intriguing. Perhaps the most illuminating of his studies is contained in Sections V to XII, on the significance of certain features of Buddhist imagery. He points out that the cult of the Yogi god, sometimes identified with Siva, is represented on Harappa seals accompanied by certain animals, especially deer, and that the figure of Buddha in contemplation is also so accompanied. For about a century after the death of the Teacher, he was never represented in human form, the idea being that he was too sacred, and so we find him suggested by symbols, such as the Wheel, the Tree, and a pair of Deer. Later on the desire of the masses for something concrete to

worship, became too strong to resist; the invisible Buddha was at first attended by images of superhuman beings, and so at last this representation was extended to the Buddha himself. Mr. Aravamathan admits that several objections have been taken to this solution of the problem, which he enumerates and endeavours to refute.

He shows that very few of the concomitants of the main subject, whether it be an image or a throne or other symbol, are mere embellishments. Thus it has been supposed that the tree and the two deer which often appear are symbolic of a deer park, but the author now suggests that the tree is the Bo-tree under which the Buddha received enlightenment, and that the deer are symbolic of the deer- or antelope-skin which is even now used in the ceremony of the Upanayana (investiture with the sacred thread). This may sound extravagant, but those who know India know that she loves to express herself by subtle symbolism, which is inclined to avoid the obvious.

In these and similar ways, the author seeks to show that the Harappa culture lived on through many centuries. He brings to his subject not only a study of the details of the coinage with which he deals, but also a special knowledge of Indian customs and Indian thought. If it be objected that it is a far cry from the time of Harappa to that of Buddha, it may be asked pertinently whether European art is not still modelled upon the pattern of the Greek art of the fifth century B.C., which takes us back from the present day about the same distance in time. It is not pretended that there are more than traces of the survival of the culture, such as we might find in the survival of the Corinthian column, or in the nude statues of to-day. At any rate the monograph is suggestive, even if we cannot accept all its conclusions.

STANLEY RICE.

The Burushaski Language. Vol. III. Vocabularies and Index. By Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer. Oslo (Inst. for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning), 1938. (London: Kegan Paul). 548 pp. Price, 20 Norwegian kroner.

The materials on which this and previous volumes are based were collected in 1923-24, 1930-31, and 1934-35, with assistance in the last season from the Leverhulme Research Fund. Burushaski and the closely-related Wershikwar dialect are only spoken in very isolated and inaccessible mountain valleys in the Gilgit district north of Kashmir, "at the exact meeting-point of the Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Turkish, and Tibetan groups of languages; but it is not related to any of them," nor, so far as is known, to any other language. The suggestion has been made that it may be connected with some of the queer languages of the Caucasus, and may throw light on their development.

Besides a detailed vocabulary, this volume contains an index of proper names, an English-Burushaski and an English-Wershikwar index, a classified list of Burushaski words, and a list—not very long—of words common to Burushaski and Balti-Tibetan. Arabic-Persian loan words are noted as they occur, and are described as originating with the lowland population of Tajikistan. Burushaski is very rich both in nouns and in verbs relating to all the ordinary occupations of life. Rather sadly Colonel Lorimer quotes as epilogue the report of a learned Persian on his botanical researches: "We have been continuously busy with nothing at all, and now we have finished." Of his own work, the first phrase may be strenuously denied; as to the second, those who know him will certainly 'ask for more.' The Oslo Institute for Comparative Research into Cultures is gratefully congratulated on this addition to its series of monographs.

J. L. M.

AFRICA

Land Tenure in an Ibo Village. By M. M. Green. *Monographs on Social Anthropology No. 6.* London (Lund, Humphries & Co.: for the London School of Economics and Political Science). 1941. 43 pp. Price 4s.

Miss Green has given us, in this small volume, an important addition to the anthropological study of land-tenure, and has thrown light on how the Ibo people of Southern Nigeria regard their land and their rights in it. These two questions, the system of land-holding and land-usage, and the traditional attitude towards the land, cannot be separated. In the first paragraph in her introduction, Miss Green says: 'Land is, to the Ibo, a sensitive point which the enquirer has only to touch to get a reaction of suspicion and alarm.' That she was able, in spite of this suspicion, to carry out a detailed study of village land, its ownership and usage, gives us an immediate respect for her anthropological technique, and an increased appreciation of her results.

The study begins with a description of the village, which is further illustrated by genealogical tables and sketch maps at the end of the book. After a brief note on the mythical basis of rights over land, there is a descriptive account of ownership tenure in relation to the social groups and to the inheritance and apportionment of land. The next three sections deal with various forms of pledging and letting land, and then there is one on women and the use of the land, and a concluding summary.

The density of population in this area is about 450 to the square mile, and even this figure is probably an under-

estimate, and is lower than the density in other parts of the Ibo country. A question which immediately arises is: are land problems much more acute in such an area of high density than in one where the population is round about four to the square mile? And if they are more pressing, as they obviously are, are they fundamentally different? In one important respect they are akin—in the mythical connexion between the present occupiers, their ancestors, and the land. Miss Green said that she had some difficulty in getting information whether the present inhabitants of the village were the original settlers on that spot, or had come from elsewhere. Tradition apparently established them as the first inhabitants, and the eleven villages of the district are held to be descended from the eleven sons of the original ancestors.

There are several methods of 'temporary transfer' of land, which assist to adjust the needs of individuals in a thickly populated area. Land can be pledged to another person in return for a sum of money, such land being redeemable on repayment of the original sum. The Ibo distinguish clearly between this transaction and direct sale, which is regarded as out of the question. Pledging is also distinguished from short-term leasing, in which the exchange of gifts and a small rent after harvest suggests more of a landlord-tenant relationship. There are indications of strong economic motives in some of these types of land transfer, such as growing of palm trees for the sale of their produce. At the same time the social structure demands that no land shall be 'lost' from the group by direct sale, and that individual

cultivation shall not be regarded as individual 'ownership,' in the sense of complete freedom of disposal.

Men and women work together on the land, which is, however, 'owned' by the man and his group. But a man and his wife have separate crops, and the woman is expected to feed the family out of hers, while the man uses his to sell or occasionally to entertain guests. Moreover, the work done by the women is continuous throughout the year, while the men only put in work at certain seasons, to carry out definite tasks.

Miss Green advocates that the economic and social factors involved in the holding and use of land should be very carefully scrutinized, before any drastic changes are proposed. It is possible that full individual ownership, implying the right to sell land, might result in

improved agricultural methods, because the economic gain from better crops would be a strong incentive. Experience elsewhere seems to have borne this out. But the social effects of such a change, involving the possible creation of a 'landless' class of labourers, opens up a vista of difficulties. Economic changes can be made rapidly, almost by a stroke of the pen, whereas social change is essentially slow, and in all these changes security in land, and in the improvements on it, has to be balanced against possible loss of security in family and kinship ties and obligations. To these wider questions, which are claiming attention all over Africa at the present time, Miss Green's study is a valuable contribution both in method and in material.

MARGARET READ.

CORRESPONDENCE

Semitic, Greek, and Indian Alphabets. Cf. MAN, 1942, 63.

30 1. Phonetics.

The original arrangement of the Phœnician alphabet as tabulated by Prof. Myres in MAN, 1942, 63, suggests that the alphabet of Europe, notwithstanding its defects and redundancies, was based at the outset on an intelligible phonetic plan. The credit of inventing a scientific script, however, may be claimed by India. The Brāhmī order is as follows:—

(a) Twelve vowels: A, Ā, I, Ī, U, Ū, E, AI, O, AU, Am, Aha.

(b) Twenty-five 'classified' consonants:

Gutturals ..	k	kh	g	gh	ng
Palatals ..	c	ch	j	jh	ñ
(engl. ch)					
Linguals ..	f	th	d	dh	n
Dentals ..	t	th	d	dh	n
Labials ..	p	ph	b	bh	m

(c) Nine 'unclassified' consonants: y, r, l, v, ś, ṣ (engl. sh), s, h, l.

This scheme of 46 symbols covers pretty thoroughly the field of Indo-Aryan phonetics. It was mature by 250 B.C., when Asoka's edicts were carved on rock in almost every province of India. It is obviously the work of pandits, learned in phonology and grammar; pedantic, perhaps, but as a scientific effort it compares favourably with modern attempts to piece together a phonetic alphabet from a roman fount. It has served effectively all the literary languages of India down to the present day.

Leaving aside the linguals (or 'cerebrals,' peculiar to India), and the quasi-sibilant palatals, the grouping of 'classified' consonants in Brāhmī invites comparison with the original Semitic arrangement deduced by Prof. Myres from wholly different evidence. Read downwards, his voiced consonants B G D are exactly the same; his unvoiced group P K T practically so (*koph* for *kaph* is good enough); *kaph* for *ng* among the nasals M K N looks erratic, but Semitic has no sign for the 'mysterious agma,' and the Greeks forgot it, using a guttural (γ, not κ) instead (e.g. ἀγέγγες). As for aspirates, fickle and elusive in most tongues, *vav*, *heth*, *teth*, is not a bad prototype for the subtler *kh*, *gh*, *ph*, *bh*, *th*, *dh*, of Brāhmī. Prof. Myres suggests that in Semitic the liquids *lamed* and *resh* originally ranked with the sibilants. In Brāhmī they do.

2. Letter Forms.

The letter forms of Brāhmī Bühler (whose *Indische Paläographie*, 1890, is still the standard work on the subject), traces to North Semitic, i.e. the early Phœnician inscriptions and the Moabite stone (mid ix B.C.).

Of the vowels A was 'borrowed' (*entlehnt*) from *aleph*, E from *ain*. The rest he explains as 'derivatives' (*abgeleitet*), Indian modifications of 'borrowed' forms; thus Ā from A, Ī from E, Ū from I, U from *va*, and so forth. It is curious that Brāhmī has no use for short *e* or short *o*, the only two vowels for which Greek has long and short forms.

Of the 'unclassified' consonants, Bühler derives *k* from *kaph*, *kh* from *koph*, *g* from *gimel*; *c* from *tsade*, *j* from *zain* (see the last line of Prof. Myres' table); *t* from *tau*, *th* from *teth*, *dh* from *daleth*, *n* from *nun*; *p* from *pe*, *b* from *beth*, *m* from *mem*.

The rest, as with the vowels, are 'derivatives,' the linguals being adapted from the dentals.

Of the 'unclassified' consonants, Bühler equates *y* with *yod*, *r* with *resh*, *l* with *lamed*, *v* with *vav*. The sibilants, as with the Greeks and Hebrews (*shibboleth*), got mixed up; *f* (palatal *c*) he derives from *shin*, and both *g* (*sh*) and *s* from *samekh*.

Many of these identifications, as Bühler admits, are not very convincing, and it seems odd that, in the course of evolution, letters should roll over on to their backs, stand on their heads, or turn round the wrong way; but such antics are not unknown in the history of Greek script. On the whole a North Semitic origin fits the facts and probabilities better than theories of derivation from South Semitic, or the prehistoric culture of the Indus Valley, or of purely indigenous invention. A more probable alternative is offered by J. F. Fleet to account for the 'many curious and apparently capricious 'changes,' viz., that Brāhmī and North Semitic were derived from a 'joint original source' (*Encycl. Brit.* 14, 626). Dr. S. A. Cook has a like suggestion for the ancestry of Semitic and Greek (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, 422).

3. Dates.

As for the 'actual date' when the Semitic alphabet arrived in India, Bühler suggests provisionally 800 B.C.; a higher date—tenth century B.C. or earlier—he thought possible. Prof. A. B. Keith objects (*Camb. Hist. Ind.* I, 141) that no known inscription in India dates for certain before the third century B.C., and that no certain reference

to writing appears in literature before the fourth, i.e. after Darius' conquest of the Indus basin. Prof. Keith handles Bühler rather hastily, for he ascribes to him the South Semitic theory which Bühler expressly rejects. It took the Greeks several centuries to establish their rather makeshift alphabet in its final form; it is unlikely that Brāhmī, with its carefully thought-out phonetic plan, took less; especially when its elaborate system of uniting vowels and consonants is taken into account; for the sign for a medial vowel is combined with the consonant which precedes it into what is virtually a new symbol, and the same thing happens when a consonant is doubled, or when two or more consonants come together ('ligatures'). The result is a syllabary of formidable size. All these details were settled before the earliest inscriptions appear in the third century B.C. An exception to the combination of vowel and consonant is medial or final *a* which is considered 'inherent' in the consonant which precedes it; a convention suggestive of an originally vowel-less script. Thus the word transliterated *amalaka* would be written *a m l k*.

The graceful orderly script of Asoka is in a category altogether different from that of the first crude scratchings of Thera and elsewhere. Stone, moreover, suitable as it is for State decrees, is not a handy medium for book-keeping or correspondence, and stone inscriptions admittedly retain archaic forms of lettering, some generations (it may be) older than that of contemporary script in every-day use, written on palm-leaves, birch bark, or some equally perishable material.

The probability of an earlier date for Brāhmī than Prof. Keith is willing to admit is strengthened by two sets of Asoka's Edicts in the North West of India in a totally different script, Kharōṣṭhī, derived beyond all question from the Aramaic script current in the Persian dominions under Achaemenid rule. It is highly cursive, written from right to left and adapted to Indian tongues on lines exactly parallel to the Brāhmī scheme; but it is simpler, for it does not distinguish between long and short vowels, and uses single consonants where Brāhmī doubles them. It was certainly invented during the Persian occupation for the use of clerks and businessmen, and continued in use for several centuries after Asoka's time in North West India and Chinese Turkestan. If Aramaic script was remoulded on the Brāhmī model to suit the needs of Persian administration in the fifth century B.C., Brāhmī must have won recognition, popular and official, over a large area long before, and it certainly was not derived from the same source as Kharōṣṭhī.

Whether Brāhmī was ever written from right to left is doubtful. A right-to-left legend, of five syllables, on an early coin (the reversal of which may be accidental) and the reversed position of a few letters in Asoka's inscriptions, Fleet does not think conclusive (*Encycl. Brit.*, l.c.).

F. J. RICHARDS.

The Unusual Flint Implement from Egypt in the Seligman Collection. Cf. MAN, 1942, 62.

31 SIR.—Please permit me, an amateur collector of stone implements, to try to elucidate the mystery of the original purpose of this remarkable flint, and suggest that, if both ends be regarded as handles, and the curved centre be viewed as for cutting purposes, then we have what appears to be the precursor of the draw-knife and the spokeshave, and as such was probably used for the purpose of fashioning handles for axes, spear-shafts, etc.

Extremely improbable it may be argued, as the district from which it is likely to have emanated is, comparatively, woodless. But its place of origin is, of course,

but guesswork. Professor Seligman stated that the implement 'was acquired in Luxor in 1914 from an Englishman who kept a small curio shop. He stated that he had bought it from an Egyptian with a number of other implements, all said to have been found in the neighbourhood, which inspection proved to be typical high-desert paleoliths, and he supposed that it had been picked up with them.'

That, of course, is one of the problems when buying from a curio shop. Generally, the shop-keeper, realizing he has but a limited market, is not very interested in the few stone implements which from time to time come his way, and knowing nothing at all about prehistory, nor—as a rule—concerned, other than that these strange-looking stones are said to be relics of stone-age man, therefore, he asks few questions, if any, as to their place of origin, and would not appreciate the reason for so doing. Conjecture, therefore, must play its big part in an endeavour to satisfy an inquiring customer. The Professor, after describing its length and breadth, goes on to say 'and with a portion of the original rough surface of flint nodule at one end.' That, at least, would limit its uses, and to that extent it, seemingly, lends credence to my theory of handle. He then says 'Its colour is a dull, medium brown, with none of the warm lustrous surface that is fairly common on the older paleoliths from the Theban plateau.' But it will be appreciated that if my ideas are correct, the implement is a Neolith, and finally 'There is minute splintering of the convex edge'—and there is also some comminution of the edge, limited to one surface of what might be described as its 'base'.

This minute splintering and comminution would also seem to help bear out my theory of its having been used for the purpose I have suggested.

W. G. WILSHER.

Further Excavations in Manitoulin District, Ontario; the Chronology. Cf. MAN, 1942, 69.

32 SIR.—I wish to call your attention to an error in my letter, MAN, 1942, 69, fifth paragraph, fourth sentence, where the words 'are estimated by Dr. George Stanley at 600 B.C. and 1400 B.C.' should read 'are estimated by Dr. George Stanley at 600 B.C. and 14000 B.C.' The antiquity of 16000 years for this site is admittedly an estimate, but as good as can be made, I believe, by those who have been engaged in working out the glacial geology of the Great Lakes region for the past fifty years. The industry looks to be rather strongly Mesolithic in character, though a definite statement on that must await the time that it can be compared with actual material from the Mesolithic.

E. F. GREENMAN.

Ann Arbor, U.S.A.

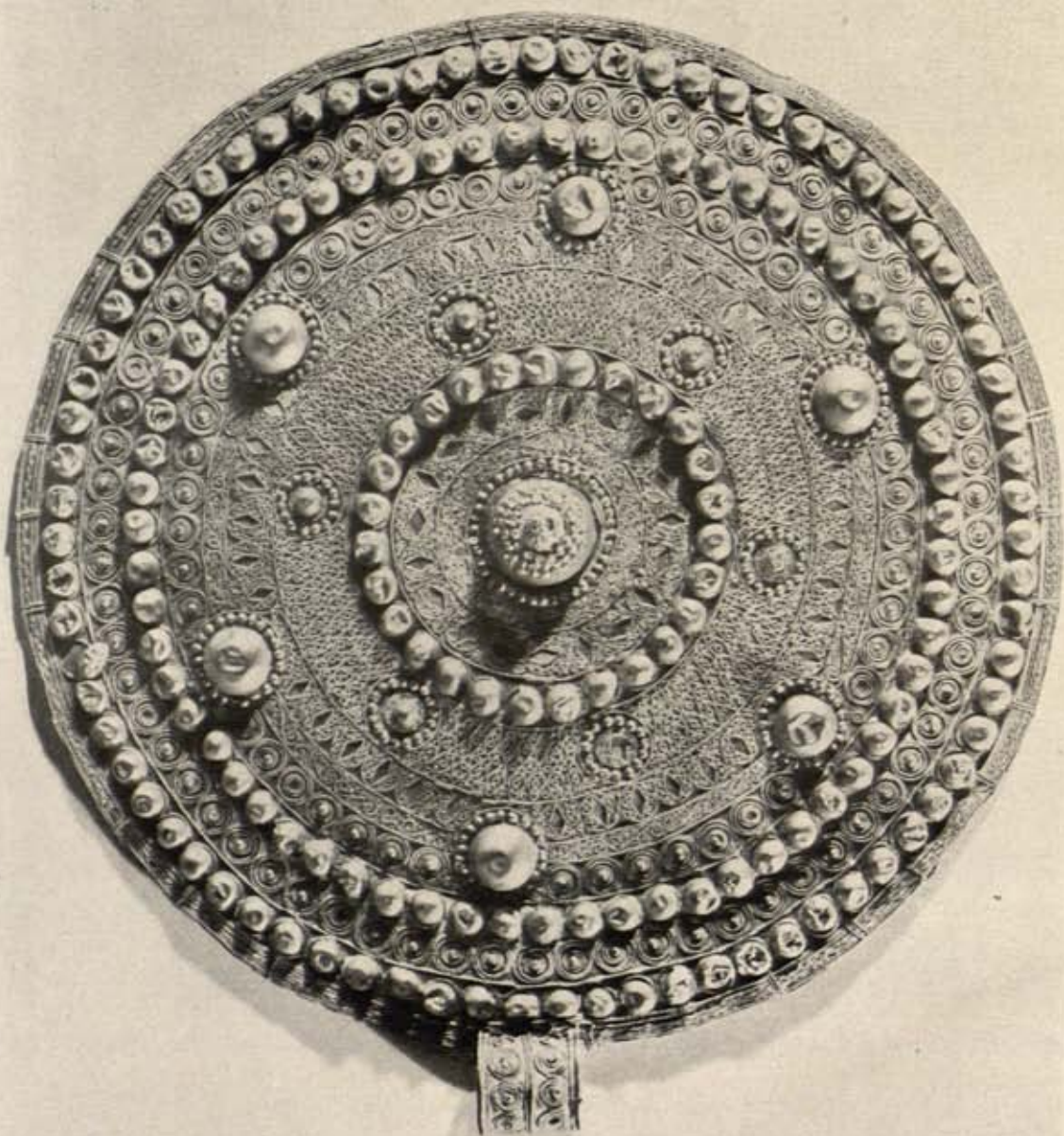
Ethnographical Collections from Southern Nigeria and the Cameroons.

33 SIR.—Those interested in the customs and culture of Southern Nigeria and the Cameroons may like to know that the valuable anthropological collection made for the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum by Dr. Jeffreys of the Nigerian Civil Service, with the exception of certain objects of medical significance, has been presented by us to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

The unpacking of the Collection will take a considerable time as there is a vast quantity of material. It is hoped that, after the War, Dr. Jeffreys will be in a position to publish details with regard to certain parts of his Collection.

S. H. DAUKES.

Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.



GOLD PECTORAL FROM MOUND P, RAO, SENEGAL
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE COURTESY OF THE INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE, DAKAR
Diameter 0.184 m.; reduced to about 5:6 scale

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN SENEGAL. By J. Joire, *Saint-Louis du Sénégal and Institut d'Afrique, Dakar.* With Plate C.

34 I. *The Rao Excavations.*—While working on the artificial shell-mounds of the neighbourhood of Saint-Louis du Sénégal, I became interested in other types of mounds, e.g. certain sand-mounds, which proved to be, when excavated, funeral barrows.

They stand in the vicinity of the village of N'Guigéla, 1·500 km. N.N.E. from Keur Gamou (long. 16° 21' W., lat. 15° 57' N.), and are known among the natives under the name of *M'Banar u Dyol Kas*. Still others exist in the neighbourhood. Such barrows are all approximatively circular, but very variable in size (height: 0·75–6·50 m.; diameter at ground-level: 15–70 m.).

I excavated first the highest mound (P), then, with G. J. Duchemin, of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, 10 others (A–J). The finds proved of some interest for the progress of West African archaeology. They might be summarized as follows:

Mound P: (1) Scattered remains of a large necklace in very bad condition (6 hollow silver balls (diam.: 0·025 m.) made of juxtaposed spirals of filigree-work (fig. 3, P1); 2 massive silver rings (diam.: 0·06 m.; section: 0·005 m.); fragments of copper rings (diam.: 0·025 m.). (2) A necklace of 138 little gold ringlets (diam.: 0·075–0·08 m.; section: 0·005–0·001 m.) closely laid out in line as if strung on a single thread. (3) A kind of gold four-lobed pendant (size: 0·025 m. × 0·023 m.; weight: 4·7 gm.; fig. 3, P3). (4) A very large gold pectoral plate (diam.: 0·184 m.; weight: 191 gm.), the finest jewel of the set, ornamented with filigree and smooth, hollow, hemispherical cabochons, only the big central one bearing some of those granules still known to the modern senegalese jewellery as 'millet-grain' decoration (Pl. C).

Mound A: (1) An iron sword (fig. 3, A1): the flat blade, broken in 5 pieces, 0·04 m. broad near the hilt, must have been 0·80 m. long; the sword, with its cross-shaped hilt, is very like the modern Sudanese and Tuareg *takuba*. (2) Two massive gold pendants probably fixed to some kind of sword-knot (sizes: 0·042 m. × 0·020 m. and 0·036 m. × 0·016 m.; weights: 85·6 gm. and 44·6 gm.; fig. 3, A2 and A2'). (3) A silver

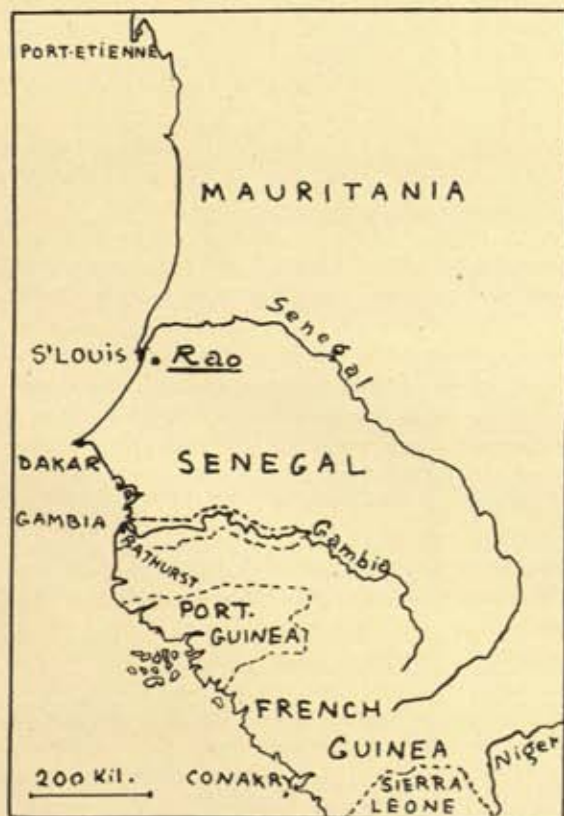


FIG. 1.—SENEGAL AND RAO.

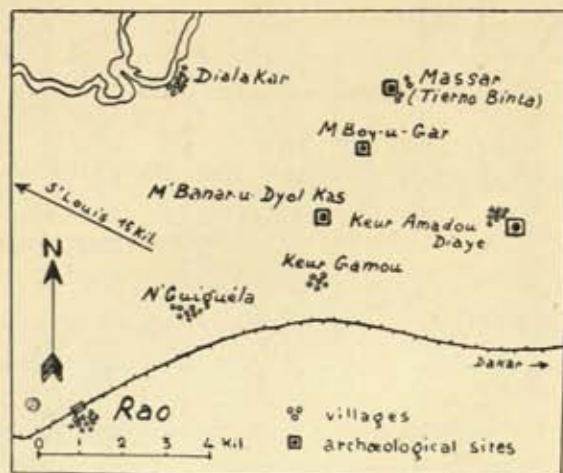


FIG. 2.—THE RAO REGION.

ankle-ring (diam.: 0.095 m. of lozenge-shaped section; 0.015–0.013 m.; fig. 3, A3).

Mound B: (1) A biconical earthen spindle-whorl (diam.: 0.030 m.; length: 0.028 m.). (2) An oval fluted copper arm-ring (diam.: 0.069 m. and 0.058 m.; section: 0.012 m. \times 0.008 m.; fig. 3, B2).

Mounds C–D: No finds.

Mound E: An iron assegai head (length, tip broken: 0.25 m.) with two pairs of forward-curved barbs (fig. 3, E).

Mound F: No finds.

Mound G: (1) Sixteen heavy fluted copper ankle-rings (fig. 3, G1), all similar in shape but different in size (diam.: 0.110–0.142 m.; section: 0.022–0.029 m. \times 0.011–0.020 m.). (2) A cornelian necklace of 185 beads (150 rather coarsely rounded, diam.: 0.005–0.008 m. and 35 prismatic, irregularly hexagonal in section (fig. 3, G2–H4–5); length: 0.017–0.052 m.; breadth: 0.009–0.022 m.; thickness: 0.004–0.014 m.); the perforation proceeded from both extremities. (3) A gold necklace of 12 small cylindrical ringed tubes (length: 0.023 m.; diam.: 0.005 m.; weight (together): 12.6 grm.; fig. 3, G3). (4) Fourteen gold rings (diam.: 0.012 m.; section: 0.001–0.002 m.; weight (together): 11.3 grm.; fig. 3, G4). (5) Unidentifiable small remnants of iron and copper (fig. 3, G5), the last at least being probably girdle-ornaments.

Mound H: (1) A silver ankle-ring, broken in 7 pieces, opening in two halves by a hinge (diam.: probably 0.080 m.; the band: 0.020 m. broad; fig. 3, H1) is bordered on each side by a thicker

rim (0.03 m. thick; 0.004 m. broad), and the thinner middle ribbon bears hemispherical cabochons (diam.: 0.004 m.). (2) A silver necklace, in very bad state and uncertain length, made of hollow balls (diam.: 0.012 m.), soldered together on either side of a tubular median stem. (3) A massive gold pendant (fig. 3, H3) of a form similar to that of Mound A, No. A2 (size: 0.029 m. \times 0.016 m.; weight: 37.6 grm.). (4) A cornelian arm-ring (2 prismatic beads, 14 round beads identical with those of Mound G, No. G2, 2 polyhedral beads of similar size). (5) A cornelian necklace (83 round beads and 6 prismatic ones, like those of Mound G, No. G2). (6) A large terra-cotta bead or pendant, prismatic, of regular hexagonal section (0.043 m. \times 0.016 m.), of a white paste with impressed superficial pastilles, blue, yellow, and green (fig. 3, H6). (7) A stone ball (diam.: 0.023 m.; fig. 3, H7). (8) Three solitary beads (1 cornelian, 2 quartz). (9) Two copper arm-rings (fig. 3, H9) made of a simple cylindrical recurved rod (diam.: 0.065 m.; section: 0.007 m.). (10) A discoid perforated pendant (shell). (11) Two slender silver rings (diam.: 0.015 m.; fig. 3, H11).

Mound I: No finds.

Mound J: (1) About a hundred small copper plates (average length: 0.085 m.; average breadth: 0.010 m.; fig. 3, J1) which, together with a conical object (fig. 3, J1', left; height: 0.025 m.), were probably attached to an iron plate (*ibid.*, right), as ornaments on a horse's caparison. (2) A coarse earthen vessel, ovoid (height: 0.22 m.; breadth: 0.18 m.; fig. 3, J2).

Scattered through the sand of the mounds, many sherds of coarse earthenware, identical with that of the natives to-day, and flints, probably mere fire-stones (fig. 3, K), but some of them prehistoric artifacts, were collected.

II. Historical Traditions.—Documents on that region for the period anterior to European occupation are scarce, obscure, and uncertain. The native tradition keeps the memory of a Sose (Mande group), then of a Serer occupation. Only since the foundation of the Djolof Empire (early thirteenth century) do we discover a few facts among the mythical tales. A Pullo (Ful), Ahmadou, surnamed by the tradition N'Diadian N'Diaye, succeeded in establishing his authority and in spreading Islam on a territory as big as the present Senegal Colony (*cf.* H. Gaden: 'Légendes et coutumes sénégalaises. Cahiers de

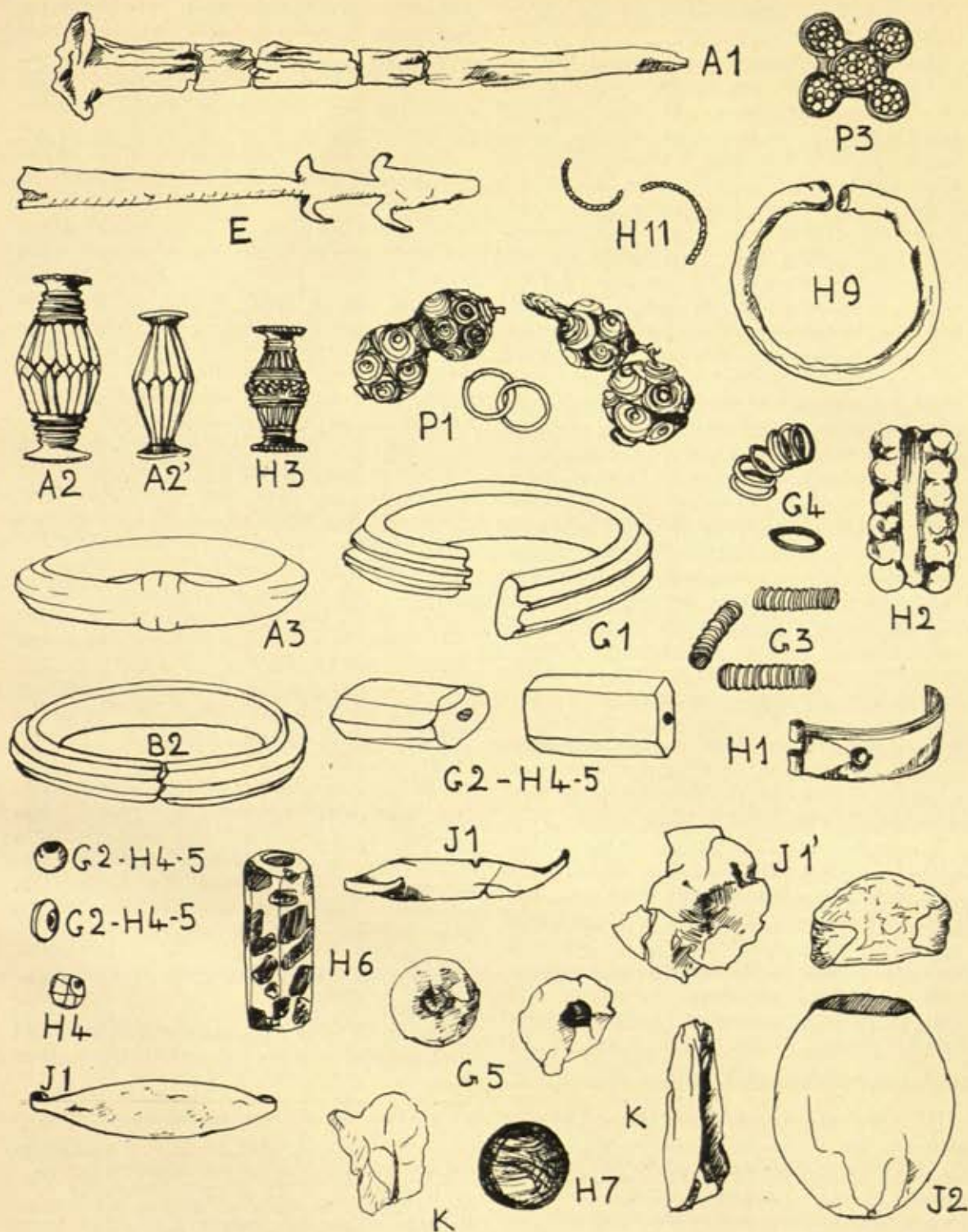


FIG. 3.—SOME FINDS FROM THE EXCAVATIONS AT RAO.

The letters refer to the Mounds A-P.

'Yoro Dyao,' *Rev. Ethnogr. et Sociol.*, mars-avril, 1912, pp. 119-137).

The Djolof Empire remained united for two centuries, then split into six states which lasted till the French occupation. The local tradition regards the excavated barrows as belonging to the Serers, and as earlier than N'Diadian N'Diaye, whose capital was, for sixteen years, in a village, M'Boy u Gar, which has to-day disappeared, 2 km. north of the M'Banar u Dyol Kas. Excavations have proved that these tombs are not Islamic. The extended skeletons lie N.N.E.-S.S.W., the face towards the west. The funeral rites seem to comply with the actual Serer rites, still practised in Southern Senegal. The animist Serers originally occupied a large territory extending north, even to the Tagant (Mauritania), and were subsequently expelled thence through a number of white-hamitic and semitic migrations (cf. M. Delafosse: *Les Noirs de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1922, pp. 40-51). The Serers held out on the banks of the Senegal River until the fall of the Ghana Empire, which imposed on them a political domination perhaps more nominal than effective. Their ancestral chiefs kept the essentially Serer title of *Laman*. Foreign influences, however, were manifold in that border-region, through which the white and the black Africas come into contact and penetrate each other, and where westward migrations are stopped by the Atlantic. Berbers, Fuls (Peul), Jews, Arabs, Mandingoes clashed in that racial melting-pot of Atlantic Sudan, or united with the Serer groups to build the ethnically very complex Wolof nation.

It is to be hoped that the objects already unearthed, together with those of the next excavations, still to be continued, will throw some light on these influences. Till then no chronological guesses can safely be made as, since the thirteenth century, the hold of Islam remained sometimes rather superficial on those populations, who always kept—or even returned to—their ancestral animist customs, so that pagan tribes are still known even in some of the more Islamized parts of Senegal.

III. *Problems involved by the Finds.*—The main problem, that of the dating of the finds, being, for the time, impossible to solve, the more important is it to investigate their cultural and geographical affinities. Whether ornaments like our gold and silver ones are still worn in West

Africa has still to be discovered. The pectoral at least, perhaps other gold jewels, and certain silver ones seems to point towards North African influences. On the other hand, the heavy copper ankle-rings are undoubtedly related to many similar African objects.

Northerly cultural elements are, of course, by no means a surprise in that Sahel region, which has always been from the remotest times till now a highly active and permeable contact-zone between the white nomad of the desert and the black peasant.¹ There is nothing to hinder us from believing that northern jewellers, e.g. Morisques or Jews, might have reached—say, between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, and more likely perhaps through the Tafilelt, Tuat, or Tidikelt routes than through more westerly ones—the Niger at Gao or Timbuktu, or the Hodh at Walata or Tishit, and thence the middle Senegal. A Portuguese source states that at the end of the fifteenth century there were in Walata 'Jews, very rich but much oppressed, and who are either pedlars or goldsmiths or jewellers.'²

In a very different direction one is surprised to discover even in hispanic medieval Christian jewels—which are North African Christianized ones—elements which may derive, together with our Senegalese materials, from a single focus; e.g. a silver custode (Spanish, seventeenth-eighteenth centuries) (H. Terrasse: 'Notes sur l'origine des bijoux du Sud Marocain,' *Hesperis*, XI, 1930, Pl. V), presenting many points of comparison with our finds; a discoid pectoral with a suspension-loop, transversely expanded and ringed, ornamented with filigree-work, and supported by a heavy necklace made of hollow balls the two hemispheres of which are covered with circles and cabochons; and beads, some of them of the long, cylindrical, ringed type of Mound G, No. G3).

Any information about objects similar to ours, and especially to the pectoral plate, would, of course, be to us of great value and interest, and very gratefully received if sent to the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar.

¹ See Bou Haqq: 'Noirs et Blancs aux confins du desert' (*Bull. Com. Et. Hist. Scient. Afr. Occ. Fr.*, XXI, 1938, No. 4, 1939, pp. 480-488), and Th. Monod: *Le Sahara: barrière ou trait d'union*, Dakar, 1941, 15 pp.

² P. de Cenival et Th. Monod: 'Description de la Côte d'Afrique de Ceuta au Sénégal, par Valentin Fernandes (1506-1507),' *Publ. Com. Et. Hist. Scient. Afr. Occ. Fr.*, Série A, No. 6, 1938, p. 85.

MARI LWYD : A SUGGESTED EXPLANATION. *By Iorwerth C. Peate, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A., Keeper of the Department of Folk Culture and Industries, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.*

35 In MAN, 1935, 88, and 1939, 33, I offered some tentative suggestions concerning the *Mari Lwyd* custom in Wales. The time has now come when it is possible to assess the value of the theories put forward concerning the custom and its name.

No one, as far as I am aware, doubts the fact that the *Mari Lwyd* is a pre-Christian horse-ceremony which may be associated with similar customs spread over many parts of the world. In Wales, it has survived to our own times in Glamorganshire; but that it was formerly found in varying forms throughout Wales (cf. *loc. cit.*, *supra*) is a fact which cannot now be disputed, and will be commented upon below.

The question which arises, however, is how it acquired its name *Mari Lwyd*. Several theories have been advanced: these may be briefly recapitulated here:—

(a) It has been held (MAN, 1939, 87) 'that the origin of the name is to be found in *Merry Lude*, one of the many obsolete or obsolescent English words which have survived in Wales.' It is difficult to accept this theory on purely linguistic grounds. For English *lude* one would expect *liut* or *liud* in the Welsh form (cf. 'interlude,' *anterliut*), certainly not *lwyd*, except as a native approximation of a foreign phrase.

(b) A suggestion has been made that the name is in some way related to the *Morris* dance, with which at one time the hobby-horse was associated. But something more than the superficial resemblance between *Mari* and *Morris* is required to substantiate this theory. But note that 'a company (of morris-dancers) was seen at Usk in Monmouthshire, which was attended by a boy Maid Marian, a hobby-horse and a fool. They professed to have kept up the ceremony at that place for the last three hundred years.'¹

(c) 'Is not,' asks a writer in 1888,² 'the *Mari Lwyd* or the Blessed Mary the last remnant of the once highly popular Festival of the Ass? This festival was held on the 14th January, and commemorated the flight of the Holy Family to

'Egypt.' I cannot accept this explanation of the custom.

(d) It has been suggested (by my wife, to whom I am grateful for drawing my attention to the possibility) that *Mari* may be nothing more than a borrowal of the English *mare*, which was (as in *nightmare*) a female monster supposed to settle upon people to pound them to suffocation. Professor W. J. Gruffydd informs me that down to about 1400, *mare* in English would be regularly pronounced *mari*. The form could have been borrowed unchanged into Welsh, the adjective *lwyd*, in such a case, having its ordinary meaning of 'grey.'

There is much to be said for this suggestion. The consistent feature of the *Mari Lwyd*, as of associated customs farther afield, was that it was meant to frighten and to horrify (cf. 'nightmare'), and at least one case of death from fright is known from Wales (*see below*). It may be noted further that the horse is referred to in the traditional verses as *Y Fari* and even *Y Feri*, i.e. always in the feminine and without the adjective. *Mari Lwyd*, therefore, may be nothing more than the 'Grey Mare.' Another borrowal of the same nature and period is 'hobi-hors' (*see T. H. Parry-Williams: English Element in Welsh* (1923), p. 177).

The most popular explanation, however (and one which I have myself tended to accept in the past), is that *Mari Lwyd* = 'Holy Mary.' Professor Gruffydd draws my attention to a serious difficulty here. *Lwyd* in the sense of 'holy' was certainly used in such expressions as *Duw lwyd* ('holy God') by the medieval poets. But it was a convention of the bardic profession, and I know of no example of its use outside that convention. It would be remarkable to find it in common-folk speech, though, of course, the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed. If *Mari* is indeed 'Mary' it is more probable that *Mari Lwyd* is simply 'the grey Mary.' But why 'grey'?

However, it can be proved, I think, that whether the name means 'mare' or 'Mary,' the custom came to be associated with Mary-ritual.

¹ Alfred Burton: *Rush-Bearing* (1891), p. 113.

² *Arch. Camb.*, 1888, pp. 389 ff.



FIG. 1.—MARI LWYD FIGURE, MADE IN 1932 AND USED IN THAT YEAR; FROM PENTYRCH, GLAMORGANSHIRE; IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WALES.

By permission of the National Museum of Wales.

The chief characteristics of the custom are as follows :—

(1) *The period of the year.*

(a) In Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire³ the ceremony 'began on Christmas night and was 'continued for a fortnight, three weeks or a 'month.' Other writers describe it as a 'new 'year's custom'⁴ and a Twelfth Night custom.⁵

(b) In Brecknockshire the custom appears to have been associated with the New Year. It is recorded from Defynnog in that county.⁶

(c) In Carmarthenshire the custom was associated with Christmas and the New Year.⁷

(d) In Pembrokeshire the custom was associated with the New Year.

(e) In North Wales the custom was associated with New Year's Day⁸ and 'about Christmas.'⁹

(2) *The Nature of the Custom.*

(a) As far as can be ascertained, the chief features of the custom appear to have been similar in Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire, Brecknockshire and Carmarthenshire. There was a horse's head, sheeted and adorned with ribbons (fig. 1). In the Vale of Neath,¹⁰ 'the customary 'method of preparation was to bury the head of 'a horse in fresh lime, and, when (the skull) was 'thoroughly cleaned, to dress it with ribbons on a '5-foot pole, with a cloak or variegated shawl to 'cover the carrier thereof.' In Llangynwyd, Pentyrch and other areas of Glamorganshire a skull was so used, but draped in white. At Tredegar (Monmouthshire),¹¹ 'the head of the 'Mari' was made out of a block of wood.'

In its full glory, the party consisted of the *Mari Lwyd* bearer, the 'Leader,' a Sergeant, Merryman, Punch and Judy. Some of the traditional rhymes which I have collected refer to all these

³ W. Roberts: *Crefydd yn yr Oesoedd Tywyll* (1852) pp. 1-18; E. Powell: *History of Tredegar* (1902), p. 118; D. R. Phillips: *The History of the Vale of Neath* (1925), pp. 585-6.

⁴ T. C. Evans: *History of Llangynwyd Parish* (1887), p. 159.

⁵ *Arch. Camb.*, 1888.

⁶ D. C. Lewis: *Hanes Plwyf Defynnog* (1911), pp. 304-5.

⁷ G. M. Roberts: *Hanes Plwyf Llandybïe* (1939), pp. 272-80; D. G. Williams: 'Casgliad o Lân-Gwerin 'sir Gaerfyrddin,' in *Transactions of the National Eisteddfod of Wales, Llanelly, 1895*, pp. 294-6.

⁸ J. Evans: *Letters written during a Tour through North Wales in the year 1798* (Third Edit., 1804), p. 403.

⁹ Edward Jones: *Musical and Poetical Relicks*. . . (1794), p. 108 n.

¹⁰ D. R. Phillips: *op. cit.*

¹¹ E. Powell: *op. cit.*

characters and (from the Pontypridd, Glamorganshire district) an 'ostler' as well.

In parts of Carmarthenshire, the custom was known as *Y Warsel* ('The Wassail'), not as *Mari Lwyd*.

(b) In Pembrokeshire, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the custom was known in the first half of the nineteenth century as '*Y March*' ('The Horse') or indeed '*Y Gynfas-farch*' ('The Canvas Horse'). Here the canvas sheet 'used for carrying odds and ends of corn-chaff, etc., or the *brethyn rhawn* (horse-hair sheet) used over the kiln for drying corn . . . was sewn at one of the corners for about a yard to form a snout and head of an Ichthyosaurus or any other animal of such beauty! The eyes were represented by large buttons and two brown harvest gloves tacked on for ears, the head tightly stuffed with straw. The man stood underneath the canvas and a long pitchfork struck into the straw enabled him to turn the head about in every direction. It was then carried about and the first intimation often received was the sight of this prowling monster peeping around into the room, or sometimes shewing his head by pushing it through an upstairs window. One case was recorded by my mother, of sudden death through fright of this. It almost always created a collapse of some, and the scamper of others.'¹²

(c) From north Wales there are two descriptions¹³ known to me. J. Evans, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, states: 'Another . . . custom I never could learn the *rationale* of is that of a man on new year's day dressing himself in blankets and other trappings with a factitious head like a horse, and a party attending him, knocking for admittance; this obtained he runs about the room with an uncommon frightful noise which the company quit in real or pretended fright; they soon recover, and by reciting a verse of some ancient *cowydd* or in default paying a small gratuity, they gain admission.' Edward Jones, writing during the same period, records that 'it is customary in North Wales, about Christmas, for the young farmers, both men and maids, to go about to their neighbours' houses disguised in each other's clothes and sometimes in masks. They are called *Gurachod* (hags). . . . They act various

'antic diversions and dance and sing; for which they get good cheer; or ale, apples and nuts.'

(d) In all instances where the play is fully recorded in detail, some noteworthy facts emerge. (i) The doors and windows are closed against the visiting party and to obtain admittance, a rhymed dialogue ensues similar, for instance, to the 'poetical contests' of Portugal,¹⁴ in which verse follows verse until one of the competitors is discomfited. The discomfiture of the resident party is however always arranged, for the visiting players are always admitted. (ii) The visiting party often carried a wassailing bowl (see illustration, MAN, 1935, Pl. F), the tradition having become so degraded in some districts that (in a Glamorganshire wassailing party) the 'bowl' was 'a common bucket or . . . a tin can.'¹⁵ The party in south Wales also carried a money-box, often of Ewenny ware, an example of which will be published in MAN, 1943, Pl. D. 'When (its) appeal had been responded to, the Wassailers would take their departure.' David Jones, the writer in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, however, attempts to differentiate between wassailing and the *Mari Lwyd* in Glamorganshire, and states that while the *Mari* party had a money-box they did not have a wassail-bowl. The evidence however (see for instance T. C. Evans, *loc. cit.*) proves this not to have been the general rule, and all the traditional verses I have seen always include requests for drink. It is at least evident that the wassail bowl was a feature of the 'feast' in several houses. Jones, although maintaining that wassailing and the *Mari Lwyd* custom were 'each of distinct origin,' states that both were known 'by the one name of "Singing Gwassaila".'

Professor T. H. Parry-Williams¹⁶ in editing an early eighteenth-century Welsh text has discussed the Welsh wassailing-songs generally known as *carolau gwirod* or *canu gwirod*. These songs (as is true of all wassailing songs) were associated with certain special periods of the year. They were, as Cecil Sharp has stated,¹⁷ 'pagan survivals, which, although they have since

¹² Letter from the late H. W. Evans, Solva.

¹³ See notes 8 and 9, *supra*.

¹⁴ R. Gallop: *Portugal: a book of folk-ways* (1936), p. 231.

¹⁵ *Arch. Camb.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ T. H. Parry-Williams (ed.): *Llawysgrif Richard Morris o Gerddi* (1931), pp. vii-cxxi. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Parry-Williams' detailed treatment of the evidence available.

¹⁷ C. J. Sharp: *English Folk Songs* (1907), p. 101.

'been modified by contact with Christian customs, must be sharply distinguished from the carols connected with the festival of the church, which latter were the direct outcome of Christian belief.'

I have already referred to the presence of wassailing in Glamorganshire and hinted that the *Mari Lwyd* custom was indistinguishable from it except that it should be noted that in certain districts wassailing was carried on in Glamorganshire without the *Mari Lwyd* figure. What is the evidence further afield?

(a) In Carmarthenshire the *Mari Lwyd* was known as *Y Warsel* (The Wassail).

(b) In Anglesey there was a 'custom [*canu yn y drws*, singing at the door] somewhat similar to the *Mari Lwyd*. . . . At certain times of the year young men went from house to house, singing carols and asking for admission. When admitted they were given beer and cakes. . . .'¹⁸

(c) In Cardiganshire similar customs appear to have been prevalent.¹⁹

(d) In Merionethshire, Edward Jones relates²⁰ that '*canu dan bared* [*lit.* singing under a wall] is common in Merionethshire on Christmas Eve. 'If the people under the *pared* have the superiority in singing and wit, they claim admittance into the house, and a right to participate in the fare of it.'

In short, the late Principal J. H. Davies appears to be correct in his assumption²⁰ that '*Mari Lwyd*' was merely a south Wales variant of a custom common throughout the country.'

Now the Welsh wassail-songs (*Canu Gwirod*) have certain general features of interest.

(a) They were associated with *Gŵyl Fair* (The Festival of Mary) or with *Gŵyl y Nadolig* (Christmas). With reference to the Christmas practice, Parry-Williams quotes a wassail-song which begins:

Arfer y nydolig yw
rhodio/r/ nos lle bytho gwiw
i edrych ple bo diod dda . . .

[The Christmas custom is to roam at night where it is meet to look for a place where there is good drink . . .]

The Festival of Mary with which wassailing was associated was principally *Gŵyl Fair y Canhwyllau*

(the Festival of S. Mary of the Candles, the Purification of S. Mary, the 3rd February).²¹ It was also associated, as shown above, with Christmas. This association with the Festival of the Purification is borne out by a wassailing-song entitled *Cân Gwirod neu Wyl Fair* (Drinking Song or the Festival of Mary) probably written by Gruffydd Phylip, an early seventeenth-century poet. The song (which has been published by Mr. W. Ll. Davies, the Librarian of the National Library of Wales, in an extensive study of the work of this and other poets²²) includes the following stanzas:—

Roedd yn ddefod mynd a gwirod
Gŵyl fair forwyn ddechre gwanwyn

Pob dyn dedwydd, trwy lawenydd
A garo goffa Mair merch Anna. . . .

Fe aned i hon fab Duw Cyfion
Ddydd Nattolig Gŵyl Barchedig.

Gŵyl fair hefyd sydd ŵyl hyfryd
Mair yn gymwys aeth i'r Eglwys

A gwryfon o'r cwmpon
Ai canhwylle i gyd yn ole.

Puredigaeth Mair yn odieth,
Pawb ai wirod iw chyfarfod.

Os rhydd Duw tad ini genad
Ni yfwn wirod hyd y gwaelod

Ni yfwn Iechyd haelion hefyd
Heb fod mor sôn am gybyddion. . . .

['It was a custom to bear drink at the Festival of the Virgin Mary at the beginning of Spring. 'Every happy man loves to remember with joy 'Mary the daughter of Anna. . . . To her was 'born the son of the Just God on Christmas Day, 'revered festival. The Festival of Mary too is a 'delightful festival. Mary went meetly to the 'church, with virgins from the locality, their

²¹ There are, however, several other Festivals of Mary, which were formerly well-established in Wales, e.g. 25th March, *Gŵyl Fair y Cyhydedd* (S. Mary of the Equinox, Lady Day); 2nd July, *Gŵyl Ymveliad Mair* (The Visitation of Mary); 15th August, *Gŵyl Fair Fawr* (The 'great' Mary, the Assumption); 8th September, *Gŵyl Genedigaeth Mair Fendigaid* (The Birth of the Blessed Mary); 8th December, *Gŵyl Ymddwyn Mair Forwyn* (Conception of the Virgin Mary). Reference should also be made to the *Transitus Mariae*—the passing of Mary—the date of which is given . . . as the 6th 'January' (G. Hartwell Jones: *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement* [1912], p. 332. See also J. Hastings: *A Dictionary of the Bible* [1904], Extra Volume, pp. 434-5).

²² W. Ll. Davies: 'Phylipiaid Ardudwy—a Survey 'and a Summary,' in *Y Cymrodor*, XLII (1931), p. 203.

¹⁸ J. H. Davies (ed.): *The Letters of Lewis, Richard, William and John Morris of Anglesey, 1728-1765* (1907), II, p. 427.

¹⁹ T. H. Parry-Williams: *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

²⁰ *Journal of the Welsh Folk Song Society*, I, i, p. 31.

'candles all alight, the purification of Mary, all with their drink meeting her. If God the Father gives us permission, we shall drink to the dregs. We shall drink the Health of the generous without any mention of the misers. . . .']

This poem makes clear (a) that the 'bearing of drink' was associated with 'the beginning of spring,' (b) that it was concerned with 'remembering Mary,' (c) that Christmas was a 'revered festival' linked with it and (d) that the only festival of Mary referred to specifically is the Festival of the Candles and of the Purification which is described in some detail. It may even be suggested that the very act of wassailing ('be whole, be healthy') may be associated with the act of purification. It is therefore clear that the 'drinking to Mary' was customary during the period extending from the 25th December to the 3rd February. This should be considered in the light of the evidence for the *Mari Lwyd* in Glamorganshire that the ceremony 'began on Christmas night and was continued for . . . a month' (*supra*).

