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The Canal of the ‘Indo-European Speakers’. STEWART

Hunting and Domestication of Deer. R. D. HARDING

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A BRITISH PROCLAMATION OF JUSTICE TO THE TASMANIANS, 1815

Size of original, 15 inches by 9 inches
A BRITISH PROCLAMATION OF JUSTICE TO THE TASMANIANS, 1815. By K. L. Little, M.A., University Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge. With Plate A and Figure 1.

The death, in 1876, of the last Tasmanian woman, Lalla Rookh, finally closed one of the least happy chapters in the history of British contacts with preliterate peoples.

Nevertheless, it is sometimes forgotten that the earlier and systematic efforts to exterminate the Tasmanians were succeeded by a definite attempt at kindness and conciliation on the part of their 'Protector,' Mr. Robinson, and the Governor, Sir George Arthur. Unfortunately, an over-precipitate introduction to 'civilization,' in terms of unsuitable food, catarrhal troubles, pneumonia, the wearing of clothes, close confinement, and the restrictions and irritations of captivity, effectively completed a process which the previous man-hunts and human blood-sports of the colonists had only partially secured.

A small wooden board (13 x 9 inches, Plate A and fig. 1) came recently to light in the University Museum of Ethnology, Cambridge. According to a note left by the first Curator, the late Baron Anatole von Hügel, a representation of the board was engraved and described in the Christmas number, 21 January, 1888, of the Town and Country Journal, Sydney, Australia. A further inscription, on the back of the board and reproduced in fig. 1, indicates that the board was painted as the 'British Proclamation of Justice to the Tasmanians, 1815.'

The first principles of moral treatment to the Aborigines of Tasmania, thus pictorially 'communicated,' will interest the student of race relations, as well as the historian. It may be worth comparing the development of colonial policy and racial attitudes in modern British 'areas of settlement' with the 'principles' personified and expounded here with such admirable lucidity, and more particularly, in the first 'lesson' of the Proclamation.

Thanks are due to Miss Maureen O'Reilly, Deputy Curator of the Museum, for permission to make these reproductions, and to Mr. T. A. G. Strickland for the photographs.

Fig. 1.—INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK OF A PICTURE ON WOOD PAINTED AS A PROCLAMATION TO THE NATIVES OF TASMANIA. THE INSCRIPTION IS DATED 12 FEBRUARY, 1856.
2 The 'Scheduled Areas' of Burma occupy over 40 per cent. of the total area of Burma, and the inhabitants number about 3 millions out of a total 1941 population of about 17 millions. The name 'Scheduled Areas' is derived from the fact that this territory, administered by the Governor of Burma on behalf of the Crown, and thus separated politically from ministerial Burma, is detailed in Parts I and II of the Second Schedule of the Government of Burma Act 1935. All the major races overflow into the neighbouring countries, Assam, Yunnan, French Indo-China, and Thailand, and they have an opportunity to make detailed comparisons between the administrative policies of the governing nations, which have been widely divergent hitherto. Two other facts are of critical importance: the 'Scheduled Areas' form the watershed from which the plains of Burma, largely dependent upon irrigated paddy-lands, draw their life-blood; and they constitute the main expansion area for the surplus population of the plains.

The events of the last three years have increased a hundredfold the ancient animosities between the hills and the plains, while the old rivalries in the hills themselves have emerged again through the quailing activities of a small minority of chiefs. A good deal of this trouble was due to Japanese pre-war propaganda, since disunity in Burma was an obvious aim of a prospective invader.

In short, by mid-1942 we were back almost to the political conditions of the 'eighties, and things are unlikely to improve till some time after we go back. On the administrative side we shall find considerable chaos in the plains. Many British supporters in all executive ranks have been murdered by the Japanese or by local rivals. The puppets who replaced them are likely to fly at our approach, and we shall probably have to rebuild much of the administrative hierarchy from the headman upwards.

In the hills, on the other hand, where the traditional political systems have been supported in a modified form of Indirect Rule, tribal administration seems to have survived the war almost intact.

In the rate of economic rehabilitation there will be a vast difference between hills and plains. The subsistence economies of the many areas in the hills which produce sufficient basic foods for human needs will survive relatively unscathed. But in the plains, in addition to the difficulty of distributing the rice crop and other necessities, there will be the huge problem of finding employment for the 30 per cent. of the population who do not live by agriculture.

Re-establishment of agricultural and industrial production in the plains will obviously depend on the speed and scope of our attack. The sooner we go in and the faster we go, the less chance will the Japanese have to destroy equipment and stores, and the more we shall have to build on. The Japanese have considerably extended air, rail, and road communications throughout the country, and though these are now of little military or civil value, owing to our air attacks, we shall use them to the utmost when we go in.

Peace and order, economic and administrative stability, will be restored much more rapidly in the hills than in the plains, therefore the need for forward planning on a 'civil,' as opposed to a 'military,' basis, is much more urgent in the hills. In forecasting the main economic factors for development in the hills, we must note two points: (1) the inevitable economic unity which occupation of a single catchment area imposes upon people whose livelihood is based upon water supplies, and the inevitable encroachment of people from the crowded plains into the empty spaces of the hills.

Except for certain areas in the Shan States and in the Kachin Hills to the north, the vast bulk of the 'Scheduled Areas' consists of steep and tangled mountain ranges in which animal traction is impossible in the agriculture of the present, and the ground-slopes are steeper than the maximum regarded as cultivable by modern western standards; also in these regions there is regional rotation of cropping, so that in time the whole of the forest falls under the axe. Where the population is small and the climate suitable for rapid regeneration, the forest re-establishes itself quite satisfactorily, but there are great areas in which the forest has degenerated into a thin scrub, or in which it has been replaced by rough grasses; and from these areas much of the good topsoil has disappeared.

Neglect of these poor areas is rapidly increasing the dangers of flood in the plains of Burma proper, and at the same time accelerating the destruction, by sheet- and gully-erosion, of the cultivable land in the hills. Thus there are two converging lines of economic destruction; denudation of the hills causes floods and sitting in the irrigated areas in the plains, while it is driving the hill-agriculturalists off their soil and reducing the land available for subsequent expansion.

So we must soon tackle the fundamental problem of transference from shifting to permanent cultivation, with all its repercussions on land ownership, public rights-of-way, types and utilization of crops, methods of keeping live-stock and conserving their manure, and the like. To preserve the forests from destruction by burning or wasteful felling, we shall have to

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1 Before giving this lecture Mr. Stevenson made it clear that he was speaking for himself, and not as a representative of the Government of Burma.
extend the use of permanent pastures and devise substitutes for thatch; extend the use of pitsaws and, in such places as the Chin Hills, where forest is burned to facilitate hunting, perhaps introduce game reserves. And, if anything really far-reaching is attempted in the future: if, say, the Irrawaddy is dammed north of Myitkyina, the resultant changes in the hills will be even more startling, for with the extension of a large area of navigable water into the foot-hills there could be an enormous increase in the production of quick-growing forest products suitable for pulp and paper-making; fruit for canning; meat for curing, and processing-plants of all descriptions could be run off the hydro-electric power.

Since the main racial groups overlap into neighboring countries and, though living under different governments, intermarry and trade, there is considerable homogeneity of cultural outlook across the frontier line. Surveying the horseshoe of hills from east to west, we find the Karens, encouraged on one side of the border to become good Thais, on the other good Burmans, on both sides to become good American Baptists. Further north the Shan and Khms, Lahns, Was and other hill tribes are subjected in a lesser degree to the same influences, together with internal propaganda urging the Shans to remain separate from Burma and the Burmese, and to the French policy of assimilation among related tribesmen over the Indo-China border. Further north again is the Kachin country and the hitherto empty valleys in north Burma into which considerable numbers of Shan-Chinese have migrated in the past two decades. On this frontier the Chinese follow in Yunnan a policy of assimilation, while we on our side follow a policy of independent regional development, and there is constant assimilation propaganda by Burmese politicians. Round the extreme north of Burma almost impassable mountain ranges prohibit external cultural pressure, and then we come to the Naga Hills in the north-east. Here the policy on both sides of the border coincides, and there is little interference beyond restrictions on head-hunting and human sacrifice. The same applies to the Chin Hills further south. Not that these areas have no culture-contact problems, but they have been spared large-scale differences of policy between the ruling Powers. Several Missions keep the spiritual and moral pots boiling down the western hills.

Long term differences of policy have not yet achieved great results, for they are limited to languages and education, and schools are scarce on both sides of the border. But they will create grave problems in the future.

Inter-racial difficulties almost always start as economic rivalries, and spread to other aspects of life. Some have had important effects on the basis of political authority and land utilization in the hills. By accepting, as a personal perquisite, rents from foreign immigrants for the use of the land, some chiefs have become the sole beneficiaries of foreign immigration. The rents have invariably been paid in cash or kind, of a type not assimilable into the local culture. They have gone into the chiefs' savings account, and the common people have not benefited through increased feasts given by the chiefs on the strength of their rents. These transactions cut at the very roots of the balanced net-work of political duties and privileges, and result in considerable ill-feeling. Indian gurals and Chinese mule-breeders, being non-Chines, are not subject to customary law, and are a painful sore in the body politic, for every little dispute with them must be taken to the government courts.

Even the efforts to control the damage done by gurals, which have so far taken the form of enforced sales of stock above a limited number, have had their effect on the local culture, for they have led to the intrusion of cattle into certain forms of religious ritual in which no invocation is made to the spirits.

Such mishaps are typical of all colonial empires permitting economic freedom. They are symptomatic, not of the inefficiency or laziness of individual administrators or administrations, but of the phase through which Britain and the British Empire had passed: when it was believed proper to permit the "natural development" of countries by opportunists who saw new openings for making a living, whether those opportunists were white or brown.

But if we continue to make mistakes now, when public opinion at home and abroad has set its face against development of a country at the expense of its inhabitants, we shall lay ourselves open to accusations of inefficiency in our trusteeship, if not of deliberate sabotage of it.

It is at this point that the social sciences come into the picture. We are faced with the question—What are the facts upon which we should base our future policy, and how are we to set about collecting those facts? If regular officials are in future to be the sole collectors of information, they will be hampered, not only by having to carry out enquiries in addition to their normal duties, but by varying degrees of ignorance of agricultural, horticultural, medical, and other sciences involved, and the technique of social investigation. Only two officers in the whole Frontier Service have had a training in functional anthropology.

Administrative officers often have to report on technical matters which they have seen but obviously could not, without proper training, fully understand, to technical officers who understand the technical problems but have never seen the countryside and
knew nothing of the social problems involved in technical change.

Inevitably most experiments failed; but they failed largely for social, not technical, reasons. Many successes would have been recorded had an anthropologist co-operated in the enquiries.

The principles involved apply with equal force to all official enquiries that involve changes in the way of life of a primitive people.

Typical are official views on the apathy and inertia that often follow conversion of a primitive community to Christianity. In general the blame is placed on the embargo on drink or polygamy, and very little attempt is made to analyse the trouble into its component parts, economic, social, political, or recreational, so that they can be solved in detail.

The single occasion on which applied anthropology came into the official limelight in Burma demonstrated its value without a shadow of doubt. Two districts were required to report on the observed degeneration of the inhabitants. In one district there was one amateur anthropologist, who conducted the enquiry; in the other there was none. So great was the difference in the scope and penetration of the two reports that the conference called to consider them at once passed a resolution recommending a training in functional anthropology for frontier officers.

But trained officers are not enough. There are some things that no official, by virtue of his very office, can ever find out, and many that elude him because he cannot bring to his enquiries the day-long observation essential to problems that are many and elusive.

In the political sphere there is the question of democratizing a form of hereditary rule which we have made autocratic, almost inadvertently, by our policy of bolstering up the traditional political authorities. In the days before the annexation, such rulers were kept in check by the ever-present fear of rebellion if they went too far in their oppression of the common people. Nepotism in high places did not worry the commoner much. So long as he was left alone to live his own village life more or less unmolested, he had little to say. But under the Paz Britannisica many rulers have carried nepotism and interference to the lowest political levels, and to a point where it annoys the commoner. So if we are to avoid trouble and maintain what is good in the old regime, we shall have to devise new methods of safeguarding local self-government in certain areas. Obviously we must not shore up valueless political façades. Into this picture enter the progressives, the young men to whom we have given middle-school, high-school, and even university education, and the young men who have served in the armed forces, or in mines and other hot-beds of modernist thought. There is also the question of knitting the democratized administration of the 'Scheduled Areas' into that of ministerial Burma so that in the long run they will become a cohesive whole. A Burma which is acquiring more and more self-government as the years pass cannot be expected to view with pleasure any measure likely to deprive her permanently of the right to a say in the control of her own vital hinterland, at least economically.

Here are the considerations involved in one proposal which has been made; namely, to create federal units in each racial group, and then to federate these under a council representative of all the 'Scheduled Areas,' this council in turn being federated with ministerial Burma. In the immediate post-war period the nuclei of these federal councils would be called as advisory bodies; then when the time came for them to take over the local reins they would have completed a period of useful training. Probably no harm would be done if the members of these advisory councils were selected, in the first instance, by the local government officials. The latter can be relied upon to choose responsible men with a high sense of public duty, and in the main the hillmen are sufficiently honest and outspoken to ensure that the councils will not be bodies of yes-men ready to follow the official lead blindly.

Many people unfamiliar with the Burma tribes are apt to think that they are so wild as to be incapable of carrying out sensible measures of government on a scale higher than the village: indeed this view has been fairly widespread even in Rangoon. Close acquaintance demonstrates however that the tribes know much more about real democracy and cooperation than do the so-called democratic plainmen. I was the first official to experiment with higher forms of local self-government when I set up an 'Elders' Council' in the Sinsumkabs Kachin Hills in 1937, which proved its value during the Kachin Regeneration campaign.

In the legal sphere the major problem is how to keep alive the system of collective responsibility and decentralized justice which plays so very great a part in maintaining an exceptionally low crime-rate in the 'Scheduled Areas.' Application of even a Burma Penal Code and a Burma Civil Code would increase the cost of administration of justice many times, without having anything but a disastrous effect (if the plans are any guide) on the crime-rate and the general satisfactoriness of civil law. But economic developments are already bringing in their train new conceptions of property rights and with them all the grotesque and expensive trappings of western legal practice. With the mines come foreign miners, who
want new laws made to fit their special needs; with new roads go new transport-concerns who demand legal "islands" round their halting places, rather like the "cevil stations" which have grown up round all administrative headquarters. Hitherto Burma has faced these problems in two ways, either with the blank stare of non-recognition, or with action based on the needs of the more civilized of the rival parties, which in most cases has meant the new foreign economic interest. Little or no attempt has been made to consider the altered position of the primitive tribesmen, on whose culture it encroaches. If only we will learn to let the people contribute more to settlement of these puzzles, we shall get much happier results and avoid creation of a disaffected, detribalized zone round each new economic project. In a fairly recent book describing the Tennessee Valley Administration's planning, Julian Huxley has written: "In other words he [the planner] must not think of the people of his region as subject planners, but as participating co-planners. Though his plan may take longer in coming to fruition, even though it may be distorted in the process and emerge in quite another guise from that in which it first dazzled his imagination, he must resist the temptation that leads up to beneficent dictatorship, and merge himself and his plan in a movement which springs from the people."

That it is not too far a cry from the Tennessee Valley to the Burmese hinterland a further quotation shows: "After a few years the slope was no longer worth bothering about, and was abandoned in favour of a fresh cleared area near by, so that in the heart of the most modern of countries you could find shifting cultivation of the type usually associated with primit vice African tribes." Many Burma hill-tribes have developed well beyond that point; but it is significant for Burma that much of the devastation of the Tennessee Valley was started by the timber companies. The "Scheduled Areas" are the main reserve of timber for Burma.

But the real point is, can we become successful co-planners with the hillmen to guide their future if we do not start by knowing their existing way of life? Obviously not, unless we accept the original Bolshevik thesis that total revolution is the only road to progress. Where then do we stand? Books on Burma written by trained social scientists are conspicuous by their absence from the Institute's library. The official files of the past fifty years have disappeared in the defeat of 1942. On what basis then will our future plans be laid? Against what background of recorded knowledge shall we frame our perspective?

In the days of peace there were only forty members of the Burma Frontier Service to administer the vast "Scheduled Areas." Many of these officers were now dead, or captured by the Japanese. How shall the survivors of this small service undertake the collection of the great mass of social information required, even supposing they had all been trained to do so.

Here is an opportunity which must be almost unique in the annals of modern anthropology. How often has it been claimed in speech and in writing that in functional anthropology lies the key to many of the administrative problems of primitive areas? How often have we yearned for a chance to find a new administration just about to launch on its career, unhampered by past prejudices and the deadweight of half-forgotten files?

To sum up the present Burma situation.

(i) Great political and social changes have taken place or are impending as a result of the war, and plans to cope with these must be made.

(ii) There are virtually no scientific records of custom in the "Scheduled Areas," and most of the official records have vanished.

(iii) Executive officers are on the whole untrained for social enquiry, and in any case will have no time for it for a long time to come.

(iv) The original official resistance to applied anthropology as an aid to good government has largely disappeared. The science has already proved itself valuable in Burma.

(v) But no anthropologists seem prepared to come our way.

It is for the Royal Anthropological Institute, as the fountain head of British anthropology, to take the initiative in inducing social scientists to turn their attention to this very attractive part of the Empire. It is a disgrace that there should be any part of the Empire so neglected by social scientists that it is still possible to find, among the most advanced of the population, and even of the administrative, people who think that all anthropologists go round with a pair of callipers measuring heads.

There is far too much tendency to follow in the footsteps of our predecessors in Africa and the Pacific Islands, searching for opportunities to disprove their theories. It is so much easier to see social facts clearly when others have done most of the donkey work of investigation. But this regional concentration of effort does us little credit, and must, in the long run, do the science harm.

I beg of you to take this chance. Use your individual influence among students to send them our way. Use the Institute's influence to attract the attention of public bodies willing to make research grants. Tell the world of Anthropology that here is the anthropologists' dream—the chance by field investigation in a virgin area, to set a small new world well and truly on the way to sound progress.
This paper is intended as an interim record of a new discovery of human skeletal remains in probable association with industries belonging to the Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Moreover, this addition to the limited number of such discoveries has been made in a region almost unexplored archaeologically. A detailed account of the evidence will be published as soon as circumstances permit.

The site of this discovery is a cave situated, as the name 'Border Cave' is intended to indicate, almost on the international boundary between Zululand and Swaziland. This boundary coincides approximately with the western scarp of the Lobombo range, which rises from a plain between 500 and 700 feet above sea-level, and in a horizontal distance of half a mile reaches an average altitude of more than 2,000 feet above sea-level. The cave is situated just below the crest of this scarp and lies some 400 yards on the Zululand side of the international boundary, its position being approximately 27°1′20″ S., 31°39′30″ E. Ingwavuma, the nearest European village and the headquarters of the magisterial district in which the cave is situated lies on the range about eight miles to the south but is separated from the cave by the gorge of the Ingwavuma River. Access to the cave through Zululand is possible only by a devious route over difficult country. On the Swaziland side motor vehicles can proceed as far as the homestead on the Canterbury Estate, which lies at the foot of the scarp directly below the cave.

The cave, eroded in an agglomeratic horizon within the thick Upper Stormberg (Jurassic) lavas of the scarp, is about 300 feet below the crest of the range and 1,300 feet above its base. It cuts back directly into the face of a perpendicular cliff and is visible only from below. The westward-facing mouth of the cave is about 130 feet wide, and its greatest depth is nearly 100 feet, the general plan being almost semi-circular (fig. 1). At the present time entrance is gained at the northern end of the cave mouth by traversing a narrow and exposed ledge on the face of the cliff. The occupants of the cave could, however, have gained direct access by climbing up the steep scree below the cave.

This site was first investigated in July 1934 by a party from the Department of Anatomy, University of the Witwatersrand, under the direction of Professor R. A. Dart. A trench 3 feet in width was commenced at the edge of the talus slope 30 feet from the north wall of the cave and carried inwards for 30 feet. This showed that the disturbed superficial stratum which included Bantu material, overlay a consolidated deposit containing Middle Stone Age artifacts, and continuing to bed-rock at a maximum depth of 5 feet 6 inches. The excavation was regarded as merely preliminary and therefore no account of it was published. Between 1934 and 1941, however, no opportunity presented itself for the continuation of this investigation during the short winter season imposed by climatic factors.

During 1940, Mr. W. E. Horton of Nsoko, Swaziland, dug up a considerable area of the cave floor in search of guano, removing a portion of the deposit to a depth of several feet. Some fossilized bones exhumed in the course of these activities came into the hands of Dr. D. Drew, Principal Medical Officer of Swaziland, by whom they were forwarded to Professor Dart in January 1941. These were found to include, in addition to animal remains, portions of human limb-bones and a nearly complete human frontal bone of very distinctive character. At Professor Dart's request, Dr. T. R. Jones of the staff of the Hlatikulu Hospital, Swaziland, then visited the site, and from a dump of material dug up and sieved by Mr. Horton recovered a human parietal fragment which articulated with the frontal bone. The information obtained by Dr. Jones indicated the possibility of securing both further human remains and more exact evidence as to their origin by a systematic excavation of the site. The Bureau of Archaeology of the Department of the Interior and the University of the Witwatersrand therefore sponsored and financed such an investigation during July 1941 and July 1942.

Unfortunately neither Professor Dart nor any member of his 1934 party was available for this undertaking. The nucleus of the 1941 and 1942 parties comprised the authors of this note together with Mr. E. W. Williams, Senior Technical Assistant of the Department of Anatomy. Both parties were accompanied by senior students of the Departments of Anatomy and Geology.

The work on the site carried out by these parties during the two seasons occupied some five weeks in all and included: first, the complete sorting of the dump left by Mr. Horton, which yielded further human fragments as well as animal remains and a great wealth of artifacts; second, a grid excavation by which Professor Dart’s trial trench was linked up with sections taken through the walls and floor of the pit dug by Mr. Horton (fig. 1), establishing the sequence of deposits in at least the northern half of the cave. In different parts of the excavated area of about 45 square yards, the depth to bed-rock varied from 5 feet 6 inches to approximately 9 feet.

This excavation showed that the consolidated cave-earth exposed by Professor Dart’s trench towards the mouth of the cave merged, in the more sheltered inner portion, into soft earth interlaced with bands and
patches of ash, all more or less rich in artifacts. Over a large area these deposits were overlain by a great accumulation of sterile rubble due to a series of rockfalls from the cave-roof; in another part of the cave they were capped by a red earth band with a firmly cemented upper surface, apparently post-dating the principal part of the process of collapse. Above this band and overlapping the rubble accumulation is a complex series of deposits of earth, ash, and animal dung, varying in depth from a few inches to more than two feet. These superficial layers are almost wholly barren of stone artifacts, and apparently consist for the most part of Bantu occupational material together with roof chips and dust.

The material used for the manufacture of artifacts is predominantly the local trachytic suite of lavas, though to a lesser extent quartzite from the gravels of the Ingwavuma River and chert and quartz from amygdalae in the lavas were also used.

All the artifacts recovered show a mastery of the Levallois technique and must be ascribed to the Middle Stone Age of South Africa. At bed-rock the industry is extremely simple in general character. Secondary trimming is rare, and where it occurs it is usually steep and crude. The technique is Levallois with many flakes showing convergent longitudinal flaking. The flakes are relatively large, and broad in proportion to their length: typical specimens are 8 to 9 cm. long and 4.5 to 5.5 cm. in maximum width. Striking platforms of the majority of specimens are plain or show a little crude preparation. Only a few cores were found near bed-rock and these are crude, with deep flake-scars and no preparation of striking platforms. A fragment of a bifaced point
of Still Bay type is a precursor of what was to follow.

Passing upwards through the deposit, this simple industry develops gradually and without intervals into a more complex and sophisticated one. The technique remains consistently Levalloisian; the primary flaking is more often of the convergent longitudinal than of the radial type. flakes are generally more refined and often show elaborately faceted striking platforms. Numbers of points have been carefully trimmed, and in some instances the bulbs of percussion have been reduced by well controlled 'pressure' flaking. We find also a number of fragments of typical Still Bay lanceheads flatly trimmed over the whole of both faces and symmetrically lenticular in cross-section. No specimen was recovered intact, but two halves found in successive 3-inch layers in the same square yard fit perfectly to form a complete lancehead. This is 9.6 cm. long and reaches its greatest width (3.8 cm.) at a distance of 3 cm. from the butt; the cross-section is lenticular and the greatest thickness is 1.1 cm. The butt in this and a number of less perfect specimens is carefully rounded, but it is impossible to say whether double-pointed lanceheads were also made.

This phase of the industry of the cave can with confidence be ascribed to the Pietersburg Culture which is found abundantly in the central area of the Transvaal. The Pietersburg Culture was first noted by Goodwin (1929) but still awaits fuller description.