(b) A large number of the songs begin with some such statement as

Llyma wirod Mair yn dyfod
er mwyn Mair wen byddwch lawen

['Here comes Mary's drink, for the sake of holy Mary, be joyful']. In the same way the *Mari Lwyd* verses still extant have an introductory statement: *Wel dyma ni'n dwad* (Here we come) and a reference to the 'joyful' state in *Mari lwyd lawen* (joyful *Mari Lwyd*). One wassailing song (carol *gwirod*) quoted by W. Ll. Davies (*op. cit.*, p. 232) actually begins with this same phrase. It is possible that in nonconformist Wales when the references in medieval Catholic songs to Mary the mother of Jesus came to be looked upon with disfavour, the folk-rhymes were bereft of many of them, but some of the chief non-controversial characteristics remained.

(c) *Mair* is the normal Welsh equivalent of Mary in the sense of Mary the mother of Jesus. But the form *Mari* (the normal colloquial form still used for *Mary* as a personal name) is also found from the earliest times in certain instances to denote the Holy Mother, thus an instance in the Black Book of Carmarthen and others in the poetry of the bards of the early Welsh princes. It is found too (as well as *Mair*, which is the commoner form) in the wassail-songs, *e.g.*

Y glân angel, hwn oedd Gabriel,
voi kyfarchodd . . .
kyflawn wy ti o ras, Mari.

[the fair angel, this was Gabriel, greeted her: thou art full of grace, Mary.]

The Reverend Gomer M. Roberts informs me that he remembers his father (in Carmarthen-shire) singing Christmas carols which included such phrases as

Mari a Joseff, y gath a'r ci.
[Mary and Joseph, the cat and the dog]

and that his mother used to sing a hymn which included the following stanza:

Y rhan oedd eiddo Mari
Boed hynny'n rhan i mi,
Ac yna aed y ddacwr
A'r sawl a'i caro hi.

[The part which was Mary's, let it be my part, and then the earth may take whosoever loves it.]

There is, therefore, no reason why we should not expect 'Mari' (in place of 'Mair') as an expression for 'Mary' amongst the common people, especially in post-Reformation times, when the cult of the 'Mother of God' had fallen into disrepute. On the other hand, if in medieval times *Mari Lwyd* was 'the grey mare,' it may have developed later in popular belief (when its origin had been forgotten) into 'the grey Mary.'

(d) I have referred above to the closed doors and windows at which the *Mari Lwyd* party has to beg for admittance. This fact should be compared with the following passages from the wassail-songs:

Agorwch chwi y ffenestri
fal dyma Fair ai goleuni.
Agorwch chwi y drws caud
fal dyma Fair a'i goleuad
Agorwch chwi y ffenestr faen
dyma Fair a'i mab o'i blaen.

['Open the windows, for here is Mary with her light. Open the closed doors, for here is Mary with her light. Open the (?) stone window, here is Mary and her son before it.']

Agorwch ir drws. . . .
ag illwng fi ir tu . . .
agorwch i y fynestri dyma fair wen ai goleyni

['open the door . . . and let me into the house . . . open the windows, here is holy Mary and her light.']

Duw i gadw eich holl ystôr
Agorwch chwi'r ddôr gauedig
Mae arnom frys cael gwres eich tân
Mewn neuadd lân galchedig.

['God keep all your store, open the closed door.
'We crave to have the heat of your fire in a fair
'whitened hall.']

(e) As Parry-Williams has suggested, these wassail-songs represent both the development and the deterioration of a long-established custom. In the first place, we have a wassailing-custom of pre-Christian origin to initiate the spring. This was later associated with one or more festivals of the Christian church and particularly with the late winter and early spring festivals of Mary and of her Son. These two steps in the development are summed up in the opening stanza of the song quoted above:

Roedd yn ddefod mynd a gwirod
Gwyl fair forwyn ddechre gwanwyn.

['It was a custom to bear drink at the Feast of the Virgin Mary at the beginning of spring.']

The pre-Christian players emphasized 'the beginning of Spring'; the Christian singers laid importance on the 'Feast of the Virgin Mary.' In time 'Mary's drink' lost its former significance and connoted only feasting, drinking and play-acting. The songs lost their medieval religious

references and became catalogues of the food, drink and money which the players sought.

I am convinced that in this widespread Welsh custom of 'singing to Mary,' from Christmas-tide to the Festival of the Purification, is to be found the true explanation of the present *Mari Lwyd* and that in parts of Wales, both in the north and south, an early horse-custom, possibly known as 'the mare' and later 'the grey mare,' horrific in origin and intention and associated with wassailing, was absorbed into this 'Mary-singing' practice and its name maintained, possibly through a popular misconception, so that in post-medieval times the horse-play has been known by the incongruous title of Grey Mary. At the same time, I am not prepared entirely to discount the possibility—as far as the Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire variants are concerned—of the added influence of certain medieval Miracle Plays. This may explain the presence in the ceremony in certain localities of such characters as the Sergeant and Merryman.²³

²³ I am grateful to Professor W. J. Gruffydd for several corrections and for valuable suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

The Future of Social Anthropology. *Summary of a*
36 *Communication by the Right Honourable Lord*
Raglan to the Royal Anthropological Institute,
27 October, 1942.

It seems to be generally held that the functions of the social anthropologist are first to collect facts about savages and secondly to teach the administrator his business.

As regards the first function, one need not quarrel with that, if it were realized that collecting facts is not science, but that science consists in the formulation of laws, and applied science consists in the application of such laws. There are no laws in social anthropology, from which it follows that social anthropology is not a science, and cannot be applied. It is therefore impossible for the social anthropologist to teach the administrator his business.

Nor does it require an anthropologist to collect facts about savages. The man best placed and best qualified to do this is the administrator, if he is properly encouraged. He has, or should have, the advantages of long residence among the people, of familiarity with their language, and of working with them; he has no preconceived theories, and he can jot down from day to day whatever he sees and hears. The anthropologist, on the other hand,

comes out for a very limited time, and he is apt to jump to conclusions based less upon the facts than upon ideas acquired in the study or lecture room. Further than that, it is nowadays difficult to find tribes which are not under some degree of European control. When an administrator takes over a new district, he finds that everything is, according to our ideas, at sixes and sevens. The people manage to exist, it is true, but they do so in spite of raids, murders, robberies, feuds and disputes of all kinds. This is due not to original sin, but to the lack of ordered government. In such circumstances life is extremely uncertain, and this uncertainty colours the savage's whole outlook. The anthropologist comes on the scene, as a rule, when some degree of ordered government has been established, and when in consequence the outlook of the savage has changed. The less pleasant features of the present loom large, while those of the past tend to fade out, so that the picture which he paints for the anthropologist tends to be that of a harmonious society rudely disrupted by aliens. The anthropologist, especially if he follows Professor Malinowski's advice (*Introduction to Fortune, Sorcerers of Dobu*, p. xvii) and refuses to let himself be 'trammelled' and 'confused' by information derived from officials, is apt to accept this picture, and to become a *laudator*

temporis acti and an advocate for unadulterated savagery.

It is in this capacity that he is welcomed by the theorists of the Colonial Office, whose bias is in the same direction. They are always talking of 'allowing the native to work out his own salvation,' 'letting the Africans develop their culture on African lines' and so forth. The result, in the words of a recent lecture by Professor Macmillan, who is not an anthropologist, is that 'when it comes to improving African standards, the ruling preoccupation, alike of officials and non-officials, with the preservation of older African tribal life and forms hinders rational progress.'

This attitude is to a great extent the product of current anthropological theory. This theory is, or seems to be, that mankind is divided into two entirely separate species, European man and savage or primitive man. Of the former we know from history that his culture has always been in a state of flux as a result of external contacts; that in the most civilized and progressive areas the proportion of indigenous traits is very small; and that in most areas it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find any indigenous traits whatever.

With savages, we are led to believe, things are entirely different. Every item in the culture of even the smallest tribe has been invented by that tribe to meet its own special needs. If left alone it would continue to advance slowly but surely along its own lines. A trait introduced from the outside not merely fails to improve a savage culture, but completely disrupts it.

The theory is helped out by the word 'primitive,' which is used in four different senses—'early,' 'savage,' 'simple' and 'crude,' words which express four quite different ideas. By juggling with this deplorable word, it becomes possible to represent the savage not merely as the antithesis of the European, but as a member of a homogeneous race, the race of savage or primitive men. This is really worse than Frazer. Frazer lumped all savages together, but he allied them at times to the more backward Europeans. Modern anthropology does not allow this. All savages must be lumped together, but they must be kept quite separate from even the most backward Europeans. Frazer represented savages as people whose minds are completely obsessed by the most foolish beliefs, and whose days are spent mostly in the performance of the most cruel and degrading rites. Modern anthropologists profess admiration for Frazer, but they do not agree with him. They hold that superstition may be objectionable in Europe, but that among those non-European peoples with whom anthropologists are, according to Professor Radcliffe-Brown, solely concerned (Presidential Address to Section H. *Proc. Brit. Assoc.*, 1931, p. 20), the most foolish beliefs and cruellest rites must be preserved, because 'each element (*sc.* in a culture) has a definite function in relation to the whole.' (*ib.* p. 19)

Those of us who have lived among and worked with savages know that, although handicapped by a heritage of superstition, they are much more reason-

able and sensible people than Frazer supposed. We know also that modern anthropologists have no justification for drawing a hard and fast line between Europeans and savages, and that when they speak of 'primitive society,' 'primitive culture' and 'primitive religion,' they are speaking of things which may have existed in the remote past, but which have no existence to-day.

The difference between Europeans and savages is that the former can read and write, and the latter cannot. The difference is a very important one, since illiterate communities can have no history and no science, and are not susceptible to those cultural impacts which have given rise to all the historical civilizations. But this is merely a matter of education, and there is nothing but the lack of it to prevent such a people as the Baganda from progressing, in a couple of generations, to a condition far superior to that of the more backward European peoples.

The culture of savages, far from being homogeneous, exhibits greater differences, between one tribe and another, than those which exist between savagery and civilization. Literature apart, savages have almost every institution which is found in Europe and many which are not. They lack the ballot, but, apart from that, have every conceivable form of government—dictatorships and limited monarchies, rule of divine kings, priests or magicians, aristocracies and gerontocracies, chiefs male and female, councils of elders or warriors, patriarchy and matriarchy, and, in many cases, lack of any system of rule.

Marriage customs, again, take every conceivable form. We find strict monogamy, monogamy with rights of access, polygyny, polyandry, endogamy and exogamy, patrilocality and matrilocality, and an infinite variety of regulations as to who may or should marry whom. It is absurd to suppose that all these customs have developed naturally in response to tribal needs. They must be due to historical causes, and it is only on these lines that they can possibly be explained.

But here again we are up against the modern anthropologist. Professor Radcliffe-Brown has laid it down that 'the newer social anthropology avoids all discussion of hypotheses as to historical origins' (*op. cit.* p. 15). This means that we must abandon all hope of understanding savage cultures, for it is impossible to get to understand any social phenomenon except by tracing its origins. It is difficult to reconstruct the past of modern savagery, since it has no history, but it is by no means impossible. Far more material is available than, let us say, for prehistoric Britain, yet with the aid of historical hypotheses our archaeologists have succeeded in giving us an incomplete but nevertheless highly illuminating description of the development of culture in these islands for many centuries before the beginnings of history. The picture of Bantu culture given by anthropologists differs from that given by archaeologists as an aerial photograph of a countryside differs from the geological survey.

Another dogma of the modern anthropologists is that a savage culture is an indivisible whole. Thus

Professor Malinowski calls it 'an apparatus for the satisfaction of the elementary needs of the human organism' (*Human Affairs*, p. 215), and Professor Radcliffe-Brown says that 'this view of the unitary nature of culture is one of the most important features of the new anthropology' (*op. cit.* p. 19). The latter hopes to reach conclusions as to the 'nature' of exogamy by 'comparing the social organization, as a whole, of all the Australian tribes' (*op. cit.* p. 25). Such a hope is illusory, since it is impossible to compare complex organisms of any kind as wholes. No sane person ever tried to compare two cows as wholes. What the student does is to take some one feature, such as milk-yield or susceptibility to a particular disease, isolate it as far as possible, and then study it in a variety of specimens. It is thus, and thus only, that useful results can be obtained. However closely we may study the works of the modern anthropologists, we shall come to no conclusion, except that the Bongabonga live as they live, and the Waggawagga live somewhat differently. The so-called modern anthropology is thus a still-born science, and as the cultures which alone it permits itself to study disappear, so will the possibility of its ever becoming anything else.

It must be realized that savage cultures are bound to disappear, and that something must take their place. Our civilization, with all its faults, is the best thing that we know, and we are in duty bound to impart it, as far as we can, to our subject peoples. If we do not set to work deliberately to instil its best features, there will be a gradual infiltration of its worst. It seems to me that the proper task of anthropology is to promote the civilization of the savage. It is nonsense to talk about allowing Africans to develop African culture, for there is no such thing as African culture. There is a vast number of African cultures, but these have nothing in common except that they are based upon tribalism, and tribalism is a backward condition which ought to disappear, and is disappearing, together with all the institutions which are based upon it. But the process of Europeanization must take some time, and our first task should be to decide which savage institutions should be abolished at once, and which should be allowed to continue during the period of transition. Some institutions, such as human sacrifice, have already been abolished, but there are many as to which there is no consistent policy, because they have never been scientifically studied.

As an example, let us take polygyny. Is it desirable to permit it? On this, as upon all such questions, the opinion of the modern anthropologist is valueless, because it has to be based upon a circular argument; polygyny exists because there is a need for it, and the fact of its existence demonstrates the need. A scientific anthropologist would approach the question differently. He, or preferably she, would start by ignoring all considerations other than the happiness of the women concerned. The men could be ignored, because most of them must in any case be monogynous. If, after studying a large number of tribes, she found that as a general

rule polygynous women are happier than monogynous women, the problem would be solved. If not, she would have to compare the disadvantages of polygyny and of compulsory celibacy, and strike a balance. She might then conclude, let us say, that polygyny should be permitted except where there are careers open to unmarried women. Such a conclusion, based not upon a prejudice in favour of savage institutions, but upon a scientific study of the facts, might command the respect of the Colonial Office.

As another example, let us take Indirect Rule. In a speech in the House of Lords, I once ventured to compare the system of Indirect Rule in Nigeria with that of Native State rule in India. The spokesman for the Colonial Office scornfully denied that there was any analogy between the two. This was because it is a dogma of the Colonial Office that Indirect Rule was never thought of, till it sprang from the brain of Lord Lugard, like Athena from the head of Zeus, to become a panacea for all the ills of colonial administration. In fact, however, it is one of the oldest forms of government known to history. It is also probably the least stable, since the larger sub-states always tend towards independence, and the smaller to be absorbed in the principal state. It found a place in many ancient empires, including the Roman; the kingdom of Herod is a well-known example. Its principle is always the same, namely that the ruler of the principal state delegates a part of his sovereign powers. It is thus the opposite of federation, in which independent states combine to confer certain overriding powers upon a central authority. It is notorious that the system of Indirect Rule has been applied by our Colonial Office both wisely and unwisely, and most valuable work might be done by an anthropologist who could make a thorough study of the subject, both historically and in its present-day manifestations, and lay down the conditions under which it can be expected to succeed.

There are many more problems which anthropologists might help to solve—problems affecting not merely savages but the whole human race; problems of religion, of education of government, of sex relations and of social co-operation. Before they can tackle these, however, they will, in the first place, have to abandon the fallacy that savages and their cultures are quite different from Europeans and their cultures. In the second place they will have to realize that in such sciences as physics, geology, and biology, hypotheses about the past and speculation about the future play a large part, and that anthropology cannot become a science unless it follows their example. Finally, they must also realize that the ultimate aim of all science is the betterment of the human race, and that one of the ways in which this can most readily be brought about is by the abolition of tribalism, which, with its derivative nationalism, is the greatest obstacle to progress.

As no formal record was made of the discussion following Lord Raglan's paper, the above summary

has been sent to speakers, with a request for their comments; and also to some who were unable to be present. The following comments have been received:—

Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

37 No one should object to fair and reasoned criticism, but this address, in spite of some useful suggestions, appears to me to contain unnecessary provocation and misleading generalizations. To hold up 'the modern anthropologist' (whatever that may mean) to ridicule is to bring anthropological science into contempt, and is a disservice to all who are concerned with it or can benefit from its works.

Much of Lord Raglan's attack is directed specifically at the 'Functional School' and Professor Radcliffe-Brown, and they may be left to defend themselves against what certainly seems to me an unfair presentation of their current views. It may, however, be pertinent to recall the considered opinion of a Past President of this Institute, who had both practical experience and a judgment unclouded by adherence to any particular academic school. In his presidential address entitled 'anthropology and the Practical Man' (1934) the Rev. Edwin Smith said: 'I regard the rise of the 'Functional School as the most promising development in recent years . . . Functional Anthropologists do not despise or ignore history; they only ask that it be history and not a mere guessing of the past . . . It requires no argument to show that such a method of study supplies precisely what the practical man needs.' Evidently opinions differ as to the practical value of Functional Anthropology. It would be fairer to judge it by its fruits, than by some of its more extremist pronouncements; and Malinowski's disciples have already a large body of published work to their credit, the practical value of which can hardly be in dispute.

But why equate 'the modern anthropologist' with the Functional School? There are other modern schools, as well as individualists, in anthropology both in Great Britain and other European countries, not to mention America. Insofar as Lord Raglan includes all of these in his sweeping denunciation, for ignoring the value of historical and evolutionary studies, he is tilting at windmills of his own creation. Many of them have never doubted the value of such studies.

Further, he tells us that modern anthropologists divide mankind into two entirely separate species, European and Savage, which have nothing in common. This is a travesty of the facts. My own experience of current anthropological views has been quite the reverse, and one might refer to a characteristic expression of such views in chapter IV of J. H. Driberg's *At Home with the Savage* (1932): 'By their works shall ye know them, and if action counts for anything it proves very conclusively that human nature is much the same the world over, and that there is nothing in primitive mentality which differentiates it essentially from ours' (the italics are mine). Since Mr. Driberg has been for

many years a lecturer in anthropology at one of our leading Universities, his views may be presumed to have had some influence on 'modern anthropologists.'

When Lord Raglan states that the chief difference between European and Savage man is in the matter of literacy, and objects to the use of the word 'primitive,' he is in close agreement with recent practice in our universities, which have for some time approved the substitution of the term 'pre-literate' (I should prefer 'non-literate') for 'primitive.' But, after all, such distinctions are not vitally important, provided that the terms we use are clearly defined.

There are other statements in this address which seem to me to overshoot the mark, such as that there is 'nothing common in African cultures except that they are based on tribalism,' and that 'it is nonsense to talk about allowing Africans to develop 'African culture.' But discussion of such subjects, in which there is certainly room for differences of opinion, would, I fear, lead us far beyond the limits permissible in MAN.

Professor J. H. Hutton.

38 No one could fail to find points of agreement with passages in Lord Raglan's communication, but some disclaimer does seem to be called for on the part of social anthropologists, and at any rate I bear the label of one, though it is true that my field-work was done in the guise of an administrator.

No one will cavil, I suppose, at Lord Raglan's view of the ultimate purpose of all science, and I personally, at any rate, agree entirely that hypotheses about the past and speculation about the future are no less appropriate to anthropology than to any other science. If some anthropologists of the 'functional' school avoid 'all discussion of 'hypotheses as to historical origins,' that is not to say that all anthropologists are nowadays tarred with that brush, though even so I would point out that anthropologists of the functional school do attempt to extract from their study of social functions conclusions on which to formulate (as I think, misguidedly) laws of human behaviour in society, in the knowledge of which future development may be controlled (*vide* Piddington's editing of Williamson's *Essays in Polynesian Ethnology*).

Lord Raglan's contemptuous reference to Frazer is uncalled for. Frazer was very much concerned indeed with the historical approach to anthropology, and in the thirty-five or so volumes of his works which I have read through I do not recall anywhere that misrepresentation of savage intelligence of which Lord Raglan accuses him, and I feel inclined to suggest to Lord Raglan that he should re-read Frazer's lecture on the Scope of Social Anthropology, for example, and his review of Lévy-Bruhl's *Primitive Mentality*.

I agree emphatically with Lord Raglan that the administrator has a better opportunity of collecting facts, but he is not always as well equipped for collecting them as a trained anthropologist. Person-

ally I started to collect facts before I started to study anthropology as a science; ever since I got any distance in that study I have not ceased to deplore innumerable opportunities lost in the field through not knowing exactly what to look for when I began.

I agree again that science consists in the formulation of laws. But it cannot formulate without facts, and unlike Lord Raglan I maintain that the preliminary process of collecting and collating the necessary facts is just as important a constituent of science as the formulation itself.

It is an interesting, ingenious, and, to me, new hypothesis that the savage paints to the anthropologist a gloomy picture of his administered condition because he has already forgotten the unpleasant side of unadministered life. For some twenty years I was in almost daily contact in a practical form with long administered, newly administered, and unadministered or partly administered areas, but I am not at all sure that my experience goes to confirm Lord Raglan's suggestion. In my experience the stronger communities, whether administered or unadministered, prefer to be left without any interference, while those that are so weak that they have no hope of being able to defend themselves desire to be and to remain administered, though that does not hinder them from complaining vigorously enough of taxation or of any other inconvenience that administration involves.

Lord Raglan is anxious to impart European culture to savages. It is sufficiently well-established that the contact of western with savage cultures is often disastrous if not fatal to the savage. What a number of modern anthropologists are studying is the control of these contacts, so as to eliminate as far as possible their ill effects, by ascertaining what can safely be abolished and what must be retained, at any rate for the time being, for the welfare of tribes newly brought into contact with our civilization. If he wishes for instances, I would refer him to the work of, e.g. S. H. Roberts, Schapera, Thurnwald, and to the publications of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. There are, of course, very many others.

Dr. Lucy P. Mair.

39 Perhaps a student of social anthropology may be allowed to comment on some of the points raised by Lord Raglan in his very stimulating paper. Although modern work in this field is by no means confined to the pupils of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, Lord Raglan appears to be concerned only with them. This may justify me in limiting the scope of my comments to that group, of which I am a member.

The question whether the group of subjects commonly known as the social sciences have the right so to describe themselves has been much debated. It has to be admitted that research in these subjects cannot use the method of controlled experiment by which the natural and physical sciences collect the facts that are made the basis of their generalizations. Hence it cannot attain to the quantitatively exact results which characterize the

natural sciences. Nevertheless, it is the aim of students of these subjects to follow the basic principle of scientific study—the testing of hypotheses by observation (that is, by collecting cases)—and the standards of detailed investigation and accurate description, which the modern social anthropologist is expected to attain, grow constantly more exacting. One element in the more rigid discipline which our subject has developed in recent years has been the abandonment of speculation on matters on which no evidence is available, such as the origin of human institutions. The difference in the nature of the work done in the natural and physical sciences on the one hand, and the social sciences on the other, is sometimes indicated by calling the former 'experimental' and the latter 'observational'; and some social anthropologists go so far towards conceding Lord Raglan's point as never to call their subject a science without appending this rather clumsy adjective.

No doubt it will be a long time before we have amassed enough comparative data to establish laws of general validity, but we do not despair of this as our aim. In the meantime we hope to be of service to colonial administrators in putting at their disposal fuller information than would otherwise be available.

The claim to be able to do this is often disputed and sometimes resented by colonial officials. But it is not only social anthropologists who would question Lord Raglan's contention that the administrator is the man best placed to obtain information about native peoples. All informed observers of our colonial system, and some senior officials, have stated that frequent transfers make it impossible for most administrative officers to get to know a district well, and useless for them to learn a local language; and that a life which tends to consist of desk-work, interspersed with tours by car, limits the opportunities of studying native society to a minimum. It is quite impossible for an administrator to obtain, for example, the daily records, taken over long consecutive periods, which are now regarded as an indispensable part of an anthropologist's data. The gulf between the work of the amateur and that of the professional is growing wider just because social anthropology has become a science.

Though Lord Raglan offers to teach us scientific method his account of our work does not set us a very good example. Disregarding the considerable body of material which has been published by pupils of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, he draws an imaginary picture of what, as it appears to him, would be the logical result of basing a method of research on one or two isolated quotations from the writings of these two teachers. His conclusions are contrary to readily observable facts in a number of respects.

The ambiguity in the use of the word 'primitive' is at the bottom of many popular fallacies and some loose thinking in psychology; but the student of social anthropology is told in his first lecture that it is only a convenient word to describe many different societies which have in common the

negative characteristics that they are innocent of writing and of the use of power-driven machinery. He is not encouraged to regard primitive man as 'the antithesis of the European' or as 'a member of a homogeneous race.' Malinowski's theory of culture as 'an apparatus for the satisfaction of the elementary needs of the human organism' was applied by him to all cultures, 'savage' and 'civilized' alike. I do not see where this description of culture implies that it is 'indivisible,' in whatever sense Lord Raglan may be using that word.

Radeliffe-Brown's theory of function, which differs from that of Malinowski in making no judgments as to values, emphasizes a point on which Malinowski also insisted, the interdependence of the various elements in a culture. This is a matter of observed fact. To state it is to imply no moral valuation of any institution; but to be aware of it is of the first importance for the modern field-worker. With it in mind he will eschew Lord Raglan's recipe for the scientific study of polygamy, and will remember that that institution can be expected to have its bearing on the technique of production, the distribution of goods, the system of rank, political affiliations, and possibly other aspects of the culture concerned. Then, if the question arises whether polygamy should be suppressed—though that seems hardly the type of problem with which the modern administrator is concerned—he will be in a position to supply information on the probable repercussions of such a step. He will leave it to the administrator to decide whether this information should encourage him to give rein to his chivalrous feelings for the women of Bonga-Bonga or deter him from doing so.

It might be added that studies of marriage in polygamous societies have been published within the last five years by three women anthropologists—Dr. Audrey Richards, Dr. Phyllis Kaberry, and myself—and another—the most exhaustive—by Professor Schapera. Admittedly they do not follow Lord Raglan's principle that all considerations except one, and that an ethical one, should be excluded; but I think it would be difficult to find a worker in any branch of science who would regard that principle as scientific.

Reference to the publications just mentioned and to most of the other work published in this country, South Africa, and Australia, in the last ten years should convince Lord Raglan that he need not be afraid of the early demise of his Aunt Sally. The emphasis of the work is not on the disappearing untouched primitive culture, but on the process of change that is now going on—a subject as fertile for the study of human society in general as it is inexhaustible.

Dr. Margaret Read.

40 Lord Raglan assumes that the majority of present-day anthropologists are concerned with so-called savage society, and that all they can do in their field research is to present the facts about cultures which are fast disappearing. An increasing number of anthropologists, however, working in America, Africa, and the Far East, have

produced studies of changing cultures of just the kind that Lord Raglan advocates at the end of his article. Those of us who have been engaged in such studies, and have applied the knowledge gained to concrete problems such as education and labour migration in Africa, would not admit that 'Africans' and their cultures are quite different from Europeans and their cultures.' There is no hard and fast distinction between the problems of changing society in any continent. Anthropologists in Africa, for example, must build up some historical perspective about these changes. We should be able to state the conditions in which new changes are likely to be successful. We must assess the disruptive effects of European civilization on primitive life as well as its constructive aspects. Most important of all, we should proceed to train Africans to study our society as well as their own, so that they can share the responsibility of deciding which of their institutions should be retained and which abolished.

Professor J. L. Myres.

41 It is not very easy to discover what Lord Raglan wants. He begins with ill-founded assumptions and ends with contradictory conclusions. An anthropologist does much more than 'collect facts'; indeed, Lord Raglan seems to quarrel rather with certain theories—for it is essential to the anthropologist's work that he should look for general rules, and 'formulate laws.' If Lord Raglan does not know, or is not pleased with, what has already been formulated, then he, like 'the anthropologist,' must collect more facts, and draw fresh conclusions.

The distinction between 'anthropologist' and 'administrator' is unreal, and this invalidates Lord Raglan's whole argument. It is not, even secondarily, the function of the anthropologist to 'teach the administrator his business.' As a man of science he is concerned with nothing but the truth. If an administrator can make use of what the anthropologist finds to be true—in the field or in the study—so much the better. Moreover, it is the business of the administrator to 'formulate laws' and to enforce rules. Are there then, after all, laws of behaviour; and how does the administrator 'formulate' them, without first 'collecting facts' like a mere anthropologist? In the past, unfortunately, some administrators have attempted to do so, with unscientific and unfortunate results.

But in contending that 'the proper task of anthropology is to promote the civilization of the 'savage,' by the *Herrenvolk* methods so frankly commended, Lord Raglan destroys his case. Either it is the function of the anthropologist to teach the *Herrenvolk* administrator his business, and to teach savages European ways—or it is not. What seems to matter to Lord Raglan is whether 'the anthropologist' advocates *Herrenvolk* methods, or 'Indirect Rule.' 'Our first task should be,' he says, 'to decide which savage institutions should be abolished at once, and which should be allowed to continue during the period of transition'—a sort of Vichified savagery. But he further complains

that there are many savage institutions 'as to which there is no consistent policy, because they have never been scientifically studied.' Is he now admitting that 'savage institutions' may, after all, be 'scientifically studied'—which is what he began by denying? Or, if all that can be done about it is to 'collect facts,' whence is the administrator to derive the general principles which enable him to decide whether an institution is to be 'abolished at once,' or allowed to continue. For any 'consistent policy' presumes, not *Herrenvolk* intuition, but the 'formulation of laws' about human behaviour, on the hypothesis—which must be based on 'collected facts'—that it presents some sort of uniformities.

However, Lord Raglan ends by admitting that an anthropologist might do 'most valuable work' on such a topic as 'Indirect Rule' and 'lay down the conditions under which it can be expected to succeed.' But to 'lay down the conditions' is to 'formulate laws.' All he really wants, it would seem, is that anthropologists should 'abandon the fallacy' to which most of them are not committed, and extend their researches into the future and the past—presumably by some methods other than the field work he deprecates. So we need not take too seriously his innuendo about 'ideas acquired in the study or lecture-room,' the only source other than field-work that is open to them.

Reduced thus to a rather ill-informed attack on Frazer, Malinowski, and Radcliffe-Brown, Lord Raglan's own 'speculations about the future' of anthropology may be left to specialists, like his 'hypotheses' about its recent past. A little field-work in a good library would enable him to 'collect facts' about such anthropologists from their own works. I would only commend to him further some preliminary study of logic.

Lord Raglan, in reply :—

42 I am grateful to the Editor for the opportunity of replying to my critics, and will take them *seriatim*.

Mr. Braunholtz objects to my use of the term 'the modern anthropologist,' but in its use I merely follow Professor Radcliffe-Brown. Functional anthropologists may in theory not despise (!) history, but in practice they completely ignore the results obtained by archaeologists. As regards the last paragraph, I should have thought that it was an accepted fact that detribalization, unless accompanied by European education, leads to the complete loss of culture.

In Professor Hutton's contribution I find little to disagree with, though I am surprised that in his

reading of Frazer he has missed the numerous passages in which Frazer speaks of the savage as too stupid to distinguish between dreams and reality, living men and corpses, or men and animals. Contact with western culture may be disastrous to savages, but only if that contact consists in the supply of unlimited alcohol, or the introduction of diseases without doctors.

To Dr. Mair I would say that it is impossible for the anthropologist to advise the administrator unless he (the former) starts with a clear idea of what is the purpose of administration. If any of my critics have such a clear idea, they give no indication of it. Dr. Mair seems to think that the present function of the anthropologist is merely to provide the administrator with facts which under a better system he could more easily find out for himself. If Malinowski's theory of culture was intended to apply to all cultures, then its fallaciousness becomes even more glaring. If it were true, the only differences in culture would be those due to climate. To look no farther, what elementary need can the R.A.I. be supposed to satisfy? If Dr. Mair thinks that the administrator is not concerned with polygamy, it is clear that she has never administered an African police force. For an example, from elsewhere, I would refer her to MAN, 1931, 124.

Dr. Read says that anthropologists 'should be able to state the conditions in which new changes are likely to be successful.' I agree, but most of them are doing their best to prevent any change.

Professor Myres thinks that the scientist is concerned with 'nothing but the truth,' by which I take it he means the facts as they are. But a great scientific work, such as that of Sir Gowland Hopkins on vitamins, consists of three stages, the collection of facts, the formulation of laws, and the application of those laws to bring about human betterment. Professor Myres apparently thinks that Sir Gowland should have stopped at the second stage. From the next paragraph I gather that in Professor Myres' opinion the action of the Government of India in suppressing *suttee* and *thuggee* was Hitlerism at its worst, and he would no doubt approve the policy in British Somaliland, where blood-feuds are unchecked. In most colonies they are suppressed. In my district I did my best to suppress them, and I regard it as scandalous that they are permitted anywhere. I am unable to admire ignorance, superstition, and cruelty, even when they form part of the sacrosanct culture of the Bonga-bonga, and I find it difficult to regard them with scientific detachment. It is my belief, and I speak from some experience, that the more indirect 'Indirect Rule' is, the more it tends to preserve the worst features of savagery.

REVIEWS.

PSYCHOLOGY.

The Idea of the Soul in Western Philosophy and Science. By William Ellis, Ph.D., Lecturer in Experimental Zoology, Liverpool University. London: Allen and Unwin, 1940. 314 pp. Price 12s. 6d. net.

This book attempts an answer to two closely related questions: first, 'what is the idea of the soul?', secondly, 'why has it become unwelcome' among modern philosophers and among men of science? To answer the first, the actual historical development of the idea of the soul is traced from 'primitive' notions and early myths, through classical antiquity to Renaissance philosophy. Secondly, the idea of the soul, as it is presented by Descartes and his successors, is considered as it is affected by modern scientific ideas, and particularly by biological ideas.

The first sections, on the 'physical psyche, and the cult of the soul,' have a special interest for anthropologists, because they pass a little beyond the book's title, to review non-European notions, or, rather, the interpretations of them by European writers imbued with western ideas, from Tylor to Crawley; the latter, with his conception of 'holopsychosis' coming near to the presentation with which Dr. Ellis himself eventually leaves us. Another instructive paragraph deals with 'holophrastic' languages, in which the whole of a complex sequence of sounds 'means' the whole of a complex mental motion, without possibility of analysis into what western grammarians call 'parts of speech,' which can be constructed or 'construed' in various groupings without losing their respective meanings.

Western psychology, however, begins with early Greece, where a fairly primitive 'soul' which is hardly even alive, has 'no moral responsibility or indeed no power of any kind' during this life: we recall the soul of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, which appeared after death and was 'horribly like him.' Into this simple world came the foreign and extraordinary cult of Dionysus, in which the soul was no mere shadow-image of the individual, but 'a captive God which can be freed from the body in orgiastic dance.' It would be a separate and instructive task to trace the antecedents and parallels to this other notion, outside Greek lands, and also to the concept of 'purification' by *katharsis*, 'deliberately heightening' inner disquiet till it spends itself in action, especially through music and dance. The Orphic cult in the sixth century gave Dionysiac dualism a moral aspect: *katharsis* effecting the release of the 'soul' from its inorganic and organic tenement, into immortality, divinity, reality. Employing the popular word for 'breath,' *psyche*, to denote what was thus released, and (like non-European 'animists') peopling the world with such entities, and the world as a whole with a 'world-soul,' Ionian thinkers set out on the double quest for a psychology and a metaphysic: what was it that made living beings *live*, and made existing things *exist*?

Out of the speculations of Ionian 'physicists,' Dr. Ellis shows how two contrasted outlooks emerged—Pythagorean with its discovery of abstractions and mathematical forms, immanent in external nature, and Socratic with moral forms, immanent in human nature; and how Plato effected the synthesis of them, neither exclusively scientific nor exclusively ethical, and gave perspective and solidity to the conceptual 'forms' by

his doctrine of 'reminiscence,' which links past and present in a time-series, eternal both backwards and forwards.

From the special point of view, the depreciation of Aristotle is intelligible, though it gives an inadequate view of his scientific activity, and stresses those aspects in which his philosophical work falls short of that of Plato. Stoicism too is treated less as a system of thought than as a way of living under the tumultuary political conditions which resulted from Alexander's conquests: its weakest exponent, Marcus Aurelius, is also its most popular. Pauline Christianity, too, is presented as an 'attitude of mind' rather than a philosophical theory. The significance of Philo, on the other hand, is emphasized, as a reconciler of Hebrew with Greek philosophy, and especially as utilizing the old Greek notion of the 'Word' (*Logos*) as first principle, to be an immaterial 'essence,' like a Plutonic 'form,' intermediary between the sensible 'world' and God. The *Logos*, translating the Hebrew 'Word of God,' became a 'first creature' of God, and was identified with archetypal man. In Christian thought this synthesis of Greek and Hebrew, logic and mysticism, proceeded on essentially Platonic lines, and was formulated (though with Aristotelian qualifications) by Augustine, only just in time to pass forward this last phase of classical thought through the migration period into the Carolingian renaissance. Considering the rigid limits imposed by Dr. Ellis on this part of his enquiry, this retrospect of the main tendencies and problems of ancient philosophy is very well done. In regard to Christianity, it may be supplemented and criticized with another recent book, C. N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, Oxford, 1940.

There is, however, one really shocking blemish, the illiterate treatment of Greek words. If a philosopher or a classical scholar 'added verisimilitude,' like Pooh-Bah, to a statement about 'sulphuric acid' by adding the symbols ($H^+SO_4^-$), we might leave unprinted Dr. Ellis' reaction to such an atrocity. The explanation might be the author's pretentiousness—for there is no need to print these symbols at all—or the incompetence of the publisher's reader. But the offence would raise an uncomfortable doubt whether the author's knowledge of the subject was first hand. As an exercise in decipherment, the following, from Dr. Ellis, will serve: *vóus* (p. 28) and *vóus* (p. 124) for 'consciousness'; *τὰντα* (p. 46) for 'all'; *χώρα* (p. 96) for 'space'; *σπερματός* (p. 102: I give this up!); *ἐντελέχεια* (p. 225). 'Poitidea' (p. 65) shows that this sloppiness is ingrained. Yet Latin, German, and French words are correct.

It is an interesting observation that, on the whole, it was the Pythagorean scientific element in Plato, that impressed Moslem thinkers, and the Socratic that impressed mediæval Christians, at all events in the West. But the 'new learning' came to Nicolas of Cusa and Pico della Mirandola from Constantinople; and the West had always had the *Timæus* in a Latin version. The parallel between Descartes' *cogito ergo sum* and the *quod si fallor, sum* of Augustine is also significant. With Descartes, however, begins a second main phase in the 'history of the soul,' wherein the new interest in experimental science fashions one implement after another to dissect back the frontier between 'animal mechanism' and the other partner in dualist metaphysics, whether it occupied the pineal gland, as Descartes

supposed, or was distributed among 'areas' of the cerebral cortex. Main stages, for Dr. Ellis, are Loeb's elaboration of Descartes' own method and argument in regard to geotropism, heliotropism, and the like; Pavlov's conception of 'conditioned reflexes,' and explanation of 'attention'; Watson's interpretation of memory as the 'retention of habit,' reintroducing in biological guise the Platonic *anamnesis*, and making use once again of the significant analogy of linguistic 'holophrases'; Driesch's vitalist rehabilitation of 'entelechy' as in Aristotle, with which is appropriately compared Clark Maxwell's 'molecular demon' (p. 227); Child's work on metabolic symmetry; and finally Lashley's insistence on the potentialities of the brain-cortex as a whole, by experimental disproof of the 'localization of functions' which was fashionable a generation ago: it is now the *amount* of a lesion, not its *position*, that matters.

All this leads up to what may be taken as Dr. Ellis' own suggestions, very tentative, and designed rather to provoke further research at crucial points than to foreclose any avenue to truth dogmatically. The organism is a 'teleological unity.' No causal connexion is possible between physical and psychical, in the sense accepted since Descartes, whose hypothesis 'presumes belief in a miracle.' Going back to the Dionysiac experiences of early Greeks, the *psyche* emerged as an integral part of human experience, hypostatized—almost personified; and it was the spiritual and corporeal dualism of Pythagoras and Socrates that was reformulated by Descartes. But what does the epiphenomenalist mean by 'matter'? And what does the idealist mean by 'mind'? Cannot both be conceived as complementary effects or modes of some more ultimate cause or substance? Far on into mediaeval thought, 'nature' was not un-alive; 'spirit' was immanent in 'nature,' as with Heraclitus. Teleological conceptions also are not limited to living things, they are applicable at all events to the *pre-living* world, and so to the *non-living*. Once again the conception of *time*, already encountered in dealing with the 'conditioned reflex,' leads to the view of any conscious organism as historically conditioned; and by an ingenious series the notion of 'sensitivity' as a general property of material things is widened to include response to heat, electricity, and gravitation itself; and 'perception' in the Baconian sense is distinguished from organic 'sensation.' We are left with the conception (again based on the time-factor) of 'matter' as momentary and frustrated 'mind,' which in time enters 'hierarchically' into Nature, 'transforming the merely epochal into the enduring or psychical.'

This attempt to show 'how a biological concept of 'life may provide an observational basis for metaphysics' brings many lines of fruitful thought together into a coherent system, and leads to the hope that Dr. Ellis may some day elaborate his ideas on the same or consequent lines.

JOHN L. MYRES.

The Psychology of Fear and Courage. By Edward Glover. London: 'Penguin Special, 577': 1940. 128 pp.

This little book is based on broadcast talks, and contains much sound advice and trained observation, of practical value to anthropologists. Towards the end of it the author confesses his intention: 'believing that victory or defeat depends on the state of our morale, and knowing that morale can be weakened by unreal fear, suspicion, hate, superstitiousness, and guilt, I set out to describe how these more childlike emotional factors can be held in check, provided, of course, we recognize them in good time'; and most of the book is occupied with detailed examination of these unrealities, and simple detection and demolition of them. 'But with the best will in the world,' he goes on, 'I found myself caught up in the larger issues . . . the state of our morale depends ultimately on those world forces which set nations at each other's throats or keep continents at peace. Our war aims are determined in the long run by these vast forces. Our morale depends on our war aims'; and he has no difficulty in making the point that 'a good war aim must be derived in part from the forces of love.' But why 'in part'? Proceeding in his search for ideals, he rejects those which fail to unite, because they overstep this or that barrier to unity. Political, religious, and other widely-accepted ideals have their own drawbacks. Freedom for the individual from all 'undue influence' has a more universal appeal, and historically has been 'the most remarkable achievement of our democratic tradition'; freedom of action in turn presumes that freedom of thought, which is *Truth*; and all freedom repeats the social injunction 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' and 'claim for him the same elementary rights that you claim for yourself': *to stand from fear set free*.

J. L. M.

A Bibliography of Psychological and Experimental Aesthetics, 1864-1937. By Albert R. Chandler and Edward N. Barnhart. Berkeley, Cal. University of California Press. 1938. (Cambridge University Press.) Quarto. 190 pp. Price 9s.

This will be an invaluable book of reference for workers in a large range of special subjects, where the literature is unusually scattered. It is classified under general and special headings; among the latter are aesthetic response, talent, and creation; colour, lines, poems, and pictures; empathy (the German *Einfühlung*), language-arts, humour, and music. The order is odd, and some of the subheadings are quaint: 'racial colour preferences' has nothing to do with 'colour-bar.' Psycho-analytical works are excluded, and a few other categories which are recorded elsewhere. The initial date is that of Fechner's first paper on the 'golden section.'

There is an index of authors, and an appendix the brevity of which shows how thoroughly the main record has been made.

J. L. M.

AFRICA.

Marriage and the Family among the Yakö in South-Eastern Nigeria. By Daryll Forde. London School of Economy and Political Science: Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 5. 1941. Price 5s.

Daryll Forde has already described, in 'Kinship in Umuor,' *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, the bilateral emphasis in the Yakö kinship system—its 'double unilateral organization,' to use his term. In this semi-Bantu tribe, patrilineal descent determines a

man's membership of the major territorial group—the Kepun—and its subgroup, the lineage group—the Eponama. It also gives residential and farming rights in the village. Matrilineal descent, on the other hand, determines succession to property and to certain ritual duties and privileges.

Forde has also mentioned, though he has never yet described so fully, the age-set system of the Yakö which forms their second major principle of social grouping. By this system the men and women of a ward, composed

of several patrilineal clans, are grouped together into age-sets, these latter being subdivided into 'age-mates,' a smaller group which is usually, but not always, limited to members of one patrilineal clan.

In the present monograph, Forde analyses the institution of marriage in relation to these two major principles—the vertical grouping based on descent, and the horizontal based on age—or, perhaps, it would be more accurate to speak of three principles, since a man owes obligations to his matrilineal kinsmen as well as to his patrilineal.

Mating rules, as he shows, are determined by clan affiliations, since marriage is prohibited within the patrilineal clan, and is rare within the matrilineal. But the rules governing pre-marital relationships are rather determined by the age-ties, since a young man can only flirt with one girl in each age-set. But in the description of marriage ritual which forms the bulk of the paper, Forde stresses the unexpected importance of the age-group as distinct from the descent-groups. Age-mates help the bridegroom to complete his work for his father-in-law; those of the bridegroom's father help him with the feast. The bride's age-mates help her to collect the firewood for which she is responsible, and those of her mother and father also play an active part and share the many ritual obligations of their mates. At the clitoridectomy rite the girl's mates make a payment to the boys. In fact, Forde goes so far as to say that 'neither the matrilineal nor the patrilineal kin of the bride are, as social units, concerned in the marriage rituals.'

That a strongly developed age-set system should leave its imprint on the institution of marriage is natural, and it occurs in other societies where age is an important principle of social structure. But that it should obliterate the ritual expression of kinship ties is so unusual that one cannot help wondering, on the basis of this material, whether Forde has not somewhat exaggerated the dominance of the age-set.

It is true that the age-mates of each chief actor in the ceremony stand by them at every stage in the rite, supporting them and representing them. They are their true 'social equivalents'. Yet, throughout the ceremony, it is the kinsmen proper who are mainly concerned with the marriage payments. The maternal relatives of the bride share the marriage payment and are responsible for returning it in case of divorce; the relatives of the bride's father and mother make contributions to the feast, the father's patrilineal clansmen help to build the young couple's house, and provide mats for the roof. The members of the matrilineal clan repay the debts incurred by the age-mates. Further, it must be remembered that it is the age-mates who are affected, not the age-set, and age-mates are usually members of the same patrilineal clan. Thus the age-group in actual fact coincides very closely with the descent group, and there is no hard and fast distinction between the two sets of ties.

Forde makes another point of interest, when he stresses the transitory nature of the family-grouping, i.e. the father-mother children group. Yakö kinship, he maintains, does not originate in the family, as has been asserted in most of the recent anthropological studies; nor is the family the nuclear kinship-unit from which larger units are built up. It is merely a domestic association between the man and the woman, which the children born to them enter at birth and normally leave at marriage. The individual family is composed of two distinct unilateral groups—the father and the children, and the mother and the children, and these two overlapping groups are the permanent units which last throughout a man's life. It is an instructive exercise to look at the family from this point of view, particularly

since the genetic approach adopted by Malinowski and others has naturally laid its greatest emphasis on the initial situation of kinship, and therefore on the strength of the ties of the father-mother-child group into which each individual is born. Forde does a service in this and in his previous paper in forcing us to adopt for a moment the legal fiction by which the primitive man can, and does, express his identification with these two distinct groups—his patrilineal and his matrilineal kin. There is not doubt that the distinction is greatest in the case of peoples like the Ashanti, the Bemba, and the Yakö themselves, where the dual sets of kinship obligations are not only clearly defined, but also almost equally strongly marked.

But even from the extreme legalistic point of view the union of man and woman in marriage does not produce a social group *in vacuo*, but unites the two individuals to two sets of relatives on either side. These ties exist and persist apart from the birth of children. Throughout the Yakö marriage ceremony the paternal and maternal relatives of bride and bridegroom play an important part. Surely it is an artificial abstraction to regard them as four sets of people who happen to be performing their duties on the same day, and not as members of permanently and closely linked groups. After marriage the bridegroom may leave the domestic unit of the family, but his relations to his parents are not severed by this step. He visits their household, and may send his children to be brought up by them. To say the family disappears at the marriage of the children, is to ignore the strong and permanent grandparent-children tie, and also the fact that even among the Yakö, a father has rights over his children after he is divorced from his wife. Apart from the legal aspect, it surely remains a fact that from the point of the Yakö baby, or of the child of any other cultural group, the father-mother-child group is the nuclear unit, and the bilateral family is a psychological reality long before the unilateral extensions of kinship, and the obligations due to patri-kin and matri-kin are learnt by the child.

A girl's initiation ceremony, which is part and parcel of the marriage ritual, is another characteristic feature of this interesting ritual. Forde points out that this ceremony, among the Yakö, is a 'nubility rite, the expression of the passage of a nubile girl to the status of wife and prospective mother.' This neatly summarizes the probable function of the female initiation-rites among the matrilineal peoples of N. Rhodesia, and some of the tribes of the N. Transvaal, and distinguishes these tribes from the East African age-grade peoples with male as well as female initiation-rites.

The influence of European values, whether religious or economic, on Yakö marriage seems to be very slight, although it is of interest that modern conditions have caused a reduction in the bride-price instead of an increase, as is more usual.

Forde's material, collected by means of a series of family histories in one village, is very rich and valuable. It includes a number of tables giving vital statistics, marriage payments, divorce histories, the frequency of pre-marital pregnancies, etc.—a type of data that makes possible a quite new standard in the study of primitive marriage institutions.

A. I. R.

Plan for Africa. By Rita Hinden. With an introduction by A. Creech Jones, M.P. London: Allen & Unwin, 1941. 223 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

Dr. Hinden makes a plea for a new economic policy in Africa. Capital for social services—transport, public health, education, control of tsetse fly, and soil erosion—must be provided by the Imperial Government in the form of free grants, or at least at a nominal rate

of interest. The expenditure of £50 million in West Africa and the same amount in East Africa 'could change the face of Africa within a decade.' This is not an extravagant sum in view of the fact that Parliament has already approved the expenditure of £50 million in the colonial empire over a period of ten years. Mineral resources must be taken over by the State, so that their profits may be used for the benefit of the territory to which they belong. A diversified economy must be developed so that the native populations are no longer, as at present in some cases, dependent on the proceeds

of their export trade for even such basic necessities as food. To illustrate her case she describes in some detail the present condition of two colonies, Northern Rhodesia and the Gold Coast.

Dr. Hinden does not discuss the sociological implications of the lightning transformation which she envisages. She might perhaps argue that the social stability of most African peoples has already been shattered by an alien impact which has so far brought with it too little compensating advantage. Her case for an energetic constructive policy is unanswerable. L. P. MAIR.

AMERICA.

Dating of certain Inscriptions of Non-Maya Origin.

48 By J. Eric S. Thompson. *Theoretical Approaches to Problems*, No. 1: Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington D.C., U.S.A., 1941. 85 pp. and 19 figs.

The *Theoretical Approaches to Problems* are a new series of Carnegie publications, and will be welcomed by all students. The objects of this series are set out by Mr. Thompson in the preface. The increasing quantities of data make it desirable that some attempt to outline tentative solutions should, as he says, be made 'not for the purpose of supplying the final answers, but of stimulating research,' and that although such reconstructions are ordinarily particularly dangerous to the reputations of those who make them, yet progress in our field is largely through trial and error. Such papers counteract the tendency to over-specialization, which is now apparent, in contrast to the great writers of the nineteenth century.

The present paper is stimulating indeed, and will no doubt produce keen controversy, which is all to the good. The starting-point is provided by the discovery by Dr. M. W. Stirling in Southern Vera Cruz of inscriptions with bar and dot numerals, but without period-glyphs. Stirling read one of these as an initial series date in the Maya Cycle 7 and the other as an initial series in Cycle 9. A very doubtful initial series with similar notation has been found in the Pacific slope region of Guatemala. Thompson easily proves that none of these can be conclusively proved to be initial series, and he holds that

they are not Maya at all. Not content with that, he attacks the famous Tuxtla Statuette. Though Bowditch doubted the interpretation of this inscription, yet it is now the official view of Maya students that it is a Maya initial series, and is the oldest historical one. Now Thompson contends that it is neither an initial series nor even Maya.

He thinks that all these inscriptions, including the Tuxtla Statuette, are of Pipil origin, and date from about A.D. 1100-1450. In support of his thesis he brings forward a large quantity of stylistic and ceramic data which seem to be strong evidence in his favour. He also receives some support from the traditions recorded by the early Spanish writers. On the subject of the inscriptions he is not quite so convincing, as his argument is rather negative than positive, but this is not the place to enter into the question, which will no doubt be keenly fought. However, students will do well to preserve an open mind on account of the weight of his other evidence.

One may suggest that the ages of old men, mentioned by Torquemada as used by the Pipil, are probably the *huchueliztli*, 'old age,' of the Aztec, a word which was used as a technical term for the period of 104 years, that is, two calendar rounds, not for one calendar round as the author thinks. The Pipil language was a dialect of Aztec.

Mr. Thompson is to be congratulated on this very original and thought provoking essay.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

NORTH AMERICA.

Evidences of Early Occupation in Sandia Cave, New Mexico, and other Sites in the Sandia-Mexico Region.

49 By Frank G. Hibben. *Correlation of the Deposits . . . with the Glacial Chronology*. By Kirk Bryan. *Smithsonian Miscell. Collections*, Vol. 99, No. 23. Washington, 1941. 64 pp., with 15 plates.

Excavation by the University of New Mexico from 1936 to 1940 has brought to light important evidence of the sequence of early cultures in New Mexico. The Sandia Cave, high on the escarpment flank of Las Huertas Canyon east of Albuquerque, N. Mexico, contains the following sequence of deposits: below a recent layer with painted pottery of Pueblo III-IV-V styles, a solid travertine deposit, representing a moist period, sealed a typical 'Folsom' floor, representing a dry phase. Below this comes a laminated ochre, from another humid period, covering an earlier occupation-layer, with hearths, characteristic implements, and such animals as horse, bison, camel, mastodon, and mammoths. In Manzano Cave, in the same area, a similar deposit was found, beneath a subsequent layer, 'later than Folsom' and equated with that of Gypsum Cave, Nevada.

The Sandia implements have Solutrean features which challenge further research. The extinct mammal species indicate the last phases of the Wisconsin glaciation; and

horizons roughly corresponding with both Folsom and Sandia culture have been described from southern and eastern Siberia, though not yet from north-eastern. But in the absence of intervening record, it is not necessary to connect such New World cultures with Asiatic or European. Essentially these New World cultures are 'blade-making' cultures with rudimentary notions of pressure-plating as well. Generically they are Upper Palaeolithic, but have no more precise connexion with Asiatic or European cultures.