In the history of the cave, there now followed a period when it was apparently less intensely inhabited. Flakes, markedly fewer and less characteristic, still occur and show that the site was not entirely deserted. After this partial interval intense occupation was resumed, and the latest phase of the industry shows a considerable advance on the 'normal' Pietersburg culture which preceded the interval. It is typified by an abundance of long, narrow, and slender ribbon-like blades with prepared striking platforms. The longest of these measures 11.2 cm. x 2.1 cm. x 0.8 cm. and many of them show no secondary trimming. No cores which could have yielded blades of this length were found, but a number of other cores are nevertheless present. They are very refined and tend to the triangular form.

Several highly developed and specialized tools occur, the most numerous of these being backed blades made on fragments of Levallois blades. The largest of these measures 8 cm. in length and 3 cm. at its greatest width; the smallest is 2.4 cm. x 1.1 cm. In most cases the secondary backing was executed by using the main cleavage face of the flake as striking platform, though in some cases it has been done by flaking from both faces. The backing, in the majority of specimens, is confined to the extremities of the areas, the widest portion of the tool being devoid of secondary trimming. In specimens trimmed from the main cleavage face only, the backing is somewhat oblique to the secondary axis of the flake, giving a bevelled effect. Very few of these tools show a chord either trimmed or damaged by use. These backed blades are closely similar to those which characterize the Still Bay Culture of the Cape (Malan 1939), the slight divergences being attributable to differences of material. One or two specimens retain vestiges of the bulbs of percussion and can be compared with Chatelperron types, but they are rare and not significant.

The next most numerous specialized tool in the final phase of the industry is a butt-end scraper of a type not previously noted elsewhere. The butt-ends of triangular advanced Levallois points have been secondarily trimmed to form endscrapers by blows on the main cleavage face, which have removed the striking platforms and, in most cases, the greater part of the bulbs of percussion. In most typical specimens the trimming is continued round the 'shoulder' so that the scraper edge is rounded in plan. A typical specimen is 7.2 cm. long and 2.3 cm. at its widest, while a smaller one measures 4.7 cm. x 2.3 cm. It should be noted that the term 'butt-end scraper' has been applied by Oakley and M. Leakey (1937) to tools which showed secondary trimming of the striking platforms from the upper surface of the flake, and similar forms occur in the Still Bay and Modderpoort Cultures (Malan 1939 and 1942). Those differ in principle from those found in the Border Cave.

The industry contains yet a third tool-type which demands special description. Small flakes exclusively of very fine-grained chert or cloudy quartz, have been trimmed to a triangular form by minute 'pressure' flaking over the whole of the upper surface as well as a considerable portion of the flake surface. One example is equilateral with sides 2.8 cm. and is 0.5 cm. thick; a second is isosceles with equal sides 3.1 cm. and the third side 2.4 cm. and is 0.5 cm. thick, while a third is scalene with sides 3.4, 3.2, and 2.8 cm. and is 0.3 cm. thick. These very specialized points (possibly arrow-heads) are so refined as to appear out of place amongst the other elements of the industry, but their association is not open to any doubt. Moreover this very refined 'pressure' technique is not confined to such triangular tools, but occurs also on certain specimens which are anomalous in form and may be classed either as backed blades or as points.

The entire absence of burns from such an advanced blade industry which includes an abundance of backed blades is striking.

Although this final phase of the industry was apparently separated by a period of less intense occupation from the preceding phase on which it shows a
considerable technical and typological advance, it is clearly developed from the Pietersburg Culture, as expressed in the earlier deposits, and does not mark the intrusion of a new culture. This cave therefore sheds considerable new light on the Pietersburg Culture, showing as it does a continuous development from crude beginnings to a more refined final phase of that Culture than has hitherto been encountered.

A considerable number of identifiable animal fragments, principally teeth, have been recovered. These constitute the first Middle Stone Age fauna to be obtained in the eastern low-veil area; the faunas of this period hitherto described have come either from the central high-veil plateau or from the southwestern part of the Cape Province. The majority of the forms represented belong to the modern low-veil fauna, including hippopotamus, bush-pig, wart-hog, Cape buffalo, roan or sable antelope, kudu, waterbuck, gnu, impala, reedbuck, duiker and steenbok, Bushell’s zebra, hyrax, baboon, and various rodents. One definitely extinct species is an equine appreciably larger than any recent zebra, provisionally identified as *E. kubai* Broom; there is also evidence of an extinct bovine distinct from the Cape buffalo. Thus the fauna, while clearly of low-veil facies, agreed with the known Middle Stone Age faunas of the high-veil and Cape regions in containing a minority of extinct types.

The human remains from this cave comprise (1) the partial cranium of an adult of about thirty years and many other adult skeletal fragments exhumed during Mr. Horton’s operations, and (2) the skeleton of an infant of about three months in situ by us. Of these finds the most important is the adult cranium, to which belong the frontal bone first sent to us by Dr. Drew and a series of parietal, temporal, and occipital fragments, which articulate with that bone and with one another.

Careful consideration has been given to the probable position of the skull in the deposits. The only stratum exposed by Mr. Horton’s excavations which agrees in character with the material filling the small crevices of the skull is a band of soft dark earth forming the upper part of the ‘normal’ Pietersburg occupation zone. Although the remains may have been buried into this layer from a higher level, it seems very unlikely that such a burial could have taken place after the accumulation of the rubble and red earth layers which together crown the Middle Stone Age deposit. It is therefore highly probable that this skull belongs at latest to the uppermost ‘advanced’ phase of the Middle Stone Age occupation, and quite possible that it dates back to the ‘normal’ Pietersburg phase.

The infant skeleton found by us lay in the same dark earth layer of the ‘normal’ Pietersburg zone. This was clearly a deliberate burial, but in a very shallow grave; it could not have come from a higher level than that indicated by an ash horizon at the very base of the overlying zone of ‘advanced’ industry. The skeleton therefore belongs within the Middle Stone Age, and is the youngest individual of that period yet recorded. The only object definitely associated with it was a single perforated *Conus* shell.

That the adult cranium belonged to an individual of about thirty years is shown by the condition of the vault sutures. Much of the posterior parietal region and the median part of the occiput, with the base of the brain-case, are still wanting, and no facial parts can be articulated with the brain-case. It is evident that the parieto-occipital region had been broken and somewhat warped before the skull was exhumed.

The general form of this specimen is clearly seen in figs. 2 and 3. Morphologically it is quite distinct from both the South African Negro and the Bushman type. In many respects it may be compared with the Springbok Flats skull, the only human fossil hitherto associated with the Pietersburg Culture, and also with the Fish Hook skull which belongs to the closely related Still Bay Culture of the southwestern Cape. The features of the frontal region, however, demand comparison also with the Florisbad skull, which may belong to an earlier horizon than either of these.

In length this skull cannot have been less than 195 mm., and may have reached or exceeded 200 mm., its maximum breadth is 140–142 mm., and its auriculo-bregmatic height at least 115 mm. By the Lee-Pearson formula a minimum estimate of 1,450 ccs. for the cranial capacity is obtained. The bones of the vault vary between 5 and 9 mm. in thickness.

Parietal bosses of moderate (infantile) development give the dolichocephalic brain-case an ovoid outline in *norma verticalis*. That part of the nuchal surface which is preserved is boldly convex, with well-defined muscular impressions but no evidence of an occipital torus. The mastoid process though broad is of very small projection; a well-marked supra-mastoid groove separates it from the blunt up-curved supra-mastoid crest. In proportion to the general structure of the skull the tympanic plate of the temporal bone appears very slender; unfortunately the glabeloid fossa is almost wholly destroyed. The parieto-squamous suture appears to have had a depressed course.

The forehead is of moderate height and merges by a gentle curve into the vault of the skull. Between the moderately developed frontals eminences there is a faint median metopic ridge, as in the Broken Hill, Florisbad, and Fish Hook crania. The frontal region is unusually broad, the minimum frontal diameter
measuring 108 mm., while the supra-orbital diameter must have somewhat exceeded 120 mm. Such dimensions are at the extreme upper limit not only of our modern South African native crania but of modern human crania in general, and are well within the range of the European Neanderthal group (Keith 1931, McCown and Keith 1939). The Florisbad skull however presents measurements very much greater than these, its minimum frontal diameter being estimated at 120 mm. and its supra-orbital diameter at 136 mm.

Equally distinctive is the structure of the supra-orbital region. The glabella is of moderate projection, and encroached upon by the medial ends of the massive rugged superciliary eminences. Laterally these eminences merge with no obvious line of demarcation and very slight diminution in calibre into the greatly thickened lateral supra-orbital margins. Thus a genuine supra-orbital torus of Cunningham's (1908) Type III is formed, though it has not the forward salience displayed in Neanderthal or even some Australian crania.

Such a torus is not present in our collection of some four hundred South African Negro crania, and only once or twice, on a smaller scale, among more than two hundred Bush and Hottentot crania in our collection and those of the Cape Town and Port Elizabeth Museums. In the skulls described as 'Australoid' by Broom (1923) and Drennan (1929) the supra-orbital region is quite different in structure; the glabella and superciliaries are of bold projection, but the lateral supra-orbital margin is relatively slender and sharply demarcated from the superciliary eminence (Cunningham's Type II). This is the case also in the Springbok Flats skull. In the Fish Hoek skull the lateral supra-orbital margin is considerably thickened and confluent with the superciliary; the torus thus formed is however much less robust than in our specimen. The Florisbad skull has a torus very nearly identical in form with ours, but absolutely
larger in correspondence with the greater breadth of the frontal region. It shows also an indication of division between the superciliary and lateral supraorbital elements. On this account Galloway (1938) assigned it to Cunningham's Type II; in our opinion it corresponds rather with the state described by Cunningham as intermediate between his Types II and III.

Despite their resemblance in the supra-orbital region, the Florisbad skull and that from the Border Cave are very different in general appearance. This is due partly to the great breadth of the Florisbad frontal, and still more to the extraordinary degree of flattening in both the coronal and sagittal planes which it displays.

It is worthy of note also that in our specimen the frontal sinuses are not enlarged as is the case in the Cape Flats skull; on the contrary they are of very small size.

A number of fragments correspond in preservation with this brain-case, but do not directly articulate with it and therefore cannot be certainly ascribed to the same individual. Of these the most noteworthy are a complete right zygoma and the greater part of a mandible. The zygoma is robust; it is not at all Neanderthaloid in its proportions, but resembles more closely that of the Australian than those of most South African types. That of the Florisbad skull, however, so far as it is preserved appears to correspond with it. The mandible is considerably less massive than the Springbok Flats or even the Fish Hook specimen (Schepers 1941); the relatively shallow symphysis and lack of alveolar prognathism distinguish it sharply from the typical Negro mandible. Its ascending ramus is incomplete, but appears to have been of moderate breadth and height. There is a massive blunt mental protuberance. All the teeth are missing.
Considerable portions of the shafts of a pair of femora and of tibiae, included in the collection sent to us by Dr. Drew, agree very well in condition with the skull fragments, and may well have formed part of the same skeleton. The fragments are robust; the original length of the femur appears to have been between 46 and 48 cm., which is above the average for South African Negro males. The Springbok Flats femur is still longer (50-0 mm.), that of Fish Hoek not so long. There is definite platynemia (index 77-4) accompanied by strongly marked pilastering (index 128-0), a combination of characters unusual in the South African Negro but more common in pre-historic femora. The tibia shows a moderate degree of transverse flattening, the enemic index being 67-3 (mesoecnemic). A 'squatting facet' is present on its distal end.

A large number of human fragments representing nearly all parts of the skeleton were retrieved from the dump left by Mr. Horton. These, however, belong to more than one individual. Some of them, including a few small cranial fragments as well as other skeletal parts, are appreciably different in preservation from the remains originally sent to us by Dr. Drew. They appear to be considerably more recent, and may well be of Bantu origin, but no significant morphological features can be identified in them.

The infant skeleton found by us possesses only fragments of the skull, but the mandible and most of the shafts of the long bones are well preserved. These bones are larger than those of infants from the Late Stone Age sites at Oakhurst (Drennan 1937), suggesting that this individual belonged to a physical type larger than the Bushman or Hottentot. The mandible is quite different in form from that of the South African Negro infant, but almost identical with that of the Bushman (Wells 1931); it is, however, appreciably larger than Bush-Hottentot specimens of comparable age (Drennan 1937). Schepers (1941) has shown that the known mandibles of Middle Stone Age adults, especially that of Springbok Flats, are Bushman in form but of much larger dimensions. It is therefore quite conceivable that this infant mandible might have developed into a massive adult of the Springbok Flats type, but equally possible for it to have attained the less robust form seen in the adult mandible found in this same cave.

Of all these skeletal remains the adult cranium is in the present state of our knowledge the most significant. This Ingwawuma skull, as it may conveniently be named, agrees well in size with the probably nearly contemporaneous Springbok Flats and Fish Hoek crania. Its posterior portions, so far as they are preserved, correspond in most respects with those of the Springbok Flats skull, and to a less extent with that of Fish Hoek. The frontal bone, however, differs markedly from that of the Springbok Flats specimen. It is, in a sense, a larger and more massive version of that of the Fish Hoek cranium; however, both its increased breadth and the massive well-developed supra-orbital torus approach the condition seen in the Florisbad skull. The Ingwawuma skull may indeed be considered as occupying an intermediate position between the Florisbad fossil and those of Fish Hoek and Springbok Flats.

More than one interpretation of the relationship between these fossil types is available. One obvious suggestion is that the Ingwawuma skull represents a hybrid between the Florisbad type and that of Springbok Flats. On the other hand, Galloway (1938) finds so many correspondences between the Florisbad skull and the Springbok Flats—Fish Hoek group that he believes this group to have evolved from the Florisbad type. The Ingwawuma skull might therefore be considered either an intermediate stage in this development or a partial reversion of the Springbok Flats type to its Florisbad ancestor. There is still another possibility, viz. that the Ingwawuma cranium itself represents a more generalized type from which the Florisbad skull with its fantastically broad and flat frontal bone is an aberrant specialization.

Further study of these specimens may enable us to choose between these alternatives.

Summary and Conclusions.

Preliminary excavations were commenced by Professor Raymond Dart in 1934 in the Border Cave. During the winter seasons of 1941 and 1942 further excavations were undertaken jointly by the University of the Witwatersrand and the Bureau of Archaeology. These excavations yielded a rich industry of Middle Stone Age times (Pietersburg Culture), showing continuous development of the industry during a considerable period of time. The more advanced phase of the industry includes small triangular points, finely trimmed over both faces which strongly suggest the use of stone-tipped arrows even in this remote period. A primitive adult human skull discovered during excavation of the deposit for agricultural purposes is described and is confidently associated with the lithic industry, and fragments of an infant skeleton were found in situ. The association of a rich fauna, including one or two extinct species, with the lithic industry and the fossil human remains was established.

References.


4 The aim of the present study is to see whether the archaeologist can observe any cumulative tendencies, any trends in one direction in the manifestations of man’s spiritual culture, comparable to those that are clearly manifest in his material culture over the long period comprised within the archaeological record. Of course all the archaeologist can study is Man’s behaviour, the material expressions of his spiritual life. As an archaeologist, he cannot recapture Neanderthal man’s ideas about a future life nor the theory of Cro-Magnon magic. Indeed it may be questioned whether paleolithic ‘men’ had any articulate spoken language suitable for expressing in analytical words, ‘ideas’ or ‘theories’ at all. Their language may still have been ‘kinetic’—gestures and grunts, capable of arousing in their fellows emotions and stimulating them to action, but not of formulating an idea as abstract as even a ‘bear.’ We must not imagine early hominids elaborating an eschatology and then acting on it. The deep emotions aroused by the recurrent crises of life and death found expression in no abstract judgements, but in passionate acts. The acts were the ideas, not expressions of them. Certain types of act came to be recognized by societies as appropriate to certain situations, just as certain types of tool won approval as standard forms. Such patterns of behaviour became rite, but the rite did not necessarily express a theory, more probably it came to constitute one. Burial rites have been selected for study because the record of such, going back to middle paleolithic times, is peculiarly long and full.

1 Disposal of the corpse

Paleolithic corpses were buried either extended (Cro-Magnon, Grimaldi) or contracted 1 (La Ferassie, etc., Mt. Carmel). Both positions are attested also in mesolithic times. In neolithic times extended burial was practised by the food-gathering Forest tribes of Siberia (till the Glazkovo stage), northern Europe and the Baltic, and in the ‘transitional’ collective burial place at Maripol. Among food-producers it was normal among the northern farmers of the ‘Megalithic’ group and in the Ground and Upper Graves of the Danish battle-axe folk (in the earlier Bottom Graves the bodies were usually contracted 3), in the Danubian cemetery of Hinkelstein and some ‘late Röszen graves,’ and in some Western graves in western Germany 4 (at Michelberg and Altenburg), and France (Fort Harrouard 5). In southern Elam this attitude is rarer, but there are plenty of examples in the Al Ubaid culture. In all other early or neolithic cemeteries and cultures in Europe, North Africa and the Near East the bodies were buried flexed or contracted, and this was far the commonest practice in the Early Bronze Age too.

During the Bronze Age contracted gradually gave place to extended burial. In Egypt nobles were extended already in protodynastic times; by Dynasty IV 60 per cent. of the bodies in the Giza cemetery 6 were extended, and by Dynasty IX, 96 per cent., only the very poorest being contracted. In Cyprus contracted and extended bodies are alike found in Early Cypriote graves. 8 In Mesopotamia, where contracted burial came in by the Mound times, extended burial was adopted much more slowly, at Kish 7 not till Neo-Babylonian times, though it was practised quite early in Elam, apparently even in tombs contemporary with Early Dynastic I. In Greece contracted burial remained normal till the Middle Helladic period, but during the latter extended burial gradually became fashionable; at Asine, Pessinos considered a gently flexed posture to be an intermediate stage in a slow process of change. Similarly in Sicily the bodies in the Sicilian II tombs are less strictly contracted than in Sicilian I while those in Sicilian III are extended. In all these cases the change of position is not associated with concomitant changes in grave-goods that would denote the infiltration of a new ‘culture’ or people.

In Central Europe while contracted burial was the rule in the Early Bronze Age, as in the Sarmatian culture, ‘chief men’ were already buried extended, as at Leubingen, and this was the regular practice in the
Middle Bronze Age Tumulus culture as in contemporary Danish and Swedish barrows. Hence by the Early Iron Age among inhumationists extended burial was almost universal save for some curious exceptions. In Britain contracted burial was still the rule as late as La Tène II-III in the Arras culture and occurs sporadically in Scotland even in the Roman period; it survived also in the Iceni enclave in north-eastern Italy, in Hungary and Transylvania, in Transcaucasia and in both cemeteries at Silsik in western Iran. But the general tendency to replace cremation by extension is unmistakable; it seems quite unconnected with ethnic changes but may perhaps be correlated with increasing wealth, a rising standard of living, and warmer bedding.

During late neolithic times cremation began to compete with inhumation—allegedly in Palestine (Gezer), Syria (Byblos) and the Peloponnesse (Argive Heraum), more certainly in late Danubian graves in the Wetterau, Central Germany, and Bohemia, later in graves with Corded Ware and Globular Amphorae in the same regions and with Bell Beakers in Moravia and Hungary, in megalithic tombs in Brittany and the British Isles (especially Ulster) as allegedly in the comparable tombs of Long Mires and some of the Marne grottoes. In Brittany and the British Isles, as in Central Europe, the tradition seems to persist into the Bronze Age since cremation was practised in the early-Middle Bronze Age barrows of Armorica, Wessex, Ireland, Alsace and south-western Germany, and in fairly early graves in Hungary. By the Late Bronze Age it was the commonest rite throughout Western, Central, and also Northern Europe, and was practised also in Upper Italy and after 1400 B.C. at Troy in western Asia Minor and in North Syria. But the new rite never caught on in Russia east of the Dniepr, in Iran, nor, of course, in Egypt.

In the Iron Age, i.e. after 1000 B.C., the relations between the two rites become extremely complicated, but nowhere did cremation entirely supersede inhumation save for a time in Britain, and North and East-Central Europe. In most Greek cemeteries both rites occur side by side, with inhumations usually in the majority save for notable exceptions curiously enough on Thera and in Crete. The same holds good of Magna Graecia and Rome itself and apparently Carthage and the Punic colonies in Sardinia and at Villaricos in Spain. It is very significant that the early cemetery at Motya consisted entirely of cremation graves. Since this must belong to Somitic Phoenicians or Carthaginians, it proves that cremation is not a distinctively Aryan rite. Conversely inhumation was the rule among the La Tène Celts of Europe.

Under the early Empire cremation spread in Italy and the western provinces, even among the Celts of Gaul, presumably because it happened to be the family rite of the Caesars. But it made no headway in Asia, and precisely at this time inhumation cemeteries began to become increasingly common among the Teutonic tribes who had been most consistently cremationist in the last centuries B.C. Then from 200 B.C. inhumation, now nearly always in the extended position, began to replace cremation rapidly throughout the Empire and beyond its frontiers in the North. Nock has argued convincingly that the reversal was prior to, and unconnected with, the spread of Christianity. The latter subsequently merely accelerated a tendency already operative at the conversion of some barbarian nations.

Hence the vogue of cremation interrupted, but did not negate, the general tendency to adopt burial in the extended posture. Incidentally note: (1) Robinson’s statement “The furniture of cremation graves is not inferior in quality or lesser abundant than in any type of inhumation burial” is applicable to the whole area and period here surveyed; the furniture accompanying some cremations is in fact outstandingly rich, for instance in the early Middle Bronze Age of Armorica and Wessex, at Hallstatt, and in the Roman Iron Age of Silesia. Such wealth is contrary to what would have been expected had the rite been inspired by new conceptions of the soul’s fate such as are outlined in Rohde’s Psyche. (2) It seems impossible to derive all cremations from any single centre. (3) It is not permissible to correlate cremations with Indo-European though the Bronze Age cremations in Syria might reasonably be connected with the Aryans attested there epigraphically about that time. Though India seems the only Asiatic province where cremation ever became firmly established, the rite there may be pre-Aryan, if the cremations reported by Stein be correctly dated to the IIInd millennium.

II. Place of Burial

Since the caves in which Mousterian burials occur were also used for habitation, the middle palaeolithic practice may be described as burial in or among the dwellings. So may mesolithic burials in caves in Palestine and the Crimea and in mounds in Brittany, Portugal and North Africa. Among later sedentary societies burial of adults (the special case of infant burial is not considered here) in or between the dwellings was the practice of neolithic Westerners at Michelberg and Fort Harrouard, at Ripoll and Molfetta in South Italy, at Merimde in Lower Egypt, perhaps in neolithic Cyprus, certainly at Silsik in Iran, and apparently in the Chalcolithic settlement at Alakshar in central Anatolia. Nearly all other neolithic and chalcolithic villagers who have left us any graves at all, including apparently the Halafian
and al-Ubaid populations of Arpachiyah in Assyria, buried their dead in cemeteries or collective tombs outside the settled area. In the Bronze Age we find house-burial in the El Argar culture of south-east Spain, in the Middle, but not the Early, Helladic period in Greece, and throughout the period in central, but not western, Anatolia in North Syria, and Iran. Even in the cities of Mesopotamia house-burial was the practice from Early Dynastic times in Akkad (if not in Sumer), from 2000 B.C. at Assur 25 and almost as early at Ugarit and other genuine cities in North Syria. The hygienic practice continued at al-Mina 26 on the Orontes into the fifth century B.C., in Babylonia till Hellenistic times, and at Assur even down to the Parthian period. But the general tendency, sometimes accelerated by legislation as at Rome, has undoubtedly been to separate graves from built-up dwelling areas. Note that burials in settlements are often (as at Merinje) much less richly furnished than burials in cemeteries; on the other hand, the evidence for periodical offerings at the tomb is particularly clear in the case of house-burials, as at Assur.

III Grave-goods

Food (joints of meat), unspecialized tools or weapons (hand-axes, scrapers), toilet articles (lumps of ochre) and ornaments were deposited in paleolithic graves. Articles of the same general classes may be expected in graves of later periods. But with progress in material culture the number and variety of things used by men and capable of being buried with them were constantly increasing. This increase is very imperfectly reflected in the funerary record. In post-paleolithic graves we do indeed quite often find (a) food and drink or receptacles therefor (pots); (b) general-purpose tools like knives; (c) weapons of war or of the chase; (d) toilet articles, including cosmetics with the appropriate paraphernalia, razors, tweezers, shears, scissors, ear-scopes, combs, mirrors, strigils, and the like; (e) ornaments (including beads, pendants, ear-, arm-, and leg-rings) and articles of apparel including pins, brooches, girdle-clasps, and buttons; (f) supernatural equipment such as amulets, figurines, seals; (g) games-men, knuckle-bones and dice; (h) lamps. Nevertheless the additions made to human equipment after the Old Stone Age and the consequent multiplication of possessions are very imperfectly represented in the sepulchral record.

(A) While the cultivation of plants was the basis of the neolithic revolution, the instruments connected therewith are very seldom found in graves.

(i) Hoe-blades.—While the shoe-last celts that do occur in damianian graves (though not very regularly) may have been so used, I know no other really likely instances for the Mesopotamian transverse axe was almost certainly a weapon.