Both writers state their facts and conclusions clearly, and independently, and Dr. Bryan makes some observations on the deposition of cave-strata which are of general application. What has to be explained is the contrast between the ochreous deposit between the two culture-layers, and the stalagmite above them.

J. L. M.

The Puyallup-Nisqually. By Marian W. Smith. *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology* XXXII. New York, 1940.

50 This is an account of the now extinct culture of an Indian tribe living in a reservation on the Puget Sound, Washington, U.S.A. The society of these Indians was clearly related to their environment very closely,

and individuals adopted the pattern of the society of one or other of their parents, under conditions strongly coloured by suspicion and fear in almost all human relations. Status within the society was achieved rather than ascribed or inherited; slaves did exist inside the society, but were excluded from the social struggle for prestige. The concept of power, as a force external to the individual, but one which he could and should receive or obtain, was the predominating influence in religious and social life, and shamans were of great importance, though they did not acquire wealth. Totemistic conceptions seem to have been present, and disease was treated by herbal remedies as well as by shamanistic practices. A secret society of dubious reputation existed for the exercise of certain powers. Generally speaking, the possession of power by an individual was demonstrated by singing, a person's 'power sing' having a motivation analogous to that of the 'potlatch,' though the latter had here a different setting, involving definite invitations to strangers of importance, not associated with the 'power sing.'

Property was divisible roughly into three categories—personal, which was buried with the owner; heritable, which remained after his death in the possession of his family and consisted of articles necessary to existence; and 'excess' property, which was distributed. Dis-

tinctive terms existed for the exchange of one article for another of the same kind, for the exchange of an article for one of a different kind, for payments for material services, for payments for services rendered by shamans, and so forth. Marriage was exogamous, and the preferred type involved an exchange of property between the parents of the parties and also the obligation of a participating family to supply a second spouse in case of the death of the first. The relationship system was bifurcate in type, but for some categories the generation type of term was used. Strict seclusion in separate huts was required of women during menstruation. Precautions were taken to safeguard the supply of game and conserve food supplies generally. Dug-out canoes were made of cedar, and the same tree supplied pliable bark for clothing. Dogs' wool and nettle fibre were used to spin yarn for textiles.

This account of the Puyallup-Nisqually is careful and thorough, and deals at length with both the social and material culture of the tribe, affording a valuable picture of an extinct mode of life, carefully documented as to sources of information, whether surviving members of the tribe or written authorities. The Columbia University is to be congratulated on this addition to its important series.

J. H. H.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

The Excavation of a Large Earthen Ring-fort at Garranes, Co. Cork. By Seán P. Ó Riordáin. *From Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, XLVII, Section C, no. 2 (1942). 77-150 pp., XII-XXIII plates, and 1-25 figs. Dublin (Hodges, Figgis), London (Williams & Norgate), 1942. 8vo. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

This fort, known as Lisnacaheeragh, and situated on the upland fold of Old Red Sandstone between the Lee and Bandon basins, is that identified by O'Mahony as Ráth Raithleann, in Irish literary sources the seat of the Uí Eachach branch of the Eoganachta rulers of Munster, whose founder Eochu, grandson of Core king of Cashel, came here south-westward across the Galty hills about or soon after the middle of the fourth century A.D. It is a ring-fort of 360 feet overall diameter, with three banks and ditches and a complicated entrance. Of these features Professor Ó Riordáin's excavation furnishes the archaeological reader with an excellent account. The interior, where structural traces were unfortunately ill-preserved, provided interest of another kind: it had been occupied by an industrial group of metal-workers, whose stone and clay moulds, crucibles and other metallurgical remains, iron tools and other products, millefiori glass, and bronzework make a most illuminating assemblage. The leading piece is the tinned and enamelled bronze button, with beautiful triskele design in reserved metal, which by its style indicates that in the early sixth century these people were in close touch with makers and users of the similarly ornamented hanging-bowls in Britain. A greater surprise was the discovery of a good deal of pottery of late Roman or sub-Roman type, which, like that at the Cornish monastery of Tintagel, was apparently imported from France, and perhaps in part locally imitated. The excavator in his *Summary*, and Dr. J. Ryan in a *Historical Appendix*, point out that the division of peoples into dynastic septa ruled out any permanent residence by the kings of Irish states, whether large or (as here) small, in the 'capital' forts associated with their kingship, which then served rather as centres of prestige and for occasional gatherings. The discovery that the Uí Eachach 'capital' was at the same time

the seat of a specialized group of skilled metallurgists is of particular interest—as neither of the authors brings out very clearly—for the light it throws on the intimate relation of metallurgy and the arts with kingly or princely power in early Celtic societies. The Garranes excavation is indeed of more than purely archaeological value.

C. F. C. HAWKES.

The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra Ugarit. By Claude F. A. Schaeffer. *Published for the British Academy, London (Milford), 1939. 9½" × 6¼". xvi+100 pp., plates, and illustrations. Price 8s. 6d.*

In the Schweich Lectures for 1936 M. Schaeffer (now capitaine de corvette in the navy of Fighting France) summarizes the results of nine seasons' excavation. He begins with what it has revealed of the history of Ugarit. This seems to have been an important city from the fifth millennium till about 1200 B.C., when it was destroyed by invaders from the north. Its period of greatest prosperity was from c. 1900-1300, especially the last two centuries.

Ugarit was a city where many cultures met. In the fourth millennium and the first half of the third, Mesopotamian influence was strong, and later it was for long periods under the suzerainty of Egypt. In the second millennium the Hurrite and Mitannian element is important. At all periods the connexion with the Aegean was close, and in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries so many artefacts of Mycenaean type are found as to convince the author that there was a large colony of Mycenaean craftsmen in the city.

A library was found, containing a great number of baked clay tablets, including writings in an alphabetic script dating at latest from the fourteenth century and therefore the earliest known. Dictionaries and other documents show that at least six languages, Phoenician, Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Hittite, and Cypriot, were in use at Ugarit at this time. The secular writings include diplomatic, commercial and medical texts, and wills. The religious texts are far more numerous, and consist largely of mythological poems dealing principally with the doings of the Canaanite gods. These poems

were discussed by Professor Hooke in his Schweich Lectures for 1935.

Texts and excavations show that the cult of the dead played an important part, and in many of the tombs are devices, similar to those found in Greece and Crete, for supplying the dead with liquid refreshment.

The description and illustrations of these very important excavations are excellent. The translation is rather too literal.

RAGLAN.

Origin of the Far Eastern Civilizations: a brief Hand-

53 book. By Carl Whiting Bishop. *Smithsonian Institution War Background Studies No. 1.* Washington, 1942. 53 pp., 12 plates, 21 text figs.

This, the first of the series of War Background Studies sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution, is devoted appropriately enough to the origins of the first of the United Nations to take the field against the Aggressor States. The author, Dr. Bishop, who requires no introduction as a contributor to Chinese archaeology, emphasizes the focal role of N. China in the cultural history of the Far East and, incidentally, the derivation and much retarded development of civilization in Japan. At the same time he is at pains to show how many of the leading elements of civilization in the Far East have been derived from the Near East and from India. Of the two main routes, the more northerly or steppe route was the one along which a number of fundamental traits reached China from the Near East, notably copper-working and sheep-herding, which first appear at its eastern terminus

in the chalcolithic cultures of Kansu and Shansi, and wheat, wheeled vehicles, and animal traction, including horse-drawn chariots (note the antler cheek-pieces, Pl. 3, 2) which come in with the full Bronze Age. On the other hand, certain traits, some of basic importance, came from India by the Burma road, notably rice-cultivation (Neolithic), the domestic fowl (Bronze Age) and, probably, iron-working (c. 500 B.C.).

The Paleolithic and, to a less degree, the Neolithic stages of Far Eastern civilization are dealt with rather summarily, as are also the opening stages of the Bronze Age, about which comparatively little is known. Fuller treatment, in which the influence of H. G. Creel's excellent book *The Birth of China* (1936) is apparent, is accorded to the mature Bronze Age, the period of the Shang and Chou dynasties, in which the Chinese civilization known to history is already firmly rooted.

The functional method of treatment is admirably adapted to the author's purpose of presenting a picture of Chinese society in ancient times to readers unacquainted with archaeological jargon. Under headings such as Social Organization, Economic Development, Trade and Transportation, Arts and Crafts, Warfare, Hunting and Religion, Dr. Bishop passes in review the leading aspects of life, helped out in the case of the later period by evidence from literary sources. The text is enlivened by line drawings and half-tone plates. There is a selected bibliography of rather over forty items. To sum up, the handbook is well written and well turned out, adapted admirably to its purpose.

J. G. D. C.

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

The Naivasha Fossil Skull and Skeleton. By L. S. B. Leakey. *Journal of the East Africa Natural History Society*, Vol. 16, 1942. Pp. 169-177.

54 This is a preliminary report on a human skeleton excavated in 1940 from a site a few miles from Naivasha. It is assigned to the closing phase of the Gamblian Pluvial period, and associated artifacts are said to resemble those of the 'Upper Aurignacian Phase "c,"

'but may prove to be a slightly later stage, as yet unnamed.' The skeleton is that of an ageing man and the skull is fairly well preserved and of *Homo sapiens* type. The cephalic index of 64 is remarkably low, resemblance to the Oldoway skull from Tanganyika is noted, while no suggestion was found of very close affinity to any other prehistoric specimens from Kenya.

G. M. M.

BIOGRAPHY.

Haddon—The Head-Hunter. By A. Hingston Quiggin. *Cambridge University Press*, 1942. xii+168 pp., 7 illustrations. Sm. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

55 The heroic figure of Alfred Cort Haddon would justify a biography of much greater substance than this volume of Mrs. Quiggin, light and readable as it is; but his admirers will be glad enough to have this tribute to him, which has appeared so commendably soon after his loss, while they wait for one of more solid and serious proportions.

In six chapters Mrs. Quiggin deals with the first twenty years of his life, his five years at Cambridge as a young man, his twenty years at Dublin, and his work at Cambridge from 1893 to 1940 (Chapters V and VI), giving a separate chapter (IV) to the Torres Straits Expeditions. The balance of emphasis in this scheme falls on the earlier years of Haddon's career and on his struggle for the recognition of anthropology in Cambridge.

While it is probably too soon to appraise with accuracy his permanent contribution to science, Haddon has perhaps occupied in Britain a position somewhat comparable to that of Franz Boas in the United States, and one may well be inclined to agree with the authoress that it is not unlikely that Haddon's gift of inspiring others, of giving them enthusiasm and of getting them to work on his own exacting lines may prove to have been his most important gift of all, even though the Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Straits set at once an entirely new standard of anthropological field inquiry and report.

In regard to the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge, Mrs. Quiggin has perhaps described Haddon's contributions in such a way that a casual reader, ignorant of the museum's history, might ascribe to Haddon the credit almost for its creation, doing an injustice thus to Baron von Hügel, and, incidentally, the reviewer feels bound to dissent from the statement that the Horniman Museum best embodied Haddon's ideal of what a museum should be. More than once when he ventured to uphold, in conversation, typographical as preferable to geographical arrangement, it was made sufficiently clear to him that such was not the view of Dr. Haddon, and that where both methods could not be used simultaneously, a geographical arrangement must be preferred.

In the Select Bibliography a list of two hundred and twenty out of over six hundred of Haddon's publications is given. It is perhaps a pity that the full list was not printed and so made readily accessible for reference. In any case the Presidential Address on 'Vestiges' to the Folk Lore Society in 1920 (*Folk-Lore*, XXXI) should certainly have been included and probably also the revised edition (1934) of the *History of Anthropology*, which differs a good deal from the original work of 1910.

Finally, one would welcome in another edition a rewording of the unfortunate opening sentence of the Preface.

But these are no doubt minor matters and Haddon has many pupils, followers, and admirers, particularly at

Cambridge, who will be grateful to Mrs. Quiggin for this account of him, which as an old pupil and a frequent collaborator she should be particularly well-qualified to

give us, and which has as its frontispiece a reproduction of the fine László portrait that adorns the Haddon Library.
J. H. H.

SOCIOLOGY.

Villages and Towns as Social Patterns. By Benoy Kumar

56 Sarkar. *Calcutta (Chuckervertty Chatterjee)*, 1941. 9½ × 6¼. xvi + 685 pp. Price Rs. 15.

Sarkar's position is that, while one group may lag behind another in certain respects, there should be no distinction between 'sociologie' and 'sociologie coloniale,' to use the French terms. He will have nothing to do with the false dichotomies of east and west, country and town. Human nature has much the same features everywhere; youthful idealism or hedonism, middle-aged realism and acquisitiveness and so on. He scorns Spengler's ideal peasant as a figment of wishful thinking. At the same time, however, he idealizes the Bengali *Swadeshi* movement of 1905. He also objects to all the theses of philosophers, theologians and sociologists who frame some scheme or other that pretends to be a final consummation. It would have been interesting to get more on this subject from an Indian thinker in view of the fact that a consummation has been such a general feature of systems of thought that have aroused enthusiasm. The long-sustained enthusiasm of the non-specialist British public for the expression of a consummation given by Handel's Hallelujah Chorus is a remarkable sociological feature; and not less remarkable is the Marxian vision of communist society and its nationalist modification in recent years in U.S.S.R. The creators of the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations, again, paid insufficient attention to the process of change, and Sarkar's essay has value in its insistence that change and struggle are likely to go on unceasingly. Creative disequilibrium is a feature of life, which is characterized by ceaseless mutual influences of living groups and their environments; each alters both the other and itself.

Sarkar attempts to discuss sociology in general, and writes with special illustrations from Indian conditions, though also with considerable knowledge of Euramerican life. He deplores the idea of 'ruling races' and thinks history sites the cemeteries of aristocracies; one might add that it records mainly the consequences of choosing the second, indeed often the third or fourth, best! The pathological condition of a ruling group that must train its muscles by tennis because it is *infra dig* to carry a half-pound parcel is held up to ridicule, and there are sharp comments on the high salaries of foreigners in India not only because of the costs to a poor country but because of the mentality it creates. And yet the author sees that the complete withdrawal of the British from India is a policy that can proceed only very gradually.

Sarkar criticizes both the Indian Congress and the Muslim League and Mahasabha, considering the two latter as parallels. He seems to share the opinion of some writers that half the Muslim population of India may be considered hostile to the League, a view that is strongly challenged in many well-informed quarters. He apparently looks to a further stage in agitation for political change in India, with labour and the poor more vocal than in the past. He also sees struggles ahead in the west and speaks of the probability of a great hegemony war in the next generation.

The book is highly discursive and not very closely knit. It uses the adjective 'totalitarian' in some places where 'total' or 'complete' would seem to be more appropriate and one has to get used to some quaint

expressions. It is, however, thoughtful and suggestive and worthy of attention by those who are interested in sociological method as well as by those who are specially concerned with India.

H. J. F.

A Demographic Study of an Egyptian Province,

57 Sharqiya. By Abbas Ammar. *Monographs on Social Anthropology*, No. 8. London School of Economics and Political Science, 1942. 96 pp.; plates, graphs, tables. Price 7s. 6d.

This important study is based on field work as well as on statistical sources. Its importance lies in that it is the first detailed regional study of the growth, distribution and condition of the Egyptian peasantry to have been published, and that it provides data for an analysis of the socio-economic problems of rural Egypt with a view to exploring the lines along which amelioration and reconstruction might be carried out. It contains little that is new in method, but is a successful combination of demographic and sociological material and provides a shrewd evaluation of census returns and vital statistics for those who wish to understand the problems and know the pitfalls of Egyptian demography. The study has been carried out with thoroughness, and combines the accuracy and objectivity of the scholar with the understanding of the national.

The province of Sharqiya occupies some 2,000 square miles of the eastern Delta and lies between Lake Manzalah and the head of the delta. Rather less than half the area is cultivated by irrigation from the Nile, using traditional crops and methods. The land is farmed in small holdings, mainly of less than one acre; the population numbered just over a million in 1937.

The analysis of the main demographic features covers the growth of population between 1882 and 1937, vital statistics, composition by age and sex, and includes useful sections on marriage, the family and the household, and economic conditions in the province. The distribution of population is treated in relation to geographical, economic and social factors and there is some discussion of the application of an optimum criterion. A brief section reviews the economic condition of the people; this subject is elaborated in a complementary paper by the author on 'Conditions of Life in Rural Sharqiya' in the *Sociological Review* Vol. 32 (1940). The work is lavishly provided with tables, graphs, and maps. Data are not available for study of biological factors such as fertility and reproduction rates, and like all first studies it suffers inevitably from lack of comparative regional data. It would have been interesting if more could have been made of comparisons between the longer-settled areas and the north-eastern areas, on the desert border, where Badw elements have become settled.

The text suffers occasionally from routine discussion of points that might well have been considered axiomatic in a monograph intended primarily for specialists. Some of the tables might have been reduced and made more valuable by sorting. The study has far more than regional value and is a significant contribution to Egyptian demography.

G. D.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Burial under Houses.

58 SIR,—We have had ample examples of burial beneath houses both in prehistoric times and among some of the backward peoples of to-day, but it may not be generally known that the custom prevailed in the South of France, to my own knowledge, until the end of the nineteenth century, and (so far as I know) may not yet be quite extinct.

On my mother's side my ancestors are from Provence and from North Italy—Protestants who fled into Switzerland to escape persecution. Among their descendants there has been a tendency to marry into other refugee families, or to marry back to the land of origin. My mother's first cousin and her sister married Frenchmen who were brothers, Eugène and Albin D.

Each possessed, and cultivated, a landed estate and a family mansion in the neighbourhood of Nîmes. Under each house was the family vault. My aunt had this cleared out and a family tomb built in the grounds in which the remains were interred and the house modernized. My cousin was not so particular. The ground floor of the house was used as cart-shed and general storage, and contained the family vault. The family lived on the first floor which was approached by stone steps outside. The top of the house was devoted to silkworm culture.

When I visited the place, my cousin Roger took me round and, as we passed the side of the house, rapped with his knuckles on the wall, and said: "Mon père est là et mon grandpère aussi!"

I had been unaware of this custom and was much amazed.

Staying at the other estate with my aunt I found that all the Protestant families in that neighbourhood either buried under the house or, in compliance with modern ideas, had a tomb in their own grounds. Walking in the neighbouring fields, I found several grave slabs by the field side.

There was at that time a newly-made Protestant graveyard. But I was told it would not be used. Everyone preferred to keep their own dead. The reason given for the custom was that at the time of the Albigenses and the Huguenots, unless the dead were buried under the house, their graves were sure to be desecrated.

The last burial under the house that I know of was that of the infant grandchild of Eugène in 1896.

On the other estate, the garden tomb was in use well into the present century. My uncle, aunt, and their daughter are all interred there.

So far as I know there have been no recent deaths in that family; but since war broke out I have had almost no news.

M. E. DURHAM.

Was there a 'Copper Age'? Cf. MAN, 1942,

59 SIR,—In MAN, 1942, 73, 74, I find the phrases 'Copper Age,' 'Metal Age,' and 'Stone Age' used by highly competent anthropologists, namely, Messrs. C. F. C. Hawkes and V. Gordon Childe. It seems not to be understood that the first use of copper belongs to the Stone Age, because to primitive man copper, found in the native metallic condition, was merely soft stone. There was no Copper Age. If by this is meant the use of copper obtained by smelting, then it forms part of the Metallurgic Age. Man's

cultural existence is divisible, I submit, into a Primordial Age (of wood, bone, shell, etc.), a Stone Age, and a Metallurgic Age. Even when the magic art of extracting metal out of stone had been discovered, and metallurgy was born, the amount of metal used in the world was small for a very long time. The making of cast-iron first brought metal into lavish and widely extended use. The metals found native on the surface of the earth, more particularly gold, copper, silver, and meteoric iron, were appreciated by primitive man, but all of them to him were only stones that could be hammered into shape without loss of substance, a quality that we now denote as malleability. The art of metallurgy marked a new era, and it began probably with the first reduction, by fire, of an oxidized copper mineral. The smelting of iron ore was long delayed by the relative difficulties of the operation, one of which was the need of a high temperature.

T. A. RICKARD.

Victoria, B.C.

An Old Pwo-Karen Alphabet: Errata. Cf. MAN, 1943, 5.

60 Owing to several printer's errors in the footnote at the end of article No. 5 (lines 3, 4, 5) I should like to restate as follows the phonetic value of some of the consonants in the table on p. 18.

No. 3. Voiced velar nasal (=ng in singer).

No. 4. Unvoiced prepalatal affricate.

No. 6. Voiced prepalatal nasal (=ñ).

No. 10. Unvoiced prepalatal fricative.

No. 14. Voiced palatal semi-vowel.

No. 19. Voiced velar fricative.

No. 21. Unvoiced uvular fricative.

No. 22. Voiced uvular fricative.

The symbol (:) lengthens the preceding vowel.

In the text on p. 17 the character repeatedly given as 6 should be replaced by consonant 10 of the alphabet.

G. MARIN.

An Unusual Flint Implement from Egypt in the Seligman Collection. Cf. MAN, 1942, 62.

61 SIR,—The flint implement discussed by Mr. Wilsher in MAN, 1943, 31, now in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford (No. 1940.12.761), is 8½ in. long and the chord of the arc is about 6 in. As he says, the marks of use are on the convex side, extending over about 2 in. at the middle of the curve. If the implement were a spoke-shave or draw-knife, one would expect these marks to be on the inside of the curve. The section of the object is diamond-like, with a high ridge on both faces, and uneven and lumpy on one face. One gets the impression that the implement was meant to be a curved knife with a thin, flat section, like the next one in the collection, No. 762, but was abandoned, as so many other of our specimens were, since the material was intractable to further flaking, because of its section and lumpiness. The abandoned tool may well have been used as a rough chopper; one often finds that tools not good enough for their original purpose are employed for rough work in another.

The flint is Egyptian. Professor Seligman's remarks about the surface simply differentiate it from the weathered palaeolithic implements. The roughed-out shape suggests the chalcolithic period.

T. K. PENNIMAN.



**MONEY-BOX MADE AT EWENNY, GLAMORGANSHIRE, AND IN-
SCRIBED HARRIET SIMPSON, JANUARY 15, 1839, RED EARTHENWARE,
WHITE SLIP, GLAZED: IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WALES**

By permission of the National Museum of Wales

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

With Plate D.

A POTTERY MONEY-BOX FROM EWENNY, GLAMORGANSHIRE. By Iorwerth C. Peate, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A., Keeper, Department of Folk Culture and Industries, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.

62 This three-sided money-box (Plate D) is of red earthenware, with white slip, and glaze. From a roughly circular base the triangular body rises in bottle-shaped form, ending in a short neck which is surmounted by a bird figure. There is a loop handle on each angle of the box, a bird figure modelled on each loop. These figures are so conventionalized that no identification is possible.

The ornamentation consists of designs incised in the white slip on to the red earthenware body before glazing and firing. The three sides, so ornamented, have respectively (a) the inscription *Harriet Simpson/Jan^{ry} 15th/1839* surrounded by dots, one row below, and two above, alternating with arc lines, the whole surmounted by a very clumsily executed conventionalized-tree pattern; (b) a circle with sexfoil pattern, each foil decorated with a row of dots, the whole surmounted by three rows of dots, an arc line and a conventionalized-tree pattern; (c) this side has centrally a vertical slot for coins, within a fan-shaped border formed by three arcs and containing also foil and dot ornamentations, all surmounted by a conventionalized-tree pattern. Under each loop-handle, series of parallel nicks have been cut into the slip for decoration, while the birds have scratch-decoration of a similar character.

The money-box has no maker's mark, but in material, shape, decoration and execution it is typically an Ewenny (Glamorganshire) production. The birds may be compared with those on the Ewenny wassail-bowls (cf. MAN, 1935, Plate F); the incised and scratch-decoration is to be found on almost all the Ewenny pottery known to me: a few years ago I saw a potter at Ewenny making, with the aid of an iron nail, similar decorations on a bowl.

For a note on the Ewenny potteries, see Chapter V of the present writer's *Guide to the Collection illustrating Welsh Folk Crafts and Industries* (National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 1935).

THE CENTENARY OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

63 In November, 1943, the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland will complete the hundredth year of continuous activity, though not under its present title. Formal celebration, under present circumstances, would be inappropriate, but the following paragraphs fitly recall the occasion. They are extracted from the Presidential Address delivered by Mr. H. J. Braunholtz in 1942, but not yet published.

'Our Society is now almost one hundred years old. In three weeks from to-day, on July 20th, it will be exactly 100 years since Dr. Richard King issued his Prospectus for the formation of the 'Ethnological Society, from which this Institute is lineally descended. There had been an "Aborigines' Protection Society," founded five years earlier with the avowed object of collecting authentic information "concerning the character, habits, and wants of the uncivilized tribes." But the union of science and philanthropy was evidently not a success; the latter predominated and, as Dr. King puts it, "the Ethnologist became disfranchised."

'In the Prospectus for his new Society Dr. King draws attention to the absence of any scientific institution for the promotion and diffusion of what he calls *the most important and interesting branch of knowledge—Ethnology*.

'By the end of 1842 only twenty-five members had enrolled, but in 1843 the Society was stimulated by Dr. Hodgkin's permission to hold meetings in his house in Brook Street, and it was in November of that year that regulations were finally drawn up and a Constitution provided.

'This should properly be regarded as its birthday, and our Centenary will thus fall in November of next year.

'This would naturally be the occasion for some ceremony, some advertisement, and a special appeal to our fellows. But it will probably be opportune to postpone any such celebration till after the war, and this consummation hardly seems to loom large in the immediate prospect.

'It is worth while to look at the objects of the Ethnological Society as defined in its Regulations.

'Article 1 states: "The Ethnological Society of London is formed for the purposes of inquiring into the distinguishing characteristics, physical and moral, of the varieties of Mankind, which inhabit, or have inhabited, the earth: and to ascertain the causes of such characteristics."

[Compare this with our own Articles and Prospectus, and with Huxley's definition of Ethnology.]

'This definition is very comprehensive, covering as it does the branches we now call physical and cultural anthropology, as well as archæo-

logy, and it corresponds closely with our present objects.

'But Dr. King goes further in his anniversary address of 1844. From the very beginning he envisages "Applied Anthropology" as one of the Society's proper functions. "To the Statesman," he says, "this Society will lend a helping hand when studying the Colonial possessions of which he is the guardian; it will form a resting place, where he will be able to meet the oppressor and the oppressed with their respective friends; that resting place being a depository of facts, which the wise man of every party never refuses, although he may use them differently."

'Dr. King points further to the Society's usefulness to missionaries and traders, and concludes that "though the Society is in working order, it requires larger funds." That has a familiar ring in our ears. So has his next suggestion for increasing its funds: "Now the . . . most natural, easy, and gratifying means for increasing funds is for each member to exert himself to procure additional members." We could do worse than take a hint to-day from our founder and first President.'

THE CRADLE OF THE 'INDO-EUROPEANS'; LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE. *By Stuart E. Mann.*

64 *[The Indo-European primitive types are here represented in a spelling which is easier to print than the one usually adopted. The apostrophe is a palatalizing mark, j and w are semivowels, ð is the IE shva, usually represented by turned e. The endings -os, -is are noun and adjective endings, -om denotes a masculine not normally occurring in the nom. sing., ð and jð are collective endings, -ā may have once denoted a collective adjective but has come to be regarded as a sign of the feminine.]*

From the blind acceptance of the 'Aryan' theory and all that it implies it is easy to swing over to the opposite view, namely that the 'Aryan' theory is a Nazi *ad hoc* invention and a myth, and that it is clear, therefore, that such a people as 'Aryans' never really existed.

This is, of course, totally wrong. That the Germanic, Slavonic, Italic, Hellenic, Indic, Celtic, and other groups of languages are all descended from one almost homogeneous original has long been known. Moreover, this can be proved by the fact that several thousands of words of the original speech have been reconstructed by scientific processes; in many cases their endings, stress and precise meaning have been established, and the reconstructed grammar

of proto-Indo-European speech even makes it possible to write the language, using simple constructions and short sentences, with a high degree of accuracy. All this we owe to the patiently accumulated studies of comparativists for the last 150 years or so. Even Dr. Johnson, in the Preface to his Dictionary, suspected that such a language as 'Indo-European' may have once existed.

It is clear, therefore, that if in prehistoric times there was a single 'Indo-European' speech, there must have been a people to speak it. Our problem is to discover who these people were, and where and how they lived. So far as we know, they have left no written records of themselves in their original home, so that the picture can only be reconstructed slowly, piece by piece, like a jigsaw puzzle, from the evidence we have at hand.

The linguistic picture is essentially a one-sided one. A more nearly perfect one could be restored if we were to pool the resources of archeology, anthropology, linguistics, and comparative folklore. The last-mentioned of these sciences is probably the least studied subject of all, yet it may prove in the end to be the most fruitful, provided, however, that folklore findings are subjected to scientific rules, and are cross-checked

by the stricter disciplines of the other three sciences. Legends, folk-tales, superstitions, annual customs and rituals, dances, children's games and nonsense rimes—all these will one day yield invaluable material.

What are the limits of linguistic interpretation? Firstly, I fear that linguistics may never yield much physiological evidence, though it is just possible that a close study of the 'Indo-European' phonological system might, in the hands of an experimental phonetician, yield some facts about the size and shape of the jaw and the cavity of the mouth. Though climate is undoubtedly the chief factor shaping the sounds of a language, the contour of the mouth certainly plays a part as well.

The first problem which arises is that of determining the cradle of the 'Indo-European' speakers. To do this I propose to deal with some of the names of wild animals, trees and plants, domestic animals, and incidental data, including the names of some tools and devices, and so arrive at an approximate location of the primitive home by a process of elimination.

bhebhros, os 'the beaver'

The name of this animal occurs in most of the known and fully documented IE languages, though in Sanskrit the meaning is 'red-brown,' i.e. the colour of the beaver. The word does not occur in Greek, Armenian or Albanian, though it survives as an ancient Dacian word in Rumanian *breb* 'beaver.' The Avestan *bavra* 'beaver' seems to be the same word as Ossetian *babur* 'yellow,' Persian *bābār* 'lion.' If this is so, the suggestion is that the name survived after the animal had been forgotten. The same name was then applied to a totally different animal. Compare the application of the word 'holly' by Americans to a totally different shrub, the English holly being almost unknown in the U.S.A. The 'beaver'-word is of doubtful occurrence in Modern Celtic, and the Welsh use a totally different word for the animal. Yet the animal was well known to the ancient Gauls (*bebro*). In Scandinavia the animal is called by its Greek or by its Low German name, though a native word (*bjórr*) occurs in Old Norse.

Many place-names, ancient and modern, testify to the wide occurrence of the beaver. Towns situated on rivers, and rivers themselves, are named after the animal. The ancient Fibrenus River ('Beaver' river) flows along the frontier dividing Latium from Campania, and is 41.30 N., 13.30 W., this being the southern-most record we have of the beaver in place-names. In Gaul we

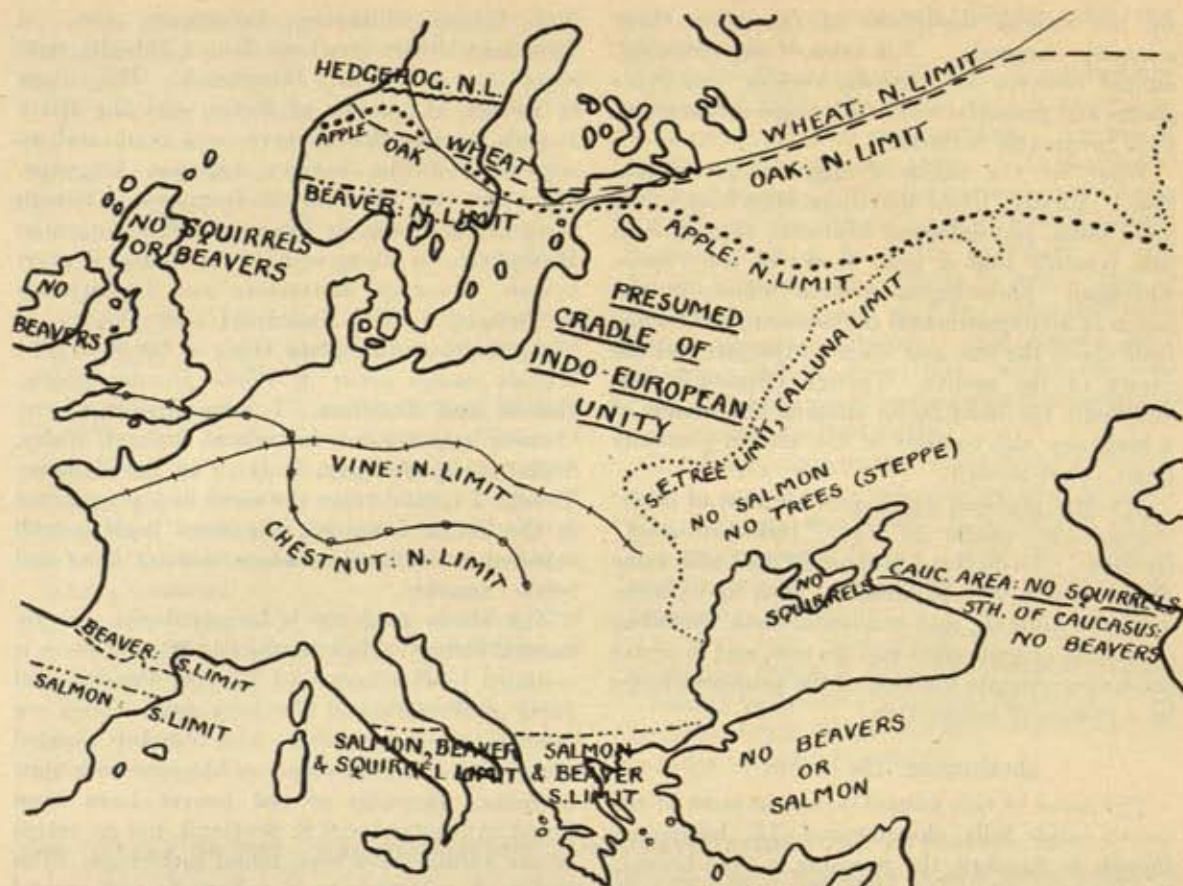
find Bibrax, Bibracte, Bebriacum, etc., in Alemannic Switzerland we find a Biberist near Solothurn, as well as a Biberbruck. The village of Bevers, the valley of Bever, and the River Beverin in the Grisons give us a noun and an adjective of the extinct Ligurian language. There are two Biberachs in Germany, a Bevern (Low German form) in Brunswick, Beverungen in Westphalia, a Beverwijk in Holland, Beaverbourne, Beverage, Beverstone and Beversbrook in Britain, besides Bobrinets and Bobrov in Ukraina, the latter place being as far E. as 40°. Similar names occur in White Russia, Silesia, Galicia and Bohemia. I have discovered no 'beaver' place-names in Iceland, Ireland, Wales, Scandinavia, Southern Italy or in the Balkans. Though I cannot trace the word as a place-name in the Baltic countries, the word itself is well attested in Lithuanian *bebras*, Lettish *bebrs* and *bebris* 'beaver.'

The above evidence is largely borne out by natural history. Briefly, the Old World beaver is confined to Northern and Eastern Europe, and parts of Western and Northern Asia. They are reddish-brown in colour, and inhabit wooded areas where there are narrow streams with slow currents. Remains of the beaver have been found in England and S. Scotland, but no traces of the animal have been found in Ireland. The bodies of prehistoric beavers have been recovered from the Macocha caves of Central Moravia. The animals were found until recently in the Rhone valley. In the Pleistocene age they reached as far south as Rome. In Poland and Lithuania a few survive; in Lapland they have recently become extinct. In Scandinavia three large colonies are preserved near Arendal, Norway (58.28° N.).

wāiwerā, wiwerā 'the squirrel'

The first of these two forms occurs in Baltic (i.e. Lithuanian and Lettish), the second form in Celtic (Welsh and Irish), and in Latin. Both forms occur in Slavonic. The Germanic form (*aikwernō*) has been changed by folk-etymology. The word does not occur in Greek, Albanian, Indic, Iranian and Armenian. The Latin word is recorded by Pliny only, and is described as 'ferret,' probably in error. The word is held by Walde to be of non-Latin origin, since it does not occur in modern Romance. There is a village of Vivêr in the Grisons, however.

In spite of the incidence of a long vowel in the first syllable of **wāiwerā** there can be no doubt that the root of this word is **wei**—'to twist, curl, wave, turn,' etc. Cf. Skr. *vaivarnya* 'changing in appearance.'



SKETCH-MAP ILLUSTRATING THE CRADLE OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS.

Though the distribution of the squirrel is almost world-wide, the European species alone being found throughout Europe, including Sweden and S. Norway, and Northern Asia, the squirrel is unknown in S. Italy, the Caucasus and Crimea. Even so, as in the case of the Scandinavian beaver, we must always bear in mind the possibility of the animal's extinction in these regions within the historic period. Squirrels occur as far north as Lapland and Siberia.

mūsis 'the mouse'

This word is of nearly universal distribution, lacking only in the Baltic and Celtic languages. Its meaning is universally 'mouse,' though the Albanians, Armenians and Persians apply the word to the rat as well. The distribution of the word would seem to indicate that the animal was unknown to the extreme northern and western settlements of the 'Indo-European' colony, these having first come into contact with the animal after regionalization. The mouse is said, moreover, to have come to Europe from Asia, but the evidence is inconclusive.

wlquos 'the wolf'

This word occurs in all the existing IE groups except Celtic and Armenian, where the word for 'wolf' descends from a type *waillos* (Irish *faol*, Arm. *kajl*, cf. Lith. *vailokas* 'kind of fur'). The Latin and Greek forms deviate from the normal, a fact which indicates borrowing.

Wolves are said to inhabit both open country and forests. They are unknown in Africa and S. America, but are found all over Europe (except where recently extinct), including Ireland, Spain and Scandinavia, and spread over the greater part of Asia north of the Himalayas as far east as Japan.

alānis, elānis, m. and f. 'the red deer'

This word occurs in Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, and Armenian. The red deer is said to be found all over Europe, except in Russia, where it is found only in the Crimea and the Caucasus. It is less plentiful in the Mediterranean forests and in Scandinavia than in the forests of Central and Eastern Europe. On the Continent the red deer is a forest animal, which feeds in the open after sunset.

eg'his 'the hedgehog'

This form of the word is found in Baltic, Slavonic and Ancient Phrygian. The Greek form is adjectival (**eg'hinos**), the Germanic form is a diminutive (**eg'hilos**), the Ossetian and Armenian forms are adjectival and in O-grade, i.e. with -o- as the base vowel (**og'hinos**). The word does not occur in the Indic and the remaining Iranian languages, nor in Scandinavian or Celtic. Its absence in Albanian may be due to the presence of Albanian *edh* 'kid' (**aig'is**), with which the **eg'his** type would nearly coincide (**jedh*). The existing Albanian words are loans from Old Slavonic and an Italic dialect respectively.

The European hedgehog is not found in N. Scotland, but ranges from 63° N. in Scandinavia to the South of Italy, and is found in Asia Minor, Syria and the Caucasus. It is common in both highlands and lowlands. Other species of hedgehog are found in India and Afghanistan.

ek'wos 'the horse'

This name for horse is common to Latin, Germanic, Celtic, Baltic, Indic and Persic. The irregular form in Greek may be due to borrowing (the aspirate suggests Asia Minor). I cannot agree with Childe and Schrader in regarding the word as derived from a root meaning 'swift,' nor can I trace any such root in IE. The usual words for 'swift' are figurative derivatives of well-known verb-roots, such as **elng'hus, wos** 'light, light-footed,' **twrtós** 'pressing, hastening,' also 'pressed, firm,' cf. the Greek type **tnghus** 'pressing, hastening,' elsewhere 'pressing, weighing down, heavy, etc.'

The word **ek'wos** may, in my view, apply to any horse, swift or otherwise. Remains of the prehistoric horse have been found in Europe, including France and Italy, N. Africa and N. India. The *Equus robustus* of the Pleistocene period existed in Britain in the Bronze Age alongside a slender-limbed type. That the horse was probably tamed by the 'Indo-Europeans' is indicated by the widespread occurrence of the type **sed-dhlom** 'sitting-thing, saddle' as well as **sed-dhlārios** 'saddler,' a word **bhrunjos, bhrunjā** 'harness, trappings' (common to Baltic, Slavonic and Germanic, cf. Irish *bruinne* 'breast, front'), and a word **jājō** 'I ride on horseback,' common to Baltic and Indic. Cf. Skr. *yāyu* 'horse.' There is a common word **ghwenō** 'I chase' (Alb. *zā* 'I seize,' Germanic *winjan* 'win,' cf. Goth. *winja* 'pasture,' lit. 'driving place,' *Trift, vygon*). There is some evidence of a type **toksos** 'hunting

animal,' beside **toksjā** 'hunting equipment' in Baltic, Germanic and Greek.

luk'sis, luk'snis, luk'snos 'lynx'

This word occurs in Baltic, Germanic, Greek and Armenian.

The true lynxes are mainly a northern group, being unknown in India, Africa and South America. The lynx now inhabits N. Sweden, Norway and Russia, but has been exterminated in Central Europe, Germany and France. Remains have been found in caves in England. The lynx extends eastward throughout most of Asia north of the Himalayas, ranging through the Altai into Ladak and Tibet, and occurring in the Indus valley as far west as Gilgit. In Europe the animal lives in forests, and is an expert climber. The Tibetan variety lives in open barren country. The lair of the lynx is usually found where there are rocks. Another type, the Mediterranean lynx, is found in Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, Greece and Turkey.

lak'āsos 'the salmon'

This is an important piece of evidence. The word apparently derives from a root 'to jump,' and occurs in Germanic, Slavonic, Baltic, Tocharic and Ossetian. In Tocharic, however, the word is said to mean 'fish' in general. The Russian doublet *lox* 'male salmon' may be loaned from a neighbouring IE language. The Italian *laccia* 'shad,' Sardinian *laccia* 'gudgeon' are doubtful relatives, though the shad, like the salmon, enters fresh water to spawn. The Bask *lač* 'dogfish' may be an early loan from IE.

The salmon is found only in the temperate and arctic zones of the Northern Hemisphere, the southern limits of all salmon-types being the Hindu Kush and the Atlas Range. But the true salmon (*Salmo salar*), which is probably the fish denoted by **lak'āsos**, is not found in the Old World south of 42° N., and is unknown in any of the rivers which flow into the Mediterranean or Black Sea. It is essentially a sea-fish which only ascends rivers to spawn.

In determining the site of the 'Indo-European' home an important piece of evidence is the word for 'sea.' The typical word, not found in the sense of 'sea' east of the Caucasus or in Asia Minor, is a collective neuter **marjā** 'the wastes' (cf. Skr. *marū* 'desert,' *mara* 'earth,' Osset. *mārā* 'field'). The English word *sea* derives from a type common to Germanic, Celtic and Latin: **saiwos** 'excited, turbulent, etc.' The usual Baltic word derives from **eurā** 'the wide,' one of the Greek words means 'the salt,' and the Albanian word perhaps derives from a type **dāitm** or **doitm** 'tide, division of time.'

Note on 'codfish'

There is a widespread fish-name of type *treskos, ā, trskos, ā*; the phonology following that of Lat. *corpus*, AS. *hrif*, Russ. *čerep*, etc. The word occurs in Germanic, whence the Slavonic and Irish forms may be borrowed. Armenian *darrex*, however, means 'herring.'

k'ormō or k'armō 'stoat, ermine'

This word is discoverable only in Germanic and Baltic.

ghansis, g'hansis 'the goose'
ghanser 'the gander'

This word seems originally to have been in imitation of the bird's cry, and affords some clue as to the sound of *gh-* in primitive IE. Both the masculine and the feminine forms occur in Germanic and Slavonic, in Latin only the masculine form occurs, whereas in Baltic, Greek, Celtic and Indic only the feminine form is used. In Irish the fem. form means 'swan,' in Sanskrit 'water-fowl,' elsewhere it is uniformly 'goose.' In Baltic the masc. form is an adjective derivative of the feminine (i.e. *g'hansinos*), while English *gander* is probably of independent origin (cf. Lith. *gandras* 'stork').

The wild varieties of goose are of wide distribution throughout Europe and N. and Central Asia as far as India. They breed in N. Europe and Siberia, wintering in the Mediterranean area, their favourite habitat being marshes, lakes, moors and open plains.

anātis 'the duck'

This word is found in Latin, Baltic, Slavonic and Germanic in the sense 'duck.' Even if we restrict its meaning to the mallards these are of such wide distribution as to afford little evidence for locating the IE cradle beyond indicating an abundance of fresh-water lakes, marshes or pools. The presence of small slow-flowing streams in the original home is implied by the word 'beaver.' A type *udros, ā, ūdros, ā* 'otter' confirms this view. The word simply means 'water-one,' and occurs in Baltic, Slavonic, Germanic and Ossetian in the sense 'otter,' in Greek in the sense of 'hydra, water-snake' (aspirated no doubt by the influence of the Greek word for 'rain'), and in Sanskrit in the sense of 'water-animal.' In Irish the word means 'dun, brown,' and a derivative of the word means 'water-parsnip.' The Irish call the otter 'water-dog.' Another indication of the presence of water is a type *g'erānos, is* 'crane,' though the original form of the word is not certain. Of other water birds Germanic and

Slav share a word for swan; Baltic and Germanic a word for seagull.

Note on 'seagull'

The Baltic and Germanic words for seagull reduce to a type *mēwos, ā*. The difference of gender in Baltic and Germanic suggests non-borrowing. Irish has a word *meabh* (*mewā*) 'hen,' which, like the word for gull, is onomatopoeic.

trusdos, tursdos 'the thrush'

This is a widespread IE word for 'thrush' (Latin, O. Irish, Germanic and Armenian, the last two being diminutives), but no word has so far been ascertained for the blackbird.

Five varieties of thrush nest in Europe and N. Asia, though these do not normally migrate. The blackbird, on the other hand, tends to avoid the more northerly parts of Europe, and is resident all the year round in S. Spain, Algeria and the Canaries. The thrush builds its nest of dry grass, moss and sticks, and usually nests in hedgerows, ivied walls, low shrubs and fruit-trees. In the treeless valleys of Scotland they nest on rocky ledges. Their food consists chiefly of worms and insects.

The irregular terms applied indiscriminately to thrushes and blackbirds by the Balts, and variously to both birds by the different Slav peoples, suggest that they were borrowed into Baltic and Slavonic from another dialect of IE. Or they may be entirely unrelated words.

teterwos, ā, tetrwes, ā, 'the black cock,'
'capercaillie'

This word occurs in Scandinavian, Baltic, Slavonic, ancient Medic, Modern Persian and Armenian, with variants in Greek. In Modern Persian it means jungle-cock, pheasant, in Armenian wood-pigeon. In Czech the word for 'heathcock' is distinguished from the word for 'capercaillie' by a diminutive suffix.

The word is clearly based on the male bird's cry to the female. Whether the original sense is 'heathcock' or 'capercaillie,' the regional implications are similar.

The black grouse, black cock, or heathcock (*Tetrao tetrix*) is found chiefly in the neighbourhood of pine and birch forests bordering moorland, where bilberry, cranberry, heath, and bracken abound. Much of their food consists of buds and flowers, but they eat grain in autumn. They frequently crossbreed with capercaillie.

The capercaillie abounds in the pine forests of Northern and Central Europe and Asia. They live among pines, and feeds upon pine-needles.

qwrms 'the worm'

This word is of almost universal occurrence, but the implications of the word are confused by the fact that it means variously 'worm' and 'grub.'

ghelwos, ā, g'helwos, ā 'the tortoise'

This word is one of the IE words for 'yellow' (from which are descended Eng. *yellow*, Latin *helvus*, Latin from (?) Ligurian *gilvus* (cf. Latin *gelc*, fem. *gelgua* 'yellow'), Lithuanian *gelsvas* beside *želtas*, etc.) so that the variety of tortoise indicated by **ghelwos** would seem to be *Testudo graeca*, which is found only in Southern Europe. The variety imported as a pet to England is a native of the Balkan Peninsula, and is yellow with black markings. In general the tortoise is said to reach far N. in E. Europe, but not farther than 46° N. in W. Europe. The word **ghelwos, ā** is, however, of limited currency, occurring only in Greek and Slavonic.

The European tortoises frequent dry, sandy places and do not like rain.

wopsā 'the wasp'**medhus** 'liquid honey, mead'**melit** 'honey'

It is a curious fact that no common word for 'bee' has survived from the mother speech, especially as the existence of bees in the primitive home is implied in the words for honey. There is even some evidence for a bee-hive in a type **kuk'sis, os** 'basket, bee-hive,' though more evidence is needed on this point. The semantic value of these words is that they imply the existence of honey-bearing flowers and blossoms in the original home. **Medhus** is also a drink of the 'mead' type.

Such is the evidence afforded by the names of wild animals and creatures in primitive IE. Other names must have existed, but these yet remain to be discovered. One or two names are ambiguous with regard to their meaning. Such is the type **tāuros**, which is 'bull' in Celtic (variant: **tārwos**), Germanic (ON. *thjórr*), Italic, Greek and Albanian (dim: **tāurākos**), whereas in Baltic and Slavonic the word is applied to the 'bison.' Negative evidence, for what it is worth, is afforded by the absence of a word for 'rabbit' (a native of W. Europe, but unknown in N. and E. Europe), and there is no certain word for 'hare,' nor is the name of the 'bear' of certain documentation. The tropical animals as a whole are unrepresented. There is a word **anghwis** 'snake' or 'eel' (Lat. Lith. Slav. Arm.). There may have existed a type **āquilā** 'black bird,

night bird, dark bird, or blind bird' (?) cf. Lith. *aklas* 'blind' and Gmc. *uhwilō* 'owl,' though the latter may just as easily be an onomatopoeic word (**uhu-**) with a diminutive suffix.

bherg'os, ā 'the birch'

The birch tree is literally the 'bright' tree, and there can be no doubt as to its identification, as it bears the meaning 'birch' in Germanic, Baltic, Slavonic and Ossetian. There is a related form in Skr. *bhūrja*, a kind of birch whose bark was used as writing paper in Kashmir as late as the sixteenth century A.D.

The two European birches, *Betula verrucosa* and *B. pubescens* occur as far north as 65° and 70° respectively, and is the most northerly of Europe's trees. In the south the first extends to Sicily and N. Spain, the second to the southern foot of the Alps. The birch is found in Central and E. Asia, and a variety occurs in Afghanistan and the Himalayas. It grows up to an altitude of about 1500 metres. The birch is one of the few trees that can grow where there is heather (see **wroik'os**, below).

sālikis 'the willow, sallow-tree'**witis, wītjā** 'withy' (root **wei-** 'twist')

The first of these words occurs in Celtic, Latin, Greek and Germanic; the second is found (with variations) in Germanic, Latin, Celtic, Greek, Slavonic, Baltic, Persian (mod. Persian 'willow') and Ossetian, being absent from Albanian, Armenian and Indic.

The willow is essentially a northern tree, but is found in the Himalayas, occurring abundantly in E. Asia, especially round the Bering Sea. It is a water-loving tree favouring warm districts. Except for the Arctic varieties the willow (unlike the poplar) is pollinated by insects.

apsā, apsnō 'the aspen'

This is the only kind of poplar widely documented in IE, occurring in Germanic, Celtic (Welsh type: **apsnō**), Baltic and Slavonic. The aspen has a wide distribution reaching to E. Asia and N. Africa. The tree largely gives place to the poplars in S. Europe.

ōsis, ōsnos, ōsnō 'the ash'

The word occurs in Baltic, Slavonic, Latin and Celtic. The tree is distributed over the north temperate zone, and most of its 40 varieties are Asiatic in origin. The manna-ash is a Mediterranean-oriental tree.

The common ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) stretches from Southern Europe to 62° N. In Central Europe it inhabits moist lowland woods, but reaches an altitude of 1350 m. Reaching a

maximum age of about 200 years it is a short-lived tree compared to the oak or the lime. In Homer's time spears were fashioned out of ash. The leaves have always been used for sheep and goats' fodder. Among the ancients the sap of the ash was used against snake-bite, and the practice of planting an ash outside the house to keep away snakes still persists in Europe. It was the most important tree in Norse mythology.

eiwā 'a tree'

This word occurs in Germanic and Celtic in the sense 'yew,' in Lithuanian 'bird-cherry,' in Lettish 'black alder,' and in Slavonic 'sallow-tree.' Though all the recorded forms agree, I cannot find any common meaning for the word. If 'yew' were the original meaning one might relate the word to **aiwom** 'age,' perhaps owing to the slow growth and extreme longevity of the tree (said to reach 2000 years). The word is, however, a complete enigma.

bhāg'os,ā 'a mast-bearing tree'

sūs 'the sow'; **pork'os** 'the hog'

gwelāndis,os 'the acorn'

I have grouped these words together because, presumably, the rearing of swine depended on a supply of food such as might be afforded by the oak and the beech. There is no certainty as to the original word for 'oak,' for which Greeks and Celts agree in using a type **derwos/drwos**, which in Germanic, Slavonic, Hittite (**dorwos**) and Albanian (**drwos**) simply means 'tree' or 'wood.' The type **perquos**, which in Latin means 'oak,' is the Germanic word for 'fir,' and is a tree sacred to the Balto-Slavonic Thunder God. The word **bhāg'os,ā** occurs only in Latin and Germanic in the sense of 'beech,' and in Greek in the sense 'oak with edible acorns.' Other alleged connexions are almost certainly false. A probable relation is Skr. **bhājā** 'portion,' cf. Hindi **bhājī** 'vegetables,' and with short vowel **bhaj** 'to share,' Greek **phagein** 'to eat,' though the occurrence of a word **bagas** 'bread' in Old Lithuanian implies the existence of both a palatal and a guttural root. Cf. further 'buck-' in 'buck-wheat.'

The type **gwelāndis,os** occurs in Slavonic, Latin, Greek, Albanian, Persic (mod. Persian 'oak') and Armenian, where the oak is called 'hog's acorn.'

The two main kinds of oak are the *Quercus*, native of the north temperate zone, and the *Pasania*, which being peculiar to E. Tropical Asia need concern us no further. Of *Quercus* some 200 varieties are known, three in Central Europe and over 12 in S. Europe. The Turkey

Oak (*Q. cerris*) occurs in a natural state in Lower Austria, S. Switzerland, Moravia, Hungary and S. Europe generally, and bears edible acorns. *Quercus vallonea* is common to Asia Minor and the Balkans, and its fruit is likewise edible. *Quercus serrata* occurs in the Himalayas. The distinct holm-oak is a native of the Mediterranean basin.

kosālos 'the hazel'

This word occurs only in Latin, Germanic and Celtic (Gaulish *coslo-*). Armenian *gaynen* 'hazel' is an uncertain relative. The origin of Slavonic *lēska* and Albanian *lajthi* 'hazel' is unknown.