(ii) Sickles.—Save perhaps for the crescentic flint knives of the Stone Age period in Northern Europe, I know no probable examples of sickles in neolithic graves. Flint knives with serrated edges do occur in badarian cemeteries 37 but only with male interments and they are not described as hasted by use as sickles. Bronze sickles are conspicuously absent from Danish and British barrows, from the cemeteries of Ur and Kish in Mesopotamia, of Hissar in Iran, of Gees and east- south-east Spain. In fact I have been able to discover in the whole Bronze Age only half a dozen sickles in the tumulus culture of Wurtemberg, a smaller number in contemporary Bavarian barrows, a few in Lusatian urnfields and one in a Late Copper Age barrow in South Russia, though in nearly all these areas they are common in hoards or strata. In the Iron Age sickles are almost equally rare. I have, for instance, come across none in the published contents of the very rich cemeteries of Italy, Boscia, south-western Germany and Alsaie, and Koban, but there are examples from the urnfield cultures of East-Central Europe, from Santa Lucia and from both the iron age cemeteries at Smilk. In fact it is only in the Roman and Migration periods of northern Europe that sickles and even scythes begin to be at all common in graves.

(iii) Querns.—I know some saddle-querns from neolithic Dambian 38 and Cyproite 39 graves. In Alsaie and at Khirki in Cyprus they were laid upon the skeletons as if to keep them down. Otherwise I know no examples of querns of any kind being deposited in the grave as a possession to be used by the defunct, though querns were undoubtedly valuable. It is, of course, no exception that model querns with model figures working them were buried in Egyptian tombs, nor that a rotary quern with a real serving woman to work it and the rest of the kitchen equipment was buried with Queen Aase in the Osloberg Ship.

(B) Textile appliances are much less common than might have been expected. Of those that might survive, whorls cannot always be distinguished from ornamental beads nor loomweights from net-sinks. Weaving combs and bobbins, so common in domestic sites in Great Britain, are unknown from graves. At Olynthus lomewights were found in two graves only and whorls in three graves out of 600. I do not think this proportion was seriously exceeded in any earlier barbarian or civilized cemetery, but it was in the Migration period of northern Europe.

(C) Craft tools are very rarely found in tombs.

(i) Carpenters' equipment.—Stone axes and adzes that do of course turn up in neolithic graves might also be classified as weapons. The only unmistakably
specialized wood-working tool of the Stone Age—the
gouge—is found frequently in Boat-axe graves in
Sweden 38 and in some tombs at Los Millares in south-
eastern Spain. The more specialized and varied
woodworking tools of copper and bronze are just as
rare in graves. Saws come from a couple of tombs at
Los Millares and one at Alcalá, but they are not
uncommon in Early Dynastic Sumerian graves,
notably at Shuruppak (Fara) and Ur, and occur again
in Early Dynastic Egyptian tombs. Chisels and
adzes from the same periods must also be reckoned as
carpenters' tools. Later such implements become
very rare in civilized burials; in the large Qar 37
cemetry, for instance, there is only one chisel to be
classed here, assigned to Dynasties VII-VIII. Model
and miniature carpenters' tools and pictures of such in
Egyptian nobles' tombs, including those of ladies,38
from the VIth Dynasty onwards obviously come into the
same category as the quern models mentioned under
A. 111, and do not represent the implements personally
used by the deceased. The carpenters' tools from
'the royal tombs' at Abydos and Ur (perhaps therefore
also at Fara) and the gauze or drill-bit from the
princely tomb of Novosvobodnaya on the Kuban may
fall into a similar category. In the Late Bronze Age
of Europe woodworking implements are recognizable
in many hoards but hardly ever recur in graves; some
winged adzes from barrows in south-western Ger-
many 39 are the most notable exceptions. The still
more varied and efficient carpenters' kit of the Iron
Age seems virtually unrepeated in graves though
the implements are faithfully depicted on craftsmen's
tombstones in the Roman period as later.

(ii) The smith must have been a specialized crafts-
man from the dawn of the metal age and must have
had from the start appropriate craft implements.
But such were never normally buried with him. The
best exceptions to this generalization I can cite are the
mould for a West European dagger from a Beaker
graue in Moravia, 40 a mould for a shaft-hole axe from
a South Russian kurgan of the Late Copper Age, 41
and a couple of unspecified moulds from Laussitz urn-
fields. A grave in cemetery A at Siakk 42 contained a
complete bronze-smith's outfit, but the anvils, ham-
ers, and gravers so well known from Late Bronze
Age hoards in Central, Northern and Western Europe
never seem to be found in graves, nor yet the tongs,
hammers, anvils, files, and other appliances used by
civilized smiths in the Mediterranean Iron Age and the
La Tène period this side of the Alps (though they are
depicted on smiths' tombstones in the Roman
Empire). But in the Roman and Migration period a
smith's full outfit, sometimes accompanied by his
weapons, is not seldom found in barbarian Teutonic
cemeteries. 42

(iii) Generalized wealth, money, whether in the
form of 'spits' or of coins, was represented in tombs
(mostly after 400 B.C.) only symbolically by one or two
obols or small coins that evidently bore no relation to
the defunct's actual wealth. The only possible excep-
tions are certain late 'royal tombs' to be mentioned
below.

In brief, of the new sorts of possessions and wealth,
created by technological progress, only a few classes,
and mostly those approved by tradition from the
pleistocene, were generally regarded as suitable grave
furniture.

(D) Even within the approved classes of possessions
while the number and variety owned and used by a
prosperous individual must have grown with the
advance of material culture, there is no corresponding
increase in the richness of grave furniture. On the
contrary in many regions, or more exactly among most
societies, the graves grow progressively poorer as
material wealth, the number and variety of available
articles of use or enjoyment, increased.

This is conspicuously true of Bronze Age Britain
where, in contrast to the comparative wealth of
Beaker and still more of Wessex graves, burials of the
Late Bronze Age are disappointingly poor, though
the hoards are larger and more numerous than before.
Kruglov and Podganyets 43 have demonstrated a
similar impoverishment in the Copper Age graves of
South Russia with elaborate statistics and offered an
explanation for it in terms of Marxist sociology. In
Sicily early Siculan II graves are richer than those of
Siculan I, but in later graves of period II miniatures
begin to replace real bronze weapons while various
metal types such as bronze girdles and lance-heads,
common in contemporary hoards, are never found in
graves of Siculan III. 44 In Denmark the same
phenomenon is observable though less conspicuously.
In contrast to the extravagant wealth of the Middle
Bronze Age inhumations and the earlier cremations,
Late Bronze Age graves look rather poor, and mini-
ature weapons take the place of usable ones. Then
after a period of rich burials about the beginning of
our era when Roman trade enriched native society—but
disturbed its economy—after A.D. 200 'in general
'apart from magistrates' graves, one observes that the
'graves are ever more poorly furnished.45 Again in
Anglo-Saxon Britain full-size toilet-articles came to be
replaced by miniatures.

The same tendency was even more marked in
civilized States. In Egypt even in predynastic times
the Amratian figures of oxen may be regarded as
substitutes for real oxen belonging to the deceased,
and later we find models of fine knives and similar
valuables. Under the Pharaohs almost any sort of
real wealth from bread to slaves, bodyguards, houses,
and boats might be represented in the tomb by models
or pictures. In Sumer and Akkad Early Dynastic
Middle Helladic period begins with the violent destruction of many Early Helladic settlements and the establishment of a new culture, phenomena generally admitted to indicate contact by new people. And then the new barbarian society was exposed to the intense radiation of the high civilization of Minoan Crete. Anthropologists know well enough the solvent effect on social organization of such contact between civilization and barbarism. In Greece it seems to have produced a new social order, that of the Heroic Age as described by Chadwick. In the same way the Northern barbarians had been exposed to penetration by Roman civilization just at the time when grave-goods became richer again after a period of poverty.

We can thus formulate a general rule as follows: in a stable society the grave-goods tend to grow relatively and even absolutely fewer and poorer as time goes on. In other words, less and less of the deceased's real wealth, fewer and fewer of the goods that he or she had used, worn, or habitually consumed in life were deposited in the tomb or consumed on the pyre. The stability of a society may be upset by invasion or immigration on a scale that requires a radical reorganization or by contact between barbarian and civilized societies so that, for instance, trade introduces new sorts of wealth, new opportunities for acquiring wealth and new classes (traders) who do not fit in at once into the kinship organization of a tribe.

IV Sepulchral Monuments

The variety of grave forms is too great to warrant any comprehensive generalizations. But in respect of certain forms, and the societies that favoured these, it is easy to see that with the advance of material culture and consequent increase of wealth and control over nature, a diminishing proportion of social labour and energy and of individual wealth has been expended upon the construction of tombs. The erection of megalithic tombs and long barrows by small groups, equipped only with stone tools and lacking block-and-tackle, the excavation of spacious family-vaults with sculptured doorways and façades, like those of the Early Cypriote phase in Cyprus, Siculan I and Anghelu Ruju, with stone implements supplemented by rare and costly copper chisels and even the piling of the larger barrows of Bronze Age Britain or Denmark, quite obviously absorbed a larger proportion of society's still exiguous resources than the construction of the finest Greek or Etruscan painted tombs or the excavation of catacombs at Rome with the aid of a large variety of cheap and efficient iron tools and the mechanical devices developed from the fifth century.

Megalithic tombs, rock-cut chambers, and round barrows are larger, solider, and more spacious than the flimsy one-roomed huts inhabited by neolithic and
Bronze Age Britons, or Siculans. Among the civilized peoples of the Iron Age, as to-day, the dwellings of the living were more spacious and more sumptuous than the houses of the dead. Hence, in every domain accessible to the archaeologist, with progress in civilization a dwindling proportion of society's growing wealth has been devoted to the preparation of tombs and their furnishing. Of course, the lying-in-state, the courtége, the wake, and other accessories of funerals have left no mark on the archaeological record.

V Royal Tombs

Certain peculiar tombs that may occur at any archaeological period since the beginning of the Bronze Age seem to constitute exceptions to the foregoing rule inasmuch as in them a quite substantial proportion of their occupant's wealth seems to have been deposited in them or expended on their construction and embellishment. To such I conjoin the term 'Royal Tombs' and I class here the Egyptian tombs of the first four dynasties, the 'Royal Tombs' of Ur and the comparable tombs at Mari and in the X cemetery at Kish; the Shang tombs at Anyang; the Shaft Graves and tholoi of Mycenaean Greece; the 'chieftains' barrows of the barbarian Bronze Age like Louhingen, Maikop, Seddin, Bush Barrow; and the great barrows of Kerma in Nubia; the archaic Scythian barrows on the Kuban; south-west German 'chieftains' barrows of Hallstatt D and La Tène I like Klein Asperg, and perhaps all Celtic chariot-burials; Sutton Hoo and Viking ship-burials like Oseberg; many other barbarian burials like Pazurik in the Altai. All such are sharply contrasted to contemporary commoners' graves by the magnitude and magnificence of the tomb, the extravagant wealth of the furniture, and the presence (when the tomb was found complete and intact) of human victims.

By no means all tombs of royalties exhibit these peculiarities. On the contrary, even in Egypt, if we take into account the immense increase in wealth resulting not only from the advance of civilization, but also from the tribute of a flourishing Asiatic empire, the tombs of New Kingdom Pharaohs like Thothmes III and Tutankhamen must be regarded as small in size and modestly furnished when compared with those of Hor-Aha, Hetepheres, and Mycerinus. The graves of the Assyrian kings at Assur were of the same kind as those of private citizens, only naturally larger and presumably more richly furnished but insignificant in comparison with their palaces. The same remarks will apply to the royal necropolises of Sidon, the mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian, the tombs of Darius and most other Iron Age monarchs.

In fact, 'royal tombs' of the peculiar type distinguished above, whatever their age, will be found to belong to a single transitional stage in the development of the societies concerned—to the period when the kinship organization appropriate to barbarism was breaking down to make room for a territorial State, either as in Egypt, Mesopotamia and China as a result of mainly internal economic forces (including in each case notably the expansion of regular foreign trade), or by contact with higher civilizations. The coincidence of these tombs here styled 'royal' with the first close contacts of the Helladic Greeks, the Scythians, the Celts, and the Teutons with the Minoans, Greek, Massiliote-Etruscan, and Frankish-Byzantine civilizations respectively is obvious enough. The Kerma culture illustrates the same sort of contact between Nubian barbarism and Egyptian civilization. Even in the Bronze Age barrows of Central Germany, Wessex, and the Kuban the situation of the tombs in regions rich in raw materials and commanding natural trade routes and the prominence of imported luxury articles in their furniture attest the solvent influence of foreign commerce.

Sometimes the States were stillborn, and royal tombs appear, an isolated phenomenon confined to a brief epoch. When a stable State did emerge and the tombs of its sovereigns have been found, we find them less imposing and less rich when the increase of prosperity due to a regular government be taken into account. So 'royal tombs' merely confirm rather than refute the generalization enunciated at the end of para. IV.

Notes

References to generally familiar sites and text-books have as a rule been omitted.

1 Unfortunately the reports are often too inaccurate to allow of the important distinction between strictly contracted and gently flexed positions being maintained consistently in such a comprehensive survey as I have attempted here.

2 Brundsted, Danmarks Oldtid, i, pp. 218, 226.

3 Buttker, Die donauländischen und westlichen Kulturen, pp. 20 and 50.

4 Childé, Dawn of European Civilization, p. 288.

5 Dorothy, Arch. 88, pp. 57, 62, 74, 98.

6 Langdon and Water, Kish, iv, pp. 49-52.

7 Ebert's Realexikon (Real), xx, p. 141.

8 Childé, Prehistoric Scotland, pp. 251-2.

9 Dumitrescu, L'Èté du Fer dans le Péloponés, 1929, p. 10.

10 Dumand, Rublos, pp. 436, 440.

11 Blegen, Prosymna, p. 27.


13 Full summary of Greek evidence by Robinson, Necrologia, 1942, pp. 140 ff.

14 Mon., Ant., i, 779; xxvi, 242; xxv, 423.

15 Ibid., xiv, 169; xxi, 79.

16 Siret, Villanovas et Hébreves.

17 Whitaker, M. p. 248.

18 E.g. Brundsted, Danmarks Oldtid, iii, pp. 126, 146.


21 Nash and Penhallow, in Select Bibliog., vol. iv. The skeletons were deposited in round structures, some of which were almost certainly also dwellings, Iraq, vii, p. 72.
Because so many excavators have missed house-foundations of pisé.

So at Kish, Langdon, and Watelin, Kish, iv, 7, 16;
Khafaje, O.I.C. Communications, No. 20, 1936, p. 17.

Andras, Das wiederverstandenes Assur, pp. 79, 127.

J.B.S., ivii, p. 12.

Brunton, H., Babylonian Civilization, p. 37.

Kraft, Bronzezeit Suddeutschlands; cf. Childe, Danube in

IZY, GAIMK., 119, p. 171.

E.g., F.Z., iii, p. 340.

Ghilman, Fontes de Stalk, ii.

Brindsted, Danmarks Oldtid, iii, p. 231 ; etc.

Butler, Die doromandische Kultur, p. 19.

Irr., vii, p. 72.

Brindsted, op. cit., pp. 221, 229.

Forsander, Schwedische Bozetzkultur, p. 17.

Brunton, Qua and Badari, i, p. 59.

Ibid., p. 60.

E.g., Childe, Danube, p. 347.

Forsander, Das ost-slawische Norden während der
döntesten Bronzezeit, p. 70; Christen, XVI. spelma aus. u. Olovnius,
xii, 1929, p. 10.

E.S.A., ii, p. 72.

E.g., Brindsted, Danmarks Oldtid, iii, pp. 148, 350; see
in almost every cemetery of the Migration period and even of
the Viking age, e.g. Vendel.

Rodovec Obshchestvo na stepi vestochnoi Evrope,

Real., XII, p. 105.

Brundsted, Danmarks Oldtid, iii, p. 213; iii, p. 282.


Langdon and Watelin, Kish, iv, p. 49.

Andras, Das wiederverstandenes Assur, pp. 126-8.

Robinson in Norvegiska, p. 174; he has here summarized
the evidence I had collected from other sites in Old
Greeks and Magna Græcia.

I am conscious that Sidney Smith, J.R.A.S., 1829,
pp. 863 ff., and other Assyriologists deny that the term 'Royal
Tombs' is correctly applied to the 'Gold Graves' of Ur;
the facts here adduced seem to reduce the force of his argu-
ment from the contrast between these graves and those of the
Assyrian kings.

Syria, xix, p. 6.

Langdon and Watelin, Kish, iv, pp. 16 ff.—tomb Y 237,
359, 329.

Cf. especially Petrie, The Royal Tomb at Dendera.
p. 60 ff.

Real., v.

Real., iv, 472, E.

Note the purse of coins in this context.

Andras, Das wiederverstandenes Assur, p. 157.

This is true even of Scythia by the fourth century at
least.

THE INDIANS OF THE ANDES. Summary of a Com-
munication made by Lieutenant Bernard Mishkin,
U.S.N.R: ; 16 May, 1944.

The paper summarized the author's researches on
two field-trips in Mexico and Peru in special connexion
with a literacy campaign among the Indians.

THE CASE FOR APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY IN
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BURMA. A Com-
munication by H. N. C. Stevenson, O.B.E.; 10
October, 1944.

This communication is printed in full, Man, 1945, 2.

Before presenting it, Mr. Stevenson made it clear that he
was speaking for himself, and not as a representative of the
Government of Burma.

His proposals were referred to the Officers of the
Institute, with a view to a memorandum to the Burma
Office recommending that members of the Burma
'service should have some training in anthropology;
that in view of the destruction of official records there
'should be immediate investigation by trained anthropo-
ologists of the tribes and peoples of Burma; that there
'should be a Department of Ethnography in the Univer-
sity of Rangoon; and a Survey of Burma, including
the whole of Burma— not only the Hill Tribes—and
'that the inhabitants of Burma should be enlisted
widely in this work.

SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES FROM NORTH-
ERN NIGERIA. Summary of a Communication by
R. E. B. Fogg; 31 October, 1944.

An administrative officer in Northern Nigeria, with
archaeological experience in excavation at Elvedon,
Suffolk, for the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and
Ethnology (1938) summarizes the present state of
archaeological knowledge of Northern Nigeria, describes
excavations undertaken by himself and his wife at stone
age sites in the Bauchi Plateau, and makes suggestions
as to the future development of prehistoric and proto-
historic studies in the Northern Provinces.

THE HUXLEY MEMORIAL LECTURE. ARCHAEO-
LOGICAL AGES AS TECHNOLOGICAL STAGES.
By Professor V. Gordon Childe, D.Litt., D.Sc., F.B.A.,
F.S.A.

The Huxley Memorial Lecture was delivered in the
rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, W.I., on
Thursday, 28 November, 1944, at 1.30, preceded by a
buffet luncheon at 12.30.

The lecture examined the effect on man's control over
external nature of the adoption of copper or bronze and
then iron as a material for tools since this has been used
as the basis of archaeological classification for over a
century. In practice, the earliest metal, copper or
bronze, was employed in three different modes. Firstly,
as in Egypt before 3000 n.c. and in barbarian Europe
before 1500, metal was used almost exclusively for arma-
ments and ornaments. Secondly, in Egypt after 3000
n.c. and all round the Mediterranean after 2000, metal was
employed for the manufacture of fine tools for craftsmen
like carpenters, jewellers, and metal-workers. Thirdly,
only after 1500 n.c. in Egypt and Greece and after 1200
in barbarian Europe but as early as 2500 in Mesopotamia
metal was used also in agriculture and some rough work.
The first mode meant no material advance in produc-
tivity over the Stone Stage, but the second increased
both the output and the quality of craftsmanship and
became the condition for the invention of the wheel and
the windlass if not also of the plough and the sailing boat—
very significant steps in technological progress.

Yet at no time in the Bronze Stage did the builders of the
Pyramids or of Stonehenge nor any other society
command such commonplace but indispensable
devices as saws, hinged tongs, the crane, and block-
and-tackle, or shoe the plough with a metal share, while
in Asia Minor and barbarian Europe bronze never ousted
even the stone axe; it was too expensive. Metal first
became cheap in the Iron Stage so that it could be used
freely in agriculture and for heavy work. Subsequently
among the vastly augmented army of workers now
acustomed to use metal some were intelligent enough to
involve new species of tools beginning with tongs and

[No. 4-8]
shears about 600 B.C., till by the commencement of our era all major manual tools of industry and agriculture were familiar in the Classical world. Their use in turn made possible the first mechanical inventions—the quern, the donkey-mill, the olive press, the water-wheel.

A vote of thanks was proposed by Professor Daryll Forde, and seconded by Mr. Christopher Hawkes.

The printed lecture may be obtained from the Royal Anthropological Institute: price 2s. 6d., and will be included in due course in the Journal.

EMSLIE HORNIMAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND

The late Mr. Emslie John Horniman placed on record that his decision to create the Fund arose from his conviction, as a result of wide travel, that the scientific study of non-European peoples was vital to the British Empire, as well as to the health, happiness, progress, and good government of these peoples throughout the world. In this connexion he desired to further incidentally the study of prehistoric man in Europe. The object of the Fund, therefore, is to promote the scientific study of all that relates to the social, cultural, and physical characteristics and development of such peoples and the Fund particularly seeks to encourage these studies by those whose interests or professions will bring them into contact with them. The Trustees will make such studentship awards as are likely to promote these objects.

Awards may be made to university graduates and to such other persons as shall satisfy the Trustees that they are likely, as a result of further study, to promote the objects of the Fund. Candidates must be of British nationality, but there are no restrictions as to race, colour, sex, or religion. The awards will take the form of Studentships tenable normally for not less than one year, nor more than two, at any university which provides approved facilities. Schemes of study shall normally include provision for field work.

Preference will be given to candidates who satisfy the Trustees of their intention to follow a career that will enable them to continue their studies or researches outside Europe. Members of the British naval, military, colonial, diplomatic or consular service, or like services of any of the Dominions or Dependencies of the British Empire, and those intending to enter them, are eligible for awards.

Applicants must submit proposals for a scheme of study and research, an estimate of expenses, and particulars of their income from all sources. Awards will vary in value and number, according to circumstances. Holders of Studentships will be expected to comply with the regulations of the university to which they are attached, to submit to such supervision as the Trustees may determine, and to render reports of progress upon request. If such reports are not satisfactory, the Trustees may discontinue payments.

Notice of forthcoming awards will be advertised annually. For Studentship Grants to be awarded in 1945, applications must be received not later than 1 March.

All enquiries and correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary, Emslie Horniman Anthropological Scholarship Fund, Royal Anthropological Institute, 21, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS

CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF EUROPEAN ARCHAEOLOGY. At the London University Institute of Archeology: 16-17 September, 1944.

The delegate of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Mr. M. C. Burkitt, attended this Conference, and reports that the meetings were well attended and a great success.

In his introduction Professor V. Gordon Childe stressed the international character of archeology and outlined some of the problems which call for solution after the war.

Dr. Zerner outlined the present stage of knowledge as regards the correlation of the archeological and geological records in prehistoric times.

Dr. J. D. G. Clark and Mrs. Hawkes indicated the lines on which future research should proceed as regards Mesolithic and Neolithic studies.

Dr. C. F. C. Schaeffer urged the importance and interest of the archeology of the Near East to students of European archeology. Mrs. Hawkes noted, in discussion, that we ought not to forget that there was reciprocity in this matter.

Professor Sullivanskii describing his researches before the war in South-East Poland, pointed out that the Neolithic "painted-pottery folk" there continued until the Early Iron Age—indeed became the Early Iron Age Folk. It would appear that in this area, where the true Bronze Age is absent, the "graphite ware" succeeds the latest painted pottery without complete ethnic changes in the folk themselves.

Mr. Hawkes outlined the modern attitude to Bronze and Early Iron Age Studies in western Europe, and indicated the lines along which he considered that future research should proceed.

Mr. Charlesworth demanded as a historian that the archeologist should answer for him: unmentionable questions. Indeed for some of us it seemed that should the archeologist be able to reply to all his queries about any culture there was very little left for the historian proper to tell us.

Miss Steinman outlined the principal theories as to the origins of the Slavs.

Mr. Hawkes summed up the results of the Conference, regretting the absence of Professor Garrod, Miss Caton-Thompson, Sir John Myres, Sir Cyril Fox, and Professor Daryll Forde.

OBITUARIES

Lord Moyné, P.C., D.S.O., 1880–6 November, 1944.

The tragic and untimely death of Lord Moyné (Walter Edward Guinness) deprives archeology of an influential patron and the Institute of a generous benefactor. He had been a Fellow since 1935 and a member of Council since 1942, and, although rarely able to attend meetings, he took a lively interest in our activities.

Lord Moyné had intended to study biology at the university; but first the South African war and then
political work diverted his main energies into other channels. Nevertheless he retained throughout his life a keen interest in natural science, and in the intervals of a busy public career he devoted much time and expense to biological pursuits, among which anthropological took a prominent place. He had already visited some of the almost unexplored rivers of southern Netherlands New Guinea in 1929, bringing home an interesting series of carved shields and other objects, which he presented to the British Museum. The British Museum Quarterly, VIII, 129 (1934). The main purpose of his last two voyages in his steam yacht 'Rosaura' in 1935–36 and 1938 was to make collections for the London Zoo and the British Museum. This purpose he pursued with characteristic energy and determination, and at no small personal risk. In fact both of his motor-launches were wrecked on the Ramu river in New Guinea, while the 'Rosaura' narrowly escaped destruction in the ice-pack off the East Greenland coast.