The commonest variety of hazel is *Corylus avellana*, and is found almost everywhere in Europe as well as in Asia Minor, Algeria and N. Syria. Fossilized remains of the hazel have been found in Arctic regions dating from the middle tertiary period. In Switzerland the hazel grows up to an altitude of 1350 m., in the S. Alps to 1730 m.

elimos, ālimos, lmos 'elm'

The word for 'elm' has no single IE form. The above types occur in Latin, Germanic, Slavonic and Celtic (Irish *ailm*). The usual Celtic word for 'elm' seems to have become confused with a Germanic term for 'lime' (**leimos,ā**), while Albanian *mllej* is described as 'mountain elm.'

The elm is said to be a disappearing tree, and was formerly more plentiful than at present. It thrives well only in tropical forests. The mountain elm (*Ulmus scabra*) seems to have been the first elm to recover from the Ice Age, and reaches a latitude of 70° in Norway, whereas the field elm (*U. campestris*) reaches only to 66½° N. Charred remains of elm have frequently been found in the Danish and Jutland mussel-heaps of the first neolithic period, indicating that it was once co-extensive with the oak, until it became largely displaced by the beech. Another term for 'elm' (**weng'is** or **weg'is**) is common to Slavonic and Albanian (cf. AS. *wice* 'witch-elm').

Note on 'pine'

The difficulty of tracing a word for 'pine' in Indo-European seems to be linked with a taboo. The Slavonic types **k'akinā**, **k'aknā**, and **bhurwos**, the usual terms for 'Scotch fir,' literally mean 'needles' and 'dark (tree)' respectively, the fir-tree word mostly reduces to a type **elis,os,ā** and possibly **elewos**, which simply means 'tree' or 'wood,' and is the base of Greek *ἐλαφος*, 'wood-animal,' i.e. **elmbhos**. The taboo-word may have resembled **peuk'ā** or **peuk'tā**, but the evidence is inconclusive.

ābōlis, ābālis, abālis 'the apple-tree'
mālom 'the apple'

The first of these words is common to Slavonic, Baltic, Germanic (short initial) and Celtic (short initial). The second form is common to Latin, Albanian and Greek, and may be a loan-word (see map).

All other evidence of IE trees is uncertain. The word for 'alder' is difficult to reconstruct from the similar but not homogeneous words found in Latin, Germanic, Slavonic and Baltic, and there is no trace of a general word for either the lime-tree or the larch. Latin and Germanic have a common word for maple; Latin and Hittite share a tree-type **karpinos**. When we consider that there is no common Indo-European word for common things like 'bread' or 'grass' the absence of so many tree-names is not surprising.

We now turn to the grains. There is an almost universal word for 'grain,' i.e. **g'rnóm**. The existence of a word **gwernus, gwernowos** (in Baltic **gwrnus, owos**) for a hand-mill or 'quern,' as well as a word **meljō (mālājō, mljō)** 'to grind,' and a Celto-Slavonic type **taistos** 'dough' indicate that the primitive people made flour, though what they made of it afterwards is not clear from linguistic evidence. It is difficult to see why, for instance, the Slavonic word for 'bread' should be a loan-word from Germanic, or why the Lithuanians should have once regarded their bread as a 'gift' (= Skr. *dhānā* 'grain'). Fortunately we can reconstruct four grain-names in IE with certainty, and others with a fair degree of probability.

rughis 'rye'

This word is well attested, and occurs in Slavonic, Baltic, Germanic and Celtic, and as a loan-word in Finnish, all in the sense 'rye.'

The true rye, *Secale cereale*, is said to derive from the mountain rye, a plant found on rocky scrubby slopes of the Mediterranean basin and the Near East as far as W. Persia and the Caucasus. The grain is cultivated almost up to 70° N., and flourishes in Switzerland up to an altitude of 2100 m. It is a much hardier plant than wheat, growing in drier and colder regions than the latter. It is little cultivated in the south temperate zone (including Hungary and Rumania) where wheat is the staple grain. More than 90 per cent. of the world's rye is grown in Europe.

According to Warburg the prehistoric peoples of Western Europe did not know rye. It occurs in Eastern Europe for the first time in the Bronze Age, and is held by Warburg to have come to Europe via S. Russia.

pūris, os 'a kind of wheat'

This word occurs in Baltic in the sense of 'winter-wheat,' in Slavonic as 'corn,' 'millet,' 'spelt' and 'couch-grass'; in Greek it means 'wheat,' while in Indic it is a kind of cake (Sanskrit type **pūros**, Hindi type **pūris**). In Finnish it occurs as a loan-word meaning 'porridge.' In Baltic and Anglo-Saxon the word is used in its plural form, and in the latter language means 'rye-grass.' Czech *sucho-pyr* ('dry' **pūros**) is a kind of sedge growing in damp hollows, the flowers collectively having the appearance of mist (cotton-grass ?), while the Greek word *agro-pyron* ('field' **pūros**) is 'couch-grass.' Clearly, then, **pūris, os** is an inferior kind of wheat.

The *Triticum* class includes couch-grass, aegilops, 'Einkorn,' spelt, and wheat proper. The 'corn in Egypt' is said by Warburg to have been *T. spelta*, and is grown to-day by small farmers in Central Europe as winter corn, the grains of which are frequently added to soups. Besides spelt, the *T. dicoccum* variety is said to have been cultivated by the Egyptians, and its grains are held to have been found in the remains of neolithic and Bronze Age pile dwellings. *T. dicoccum* is said to grow wild in Palestine at an altitude of 1330 m., and it is still cultivated to a small extent in Spain, France, Italy, Switzerland, S. Germany, Serbia, Egypt and Arabia. Grains of a wheat approaching the modern variety have been found, according to Warburg, in Egyptian tombs, as well as in the neolithic pile dwellings of Robenhausen.

Wheat is an almost universal grain, growing up to 60° N., except in Norway, where the warming effect of the gulf stream makes cultivation possible up to 69°. In the Alps it is found at an altitude of 1400 m., but requires better soil than rye.

jewos, pl : jewoi, collective : **jewjā** 'a grain'

This word occurs in Sanskrit, Avestan and Lithuanian in the sense of 'wheat,' but in Modern Persian it means 'barley,' and in Ossetian 'millet.' In the Romani dialects of Europe it means 'barley' but the word is sometimes applied to 'oats.' The occurrence of all three types **rughis, pūros** and **jewos** in Lithuanian does not allow us to conclude that **jewos** was used in those regions where the word **pūros** was unknown. The picture is further complicated by the existence of a type **g'hridh-tā** 'cereals' in Albanian, 'barley' in Anglo-Saxon, and **g'hridhā** 'barley' in Greek, a type **bharisis**, of uncertain documentation, and a third, **albhis** 'the white (grain)' noun-type of **albhos** 'white,' cf. Turkish *arpa* 'barley,' probably borrowed from an extinct IE language.

Some clue as to the meaning of **jewos** is afforded by the existence of a root **jew-** 'to well up, seethe, ferment, move, stir, etc.' (cf. Lat. *jūs*, Gk. *zymē*), hence **jewos** would seem to be primarily a 'grain used in fermentation or brewing.'

The barley cereal is essentially a grain of the south temperate zone, though being hardier than either wheat or rye it will grow in the north of Europe and in mountains where wheat and rye fail. Barley will grow up to an altitude of 2100 m. in the Alps, and to the immense altitude of 4300 m. in the Himalayas. Barley has not the appetising flavour of bread, but boiled barley makes a nourishing mucus.

Warburg holds barley to be one of the oldest of cultivated plants, barley-corns having been found in prehistoric pile-dwellings, in the Lorthet Cave in France, and at the Campigny site. It was known to the early Egyptians, by whom it was malted for brewing, to the ancient peoples of Palestine, and to the ancient Greeks, of whom Pliny says it was the earliest known grain. In modern times three-fourths of the world's barley is grown in Europe and Asiatic Russia together. It is still the staple grain of Tunis, Algeria and Greece, and is an important article of diet in Portugal and Turkey. In N. Europe it is largely cultivated for beer-brewing.

meli, meljom, meljä 'millet'

That this word simply meant 'millings' is indicated by Serb and Slovene *melja* 'flour,' Irish *meile* 'hand-mill.' But Latin *milium*, Breton *mél*, Albanian *mel* and Greek *melinē* (adjective form) all mean 'millet.' The word is related to type **meljō/mljō** 'to grind' as is indicated by the Russian type **pisinóm** 'millet' and its relation to type **pisjō** 'to grind.'

The common millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) has not so far been discovered in a wild state. It is said to have come to Europe from Central Asia, where the summers are longer and warmer than in Europe. The millet is sensitive to cold. It is one of the oldest cultivated plants, having been found in neolithic sites in Switzerland, the pile dwellings of Italy, and in Germanic graves. It functioned in Chinese springtide rituals as early as 2700 B.C. It is the staple food of nomad Mongols and Kirghizes throughout Central Asia and in N. China to-day, and it is widely cultivated in India. A great deal of the grain is lost by grinding.

There is little evidence of the early cultivation of oats whether as food or fodder. There may have been a type **kopāros** or **kapāros,ā**, which, as it applies (with variations) in Slavonic to 'dill,' 'moondaisy' and 'nettle,' and only in Germanic

to 'oats' (cf. 'haver-sack'), may originally have been regarded as nothing more than a 'feathery weed.' The Finnish word *kakras* I hold to be of different origin (Finno-Ugrian?). Beyond this, Latin, Slavonic and Baltic have a word for oats, of which only the first syllable **aw-** agrees.

Smaller plants are exceedingly difficult to trace in primitive IE. Even in the more backward countries of to-day only those wild plants seem to be known which serve some specific purpose, i.e. as medicine, dyes, food, or for keeping away insects. I recall the difficulty I experienced when trying to collect wild plant names in Albania, and how, when a name was found, there was little agreement among the natives as to the precise plant designated thereby. It would sound a hopeless task, therefore, to establish plant names in a speech which has been dead for perhaps more than five thousand years! Only about thirty names, apart from loans, are common to English and German, languages separated by a mere 2000 years.

The most certain of the plant names are those which denote dye-yielding herbs.

modhāros,ā 'fragrant dye-plant, galium, madder'

This word occurs in Germanic and Lettish in the sense 'madder,' with the additional meaning of *Galium verum* ('lady's bedstraw') in the latter language. In Old Slavonic it is an adjective 'livid,' and the general meaning in modern Slavonic is 'blue.' The Czech adjective type **modhrinos** is 'larch,' probably owing to the redness of its wood, and the resin derived therefrom, while type **modhrinā** means 'bruise, black eye.' The Irish type **modhārtos** means 'discoloured.' In Sanskrit there is a plant name, presumably identical with Sindhi *madhurā* 'aniseed,' though this does not yield a dye but an aromatic oil. Albanian has *madergon* 'nightshade,' but the connexions of this word are not clear.

The plant is clearly a dye-yielder, one of the *Rubiaceae* (*Galium* and *Rubia*), but whereas madder is a native of the Mediterranean, yielding a red dye, *Galium* is more common in N. Europe. In Scotland and Latvia the roots of *G. verum* are used to produce a fast dye, and the rest of the plant is used for curdling milk. It is a favourite plant of bees and has a strong honeyed scent. For this reason Sanskrit *madhurā* 'sweet,' Gaelic *modhar* 'soft' may indicate the original meaning of the word (cf. **medhus** 'honey').

weroik'os,ā, wroik'os,ā 'heather';

adj. 'twisted, knotted'

This word occurs in Celtic, Slavonic and (E-grade) in Greek in the sense 'heather.' In

O-grade the word means 'bent, knock-kneed' in Greek, 'paralysed, crippled' in Lithuanian, while Latin *erūca*, *urūca* is the 'canker-worm.' Albanian *urith* 'mole' (lit. 'twister') is in the same grade as Eng. *wry*.

The common ling, *Calluna vulgaris*¹ is found in most parts of Europe, and grows as far north as Siberia. Its SE limit is given by A. Grisebach (quoting Bode) as running 'from Khotin on the Dniestr via Kaluga and Kazañ to the Urals, intersecting in turn the NE boundary of *Fagus* near Brody, *Acer pseudoplatanus* at Kiev, *Carpinus betulus* in the Ukraine, *Fraxinus* on the Volga and *Quercus pedunculata* E. of Kazañ. I have traced this on the accompanying map (p. 76). The *Calluna* is easily the most useful of the heathers, being used both for dyeing and for making brooms. It is an astringent and has a flower attractive to bees.

melis 'a staining plant, stain, dark mark'

This type in Welsh and Lithuanian means 'blue, violet,' but Lith. *mēle* is 'woad,' and Gothic *mēljan* 'to write,' German *mālen* 'to paint' derive from this word.

Short-grade cognates are probably Cornish *mel* 'poppy,' Old British *mel-gafr* ('goats' **melis**), Sanskrit *mala* (Romani *mel*) 'dirt,' beside long-grade *mālīnya*.

¹ A. Grisebach, *Vegetation der Erde*, Vol. I, pp. 146-7, says: 'The evergreen erica is decidedly a Western European type. It is true that calluna, the heather of the Baltic plain occurs again in Russia, but here it mostly requires the protection of shady trees to keep the ground moister. Thus the need of the erica-types for moisture is indicated. The open heaths of the Baltic plain are a product of the beech-climate. In Scotland calluna (59° N.) only goes a little beyond the beech limit (58°). It thrives in cloudy mountain areas. The (otherwise) bare slopes of Mont Blanc near St. Gervais are clad with calluna to a considerable height. The erica formations are not averse to the moisture of mountain forests. . . . A decided maritime climate, or a substitute in the form of increased rainfall in mountain regions is only one of the needs of the true ericas. Other erica forms find a substitute in the marshes (e.g. *Andromeda polifolia*), and a few grow in eastern areas, such as *Ledum* and *Andromeda calyculata*. In view of this general relationship of erica to moisture of the air or of the soil it is strange that these very forms, calluna and bell-heather (*E. tetralix*), should be found both in the dry sands of N.W. Germany and the sodden peat of moorland tracts, and that in spite of the enormous contrast in the means by which moisture is supplied in these regions they share a uniform physiognomy. But this apparent non-dependence upon ground-moisture may be due to the fact that even on dry hilly tracts the heather deposits a firm bed of humus on the loose sand, which is capable of retaining the atmospheric deposits of moisture occurring in maritime areas for a certain length of time. In a large part of the Baltic plain the calluna is the only representative of the ericas. Bell-heather occurs for the first time at the legume limit, and then becomes more and more frequent as the North Sea coast is approached. The number of erica-types increases in France, reaching a maximum in the heaths of Gascony. . . .'

In Lettish *melns* is 'black,' Welsh *melyn* 'yellow,' Ligurian (in Ladin) *mellen*, fem. *melna* 'yellow,' Greek *melas* (from **melns**) 'black,' Sanskrit *malina* 'dirty,' and Lithuanian (long-grade) *mēlynas* is 'blue.' The Greek type **melnjom** is 'viola,' **melnjā** is a bird, Albanian 'blackbird,' 'black goat,' while Albanian *mellā*, *mellē* (**melnos**, **melnis**) means 'weal.' The value of this word is to indicate the probable existence of another dye-plant besides **modhāros**.

Records of other dye-plants are too obscure to deserve more than a mention. Gothic has a word *wizdila*, cf. Eng. *weld* 'dyer's-weed,' a word which has been connected with Latin *vitrum* 'woad' (for phonology cf. *arātrum*: Slavonic *radlo*).

musos, mustos, muskos 'mossy substance'

The first of these types occurs in Germanic and Slavonic in the sense of 'moss,' in Lithuanian in the sense of 'mould,' and in Celtic in the sense of 'must,' in compounds 'moss,' Armenian *-murr* (from **musus**, cf. *dzunr* 'knee') in *ma-murr* 'moss,' *ēri-murr* 'sea-weed' (lit. 'water-moss'). Sanskrit *muska, musta* is a sedge (*Cyperus rotundus*), Latin *muscus* is 'moss,' *mustus* 'mouldy,' cognate with Eng. *must*.

wik'sis, os 'a glutinous berry,' 'mistletoe'

This word is common to Slavonic, Latin, Greek, Albanian (diminutive) and Celtic, though in the last group it is implied only in French *gui* 'mistletoe,' Welsh *gwi-ail* 'branches,' Old Slavonic *viši* 'green branches.'

Viscum album is a plant which occurs only in Europe and the temperate regions of Asia. The mucus of the berry is used as bird-lime. The branch was regarded with special reverence by Germans, Celts and Romans.

It is strange that no certain evidence has been handed down of a berry-bearing shrub. Even a definite word for 'berry' does not occur in IE, though there is a type **akinā**, **akīnā** meaning 'berries' in Latin, 'black currants' in Lithuanian, while in the latter language berries are called by a word (*ōghwā*) which in primitive IE meant 'eggs.'

The names which follow are of limited documentation, occurring for the most part in languages of the Mediterranean basin. None are of IE origin, and will therefore only be mentioned briefly.

bhak'os, ā 'a bean,' Greek 'lentil,' Albanian 'bean' (Germanic type *baxunō*?).

bhabhos, ā 'broad bean,' Latin and Slavonic.

mākos, mākō 'poppy,' Greek, Slavonic, borrowed

in Germanic and Armenian (*cf.* Arm. *megon* 'poppy' and *p'egon* 'beech,' both from a Greek dialect).

wikis, wikis, wikjā 'kind of climbing pulse,' Latin, Baltic and Slavonic; in other languages a loan-word.

lakhano- 'cabbage, greens,' Greek and Albanian. **linom, linom** 'flax,' in most European languages, native probably only in Latin and Greek.

kanaphis or **kannabis** 'hemp,' Greek, Albanian, Germanic and Slavonic.

k'ik'er- 'chick pea,' Latin, Armenian and Albanian ('lentil').

erogwos 'pea,' Greek, Latin, changed by folk-etymology in Germanic.

pisos 'pea,' Greek and Latin.

malāg'hwā 'mallow,' Latin, Greek, Albanian and Armenian.

Besides these there are a few names of plants common to two IE languages only: thus Germanic and Slavonic share a word for 'reed, rush' (Czech *rokos, rakos*), a word for 'carrot' (**mrkwā**) and a word for 'sneezewort' (**kemeros, ā**); Lithuanian *durpė* is Eng. *turf*, and Eng. *tare* (Dutch *tarwe*) seems to be cognate with Sanskrit *dūrvā* 'millet' (**đorwā: đrwā**). A large number of names are common to Latin, Albanian and Greek (among them 'vine' and 'olive') but these may be from an extinct Mediterranean language.

Conclusion

A peep into the mode of life of the 'Indo-Europeans' will afford us some secondary evidence as to where the cradle was situated.

We have seen that the 'Indo-Europeans' had no common words for tropical and subtropical vegetation and fauna; but names for exclusively Western European animals and plants are also wanting, *e.g.* rabbit, holly, etc. That we should not place too much reliance on this kind of negative evidence is clear from the fact that the larch,¹ a wide-spread European tree, has no discoverable IE name, and that of the pine and fir are difficult to determine. There seems to be no common term for either 'grass' or 'stone,' though the rearing of cattle for their milk (**melg'ō** 'to milk') implies the existence of grass.

¹ Of the larch two varieties belong to Central Asia, two to the Himalayas, one to Siberia and one to Europe. The European variety in its wild state is almost exclusively confined to the mountains of Central Europe, chiefly the Alps, the Carpathians, and the heights of Bavaria, Moravia and Silesia, and grows at altitudes ranging from 900 m. to 2270 m. The existence of old churches built of larch shows that larch originally extended farther N. than at present. The tree does not thrive in low countries. The Siberian larch, which is probably only a sub-variety of the European larch, forms vast woods in N.E. Russia and N. Siberia.

Plant-names survived only if they were important to the IE mode of life; otherwise they were ignored. That grass was harvested as fodder is indicated by a word **k'oinom, ā** 'hay' (root 'to lie'), found in Greek, Baltic, and Slavonic. Moreover, the fact that the 'Indo-Europeans' reared cattle (**gwōws**), sheep (**owis**), the pig (**sūs**), the goat (**aig'is, os**) and kept dogs (**k'unes**); that they made carts (**wog'hoi**) of wood (**derwos**), complete with wheels (**rothoi**), rims (**quequoloi**), an axle (**ak'sis**), thole-pin (**tulis, os** in Lith., Greek and Germanic), and yoke (**jugóm**) for the two bullocks which drew it along the rutted way (**rūgā**, Czech *rýha*, etc.); that they ploughed (**arō**) the land, sowed (**sējō**) their seed (**sēmō, -en-**) and reaped (**kerpō**) their harvests—all these facts imply that they lived in a temperate country where there were ample grasslands, arable soil, a plentiful supply of timber, and hard stone for making high-class tools.

That the 'Indo-Europeans' lived a highly organized life, no one will deny. The age to which they must be assigned is one in which tools of all kinds had reached a degree of excellence sufficient to allow of large-scale ploughing and reaping, tree-felling and the fashioning of wooden carts. Yet no certain word for any metal has survived, the term **ajos, esos** 'bronze' being of limited documentation (Latin, Germanic and Indo-Iranian), nor can any common word for a weapon (except **skeitos** 'separator, protector, shield') be traced. Of tools and devices the following can be reconstructed: **arātrom, ar-dhlom** 'plow-thing, plow,' **matejā** 'hoe,' **ak'mō, -en-** 'stone anvil,' **sekūris, ā** 'chopper,' **ksurós, ksurjā** 'scraper' (Lith. 'shave-grass,' Alb. 'gravel,' Skr. and Gk. 'knife, razor'), **g'ombhos** 'nail,' **ak'is** 'spike,' **ghebhālos** 'prong, spit,' **gwernowos** 'handmill,' **peilos, ā** 'rasp, i.e. saw or file,' **tere-dhlom** 'bore-thing, borer,' **sed-dhlom** 'sit-thing, saddle,' **sārpos, ā** 'reaping-knife,' **sjū-dhlom** 'sew-thing, awl,' and perhaps **nē-dhlom** 'thread-thing, needle.'

The use of metals seems to have been discovered after the 'Indo-Europeans' had become regionalized, by which time phonetic differentiation had already set in, so that as the use of the new metal spread to other IE regions the word would be taken from the place of origin of the metal. Thus we call wolfram 'tungsten,' not ***thung-stone** (heavy stone), using the Swedish form of the word unaltered. The world's languages have borrowed 'nickel' and 'cobalt' from German in recent times. That the IE names of metals show irregularity is not surprising, in view of their limited use in speech, presumably because they were known chiefly to the artisan

class. Compare, moreover, English *aluminium* with American *aluminum*, a recent example of inconsistency in borrowed metal-terminology.

Evidence of IE pottery is undiscoverable, yet curiously enough a word for handle (*āmsā* 'holder') has survived. Of great interest is the IE type *kauk'os,ā* 'skull, bowl, cup.' In Celtic, Latin and Indic this word means 'bowl, cup,' in Lettish 'bowl' and 'skull,' in Lithuanian 'ladle' with variation 'skull,' and in Greek and Icelandic 'skull.' Schrader says primitive peoples used the skulls of their *enemies* to fashion bowls. If on the other hand it could be proved beyond doubt that the people within the 'cradle' area used the skulls of their *own* people as bowls, important conclusions as to the ethnic composition of the 'Indo-European' people might be reached.

The home of the 'Indo-Europeans' must have had a temperate climate, owing to the existence of names for the four seasons spring (*wesōr*, g.s. : *wesntjos*), summer (*sāmer-*), autumn (*asjō,-en-*) and winter (*g'heimā*). The universal occurrence of springtide ritual in Europe indicates a sudden onset of spring as in Central and Eastern Europe, where one week the landscape is completely devoid of any green vegetation (including grass), the following week everything is green; the transformation taking place within a few days. The Germanic peoples identified the Spring-goddess with the Dawn (*Āusōrā, Āusārā*, whence *Easter*). Many IE folk tales testify to winter as being a subterranean demon (cf. Pluto) who

strips mother-earth (cf. Ceres) of her produce (cf. Proserpina), and who must somehow be propitiated by decorating a 'live' winter-tree or evergreen with presents, in order that spring may be allowed to return (cf. the Himalayan cedar, our *Deodara*, known as 'God's tree'). Hence the winter revels (*jālā*, Greek *zēlos*, Welsh *iawl* 'glorification,' ON. *Jól* 'Yule,' etc.). Hence the fanatical preservation of the wooded hilltop (*gwrjā*) as a sacred place (*alkos,ā*, Lith. 'sacred grove,' 'barrow,' where prominent warriors were formerly buried, Greek 'strength, protection,' Lettish 'idol,' Gothic and Anglo-Saxon 'temple,' Sanskrit 'kind of tree, sun-god, sun, hymn,' and compare the verb-type *aleksō* 'protect' in Greek, 'lock, bar' in Armenian, 'keep, preserve' in Romani). Hence the covering-in of the tree-stumps, even after they had ceased to live, with a rude kind of roof to form a prehistoric Acropolis, complete with colonnaded temple, capable of affording the primitive folk perpetual *kailā* (cover or sanctuary).

It would be interesting to continue describing the IE home with its door (*dhō-weris, dhā-weris* 'placed barrier') and its wattle walls or partitions (*poksis,os*) and the occupations of its women 'threading' (*nējō*, i.e. spinning or sewing) the woollen yarn (*wlnā*), or plying needle-fuls of gut (*gijā*). But one could add indefinitely to the picture in this way. When the original IE vocabulary of some 4000-5000 words has been fully restored, the archeological picture will no doubt stand out more vividly than ever.

THE DIVINE CAT AND THE SNAKE IN EGYPT.

65 In recent articles in *Jour. Eg. Arch.* XXIV, pp. 83-91 and 157-179, Dr. Alan Gardiner, discussing the exact meanings of two different words used for rooms or halls, connected with certain royal or priestly activities, drew attention to the divine cat Mafdet, which, living in the chamber that may be called the 'Hall of Life,' kept it clear of snakes by chopping off their heads with a great knife: this means, of course, that being a goddess—or god, since one text makes her definitely male—she was endowed with human hands and tools though, as a cat, her claws would suffice her and are indeed specifically mentioned in another text: her place in the Hall is recorded in par. 440 of the *Pyramid Texts*. The author uses the word 'Mansion,' but as that has now acquired a rather special meaning, 'Hall' seems preferable; he finds that the use of the chamber, which is not clearly defined in the Texts, was probably as a room adjoining a temple where the

By G. D. Hornblower, F.S.A.

Pharaoh took a meal after fulfilling his ritual duties in the temple; he would perhaps be accompanied by his queen and even some household attendants; he quite likely lived there (p. 90)—it may in fact have served as a kind of 'rest-house' of the sort used by travelling state-officials in modern Egypt.

Another scholar, Henri Gauthier, in 'Le Personnel du dieu Min,' p. 83, connects the chamber with tombs, as a sort of chapel for the offering of food to the deceased occupant by his family or others; but he admits as alternative interpretation, as a place for secular use. In either case the Hall was of first religious importance—for the king was himself a god—and so the creature which made it safe against that most dread enemy, the snake, gained the meed of highest honour and, like the public benefactors in old China or India, entered the ranks of 'gods.'

As to the cat's performance, two ladies who had

in recent years spent several months on the sands of Upper Egypt told the author that their cat used to kill horned vipers (Cleopatra's 'asp') by pouncing on them with her claws and then biting them to death; I once had a cat which dealt with scorpions with like efficacy.

Mafdet is mentioned once in the annals of the 'Palermo Stone' as having a feast for the anniversary of her birthday, together with Seshat, the goddess of writing, in the reign of a king of the First Dynasty, identified by Breasted as the Miebisi of the Greeks (*Ancient Records*, I, par. 115). This record, like others of so remote a period, might perhaps embody a mere vague tradition, but she is quite definite in the Pyramid Texts which were collected at about the same time as the records of the 'Palermo Stone'; in those Texts she appears in pars. 438, 440, 442, 677 and 1212. Her rank must have been settled long before the Texts were brought together and edited by priests of the Solar cult, then at its zenith, for par. 442, for instance, betrays the usual solicitude of the scribes of that cult to draw into it all the activities of the non-solar forms of religion; it figures the Sun-god Rê as taking the knife from the Cat and killing the serpent himself, using the dead king's hand and Mafdet's knife. The king had now become a form of Osiris and acted as a vehicle of divine power; in par. 677, his fingers become the claws of the Cat, to seize the snake. In the same cast of thought, Mafdet was actually identified with Rê in the collection of funerary incantations generally known, though wrongly, as the 'Book of the Dead.' In chap. XVII we read that the Cat was indeed Rê, the equation being supported, as so commonly in Egyptian religious literature, by a ridiculous pun. The same passage puts forward an alternative identification in a timidity characteristic of the whole chapter, which, in its strained efforts at exegesis, is so sophisticated and decadent that the compiler himself has to record a really remarkable series of hesitations, making most of it valueless. In Budge's translation, vol. I, p. 103, the chapter is accompanied by two illustrations from the papyri of Ani and Hw-nefer; the vignette for chap. XXXVII (p. 163) displays the dead man tackling two serpents with the knife; he thus takes to himself the function pertaining to gods and kings, as recorded in the Pyramid Texts, but by this time many such privileges in funerary matters had been accorded to royal officials.

In connexion with Mafdet we face the old question of the cause of the deification of animals; an early theory, dating from classical times, held

that it was for their usefulness to man, but many have gainsaid it, pointing to the uselessness and even danger of many such animals as the lioness of Egypt. Yet the first animal, probably, to be deified was the cow, for the supreme utility of her milk, then the dog, which was the earliest known subject of domestication in Europe, for his use in hunting and guarding man and his property. In Egypt he joined the gods as Anubis who, though now generally identified with the jackal, was known to the Greeks as a dog and, in many papyri and the bronzes of the Saitic period, was represented as of the graceful *selouki* type which still survives in the Soudan as a common form of pariah. The dog, besides, was mummified in Egypt, like cats and other animals who had attained to godship.

Mafdet was, perhaps, not worshipped by name, as was the cat-goddess Bastet, but she was given the epithet of *nuthet* (formerly transcribed as *neter*) which is translated as 'god' or, adjectivally, as 'divine.' This word is represented in hieroglyphs as a flag, at first triangular but later four-sided, such as those hoisted on lofty poles at the entrance of temples; its original function would seem, from modern analogies, to have been to signalize the execution of ritual ceremonies. This is very clear in the practice of the African tribe of Wabarwa which the Rev. D. Shropshire has brought to our notice (*MAN*, 1934, 86). Here the flags were hoisted at the sacred shrine when a rite was to be solemnized; their object was to summon the spirits to come and take their part in the rite, as well as to give notice to the people—a pregnant example, indeed. In Egypt the flag seems to have become, eventually, the symbol for that quality of all entities, whether gods, men or the dead, which entitled them to be honoured with ritual ceremonies; the dead themselves were frequently described as *nuthet*, but could not be allowed the earlier hieroglyph for 'divine' since it was of a totemic, or quasi-totemic, nature, consisting of a falcon on its perch, sign of the conquering Horus-clan. The perch-sign, too, came to be commonly attached to the hieroglyphs denoting actual divinities. The word *nuthet*, then, had, as usual in Egypt, a quite material base, by no means spiritual, and bears perhaps some likeness to the basic meaning of our elusive word 'god' which, as some etymologists have concluded, may originally have signified no more than 'an object of adoration.'

The religious use of flags has survived in Islam; the tombs of persons revered as saints are always marked with them. In Egypt I have witnessed the making of such saints, sometimes as the result

of a pious man's dream, and have seen the setting up of flags, occasionally borrowed at first from a friendly neighbouring shrine, as well as the lighting of lamps at night, and these are the first concrete markings of the presumed saint's grave ;

later it would be covered over with a little domed and whitewashed shrine and very likely a tree planted to shade it ; the shrine would, of course, be furnished with a tomb, perhaps a mere cenotaph, but always the object of believers' veneration.

A MORTAR AND A ROCK-CARVING IN JAMAICA. *By A. D. Lacaille. Illustrated.*

66 An archaeological study of domestic stone vessels in Britain has led me to seek comparisons abroad. Among the records accumulated, many from the habitation-sites of peoples now extinct have much in common with instances

noted at home. An example to which attention is drawn here (fig. 1) was discovered by me in 1925 in Jamaica. It is ascribed to the aborigines of that island, who hewed it out of a huge piece of coral-limestone rock, probably fallen away from the inland cliff, on the edge of the Cockpit Country, near Pantrepant, Trelawny.

A.—The improvised vessel stands opposite an opening in the rock-face to the south. This was one of several rock-shelters to which I had been conducted by Dr. Campbell, of Pantrepant, to see an anthropomorphic figure incised on the rock-wall. The elliptical basin (fig. 1), 26 inches by 20 inches, has the appearance of having been fashioned by stone hammers, and is worn fairly smooth in the centre by constant pounding within it. Used with a pestle, it could have served as a mortar ; with a mall or pounder, the cavity could have been employed in the same way as the heavy but movable Scottish ' knockin' stane,' that most elementary of pot-querns (Arthur Mitchell, *The Past in the Present*, 1880, pp. 44-5). As the Jamaican utensil may be ascribed to the Arawáks, it was probably used in the preparation of cassava or pulses. Among many other purposes, it could also have been used for pounding grits and paste for that excellent pottery, which has been yielded by a number of sites in Jamaica.

As a communal vessel, the Jamaican specimen finds many parallels, those from North America being particularly well known. It is interesting, however, to recall that in the Scottish Highlands alone some rock-surfaces at clachans or crofts



FIG. 1.—ROCK-CUT MORTAR, JAMAICA.
Height, 39 inches.

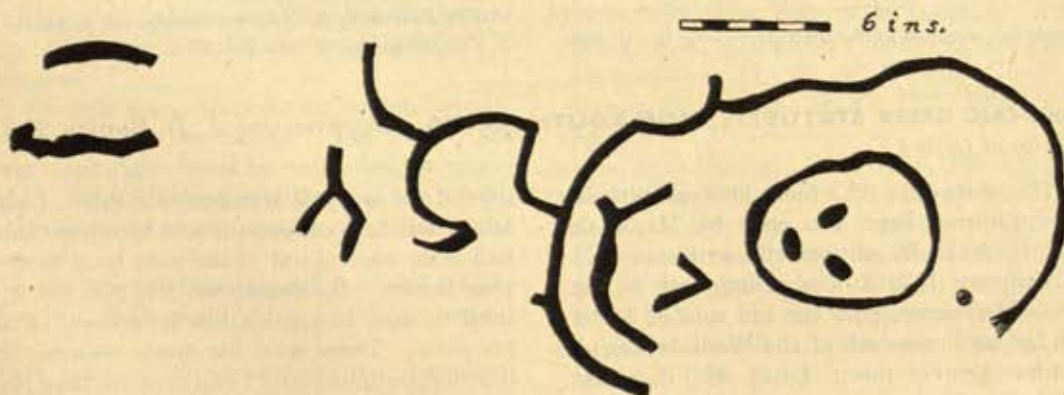


FIG. 2.—ROCK-CARVING AT PANTREPANT, JAMAICA.

bear well-worn basins, used almost within living memory as fixed mortars, and for husking grain.

All utensils for pounding are cognate. Their origin lies in that convenient surface upon which it occurred to early man to pulverize something by means of a hammer or pestle. That the surface should have presented itself as a depression would make it more attractive. The hollow may have been improved by pecking out. Very probably the Jamaican basin here figured is a case in point.

B.—The carving I had gone to examine near

Pantrepant was seen to be more elaborate than as noted in the *Journal of the Institute of Jamaica*, 1897. It is cut on the projecting rock beside the opening, immediately facing the basin and 10 feet 3 inches from it. The illustration (fig. 2), reproduced from a rubbing, shows the assemblage. Many other and unrecorded carvings, as deeply incised, were detected on the surrounding rock-walls. As mere outlines of human heads, with the eyes and mouth only represented by small pits, they are in keeping with most Arawak scribings found in similar conditions in Jamaica.

THE COMING OF IRON TO AN AFRICAN PEOPLE, THE WINAMWANGA. By G. A. Wainwright.

67 *The Winamwanga between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa.*—The traditions of this people show that iron came to them still later than to Angola (MAN, 1942, 61), for it did not reach them until some date in the seventeenth century. Moreover, unlike the other three peoples, the knowledge came to them from the south-west.

The Winamwanga trace their history back to the advent of a great and skilful man named Musyani, who came to their country some two or three hundred years before about A.D. 1900. He and a few friends settled among them peacefully. Finding that he had knowledge of many things of which they had been ignorant, the people elected him chief. He taught them to work in iron and to make hoes. As well as a knowledge of iron-working he brought them many seeds and taught them all the agriculture they know. Before his arrival there seems to be no definite history, and the people say that they dwelt in the forests living on game and wild roots.¹

So here again, as with the Bushongo, the knowledge of iron formed part of a whole culture-complex, and its coming coincided with the beginning of history and of civilization, as it probably also did with the Dama.

¹ Chisholm, *Journal of the African Society*, ix., p. 360.

On the other hand, iron did not come to the Winamwanga from the north, as it did to the Bushongo and the Baganda, but from the south-west. Musyani and his friends came to them from the Wisa country, which lies east of Elisabethville between the Luangwa River and the bend of the Luapula River.² The Winamwanga live some two hundred and fifty miles to the north-east of this on both sides of the boundary between Northern Rhodesia and the Tanganyika Territory. Dr. Chisholm writes from a place called Mwenzo, which lies between the tip of Lake Nyasa and the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, and here it is that Musyani lived and died.³ The Lala have a widespread reputation as smiths,⁴ and they are relatives and neighbours of the Wisa from whom Musyani came.

Like Mussuri in Angola, Musyani has been deified by his grateful people. He, and not God, is said to have been the Creator of 'local parts.' He has his shrine at Mwenzo on the site of his house. It is the most important in the land, and sheep are sent there for sacrifice.⁵

² *The Journal of the African Society*, xii, pp. 445, 446. The Livingstone Memorial is just within their territory.

³ Chisholm, *loc. cit.*, p. 364.

⁴ *The Journal of the African Society*, xii, p. 445.

⁵ Chisholm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 363, 364.

AN ARCHAIC GREEK STATUETTE FROM SOUTH ARABIA. By Professor J. D. Beazley, F.B.A., University of Oxford.

68 The statuette, of which photographs are reproduced here, was seen by Major the Honble. R. A. B. Hamilton, who writes:—

'In January 1939 I was riding with a con-course of tribesmen past the old ruin of a fort, which lies at the mouth of the Wadi Jordan, in the Aden Protectorate: Long. 47° E.: Lat. 15° N. A tribesman ran after our party and

offered me a small statuette for sale. I asked him where he had found it and he replied that it had been washed out of the ruin by a flood the year before. He demanded Rs. 200, for it. I tried to beat him down but he refused to drop his price. There was, for many reasons, little time for argument, and I had no more than Rs. 50 of my own money with me.

'I dismounted and examined the statuette. It stood five inches high and was of bronze. I stood it on the sand and photographed it, and I enclose the photographs herewith.¹

'I have not been able to return to the territory since and efforts to obtain the statuette by correspondence have failed.'

I doubt if, in a photograph three-quarters of an inch high, an unknown ancient statuette can be distinguished, with certainty, from a cunning

and very possibly Laconian. It goes in style and subject with the following bronzes, most of which have been put together before:—

Athens 7644, from Lykosoura in Arcadia, *BCH* 1929, p. 111, fig. 8; Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, fig. 226.

Athens 6233, from Olympia. *Olympia* 4, pl. 7, 41; *BCH* 1929, p. 108, fig. 4; Zervos, fig. 225.

Athens, from Pherai in Thessaly. *BCH* 1929, pl. 4 and p. 104.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

AN ARCHAIC GREEK STATUETTE FROM SOUTH ARABIA.

modern copy of such a statuette: but the bronze in the photograph has every appearance of genuineness.

It represents a warrior wearing corslet, helmet, and greaves, but no chiton. The hands are missing: the right hand probably held a spear, upright; the left arm may have had the shield, although no traces of attachment are visible in the photograph.

It would be a good Greek work from the middle third of the sixth century B.C.; Peloponnesian,

¹ From these minute photographs the illustrations below have been enlarged to about half the size of the original.

Athens 7598, from Selinus in Laconia. *AM* 3, pl. 1, 1-2; Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschalen*, pl. 49, d; Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. 28, a; *BCH* 1929, p. 110, fig. 6.

Samos, from Samos. *JHS* 53, p. 289, fig. 15.

Oxford, from Dodona? *JHS* 30, pl. 12, 2.

Athens 14789, from the sanctuary of Apollo Korynthos near Longa in Messenia. *Delt.* 2, pl. 1; Langlotz, pl. 50, b; Lamb, pl. 28, b; *BCH* 1929, p. 111, fig. 7; Zervos, fig. 228.

Athens, from Dodona. *Praktika* 1930, pl. 2-3; *Anzeiger* 1932, p. 146.

Berlin 216, from Olympia. Part of a vessel.

BCH 1929, p. 113; Neugebauer, *Die minoischen und archaisch-griechischen Bronzen*, pl. 40.

I do not remember hearing of any other archaic or classical Greek bronzes being found in the Arabian peninsula.

[This communication is reprinted by permission from the *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*, Vol. XL, pp. 83-84, for which the blocks were lent by the Royal Anthropological Institute.]

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

Some Difficulties of Indirect Rule in The Gold Coast.

69 Summary of a Communication made by Dr. M. J. Field, 26 January, 1943.

Although they have 'chiefs' the Gold Coast communities are essentially democratic, for the chiefs belong to the same stock as the people and receive their authority by delegation from the community. Various native mechanisms (e.g. the Mankralo) exist for maintaining the limitations set on the power of chiefs. There is conflict between the native theory that chiefs derive their authority from their people and the Government theory that they derive it from the Government. In interpreting Indirect Rule as 'rule through chiefs' it has been necessary for the Government to fortify the power of chiefs, thus making the system less democratic than it originally was. Bearing in mind that in the self-governing modern state, towards which Indirect Rule is striving, the people will probably demand a thorough democracy, it is necessary to consider whether 'rule through chiefs' is the most progressive interpretation of Indirect Rule.

A second great difficulty is that the native governmental units are either small or, when large, have lost their original forces of cohesion. The large political units were primarily military unions for mutual defence and secondarily financial unions for maintaining the joint war-chest. Each stool belonging to the union paid one-third of its income into the common fund. The 'pax Britannica' has now removed the danger of warfare, and mining concessions have made many of the stools very wealthy. These now resent paying one-third of their incomes in exchange for no perceptible benefit, and are claiming independence of the unions. The unions are therefore tending to break up, and the problem is to find a new incentive to unity.

Another difficulty is the unique relation between land control and political control. Not only are these two completely independent of one another, but spatial contiguity is not the native basis of political unity, nor is occupation of land necessarily correlated with ownership. Since land has acquired a money value the small land-owning groups, which are politically subordinate, are now the wealthy groups. If administration is to be put on a district basis (which the development of a modern state seems to demand) then either the existing large political unions must be allowed to die, or the control of land and wealth must be forcibly transferred to them. The first alternative is distasteful to the administrator, for large unions are labour-saving; the second is not acceptable by the land-owning stools.

How to Combat Racial Philosophy. Summary of a Communication made by Dr. I. Zollschan: 23 February, 1943.

Among the many modern racial theories, only the Nordic theory has developed a comprehensive philosophy, embracing every aspect of life, including ethics and religion. This philosophy was not conclusive but it has formed an important part of the ideas which have led to the present world conflict. Anthropology was only a starting point, but it has been used to transform this racial theory into a faith.

Anthropological pronouncements by individual scholars alone are not sufficient to prevent the further growth of this faith; science as a whole must undertake the task. Efforts were made, with this end in view, between the years 1933 and 1938, to secure the co-operation of leading academies under the auspices of the League of Nations; these efforts, which had appeared likely to achieve success, were brought to an end in 1938 by political changes.

Subsequent political successes strengthened this 'philosophy' still more, with the result that, as with any superstition or pseudo-religion, faith in it can only be eliminated if the destruction of its dogmas is accompanied by material disaster. But in order to avoid the development of a dangerous underground movement as after 1918, and to make the peoples concerned desire re-education, the means of destroying the dogmas of this new 'faith,' i.e., of historical pseudo-science, must be prepared in good time.

Some fresh proposals to bring this about were developed.

71 Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Summary of a Communication made by Professor J. L. Myres, F.B.A.: 23 March, 1943.

These two regions of North Africa differ widely in structure, resources, and history. Cyrene was colonized from the Greek island of Thera in the seventh century B.C., and became very rich, with several daughter cities, of which Barca and Berenice (Benghazi) were the chief. Its wealth came from sheep-farming, a wild drug (*silphium*) of which it had the monopoly, and trans-Saharan trade. Its monuments are still impressive, especially its rock-cut tombs and temple of Apollo.

Tripoli—a land of 'Three Cities'—repelled Greek colonization about 515 B.C., and fell under Carthaginian rule, and then under Roman. Relatively lowland, and cultivable, it produced corn and olives, and its 'Three Cities' were wealthy and magnificent in Imperial times and until the Arab conquest.

The Development of Vernacular Literature in Africa. Summary of a Communication by Dr. Ida C. Ward: 20 April, 1943.

72 The provision of reading material is implicit in the many schemes of development which are being planned for Africa. The linguistic implications and the problems involved in them have not been sufficiently stressed. Literature must for the moment give way before the pressing need for actual reading matter, which at present is lamentably inadequate in even the bigger languages of Africa, though this does not mean that literature will not grow.

Two main questions arise. In what languages must these books, pamphlets, newspapers be written; and who shall write them?

A European language, a 'lingua franca' or 'union' language, the language of the most important groups? For each of these something can be said, and it is possible to use all for different types of book and different classes of people. Here we must consider not the educated few, but en-

visage mass and adult education, as well as a much wider provision of schools, and for these, the vernacular is essential if all people are to be reached.

The African must write them, and for this he must be trained. The problems involved in this development include the choice of the best language for the purpose in any area, of the most useful dialect, of a suitable orthography, questions of word division, conventions of spelling. General linguistic training directed towards this purpose, and including a careful study of the vernacular and its potentialities, is a preliminary to real development. The need is urgent.

Among Africans there are signs of awakened interest in their languages and cultures: literary societies have been formed: a critical attitude is showing itself: questions of dialects and orthography are discussed: there is a possibility of departments of vernacular studies at colleges like Achimota and Makerere. There is here a vast field of wide activity.

OBITUARY

Franz Boas: 21 December, 1942.

73 By the death in New York at the age of 84 of Emeritus Professor Franz Boas, the world of Anthropology has lost one of its most fascinating and influential figures. Perhaps no one since Tylor has exerted as much influence on his contemporaries as he and yet there is no textbook of the science that bears his name, if we except one edited in collaboration with his pupils.

Franz Boas was born in Minden, Westphalia, in 1858. After studying in his native town he went to the Universities of Heidelberg, Bonn, and Kiel, where he took his doctorate with a thesis on the colour of sea water.

The turning point in Boas's life came after a voyage to Baffin Land whence he returned as Privatdocent and assistant at the Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin. In this way he came in contact with Virchow, Bastian, Tylor, and Beddoe from 1885 onwards.

In 1886 he visited British Columbia to study the native customs. Three years later he became instructor at Clark University and in 1895 he was attached to the American Museum of Natural History. In 1899 he was appointed to the Chair of Anthropology at Columbia, a position which he occupied with great distinction till his resignation in 1936.

Just as Sir William Turner made Edinburgh the nursery of anatomists, Boas in the space of one generation made Columbia the nursery of American anthropologists. He was the first anthropologist to combine active field experience with teaching. By the extensive use of the phonograph he recorded and studied the languages of many American tribes. His philological works on the Kwakiutl Indians, his excavations in Mexico, and the fresh and novel ideas he shed on many problems would have made the reputation of lesser men. But Boas was not out for public fame; his was the spirit of the true scientist whose greatest reward was the solution of difficult problems, thereby making the task of others

easier. He eschewed publicity and did not believe in dressing facts to suit prevailing fashions, a fact which explains the hostility with which influential circles greeted his conclusions.

Two major contributions pregnant with revolutionary possibilities stand to his credit, namely: (a) the interesting connection he established between North Asiatic and Northwestern American cultures as a result of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition; and (b) his proofs that the descendants of the East European Jew and the South Italian immigrants differed in physical type from their parents, their brothers and sisters born in Europe, and that the change in physical type was specific and cumulative.

It is in teaching and inspiring others, in planning research, in his original approach to and definition and analysis of ethnographic problems that we must look for his greatness. He was not a philosopher in search of systems, but a painstaking scholar, a genial and self-effacing man, a great scientist. He will be best remembered not as much by his own writings but by the great contributions of his pupils.

As President of the American Anthropological Society and the New York Academy of Sciences he was to be seen at all the great European Scientific Congresses.

He was elected an Hon. Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute as far back as 1902.

R. E. G. ARMATTOE.

Pangeran Ario Soejono: 1886-1943.

74 With the sudden death of our Institute's guest member, His Excellency Pangeran Ario Soejono, both the Netherlands Government and the Indonesian people have suffered a great loss. The deceased, who was only 56 years of age, was a remarkable and very gifted man. Descended from an old Regent's family of Java, he received a thorough education and was one of the first young Javanese noblemen who completed the three years' academic training, which was then a prerequisite for admission to the Netherlands Indies Civil Service.

Instead of trying to make a career in the central administration, he preferred serving in the ranks of the native division of the civil service corps, in which at the time there were still very few officials whose studies had such a broad basis as his.

After serving as a junior official and as District-Chief, he was already called to the high office of Regent of Pasuruan at the age of 31, as successor to his father-in-law. He soon proved to be one of the most progressive and able Regents of Eastern Java. In 1921 he was elected member of the People's Council at Batavia, a representative body in which he became one of the outstanding figures, and one of the very few who always spoke without notes. His speeches were characterized by a fresh and progressive spirit, and by great knowledge and love of his people.

A new phase in Mr. Soejono's public service began in 1934, when he became one of the members for Netherlands India of the International Rubber Regulation Committee. He therefore came to Holland, which he had visited some years before, having been at that time also a member of the Netherlands Delegation to the International Labour Conference at Geneva. During his stay in Holland he had often attended meetings of the Committee in London and Paris and various Conferences at Geneva.

His remarkable linguistic gifts greatly facilitated his work in international gatherings and with his cosmopolitan outlook he felt quite at ease on such occasions.

Mr. Soejono remained in Holland till the beginning of 1940, when he was nominated member of the Council of Netherlands India and returned to Batavia.

During the attack on Java in the beginning of March, 1942, the Governor-General judged it necessary that the Lieutenant Governor-General, Dr. van Mook, and a few other prominent officials, should leave the country in order to be able to render useful service in the long-term interests of Indonesia. The deceased was one of them, and although he had to leave his wife and daughter, he did not hesitate for a moment. His plane was attacked by the Japanese and caught fire as it landed at Broome, Australia, but he continued his journey to this country. Soon after his arrival he was made a member of the Netherlands Cabinet, the first Indonesian called upon by Her Majesty the Queen to be a Minister in the Netherlands Government. In the short time Mr. Soejono held his post he won the respect and sympathy not only of his colleagues but of all those who came into contact with him. He would certainly have been glad to give a lecture to the Institute if he had lived longer, as he was a keen student of anthropology. Even during his last stay in Holland he regularly followed the courses of Prof. Dr. Josselin de Jong at Leyden University. In Soejono the writer has also lost a good friend, with whom experiences have been shared and thoughts exchanged for more than a quarter of a century.

AUGUST MUHLENFELD.

REVIEWS

SOCIOLOGY.

Climate and the Energy of Nations. By S. F. Markham, M.A., B.Litt., M.P., F.R.Met.S. Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. 144; price 10s. 6d.

This work is divided into twelve chapters, viz. the causes of energy, climate as a factor, human reactions, the ideal outdoor climate, climate and history (including a survey of the significance of the 70° isotherm, and notes on Egypt, India, Greece and Rome, Arabia and Islam, Spain and Portugal, America, and the 'coal civilizations'), climates and climatic control to-day, the death-rate and infantile mortality as tests of national energy, trade as a test, energy in the British Isles, the Jews and the 'poor whites' and a concluding chapter on the future, with two statistical appendices.

With Mr. Markham's main contention that 'one of the basic reasons for the rise of a nation in modern times is its control over climatic conditions,' none will quarrel. But it is a well-worn statement, the elaboration of which hardly needs a new work of this kind. Mr. Markham, however, goes much further than merely to elaborate it, and states in his preface that his work is the result of 'a study of civilization from the scientific angle.' The book is unsatisfactory precisely because it is not consistently scientific. Several of Mr. Markham's deductions are not based on the organized body of knowledge that has been accumulated on the subject: that is, they are unscientific.

One may mention in passing a few generalizations: 'We know that certain peoples such as the British are regarded as phlegmatic' (p. 11). By the term British, does Mr. Markham mean 'English'? I notice that all his maps of England and Wales (p. 116) are entitled 'England' and that Wales is not mentioned as such in

the Index. 'In the early days indeed, the religion of a people was thought to account for much of its greatness' (p. 11). Why 'early days'? Does Mr. Markham consider the religious factor as now of no account? Anthropologists will be shocked to hear that they 'the world over are so divided in their views that there is no common acceptance of even the broadest racial divisions' (p. 16).

On pp. 67-83, the coal civilizations are discussed. I find the treatment of fuel in this section very unsatisfactory. No mention is made of peat and its important place in the culture of large tracts of this island, down to recent times. We know, too, that Sir Cyril Fox discovered used and unused coal in a Glamorganshire cairn of Bronze Age date (about 1400 B.C.) and I am somewhat sceptical of the assumptions made concerning its unimportance in all districts in early times. Mr. Markham's summary of the development of the fireplace is singularly unsatisfactory: he refers, for instance, to its 'invention' in the thirteenth century (p. 68) and to its presence in Rochester Castle in 1130 (p. 69)! It is obvious that he has ignored the literature (such as the Welsh Laws) concerning the highly-developed central fireplace of pre-Norman and later times, with its stone fireback or 'reredos' and its front *retentaculum* of iron (see also L. A. Shuffrey's *English Fireplace*).