The scientific results of these two voyages were considerable. They included extensive ethnographical collections from the Blemens, Isalada, and Kampeng rivers of New Guinea, and from the little-known Sepik and Ramu rivers of the Mandated Territory; other parts of New Guinea and New Britain, the Admiralty, Solomon, Nicobar, and Philippine Islands were also represented in the ethnographical harvest. On the last voyage a large collection of antiquities was obtained from the Bay Islands, Hordurana, and remarkable colour films were made, illustrating inter alia the aquatic exploits and the drum dances of the Angngseulik Eskimos of East Greenland. On both voyages an admirable series of photographs was taken by Lady Broughton.

These collections and photographs were exhibited for some weeks at Lord Moyne's house in Grosvenor Place before their dispersal, see MAN, 1936, 121; 1938, 71. The great majority of the specimens was subsequently presented to the British Museum, thereby filling many important gaps in the national collection, see Brit. Mus. Quart., XI, 9 (1937). The residue found homes in other ethnographical museums including those at Oxford and Cambridge, while the human skulls were given to the Royal College of Surgeons.

On his precarious journey up the Ramu river Lord Moyne succeeded in making contact with the elusive 'pygmies' inhabiting the Aimo mountains, and he was the first to publish an account of them. His measurements, based admittedly on a small number of individuals, gave them an average stature smaller than that of any pygmy group hitherto recorded from New Guinea. A detailed description of their material culture was written, in collaboration with Miss K. Haddon, for the Institute's Journal (Journal R. Anth. Inst., LXXVI (1938)). Lord Moyne published vivid accounts of these journeys in his books Walkabout (1936), and Atlantic Circle (1938), which contain much ethnographical information, the value of which is enhanced by the beautiful illustrations. The former work also contains an introduction by the late Dr. Haddon, and an appendix on the human crania by Dr. A. J. E. Cave.

Only recently Lord Moyne had privately discussed the idea of promoting field research in the early cultures of S. America by an archaeological expedition, or by funds devoted to this purpose. The fruition of these plans would undoubtedly have added another chapter to the story of his contributions to anthropological science.

Without intimate knowledge one hesitates even to attempt an appreciation of a man of such outstanding qualities and singularly attractive personality; to these qualities many eminent friends have already paid a public tribute. We would only say this: that to great natural gifts of intellect and character he had added an exceptionally wide range of experience; courage and tenacity, integrity and gentleness were the character of a man whose complex undertones. Above all he delighted in the service of his fellow men and in the pursuit of knowledge and truth.

The conditions in which the voyage about New Guinea was made, involving rapid movement, and the wild state of some of the peoples visited, precluded intensive study at any one spot. The full explanation of some of the objects collected, particularly those of a ritual character, is therefore not yet available. But future investigations will no doubt enable us to fit them accurately into their cultural context and so increase their scientific value. Even now they possess great intrinsic interest of a technological and artistic kind, which is augmented by the fact that they are known to have been unaffected by culture contact.

H. J. BRAUNHOLZ


12 Born in 1863, the daughter of the late A. E. Durham, F.R.C.S. was educated at Bedford College, London, and at the Royal Academy of Arts. She was a skilful painter and illustrator, and many of her studies of Balkan scenes, personalities, and customs are a valued possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute. She was also a linguist, fluent especially in Serb and Albanian. Above all she was a student of humanity, with exceptional ability to understand and to influence the wilder peoples of South-Eastern Europe, especially her beloved Albanians, on the terms of intimate free-speech that mutual confidence permits. While she could describe vividly her many adventures in frequent books of travel, her Twenty Years of Balkan Travel (1920) was a real contribution to a crucial phase of Balkan history, and Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans (1928) is a store of observation and learning in a remote field of knowledge. She was more at home among the wild highlander tribes of the north than with the more sophisticated Moslem peoples of central Albania, where social and economic divisions are deeper, and her own sympathies were with the unprivileged peasantry; and by the time that the Albanian kingdom was established her travelling days were over. But she had friends and correspondents always, and her intimate knowledge was always at the disposal of her colleagues at home.

Miss Durham became a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1908. She served for seven years as member of the Council and as a Vice-President. She was a frequent visitor in the library and at meetings, and did much in quiet considerate ways to improve the amenities of the house, as well as by gifts of books and decorations.

On her eightieth birthday, last December, she received the congratulations of the Fellows, and a presentation which was intended to facilitate her visits to the Institute, but did not prevent her from increasing her own benefactions to it. Her genial presence, strong grasp of principles, and invariable common sense are greatly missed by colleagues and friends.

JOHN L. MYRES

13 It is less than a year since Miss Durham attended a meeting of the Institute to receive a presentation on the occasion of her eightieth birthday. That was her last appearance in our midst. She retained,
Indeed, her full intellectual vigour, but her physical strength had been failing for some time, though there was nothing to suggest that the end was near. Early on Wednesday, 15 November, she died peacefully in her sleep.

Miss Durham was one of the Institute's oldest and truest friends. She had been a Fellow since 1908, and donations of books and funds; and since then she has added another considerable gift of money, and has presented her unique collection of negatives and lantern-slides of the Balkans, all fully documented, an accession of great scientific interest and value. Her collection of garments and embroideries from Albania and Yugoslavia was presented to the Bankfield Museum in Halifax, and has been described in a monograph by Laura Stari. Her albums of original drawings and water colours are in the library of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Her other collections have been divided between the British Museum, the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, and the Ethnological Museum at Cambridge.

This is perhaps hardly the moment to attempt a full appreciation of Miss Durham's literary work. Her long series of books on the Balkans reveals not only her ability as a writer and artist, but also a profound knowledge of the Balkan peoples, and an acute judgment on their affairs, as indeed of European politics in general. Although she can hardly be described as a 'systematic' anthropologist in the academic sense, her books are replete with the raw materials, the stuff and matter of ethnology and folklore, and are a mine of information of great value to these sciences. As an authority in her own field she probably had no rival. Her particular sympathies and admiration were reserved for the Albanians, of whose rights she was an ardent and persistent champion; they in turn responded with feelings of respect and affection amounting to veneration. Her organization and conduct of medical services in the Balkan wars under the most trying conditions was a work of real heroism. And such was the people's faith in her miraculous powers that cases of hopeless congenital disease were brought to her for healing. Her fame eventually assumed such legendary and embarrassing proportions that she had to abandon her visits to Albania in later years. It was her Balkan experiences, and her consequent desire to promote a better understanding between nations, that first led her to our Institute. But she took a natural interest in primitive peoples and beliefs everywhere, and was often able to quote startling parallels and analogies from her great knowledge of Balkan folklore.

Miss Durham was a woman of remarkably vigorous, not to say virile, personality. Fearless and independent in her views and actions, she could be outspoken in criticism of cant or ignorance in high quarters. But she was genuinely kind and unselfish at heart. She had a pungent sense of humour, and an endless fund of amusing anecdotes, with which she could be most entertaining in company. She will be greatly missed, both for her personal qualities and for her services to the Institute and Anthropology.

H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ

14 Although my personal acquaintance with Mary Edith Durham was of relatively short duration, I had for many years previously admired her work, and it was with lively anticipation that I first met her at a meeting of the R.A.I. Contrary to custom, my expectations were more than fulfilled. Those who have had the opportunity of knowing her will not soon forget her presence. Mentally as well as physically she was of more than average stature. Our acquaintance grew, and of late years I have been privileged to receive letters, full of humour as well as of wisdom, signed 'Yours affectionately.'

In one of them (dated 18 June, 1943) she gave me a sketch of her life, which may well supplement a more
formal biography. 'I went to the Balkans mainly to draw, and for a change. My time at home was almost entirely taken up with the care of my poor invalid mother.' I had eight weeks off a year, and by accident, more or less, went to Montenegro. It occurred to me that the vexed question of Balkan politics might be solved by studying the manners and customs of each district and so learning to whom each place should really belong. I cheerfully started on this vast programme. 'Eight weeks per year. I shared a studio with an old fellow-student—Hannah Myers. And she, interested in the Balkan stuff I had got, said: 'You ought to show this to Sligs.' She asked Dr. Seligman to see and he was much interested and told me I had got information no one else had worked on. 'To cut a long tale short, he and Joyce showed me into the Anthrop. and I had to read a paper....Also I acted in 1907 as Commissioner for Montenegro at the Balkan Exhibition at Earls Court. I had to arrange the whole Montenegrin exhibit and contrary to the advice of the directors, who thought it poor stuff, I staged a lot of wooden models of ploughs, etc., and a case of amulets and ornaments. The glad news spread among anthropologists that a woman was selling interesting specimens at—of all places—Earls Court. Harrison came and bought all the models for the Horniman Museum. They came. Sir W. Ridgway same—and asked me to lecture at the Fitzwilliam. He took me in hand and commissioned me to buy amulets for him and used to send me questions to find the answers to, re tribes, marriage, funerals, etc. I used to tell him I would hunt the hares if he would cook them.

'I fully intended to carry out my investigations all over the Balkans—but first came the Albanian revolution in 1911, then the Balkan wars of 1912-13, then when I was sick of dressing wounds and feeding refugees came the great war of 1914-18. I was continually in war work and worn out, so that return to the Balkans was impossible. Nor have I had any decent health since.

'During the last war—in 1917 I think—Seligman got me on to the Council to my intense astonishment, and there at intervals I have been ever since. Looking back I see I was silly not to get more information and help from Seligman and others but I always felt such a painfully amateur outsider. When I first joined the Anthrop. I did not even dare ask if I might borrow library books.

'I have felt more and more strongly that my first idea of studying customs was a sound one and that only by an understanding of the various peoples of the world can a tolerable state of existence ever be reached. The world has not yet really grown out of the tribal system. Till it has learned that it is not now a question of the interests of one corner but of the world as a whole we shan't get much "ferrarid".'

She supplemented her enquiries into customs by collecting examples of Balkan craftsmanship, which vividly illustrated her point. We have in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, among other generous gifts of hers, a fine case of jewellery and other peasant work collected between 1900 and 1914, and largely contemporary with that period. With her notes on each piece, the collection is in itself an epitome of the complicated history and ethnology of the Balkans. Here are seen prehistoric motifs from the Bronze Age, pagan and magical ideas from the past still living, together with the ideas of Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Mithraism, Rome, and Byzantium.

Tribute has been paid elsewhere to her work for the Institute, but perhaps I might add how much I, for one, delighted in her few but incisive comments, sometimes cutting short a discussion which promised to be unprofitably time-consuming. When, to her great regret and owing, her increasing illness prevented her from attending our meetings, I sometimes gave her an account of them, and was always struck by the far-seeing clarity of her comments, not only on the actual matter in hand, but on the wider issues involved.

In spite of the shadow cast over her last years by yet another war (in which Europe, as she put it, "brows more Cillkanny-catsme than ever") she retained her hope that "were may be limited by degrees," and that the outbreak of homicidal mania now raging will end before "nothing is left of the nations but their tails." Her knowledge and experience will be greatly missed in the years ahead.

BEATRICE BLACKWOOD

James Cooper Clark, 1880-1944.

The death of James Cooper Clark is a loss to all Americans. He was a sincere and constant student of the history of the New World, and particularly of the regions of Maya and Aztec culture; it will be remembered that many years ago he published the delightful Story of *Eight Deer*, an Aztec hero, and, more recently, a monumental work, issued in three magnificent volumes, on the Mendoza Codex. This publication included a facsimile reproduction of a superb Aztec manuscript, as well as the Spanish text, and translations of that text and of the Aztec glyphs.

Cooper Clark traveled widely, in the East, in Europe, North Africa, and in the Americas, where a long stay in particular with the Tarahumara and Huichol, and with the languages of that country, and awoke in him an unflagging sympathy with the land and its people. Among his journeys, he accompanied the late Captain T. A. Joyce on one of the official expeditions for the British Museum to Maya sites in British Honduras; he was a companion of resource and tact, a skilful excavator, and an excellent photographer. It was a stroke of extremely bad luck that, in the early part of the present war, the whole of Cooper Clark's collections, ethnographic and photographic, were destroyed in a warehouse fire; and that the plates, and many copies, of his great work on the Mendoza Codex met a similar fate at the publisher's.

James Cooper Clark was the younger son of the late John Clark of Ceylon; he was educated at Elgin Academy and Aberdeen Grammar School. He served in the South African War in the Highland Light Infantry, and as a Major with the Leicester Regiment during the 1914-18 War. He was a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and his modesty probably made him lesser known than his work and learning deserved. At the First International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (London, 1934) he was Secretary of the Section of American Ethnography. He was 64 years old at his death, after long illness, in Aberdeen, on 22 March, 1944.