On p. 79, Mr. Markham refers to the excess of births over deaths in four countries including Sweden (5.4 per thousand per annum in 1921-30 and only 2.5 in 1931-5) and suggests that countries such as Sweden 'are dropping behind through sheer lack of "punching power"'. In view of Sweden's pre-eminence in what may be termed creative civilization, particularly in the applied arts,

this is a surprising statement. Does Mr. Markham equate national energy with, literally, punching power? The question is partially answered in Chapter IX, where he states that 'the effort to secure and retain wealth' is 'one of the surest indications of national energy' and that 'external trade' is another. As a student of culture, I would disagree with the adequacy of both these criteria.

In Chapter X, however, Mr. Markham's theorizing is crystallized by the application of his principles to the small area of the British Isles. 'If there is anything in the theory previously propounded,' he writes, 'prosperity and culture should centre towards the south of this area, i.e. the dry-warm portion.' He proceeds to prove to his own satisfaction that the cultural paradise of Britain is south-east of a line drawn from Plymouth to Scarborough. What are the proofs? (a) He quotes Ramsay Muir's statement that south-east of this line 'sprang nine-tenths of the men born before 1800 whose names find a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*,' and he himself has gone through the supplementary volumes to find that they support the contention! The 'scientific angle'? Does Mr. Markham realize that to be included in the *D.N.B.* 'before 1800' involved, generally speaking, membership of a certain social caste? Does he realize that the greater part of the island west of the line he has drawn is occupied by another nation and that by reason of its different language and culture, that nation is unrepresented in the *D.N.B.* except where a few of its members wrote in English or migrated to England or took part in English life? Mr. Markham's test is useless and misleading unless he includes Welsh as well as English biography. And even for English men of genius, the *D.N.B.* is an unsatisfactory guide. (b) Mr. Markham illustrates the 'meteorology of England' to prove again the same contention. But from his meteorological map, he omits any record of sunshine and fog, and also of isophenes, both of which would spoil his picture. A fog map (such as map 3 in *Ground Plan of Britain*) would show that the favoured areas are all west of Mr. Markham's line. (c) Mr. Markham has a map illustrating unemployment from 1931 to 1936. South and east of his line it is low (under 16 per cent.) north and west high (over 22 per cent.) And here he makes the ludicrous statement that 'the first most striking agreement is that the counties with high unemployment are also the cold-wet areas and the

'counties with low unemployment are the warm-dry areas.' The 'scientific angle'? Are we to suppose that the highest unemployment during 1931-36 was to be found on the central-Wales plateau which is the coldest and wettest area west of Mr. Markham's line? Had climate any relation whatsoever to the inter-war depression in the south-Wales coalfield? If not, why does Mr. Markham stress this 'striking agreement'? Let him tell the miners of the Rhondda that they must blame the climate for their unemployment! (d) Mr. Markham shows the distribution of wireless licences in 1935 and shows again that north and west of his line, the percentage is low. Why does Mr. Markham choose 1935? Does he realize that in that year the greater part of Wales was so unsatisfactorily served by transmitters and by programmes in the Welsh language (the only programmes which people over a large area could understand) that it was futile for the Welsh people to instal sets? In that year the West country and Wales were served from the same transmitter and shared the same programme to the dissatisfaction of both regions. In 1937, a new transmitter was set up in Anglesey. In the same year, the Welsh and West of England programmes were separated, with the result that in 1938 and 1939 (the latest pre-war figures) the wireless-licences percentage in the West of England was the highest in Britain, and Wales (with its still unsatisfactory service) had also a far greater number of sets. By choosing his year, Mr. Markham has ignored most of the principal facts, and his deductions are not 'based on the body of knowledge that has been accumulated on the subject' (to quote the dictionary *sv.* 'science').

It is indeed tiresome to see any new restatement of this deterministic theory of culture and I would stress the danger of the (unfortunately) fashionable practice of attempting to 'explain' history and culture in Britain by means of pretty distributional maps which ignore so many of the formative cultural and spiritual factors in human development. May I suggest to Mr. Markham that he should supplement his series by a map illustrating the degree of literacy amongst the whole population in Britain and see whether he can still defend his thesis. Literacy is as sound a test as radio-listening. Or does he maintain that like religion it is unimportant in studying the causes of national greatness?

IORWERTH C. PEATE.

FOLKLORE.

English Custom and Usage. By Christina Hole. London, Batsford, 1941-2. 8½ inches by 5½ inches. viii+152 pp. Price 10s. 6d. net.

If it were not for the guarded and unassuming words used by the author, the title and, still more, the publisher's description of the book, might seem to challenge comparison with the three volumes recently published on the subject by the Folk-Lore Society. But criticism is disarmed when the writer tells us of the scope of her work: "I have attempted to give a brief description of some of the traditional customs and ceremonies which still exist in England, together with a short account of their origin and history." Two statements are added: "there can be little new to offer to the reader"; and the following important words: "I have been privileged to see many of these ceremonies myself."

Besides the seven chapters devoted to the seasons from Christmas to Autumn, others are included, upon Pagan Survivals, Fairs and Wakes, Memorial Customs, Civic Customs, The Land and its Tenants, Gifts and Bequests. A bibliography and index follow. From this summary it will be seen that owing to the limitation of space comparatively little attention can be given to any particular ceremony; though some, such as mum-

ming, Shrove-Tide customs, and rush-bearing are treated at greater length.

In attempting an account of the origin and history of the ceremonies the author has aimed very high, for the older a custom is the more obscure is its origin. In some cases it may be possible to trace the history back to Roman times, but we are still left with the problem of finding the source from which the Roman practice derives. Even if this problem were capable of solution, there would remain the difficulty, suggested by the author, of determining the amount of corruption and mutilation that has occurred; "in too many cases their real meaning has been almost lost sight of," so that the original intention is elusive. But the discussion of such questions does not really come within the scope of a book which treats of a large number of separate customs, ancient and recent (the date for the beginning of one ceremony is 1938), and we are grateful to the author for conducting us in a pleasant fashion through many interesting descriptions of what is "a part of our national heritage."

About 'first-footing' we read: "Under no circumstances should a fair-haired man or a woman be the first to enter the house." This statement seems too general, for in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the

Bradford and Huddersfield district, if he be fair, especially if he has red hair, he is supposed to bring luck. In Northumberland, too, a fair man is luckier than a dark. Another slip mentions the full moon which determines Easter, as falling after 21 March, instead of upon or next after 21 March.

The book is well printed and misprints are not many; we call attention to 'Dioceletion' on p. 17; to 'Ilka Moor' on p. 71; and to 'Whitechurch Canonoricum' on p. 102; also to a slip on p. 18 in the third line of the quotation from the statutes of St. Paul's School, where the word 'he' makes a change in the meaning of the statute. Another small matter is the omission of the name of the county in which less known places are situated; it would help a student, for instance, to know which Twyford is meant on p. 59. The type is easy to read, and it goes without saying that the illustrations in a Batsford book are attractive. P. J. HEATHER.

British Calendar Customs. Scotland, Vol. III.: June to December. Christmas. The Yule. By Mrs. M. MacLeod Banks. London, Folk-Lore Society (William Glaisher, Ltd.), 1941. 266 pp. Price 15s.

This completes the highly useful work of Mrs. Banks (see MAN, 1937, 144; 1941, 49), and finishes the Society's record of printed matter regarding British calendar customs, so far, that is, as England and Scotland are concerned. Like all volumes of this series, it has the merits and defects of its general plan. On the one hand, it gives in large excerpts and abundant references all that had appeared in print, up to the moment of composition, which was known to the very efficient compiler and seemed to her relevant. On the other, the very fact that it does not attempt interpretation (as the short preface states), nor even correction, means that it can nowhere mount higher than its sources, and if they are sloppily inaccurate, wildly conjectural, or full of irrelevant detail interspersed with odds and ends of fact worth recording, the excerptress must allow her pages to suffer from those faults. One little example may serve to show the kind of defect which this method of using older literature has perforce to perpetuate. On p. 185 it is stated that St. Andrew was crucified on an olive tree. The authority for this, a work a century old dealing with the mediæval calendar, cites as its source 'St. John Chrysostom, in his sermon on the festival of St. Andrew.' But the reviewer has so far failed to find any sermon of Chrysostom or any spurious work attributed to him which has St. Andrew's day for its subject or mentions the tradition. If any such legend does lurk in the writings of the good but long-winded Doctor, it is interesting and worthy of accurate record; but this third-hand allegation that it does is worth nothing at all.

However, Mrs. Banks is not to blame for this, and probably any other method of recording the matter would suffer from even worse defects. What has been gained for science is the compression within a moderate number of clearly-printed pages of good paper all that

a well-informed compiler, acquainted with both English and Gaelic and an expert in folklore, thinks in any way relevant to the subject in a very considerable number of books, many of them obscure and not easily come by, several MS. records (for the restriction to print has not been adhered to pedantically) and a host of periodicals of all sorts, from *Folk-Lore* to local newspapers. The future writer who sets about expounding, systematizing, adding his own discoveries and generally freeing Scotland from the reproach of being anthropologically much less well known than several regions of Africa and most of Australia, has his material underneath his hand, together with more or less accurate indications of where the authors quoted got their information, close renderings into English of various sayings, etc., in Gaelic and, not the least blessing, a reasonably wide margin in which to set down his comments and corrections. There are, by the way, eight plates which are of real value for supplementing the text.

H. J. ROSE.

Ophthalmic Folk-Lore. By J. D. Rolleston, M.D., F.R.C.P., F.S.A. Reprinted from the *British Journal of Ophthalmology*, Nov. 1942. 481-502 pp.

In another paper Dr. Rolleston states that 'during the last two congresses of the International Society of the History of Medicine held at Madrid in 1935 and at Zagreb and Belgrade in 1938, medical folk-lore formed a considerable part of the proceedings. . . . At Madrid ten papers and at Zagreb forty-four were devoted to this subject.' Most of the contributions came from the Balkans, others from Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Portugal and S. America, two only from Great Britain—one from England, another from Scotland.

An interest so widespread in the medical world will perhaps come as a surprise to many folklorists in this country. Its extension in depth is illustrated by the research and careful classification of Dr. Rolleston's paper under the headings—Nomenclature, History, Aetiology, the Evil Eye in Man and Animals (an important section), and Remedies of many kinds; a bibliography follows. Citation begins with examples from the Ebers Papyrus and Assyrian Medical Texts, and passes immediately to the *Natural History* of Pliny. It is remarkable to find this much-discussed authority viewed in two very different lights by specialists well versed in their subject; Dr. Rolleston finds him 'a credulous book-worm,' while Dr. Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels* (1922), p. 17, after enumerating his sources, discovers him to be of unwavering scepticism, and describes in him 'a spirit of protesting unbelief.' Dr. Evans adds not a few items of popular belief in the power of magic to those collected by Dr. Rolleston. As he says, literature on this subject is very copious.

Students of the science of Man will recognize its importance and welcome its discussion and evaluation by a distinguished member of the medical profession.

M. M. BANKS.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

Necrolynthia. A study in Greek Burial Customs and Anthropology. By David M. Robinson. Appendix on Skeletons by J. N. Angel. [Excavations at Olynthus, XI; Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 32.] xxviii + 280 pp.; 71 plates, 26 text-figures. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press (London: Milford), 1942. Cloth, 90s. net.

This is at the same time a record of excavation in the cemeteries of Olynthus, and a general study of Greek burial customs; for the funerary rites of the Olynthians varied, like those of most Greek communities, between

inhumation and cremation, and the equipment of both rites was sometimes rich, sometimes very scanty. Three distinct cemeteries were examined, as well as miscellaneous graves; 598 interments in all. There was no formal arrangement of the graves; all alike were dug only so deep as decency required; and earlier graves were as a rule not needlessly disturbed. There is evidence however in 'caches' of terra-cottas and other tomb furniture, that occasionally a plot was cleared for fresh use, a custom immemorial in the Aegean, and widely elsewhere, and persistent in modern Greece.

Most of the bodies were laid feet westward; pot-burials had the mouth usually to east or to west, but also to south and to north. Most of the interments were single, but there were also group-graves, and mass-burials in an unprotected trench (348-350), each of nine persons. Many graves were lined and covered with tiles or large sherds, or contained a clay coffin with lid; in others the remains, whether burned or not, were in a large amphora, or other clay vessel. A few had stone slabs, and one chambered tumulus had its masonry chamber approached by a stair and decorated with fresco. Among the tomb furniture was little of artistic or historical interest; but Dr. Robinson has much to say about presumed uses of *lekynthoi* and other objects.

Nine skulls from Olynthian graves have been carefully studied by Mr. Angel. They are a mixed lot, and with them is one Late Neolithic skull excavated by Heurtley at Servia in the Haliacmon valley, 'a mosaic of juxtaposed dysharmonies' (p. 216), which means that not much can be made of it. The 'average Olynthian' (p. 225) was about half 'Alpine' and 'Mixed Alpine,' and about 40 per cent. Mediterranean, with a dash of 'Mixed Nordic.' Mr. Angel, like Dr. Robinson, has done his best with rather dull material. J. L. MYRES.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Correction: Ceremonial Lime Spatulae from New Guinea: MAN, 1943, 15.

80 In the first paragraph, line 5, the spatula quoted as 'Specimen 2 in Plate B' should be 'Specimen 1' as the description indicates.

On p. 26, line 24, 'noticeable' should be 'noticeably.' T. E. D.

Another Lime Spatula from New Guinea, and a Turtle-shell Comb. Illustrated.

81 SIR.—In MAN, 1942, 29, 'An Unusual Ceremonial Lime-spatula from British New Guinea,' mention is made of four single-pronged examples, and information is asked regarding similar specimens.

Amongst my New Guinea material is a turtle-shell lime-spatula (Hooper Collection No. 959) somewhat similar, if not so elaborately carved, as the British Museum specimen. An old label reads: 'Lime knife from Louisiade Islands, New Guinea.'

Fig. 2 is a drawing of the spatula, and fig. 1 is a rubbing of a turtle-shell comb of the same provenance, which I obtained with it.

The turtle-shell lime-spatula is 9 inches in length, and its greatest width $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The main carved decoration is a conventional 'birds' heads' motif. Along the outer edge of the crescent handle is a row of small perforations for the attachment of shell discs. The inner or concave edge is carved with an interlocking 'birds' heads' pattern, and a design of two birds' necks interlocking is carved on the upper portion of the prong.

The spatula is well worn and has seen much use, as is indicated by the incrustation on the lower portion of the prong.

The turtle-shell comb is a beautiful little example showing the decorative art of this Massim area, frigate-birds' heads carved in openwork.

JAMES T. HOOPER.



FIG. 1.—TURTLE-SHELL COMB: NEW GUINEA.

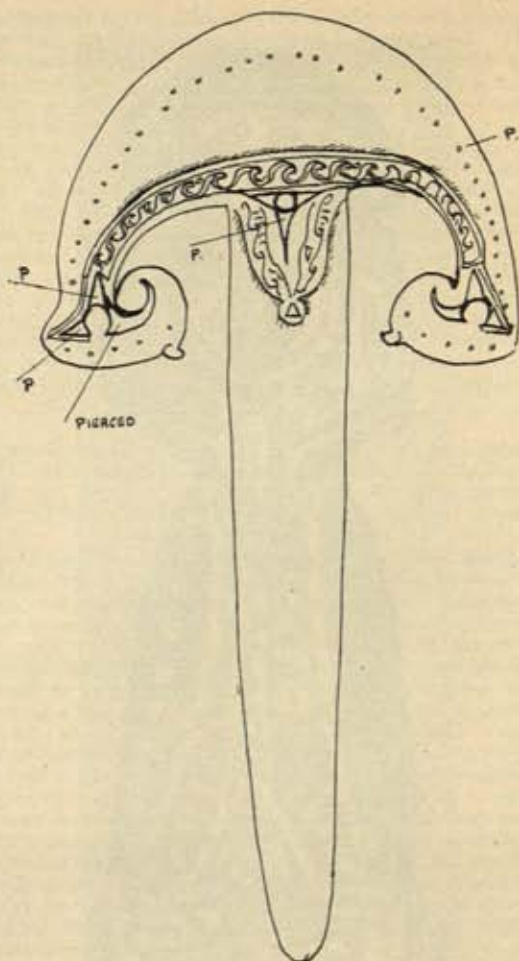


FIG. 2.—LIME SPATULA FROM NEW GUINEA.

Stone Axe Sharpeners on Shortland Island, British Solomon Islands. Illustrated.

82 SIR.—Although H. B. Guppy in the late eighties, *The Solomon Islands and their Natives*, 1887, referred to the use of boulders as grinders for axes, there seems to be no published account of their nature. While the present writer was collecting along the course of the River Hisiai on the north-west of Shortland Island in the northern Solomon Islands he took the opportunity of examining and trying to photograph a boulder in the river bed which had been used for some grinding purpose. Fragments of the rock, collected in October 1936, were described by the Mineral Department of the British Museum (Natural History) as a very fine-grained epidiorite, a rock common in this area: Lever, R.J.A.W., *Geological Magazine*, LXXIV, June 1937. As can be seen from the photographs, taken during a shower in jungle, the boulder shows corrugations regular both in their linear arrangement and in the width and depth of the grooves and ridges. As native spears were provided with heads of either bone or hard wood, these grooves can only have been made by the stone axes then in constant use; though Guppy refers to the grinding down of shell-bead 'money' and the sharpening of iron tools. The same writer states that slabs of these stones



FIG. 1.—STONE AXE SHARPENER IN SHORTLAND ISLAND, BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS.

weighing 5 to 6 cwt. were formerly transported to Mono or Treasury Island 20 miles to the south, where diorites are very poorly represented. In order to avoid confusion it may be mentioned here that Guppy refers to Alu Island as being the same as Shortland; but the former is a small island to the south-east of the larger Shortland. The present writer was as unsuccessful as Guppy half a century before in ascertaining when this grinding was done; it may well be a century old as there is no sign of an old village site.

R. J. A. W. LEVER.



FIG. 2.—GROOVES ON THE STONE AXE SHARPENER.



FIG. 1.—THE 'ANGA' CARRIED BY BEARERS.



FIG. 2.—THE CENTRAL MEMBER OF AN 'ANGA.'

CLAN-GODS OF THE MARIAS AND MURIAS OF BASTAR STATE, INDIA

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

With Plate E.

FOLKLORE OF THE BASTAR CLAN-GODS. *By Verrier Elwin. Illustrated.*

83 One of the most characteristic features of primitive religion in Bastar State is its organization by clans. In the old days every clan had its own peculiar *bhum* or territory. Presiding over the fortunes of the clan and the *bhum* was a clan-god who lived in the spiritual capital of the *bhum*, the Pen-rawar. This god was known as the Anga, the Pen, or the Pat Deo.

To-day when the process of god-making in Bastar has burst all bounds, when the clans have been scattered, new clans have come into existence and old clans divided, there is no longer the neat and tidy arrangement of former days. But there is still a deep attachment to the idea of the clan-territory and the clan-god. Every clan still has its spiritual headquarters, still has the clan-god who is regularly worshipped at the great festivals, still maintains a clan-priest (*pen-dhurma* or *pen-waddai*) to perform that worship and still in many cases takes its dead to mingle with the clan-ancestors. What has happened in modern times is that each clan may have several places whither it will go for worship or for the disposal of its dead, and this has confused the picture.

In this paper I do not propose to discuss the clan-system of the Marias and Murias, for that has been done in great detail by Grigson in his *Maria Gonds of Bastar*.¹ All that I want to do here is to discuss some special features of the folklore of the clan-god of the Marias and Murias. The Anga is in form and character unique among the aboriginal gods of India. In form (Pl. E 1 and figs. 3, 6) it is an arrangement of three parallel poles of *sāja*,² *bel*³ or *mahua*⁴ wood, over which are tied by *siāri*⁵ rope cross-pieces

¹ W. V. Grigson, *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* (Oxford, 1938).

² *Terminalia tomentosa*, W. & A. The famous Anga of Lingo at Semurgaoon is made of *sāja*, for it was this tree he kicked as he escaped unhurt from his great ordeal.

³ *Aegle marmelos*, Correa.

⁴ *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.

⁵ *Bauhinia vahlii*, W. & A.



FIG. 3.—ANOTHER 'ANGA' SEEN FROM IN FRONT.

of bamboo or *sāja*. The central pole is the actual god, the two side poles being simply intended to enable his two or four bearers to raise him and carry him about. This central pole has a curious head called *koko* which resembles that of a snake or bird (fig. 2). At the junctions of the logs and cross-bars there are tufts of peacock feathers (fig. 3). Silver ornaments, symbols of the sun and moon and sometimes plain rupees are nailed to the ends of the poles. Bands of silver may be hammered round them. Bells are hung round the 'neck' (figs. 1, 3). Sometimes the Anga is two-headed: husband and wife live together. The clan-god of the Maravi at Phunder who is called Karati Dokera, has two heads each with a hooded cobra nailed to it. So too the Anga at Bhanpuri, Son Kuar, is two-headed. Sometimes the Anga's wife is made in the form of a pole and placed upon him. At Dhurli is the clan-god of the Telami, Ireshunga. His wife Uhugunde, a wooden pole with a *koko*-head, is laid upon his 'body.'

The Anga is kept in a special shrine apart from the other gods (fig. 4) and is either suspended by ropes from the roof or placed on a bamboo stand a couple of feet above the ground. When it is taken abroad or goes to live for a time in someone's house, a special stand must be made for it. The Anga usually has a *jiwa* or soul. At Phunder it is a piece of iron carefully preserved under the sacrificial stone in front of the shrine. In Semurgaon the soul of Lingo is a bit of iron wrapped in a grass bundle and hung above its body. Sometimes the soul goes abroad of its own accord, and has to be replaced with appropriate offerings. At Chingnar, Son Kuar goes to hunt at night and in the mornings feathers are found scattered about his shrine.

When in use, the Anga is sometimes kept very casually. In Dongrigura I saw one hanging from the roof in a corner of the granary belonging to the Gaita. At Magbeda it was lying crookedly in a broken-down hut in the Gaita's garden. The two-headed Anga, Son Kiar-Maoli, at Bhanpuri, is kept in the Gaita's *bāri*-enclosure in a little shed. At Karanji the Naitami Anga, Pila Kuar, is kept in the Gaita's house.

The Anga often has one or more attendants in the form of wooden horses slung from the roof beside it. These horses are taken out at the clan festivals and the mediums dance wildly with them round and round the Anga. In the shrine of Hunga and Hirme, the god and goddess of the Tati clan, the wooden horse lies on a stone altar beside them. At Dhurli, Ireshunga's horse is hung below him. The shrines are often decorated with the skulls of animals killed in the latest

ceremonial hunt, with decorated poles or sticks used by the god at festivals, and with symbols of the god's children.

For the Anga is very like a human being. It marries and has children. It has relations both inside and outside the clan. Some of the older gods have very large families. Lingo Pen's brothers, nephews, and other relatives are enshrined and worshipped all over the north of the State. The process of multiplication is accelerated by the polygamous habits of the Anga. In Tikanpal, for example, Hunga has two wives, Hirme and Hire. When the second wife was added to his household Hunga found himself involved in constant quarrels, for Hire was not content to be subordinate to the senior Hirme. After a time she removed herself to a hill about a mile away where she lives in a cave, though apparently only in a spiritual sense for nobody has ever seen her. Hunga visits his junior wife at night from time to time. When I asked why he needed to take a second wife, the Pen-Dhurwa (clan-priest) replied that it was because Hirme was barren and the god needed children. He then described very vividly how little bits of stone about half the length of a finger came out of Hire's cave once a year, thus proving that she was fertile. These little stones are taken away by members of the Kunjami and Maravi clans to their own villages and are there worshipped. The son of an Anga may itself be an Anga, or it may take the form of a *Gutal*—a long pole with a bunch of peacock feathers at the top (fig. 5), or a Lath—a decorated flag attached to a bamboo staff.

The manufacture of an Anga is an elaborate and dangerous business. It is a necessary one because new gods are born from time to time, and the old gods wear out. There is a general idea that an Anga 'dies' every three or four generations. When this happens it leaves its mortal frame and troubles its clansmen until they make it a new one. Sometimes it expresses its will by burning down its shrine—when this happens everything is consumed, but the god itself is unharmed. Sometimes it attacks the village cattle in the form of a tiger. Sometimes it plagues the Gaita with appalling dreams.

The actual making of the god is curious and interesting; it reveals the logical and straightforward working of the Muria mind. Once it is admitted that the Anga is a sort of person with like passions to ourselves, the rest follows. I will give some typical accounts from villages in the north of the State.

In Kokori the clan-priest told me that when an



FIG. 4.—THE HOUSE OF THE 'ANGA.'

Anga gets very old and tired, it is taken to a river and 'cooled' by being thrown into the water (fig. 7). The clan-priest prays to the Yer Kaniya (Water Goddess), 'Now it is in your charge, you must care for it.' After a time the old Anga sends a dream to the priest and the villagers decide to make a new one. They have to go to another priest of a clan which stands in a marriageable relationship to the Anga's clan and he takes them to a suitable tree. He embraces it, and if his hands meet round the trunk it is a good omen, and an engagement is celebrated. The wood must always be taken from the proper forest, either for Anga or Gutal. Thus the Maravi of Banjungani must prepare Budha Dokera's Gutal with bamboo from the Koronda Dongar; the Partabi of Morenda must get their wood from the Bhatgaon forest. They offer a pig and rice, then wait for a year. The following year in the month of *Magh* they again go to the same priest who offers rice to the tree and says, 'Now we are going to take you away.' He goes round it with a thread, winding it seven times, and then cuts it down. As he is cutting it, he gives the tree liquor from time to time 'in case it should get tired.' They take the wood home, and induce some old man to make the Anga. When it is ready they take it to the river and make offerings to the Yer Kaniya. Every Anga has an umbilical stump with a cord attached and the father's sister of the clan-priest must cut this cord and throw it into the water. Then they bathe the god to purify it after the cutting of the cord. At last it is taken to its temple and a young bull is sacrificed.

In Chingnar, Motiram, the clan-priest of the Markami, gave a vivid description of the origin and the manufacture of the god.

'We Markami used to live near Gorma and then we came here. The clan-priest of Sarandi gave us *bhum* (land) to live in and we began to worship Bara Pen. One day I found in a new forest clearing a copper knife on a stump and took it home. That night I had a dream. A god appeared and said, 'Honour me' but I took no notice and did nothing. Soon many villagers fell sick and the cattle died. I went to Bara Pen's priest and the god declared through him that his son Son Kuar had come to live with me. 'You must honour him.' I said, 'Let us first see if this is true; we will promise to honour him if we have good fortune this year.' That year we got a fine harvest and none of the children in the village fell ill.

'So we placed a stone in the ground to begin with and put the knife, which was the soul of Son Kuar, beneath it. Then I had another dream, 'This is not enough, you must make an Anga,' but again I took no notice and did nothing and presently the cattle fell ill and a boy died in my house. This time Bara Pen's priest was frightened and promised to make the Anga, but I said, 'Let us promise to make it if we have another good year.' Once again there was a splendid crop, and we decided to obey the god.

'At Maragaon there was a Partabi Gaita. The Partabi is a clan with which our sons can marry, so we went to him for the engagement ceremony. As we went along we looked for a good omen and we saw the *usir* bird, so we continued on our way. When we arrived, the Gaita said, 'Friends, why have you come?' We replied, 'We are your *saga*⁶; we are

⁶ *Sāga* or *samdhi* are people whose children can marry each other.



FIG. 5.—A 'GUTAL,' SON OF AN 'ANGA.'

'Markami; we have heard that a flower has blossomed in your house and we would pick it and put it in our hair.' The Gaita replied, 'It is true that there is a flower in my house, but before you may pick it you must come in three days' time with a goat and rice and liquor.'⁷

'So after three days we came with these things and more, and the Partabi Dhurwa (priest) took us into the jungle to a *mahua* tree. We made offerings to Kuari Pen who is the guardian of that jungle and then to the tree. The Dhurwa went round it seven times, he bound it with thread and embraced it. We went away and waited a year. When the time came we returned and the Dhurwa took us again to the jungle. Again he went round the tree seven times and put *haldi* on it and cut it down. He fasted for seven days, not even cleaning his teeth, and during the time of his fast he made the Anga and took it to Sarandi.

'When it was ready we took it to the river Pekar Kassa and there a man of the Dhurwa clan, which also is a *saga* clan to ours, cut the cord and we bathed the Anga. It was a double Anga for father and son. We took it to the shrine, dancing and singing before it, and

there Bara Pen's soul lives in a sword and Son Kuar's in the copper knife. We sacrificed a bull and offered liquor for Bara Pen; but Son Kuar does not eat beef or drink liquor, and we only gave him a chicken.

'After a little while Son Kuar gave me a dream. 'There is a girl Margundin Kaniya. 'She is brother's daughter to Halain Dokeri, I 'want to marry her.' So again we went to the Partabi Dhurwa for the betrothal and as before he said, 'Friends, why have you come?' and we answered, 'A flower has blossomed in your house and we would pick it and put it in our hair.' He answered, 'There is no flower here, what do you mean?' But we said, 'There is a *Deo-phul* (a divine flower) which is needed by our god.' Then the Partabi agreed but said, 'First bring the bride-price.' We brought the price and the *mai-luga* (cloth given to the mother of the bride) and all gifts that were necessary. Outside Son Kuar's shrine we made a booth of nine poles of *sija* wood, we planted a *mahua* tree in the middle, we brought the girl and took her with Son Kuar round the booth and poured oil and water upon them from above. So they were married and Margundin Kaniya lives with her husband in his shrine.

Another interesting account comes from



FIG. 6.—THE 'ANGA' ON PROGRESS.

⁷ This is the conventional formula used in Muria betrothals.



FIG. 7.—BATHING THE 'ANGA' IN THE RIVER.

Korenda, where the Anga of Budha Dokeri Deo, the clan gods of the Partabi and Wadde clans in that area, are made every few generations. The preliminary rites are performed as elsewhere, but later, just before the visiting clan comes to fetch the wood for their Anga, the Gaita of the Bhatgaon *bhum* (whence the wood must be taken) goes to the path by which they will come and buries seven eggs at intervals along it.

After the visitors have cut and dressed the wood, and are preparing to go home, they whistle loudly. The Gaita and villagers of Bhatgaon are waiting for the signal, and at once come out to catch them in a sort of game of hide-and-seek. The visitors dash for home, but if one of them is unlucky enough to break one of the buried eggs, it turns into a tiger which destroys their cattle.

When the Korenda people get home, they cut the tree into two, the upper half to be used for Budha Dokeri and the lower for Dokeri Deo. A special enclosure is made near the shrine of the now exhausted clan-god, and the wood is left there until someone comes forward who is willing to make the Anga. There is no limit to the interval; it may last any time from a few weeks to several years. When one or two very old men, who are not likely in any case to live much longer, come forward for the work, they set them to make the frames. When they are ready they put an egg on each Anga and make the old men sit 'to hatch them.' They have to sit there until their *jiwa* (souls) pass from their bodies into the gods. They know when this happens because the Anga begin to shake and tremble of their own accord. Directly this happens, the members

of both clans bring a cow or bull and sacrifice them. The old men climb down from their perches and the Gaita breaks the eggs before the gods.

Both Anga now start swinging and are carried on the shoulders of four Siraha-mediums (fig. 6). After the usual dance they are placed in their shrines.

But the two old men who made them, and whose souls have passed into their frames, die within a few days.

It is obvious, therefore, that it is highly dangerous to make an Anga. In Korenda at the present time the process of god-making has been delayed, although long overdue, for there is no Partabi or Wadde willing to take the risk. It is generally said that such men will die at the most within a year; if they do not they are regarded as exceptionally lucky. But their life hereafter is blind and shrunken, a misery to themselves, and a heavy charge on their relations. Thus in Kabonga, Malsai made a new Anga and lived for four years before he died. But it is said that for the last three years of his life, he was a senile and helpless figure, longing for the death that was denied him.⁸

Repairs to the Anga, which are made every twelve or fifteen years, are less dangerous, but they too should only be undertaken by old men.

⁸ An old report, by Capt. Macpherson, on the Khond refers to one of their destructive deities. 'It is firmly believed that the tree under which the deity is placed must die; that the water in which he is laid must be dried up; that the priest in his service cannot expect to survive four years'—N. *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. II (1892), p. 20.

Where one Anga is shared by several clans, the risk is also shared between them. The Anga of Halain Dokeri at Deodongri is the clan god of the Komre, Gaude, Dhurwa and Partabi clans of this neighbourhood. Her frame is made by a Komre, her umbilical cord by a Gaude, but the Dhurwa and Partabi are not allowed to touch her. Every twelve years, Halain Dokeri's *sāri* (in other words, her peacock feathers) gets dirty and she troubles the villagers till they make her a new one.

The Anga has various functions. Its primary function, of course, is that of god of the clan, keeping its scattered members together and attracting them to its worship. It is honoured at the great clan festivals held once a year in the Pen-rawar and it may also be taken out to visit the shrines of related clan-gods. At a big clan-festival and at the great *mandai* commercial festivals at Jagdalpur, Dantewara, Kondagaon and elsewhere sometimes a dozen or more of these Anga may be present. The procedure is generally the same. The Anga is worshipped with various offerings; it is taken down to the river and immersed in water (fig. 7); it is then anointed with oil and carried on the shoulders of its bearers; it is 'exercised' by dancing and playing with the other gods. At these festivals I have often watched the Anga attended by a dozen lesser gods, a crowd of drummers and gong-beaters and a vast company of boys and girls, men and women, going round and round the sacred clearing in procession. This is the *Pen Karsita* or Sport of the Gods.

Incest within the clan is regarded as specially insulting to the Anga and before the guilty can be forgiven offerings must be made to it. If they do not do this the offenders' bodies will swell and their eyes burst. They will be buried apart from the other members of the family or clan, and their children will be given to the despised Naiko Lohar in marriage.

As god of the clan the Anga is specially interested in marriages and in many villages the Ghotul Muria place one of the marriage crowns upon it or in its shrine. Often too it is concerned in death ceremonies. The memorial menhirs of members of the clan should be erected, if possible, in its neighbourhood. At Phunder there is a bamboo bundle containing a small earthen pot hanging above the Anga of the Maravi clan. When any Maravi dies his relatives carry his *jiwa* (soul) there, open the bamboo bundle and sacrifice a chicken above it, allowing the blood to fall into the pot. This means that the soul of the dead man will henceforth live in the pot hanging above his clan-god.

Another important function of the Anga is to serve as a means of detecting witches, breach of tribal taboo, theft, or even to discover loss of property. At the end of 1940 I witnessed an interesting witch-hunt at Palki in the Narayanpur Tahsil.

On 16 November, 1940, Aitu, the Muria headman of Palki, bought eight annas worth of Court Fees stamps and affixed them to an application to the Tahsildar of Kondagaon, complaining that in his village the animals were dying, people were falling sick and crops were failing, and asking for the services of the Anga Deo at Bare Dongar to discover what witch, magician, or malignant ghost or deity was causing the trouble. On his paying five rupees into the Treasury the Tahsildar issued sealed *paruanas* instructing the priest in charge of the god to take it to Palki (but to no other village) in order to discover and thus cure the trouble.

On the 18th, Aitu reached the shrine at Bare Dongar, and almost immediately the party set out. There was Deo Singh, the hereditary Halba priest of the god, four Muria bearers to carry it, and a 'Dhurwa' priest, a Muria specially attached to the god's service. In two days they reached Palki and camped in a little shed of branches outside the village, placing the god on a rough bed of logs and branches in a separate hut.

There Deo Singh told me about this famous Anga. His name was Narsingnath Deo and he was born at Amgaon in the Chota Dongar Pargana. His father was Mong Raj, who now lives at Paralkot, his mother Devni Dokeri of Antagarh. His younger brother is the Pat Deo who now lives at Jagdalpur and was taken there in the time of Raja Bhairam Deo to hunt witches. Here, of course, Deo Singh was talking in theological language: actually the Raja, hearing of the fame of the Anga in the wilds, had a copy made and installed in the palace at Jagdalpur. For some time the custom was to bring the original god in to Jagdalpur and to send the copy to take its place; but in time this custom was dropped and to-day the Anga in the palace acts independently of its prototype.

Raja Bhairam Deo, continued my informant, at one time had both Anga at Jagdalpur. There was a great epidemic, and none of the gods were able to help, so the Raja ordered them all to be thrown into the Indravati river. But only Anga Deo and its young brother Pat Deo floated on the surface and drifted to the shore. This made them very famous, but the Raja felt that it was wrong to keep two such gods in Jagdalpur and he sent

the Anga Narsingnath to Bare Dongar, where it has since resided.

This Anga is made of *bel* wood. Every three generations it is remade. It is decorated with a silver snake and a sun and moon in silver. The old worn-out images are thrown into a deep pond at Amgaon.

On the 20th of November the witch hunt at Palki began. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to be present, for the villagers concealed both the time and place of the ceremony, and in fact were sending me off in the opposite direction. Once I had made an offering of silver to the god, however, they became very friendly and I was able to witness all that happened.

Carried by four men, and accompanied by the village elders, the Anga Deo was carried from house to house round the village (fig. 6). The god stopped before each house, and the women had to come out with an offering of a leaf-cup of rice and a copper coin, and walk under the god and away the other side. If all was well the Dhurwa placed a ring of *aonra*⁹-leaf on the threshold and a bit of iron slag and hammered it with an axe.

But in two houses the Anga scented trouble; he refused to accept the offerings of the householders, swinging round indignantly, then rushing to and fro, whirling and turning in an alarming manner. He pointed out an old man and woman in one house, and the householder in another as specially affected by the evil. The priests hastily poured liquor in front of the god 'for he becomes 'thirsty when there is some mischief in his presence!'

At last they took the Anga back to its hut outside the village (fig. 4) and everybody sat round to discuss what had happened and to consider what was to be done. On this occasion the mediums proclaimed that it was not a magician or witch, but a number of deities affronted at not receiving sufficient honour—Pendrawandin, Pardeshin, Koriya Pat, Garba Rau, and the local ancestors—who were causing the trouble. That day and the next day were spent in sacrifice to the Anga and divinations by the local mediums. On the morning of the third day, diagnosis having been fully established, they went to effect a cure.

The bearers carried the Anga to the first house which had been shown as 'infected.' They stood before the door and a Siraha-medium sat down before it. The god 'climbed' on him and he revealed what things were needed to appease the angry gods. He made two little images of black

wax to represent the *kus* digging-bar of Koriya Pat and the axe of Pendrawandin. The owner of the house brought out a basket of rice and many little leaf-packets of parched gram, rice, lamp-black, rice-flour, *haldi*. The medium danced and postured before the god, and the Dhurwa took two chickens for the Rau, a pig for Pendrawandin, and a goat for Koriya Pat and made them eat a little rice. Each householder present put a rice-mark on the goat saying, 'Whatever 'evil, disease, ghost, or god is troubling us, take 'to yourself and carry away.'

After this the bearers were suddenly impelled to take the Anga out into the jungle and we all followed. The Anga wandered about erratically, but at last came to a halt at a point where two paths crossed, before an ant-hill. The medium fell into a trance again and called out instructions in a high clear voice. The Dhurwa cleared the ground and made a criss-cross pattern of black and white. He placed seven little piles of rice in a row. He made the sacrificial animals eat, and then killed them, dropping the blood on every pile of rice. With his knife he made a circle to enclose the god, and nailed a piece of slag into the ground.

Then the old man and woman who had been proclaimed as 'infected' came to the front and, holding bunches of *chir* grass (the grass from which brooms are made) behind them, broke them in their hands, threw them away with a gesture of finality, spat and walked hurriedly home without looking round, and by another way. The Anga also was taken home by another route back to its camp.

I was not able to see the ceremonies for the purification of the other house. The Anga demanded an offering of the fur of a wild squirrel, and this took some time to find. Two days later, however, the rites were performed and the village was cleared of its supernatural dangers.

The Bare Dongar party, richer by a few copper coins and a little rice, returned home the next day.

Among the Bastar gods, these Anga are the most widely regarded by the aboriginal population. They are homely and familiar, and closely related to the life of every day. They constantly intervene in human affairs. They are keenly sensitive to the presence of evil. Their position as gods of the clans gives them great influence, for it means they have to do with marriage and death, and all offences against clan custom and morality. The cult of the Anga is thus still very much alive and since it has been assimilated to the Hinduism of the Ruling Chief it is likely to endure.

⁹ *Phyllanthus emblica*, Linn.

But though the future of the Anga cult is assured, its origin is obscure. It is just possible, however, that this god whose name seems to be connected with the Sanskrit-Hindi word *anga*, meaning 'body',¹⁰ has developed out of the cult of the dead and in particular from the custom of using the corpse carried on its bier as a means of divination.

Russell gives an account of this for the Gonds of the Central Provinces. I have not myself seen it in Bastar, but I am told that there is an exactly similar practice and Grigson has recorded it for the Hill Marias.¹¹ At a Gond funeral, says Russell, when the body has been carried on its hurdle to the disposal ground, 'the bearers with the body on their shoulders face round to the west, and about ten yards in front of them are placed three *sāj* leaves in a line with a space of a yard between each, the first representing the supreme being, the second disembodied spirits, and the third witchcraft. Sometimes a little rice is put on the leaves. An axe is struck three times on the ground, and a villager now cries to the corpse to disclose the cause of his death, and immediately the bearers, impelled, as they believe, by the dead man, carry the body to one of the leaves. If they halt before the first, then the death was in the course of nature; if before the second, it arose from the anger of offended spirits; if before the third witchcraft was the cause. The ordeal may be thrice repeated, the

'arrangement of the leaves being changed each time. If witchcraft is indicated as the cause of death, and confirmed by the repeated tests, the corpse is asked to point out the sorcerer or witch, and the body is carried along until it halts before someone in the crowd, who is at once seized and disposed of as a witch. Sometimes the corpse may be carried to the house of a witch in another village to a distance of eight or ten miles. In Mandla in such cases a Gunia or exorciser formerly called on the corpse to go forward and point out the witch. The bearers then, impelled by the corpse, made one step forward and stopped. The exorciser then again adjured the corpse, and then made a step, and this was repeated again and again until they halted in front of the supposed witch. All the beholders and the bearers themselves thus thought that they were impelled by the corpse, and the episode is a good illustration of the power of suggestion.'¹²

The similarity between this description and the account which I have just given of the witch hunt at Palki is very striking. The dead are generally believed to communicate their desires to mankind and to give them instruction about the ordering of their lives. The dead are, of course, specially connected with the clan and its continuity. It is not altogether impossible that out of a cult of the Departed, where in former days the bier was used more than at present for divination and to express the will of the gods, there gradually developed the custom of substituting some symbol for the corpse and at last the 'Anga' for the bier.

¹⁰ In *The Ocean of Story*, there are puns on the Land of Anga and the body. Yasahketu 'came to earth to conceal his body,' a shameless pun, says Penzer, which could also mean 'to protect the realm of Anga.' N. M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story* (London, 1924-28), Vol. III, p. 13.

¹¹ Grigson, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

¹² Russell and Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), Vol. III, p. 90.

A NOTE ON COLOUR PREJUDICE AMONGST THE ENGLISH 'MIDDLE CLASS.' By K. L. Little, University Museum of Ethnology, Cambridge.

84 In many modern states, and particularly where a white population is dominant over a coloured one, the question of race relations is resolved in a constitutional manner. The most obvious example of this is South Africa, where an attempt has been made to restrict the respective racial groups to specific localities, and where further constitutional provision, e.g. limitation of the franchise to white voters, and various economic colour bars, have as their aim the consolidation of racial and social distance. The situation in the United States is paradoxical, but not an exception to the general rule. Certain assimilative tendencies of the American Constitution in terms

of equal liberty for all citizen-races are almost completely neutralized by the segregative, but no less legal enactments of the Southern members of the Union, which also set the pattern of relations between black and white for the State as a whole.

In Great Britain the permanent and impermanent population of some ten to fifteen thousand coloured people is relatively too small to cause any racial problem in the conventional sense of the word; but, sociologically at any rate, the absence of any constitutional or legal forms of colour bar seems in some respects due less to ethos than to accident. It is significant in

Britain, that where any sizable coloured community lives, racial relations take on a pattern not unfamiliar to other parts of the world. For example, in the seaport cities of Liverpool and Cardiff colour-bar patterns which interfere with the chances of employment of the coloured folk, which segregate them in special parts of the town, and which interfere markedly with the 'normal' flow of social relationships, recapitulate, however microcosmically, to some extent the constitutionally resolved forms of other parts of the world. Elsewhere in this country somewhat similar patterns are less evident and overt, partly because they are less frequently evoked. In Britain, in the comparative absence of racial contacts, it is only just possible to speak of racial relations, and no less difficult to assess the trend of racial feeling. Nevertheless, the problem is well worth study, not only from an academic or theoretical angle, but because the wider political and social ramifications associated with the position of Great Britain as the leader of a vast coloured empire, and the presence in this country of an increasing number of Colonial students, and other potential leaders of the Colonial Empire, make its comprehension highly desirable.

In an earlier paper, on the sociology of the coloured community of Cardiff,¹ the present writer dealt with this subject from the ordinary anthropological angle as a problem of observed behaviour. The data discussed below relate to the attitudes which underlie such behaviour, and afford some means of estimating the present racial situation in a wider context. This material was gained from the files of an organization which acts as a liaison between persons, mainly of the student class, who desire lodgings and accommodation, and their would-be 'hosts' and 'hostesses,' i.e. private individuals and families of the 'middle class' in the habit of taking paying guests, and the proprietors of guest houses and lodging houses ('landladies'). When these records were being compiled in the years immediate to the present war, amongst other particulars, the 'hosts' were required to supply answers to the questions—*Nationality preferred?* and *Will you accept coloured students?* In all, 701 'cases' were studied by this writer, and their addresses are divided fairly equally between towns in the southern counties and the London postal area.

A summary of negative replies to the second question is shown on Table 1 in terms of districts and percentage proportions of the sample. In the further analysis under the heading 'Totals,'

the expression 'Take any' signifies the proportion of subjects who declared their readiness to take any guest irrespective of nationality. 'Blanks' show the proportion of replies in which no answer was made to the specific colour question. It will be seen that about 40 per cent. of the whole sample expressed specific unwillingness to take a coloured guest, and that the proportion of 'objections' is somewhat greater in the case of the London area than outside. What is perhaps no less interesting is that only some 1.5 per cent. of the entire sample answered affirmatively to this specific question. A further 31 per cent. of the sample indicated their attitudes in respect to preferred nationalities, but gave no indication of their attitude towards coloured persons. When these points, including the 'blanks' are taken into consideration, it would appear as if a forty per cent. 'objection' to coloured people must be regarded as a definite underestimation of the actual situation here, and affords only a minimal clue to a reaction in this respect whose maximal content might well be assumed to cover as many as six out of every ten of the subjects concerned.

The next Table 2 throws further light on the situation. The 'subjects' were divided into the respective categories of (a) private individuals and families, (b) 'landladies,' and (c) guest houses. It will be noted that (a) contains a preponderant proportion of the total sample, and that its proportion of 'objections' to coloured persons (44 per cent.) is somewhat higher (significantly so in the case of the London figures) than the verdict of the sample as a whole.

These some 560 'cases' seem to offer a fair random sample of a middle class section of society which lives in London and various towns of the southern counties and is in the habit of taking paying guests. The sociological interpretation of the material, however, requires caution appropriate to its nature, as will be gathered from the summary of comments (shown on Table 3) associated with the answers to the above questions. Nevertheless, apart from any other considerations, it is reasonable to infer from the situation as a whole and various remarks such as 'NOT coloured,' 'No niggers,' etc. that the body of these negative replies or 'objections' denotes some kind of prejudice against coloured people. Such prejudice may consist in the wish to avoid the type of social and physical contact incumbent upon the admission of a coloured individual into the social and familial circle, or it may be of an economic character, e.g. doubt as to the coloured person's ability (coming as a stranger) to pay his

¹ K. L. Little, *Race Relations in English Society*, MAN, 1942, 46.

way. But although it is possible that an economic or entirely personal factor may be responsible, there are more than *a priori* reasons for suggesting that an explanation is to be found more readily in terms of social attitudes. This point can be clarified in a few sentences.

In many, if not in most English 'middle class' circles, the maintenances of social status demands a strict separation of the economic from the social life of the family concerned. Obviously, a paying guest comes initially under the former category, and hence, to accept and even to invite persons into one's house on a commercial basis is a somewhat risky procedure in terms of the social pattern, and can be accomplished successfully only by very careful attention to the regulations of that pattern. One regulation suggests that the most effective way of keeping commercial considerations out of sight is to act as if they did not exist. Hence, the guest must be looked upon as a 'friend' of the family. In the circumstances such a person must necessarily be one who fits in as closely as possible with the group's criteria in terms of appearance, speech, mannerisms, etc. Social safety in this respect depends on a careful avoidance of the unorthodox, and on conformity with the approved.

Some 44 per cent. of these families have refused to accept a coloured person in their homes. This in general terms is therefore both an indication of his 'undesirability' in middle class society, and an approximate index of the attitudes of middle class families as a whole in this respect. The results in the case of the other two categories, i.e. 'landladies' and 'guest houses,' offer further support for this postulation, allowing of course for the possibilities of a far wider margin of error in the sampling of the respective groups. The 'objection' percentages were respectively: 'guest houses,' some 56 per cent., and 'landladies,' some 32 per cent. Here again, a short sociological analysis alone is necessary.

In both these cases the motivation in seeking guests is fundamentally an economic one, and from the point of view of both the 'guest house' proprietor and the 'landlady' the considerations which determine attitudes in this respect are likely to be in accordance with economic interests. In general terms a 'guest house' occupies a position socially intermediate between the hotel and the private family itself. To a varying extent its function is to afford some sort of substitute for the latter. Guests take their meals more or less commensually, and social proximity is often enhanced by the provision of a drawing-room or some form of common room in which

they can mingle still further. In short, actual physical and social proximity between the guests is inevitably increased. From the point of view of the average proprietor of this kind of establishment, the existence of a 'friendly' atmosphere is highly important: indeed, to a considerable extent the success of his business is bound up with the degree to which his house is able to offer this substitute for the intimacy of home life. Conversely, and just as obviously, the introduction of a person or persons (for example, coloured people), whose presence is in any way unacceptable to the majority of his existing guests, may well bring about his ruin.² In contrast to this, the situation in terms of the 'lodging house,' or 'landlady' category, is somewhat different. Here, personal contacts between the lodgers are reduced to a minimum. In most cases the individual lodgers occupy single rooms or sets of rooms where they take their meals and remain during the time they are in the house. There is no public room wherein guests can mingle, and no social obligation upon individual guests other than what might be enjoined by a brief meeting on the stairs and in the hall. In other words, the possibility of a socially 'disapproved' person constituting a problem to the landlady is far less likely. In addition, there are differences of a purely economic and business nature between the running of a 'guest house' and a 'lodging house' which mitigate still further the dependence of the proprietor of the latter upon the good will of his tenants. In other words, it seems reasonable to suppose that here again the 'objections' expressed indicate not so much the personal attitudes of individual 'guest house' and 'lodging house' proprietors (although such a consideration cannot altogether be ignored), but like those of the private families tend rather to reflect certain social attitudes which are current towards coloured people.

Moreover, the fact that the resistance offered against social acceptance may be expected to comprise up to sixty per cent. of an important cross section of society; the consistency of the

² For an excellent exposition of such a situation see Keate Weston's novel *London Fog* (p. 84). On the same subject a writer says very truly in the 'Spectator' (1931): 'To be fair one should recognize that the proprietor of a boarding-house who refused admittance to an Indian may not himself be narrow-minded, nor the people actually resident in the house. . . . In the competition between boarding-houses to secure inmates, each proprietor has (for his pocket's sake) to think not only what his actual boarders object to, but what might be the handicap in securing future boarders. If he knows that some people object to having a non-European in their company, that is enough to make him refuse one admittance!'

material; and the nature of the situation itself are all features which imply that basically some important sociological principle is involved. That such a principle seems to hinge on the desire of the group to maintain its integrity against encroachment from other groups, and it may perhaps be summed up in the words of a woman student who on being asked to assess her social distance in respect to 'a coloured soldier,' wrote:

'I would like to help the coloured soldier, but I cannot as I have not personal freedom to do so, as I am in "digs" and . . . is like most other towns; the nice girl does not have anything to do with the coloured soldier. If I were a man I could be friendly, but as it is I can't.'³

TABLE 1

OBJECTIONS BY DISTRICTS

London	No. of cases considered	Percentage of 'objections'
Bloomsbury	34	41.2
North West		
Highgate, Muswell Hill, Golders Green, Hendon, etc.	45	43.2
Hampstead	73	52.7
South East		
Blackheath, Sydenham, etc.	33	37.0
South West		
E. Sheen, Kew, Surbiton, etc.	31	39.0
West		
Chelsea, Victoria, Bayswater, etc.	120	52.5
	336	
Extra-London (mainly southern coastal towns)		
Herts., Surrey, Essex, etc.	63	35.0
Kent	44	43.2
Sussex	73	40.0
Oxford and Cambridge	54	35.2
South Western, etc.	131	36.6
	365	

TOTALS (PERCENTAGE TERMS)

	'Objections'	'Take any'	Blanks
London Postal area	44.2	9.2	12.8
Extra-London	37.3	16.2	15.6
Whole Sample	40.2	12.8	14.3

³ The following comment of Park is not irrelevant in this respect: 'It is the principle (of hypergamy) which is represented in the familiar phrase: "How would you like to have your daughter marry a Negro?" . . . in any case, whatever form it assumes in any given society, this is a question that is invariably the touchstone and final criterion in determining what restrictions it is necessary to impose on race relations where they involve any sort of intimate contact. It suggests, and fairly demonstrates, the inconceivability of a parent's permitting the marriage of a daughter to a man of a class or caste beneath him.' Cf. R. E. Park, in *Race and Culture Contacts*, edited by E. B. Reuter, p. 80.

TABLE 2

London	As per cent. of sample	Per cent. indicating 'objection'
Private individuals or families	80.0	52.1
'Landladies'	11.3	36.1
'Guest houses, etc.'	8.7	61.0
Extra-London		
Private individuals or families	85.5	39.0
'Landladies'	11.4	31.2
'Guest Houses, etc.'	3.1	45.5
TOTAL SAMPLE ⁴		
Private individuals or families	82.5	44.1
'Landladies'	11.3	32.4
'Guest Houses, etc.'	6.2	56.4
Clergy	3.0	47.6
'The Higher Educated' ⁵	13.1	41.3

TABLE 3

APPROXIMATE SCALE OF 'AVERSION'

(Figures denote number of statements in each case)

Coloured in general	
Europeans only	3
White race only	2
Coloured might (could perhaps) be taken	3
Coloured only with high recommendations	3
No coloured except . . .	3
Preferably no coloured . . .	4
No coloured, if possible . . .	1
No one very dark . . .	1
Any, except yellow or black . . .	1
Any, not black . . .	1
No coloured . . .	224
Any, not coloured . . .	13
No black . . .	1
No coloured . . .	1
NOT coloured . . .	1
Africans	
Any, except Africans . . .	1
Any, but negroes . . .	3
No negroes . . .	1
No niggers . . .	1
Indians	
Nice Hindus might be taken . . .	2
Indians, if very nice . . .	4
No Indians . . .	4
Any, except Indians . . .	4
Eastern	
Japanese, if very nice . . .	1
Might take Japs . . .	1
Not Asiatics . . .	7
Any but Orientals, Eastern . . .	13

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⁴ The following may also be noted

⁵ I.e. persons with university degrees and other academic or professional qualifications.

⁶ A few miscellaneous comments are worthy of notice: 'No Jews' (4), 'No Nazi Germans' (2), 'Might take a highly recommended Turk' (1), and 'No one with Nazi principles; no coloured' (1) (1).

a † + ba w, w, † + be †, †, † + bē C =
 bò †, w, w, w + bo †, †, †, †, † + boi
 'bai †, † + 'be †, † + 'bè †, † + 'bi †, † +
 de †, † + dē † + dò † + do †, † + du †
 dyun † + e † + fa †, †, † + fā () + fe † =,
 ge † + gen † + gē †, †, †, † + gi †,
 gba † + gbē † + gbe † + gbi † + gbò †, †, †:
 †, † + Kā †, † + Kae †, † + Ke †, †, † + Kē
 Ku †, † + Kwe †, † + Kwen † + Kwi † + la † +
 lo † + lu † + lwē † + lwi † + lwo † + ma †,
 mò †, † + mo † + moi † + mu †, † + mū
 ni †, † + no † + nu † + nga † + ngen † + ngo
 †, † (?) + ñie †, † + ñò † + ò † + 'o † +
 po †, † + pu †, † + ta † + te † + tē w, w +
 u †, † + uy † + sa † + sā †, † + sē †, †,
 sò † + so †, †, † + sō †, † + su † + swo †
 vò †, † (?) + vo †, †, † + wa †, †, †, E (?) +
 wò † + wo †, †, † + woi † + 'wa † + ya †,
 yo † + yu †, †, † + za † + ze †, †, †,
 zie † + zò †, † + zo † + zoh † + zu † +

FIG. 1.—TOMA ALPHABET: CONTINUED IN FIG. 2 ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

+bè 𐄂 +bèn 𐄃 +bi 𐄄, 𐄅 +bī 𐄆, 𐄇 +
 𐄈, 𐄉 +bu 𐄊, 𐄋 +bwe 𐄌 +'ba 𐄍 +'bae 𐄎:𐄏 +
 'bò 𐄐 +'bo 𐄑, 𐄒 +'bu 𐄓 +'bwe 𐄔 +da 𐄕 +
 , 𐄖 +dgi 𐄗 +dwe 𐄘, 𐄙 +dy 𐄚 +dyon 𐄛 +
 𐄜=, 𐄝 +fi 𐄞 +fò 𐄟 +fo 𐄠 +fu 𐄡, 𐄢 +ga 𐄣, 𐄤 +
 𐄥, 𐄦 +go 𐄧 +gu 𐄨 +'ga 𐄩:𐄪 +'ge 𐄫 +'gü 𐄬 +
 , 𐄭 +gbo 𐄮 +gbun 𐄯 +gpe 𐄰, 𐄱 +i 𐄲 +ka 𐄳,
 𐄴, 𐄵 +ki 𐄶 +kò 𐄷, 𐄸 +ko 𐄹, 𐄺 +koi 𐄻, 𐄼 +
 le 𐄽 +lea 𐄾, 𐄿 +lei 𐅀 +lè 𐅁 +li 𐅂, 𐅃 +lò 𐅄, 𐅅 +
 𐅆 +me 𐅇 +mei 𐅈 +mè 𐅉, 𐅊, 𐅋, 𐅌 +mi 𐅍 +mī 𐅎 +
 𐅏 +n' 𐅐 +na 𐅑 +ne 𐅒 +nē 𐅓 +na 𐅔 +nè 𐅕, 𐅖 +
 𐅗 +ñā 𐅘, 𐅙 +ñei 𐅚=𐅛 +ñi 𐅜, 𐅝 +ñī 𐅞, 𐅟 +
 pa 𐅠, 𐅡 +pe 𐅢 +pē 𐅣 +pè 𐅤, 𐅥(?) +pi 𐅦 +pò 𐅧, 𐅨 +
 tò 𐅩 +to 𐅪, 𐅫 +tu 𐅬, 𐅭 +twi 𐅮 +ty 𐅯 +tye 𐅰 +
 𐅱 +sei 𐅲, 𐅳 +sè 𐅴, 𐅵 +si 𐅶, 𐅷, 𐅸, 𐅹 +
 +va 𐅺 +vā (𐅻) +ve 𐅼, 𐅽 +vè 𐅾, 𐅿(?wè) +vi 𐆀 +
 we 𐆁, 𐆂 +wè 𐆃, 𐆄 +wen 𐆅 +wi 𐆆, 𐆇 +wī 𐆈, 𐆉 +
 𐆊 +yae 𐆋 +ya 𐆌, 𐆍 +ye 𐆎 +yè 𐆏, 𐆐 +
 𐆑, 𐆒 +zeh 𐆓 +zè 𐆔, 𐆕 +zi 𐆖, 𐆗 +
 zwo 𐆘; 𐆙 + ? (gwei?) 𐆚 + ? 𐆛 + ? 𐆜 + ? 𐆝 (cf. va) + ? 𐆞.

FIG. 2.—THE TOMA ALPHABET: CONTINUED FROM FIG. 1 ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

interpret my drafts must often have been something of a mere guess-work. The results are nevertheless given as they now stand, the present note being in fact only a preliminary one, to stimulate further researches. I hope myself to be able some day to give a more detailed study of the Toma alphabet.

In the written texts the words are separated by little crosses.

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Macenta (French Guinea)

APPENDIX

A first glance at the three scripts of the Vai, the Mende, and the Toma, reveals at once a strong 'air de famille.' Few signs, however, are common to the three systems, but many are found in two of them, chiefly Mende-Toma or Toma-Vai, none perhaps being special to the couple Mende-Vai. It seems difficult to hold that the three systems were always thoroughly separated and that resemblances can only result from mere convergences. Mende might be like a very distant echo of the Vai—and possibly of an already deformed and corrupted Vai—to which it had added its own accretions. And Toma would have profited, more or less directly, by some elements at least borrowed from the two previously developed systems. Chronology does not seem to contradict such an hypothesis. The original part of each system seems however to remain the most important. Contact with

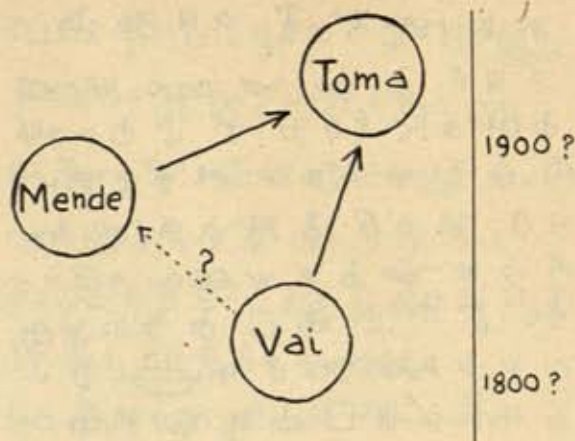


FIG. 5. POSSIBLE RELATIONS OF VAI, MENDE, AND TOMA ALPHABETS

neighbouring scripts may have worked more often, perhaps, as a stimulus to original developments, than through direct borrowings.

The geographical grouping is to be noted. And nothing proves that the list of these libero-guinean scripts is already exhausted¹: thus the possibility of the existence of a Gerze alphabet (French Guinea) is not excluded and awaits confirmation.

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¹ The Basa is only known to me through its printed form: (Westermann in Baumann, Westermann, Thurnwald, *Völkerkunde von Afrika*, 1940, p. 380).

THE INSTITUTE OF WEST AFRICAN ARTS, INDUSTRIES, AND SOCIAL SCIENCE. *Proposed to be established by the Council of Achimota College, Gold Coast. Compiled from information supplied by F. Meyerowitz, Supervisor of Arts and Crafts at Achimota College.*

86 The Council of Achimota College, which is already engaged in educational work of the highest importance to the peoples of West Africa, has promoted the establishment of an Institute of West African Arts, Industries, and Social Science, which marks a fresh advance in the development of their culture.

The proposal took shape in 1937, in a memorandum by Messrs. H. V. Meyerowitz, E. Amer, and Dr. M. Fortes, in collaboration with Professor F. Clark and Dr. W. B. Mumford, and was recommended to the Council as a 'marriage of the old æsthetic skill and power to modern technique,' to investigate local arts and crafts, to teach certain selected native crafts in the light of European experience, and thence to inaugurate local craft industries; and, on the other hand, to conduct a parallel investigation into local history, tribal life, customs, traditions, religion, and economic

conditions; to teach the local sociology, and selected aspects of parallel European studies, and thus to provide light and inspiration for education and social activities, and for government policy. Each branch is to have the three functions of research, teaching, and practical work for the community, supplemented by a museum and library. With the approval of the West African Governors' Conference at Lagos in 1939, and of the Advisory Committee on Education in 1940 and 1942, the Institute is now to be established on a war-time basis, with Reverend R. W. Stopford, formerly of Trinity College, Kandy, Ceylon, as Acting Director.

Achimota College has already provided certain 'industrial units' at the request of the Government, and with financial assistance, for bricks and tiles, water-coolers, glaze-ware, and textiles. These cover much of the first stage of the Indus-

trial Scheme, but have not been accompanied by that sociological and economic research, which is now seen to be necessary if these aspects of life are to be 'consciously planned for better standards of living for the great masses of the people.' But if such planning is to begin after the war, preparation must be made for it in war-time.

A necessary condition of rise in the standard of living is a diversified economic structure, including social happiness and stability, as well as material wealth. The arts are no less important than the industries, and this applies especially to rural communities as a vital reservoir for the urban centres which are unavoidable in West Africa as in West Europe. If industries are to be established for West African needs, the only alternative to white capital and coloured labour is a self-contained development of the kind now proposed; and the people as a whole benefit more from many local production-units on a co-operative basis, than from concentrated industrial centres. Such units, if commercially and technically efficient—as the 'production units' of Achimota College are—are a 'long-term capital investment' of the kind contemplated by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.

The next step, after providing equipment and expert advice for local industries established on these lines, is inevitably an Industrial and Economic Survey of West Africa, to show the possibilities of further local industries, such as leather, wood, and metal-work, and the most suitable location for them. This must take time, but is necessarily conducted piecemeal. Much valuable information and museum material has already been accumulated by Mr. and Mrs. Meyerowitz at Achimota, to illustrate the variety and proficiency of traditional craftsmanship, and native appreciation of it where machine-made imports have not corrupted inherited taste.

The Institute is designed to serve the needs of West Africa as a whole; ultimately, it is hoped that it may receive a Royal Charter. But for the present it remains in the control of the Achimota Council, which is transferring to it the existing 'production units,' with an Advisory Committee in London, and the advice also of administrative and technical officers in West Africa and co-operation with planning committees.

For each industry there will be a central technical workshop and experimental production unit, with economic and sociological observers. Here traditional craftsmen will be consulted, and apprentices trained for eventual local production units. Initial capital will be supplied by the Institute, but once established these units will be

co-operatively self-supporting, workers receiving fixed wages, and perhaps a share of profits after the repayment of capital, and renewal of equipment. Later it is expected that capital will be found by Native Administration Treasuries. Production units will work in association with village industry, weavers, for example, using homespun yarn. Apprentices will be drawn from craft schools and classes, with the advice of the Chiefs; they are bonded for four years, and live like students under the care of a house-master, in or near the College. Workers already skilled are to benefit by training and new processes and materials, contributing their own experience and craft-sense. In Togoland such training has been much appreciated by the spinners and weavers.

The provision of large-scale industries remains the concern of the Government and commercial enterprise, but both the technical and the sociological experience of the Institute will be of value in planning such developments, and ensuring the well-being of workers and consumers. The seasonal character of the predominant agriculture of West Africa gives opportunities for slack-time occupations: in Togoland, for example, which has a textile industry, the workers already co-operate both in cotton-growing and in keeping sheep. In forest districts, wood-working has similar occasions.

The Institute's sociological branch will, of course, be concerned with the necessary marketing of products, in conjunction with existing traders. Here Achimota has already its own experiences. It will also be in close touch with the educational systems and especially with existing craft-schools.

It is too soon to judge of the financial liabilities of the proposed Institute, but the experience of Achimota College with its own 'production units' suggests that with careful management its technical side may support itself. The sociological research contributes to the economic result, and may properly be treated as one of the overhead expenses of this kind of production—though it is pointed out that this might cramp their initial efficiency. In any event the knowledge which it acquires is of direct administrative value, like that contributed by other government officials.

It is an important part of the original project, quite indispensable on its scientific side, that there should be ample provision for collecting and studying typical examples of the craftsmanship of the past. Otherwise the technical 'improvements' will merely substitute imitations of European work for the living arts of the natives, and hasten the extinction of interesting and often beautiful constructions and designs. In this

direction very little has been done at all, and where something has been done, it has been undone by individual caprice or neglect. In technological work, a Museum is as important as a record office is in administration, and it is a frequent and painful experience that if you do not secure what you think you do not want, you cannot obtain it when you do want it. Africans seem to have a keener historical sense than most Europeans. They resent the assumption that they have contributed nothing of value in the past, and have a corresponding pride and interest in the evidence

of their own past skill and taste. The new society, built on a balanced economy, agricultural and industrial, requires a balanced technology and aesthetic. In surviving masterpieces of metal-work, wood-carving, ceramic, and textiles is the tangible proof of past proficiency, local initiative, and continuous development, as has been realized already in other regions nearer home. What has been done in the last generation in Cardiff and Dublin is possible and urgently desirable in West Africa—a permanent and efficient exhibit and reference-collection of the material arts.

THE COMING OF IRON TO SOME MORE AFRICAN PEOPLES. *By G. A. Wainwright.*

87 In MAN, 1942, 61, I published the traditions about the coming of iron to the Bushongo, to Uganda, and to Angola, and in MAN, 1943, 67, those about the Winamwanga between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. The dates for these occurrences could be established with considerable certainty as A.D. 500 for the Bushongo, about A.D. 1000 for Uganda, about A.D. 1475 for Angola, and at some date in the seventeenth century for the Winamwanga. The present article adds the information which a few more tribes can give about the early iron industry among them.

Basuto.—In South Africa the Basuto claim that their first ancestors were Morolong and his son Noto. The first of these words means 'Smith' and the second 'Hammer,' *noto* being the Basuto pronunciation of the widespread Bantu root for 'iron' *nyondo*.¹ One of the tribes of the great Basuto family is still called Barolong after their famous ancestor, and they take iron for their totem in honour of their great chief Noto.²

Ellenberger and Macgregor have collected a great number of genealogies of the various Basuto tribes right back to Morolong and Noto, and in this way have calculated that Morolong lived about A.D. 1270 and Noto about A.D. 1240.³ It may be, however, that these dates are too early, for the authors have allowed thirty years to a chieftainship.⁴

¹ Crabtree in *Journal of the African Society*, xxx, p. 334. As the word for 'iron' the Basuto have replaced *noto*, *nyondo*, with the later *-rale* (Sir H. H. Johnston, *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, i, p. 286), confining the older word to the specialized meaning of 'hammer.'

² Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari* (London, 1925), p. 245.

³ Ellenberger and Macgregor, *History of the Basuto*, p. 393.

⁴ Ellenberger and Macgregor, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

The Barolong are able to add an interesting piece of information to this, for they still know that their ancestors originally came from north of the Equator. This came out in a dispute about land which was contested before Mr. Theal. On this occasion it was stated that the original home was on the shores of a great lake, where at one time of the year shadows were cast towards the north, and that from there the people migrated southwards.⁵ They seem to have crossed the Zambesi during the eleventh and twelfth centuries,⁶ and the Limpopo about the middle of the fifteenth century.⁷

Bergdama.—The Dama or Damara, with or without the prefix Berg, were in South West Africa before the Hereros arrived about A.D. 1550. They were also the aborigines when the Hottentots entered the country.⁸ To-day they are the very humblest race in the country, yet it is well-known that it is they who were the first black-smiths there.⁹ They made the iron spearheads of the Hereros and forged their iron axes,¹⁰ and at the end of the eighteenth century those Bergdama who lived by the sea were forging iron and copper for the Namas.¹¹ It was the Damas who have taught the Namas (Hottentots) to smith iron and copper.¹² Moreover, in every instance it was

⁵ G. McColl Theal, *Ethnography and Condition of South Africa before A.D. 1505*, p. 184.

⁶ Ellenberger and Macgregor, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

⁷ L. Fouché, *Mapungubwe*, p. 45.

⁸ H. Vedder, *South West Africa in Early Times* (trans. C. G. Hall), pp. 152, 153 and cf. pp. 164, 165. Two genealogical trees give this date. Id., *The Berg Damara in The Native Tribes of South West Africa* (edited by H. P. Smit, Cape Town, 1928), pp. 40, 41.

⁹ Id., *South West Africa*, pp. 28, 109.

¹⁰ Id., *The Berg Damara*, p. 43.

¹¹ Id., *South West Africa*, p. 27.

¹² Id., *The Nama in The Native Tribes of South West Africa*, p. 126. The Namas are a Hottentot tribe, p. 190.

Damas who showed the first Europeans where the copper deposits lay.

Vedder thinks that many of the Damas had acquired their skill as blacksmiths from the Ovambo, for when an Ovambo smith was accused of witchcraft he used to flee to Hereroland where many of the Damas were living. Moreover, travelling Ovambo smiths have been accustomed to go south into Hereroland and even as far as Namaland. They made a great impression and the year 1840 is called 'The Year of the Axe' because the Herero chief then learned the craft from one of them and made his first axe with his own hands.¹³ In order to mine and smelt their iron the Ovambo used to go northwards into southern Angola.¹⁴

However, the Damas' own account of their acquisition of the art of iron-working puts a different light on all this. Their story is that they originate from a number of young Ama-Xosa, who got separated from their tribe. Thereupon they elected, as chief, one of their number who understood how to make iron weapons. He was A-a-nanub the first chief of the Damas, and brought them safely through the desert to Ovamboland. He taught the Ovambo the art of working iron, and the Damas became the slaves of the Ovambo and made their weapons for them. Later on the Damas trekked southward from Ovamboland, as they wanted to be free.¹⁵ Otherwise it is said that after a long time the Ovambo under their chief Narirab drove out the Damas, when for the most part they fled southwards to Namaland. This was in the middle of the seventeenth century, for Narirab was born about A.D. 1640.¹⁶

The Damas have preserved a list of their chiefs all the way back to A-a-nanub. By means of this and taking a chieftainship to represent twenty five years it is computed that A-a-nanub would have been born about A.D. 1390.¹⁷ Unfortunately the list perhaps has to be received with a certain amount of caution, for the names of the chiefs are derived from the Nama (Hottentot) language, the Damas having lost their own.¹⁸ But this need

only mean that the original names have been Nama-ized or translated into Nama.

The traditional connexion between the Damas and the Ama-Xosa is accepted by Lebzelter, yet the Damas seem to have been originally a dwarfish black race from central Africa,¹⁹ while the Ama-Xosa are Bantus and full-sized men. The apparent discords between this tradition, their small size, and their ability as iron-workers, can perhaps be reconciled by supposing that it was only a few Ama-Xosa or Bechuana wanderers who came from the north and east and established themselves among the small-sized aborigines. Among such people the newcomers would naturally have become chiefs, and it is to the arrival of a chief and his followers that the tradition refers. It is no doubt the story of the aristocracy who have by now become fused with the aborigines, so that they are no longer recognizable, and the aborigines now tell it as their own. By about A.D. 1400 Ama-Xosa or Bechuana such as these immigrants would no doubt have been in full possession of iron, and could have brought with them the knowledge of how to work it.

It is interesting to note that even such famous smiths as the Damas also used stone knives at least as recently as 1842. Their cutting up a hippopotamus with such knives is recorded in that year.²⁰ The Hottentot tribe of the Nama were still making stone knives at the end of the nineteenth century.²¹

The upshot of the foregoing seems to be that about the year 1400, according to Vedder's calculation, some wandering Bechuana or Ama Xosa arrived in South West Africa from the east or north. They came under the leadership of a man whom, like other tribes, they had elected chief on account of his ability as a blacksmith.²² On arrival they settled down as an aristocracy among the dwarfish black Damas whom they would have found in the country, and intermarried with them. Presumably they taught these aborigines how to smelt and forge iron and made them do it for them.²³

¹³ Id., *South West Africa*, pp. 116, 117.

¹⁴ Id., *op. cit.*, p. 233.

¹⁵ Id., *The Nama*, p. 126.

¹⁶ Like Mussuri in Angola (MAN, 1942, p. 107) and Musyani of the Winamwanga (MAN, 1943, 67).

¹⁷ We have this state of affairs in Ruanda. There the immigrant Ba-Tutsi were iron-workers, but after conquering the indigenous Ba-Hutu they made them do the iron-working for them and also cultivate the fields for them. Loupias in *Anthropos*, 1908, p. 9; Pagès, in *Anthropos*, 1919-20, p. 959.

¹⁸ Vedder, *South West Africa*, pp. 164, 165. See pp. 152, 153, for the dating of the Herero migration to about A.D. 1550.

¹⁹ Id., *South West Africa*, p. 158.

²⁰ Id., *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 158.

²¹ Id., *op. cit.*, p. 114.

²² Id., *op. cit.*, p. 115.

²³ But see the section on the Ovambo for some remarks on this date (p. 116).

²⁴ Id., *loc. cit.* The Damas have everywhere given up their own speech in favour of that of their various overlords. Those in the north speak the language of the Hottentots among whom they live, p. 108; Id., *The Berg Damara*, p. 41. However, they do not speak it well, which is taken to suggest that the change is recent; Id., *op. cit.*, p. 74.

Ovambo.—It has been seen that the Ovambo are much mixed up with A-a-nanub's arrival in the land, with the early history of the Damas, and from then onwards with the Damas' iron industry. The Ovambo seem to have arrived at about the same time as the Herero, for the succession of their chiefs takes us back to the same date, i.e. to about A.D. 1550 on Vedder's calculation.²⁴ They belong to the same group as the Herero and Bechuana,²⁵ and moved westwards until they struck the Kubango River. They crossed it, and while some of them reached the Kunene where it turns west, others followed the Kubango southwards. A place, Osimolo, on this river remains a sacred centre for all the Ovambo tribes.²⁶

In spite of what the Dama say, the Ovambo were in possession of iron at the time of their arrival in the country. For their tradition tells of spears with iron shafts as well as of others with wooden ones, of the so-called Ovambo knives, arrows, hoes, and even of iron bows, and pots. It also tells of the ornaments of copper worn by the young men. All the iron utensils dating from the time of their arrival are also said to have been afterwards collected by the chiefs and stored up in a certain sanctuary.²⁷

The Dama and Ovambo traditions, however, do not seem to be really contradictory. It is clear that the knowledge of iron-working could not have been obtained in the present Ovamboland, for it possesses neither mountains, nor stones, nor mines of either iron or copper.²⁸ Now, seeing that the Ovambo entered their present country from the north, and that they still go back north into southern Angola to mine and smelt their iron,²⁹ it seems probable that they knew how to do it before their arrival or at least learned of it on their journey. Was it here that the Damas and their first chief A-a-nanub taught them the art, or, being there first, shewed them the mine, just as later on they shewed their copper deposits to the European prospectors? A-a-nanub seems to have come by much the same route as the Ovambo, and the Damas to have remained for a long time in Ovamboland.

Vedder worked out A-a-nanub's date as about 1400, taking 25 years to a chieftainship,³⁰ but in calculating the arrival of the Ovambo to about 1550 he takes only twenty years to a chieftain-

ship.³¹ If he had calculated both dates on the same basis, they would have come out very nearly the same, A-a-nanub being the earlier by a couple of generations. Further, A-a-nanub is supposed to have been an Ama-Xosa or Bechuana, and the Ovambo and Herero as well as the Bechuana all belong to the same group.³² Moreover, A-a-nanub and the Ovambo seem to have come by much the same route. It, therefore, seems legitimate to suppose that they all formed part of the one movement, and that it was this that introduced the art of iron-working into South West Africa. But it would still remain a matter of speculation whether A-a-nanub arrived about 1400 and the Ovambo about 1450, or whether the dates should be about 1500 and 1550 respectively.

Ondulu.—Unfortunately definite and useful information such as the foregoing is all too rare. Only too often all knowledge of the coming of iron has been lost, and the enquirer is regaled with nothing more satisfactory than that which was gathered in Ondulu. The country lies three days' journey north of Fort Belmonte between the River Kwanza and its tributary the Kutato. Here the people said 'God placed our ancestors down by this mountain of iron. They could not tell what it was, but considered it to be different from the ordinary rocks. Somebody made a bellows of clay, then killed a small deer, and tied its skin over the cavities to cause the wind to blow. It would not answer, but broke. Some-one else said, "Let us make one of wood." So they went to the forest, cut a tree, made a bellows, made charcoal, got some of the stone and put it into the fire, and it got soft. Our ancestors before this cultivated with wooden hoes. They tried then to make an iron one. They succeeded, and that is how we began to cultivate with iron hoes.'³³

Vague as this is, it is better than nothing, for it shews that the people still remember a time when they were ignorant of iron. It also shews that though they now use wooden bellows, iron had been introduced to them by people using pottery ones. Yet again it shews that in this case at any rate the wooden bellows, which are so common in some parts of Africa, have superseded the original pottery ones because these are so liable to break.

²⁴ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

²⁵ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 155.

²⁷ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

²⁸ *Id.*, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 158.

³⁰ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

³¹ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 164, 165. He says, however, that one chief is known to have ruled for 45 years and another for 30 years.

³² *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

³³ Read *Journal of the African Society*, 1902, pp. 48, 49.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

Centenary of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

88 It has been decided to mark the Centenary of the foundation of the Institute (originally named the Ethnological Society) by holding a special meeting in the autumn of this year.

The proceedings will be opened with a brief Retrospect of the History of the Institute by Sir John Myres, F.B.A.

Lord Hailey has kindly consented to address the Institute on some aspect of anthropology in its application to Colonial affairs.

Addresses will be delivered by Fellows both on the Institute's past history and achievements, and on its place in the future development of the various branches of anthropology; these will be followed by short discussions.

The date and full particulars of the meeting will be announced in due course: it is arranged to be held on Saturday, 30 October, and there will be morning and afternoon sessions, one of which at least will probably be in the rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House. Arrangements for luncheon and tea will also be made. Full details will be circulated to all Fellows resident in the British Isles.

It is hoped that this meeting, although restricted by the abnormal conditions, will be as representative as the circumstances permit, and that it will serve to remind both our Fellows and the general public of the valuable services which the Institute has rendered and can render in the future to science and practical affairs.

Afghanistan To-day. *Summary of a Communication*

89 by K. de B. Codrington, 11 May, 1943.

It is not generally realized how distinct the geographical division is between India and Afghanistan. The latter belongs to Central Asia, though the barrier between the two areas is nowhere complete. Only north of Chitral is the Hindu Kush system a real obstacle to contacts. The Central-Asian flora and fauna spill over the watershed into the Kabul valley, which historically has more than once been under Indian political dominance.

The present frontier of India is not the frontier of Afghanistan. In between lie the Toubal areas which count as a British Indian protectorate. In other words, the Durand Line follows physical features, but actually divides the Pathan tribes which stretch right up to the Indus.

It is on this basis that British-Afghan relations rest. Recently the Afghan government has adopted a clear policy of Pathan nationalism. Pushto is now the national language. It is against the background of the fundamental republicanism of the Pathan that Kabul with its many amenities, its organized education, its industries, and radio must be viewed.

In this survey of what is an ancient tradition, special attention must be paid to Islam and the Mullahs, as well as to the Khans, the local leaders.

Mr. Codrington referred, with great admiration, to the work done in the scientific as well as in the cultural field, by the French 'Délégation Archéologique d'Afghanistan' under the leadership of the late Commander J. Hackin.

Commenting on the paper, Captain Claude F. A.

Schaeffer, Free French Navy, thanked Mr. Codrington for his appreciation of Captain Hackin's personal attachment to that country, and its fine people, among whom he was so happy both as a man and a scientist.

The Lacandone Indians of Southern Mexico. *Summary of a Communication by Dr. J. Soustelle, 25 May, 1943.*

90

The Lacandone Indians belong to the great Maya stock which extends throughout Southern Mexico and the Northern part of Central America. The language they speak is Maya proper, and is very similar to the dialect spoken in Yucatan nowadays.

Living in a typical forest environment, under a very hot and wet climate, in a region which has never been successfully colonized, the Lacandones afford an interesting example of a pre-Cortesian agricultural tribe. They rely almost entirely upon themselves from the standpoint of material culture, the only important exception being the steel-bladed implements they obtain by barter from their Mexican neighbours. From the standpoint of social organization and intellectual culture, they have remained untouched and uninfluenced by the Europeans. They thus furnish us with a picture of what the structure and religion of ancient Maya society might be like, at least amongst the peasant class.

The essential elements of the Lacandones' material life, their totemic system and their religious beliefs and customs, as well as their present demographic conditions, lead the observer to the conclusion that they constitute what might be termed a 'token' society, i.e. the decadent remnants of a once brilliant and civilized group of tribes whose achievements probably marked the highest level ever reached by the aborigines of America. They are, therefore, in no way 'primitive,' although their conservatism has enabled them to retain many ancient culture-traits.

Directional Changes in Funerary Practices during 50,000 Years. *Summary of a Communication*

91 by Professor V. Gordon Childe, D.Litt., D.Sc., F.B.A., F.S.A., 15 June, 1943.

The ceremonial burial of the dead is a distinctively human practice, no approach to which has been observed among the lower animals. Even the apelike Neanderthals who hunted mammoths in Europe 50,000 years ago interred their dead children or kinsmen in a crouched position with food, weapons and toilet articles. Surveying burial practices in subsequent periods the lecturer established five general points:—

(1) The position of the corpses, extended or crouched, had no racial significance, but the change from a crouched to an extended position seemed to go hand in hand with increase of wealth;

(2) Cremation was not a distinctively 'Aryan' rite, being practised by Semitic Phoenicians;

(3) Agricultural implements and the later craft tools by which progressive societies advanced from savagery to civilization were only exceptionally buried with their users;

(4) In stable societies the burial furniture steadily diminished so that less and less proportionately of the growing social wealth was buried in graves;

(5) Royal Tombs, characterized by magnitude, extravagance of furniture, and the immolation of human victims, were all confined to a transitional stage in social development when a territorial state was replacing barbarian organizations.

It might be inferred that human societies very

reluctantly abandoned the attempt to secure spiritual ends (e.g. immortality) by material means or came to conceive of those ends in a less materialistic manner.

The Lecture was illustrated with lantern slides and will be printed at greater length in MAN.

PROCEEDINGS OF INSTITUTIONS.

Mediterranean Culture. *Summary of the Frazer Lecture delivered at Cambridge by Professor John L. Myres, F.B.A., on Wednesday, 26 May, 1943.*

The Mediterranean region is unique geographically and has developed a characteristic way of living, in small, almost self-sufficient economic groups, essentially engaged in the cultivation of corn, wine, and oil, to which flocks and herds are subsidiary. Material amenities are supplied through bazaars, needs of the soul through sanctuaries, needs of the exceptional or the superfluous individual by adventure. These primary communities were brought into a single maritime association through navigation, which also offered relief from overcrowding, and assisted the wide spread of a few highly specialized types of society, Greek, Phoeni-

cian, Etruscan, which, however, all failed to assimilate the primary economics among which they came. Seapower abused became piracy, parasitic, endemic, and ineradicable. Intruders from without have been essentially either transformed by transit through the mountain zone of Central Europe, or uncivilized nomads emerging directly from grass-land or desert, and impelled by religious enthusiasms which neither Roman administration nor Christian doctrine were able to expel from about half of the Mediterranean shores. Yet wherever lands thus disorganized remain inhabited, the same primary economic groups reappear. It is inferred that all political superstructures depend for their vitality on these economic and geographical foundations.

The Frazer Lecture will be published in full by the Cambridge University Press.

REVIEWS

AFRICA.

A Black Byzantium. *By S. F. Nadel, Ph.D. With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord Lugard, G.C.M.G. Published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures by the Oxford University Press. 1942. 420 pp. Price 25s.*

Dr. Nadel's title is chosen because, as he puts it, 'the social and economic complexity' of the Nupe kingdom 'is comparable only with the civilizations of Imperial Rome, of Byzantium, of medieval Europe.' Nupe social organization is certainly a good deal more complex than that of most of the African peoples which have recently been described. Politically, Nupe satisfies Dr. Nadel's description of a state. It is 'political unity based on territorial sovereignty . . . inter-tribal or inter-racial.' Law and order are maintained by 'a centralized machinery of government,' and 'a specialized privileged ruling group . . . separated . . . from the main body of the population . . . monopolizes, corporately, the machinery of political control' (p. 69). He traces the history of its expansion, first under its own kings and later under Fulani rulers who 'infiltrated' into Nupe in the early nineteenth century. Their descendants form the present ruling class. Their political influence is made effective through a hierarchy comprising the 'civil and military nobility,' the *Mallams*, the court slaves, and the heads of craft guilds. To these there corresponds an unofficial hierarchy of clients (*bara*), whose status is proportionate to that of their patrons. A peculiar feature of Nupe culture is the system of rank and titles among women.

The economic system is also complex. Agriculture is 'adjusted essentially to a highly developed system of exchange and marketing' (p. 230). In the towns there are numerous specialists in different crafts, organized into guilds, the heads of which provide capital, arbitrate in disputes between members, organize large-scale co-operation, and take the lead in adopting innovations. Women play a large part in trade; many are professional traders, covering long distances by train, and being away from home for months or even years. It is taken for granted that such women supplement their earnings by prostitution.

A dual principle runs through every field of economic activity—the distinction between *efakó*, joint work by the kinship group, and *bucá*, individual work, the income from which is used entirely for personal expenses. In some places there may be *bucá* farms worked in time left over after the obligations of *efakó* work have been met. Elsewhere *bucá* income is earned by some craft. In modern conditions this is frequently machine-tailoring, which, as Dr. Nadel points out, differs from all the traditional crafts in that it requires almost no training or specialized skill, while on the other hand the money invested in buying the machine is much more than is needed in any other craft. 'We discover in a typical native home-industry the first traces of the modern industrial system' (p. 270).

An interesting chapter discusses the changes in economic structure under British rule, and the problems which result. Trade and commerce have greatly benefited, but peasants and craftsmen have not been able to accumulate reserves and thus increase their resources to any considerable extent. Dr. Nadel fears that plans to raise the peasants' standard of living by the creation of individual holdings much larger than the present family unit, to be farmed on Western lines, may defeat their own object by driving farmers off the land, and by creating a capitalist farming-class. He suggests that such modifications of the agricultural system, if they are to avoid these disadvantages, need to be accompanied by corresponding changes in labour organization, and, in particular, that 'the co-operative unit which makes itself responsible for the maintenance of labour,' formerly the kinship group, should now be found in the co-operative society.

L. P. MAIR.

Africa Drums. *By Richard St. Barbe Baker. London: Lindsay Drummond Ltd. 1942. Pp. xii, 159. Illustrated. Price 12s. 6d.*

Richard St. Barbe Baker, late Assistant Conservator of Forests in Kenya Colony and the Southern Provinces of Nigeria, founder of the Society of the Men of the Trees, is the author of *Africa Drums*, in which he tells us much of his former work and life in East and West

Africa. The book is illustrated with good photographs by the author and contains those stories which the public has learned to expect in a book on Africa—trekking through wild country, travels by canoe, initiation into an African tribe, dances and drumming at night, etc., and will greatly appeal to those who look for romance and adventures in the 'dark Continent.'

For the research worker the book has little value, as dances, drumming, tribal customs, etc., are solely described from the picturesque point of view, or are dramatized, and sometimes over-sentimentalized in order to enlist the reader's sympathy for customs which the author alleges to be misunderstood and taken for barbarism by Europeans. This can be seen from his description of the Kikuyu girl initiation, where he carefully conceals the main issue, so that readers, who are not conversant with this custom, will be unable to get a clear idea why this brutality is forbidden by Government. It is also unlikely that the Nigerian Government, carried away by his glamorous description of the ceremony known as 'making the father,' will re-institute human sacrifice in Benin.

For the sake of romance, he also prefers to call the Ancestor altar of the Oba of Benin a 'Juju shrine,' and a piece of funerary sculpture in the forests of Benin a 'forest mystery.' His description of the Bini *cire perdu* casting technique is inaccurate, and students of African history will become impatient with suggestions, such as to look for the lost ten tribes of Israel in Central or Equatorial Africa; as if these unhappy tribes were the only likely ones to have disseminated semitic customs in Africa; or to make the visit of Egyptian traders responsible for some Egyptian influence on the Nigerian Coast. It is hardly likely that even the most radical diffusionist will accept the following statement without demur.

'The Masai probably came from an Egyptian civilization. Some believe that they possess certain characteristic traits of the Ancient Egyptians. Their features have been compared to wall paintings discovered in the tombs of the Kings at Karnak and Luxor, and their method of hair dressing, which hangs down behind and is drawn into a close short rope on the back of the neck, is indicated in ancient Egyptian mural paintings. If a further clue to the identification is needed, one might mention their habit of standing on one leg while resting the other with the sole of the foot behind the knee, very much like the Dinkas of the upper reaches of the Nile.' (P. 18.)

It is a pity that those chapters in his book which could have been most valuable, namely those dealing with the conservation of forest trees and the planting of trees, are also rather vague and uninformative. Yet, those who know something of the destruction of every type of tree vegetation by the vast herds of goats, and of shifting cultivation and the ravages this causes all over Negro Africa, will best realize how highly important the author's efforts were to make the Africans understand the value of trees and to make them enthusiastic over the planting and care of trees.

EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ.

Europeans in West Africa. 1450-1560. By John William Blake, M.A. London, Hakluyt Society, 1942. 2 vols. Pp. 460. Price

95 The writer of this book admirably succeeds in what he sets out to do, namely, to give a contemporary picture of the nature and scope of European activity on the West African coast during the first century of Portuguese occupation. Contemporary accounts dealing with the fifteenth century are already fairly numerous, but the sixteenth century has been hitherto neglected.

The book is in three sections. The first deals with Portuguese enterprise; the second with a remarkable series of Castilian voyages, hitherto unnoticed by

students; the third consists of new information concerning early English voyages to Barbary and Guinea.

Each section consists of a clear and readable critical outline by the editor, followed by a representative selection of illuminating documents. Those in the first two sections are pleasingly translated; those in the third section are in the original English of the period and are of great variety, ranging from State Papers to pilots' logs and bills of lading. The travellers' own accounts include interesting details about cargoes, weights, measures, and freight charges, and fascinating narrative records, full of details of trade, navigation, climate, habits, and customs of the African peoples and the relations existing along the coast between the Africans and the Portuguese.

Mr. Blake is to be congratulated on achieving a far higher standard of scholarship, criticism, and readability than that with which we have usually had to be content in histories of European enterprise on the West Coast.

M. J. FIELD.

African Discovery: an Anthology of Exploration. By Margery Perham and J. Simmons. London: Faber, 1942. Pp. 280. Price 12s. 6d.

96 This anthology is designed, as Miss Perham puts it, as 'ground-bait,' to make known the writings of the African explorers to the general public, and encourage them to read for themselves the story of African discovery. It is inspired purely by 'literary altruism,' and does not seek to instruct or to develop a thesis.

Ten explorers are represented—Bruce, Mungo Park, Clapperton and Lander, Livingstone, Baikie, Burton, Speke, Baker, and Stanley. The extracts are accompanied by the minimum of explanatory notes and by sketch maps showing the route taken by each. A map of the whole continent shows pictorially the relation in time and space between the various journeys, and an introduction by Mr. Simmons traces the successive stages by which the African continent became known.

The subjects are chosen, says Miss Perham, 'for all tastes.' In most cases the selections include the narrative of the actual moment of discovery. There are several descriptions of the entertainment of the travellers at the courts of African rulers—Bruce at Gondar, Lander at Bussa, Speke in Uganda, Burton at Harar. The most vivid picture of the hardships of African travel is taken from Livingstone—and the inevitable extract from Stanley, on his encounter with 'the Doctor,' poignantly makes the contrast with Stanley's *de luce* methods. Another well-chosen contrast is that between Livingstone's story of a lion-hunt and Baker's account of his own exploits against elephant. In Livingstone's dialogue with the rain-doctor the point of view of the believer in magic is given as completely and as convincingly as it has been by any later writer.

Miss Perham's introduction is worthy of her subject. To her an important result of study of these narratives is the revaluation of the attitude of superiority towards the 'dark Continent,' conceived as 'a place of complete and anarchic savagery,' in which most of us were brought up. The explorers, as she points out, tended to see only the darkest side, and failed to realize the implications of the facts that they themselves reported—the existence everywhere of recognized political authorities, of organized markets, of trade routes, simple manufactures, and often 'close and admirable cultivation.' Often their first contact was with peoples ravaged by the slave trade, and this coloured their whole view. Miss Perham urges that the abhorrence of physical cruelty upon which, even at the present day, we pride ourselves, should not lead to a general condemnation of societies in which certain kinds of inhumanity were practised. Despite this fact 'there could be selected from these writers almost as much evidence of the natural goodness as of the natural sinfulness of man.' This point has perhaps never been put so well.

L. P. MAIR.

The Bushman Tribes of Southern Africa. By A. M. Duggan-Cronin and D. F. Bleek. *Kimberly, South Africa*, 1942. Pp. 14, with map and 40 plates.

This admirable volume consists of 40 colotype reproductions of photographs of Bushman types, by A. M. Duggan-Cronin, whose previous publications of similar material are well known; with a concise description of the Bushman tribes by D. F. Bleek. Each plate has a

few words of commentary indicating the special features of the individual or scene. The photographs are most skilfully taken, and the subjects seem completely at ease before the camera, and display a wide range of disposition as well as of features. Acknowledgment is made of the generous financial help of the National Research Board of the Union of South Africa in the preparation of this useful volume.

J. L. M.

GENERAL.

The Book of Buchan: Jubilee Volume. Edited by J. F. Tocher, D.Sc., LL.D. *Aberdeen*, 1943. Pp. xii+330.

The *Book of Buchan* is a miscellany of 'intensive local history by experts in all its aspects'—to quote Lord Tweedsmuir's 'foreword'—published by the Buchan Club. This Jubilee volume contains twenty-

nine essays on natural history, prehistoric Britain, literary, medieval, and martial biographies, and archaeological, social, and economic matters. It is handsomely produced and well illustrated. The detailed account of the Buchan 'Tower House' of Schivas deserves special mention, and there are several interesting portraits.

J. L. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

Sir John Myres.

99 SIR.—In the name of the Institute the President and Council offer their very cordial congratulations to Sir John Myres, Past-President, Huxley Medallist, and Hon. Editor of MAN, on receiving the honour of knighthood 'for services to learning,' as announced in the Birthday Honours List on 2 June, 1943.

No one, surely, has better deserved the honour than Sir John. There is no need to comment here on his distinguished and well-known services to anthropological and archaeological science, or on his long and exceptional devotion to the interests of our Institute, for which we owe him an incalculable debt.

Some reference to these was made, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (MAN, 1939, 88), and we would only reiterate the gratitude and felicitations offered to him then, and our good wishes for the future.

J. H. HUTTON,
President.

String Figure Diffusion.

100 SIR.—On 23 September 1942 when in the village of St. Buryan, Cornwall, I came across three girls, five or six years old, making little string figures with worsted loops. Asked what figures they knew apart from the ordinary 'Cat's cradle,' they showed me the African figures called (in translation) 'four eyes' and 'the tent.' Neither of these is an English game, although of very wide distribution, extending even into Polynesia. The names given by the St. Buryan children have, however, been changed, the first being known to them as 'London Bridge' and the second as 'The Parachute.' They told me that a London evacuee had taught them these figures and, they said, 'several others.' The London girl had been shown them by her school-mistress.

Some unwary ethnologist may see these figures made in Cornwall at some future date, and may possibly claim to have discovered that these are old British figures surviving in the westernmost district of the country; indeed, he may even consider them as a link between Cornwall and those mythical Phoenician traders who are supposed to have worked tin in the county and bartered trivial baubles of glass with the Cornish maidens who gazed wide-eyed at the Semitic bagmen. So, 'Ethnologists, beware!'

JAMES HORNELL.

Penzance.

Archaeological Monuments in Syria.

101 SIR.—I have just received information concerning the fate of the Archaeological Monuments in Syria, during the fighting and troop movements throughout the country. They are on the whole satisfactory. Readers of MAN may be interested in these facts.

The great archaeological sites at Byblos and at Ras Shamra are well looked after. The guardians are on the spot, the sites are regularly inspected, and no clandestine diggings have occurred.

During the fighting and the troop movements, no damage has been done to the overground ruins at Palmyra and Baalbeck for example, nor to the crusader castles. Two small quarries had been opened among ruins of no importance, and this has been stopped.

The work of the Archaeological Department ('Service des Antiquités') continues: four architects are busy surveying the ancient monuments throughout the country. Consolidation work is undertaken when it is urgent. The leaning wall of the *peribolus* of Palmyra has been dismantled, and is being re-erected. Large consolidations are undertaken at the Citadel at Aleppo. A series of small restorations to various monuments is being carried out throughout the country.

The museum for housing the part of the Ras Shamra finds allotted to the country is near completion at Latakia.

On the other hand, archaeological research is at a complete standstill. It is reported that at Antiochia (Turkish Hatay) an American expedition, under the direction of M. Campbell, has started some work.

CLAUDE F. A. SCHAEFFER.

Corrections. MAN, 1943, 63 (last line).

102 Dr. King was never President of the Ethnological Society of London, but he was its Secretary and was also Secretary of the Ethnological Subsection at the British Association's meeting in Southampton, 1846.

H. J. B.

Corrections: MAN, 1943, 63.

P. 76, b, l. 16. Add 'Slavonic.'

P. 78, b, l. 15. For 'thrust' read 'thrush.'

P. 78, b, l. 32. For 'tetracos' read 'tetracos.'

P. 80, b, l. 47. For 'bhuricos' read 'probably bhoricos,' in view of O. E. *beorn*; Icel. *börr*.

P. 83, a, l. 20. For 'melis' read 'mélis.'

Add 'Note on "pot."' A word for 'pot, cauldron,' *queros*, -us occurs in Germanic, Celtic (Breton), and Sanskrit.

STUART E. MANN.



**THE BOWS OF A 'JAFFNA DHONI,'
NORTH COAST OF CEYLON**

'OCULUS' ON BOW, AND TYPICAL 'SURUL'



**WORSHIP AT THE GOD'S SHRINE IN
THE BOWS**

SAIVITE SYMBOL ON THE 'SURUL'; THE PUJARI BLOWS
THE SACRED CHANK



THE BOWS OF A DERELICT 'KALLA DHONI' AT POINT CALIMERE
SHOWING THE 'OCULUS' AND BEHIND IT THE DEDICATORY PANEL CONTAINING THE NAME OF THE
GUARDIAN GODDESS, MARI AMMA

Photographs by James Hornell

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

With Plate F.

THE PROW OF THE SHIP¹: SANCTUARY OF THE TUTELARY DEITY. *By James Hornell, F.L.S.,
Director of Fisheries, Madras (Retired).*

PART I.—IN INDIA AND THE FAR EAST.

103 Among Hindu fishermen and seafaring folk in India and the north of Ceylon numerous instances occur indicative of a belief in the expediency of creating an intimate association between a protective deity and the craft which they use, be it catamaran, canoe or sailing coaster. The strength of this belief varies within wide limits; occasionally it is articulate and definite; more often it is vague and ill-defined, often degenerating to a level where the implications of the old ceremonies are largely or even entirely forgotten. In the last category the boat-folk continue to practise some fragmentary feature of the old ritual for no better reason than the belief that by so doing they will ensure good luck for their ventures and voyages, a belief usually linked with a dread of being overlooked by the 'evil eye.'

Outside of India similar beliefs were probably widespread in ancient times; to-day shadowy vestiges remain here and there, their survival due mainly to a traditional belief, sometimes strong, sometimes weak, in their efficacy to ensure good fortune or to counteract the baleful glance of the evil eye.

The subject falls naturally into two categories, (a) definite and often periodic worship of the protective deity, accompanied by suitable offerings, and (b) customary acts to ensure good luck and immunity from the effects of the evil eye. These are, however, frequently so intermingled or obscurely understood that they cannot be separated in treatment. Except where the contrary is stated, the instances to be given all come within my own personal knowledge.

The most definite examples belonging to the first category are to be seen among vessels belonging to Hindus which are now or were formerly engaged in trade between the Coromandel Coast and the north of Ceylon. Of these the *kalla dhoni* was the principal craft in the days before a regular through traffic by rail and connecting steamer service was inaugurated. Some of the last of these vessels were lying derelict on the beach at Point Calimere, some thirty years ago, when I visited this locality. In all cases an eye (*oculus*) was carved on each bow, followed by the words *Amma paravi* incised within a rectangular panel and surmounted by the Hindu propitiatory sign ॐ. The owners, who called themselves Karathurai Vellalas, stated that, prior to the launch of a newly built boat, elaborate puja ceremonies were performed with a view to dedicate it to the goddess of the village temple, *Mari amma*, a deity noted as a protectress of seafarers. The final observance in these rites consisted of incising an eye on each bow and the words which followed as above given. This ceremony is termed 'the opening of the eye'; several of the older men stated that this action endowed the boat with sentient life and constituted it the vehicle (*paravi*) of the goddess, i.e. the vehicle wherein she would abide and be its protectress during voyages across the sea.

Similarly, the locally built barque which was my headquarters when inspecting the Ceylon Pearl Banks was named the *Rengasami Paravi*, being dedicated to the god Rengasami (*Ramaswami*), thereby becoming his 'vehicle.'

The custom of 'opening the eyes' and the consequences following, are analogous to those that are

¹ As the English language is deficient in any satisfactory collective term for the host of miscellaneous types of craft used for water-transport—canoes, catamarans, open boats, sailing vessels and steamers—I am here using the term 'ship' in this comprehensive meaning, although I am aware of its inaccuracy in any strict sense or usage.

obligatory before the image of a Hindu god may become a part of the godhead and thereby suitable for adoration in temple or in the home shrine of a Brahman. Whenever such an image is made by a Hindu craftsman, he omits to indicate the pupil until just before the instalment or consecration of the image. So it is that the small images of Hindu gods in metal or in stone, often to be seen on sale in the bazaars of Indian towns, are always blind; among the strictly orthodox the eyes must be opened—the pupils indicated—with due ceremonial rites before they are suitable for worship. Till then they are lifeless images, without sanctity. When, therefore, we find a similar custom of 'opening the eyes' of a newly built boat immediately previous to launching, this fact confirms the statements made that the puja ceremonies are specifically intended to instal the deity herself in the craft and to merge its individuality in that of the goddess whose protection is sought. Once the eyes are opened, whether in the *kalla dhoni* under notice or in the *masula* boats of Madras and Pondicherry, no further attention is bestowed upon them; in the course of a short time all obvious trace of them may disappear, the shallow incision becoming obliterated by weathering or by the paint or tar occasionally applied to the outside of these boats.

Crossing to the northern ports of Ceylon, the homes of that old-world craft, the 'Jaffna dhoni' (called *padagu* locally), we find the same idea prevalent among Hindu owners and crews, but brought into conformity with the more orthodox views current there among the Hindu community. The eyes of these boats are boss-like, carved separately out of wood, and nailed in place, one on each bow. In the majority of *padagus* adorned with eyes, the fore part of the bows and particularly the stemhead, carved into a backwardly coiled figurehead, the *surul*, is sacred; it forms the boat's shrine and place of worship.

The members of the crew are usually orthodox Saivites, so the after face of the *surul* is painted in white with the three horizontal bars indicative of the sect. In the recess below is a little shelf a few inches above the deck; on this, when I visited one of these vessels, was a shell-trumpet made out of the snowy shell of the Sacred Chank (*Xancus pyrum*, L.), together with the lamp used in the ceremonies. When worship is to be performed, one of the crew who acts as *pujari*, puts ash on his forehead, lights the little ghee lamp lying on the shelf, burns camphor and incense, breaks a coconut, and rings a bell, while an assistant blows intermittently upon the chank

trumpet. Offerings of plantains, and *pan supari* (betel leaves and areca nut) are made to the god and then distributed among the crew.

Any indignity to the bow is resented by the crew, as shown by the following incident. One of my assistants when on a voyage in a Jaffna dhoni, happened to seat himself upon the broad *surul*. The *tindal* was greatly annoyed at this in spite of the offender being a Brahman; he ordered him off peremptorily, telling him he must not sit there as the prow was the goddess Lakshmi, and that such an act was highly offensive to the goddess. In explanation he subsequently stated that the prow is held sacred among Jaffnese Hindu sailors, consequent upon the religious ceremonies performed at the time of launching. The *tindal* described these as follows:—

'Before the boat is launched it is decorated with flags and plantain stems and a flower garland hung round the prow, which is also smeared with sandalwood paste and vermilion powder. A small coloured "cloth" such as is worn by young girls is also wrapped round the prow; finally, a *tali* or marriage token in the form of a small brass cup or bowl is tied round the same part exactly as a token of similar form, but fashioned in gold, is tied around a bride's neck during orthodox Hindu marriage rites. These ceremonies are intended to wed a goddess (most commonly it is Lakshmi) to the boat and to instal her there permanently as its tutelary deity. The brass *tali* used at the launch is a cherished possession of the boat-owner and is handed down from father to son. However, Hindu boat-owners in the north of Ceylon are now few in number and the custom of wedding a goddess to the boat is dying out rapidly—even the custom of placing oculi on the bows is becoming rare.'

Regarding the antiquity of these practices it is important to note that the Jaffnese Tamils, long resident in the north of Ceylon as descendants of immigrants and invaders from the Chola and Pandyan kingdoms of South India, have retained many archaic Tamil customs more or less in disuse or forgotten by their kindred on the mainland; they are noted for employing in ordinary speech a form of Tamil which they claim closely approaches the classical Tamil of 1,000 years ago. If even partially correct, as is probably the case, the inference follows that their local craft may be expected to retain more marked archaic features and launching rites than those of ports more open to outside influence. The same deduction applies to the Point Calimere *kalla dhoni* which was till recently employed in traffic solely

with the north of Ceylon and whose crews were closely related in origin, caste and customs with the men who man the Jaffna *dhonis*. Both are above the average in religious zeal and usually aspire to be considered higher in caste than the ordinary run of coast fishermen and sailors.

Among the fishing hamlets scattered along the Madras coast we are able to trace almost everywhere the existence of a related belief in the sacred character of the prow, but here the ritual, crude and primitive, belongs to that pre-Brahmanic religion in which the deities were village godlings, so strictly local that those of each village concerned themselves solely with the affairs of their own villagers and with their protection against the malignant demons who otherwise would plague them. They had no concern with any other village even when the godling of that village bore the same name. This was reasonable, for whom should these godlings protect if it were not the people who clothed and sacrificed to them?

The catamaran, a primitive craft formed of logs tied together in definite order but differing in design according to the particular mode of fishing subserved, is the characteristic of the whole of the surf-troubled coast northward from Point Calimere to Bengal. No fisherman will go to sea in one unless it has been duly dedicated to and made the 'vehicle' of a protective godling when first launched; she must also be honoured on each subsequent occasion of putting to sea. The godling is invariably female, Kanniamma by name; she is a virgin deity of kindly nature who is pleased with simple offerings and willing to extend her protection to the poor craft of her parishoners which she accompanies to sea, though invisible in her shrine within the pieces of the beaked prow. She is said to abhor blood sacrifices.

Incidentally it is worthy of remark that the protecting deity of sailors and fishermen in India is almost always feminine. By this association of the boat with a female deity, the identity and sex of the protectress are merged with those of the boat itself; as we may infer that many other peoples have reasoned and acted similarly, this may explain the fact that ships are generally considered as feminine.

The ceremonies designed to instal the deity in a newly built catamaran vary greatly from hamlet to hamlet; they are also influenced by the means of the owner, who, if poor, has to curtail the offerings, trusting that the shortcoming may be overlooked. Of several records of catamaran launchings which I possess, the following, that

of one which took place near Madras in 1919, is typical:—

The owner and his womenfolk put on clean cloths; as professing Hindus they also placed on their foreheads the mark of their particular sect. Then, after the logs of the craft had been laved with sea-water, the prow (*talaiya*), consisting of several detachable pieces forming a pointed beak, the midships region and the stern (*kadaiya*), were smeared with turmeric paste in oval patches sprinkled with dots of red powder (*kunkumum*), while garlands of sweet-smelling flowers—jasmine, frangipani and oleander—were hung upon the prow. When the owner can afford the extra expense, he may further deck the prow with a new 'cloth' (*dhotti*) and place another on the stern.

Coming to the *puja* proper: to one side of the head of the catamaran as it lay pointing toward the sea, a small rectangular area was enclosed with a low ridge of sand, a few inches in height, with an entrance passage facing the sea; this represents the godling's shrine. On the low parapet seven small conical heaps of sand were placed to represent the seven virgin goddesses which in this instance were the godlings chosen for instalment; they are sisters and are named Kanniammar—representing, by multiplication of the original single deity, the idea of increasing the strength of the protection hoped for. Each heap was adorned with turmeric, *kunkumum* and a few blossoms. Within the enclosure two pyramids of boiled rice (*pongal*) rested on pieces of plantain leaf; on each heap small quantities of native-made sugar (*jaggery*) and a piece of plantain were placed, while in front of the heaps were deposited offerings of *pan supari*, half-coconuts, lumps of jaggery, plantains, beaten rice (*aval*) mixed with fried Bengal gram (*kadalai*), a potful of palm toddy, a bottle of arrack, some incense sticks, fragments of camphor and more flowers. The priest (*pujari*) who officiated was an elder of the fishing community, for no Brahman will take part in these unorthodox ceremonies, which are considered by their caste as heathenish and unworthy of their cognizance; they do not, however, actively oppose their observance.

When the preliminary arrangements were completed, the fisherman-priest burned incense; over its smoke he held a coconut, which was then broken and the halves placed with the other offerings in the godling's shrine. Lastly, after burning camphor before the shrine, a large pumpkin (*kalyana pushini kai*) into which turmeric and vermilion powder had been previously introduced through a small hole, together with

an odd number—3, 5 or 7—of the smallest coins current (*pies*), was carried thrice round the catamaran and then broken to pieces upon the beak. When the ceremonies ended and the craft had been dragged down to the sea and launched amid much shouting and running about, the offerings were shared among the people present.

Such is an account of one of the most elaborate of these launching rites; there is, however, no settled ritual. Variations occur from hamlet to hamlet; there is every possible gradation between the elaborate ritual above described and the degenerate and attenuated form where it has shrunk to nothing more than the smearing of turmeric and vermilion on the prow and the burning before it of a piece of camphor.

The deity propitiated by these ceremonies is usually a single one called *Kanni Amma*, a virgin village-goddess with great power at sea. Less commonly (as in the instance detailed above) plurality is attributed to this guardian deity, seven being the recognized number of these virgin deities, termed collectively *Kanniammar*. But it is not uncommon to find that only five are represented in the conical sand piles which serve to symbolize their presence.

Ceremonies much the same but on a reduced scale are performed after a prolonged run of poor catches of fish. Usually the nets are barked again at the same time whereby superficial observation is apt to associate the ritual with this re-barking.

Even the coracle-men on the Tungabhadra River have closely related ritual on the occasion of the first launching of their hide-covered coracles.²

At the launching of a new *Masula* boat at Madras a ritual of the same general character as for the catamaran is followed, but this is always of the elaborate type detailed though usually with various amplifications which need not be described here except in respect of two of the major items. Of these the first is that the 'opening of the eyes' upon the bows is an essential feature as in the Kalla dhoni and the Jaffna dhoni. The second is of particular interest for in it, as in the breaking of a pumpkin on the beak of a catamaran, we see a relic from the days when a human sacrifice was necessary to impart good fortune to a newly built vessel. In the present instance the ritual prescribes that a pumpkin, previously injected with turmeric and vermilion as already described, be placed just ahead of the vessel so that when it be dragged

seawards the pumpkin shall be crushed and, squelching, shall spray spurts of red and yellow juice over the excited crowd, in simulation of the blood splashes ejected when a human victim was sacrificed beneath the keel of a launched boat.

This view is in accordance with what we know of the evolution of the ritual of sacrifice in India. With the gradual advance of milder manners and the influence of higher religious conceptions, domesticated animals came to be substituted for the human sacrifice; the gradation appears to have been, first the ox or the buffalo, then the sheep or the goat, next the fowl and, eventually, as in the instances just adduced, the refinement is reached of substituting a vegetable for a living animal. But even here old custom requires the maintenance of a simulacrum of the original idea, and so a pumpkin has to be treated in such a manner as to give verisimilitude to the sacrificial act. The fact that the bows of the masula boat are also daubed with red spots as well as the exterior of the pumpkin, corroborates this inference; both appear to be intended to represent the blood splashes spurted from the victim as the boat lumbers over the quivering body.

Degraded or vestigial remains of the launching ceremonies above described survive among the fishermen of Palk Strait and the west coast of the Gulf of Mannar, people who have lost many of their old-time customs through long contact with Islam and Christianity. For example, I was informed at Tirupalagudi on Palk Strait that when a canoe is launched, the carpenter who here assumes the priestly function and acts as the pujari, places an uprooted bush called *Thalaisuruli* at the head of the canoe, cutting it in two so that the halves fall apart overboard when the craft is launched. Afterwards he sprinkles turmeric water over the hull and makes an offering of coconuts and *pan supari* and burns incense. A cock or a sheep is also sacrificed according to the means of the owner. It is understood that the local village god is the power propitiated, but beyond this and 'custom' the people cannot or will not go in their explanation.

In the nineteenth century when large sailing vessels, schooners and barques were fairly frequently built in South Indian ports, particularly at Negapatam and Kilakarai, the ceremonies just described were conducted on a more elaborate scale. At Kilakarai, an important seaport on the Gulf of Mannar inhabited mainly by Muhammadans, many of whom are descended from Arab immigrants, an old carpenter described the launching ceremonial of a schooner as it was in his young days (c. 1870), premising that if the

² J. Hornell: 'The Coracles of South India.' MAN, 1933, 165.

owner were a Muhammadan, as was usually the case, he and the other Moslems took no active part in the proceedings in deference to the tenets of their creed; all the same they regarded the rites as necessary and did not consider the vessel ready for duty unless they were properly carried out.

The duty of arranging and carrying through the ceremonies devolved upon the head carpenter (*maistri*) of the shipwrights, who was supplied by the owner with the needful funds.

When the ship was ready to launch, coconuts, *pan supari*, sandalwood paste and vermilion powder were placed upon a bench adjacent to the prow, but always to the starboard side, and one or more sheep were held in readiness alongside the other offerings. The sheep might be either one, three or five (always an odd number), but three were most usual. As soon as all these items were collected and placed ready, the carpenter, using a bunch of mango leaves as a sprinkler, splashed water over the whole of the hull to purify it. Next he smeared sandal paste and vermilion on various places along the sides and also upon the prow and the masts. The sacrificial sheep were then sprinkled with water and had sandal paste and vermilion smeared upon their heads. This done the carpenter severed the head from the body of each with a single stroke of a billhook and placed all the heads upon the prow that the blood should flow in streams over it.

The final act was to make a solemn dedication of the carcasses of the sheep and the other offerings to the deity who had been selected to preside over the ship's destiny and be her protector—most commonly it was Lakshmi or Rengasami (Ramaswami).

At the conclusion of the ceremonies the heads of the sacrificed sheep were given to the head washerman (*dhobi*) of the village according to traditional custom while the carcasses were taken by the carpenter for his own use, or disposal.

Formerly this sheep sacrifice at a launch was the recognized procedure, but to-day, when the launch of a large sailing vessel is of rare occurrence at Kilakarai and at the various ports on the Coromandel Coast, the ceremonial is greatly curtailed. Instead of sacrificing several sheep, a single individual is taken alongside the vessel where one of its ears is cut and the blood that flows is smeared upon the prow. Some few offerings are also made.

Even in the daily routine of fishing the deity associated with the boat usually receives libation and often some simple offering. The most common, practised even by the Roman Catholic

fishermen of Tuticorin, is to lave the prow with water as the canoe leaves shore, this duty falling upon the last man to board the boat. In the Palk Strait villages those fishermen who are nominal Hindus by religion commonly smear the prow with mud when going to sea. After a run of bad fishing luck, the carpenter *pujari* is called in to make offerings which shall ensure a return of good fortune. According to the fee given the ceremony takes the form of (a) sprinkling turmeric water upon the prow accompanied by offerings of coconuts, plantains, *pan supari*, camphor, etc., or (b) the addition to these ceremonies of the smearing of the two ends of the canoe with castor oil and, if the owner can afford it, the sacrifice of a cock.

Corresponding rites are practised in Bengal, where the use of oculi on the bows is common among certain types of boat plying on the Ganges and other rivers. The crews of these craft regularly perform propitiatory ceremonies at the bows, particularly at the time of new moon (*amavasi*), when a flower garland is hung around the prow and *puja* performed in the bows, where a ghee lamp is lighted, camphor burned, the sacred chank blown, coloured paste smeared on the stemhead, with libations and offerings of flowers, boiled rice and *pan supari* to the god whose protection of the boat and her crew is sought.

Significance attaches to the fact that when the hull is naked of paint, a large triangular area on each bow is coloured black; similarly the outer part of the long, snout-like stem projection of the large Arab ship called a *bām*, hailing from the Persian Gulf, is likewise always painted black. No explanation is forthcoming.

On occasions when danger threatens at sea or when a prolonged dead calm unduly protracts the voyage, the Roman Catholic sailors of Tuticorin occasionally revert to their pre-Christian custom of appealing for help to the goddess believed to guard sailors and their craft. On one occasion when one of my assistants was a passenger on a local boat, the wind failed. After several hours without progress it was arranged that the *tindal* should do *puja* at the bows at the expense of the passengers in the hope of breaking the calm. The *tindal* (captain) having collected the requisite materials poured a libation of water over the prow, broke a coconut on the stemhead and hung a flower garland around the coiled *surul* of the stem; the coconut halves were left on the prow. At the conclusion of the ceremony the *tindal* prostrated himself behind the stempost, reciting or mumbling certain formulæ. The next

day when he was asked by my assistant for an explanation he was confused in his reply and denied the coconut and other offerings, evidently afraid to own to this 'heathenish' practice lest it were reported to the parish priest; he did, however, concede that it was still a practice with his people to wash and garland the prow if there should be any unclean person aboard; this he believed—a truly Hindu conception—would be sufficient expiation to counteract the impurity of the unknown person aboard the boat.

The fishermen of the same coast, although Roman Catholics, preserve, *sub rosa*, several emasculated versions of other pre-Christian practices when poor results attend their fishing operations, due as they believe to some evil influence, whether of a malign spirit as some think, or to the effect of the evil eye as others prefer to suppose. One of these practices is to pour a libation over the prow of a mixture of turmeric and coconut kernel ground together to a paste, subsequently rendered fluid by the addition of water.

Beyond the confines of India this belief that every boat is endowed with a sentient soul underlies related practices in various countries. Some of these, practised by Arab sailors and by those of several lands around the Mediterranean, appear to be relics of human sacrifice offered during launching ceremonies; these are given in Part II, which follows. It will suffice as illustrative of such belief if I quote Annandale³ for the statement that some of the Malay fishermen of Patani, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, believe, although Muhammadans, that their boats have souls and that these men make a practice of placing turmeric-stained rice upon the prow every Friday to ensure good fishing.

The custom of the Solomon Islanders of affixing the head of a slaughtered enemy upon the prow of a new canoe has the same end in view as have the religious ceremonies of Indian boat people, but instead of intercession addressed to a benevolent goddess, it takes the form of a barbarous and bloody act. The explanation of the Solomon Islanders' reasoning is readily understood if we consider it as an act which transfers the bodily and spiritual power resident in the victim to the canoe—a practical example of the doctrine of *mana*, once widespread throughout Oceania. Grant Allen in an explanation which does not mention *mana*, came independently to almost an identical conclusion when he contended that this deed was intended to liberate a

guardian spirit from the human victim and to incorporate it so intimately with the planks and timbers of the canoe as to become part and parcel of its fabric.

A similar transference of power (= *mana*) was undoubtedly the reason for the human sacrifices which sometimes sullied the launching of a Viking longship. And as we have seen memory of a bloody rite of the same character is the meaning which we have to read into the crushing of a pumpkin filled with red and yellow pigment under the keel of the *masula* boat of Madras at the time of launching, but in this case it is intended to propitiate a goddess in order to induce her to identify herself closely with the safety and well-being of the craft.

PART II.—IN ARABIA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION.

At Port Sudan, Massawa, and Jibouti, I have frequently seen Arab vessels, usually of the *sambuk* class, with the stemhead swathed in a goat skin, hairy side outwards. This, I was told, is done just before a vessel is launched and is the concluding act in the ceremonies considered essential to ensure good fortune to the craft in her future voyaging to and fro. Of these ceremonies the principal one consists of the sacrifice of a goat; after the head is cut off the carcass is flayed and the skin thrown over the stemhead and there lashed down securely. A similar custom is recorded by Zwemer,⁴ as followed at the launching of boats engaged in the Bahrein pearl-fishery; he adds that the figure-head of these craft is termed the *kubait*. Other writers have also mentioned this custom of offering a blood sacrifice at the time of launching of Arab vessels; Alan Villiers⁵ records it as usual at Ma'alla and elsewhere on the southern coastline of Arabia.

A sacrifice of this character is foreign to Islamic ritual and cannot well be other than a survival from the days of a pre-Islamic cult in which black stones, probably of meteoric origin in most instances, were objects of worship, to which blood sacrifices were made. At the conclusion of the sacrifice it is probable that the flayed off skin was draped over the sacred stone. The black stone embedded in the wall of the Ka'ba at Mecca was one of these lithic pagan gods or fetiches.

Apart from this somewhat doubtful instance from pagan Arabia we have the authority of Herodotus (II, 42) that in the neighbouring land of Egypt a ceremony of related character took

³ N. Annandale: 'Fascic. Malay.' *Records of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1903, Vol. I, p. 8.

⁴ *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam*, p. 101.

⁵ *Sons of Sindbad*. London, 1940, p. 320.

place periodically at Thebes in honour of the great god Amon. The ram was sacred to this god who is commonly represented with a ram's head set upon his shoulders; the ram was probably the totem of a certain community or group of people at an early period, who, in later times, endowed their totem with the attributes of divinity and then represented it in partial anthropomorphic form. According to Herodotus the priests of Amon (whom he equates with Jupiter), never sacrificed sheep on ordinary occasion, their place being taken by goats; a single exception occurred during the principal festal season of the god. On this occasion one of the most important features of the religious ceremonies was the offering up of a ram to the deity after the fashion prescribed by ritual usage. Stripping off the fleece, Amon's priests 'put it upon the statue of the god. When they had done this, all who were in the temple beat themselves in mourning for the ram and then bury him in a sacred vault.'

The similarity of this ceremony of draping Amon's statue in the skin of the sacrifice with the ceremonial wrapping of the skin of a sacrificed goat around a ship's stemhead, is extremely suggestive of a common origin, but this is as far as we are justified in going.

In all these instances the fundamental and original belief entertained by the people who followed this practice appears to have been that the skin of the sacrifice becomes itself sacred when offered to the god; when stretched upon any object, such as the figurehead of a vessel, this was considered as identifying it with the god himself, thereby bringing the vessel into such intimate association with the deity as to ensure protection from accidents and evil happenings. A similar belief in early times underlay the widely followed custom of providing a ship with *oculi* on the bows; in the course of time this primary reason has been forgotten except in a few exceptional instances; *oculi* came to be debased with rare exceptions into a mere amulet whereby a vessel so provided might find its way in safety through the manifold dangers that beset it during its voyages upon the sea.

The custom of preserving the skin of the sacrifice as a visible token of the act and with amuletic intent appears to be confined to regions where Moslem influence is or has been strong. This is particularly noticeable in the Mediterranean area; Malta, Sicily, parts of the Adriatic coasts and the southern shore of Spain and Portugal, are all localities where the people have been for some considerable period in their history in intimate cultural contact with the Arab world; in several

instances they have even come under direct Moslem rule and have been overrun by Arab armies and immigrants.

From the details given below it will be seen that the actual goatskin has been replaced in many instances by a wig-like substitute made after the fashion of the head of a mop. Generally the strands of the mop-head are of hemp, but some few are of coir and others of worsted. The use of an actual pelt is less common, but examples have been noted in boats belonging to Italy, Portugal and Syria; in Gozo a rabbit skin is used.

Sicily.—Syracuse is the only Sicilian port where I have noted the custom as prevalent. There, in 1930, I found that the smaller fishing boats were all characterized by a stemhead ornament formed either of rope-end ravellings or of coarse worsted strands.⁶ Among the small craft used for ferrying passengers across the harbour, this mop-head has degenerated into a globular wooden knob usually encircled with an annular pattern turned horizontally upon it.

Malta and Gozo.—In the island of Malta no trace of this peculiar stemhead ornament is to be seen to-day. That it was formerly in use is probable on the evidence of a sprit-sail Ferilla (labelled *Speronara*) in the Valletta Museum. In this picture the summit of the lofty, vertical stempost projection is covered by a wig-like object which cannot be other than a hairy pelt pulled well down over the swollen end of the stempost. I could gain no information on the subject for a long time, being told that no such custom has ever existed in Malta so far as my informants were aware. Later, I was so fortunate as to meet Mr. G. Caruana, a gentleman belonging to Gozo, having a wide acquaintance with the island's customs; from him I learned that within his own knowledge as a fishing-boat owner, he had seen Gozo fishermen lash a rabbit skin over the stemhead of a newly built fishing boat before launching her. As I have noted elsewhere,⁷ Gozo fishermen are intensely superstitious and may even contemplate murder if the luck-bringing *oculi* of their boat be maliciously damaged by a neighbour jealous of a special run of good luck experienced by a newly built boat.

The Adriatic coasts.—On the west coast of Italy no sign is to be seen of this stemhead custom,

⁶ For illustrations of this mop-head fitting, see Hornell, J.: 'Survivals of the Use of Oculi in Modern Boats,' *J.R.A.I.*, LIII, 1923, and 'Boat Oculi Survivals: More Records,' *J.R.A.I.*, LXVIII, July/Dec., 1938.

⁷ Hornell, J.: 'Survivals of the Use of Oculi in Modern Boats,' *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LIII, p. 315, 1923.

but on both shorelines of the Adriatic, that is, on the Italian and Dalmatian coasts, the fishing craft which trawl in pairs (*bragozzi*) frequently have either a mop-like stemhead made of rope ravellings or have the expanded head covered with a portion of a hairy skin—whether goat or sheep, I cannot say.

Spain and Portugal.—The rope-yarn mop-head type of stemhead affix is seen on some small boats fishing out of the southern Spanish ports adjacent to the Portuguese frontier (Huelva and Ayamonte), but the majority have abandoned the custom.

In Portugal, in all ports from Lisbon to Villa Real on the Spanish frontier, a notable proportion of the local fishing craft have retained the stemhead covered with a wig-like mass of worsted or of rope ravellings, usually of hemp, occasionally of coir; a fair number, however, adhere to what I was told is the old or original fashion, the use of a goat skin tied over the bulbous end of the stem. This stemhead is usually formed by nailing to each side a circular or slightly elliptical plano-

convex wooden cheek. In a few instances I noted that the bulbous termination was arrived at by affixing a globular mass of burnt clay, perforated at the centre, upon a peg projecting from the summit of the stempost. This way of forming the terminal knob appears to be older than the use of side cheeks nailed on.

The caiques of Algarve, Setubal, and Lisbon and the canoes of Cezimbra and Setubal are among the Portuguese craft most addicted to the use of the mop-head stem adornment.

Syria.—On schooners owned by Moslems and registered at Syrian ports, it is not uncommon to see the rudder head covered with skin, hair side outwards. I saw several at Famagusta in 1930. Whether this has the same significance as when the skin covers the stemhead is in doubt for the men questioned could or would not give any other reason than that it was customary.

A similar difficulty is experienced when questions are asked concerning the significance of the skin-covering of stemheads in Italy and Spain; the answers are always evasive or vague.

THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT POSITION OF ANTHROPOLOGY.

By Professor John Mavrogordato, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.¹

104 The science of anthropology is nothing less than the study of Man's Place in Nature, involving a co-ordination of geology, biology, geography, ethnology, archaeology and psychology, with as many more subsidiary and specialized sciences as may be suggested by any convenient and fashionable system of classification. The subdivision and enumeration of these ancillary sciences may be carried as far as we please, for each of them is only a direction from which the main problem is to be attacked. On this understanding it follows that the first and principal duty of an anthropologist in his attempt to determine man's place in nature is one that is common to him and to every scientist as such. I mean the duty of discovering if he can and when discovered of uttering without fear, favour, or prejudice the whole truth as he sees it. In the case of the anthropologist this duty is of paramount importance. For whereas each of the subsidiary scientists is responsible, as it were, for only one sector of the circle, the anthropologist must observe accurately the whole circumference of which his problem is the centre. He must never relax. He must try to keep not only the centre of his field of vision, but all the sur-

rounding limits of that field clear and undistorted; and if that be an impossible task for a human being he must still go on trying, and he must honestly believe that he is trying, to do so to the extent of his human ability.

The scientific duty of the anthropologist must begin with the elimination of blind spots in his own field of vision, and with banishing the attitude of mind which has been described as 'The Philosophy of *O Well*'—by which is meant the inclination to say, 'O, well, what does it matter anyhow? It's nothing to do with me!' If he is strict with himself he must be not less strict in the scrutiny of his witnesses. It has been suggested that even Frazer was somewhat uncritical in accumulation of authorities. In a work of the magnitude of *The Golden Bough* the lines of the structure may be said to be determined by the average of an immense number of testimonies, which would hardly be deflected if one or two were to be challenged; but no anthropologist of smaller scope can afford to relax the vigilant criticism of his sources; nor if he is himself a traveller and claims to be a first-hand authority, can he allow himself to forget for a moment that he is in the witness-box and on his oath.

¹ Presidential Address to the Oxford University Anthropological Society, 17 June, 1943.

It may be instructive to catalogue here some of the possible sources of error in the reports of travellers, whether they profess to be scientific anthropologists or not. Needless to say the list is by no means exhaustive.

First of all there is a small but distinct class of travellers who are in effect deliberate liars. They have undoubtedly travelled widely and have visited distant and little-known communities. But in order to produce a sensational narrative they season it with so much fabricated incident, sometimes illustrated with genuine photographs, that as far as anthropology is concerned they might just as well have stayed at home. I can think of at least two members of this class, which is of little importance because it is easily avoided.

Secondly there are travellers with some claim to be of anthropological value who are known in a few cases and suspected in more to have touched up or finished off in lightness of heart genuine stories which seemed to them to be jejune or defective. Most folktales and rituals are defective especially when they are in danger of disappearing altogether. We need only think what a supremely interesting *Mummers' Play* might be reported by a well-read anthropologist who felt disposed to fill up the obvious gaps.

Thirdly, reports truly written down by honest travellers may have been falsified at the source either by the suspicions of a confidential native or by a relative ignorance of the language, which may be occasioned either by the ambivalence or change of meaning of particular words, or (as Miss Blackwood has reminded me) by the carrying over of a familiar dialect into a district where it is not applicable.

Fourthly, to come to less flagrant, and for that reason more insidious sources of error, the anthropologist must be on his guard, whether in himself or in others, against the misinterpretation of things heard and actions genuinely witnessed. We all see what we expect to see; and such misinterpretation may arise either through the shortness of the traveller's visit, or through the length of his residence, which may lead, as in the case of some missionaries, to stubborn and preconceived opinions.

As this list has already carried us from heinous crimes to almost venial errors of presentation, I may be allowed to add fifthly, if only because it is so prevalent, what may be regarded as little more than a breach of etiquette. I refer to the practice of giving books picturesque titles which suggest a false analogy even if they do not follow it up. The fashion seems to have spread from

popular biography to anthropology when Malinowski produced his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. When Dr. S. F. Nadel calls his study of one of the Nigerian peoples nothing less than *A Black Byzantium* (O.U.P., 1943) I think it is time to protest that the title of a serious work of anthropology should be a label and not any sort of emotional flag.

A recent letter to *The Times* (17 May, 1943) demanding the official encouragement of anthropological research indicates a danger of another sort for which we must be prepared. The call for anthropologists as colonial administrators appears to be all smiles and flowers. But a University must never forget that it is devoted to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake; and anthropologists not less than other scientists must beware of being conditioned to admire the Emperor's new clothes. For the neutralizing of such dangers to scholarship one might be inclined to suggest special intensive courses in scepticism and sales-resistance if such a training were not already an important part of the educational function of any university as such.

The pursuit of objectivity and detachment is not easy in a community deafened by the voices of the politician, the lawyer, the salesman, and the journalist; entertained by a fashionable art of metaphor and suggestion; and accustomed to the esoteric concealment of meaning by the use of symbols. The offences of the modern journalist, which have made his production of books and newspapers almost valueless for the historian, need not be described here. He is proud of his capacity to multiply words without regard to their content; and has almost persuaded us that it is only the uncivilized man who never opens his mouth unless he has something to say. From journalism and advertising the plague of verbosity has infected philosophy and history. Truth is divided into categories of varying validity, and the suggestion is abroad (not for the first time in Oxford) that scientific truth has been abolished by the phenomena of relativity, which are no more than the twinklings of a star that dazzle the eyes of the observer.

In the face of many unfavourable, if not hostile, influences the anthropologist must extend to his own culture, his own race, and his own religion, the cool regard of discovery with which he surveys for the first time a community of savages. Even if it be an almost impossible task, he must try to map the ground he stands on. 'There is no reason to suppose,' says Miss Ruth Benedict, 'that by discussing Australian religion

'rather than our own we are uncovering primordial religion, or that by discussing Iroquoian social organization we are returning to the mating habits of man's early ancestors.' For anthropological purposes, argues Miss Benedict, whose *Patterns of Culture* is a classic on this theme, many so-called savage societies are as far from primitive as our own, and our own culture should be examined in relation to theirs. Little of this sort has yet been done in England in spite of the exemplary intentions of Mass-Observation. When he turns his attention to politics, the anthropologist may note how the developing structure of democracy takes the opposing stresses of the community and on them raises a sort of dome, under the shelter of which the real rulers, secure from criticism, get on with their business. Returning from these explorations to stare at modern mythology as coldly as he classifies and interprets the mythologies of the ancient world, he will try to find a circle which includes them all in the development of human beliefs. He will not be afraid, for instance, to compare the story of the Judgment of Paris—*iudex rusticus lucro libidinis sententiam uendit cum totius etiam suae stirpis exitio* (Apuleius, *Met.* X, 33)—with the story of Adam and Eve. He can never practice too much the difficult art of disbelief. A greater act of faith may be necessary for disbelieving than for believing. Belief is so often only a passive acceptance, a provisional suspension of disbelief, that a clear majority of the nominal adherents of any faith at any period may neither believe nor disbelieve the dogmas they profess.

While noting the details of contemporary life the anthropologist must not forget the larger problem of man's place in nature. Geology and astronomy, balanced by the receding horizon of the microscope, have given him expanses of space and time which will not frighten him. He will not doubt that the religion of man, which has survived the revolutionary attacks of Darwin and Frazer and Freud, is also a part of nature and submitted as such to his understanding.

A survey of the relatively short period of man's religious development will probably lead him to conclude that all religions, reflecting as they do, and though they do, the changing circumstances of human existence, and adapted as they must be to the revolutions of thought which we have seen in historic times, are in effect one religion. He will note in them all the association of anthropomorphic gods—even the theriomorphic gods are only reflections of the human worshipper's vision

of his own nature—with a generally accepted code of ethics; and he may suppose that the very fierceness of their competition is a result of their generic similarity. But if this view be accepted, is it not probable that further enquiry may suggest that religion is not a permanent characteristic of civilized man; and may rather be regarded as a relatively short and consistent period of belief, which has been evolved not so much as a protection from the storms of fortune and the catastrophes of nature, against which it is plainly inadequate, but rather as a protection of civilized ethics against the attacks of the resurgent savage?

The beginnings of such an Age of Religion have been made reasonably clear by the work on the relations between Magic and Religion done by Tylor, Frazer, Marett, and many others. The controversy was to some extent unreal in so far as it depended on a preliminary definition of the terms, but of permanent value for the examination it has involved of the borderland between the two. It may be thought that Marett's most important work was done in the exploration of this borderland, and in his criticisms of Tylor and Frazer; but that he tended to import civilized values into primitive thought when he tried to make Magic bear a moral connotation, regarding all Magic as Black Magic in permanent opposition to Religion; and that his 'projectiveness' of the Spell recalls the emotional attitude of the civilized golfer who grunts and waves his hand to make his ball run into the hole. The uncivilized attitude may have been more like that of the kitchenmaid, who says, 'the knives are crossed'—even if they have been crossed by accident—'therefore there is going to be a row.' The mechanical unemotional 'therefore,' between crossed knives and quarrel, represents the attitude of the savage magician, and that is all that Frazer meant when he compared it to the attitude of the modern scientist. Similarly, it may be argued that 'Awe' is not a primitive but rather a sophisticated emotion, resulting from all sorts of associations of memory, and marking not the beginning but rather the ending of religion. It is not, in fact, the savage but Wordsworth who feels Awe of the mountain, the thundercloud and the rainbow. Jeans and Sherrington look at a nebula with Awe; but however impressively they write about it they cannot persuade themselves or anybody else that the nebula is going to do anything for them.

The logical association between crossed knives and quarrel would have originated at a time when

every object could be regarded as embodying not a personal or spiritual being but a consciousness; and when Magic would have been a way of showing to an indifferent or hostile consciousness what it was wanted and expected to do. Is it not the really primitive attitude to treat all objects, animate or inanimate, neither as persons, nor as containers or vehicles of spirits, nor as transmitters of force, but simply as things, that is to say, as equals? To the primitive magician the clouds are of the same order as himself, and may be scolded or instructed, as the child scolds a table or a chair and tells it what to do. The savage shows the clouds what he wants them to do, just as he shows other tribesmen what he wants them to do;—just as the Mundas present sprouting barley blades to the tree, 'perhaps reminding the tree spirit,' says Frazer, 'of his duty to the crops,' and giving him a 'visible example of rapid vegetable growth.' He knows that gesture and imitative action are more easily understood than language, which is a new and uncertain fashion spreading outward from the hearth. If the magical procedure sometimes seems as much religious as magical it is because the transition 'from Spell to Prayer' may involve not a god (who is by definition superior), but a fellow being who has to be told what to do; and if he fails to understand ordinary language, or be deaf like Baal, the meaning may have to be conveyed by signs and rituals. The pre-religious or magical period is a period of homogeneity and consciousness of equality. It is succeeded by a period of consciousness of inferiority to a being superior, if not necessarily supreme; and if Magic is the language of familiarity, Religion is the language of fear.

If then in circumstances like these our anthropologist can see the beginning of a Religious Age, will he not be led to suppose that a day not far distant in human evolution will also see the end of it? He may conclude that Religion is not, in Marett's words, 'a permanent possibility of our common human nature,' but is in fact only a protective attitude adopted during the development of a code of civilized ethics; a sort of sheath which appears to cling firmly to the bud, but is destined to drop away as soon as the flower of ethical stability is completely formed and strong enough to face the wind. He will already be able to detect a number of individuals who seem to be fore-runners of a post-religious period. They are completely insensitive to the attractions of religion, and impervious to any insinuations of divine paternity. He will not always be able to find them without difficulty, for they are not of markedly inferior type; and as they are usually devoted to the associated ethics, and often assiduous admirers of the established ritual, they may well be unconscious of their own deficiencies. When he has found them, he should be able to tell us in what environment they are most numerous and even to calculate the chances of their multiplication and survival. Their freedom from fears and superstitions should give them certain advantages and perhaps more than an ordinary share of devotion to the community. They will not miss the sense of divine approval which supported their ancestors during the horrors of the religious ages. They will have instead the consolation of the human and æsthetic emotions; and they will enjoy the spectacle of human excellence, an infinitesimal part of which will be theirs to contemplate.

GENETICS AND THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN THE AMERICAS.¹ By M. F. Ashley Montagu, M.D., Department of Anatomy, Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital, Philadelphia.

105 When did human beings first come to America? To what variety, or varieties, did they belong? Whence came they? What has been their history in the Americas? These questions constitute some of the major problems of American anthropology, and the approach to their solution has followed rigorously historical lines. In no field of science has the hope of discovery been more tempered with caution than in that branch of American anthropology which relates to the antiquity of man in America. This

general attitude of caution has had the most salutary effect of keeping our knowledge and our discussions upon the factual level rather than upon that of wishful thinking. I have the fullest sympathy with those who lament the absence of any fossil Pithecanthropi or Neanderthals in this continent, but this is a very large continent of which the surface has barely been scratched. Who can say what future discovery may not reveal?

Meanwhile, the combined labours of archaeologists, geologists, anthropologists, and many other specialists who have dealt with the various aspects of the problem of the antiquity of man

¹ Opening Lecture delivered at a Symposium on the American Indian at the Meeting of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, Chicago, 8 April 1941.

in America, lead to the practically unanimous conclusion that human beings probably first came to this continent not earlier than some ten to fifteen thousand years ago. This conclusion is, of course, based upon the carefully examined available evidence. This evidence consists principally of stone artifacts, sometimes found in association with extinct animals such as the bison, mammoth, mastodon, ground-sloth, and camel, and sometimes in strata of known or determinable age. Some of these stone artifacts, such as the Folsom and Yuma points, exhibit certain unique features which render their identification clear as objects belonging to a culture which preceded any of those now existing in America, but the evidence very strongly suggests that none of these artifacts is older than 15,000 years. Finds of human skeletal material in the Americas for which a greater antiquity than 5,000 years can be legitimately claimed are unknown. There are a number of students of the problem who believe that all that the evidence actually permits one to do is to place the time of the earliest entry of man into America at a date no earlier than 5,000 B.C. It is generally agreed that this date is too low, as it is also generally agreed that, upon the basis of the available archaeological and skeletal evidence, anything exceeding 20,000 years is too high.

No one denies the possibility that man may have lived in America even so long as a hundred thousand years ago—it is simply that no evidence has been uncovered which proves that he lived here earlier than 15,000 years ago. It has been said that since no anthropoids ever lived in America it is improbable that any independent groups of man ever originated here. This is quite true, but there is no real reason why early offshoots from some primitive human stock could not have found their way here from Asia. We do not know, and there exists no evidence of any kind that such offshoots did get here, and it is in fact improbable that we shall ever find any, for the reason that such evidence as we have renders it unlikely that any such primitive groups ever migrated as far as America. This can be said almost with certainty because, in spite of a certain obvious superficial variability, the aboriginal Indian populations of America present a remarkable physical homogeneity of characters. This holds good from the Eskimos in the north to the Fuegians at the very extremity of South America, and from east to west. The complex of characters presented by these populations is very closely associated with those presented by the East Asiatic or quasi-Mongoloid and Mongoloid peoples who live on the mainland of the Asiatic

side of the Bering Straits, and there is an overwhelming amount of evidence, of every kind, which renders it practically certain that the greater part of the populations of the Americas originated from such quasi-Mongoloid and Mongoloid peoples who migrated across the Bering Straits from Asia to America in prehistoric times. There was no independent development of the present quasi-Mongoloid and Mongoloid physical type from some primitive form on *both* sides of the Bering Straits, but on the mainland alone of the Asiatic side, and then only after what must have been a long and interesting history of miscegenation.

Now, the question in which we are interested here is: When did these people or peoples first cross the Bering Straits and enter America? The one method of approach to the solution of this problem which has not thus far been tried is the genetic approach, and it is the purpose of this paper to attempt to discover what light can be thrown upon this problem by a genetic approach to its solution. Such an attempt must, of course, be purely speculative, for owing to the lack of any existing descriptions of Indian populations in genetic terms, this is all that can at present be attempted. But what can be done here is to indicate how far it would be possible to go towards the solution of this problem by means of the genetic approach.

The close genetic relationship of the Indian populations of the Americas is a fact which no one would for a moment wish to question. Even to-day, in spite of much White and some Negro admixture, the dominance of that genetic relationship is manifest. In spite of the varying physical types which are encountered among Indians of the Americas, this substantial present genetic homogeneity seems to be clear. Now this relative genetic homogeneity may reflect the effects of a variety of different things; (1) it may reflect an original genetic homogeneity, or (2) an original genetic heterogeneity which by miscegenation and a scattering of variability produced the present observable relative homogeneity.

Let us deal with these two alternatives before we proceed any further.

(1) If we commence with a group of ancestors for the American Indian who were genetically relatively homogeneous, and we assume them to have been a group of Mongoloids, then such physical diversity as we observe among the Indians of the Americas of to-day, apart from that which we know to have been produced by White and Negro admixture, must have arisen

after their entry into America. Now is there any way in which we could tell what amount of time must have elapsed during which there was produced the kind of physical diversity which we observe among this relatively homogeneous population of American Indians?

Let us assume that the average life of a generation in prehistoric times was 20 years (generation = from birth to the production of first offspring), a figure which is almost identical with that estimated for the palaeolithic generations of Europe. This estimate gives us five generations per century. Now starting from a fairly homogeneous Mongoloid group our problem is to discover how many generations it would take to produce the kind of physical diversity which one encounters among the Indians who are distributed over America.

If one investigates the kind of diversity observed it is discovered that this is of a nature which does not require a single genetic transformation. The phenotypical diversity is superficial and is reflective of a fundamental genotypical homogeneity. For example, practically all Indians have deep black lank hair on the head, and practically all agree in being very sparsely endowed with facial and body hair. The skin colour ranges from a yellowish-brown to a deep reddish-brown; eye colour is brown; the face is broad with high cheek-bones predominating, and there is some maxillary prognathism. In all these characters, be it noted, as well as in some others, practically all American Indians closely resemble the Mongoloids. Now, the features in which Indian physical types vary from one another are extremely difficult to describe because they are so tenuous, and because they have rarely been expressed in either qualitative or quantitative terms. Nevertheless, it is apparent from photographs of Indians drawn from South, Middle and North America that certain differences exist. For example, Eskimos show a very high frequency of the epicanthic fold (the Mongolian fold of the upper eyelid), but as we pass southwards it is found that while the fold is frequently present in women and children it is comparatively infrequent in men. Among Indians of Middle and South America the fold is relatively rare. The rule appears to be that as we pass from North to South America there is a reduction in the intensity of the distribution of Mongoloid traits, at least as far as the epicanthic fold is concerned. As an hypothesis to be tested, it may be suggested that this fact may be interpreted in the following way: first, the Indians of Middle and South America are actually older

inhabitants of the Americas than those of the north, and have lived in relative isolation, compared with the Indians of the north, for a much longer period of time. While the latter were undoubtedly exposed to new influxes of Mongoloids from Asiatic Europe, those Mongoloids who had already migrated down to Middle America and through Middle America to South America were left free of such new infusions, and hence would, in the course of time, tend to become highly inbred groups.

Now it seems probable, and here we may consider our second alternative, that all of the peoples who crossed over into America in prehistoric times were of dominantly Mongoloid origin. Despite their apparent basic genetic homogeneity there are some evidences which would suggest that many non-Mongoloids entered America in relatively appreciable numbers.

This is only an impression, but it seems to me that when one looks, for example, at an Indian of the Amazon basin, one cannot fail to observe that he exhibits a dominance of Caucasoid physical traits mixed with some which are peculiarly Mongoloid, such as hair-form and distribution, and skin colour. As a working hypothesis it would not be unreasonable to infer that his remote ancestry was both Caucasoid and Mongoloid, with a predominance of the Caucasoid. In terms of the inheritance of traits as unit characters this would seem probable. The further south we go toward Tierra del Fuego the more would the Caucasoid character appear to predominate. But some Mongoloid characters are nearly always present. As we turn backwards to the north, the farther north we go the more pronounced do the Mongoloid traits appear.

This is significant of something, but of what?

The simplest explanation which occurs to me is that the southernmost peoples of continental America represent the earliest immigrants, while the northernmost peoples represent the later immigrants; that the earliest immigrants were of somewhat different stock from the later immigrants, and that the former were continually being pushed southwards by representatives of the latter.

This is, of course, reducing a complex problem to very simple terms, but it is something to work by, and it is not improbable.

The suggestion is that the first human beings to enter America were refugees seeking to escape from a pursuing enemy; that these refugees were possibly Caucasoids with some Mongoloid admixture, and that their pursuers were more dominantly Mongoloid. From Asia they came across

the Bering Straits to North America. The late comers came in waves and at different times from different cultural groups, while the earliest comers were gradually pushed further and further southwards by these newcomers.

If these assumptions are anywhere near the truth then we must conclude that the first inhabitants of this country were Caucasoids with some Mongoloid admixture; that they are probably represented by the almost extinct inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego and the Navarino Islands; and that the invading groups were more dominantly of Mongoloid stock. In point of fact, the evidence yielded by an analysis of the skeletal remains of aboriginal American populations fully supports this conclusion. Hooton, in his admirable study *The Indians of Pecos Pueblo* (1930), has shown that the stratigraphically early types are decidedly non-Mongoloid in character, while the later types are predominantly Mongoloid, though by no means purely so.

In the Palaeolithic there seems to have existed a centre of pressure somewhere in Central Asia, which led to a pushing of peoples down into the southern extremities of the earth. From this region, across Siberia and then over the Bering Straits, came the people who were to be the original inhabitants of America, or let us say that the pressure originating in this region forced some of the peoples of eastern Siberia across the Straits into America.

Similar pressure, originating, perhaps, in the same region, has brought it about that the simplest peoples of the earth to-day live in the southernmost parts of the continents in which they are to be found. I need but remind you of the Australians, the extinct Tasmanians in the most southern lands of the earth, the Veddas in Ceylon, the Andaman Islanders, the Hottentots and Bushmen at the tip of South Africa, and the Fuegians at the southernmost extremity of South America.

These peoples are generally agreed to represent the most primitive cultural groups of which we have any knowledge. Their primitive culture constitutes additional evidence of the fact that they have been isolated for a considerable period of time from contact with other cultures. Hence, by the character of their culture alone they must be adjudged old. This is particularly true of the Fuegians, possibly the most primitive people living at the present time. It is a fair assumption to make that they are the oldest surviving aborigines of the Americas.

Thus far I have been speaking in non-genetic terms, and in this way have arrived at a generali-

zation with respect to the epicanthic fold, namely that its distribution decreases towards the south and increases towards the north. Upon the basis of the relatively low distribution of epicanthic folds among the southernmost Indians, and with the assistance of certain auxiliary hypotheses, I have suggested that this low distribution probably indicates a relatively high antiquity for the group exhibiting it. The cultural evidence would appear to support such a claim.

Now how does all this tie up with the only physical character which has thus far been genetically investigated, namely, the blood groups?

It is now generally agreed that blood group *B* originated somewhere in Asia, where its highest concentration is still to be found. In the Americas *B* is markedly lacking, except among the Yaghans of Tierra del Fuego and the Caraja Indians of Brazil, and the Indians of Chile. The blood group of the North American Indians is predominantly *O*, although there is evidence that they formerly possessed appreciable amounts of *A* as well as some *B*.

Is not this high concentration of *B*, with a gene frequency (*q*) of 70, among the Yaghans of Tierra del Fuego (the Navarino Islands) interesting? Is not the fact that the highest concentrations of *B* in the Americas occurs in South America intriguing? How shall we account for these interesting blood-group distributions? The answer to this question is difficult and much further research will have to be carried out before it can be satisfactorily attempted. But in order to illustrate the sort of thing which can be done let us continue upon the present simplified level.

If we assume that the Yaghans, who inhabit the extremest tip of Tierra del Fuego, were the first to enter America from Asia we may readily account for the high frequency of *B* which they exhibit on the simple hypothesis that they originated from an high-*B* region in Asia.

This seems obvious, but it is not necessarily so simple. Now group *O*, which is so exceptionally high in North America, is found in its next highest concentration among the Eskimos, ranging in gene frequencies (*r*) from 64 to 99. The highest concentration of group *O* in Asia is found among the Tungus (Evenki) of Eastern Siberia with an *r* of 77. In North America *B* is practically entirely wanting, while in South America *B* is comparatively more frequent, occurring in its highest frequency at the very southernmost extremity of the continent. Yet very high frequencies of *O* occur at the other end of America among the

Eskimos, with its greatest concentration occurring on the mainland of Asia in Eastern Siberia. Significantly enough, it is generally agreed that the Eskimos represent the latest migrants to arrive in North America.

The agreement of the distribution of the blood groups with the evidence derived from other sources for the primitiveness and antiquity of the Yaghans, for example, is remarkable.

Here we have some promising clues for the tracing of the origins of the American Indian populations, but my purpose here is not that, but rather to inquire into the possibility of determining the time of the first entry of man into this continent.

Omitting technical considerations which cannot be discussed here, it is practically certain that high-B among the Yaghans did not arise by mutation. The best hypothesis is that it represents the persistence of an original ancestral high-B. If that is so, then we may take it as highly probable that the Yaghans represent if not the oldest living population of Americans, then certainly one of the oldest, and possibly constitute the surviving descendants of the original refugees from Asia. Such a conclusion, it would seem, is in itself worth something. But what can it tell us about the antiquity of the Yaghans or their ancestors in America? In itself it can, of course, tell us nothing; all that it tells us is that the Yaghans have retained the integrity of their B genes by means of isolating factors, principally of a geographic nature. If, however, we had a map of the distribution of the blood group genes, as well as the genes for some other characters, it would be possible to arrive at a reasonable estimate of the time which must necessarily have been involved in effecting that distribution. Taken together with such a character as the epicanthic fold, as well as some other characters, we should have the data from which to make such

a calculation. In addition to this it would be necessary to have some idea of the mobility of American Indian populations: such data would necessarily form part of the genetic approach. If we knew something of the rate of mobility of some of these populations, it would be possible to trace their movements, where other means would fail, by the aid of the genes they carried with them both in time and space. Without much additional knowledge, therefore, it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to say anything with any degree of security concerning the first entry of man into continental America. I hope, however, that I have indicated that the genetic approach holds more than a promise of throwing an appreciable light upon the problem of the antiquity of man in America. But if this programme is ever to be fulfilled there must be initiated a plan of research which will lead to the systematic study of American Indian populations from the standpoint of the geneticist interested in discovering the distribution of the genes for several characters, and in correlating such distributions with the archaeological and linguistic evidence of population movements.

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CARIB PETROGLYPHS IN THE VIRGIN ISLAND OF ST. JOHN. By Hazel Ballance Napier. Illustrated.

106 The Carib Petroglyphs here described I saw in the bush of the little-known Virgin Island of St. John, in the Caribbean Sea.

After sounding the Conch shell, such as the Caribs were wont to blow in pre-Columbian days, our sloop scudded before the north-east Trade into Reef Bay on the north side of the island of St. John. The Virgin Island negro captain put me ashore in a little boat, paddled back to his

sloop, and was soon lost to sight beyond the reef.

No one replied to the summons of the Conch shell. The coral beach was deserted. There were no *canouas* rowed by naked copper-hued Caribs firing arrows and plunging into the water to capture fish. No sound of flute made of the bones of the mild Arawak. No Carib mothers with babies swinging in tiny *hamacas* under their

arms. No Carib maidens dropping their calabashes of cassava cakes as they fly into the bush, despite the compression of the woven rush-and-cotton buskins around the calves of their legs.

Before the *Balanglé*—'the-men-come-hither-by-sea'—the primitive Indians have vanished. Their fate was sealed when Columbus's 'doom-burdened caravels' (manned with the *etoutou noubi*—'deformed- or clothed-enemies')—slanted to the shore.

Reef Bay presented to the imagination an ideal *karbet* or prehistoric village site. If indeed there were fragments of potsherds or stone implements or beads or any flattened Carib skulls or mortuary vessels, they were effectively concealed beneath the sprawling seagrasses and impenetrable thorny scrub. Would these relics not also be buried beneath diluvial deposits?

I scanned the hillsides for any large cottonwood trees, for the Caribs used to cut their *canouas* and smaller *canoulias* from their hard wood. But I saw none. Nor could I find any indication of mounds that might be Carib kitchen-middens. No trace even of scattered shells. Shell-fish were esteemed by the Caribs and they made piles of empty shells near their dwellings. These shells are more or less imperishable. There was no sound of any living thing except the huge land-crabs plomping into their holes, and the occasional splash of a pelican fishing in the bay.

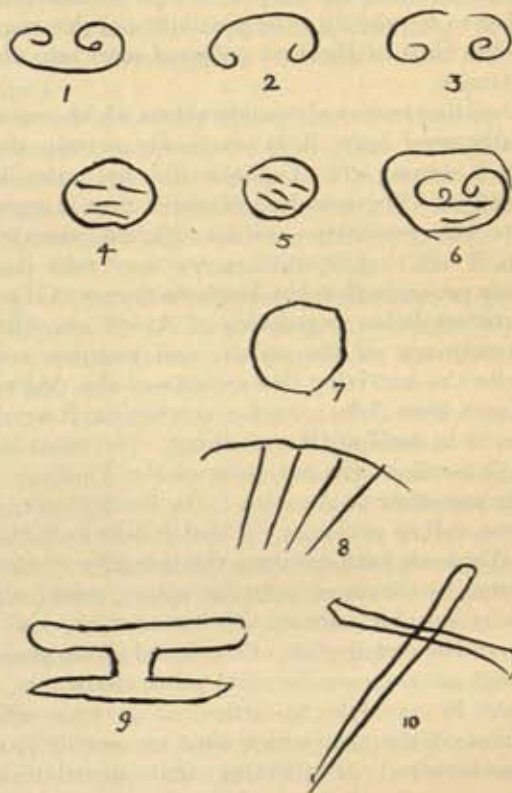
I followed a little path that wound inland. My first discovery was a huge copper boiler covered with rust and cracks—a relic of the sugar plantations in the comparatively recent days of negro slavery.

A little later I met a coloured Virgin Island woman. After exchange of greetings she said: 'All dis land belongs to me. I inherit it all!' 'Are there any watersprings on your land?' The Caribs would only build their huts near some fresh water supply. 'O yes,' she said, 'dere is 'also a waterfall, but it is not such a big fall since 'de ole days.' 'Where?' 'In de Living Gut'—*gut* is the local name for 'ravine.' She pointed vaguely towards the hillside. 'Why is it called 'the Living Gut?' 'I do not know. It is not 'good to go dere after dark.' 'Why?' 'Dere 'are signs on de rocks!' 'How can I get there?' 'No-one goes on de way since de days gone by. 'Since de hurricane'—derived from the Carib word *ouragon*—'de bush do cover it all. No. 'You could not find de way dere at all. You 'would get lost for true.'

Finally she was persuaded to give directions. 'You must follow de path up de gut, and when

'you come to de two Tamarind trees, you must 'turn to de west, where it has a little path where 'de water used to flow which goes all de way to 'de water fall in de ole time.'

After the loss of an hour or so of daylight, failing to find the path, I returned to the woman and she consented to guide me. The path was entangled by thorny scrub (whose native name is 'white-police' or 'catch-and-keep') and barred by a cactus called 'Spanish bayonet.' One remembered that the Spanish weapons were more



CARIB PETROGLYPHS IN THE VIRGIN ISLAND OF ST. JOHN

lethal than the Carib arrows dipped in the poisonous milk of the machineel.

'Soon reach!' called back my guide after we had struggled through undergrowth for about a mile from the sea rim. 'Soon reach de waterfall, 'but it have no falling water, but some water 'dat lie still in de pools, and dere are plenty signs.'

Then we entered a gloomy shadow as if nearing the mouth of a cavern. The air struck with a chill. 'It is dere'—in an awed whisper from my guide. I saw the bare rock face of the hillside, clumps of shadow, and gleaming pools. There was no water falling over the rock, but one could see where the waterfall had once splashed from a height of about 40 feet. There appeared to be two large pools, one a few feet higher than the

other. And there were the pictographs traced by aboriginal fingers.

They appeared on boulders and slabs of rocks above both pools. The main impression was of circular designs and scrolls spaced at irregular intervals. All the lower ones were in duplicate because they were mirrored in the still water beneath. Higher on the rock shelf were more carvings, but these I was unable to decipher clearly, owing to the shadows and the gathering dusk. The photos I took were unfortunately all subsequently lost in the Caribbean Sea when the boat capsized; but the roughly-drawn little pencil sketches kept in my pocket survived.

Description of Designs.—Some were scrolls like figs. 1, 2 and 3. Are these water symbols? Many were faces such as a child would draw with slits for eyes and nose and mouth, only in these crude faces cut in the rocks there is a suggestion, I felt, of the slightly oblique melancholy Carib eyes (figs. 4 and 5). Are the marked rims about the eyes (fig. 6) vestiges of the dark circles that the Carib youths painted around their eyes, or the scarifications made with the teeth of the *agouti*?

Some of the circles appeared more featureless (fig. 7). Were these worn by the elements, or could they be symbols of *No-oo-No-oo*, the Moon who according to Carib mythology issued out of a cavern of the sea?

One circle motif (fig. 8) had lines radiating from it. Are these the feathery crown of a Carib *Cacique* (Chief) or are they a symbol of *Lalloukoue*—the Splendour-of-the-Sunrise?

One larger design (fig. 9) with some indistinct longitudinal lines near it, seemed even more enigmatical. Towards this design my guide pointed, and in a mysterious whisper added: 'Dat is de devil and dis is his cake pan!'

Could this, I wonder, represent a Carib *batou* or club; or might it represent the *boucan* in which he roasted human flesh? The Caribs found Christians the most indigestible. It is probable that the word 'buccaneer' is derived from the Carib word *boucan* because the first buccaneers are said to have cured their meat by the *boucan* process.

A little deeper in the gloom a large cross (fig. 10) was plainly visible. Were the Caribs familiar with the sign of the swastika? Surely they did not adopt the symbol of their Christian conquerors who enslaved and destroyed them. More likely some holy Father carved this sacred sign to annul the power of these dark signs of paganism, or perhaps to avert the vengeful spell of some Carib spirit haunting the spot.

There is no living tradition to help in the elucidation of the meaning and intention of these designs. For what purpose did the Caribs resort here? For their *areytos* or solemn dances, chanting and drinking *ouycou*? Or did they come from the neighbouring islands to join in some ritual which their *boyes* or priests performed? Could that curious sign (fig. 9) represent a 'swallow-stick,' an instrument that the priests slipped into their throats to induce vomiting before they worshipped their *zemes* or gods?

'It is not good to stay here after dark,' repeated my guide.

The solitudes began to throb with the fluting and drumming of the Virgin Island bush when night falls. Fireflies like miniature arrows, fired by invisible archers, showered over us. So we left those glimmering pools and mystic signs to *ouloukouma* ('the stars') and to the oblivion of *boureaolaali* ('the night').

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Lamps of Anthropology. By J. Murphy. Manchester University Press. 1943. Pp. xi+179. 7s. 6d. net.

In this volume Dr. Murphy has brought together a number of papers and essays written during his tenure of the Chair of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester dealing mainly with 'the psychology of man as primitive, that is, in his historically earliest and generally simplest ways of thinking and action.' In rudimentary states of culture when, he thinks, the human mind is near to the mind of the mammalian stock from which it has evolved, it is dominated by the instinctive needs which man shares with the animals, and is concerned chiefly with food, sex, protection from danger, and social co-operation. At this stage in its development, its thinking is perceptual, and only under civilized conditions does the capacity for conceptual thought and for abstraction, the power of ethical judgment and the sense of individuality arise, when emancipa-

tion from the solidarity of the tribe and the bondage of custom has been achieved. The way is then open for initiative and originality both in thought and action.

This theme is repeated in many of the essays and elaborated under such headings as 'horizons of the science'; 'the place of fear in early religion'; 'imagination and the early forms of religion'; 'the primitive character of poetic genius'; 'the child, the primitive, and society.' In the analysis of 'horizons' a distinction is made between the 'primitive' level characterized by 'food-gathering' with a 'mana-type of religion,' and the 'tribal' culture when a settled life in villages and the cultivation of crops have been adopted, giving rise to animistic notions in the worship of personal spirits and gods, prior to the emergence of the 'civilized' and 'phetic' horizons.

The essential quest of Man is represented as a quest of unity, proceeding by a series of integrations ever more comprehensive and differentiated, achieving a harmony

within himself and in relation to his environment. Progress, on this hypothesis, seems to be inherent in the evolutionary process, an inevitable outcome of what has gone before in a series of alternating integrations and differentiations. In the sphere of religion, for example, Dr. Murphy rejects the theory of an original monotheism, and while he is not prepared to derive the idea of Deity from the notion of ghost in the manner suggested by Herbert Spencer, he maintains that 'a monotheistic deity can often be seen arising more than half-formed from among the spirits of tribal animism, or appearing like Varuna or Zeus as a sky-god of ancient nomads; again as a fertility-spirit raised to a high god like Osiris or Demeter, or as a combination of fertility-spirit and heaven-god ethically sublimated into Yahweh, and then exalted by prophetic genius into the God of all the earth.'

In contradiction to Frazer's theory of an absolute distinction between magic and religion, he recognizes with Lévy Bruhl that there are innumerable intermediate forms of belief between the idea of *mana* and that of personal gods and spirits, but against the French anthropologist he insists that the primitive mind is not fundamentally different from that of civilized man. Nevertheless, the truth to which Lévy Bruhl drew attention, he thinks, lay in the exposition of the contrast that can be made between the two types of thought, the one 'tribal' and perceptual, the other 'civilized,' conceptual, and individualistic.

If the light from these 'lamps of anthropology' is diffused, it illuminates a number of subjects, religious, theological, sociological, and psychological. Sometimes it shines more brightly than others, but on the whole it is unquestionably illuminating. Apart from the difficulties which an evolutionary approach to human institutions and beliefs is bound to encounter, there is some uncertainty about the Palaeolithic sequence, as, for example, when the Magdalenian cave paintings are alleged to have been the work of Neanderthal Man; or, again, when the Aurignacians are said to have had 'backward sloping skulls and low foreheads,' and to have been 'the earliest Europeans we know.' There are also statements which require some modification, as for instance that human sacrifice, cannibalism, head-hunting, and organized war have sprung from fear and its trust in terrorism. But considering the variety of topics discussed in a small compass, the information is reliable and the interpretation is both interesting and sound.

E. O. JAMES.

Are Wars Inevitable? By John R. Swanton. *Smithsonian Institution War Background Studies*, No. 12. Washington, 1943. Pp. 36. Price not stated.

Most of the handbooks in this useful series describe countries or peoples, or specific problems concerning them. Here is a general study of a mode of human behaviour, almost world-wide, and varied in its manifestation—namely war—from the point of view of an 'anthropologist.' Beginning with the notion of war as 'the most violent relation that may exist between groups of people,' the suggestion is made that it originates as a desperate remedy when 'fate or the gods' fail to adjust quarrels. But this leaves the quarrels—the *casus belli*—unexplained. War is not universal among men, nor quite (though nearly) confined to them: ants, for example, make predatory war and have specialized 'soldier' varieties within a species and a community, much as bees have 'workers.' But people's attitude to war varies greatly, and some interesting correlations are suggested between habits of warfare and types of social structure. Correlation with the first use of the horse is suggested but not explored (p. 5).

In general, motives for war between peoples are the same as for violence between individuals; revenge, which presumes a *casus belli*, and does not take us far; social advancement, which again presumes that war is recognized as admirable—it is a commonplace that

burglary does not lead that way—; excitement, religious obligation (if the gods, spirits, or ancestors approve). More positive is the desire for women, slaves, plunder, territory, or trade. 'Defence,' and 'fear' are again secondary reactions. So we are left with a few main types of desire for power, and what power brings. Fundamentally, war is the negation of the 'golden rule,' the assertion of a 'herren-volk' outlook on other men. This, it would seem, covers all the categories listed but not analysed by Mr. Swanton.

With the relation of civil and military authorities (p. 17), we pass from ends to means. But the emergence of uncontrolled war-lords is but another type of 'power-politics' within the community itself. The *Führer* or *Duce* is essentially at war with his own people, in so far as they have to make war as he directs: he, too, while he lasts, 'thanks God that he is not as other men are,' and does as he does not permit others to do. This is the type-specimen of the 'connexion between war-motives and personal motives' discussed on p. 19, and links public war with pocket-picking, blackmail, and other 'represensible' egotisms.

Here we come to the prevention of war; best studied in social understandings regulating private aggression or reprisal, or replacing it by agreed procedure against self-centred and self-seeking individuals. Such 'areas of law'—namely communities large and small—may, however, be established either by conquest or by consent, and examples are here given of both. Mr. Swanton's history is occasionally deficient: the Roman dictatorship (p. 17) was not a normal war-time institution, but a desperate remedy for the political partition of authority between two consuls: and if the Hellenistic States after Alexander 'reverted to their earlier condition' to what does the writer refer? A popular misapprehension looms up in a phrase (p. 25) about 'all that England owes to India,' qualifying another belief that colonies 'except those that have been repopulated' have not been 'worth the financial outlay and the government worry.' Mr. Swanton, however, admits in the same passage that 'Roman intrusion into the Western Mediterranean (where then was Rome?) may have brought some compensation to the people conquered,' though he thinks Roman use of force was overdone. All this leads up to a dictum of President Wilson which no doubt was based on his knowledge of the matter. 'The failure of most conquest empires may be foretold' but hardly as a 'mathematical certainty' (p. 27): a geographical 'circumference' has some queer unmathematical properties; the phrase 'just round the corner' has no angular value; and the 'sum total' of prosperity of conquerors and conquered alike depends on what is added to what. All these later pages are indeed not worthy of the earlier, nor of the 'standpoint of an anthropologist.' But passing from 'mathematical certainty' to philosophic hope, we may welcome the conclusion (p. 33) that 'there is no mystery about the force required to terminate warfare. All that is needed is the will to do so.'

JOHN L. MYRES.

Downing Street and the Colonies. Report submitted to the Fabian Colonial Bureau. London, Allen & Unwin, and the Fabian Society, 1942. Pp. 100. Price 2s.

This pamphlet is an admirably concise and pithy critique of the existing British system of colonial administration. It discusses methods of recruitment and training for the administrative and technical services, the recruitment of colonials to the Unified Service, and the scope for women in the services generally. It insists on the need for a specialized training for the administrator, and for the creation in each colony of an economic staff of trained specialists, but does not mention the work that might be done in interpreting social trends by a staff of anthropologists. The various proposals made for increasing Parliament's knowledge and awareness of colonial problems are discussed; the report recommends a Standing Committee of both Houses. L. P. MAIR.

ASIA.

Mongol Journeys. By Owen Lattimore. London. Cape, 1941. Pp. 284. Illustrations.

110 Mr. Owen Lattimore enjoys a high and well-deserved reputation as an authority on the customs and folklore of the Mongols and as one of the most successful travellers of modern times. For many years he has lived and wandered among the people who inhabit the vast regions north of the Yellow River. He has a sympathetic understanding of their way of life and ways of thinking. He speaks their language so well that he can 'talk ideas as well as facts'; and he has the happy gift of distilling his observations and experiences into books which give pleasure to a wide circle of readers.

The Steppe is a land of stagnant economy and disintegrating society. Savagery is rampant, and there is plenty of myth and superstition, but little authentic history. Bandits are an ever-present menace and Mongol dogs (p. 183) may be even more dangerous. Should anyone, despite all this, still feel tempted to follow in Mr. Lattimore's footsteps, he should first read the story of the ladle which was used alternately for stirring the soup and ladling dung on to the fire.

The most interesting of the journeys related in this book is the visit to the Great Sacrifice of Jenghis held annually at the Spring Equinox. Other travellers have visited the Sanctuary, but no foreigner had previously witnessed the Annual Sacrifice with its survivals of ancient cult-practices and Court ritual. Mr. Lattimore went through the ceremony of being received in Imperial Audience by the spirit of the Great Conqueror. It was a shabby and pathetic imitation of ancient splendour, but strangely moving withal.

The memory of Jenghis Khan, who died 700 years ago, still dominates the Mongol mind and a quite extraordinary number of their myths and legends have clustered round his name. Mr. Lattimore tells the story of a woman whom Jenghis wished to marry, but who secreted on her person a knife with which she castrated him. He tells another story of Jenghis' sword. 'One explanation why Russian steel is better than that of the Mongols is that Jenghis once made himself a great sword which was much more perfect towards the point than towards the hilt. When he tested it the sword snapped; the point flew off into Russia and the hilt Jenghis threw away in disgust in Mongolia.' Both these stories are reminiscent of the legend of the 'Fisher King' which Mr. Lattimore does not mention. In a wasteland such as Mongolia, which has suffered so long from progressive desiccation, a primitive people would naturally associate the withering of the verdure with the loss of the reproductive powers of the king. The Mongols believe that Jenghis only sleeps, and that, when he is healed, he will awake, the land will recover, and the people will be saved.

Mr. Lattimore shares the belief in a bright future for the Mongols. His vision of a new and happy Mongolia at peace with a new and wholesome China would sound more realistic, if he himself had not described the oppression of Mongols by Chinese. He tends to brush aside this exploitation as the work of the rapacious Yen Hsi Shan, whom others laud as the 'Model Tuchun,' or of bad elements in the Kuomintang who will one day go over to the puppet Wang Ching Wei, leaving the Kuomintang in its pristine state of virtue. Few believe that peace can return to the Far East so long as Japan remains entrenched anywhere on the mainland of Asia, but Mr. Lattimore thinks that 'the new equilibrium must come from an adjustment between Russia, Japan, and China.' It is true that this was written before Pearl Harbour when it looked as if America would never be drawn into the war and would continue to supply Japan with two-thirds of the essential war materials she required; but the fact is that Mr. Lattimore knows less about politics than about folklore. A traveller as he himself remarks, 'may have a great deal to talk about that is picturesque and even correct, but still not know

'what he is talking about.' Conversely, when Mr. Lattimore declares that the British in 1932, 'were still pretty sure on the whole that by selling the Chinese down the Yellow River they could save themselves from being sold down the Yangtze,' one can only tell him very gently that he does not know what he is talking about. J. T. PRATT.

Housekeeping among Malay Peasants. By Rosemary

111 Firth. *Monographs on Social Anthropology*, No. 7. London School of Economics and Political Science. London. Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd. 1943. Pp. 198, with 8 plates. Price 10s.

This is an extremely interesting and valuable book from more than one point of view, and for more than one purpose.

During the last twenty-five years—and increasingly so since the beginning of the war—exigencies of human nutrition and the planning of an adequate food policy have come more and more into the focus of attention, under the leadership of Sir John Orr and others. Mrs. Firth's survey of the actual consumption of food and of its production and distribution among the peasants of the Malay Peninsula, in particular among the fishermen in Kelantan, would certainly be interesting as a matter of comparison for all those concerned with nutrition. It would also be very enlightening to administrators who wish to acquaint themselves with the conditions of household economy in the area under discussion; and it is no less interesting to sociologists, because of its excellent exposition of social relations, which runs right through the whole book, and forms the background to the analysis of the nutritional and economic processes.

The first extensive study of the social and cultural functions of the nutritive processes was that by Dr. Audrey Richards: *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe* (London, 1932), which study dealt with the Southern Bantu. This was followed by several monographs on domestic economy among African people by Dr. Richards and others. Volume 9 of *Africa* (1936) is entirely devoted to dietary studies of African peoples, of which 'Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi,' by M. and S. Fortes, deserves special mention.

In 1939 Dr. Richards again published an account of the diet of a Northern Rhodesian people: 'Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia,' based on field work material. In the same year the Colonial Office published a Report: *Nutrition in the Colonial Empire*, which contains a survey of nutritional needs of Colonial peoples and deserves the interest of all those concerned with the subject.

Mrs. Firth's work: *Housekeeping among Malay Peasants* is complementary to her husband's book on *Malay Peasant Economy*, and is the result of a joint effort. In 1939-40, Dr. R. W. Firth was carrying out an investigation into the social and economic conditions of a small fishing village in Kelantan on the North-East coast of Malaya, and the writer of the present book collaborated in the work. 'While he was investigating the production and distribution of wealth, I attempted to find out how this wealth was used. Besides making visits to the markets and shops, as well as to weddings and other social events, where unusual expenditure was taking place, I daily visited houses every evening for consecutive periods from one month to twenty-one weeks and took notes on every cent expended each day, the food eaten and received and stored in the houses, and in many instances the manner of cooking it. . . .'

As the war made more urgent claims on the work of Dr. Firth, the publication of his share of the results of a combined and very successful research, laid down in *Malay Peasant Economy*, has unfortunately been delayed, let it be hoped not for long.

This delay, however, does not lessen our appreciation for this first instalment, dealing with the household economy of the Malay peasant.

In her introduction Mrs. Firth explains the scope of her book, which opens up a new field of research: 'The homely routine of housekeeping has only recently been thought fit for scientific study, yet really it is vital to the understanding of any economic system . . .'; and she lays down the general principles: ' . . . the house-keeper's problems are fundamentally the same the world over, and from the scientist's point of view their solution is governed by the same general principles. The basic problem is universal, not only to have enough to keep alive, but also to satisfy the demands of personal tastes, religious rules, and a multitude of social obligations, all as important to the life of the group as mere subsistence is to the life of an organism. . . . ' This, says Mrs. Firth, goes to prove ' . . . the complete inadequacy of a policy which mainly considers an increase in the financial standards only, as a solution to the whole problem. . . . ' The constant interrelation between food, money, social relations, and religious life is apparent throughout the book.

The social and economic life of the fishermen of Kelantan shows an abundance of interesting features, which unfortunately cannot be pointed out in the limited space of a review. Therefore we have to limit ourselves to one point of negative criticism.

In the extremely interesting chapter on 'The position of women,' one is tempted to question whether the author did not perhaps take a little too much at their face value the statements of her informants that children living with relatives or step-parents in the case of the easily-granted divorces, are almost without exception happy and well-cared-for. She grants—but without apparently considering it as disproving the case—the difficulty of providing a normal life for the children, which is one of the greatest arguments in favour of the parents maintaining a home together. Yet these repeated changes, in which the child's well-being is not a first point of consideration, must destroy its sense of security.

In conclusion, may we express the wish that this valuable piece of research work may before long be completed by the publication of *Malay Peasant Economy*, and that the people whom it concerns may soon be able to enjoy the full benefit of it.

E. A.

Siam : Land of Free Men. By H. G. Deignan. *Smithsonian Institution War Background Studies*, No. 8. Washington D. C., 1943. Pp. 14 with map and illustrations. Price not stated.

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The Agaria. By Verrier Elwin. *Bombay (Oxford Univ. Press)*, 1942. 8 vo. Pp. xxvi + 292, 36 illustrations and maps. Price Rs. 12-8.

Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in Indien. By Walter Ruben. *Leiden : E. J. Brill* 1939 (*Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* Vol. xxxviii, Supplement). 306 pp. and 60 illustrations.

Anthropologists have as yet paid little attention to the numerous tribes of primitive craftsmen in India, and with the rapid penetration of modern industrial goods into the remotest forest areas there is a very real danger that many ancient crafts will vanish before the aboriginal artisans' technique and traditional mode of life have been recorded with any degree of accuracy. Most welcome, therefore, are two books on the primitive iron-smelters of the Central Indian belt which are, each in its own way, unique in Indian ethnological literature. Verrier Elwin and Walter Ruben approach their subject from different angles and by very different methods: Elwin as the experienced and painstaking field-worker with an intimate knowledge of his aboriginals gained by years of the closest contact, and Ruben, Professor of Sanskrit at the Ankara University, with a wealth of classical learning, an intuitive mind and an astonishing power of synthesis. The two books are complementary in the best sense, for while Elwin gives a detailed and

Short as it is, this little book gives an excellent account of the 'Free Men' or *Thai* people, who are the dominant element in the mixed population of Siam. A large part of it is devoted to the complicated medieval and more recent history, and to the growth of the modern kingdom since 1792 under its present dynasty. Very little is said about the way of life and material culture of the Siamese, but there are some very good photographs. For its purpose, to explain Siam's place in South-eastern Asia, and its political difficulties with the French and the Japanese, it is quite sufficient. But one would like to have more, as in other volumes of this useful series.

JOHN L. MYRES.

The Japanese. By John F. Embree. *Smithsonian Institution War Background Studies*. Washington D. C., 1943. Pp. 42; map and illustrations. Price not stated.

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This too-short description is very well put together, and gives clearly the main facts about Japanese ways of life, and history. Since Japanese material equipment is relatively familiar, attention is directed to historical and social aspects, which are more significant in relation to Japanese attitudes and behaviour. 'Like most island peoples,' for example, 'the Japanese regard themselves as a race apart,' and claim lineal descent from the gods who first created Nippon. Their social system and ways of life have similar mythical sanctions, and much has been carried forward from old Tokugawa feudal days into modern Japan, 'an old stable peasant society suddenly transformed into an industrial nation,' with centralized and militarized administration. There are some sensible comments on the motives and occasion of the recent re-consolidation, especially on the acute emotional stimulus of the American Exclusion Act of 1924. But the revival is religious as well as political. The relation between Buddhism and Shinto practices is explained: both appear to be generally observed, and the distinction between state Shinto and other beliefs explains the degree of tolerance extended to various cults and sects, and the use of religion as an important aspect of social control. A general characterization of Japanese outlook is followed by a very needful section on popular misconceptions regarding the Japanese. Altogether this is a most valuable and timely contribution to popular anthropological literature.

JOHN L. MYRES.

TECHNOLOGY.

vivid picture of the aboriginal iron-smelters as they are to-day, Ruben sets them against the background of Indian mythology and ancient history. He admits that his study is only an 'attempt': that his aim is rather to state problems than to offer a final solution.

The Agaria are a tribe of iron-smelters and blacksmiths scattered in small groups over the Central Provinces, several states of the Eastern States Agency, and the most western part of Bihar. Most of them live in symbiosis with such aboriginals as Gond and Baiga, and there can be no doubt that they themselves belong racially and culturally to the aboriginal sphere and are clearly distinct from the progressive Hindu blacksmiths. Though in dress, ornaments, and certain social customs the Agaria comply on the whole with the culture pattern of their various environments, they have preserved a peculiar totemic organization, and an elaborate mythology which sanctions and explains every phase in the process of iron-working. There can indeed be no better example of the functional myth as the inspiration of a craft, than the Agaria's vital belief that, in all his work at furnace and forge, he fulfills a sacred mission, and follows the course laid down by culture heroes and godlings. Work and myths are so interdependent, that when economic pressure forces the Agaria to abandon his craft and earn a living by agricultural labour, the cult of

his gods fall into decay, and he becomes impoverished both in body and spirit.

In India, as in many other countries, the blacksmith's craft is interwoven with magic and the Agaria is believed to wield supernatural powers. But though he is held in awe and often called upon by the tribesmen to bring luck or banish danger, he is accorded a very low status in the social scale. Elwin suggests that this disability is not only due to the fear of the blacksmith's uncanny powers, but is rooted in the ancient opposition of the stone-age peoples to the first producers of metal. It is, he thinks, for this reason 'that the extraction of iron from ore is considered much less respectable in the social sense, than simple iron work at the forge; the Agaria who brings iron out of the womb of the earth is the real enemy of the gods and spirits of the Stone Age.' Whatever the ultimate reason may be, iron and particularly the 'virgin iron' extracted from a new furnace has many magical properties, and is generally used to ward off evil spirits and witches.

After a detailed description of the technical side of the Agaria's craft, Elwin deals at length with the present decline of the aboriginal iron-smelting industry, which has already disappeared in most parts of India, and this he attributes to competition of factory iron, high taxation on furnaces, restrictions on the burning of charcoal owing to the reservation of forests, and in some areas 'the desire to abandon an activity that caused the workman to be despised.' Impoverishment, oppression, and social disabilities have led to a 'tribal neurosis,' which Elwin holds responsible for the unusual timidity of the Agaria, and in illustrating the symptoms of this complex by a number of stories and dreams, he proves once more his incomparable familiarity with the Central Indian aboriginals, and his flair for interpreting primitive mentality.

While Elwin deals mainly with the Agaria of the Central Provinces—referring to the Asur of Chota Nagpur only in his general survey of the primitive iron-smelters—it is the Asur and the problem of their relation to the mythical Asura of Sanskrit literature which stand in the centre of Ruben's book. Professor Ruben spent only two months among the Asur, and although this is evidently far too short a time for an intensive ethnological study, he was able to collect a great deal of valuable information and gives in many respects a very full picture of this little known tribe.

The main merit of his work lies, however, not in the monographic description of the Asur—which fills only one-third of the book—but in the bold conception of fundamental historical and ethnological problems with Asur and Asura as the focal points in his grand canvas. Realizing that research based solely on the interpretation of literary sources cannot dispel the darkness still enveloping India's early history, Ruben undertakes to combine the findings of Sanskrit scholars with the testimony of prehistory and anthropology. He rejects the theory that all parallels to Hindu thought prevailing among the present-day aborigines are only the distorted reflexions of higher civilizations, and maintains that many of the essential elements of Hinduism germinated in the primitive aboriginal cultures. Here it is not possible even to outline the farflung arguments which range not only through the width and breath of Indian

archaeology, mythology, and ethnology, but embrace the Near East, Africa, and Central Asia. In his attempt to correlate aboriginal cultures with prehistoric civilizations, Ruben follows the line of Menghin's *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (cf. MAN, 1931, 144), and though many of his hypotheses will have to be revised in the light of further research, there can be no doubt that this method is capable of yielding important results. Reliable material, both anthropological and prehistoric, is as yet scarce in India, but this is no reason why we should forego the potentialities of such correlation. Of even greater immediate value is the ethnological approach to the problems of Indology: whereas the theory of the pre-Aryan origin of Siva, Visnu, and Devi has gained increasing recognition in recent years, Ruben covers new ground when he traces the various aspects of these great figures of Hinduism back to prehistoric and aboriginal roots.

One problem, however, still awaits a solution. Both Elwin and Ruben tend to assume a connexion between the Asura, the demons of the Rigveda mythology, and the Asur, the primitive iron-smelters, whom their neighbours and the immigrant Aryans suspected as magicians and adepts in a secret art. But neither has as yet explained how it is that throughout aboriginal India the iron-smelters belong racially and culturally to one of the most primitive strata. Whether we subscribe to the general view that iron was introduced into India by one of the later waves of Aryan immigrants, or to the theory of an earlier independent iron-industry in the Deccan (cf. E. H. Hunt, 'Hyderabad Cairn Burials and their Significance,' *J.R.A.I.*, liv, 1924), it is out of the question that iron working should have been invented by a population as primitive in general culture as the Asur. For though speaking to-day a Munda language—just as most Agaria have adopted Aryan tongues—the Asur are far more backward than their Munda neighbours: they live largely on the gathering of wild jungle produce and their method of agriculture, the broadcasting and dibbling of seed in the ashes of forest clearings without the help of even a hoe, places them in that ancient stratum of agriculturists which is represented by the Hill Kharia of Orissa, the Kolam of the Central Provinces, and Hyderabad, and the Hill Reddi of the Eastern Ghats. And in this respect they are not an exception: I have found a similar situation on the lower Godavari valley where the Kammar or aboriginal blacksmiths practise the same kind of shifting cultivation with digging-sticks as the surrounding Hill Reddi and are definitely less advanced in material culture and more primitive in physical type than the Koya, the third aboriginal tribe in that area, some of whom (incidentally) also work as blacksmiths. But why should it have been just the most primitive among the Indian aboriginals who have taken to the working of iron? Was it because when the art was first introduced into India the semi-nomadic dwellers of the forest proved better suited to the work of producing charcoal and mining ore in inaccessible hill-tracts than the agriculturists tied to their fertile lands? To all these questions there is as yet no answer, but the problems have now been stated and if the lead given by Elwin and Ruben is followed, the origin of iron working in India should not remain for long the mystery which it is to-day. C. VON FÜRER-HAEMENDORF.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Islam To-day. Edited by A. J. Arberry and Rom Landau. London: Faber & Faber, 1943. 14.5 × 22.5 cm. 258 pp. Price 12s. 6d.

This is a book that does not quite live up to its title. Islam, like Christianity, faces perplexities from the rise of science. Comparative religion and modern psychology make inroads into territory hitherto strictly reserved, and machine power and international finance add ethical problems. Islam's simple basic creed lessens its anxiety about the first group of problems, but its antique system of law and government is gravely affected by the second, with the mechanically armed powers all

around. But, if this major issue is not really faced in 'Islam To-day,' we may still be thankful for several of the better essays incorporated in this collection, while regretting that there is none on Turkey; it is not a sufficient reason for omission that Turkey is no longer officially an Islamic state. At the same time, however, this reminds us of the historic claim of Islam to control the whole of life with its sacred law. Sir Richard Winstedt contributes a fine historical study of Islam in Malaysia incorporating elements from a Hinduised background of lowly religions. He goes on to suggest revolutions of thought and practice that European

contacts are bringing. This essay alone gives the book great value. Ann Lambton writes attractively and philosophically concerning the spiritual influence that Islam has so powerfully exerted on Persia. Many Zoroastrians of old became Sunni Moslems, while Manichaeans and others became adherents of Shi'ism. Islam brought much cultural effort to the fore in Persia in its early days with many corporate organizations on ethical-religious bases, and the secularizing efforts of Riza Shah Pahlavi are seen to have been far reaching prior to his recent abdication, but it is doubted whether the new government can stage an Islamic revival in a land faced by Western European mechanism. Sir Percy Sykes writes on Afghanistan, an interesting review of its history of the last 70 years. Dr. Taha Hussein writes, all too briefly, about Islam in Modern Egypt; one would have welcomed a far wider discussion from this able and devoted leader of liberal Islamic thought in the one Islamic country in which liberal thought on religious problems seems influential. Sir Arthur Wauchop considers that neither Arabs nor Jews have legal claims to establish a State of their own in Palestine, but that both peoples have the strongest claims to be considered in any discussion of the fate of the country; the author's optimism is attractive, if a little doubtful. Rom Landau writes with enthusiasm of Ibn Saud who, he thinks, has tried to open Arabia to western civilization and yet keeps Islam as the pillar of society. It is so difficult to get real information about Aden that Stewart Perowne's chapter is of great value and he does not forget the remarkable recent movements from south Arabia to East and West Africa and, still more, to Singapore and Java. Sir Richmond Palmer shows how Islam in recent generations has established a commanding position in West Africa where it is progressing still. H. J. F.

Egypt and the Suez Canal. By Frank H. Roberts Jr.
116 Smithsonian Institution War Background Papers,
 No. 11. Washington. 1943. Pp. 60, with
 25 plates. Price not stated.

This is a well-written description of modern Egypt, with a short history from predynastic times to the opening of the Suez Canal. It is not easy on a very small scale to present a well-proportioned picture, but Mr. Roberts has been successful, and the book is quite the best short account of Egypt in recent years. The difficult political history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is handled fairly and objectively; there is a short but serviceable list of books for reference; and the plates are excellent. J. L. M.

The Epistle of Othea to Hector. By James D. Gordon.
117 University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia.
 1942. Pp. lxx+172. Price not stated.

As the editor in his careful introduction tells us, *The Epistle of Othea to Hector* was written in French by Christine of Pisan about the year 1400. The subtitle—*A'lytil Bibell of knyghthod*—indicates its nature—an appeal to the young candidate for knighthood to cultivate the chivalric virtues and avoid unwise and unknighly conduct. The book contained 100 sections, each with its text—the narrative theme—its gloss—detailed narrative, exposition, lesson and a quotation from the philosophers, and, thirdly, its morality—the spiritual significance, with a quotation from the church fathers and a passage of scripture. The translation before us, now printed for the first time, gives that part of the Harleian MS. 838, contained in its eighteenth article and ascribed to Anthony Babyngton, of whose life the editor gives many details.

Christine was the daughter of an Italian scholar, who was professor of astronomy at the University of Bologna. The close alliance of astronomy and astrology in the fourteenth century is well known and we naturally expect to find in the Epistle some traces of this connexion,

and there are references to the seven planets: to Jupiter, 'a planet off goode & gentle nature'; to Venus; to Saturne; to Apollo; to Phebe; to Mars, 'wyche is pe god off bateyll,' and to Mercurius. In another passage we read: 'By dyane is vnderstand pe mone, wyche though sche varyaunt & chaungeable be, yett sche yeveth pe condicioun off chastitee.'

Other allusions to current beliefs and topics of the middle ages are those to alchemy, to the interpretation of dreams, to the use of enchantments, to the wheel of fortune, and to the connexion of the moon with lunacy. Many proverbs and proverbial expressions occur; among them: 'He gynneth soone to prycke pat wyll be a thorne' and 'Owte of a cankred sweerd is hard to rubbe the rust.' 'Foolles take rosen ofte for franken: sense.' There is an interesting note upon the 69th section, which deals with Actæon, transformed into a hart and torn to pieces by his own hounds: '& so per began fyrst wepyng at deth, as pe fable seyth.' The editor points out that the French gives: 'des lors commencierent les cerfs a plourer' and adds: 'The source of this idea has not been brought to light.'

The outstanding point of interest in the book, however, is the light which it throws upon the imagination of man in the middle ages. In those centuries when printed books were unknown in Europe and manuscripts were scarce, imagination played a great part in the thoughts of man. Gaston Paris, writing of the *Ovide moralisé*, one of the sources for Christine of Pisan, has this sentence: '... les aventures des dieux paiens doivent, dans l'idée du moyen âge, être regardées comme des allégories des mystères de la religion chrétienne.' We need not wonder that the parallels adduced in the glosses and moralities seem to us examples of imagination run riot, and that the ideas conveyed appear far-fetched and sometimes even grotesque. We find, for instance, in the morality attached to the story of Leander and Hero: 'mey morally be vnderstand . . . Du schalt not beyre no false wytnes'! So, Aurora is connected with 'no couetyse' and Cupide with 'penaunce.' It is only fair to the authoress to mention that she does not claim that her comparisons are the only true ones; in the story of Circe we find: 'Many expositiouns may be to pis fable.'

There is one matter to which we call attention: several misprints occur in the Introduction, and though these are not of great consequence in themselves, doubt may arise in the mind of the reader of the text whether in this case also, he may have before him the authentic reading or a misprint.

In conclusion we thank the editor for carrying out painstaking work upon an interesting translation, and that at a time when to the ordinary difficulties are added those peculiar to war-time. P. J. H.

Books on Soviet Russia: a Bibliography and a Guide to Reading. By Philip Grierson. London: Methuen. 1943. Pp. xiv, 304. Price 12s.6d.

118 This is a catalogue of practically all the books on Soviet Russia published in the English language between 1917 and 1942, together with a few of the most important works in foreign languages. The titles are classified under five general headings, each of which is further subdivided into a number of sections. This arrangement enables the reader to discover with a minimum of trouble what literature is available on any particular aspect of Soviet politics, economics, sociology, etc., in which he may be interested. It must, however, not be assumed that all the books mentioned are easily procurable. In a book of this description, which claims to be no more than a bibliography, it is impossible to give a detailed summary and evaluation of each work mentioned, but an attempt is made at least to indicate the scope of each and whether the author writes with a bias or purely objectively. L. E. H.

CORRESPONDENCE

Crescent-shaped Lime-spatulas from British New Guinea. Illustrated.**119**

In MAN, 1942, 29, 'An unusual ceremonial 'lime-spatula from British New Guinea' Dr. T. Elder Dickson and Mr. E. Whitehouse say they would be grateful for information about other specimens of this kind.

The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm,



CRESCENT-SHAPED LIME-SPATULAS FROM BRITISH NEW GUINEA.

Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm.

possesses at least one object which might appear to come within the category in question (fig. 1, No. 16.1.755). Its rod being rounded and thick, it would however seem probable that instead of a lime-spatula it may be a pestle for pounding betel-nuts in a mortar. The object has a length of 22 cm., and the middle of the rod is 1.5 cm. in thickness. It is made of dark-coloured, heavy wood (? ebony), and painted over with some kind of

varnish (? native). Regarding its place of origin, unfortunately no further specification is given than British New Guinea.

Our museum possesses a large number of lime-spatulas from New Guinea, but the only additional one that, from its crescent-shaped ornamental border at the top, approaches to those referred to above is the one shown in fig. 2 (No. 16.1.644). It is 35.5 cm. long, flat, and carved in greyish-brown wood. The ornaments, which are identical on both sides, are filled with lime. In this case too the place of origin is merely given as British New Guinea. A number of other objects forming part of the same collection as the two just referred to, are, however, stated to come from such places as Fly River, Astrolabe Bay, Cape Possession, Cape Nelson, Mambara, Huon Gulf, etc.

I take this opportunity to draw attention to this extensive and valuable collection, embracing 4,100 objects, mainly from British New Guinea and Australia (850 pieces: Queensland, West, and Central Australia), but also from other islands (the New Hebrides, etc.) It is stated by the donor, Mr. R. Wahlen, Swedish consul at Rabaul in the then German New Guinea, to have, since the 1870's, been brought together by purchase and on travels by the British doctor, Robert Pulleine, of Adelaide. The then Swedish consul-general at Sidney, Mr. S. von Goës, who was instrumental in bringing about the transaction, declares it to be the largest ethnographical collection that had so far been sent out of Australia.

G. LINDBLOM.

Cowries. Cf. MAN, 1942, 72, 94, and previous correspondence.**120**

SIR,—From personal observation over a number of years of the use of cowries in the northern parts of Nigeria, I have come to much the same conclusion as that reached by Mr. Verrier Elwin in his interesting article upon their use in Bastar State, India. My experience almost exactly tallies with his concluding remark that the association of the cowry 'with the currency, its growing rarity and importance as a symbol of old time . . . have given it . . . the significance of a magic charm which is also very useful as an ornament.'

The association of the cowry with the currency is most important. In Northern Nigeria cowries are of two kinds, the *kurma* or 'deaf cowry' (i.e. with no hole through it) and the *mai ido* or 'the one with an eye' (i.e. opened naturally in the water from which cowries are obtained). The currency value of both kinds was equal, but the 'deaf' cowry was, and still is, preferred by the devotees of the various cults who wish to make offerings or give thanks for the birth of children, success on a journey, etc., to the local shrines.

The Hausa cowry numeration differs slightly from the numeration now in use. The most important difference, and one that lends some colour to the theory that the cowry represents the eye, is that every Hausa numeral, in the cowry numeration, is prefaced by the word *ido* or 'eye.' Other differences are that the word *lasso* is used for twenty, instead of the usual *isharin*, and *zangu* is used for a hundred, instead of *dare*.

I have enquired why cowries are invariably used as offerings at the shrines or as payments to drummers or musicians performing at the various rites, such as the *Bori*; and the reply is that, as cowries have now no monetary value (or hardly any except in small markets off the beaten track), but have still monetary association, it is obviously much cheaper to be generous with cowries than with threepences or tenths of pennies. 'Who,' asked one of my Hausa informants, 'has ever seen a threepenny bit lying under a tree where you may see 'blood and cowries?' While I do not suggest that this gives the final explanation of the continued use of cowries, there is surely something attractive and human

in the idea that they are still used very much as a naughty child puts a button in the plate at a church collection rather than waste a valuable threepenny bit given him by his parents.

P. G. HARRIS.

Bula, British Cameroons.

Cowry and Vulva again. Cf. MAN, 1940, 209; 1942, 42.

121 SIR.—This correspondence opened in a misstatement, it closes to the same tune. The accepted form of the adage is, not a man, but a woman convinced against her will, etc. That Dr. Murray has set herself the difficult task of proving a negative, i.e. that a cowry never equates to a vulva is no concern of mine: that she has failed to do so is no cause to accuse me of obstinacy.

Recently a man came before me for trial on a murder charge. In the open witness-box stood a witness; a pagan woman, naked, except for a cord round her waist from which hung a small black string fringe covering the pudenda, but in the middle of this black string fringe gleamed a single cowry shell—a strange place to stick an eye, even a 'half-closed eye,' (MAN, 1940, 209) unless Dr. Murray regards the vulva as a half-closed eye.

It has long been known that the vulva is a protective against the evil eye. . . . suffice it to say that just as 'in other parts of the Mediterranean area, the "fig" hand seems in Spain generally, if perhaps not invariably, to have been a symbol of the vulva and to have essentially feminine implications' (Hildburgh, W. L., MAN, 1942, 42). The crescent associated, or combined, with the 'fig' is used as a protection against the evil eye (Hildburgh, *loc. cit.*). If now the crescent were combined not with a 'fig' but with a cowry shell, no doubt Dr. Murray would call it an eye, albeit a half-closed one.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

Bamenda, British Cameroons.

The Impact of the War on Peoples of Non-European Culture.

122 SIR.—From various sources, information begins to come in as to the impressions made by the war on peoples of non-European culture. At present there is little but anecdote and casual conversation; but it is sufficiently varied and ingenuous to justify the hope that those who are in a position to collect such expressions of opinion, and to form an estimate of this impact of an event of this kind on the minds of persons inexperienced in European history and political situations, may think it worth while to do this; not for immediate or inopportune publication, but as eventual commentary, when these matters can be reviewed as a whole. Much is probably recorded already in the official reports of district commissioners, and will no doubt be accessible to competent students in due time. But there are others—settlers, traders, missionaries, and officers of native troops—whose contacts with natives are different, and no less interesting.

This is not the first occasion when news of world-wide significance has been transmitted from people to people, leaving its impress on folk-memory, as well as on local affairs. I need only mention the conquests of Cyrus and Darius, of Alexander and Pompey, of the Saracens and the Mongols. But never before have there been observers so widely dispersed, so fully aware of the historical events as they occur, or so directly in touch with a repository of information like the Royal Anthropological Institute.

I shall be pleased to receive such observations, as they may occur, and to preserve them for the eventual use of students of this aspect of the diffusion of cultures.

JOHN L. MYRES.

21, Bedford Square, W.C.1.

Nuther Flag and Chank Shell. Cf. MAN, 1943, 65.

123 An excellent parallel to the Egyptian flag may be seen in the sacred *chank* shell of India, of which Hornell has given a full account in his 'Report on the Marine Zoology of Oklamandal.' Its first recorded use was secular (p. 13); each hero in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata had his own magnificent awe-inspiring *chank* which had its particular name, just like the swords of such heroes as the mythical Arthur of Britain with the 'Excalibur' or the martyred Ali of the Shia Muslims, with his two-tongued 'Dhu'l Fiqr' ('Master of the neck-vertebrae')—their legends are singularly similar.

The most noteworthy function of the *chank*, for our purpose, is its use for temple services, before which it is always blown, to summon both the gods and the congregation—an exact equivalent of the flag-hoisting reported by Mr. Shropshire. It was this close connexion with religious rites that gave it the reputation of being possessed of great magical, and eventually religious, virtues and brought about its daily worship which was ordered by the *Brahma Karma*, a book of ritual detail. The formula of adoration is recorded by Hornell (p. 22) and its miraculous activities (p. 23); a sept of the Santals adopted it as their totem and it figures in many ways as a divine, or all but divine, object. In all this it outstripped the *nuther* flag which never passed beyond being the symbol of divinity, perhaps because of the more worldly, material, character of the Egyptians, noted by Plato as *philochrematic*, or 'business-loving.'

G. D. HORNBLLOWER.

The Cradle of the Indo-Europeans. Cf. MAN, 1943, 64.

124 SIR.—I was much interested in reading Mr. Mann's paper (MAN, 1943, 64) and fully agree with the first few paragraphs. I am not satisfied, however, that he has found the Aryan cradle. The majority of the names of animals that he cites come from languages spoken in Europe, though some occur in Armenian, which is derived from Phrygian, which in turn came from this continent. There are two exceptions to this, the names for the beaver and the horse.

Let us suppose, for purposes of argument, that the cradle was in the steppes to the east of the Caspian. The beaver could never have existed here, owing to the lack of trees, but it may have occurred on the wooded slopes of the mountains above Askabad, or in the park-land to the north of the steppes, or among the foot-hills of Afghanistan. If the Avestan *bavra* really means a beaver, which seems doubtful, the early Iranians may have known it in the last-mentioned area, since their traditions bring them into Persia from the region around Balkh.

It seems more likely that, like the kindred words in Ossetian and Persian, *bavra* meant some yellow, or possibly brown, animal, perhaps a lion, and became applied to the beaver by those Aryans who entered northern Europe, just as a Canadian thrush, with a rose-pink breast, is called a robin.

With regard to the horse, I would not lightly ignore the suggestion of Schrader, adopted by Childe, that it originally meant the swift one. This epithet would not apply to the heavily built horse of the north European plain. The steppe naturally breeds horsemen, while horses have little practical value, except for draught purposes, in heavily timbered country.

There seems to be nothing in this paper to contradict the possibility, first advanced by Schrader, that the Aryan languages were first spoken by the inhabitants of the steppes of Turkestan and South Russia.

HAROLD J. E. PEAKE.



1943

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Candidates are requested to address any enquiries, and to send their application with such evidence of their qualifications as they think fit, to the Secretary of the Appointments Committee of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology at the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge, on or before 15 April, 1944.

Queens' College Lodge.

24 June, 1943.

HADDON

THE HEAD-HUNTER

A Short Sketch of the Life of A. C. Haddon

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STONE MEN OF MALEKULA

by

JOHN LAYARD

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The island-dwellers of Malekula in the New Hebrides archipelago of Melanesia are cannibals and have a megalithic civilization in which dolmens, monoliths and stone circles similar to, though rather smaller than, those of Stonehenge, Carnac and other monuments of the Bronze Age in Europe are still being erected. Around these monuments is centred an elaborate religious ritual cycle. This book deals chiefly with the coral islet of Vao off the north-eastern coast of Malekula, where this ritual cycle lasts fifteen years and revolves round the twin concepts of re-birth and the resulting life after death in a land of the dead situated in the crater of an active volcano—a sort of Hades above ground, whence the ancestors keep a friendly eye on the living, or alternatively wreak vengeance on them if the proper observances are relaxed.

The ritual is described in detail, as also the mythology which gives it sanction. The sacrificial animals are boars with artificially elongated tusks, which before sacrifice form the basis of a complicated currency. The natives are bold seafarers, and have an unsurpassed dramatic sense expressed in songs and dances of great beauty, many of which are here recorded.

Though numbering no more than 450, with a language peculiar to themselves, the natives of this islet have a complicated "class system" of kinship of a kind here for the first time described. Cannibalism, human sacrifice and warfare are organised on strictly ritual lines. They practise many forms of magic, and are skilled in the drawing of highly specialized geometrical designs based on mythological motives, a large number of which are here reproduced.

The scope of this work, the result of the author's exhaustive and original research, is enormous. It will have a wide appeal to anthropologists and archaeologists for whom it elucidates many knotty problems; to sociologists for new light on the growth of social organization; to psychologists for its penetrating analysis of mythological and religious concepts; to philologists and to students of primitive music.

Mr. Layard is an M.A. of King's College, Cambridge, and of New College, Oxford, a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute and a member of the Medical Section of the British Psychological Society. A pupil of the late Dr. A. C. Haddon, he went to Malekula with Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, and later studied psychology under the personal direction of Professor C. G. Jung.

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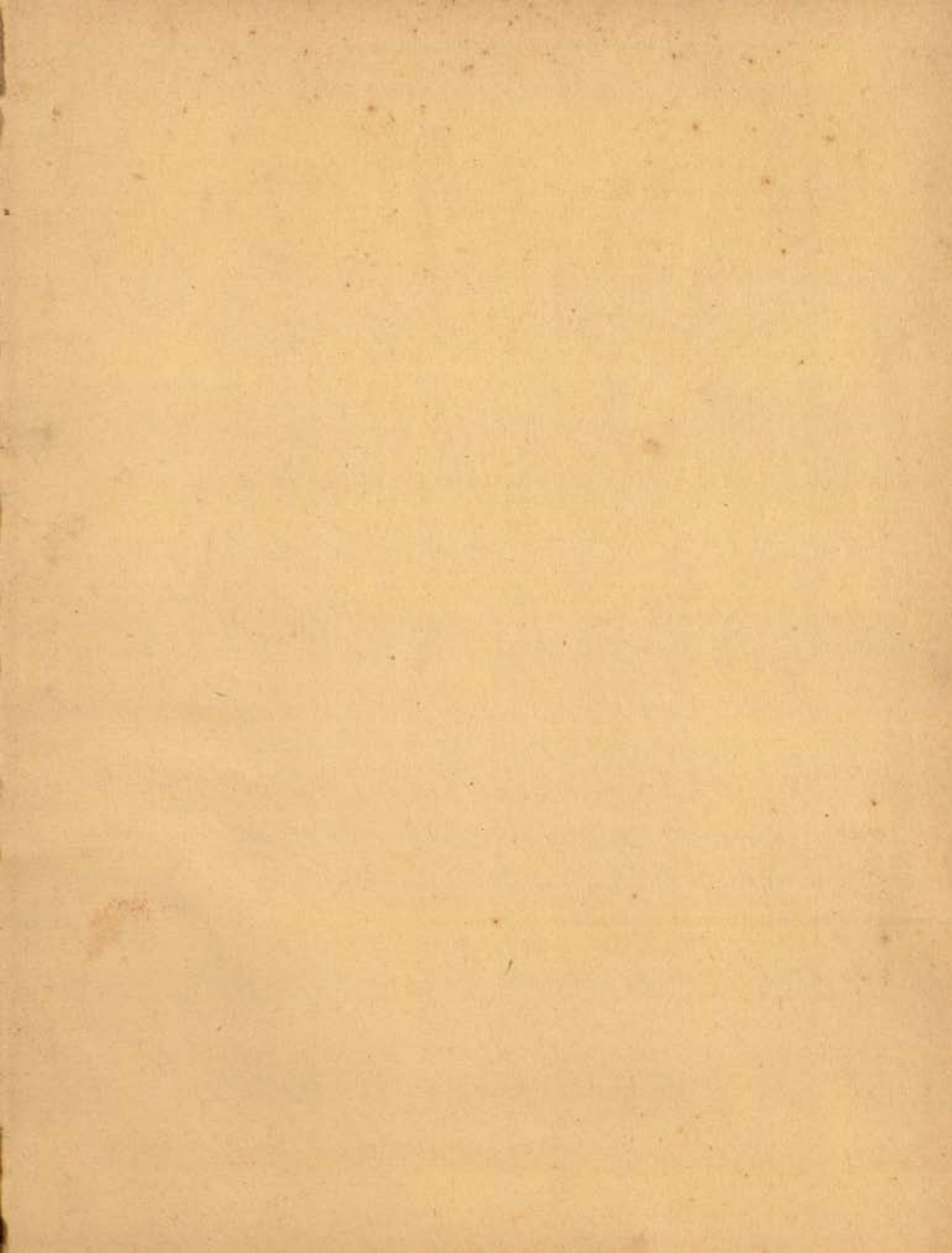
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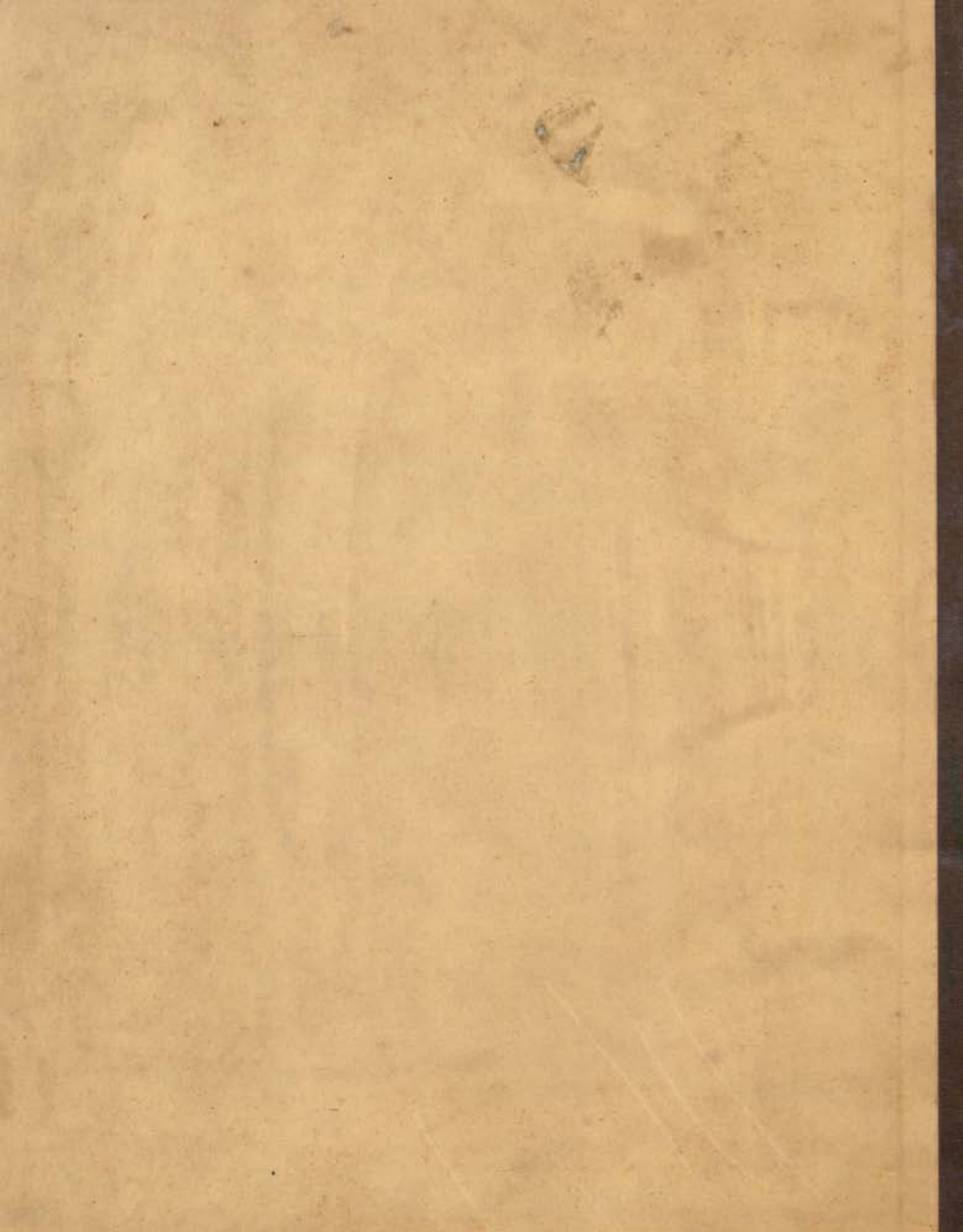
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