L. J.

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The Cradle of the "Indo-European Speakers." Cf. MAN. 1944, p. 54.

Sir,—Mr. Harrobi Peake puts the cradle of Indo-European speech in South Russia and Turkestan (MAN, 1943, p. 44). This is impossible for the following reasons: the flora and fauna of IE speech are definitely not Steppe in character (see my article, MAN, 1943, p. 64), while the universal words for birch and other deciduous trees, and the common word for heather (Celtic, Slavonic, etc.) make the evidence conclusive: heather grows just below the tree-line north of the Ukrainian Steppe.

The linguistic evidence speaks strongly for the Baltic Plain, especially the Pripyat region, which is still the chief breeding ground for European water-fowls—geese, storks, etc. And the recent excavations at Gnezdovia in White Russia may throw up some valuable IE evidence.

The Ukrainian Steppe seems to have been known to the IE-speakers as Maroos, a meaning 'borderland' in the older Germanic languages, 'field, earth' in Swedish, 'prairie' in Armenian. If the original sense is 'wild, wilderness', we may add Greek παγες, 'wild, furious.'

Apart from the absence of the IE trees in the steppe regions, such vegetation as there is does not include either the heather or the lady's bedstraw. Here is Cornicis's list of Ukrainian Steppe plants in order of frequency: Festuca ovina; Stipa pennata; Stipa capillata; Trifolium subterraneum; Lotus corniculatus; Kochienia crassifolia; Kochienia faginea; Kochienia crassifolia; Convolvulus repens; Kuckniera cristata; a species of Curca, Statice talarica and Lolium; Thymus marshallianus; Salvia verticillata and matricaria; Linaria vulgaris; Artemisia austriaca; Pyrenchnum mollissimum; Centaurea scabiosa; Sonchus asper; Medicago sativa; Euphorbia gerardiana and limifolia; Dianthus gutatus and capitatus; Althaea verna. This list occurs in his Beiträge zur Kenntniss des russ. Reiches, 1836, Vol. 2, to which Teetzmann adds Achilles millefolium, Vicia cracca, Taraxacum germanicum, Salvia pratensis, and Salvia cali.

As to the alleged separation of IE-speakers into centum and satem groups this is quite invalid; the lost of the satem distinction is a local characteristic of no more significance than the loss of English initial h south of the Border. One might as well divide off the languages which distinguish b from bh (Indic, Greek, Latin, and Armenian) from those that do not (Persian, Baltic, Slavonic, Albanian, Celtic, Hittite, etc.).

The distinction would be equally meaningless as evidence of tribal separation. Moreover there is some evidence to indicate that Tocharian was a satem language, though the palatalizations were not consistently indicated in writing. In Tocharian ox/tax e, es, etc. are sometimes written as o/x, x/ox, etc., which may serve as a witness for the satem type.

Finally, in order to satisfy Mr. Peake's theory, we should have to regard the steppe-dwellers as pro-IE-speakers who, having penetrated into the parklands to the North, became politically and linguistically unified there. A residue of such pro-IE-speakers would then be most probably the ancestors of the Hittites—but this is speculation.

STUART E. MANN

The Council for British Archaeology

Sir,—Archaeologists in Britain, conscious of the problems of the post-war years, have been stock-taking. As a result of bombardment, English cities of known antiquity have had great areas laid waste, London, Southampton, Exeter, Canterbury being outstanding examples, and plans for reconstruction will involve further demolition, etc. Thus the post-war period is now well recognized offers a great opportunity, by the intensive study prior to rebuilding of the remains of ancient structures and stratafied deposits in such areas, of recovering much of the history of our most important urban centres. This opportunity can never recur, for modern methods of construction in urban areas involve greater disturbance and removal of the relics-bearing subsoil. Historically there has been no central organization with a claim to speak authoritatively for British Archaeology as a whole (ranging from the study of Paleolithic Man to that of his Victorian descendant) and the necessity for such an organization was clear. The idea of the Council was first put forward at the first meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and resulted in the formation of a Council for British Archaeology which held its first meeting in March 1944. As at present constituted it consists of upwards of a hundred members, representing national archaeological societies, county and local societies regionally grouped, universities, and museums in which archaeology is taught, national museums, and regional museums; the Council has appointed an executive committee, organized its members into regional groups, and set up consultative panels of experts for periods from the Palaeolithic to the Roman era. It is also inviting the collaboration in an advisory capacity of persons eminent in the natural sciences.

In informing readers of Max of the creation of the Council, I am desired to add that the Royal Anthropological Institute is represented thereon, and that two physical anthropologists have been good enough to serve on the Natural Science Committee of the Council. The Honorary Secretary is Miss K. M. Kenyon, M.A., F.S.A., Institute of Archaeology, Inner Circle, Regents Park, London, N.W.I.

CYRIL FOX
President of the Council

Herdimg and Domestication of Deer.

Sir,—I have read with the greatest interest the paper of Sir John Myres on Nomadism in J.R.A.I., L.XXI. 1940, which gives a most valuable clue to the way we should proceed in the study of the early herding and tame, at the Zoo and at Whipsnade, and also, regarding the former variety, in Scotland, Scandinavia, and Russia.

I am a little doubtful as to the reason why Red and Fallow deer do not seem to have been tamed in days gone by, as the Reindeer was. Reindeer have been domesticated for centuries, and still are. I have seen them with the Lapps in Lapland where they produce meat and an excellent cheese mentioned in the paper which is rather strong and sweet and of a curious chocolate colour. Probably, having been domesticated for so long, they are better milkers than Red or Fallow. But it seems to me that the main reason why these breeds were not domesticated as was the Reindeer, because the latter will flourish in latitudes where other animals will not. Indeed, we found at the Zoo that Reindeer will not thrive unless they have their own natural food. We fed them on clover and they were so greedy and gobbled it up so hard that they died of over-eating, and we had to keep them on low diet in order to make sure that they thrive. Reindeer do not do so well in the southern areas of Norway and Lapland as they do in the north; on the other hand, Red and Fallow deer will not thrive in the north because they are so timid.

In Scotland, Reindeer flourished up to the twelfth century in Caithness and Sutherland, and doubtless they would now. Red deer thrive there now, but they are, as in other parts of Scotland, fed on hay during the winter. But as cattle also flourish in the north as well as the Red and Fallow deer, I doubt if anybody would trouble to domesticate the latter when cattle can be had.

As regards herding, I do not think it would be very difficult to tame Red deer sufficiently to keep them within bounds; indeed, in parks in England they become very tame, and even when turned out in Scotland they keep close to the houses in winter, where they get better food. We had a herd of Fallow deer at home when I was a boy, and although they used to get out occasionally, on the whole they remained in the herd and did not stray overmuch, and as my brother-in-law's place in Devonshire, although the fencing is not particularly strong, they hardly ever stray. So that I rather think they might have been domesticated like the Reindeer, had this been thought worth while.

Regarding Elk, of which I have seen a good deal in Norway and Russia, they certainly do not herd. The bulls, cows, and calves keep together in families, and require a very wide range. Being very strong, they would have made useful draught animals, but we have found at Whipsnade that they do not well in captivity, as they need such a very considerable range. However, they come close to habitations and are not timid. I have been told of their usefulness in the summer even—in the suburbs of St. Petersburg.

[24]
1. A DERRIEN BOAT WITH TWO PALM LEAVES ON THE PROW.
   From a view (No. 59) in the Cairo Museum.

2. PROW OF A CANOE OF THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS, WITH THREE MOOKE-SHAPED ORNAMENTS REPRESENTING PALM-LEAVES.
   After Cook, 1777, Pl. 23. The engraver appears to have misunderstood the artist’s rough sketch.

3. PROW PIECE OF AN OLD MARQUESAS MODEL CANOE, SIDE AND TOP VIEW, TO SHOW THE “TIKI” FIGURES ON THE UPPER SIDE.

4. MARQUESAS ISLANDS CANOE, ENGRAVED AFTER A DRAWING BY HODGES IN 1774.
   From Cook, 1777, Pl. 33. The three uprights in the prow represent palm-leaves; the engraver appears to have misinterpreted this detail in the artist’s drawing.
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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

THE PALM LEAVES ON BOATS’ PROWS OF GERZIAN AGE. By James Horniblow, F.L.S., F.R.A.S.,
Director of Fisheries to the Government of Madras (retired). With Plate B.

In MAN, 1943, 103, I have adduced reasons for the conclusion that the prow of the boat is considered
among many peoples to be the sacred shrine of the vessel’s patron deity whose protective help has been
invoked, and presumably assured, by prayers, incantations, and sacrificial offerings. A suggestion by Mr. G. D.
Horniblow that the presence of tree branches or leaf fronds in many paintings of boats seen upon very
ancient predynastic Egyptian pottery, may have some related significance, has indicated the need to consider
this problem from the angle indicated.

Paintings of this description are first found in crude execution on pottery of Amratian age; two examples
are given by Flinders Petrie in Ancient Egypt and the East (1933), p. 13. In one of these a rude representation
of a pinnate object standing erect is seen just behind the prow; in the other we see it from above—in plan.
By itself this object might be difficult to identify, but on the abundant pottery of the later Gerzian period
drawings of many-oared (or paddled) boats—primitive galleys—are very numerous and on these the prow has
a characteristic decoration, unmistakably intended to represent the gracefully drooping leaf or leaves of some
species of palm. Hence we may rest assured that the Amratian prow-decoration is of the same class: the long
and closely-bent form of the pinnate leaves seen on the Gerzian boats justifies us in identifying the particular
species favoured as the date-palm, for this is the only palm with leaves of this type that is at all common in
Egypt (Plate B, fig. 1).

In these representations of Gerzian boats which are the earlier in date, the palm leaf generally is single;
other this is doubled, and in some drawings, which Petrie says are coarse and debased, the leaves are so multi-
plied as to represent a grove.

There is nothing inherent or obvious in the drawings of these leaves to indicate a reason for their presence.
The idea that they were intended to afford shade to the look-out man has been suggested, but this has little or
nothing to support it; neither are we justified in regarding these branches as a form of primitive sail; propulsion
is satisfactorily indicated by the presence of numerous oars or paddles.

Again, were the leaves not an invariable part of the regular and common equipment of Gerzian boats, it
might perhaps be suggested that their presence indicated that the crew voyaged in peace and not with hostile
intention. But the universality of this emblem precludes any such idea.

The one feature, common to all these pictures of boats, which is of supreme importance, is the invariable
association of the leaf decoration with the prow. Bearing this in mind, coupled with the rejection of previous
explanations as unsatisfactory, we must consider whether the leaf or leaves have some symbolic or spiritual
meaning. Here we seem to be on firmer ground; for parallel instances of similar prow-decoration in recent
times are on record and these are all linked with veneration of the prow as being the abode of the boat’s tutelary
and divine protector. The most notable of these relate to observations made in the Marquesas Islands by
voyagers who touched at the group in the early part of the nineteenth century when sailing through the Pacific
Ocean. These require to be quoted in full.

The first definite reference is in C. S. Stewart’s account of the voyage of the Fancier (1831), Vol. I, p. 243.
Here we find this author stating in the course of a description of an outrigger canoe of the Marquesas Islands that:

‘The low prow, almost on a level with the water line, projected horizontally several feet before the body
of the canoe and terminated in a flat figurehead carved into a hideous face. Between this and the bow, three
green coconut leaves, four or five feet high, were fastened erectly.

The next reference is by D’Urville (1834–35), Vol. I, p. 486, who mentions the same kind of decoration and
prow carving but who gives the number of leaves as “three or four” and the height as “five or six feet.”
Lastly, a view of Tai-o-hae (Madisonville) in the island of Nukuiva in the same group, given in Admiral Porter’s Journal (1822 edn.), Vol. II, opposite p. 15, corroborates the above evidence, for the foreground is an outrigger canoe having a low prow, whereas stand two conspicuous tall pinnate leaves, unmistakably of the coconut palm.

In Cook’s Voyages (1777 edn.), Vol. I, Pl. 33, a canoe is shown having three upright objects upon the projecting flat prow. Each is curved backwards, seimitor-like, at the top, and has two pointed projections on the hinder side of the shaft (Plate B, figs. 2 and 4). These I interpret as intended for the palm leaves mentioned above; probably the artist put them in from memory or he (or the engraver) in some way misunderstood what they really were; or they may have been conventionalized wooden substitutes for the actual objects.

Now, in all examples of Marquesan canoe prow-pieces that have survived, or of which accurate illustrations exist, the fore end is carved into a representation of the face of their great sea-god Tangaroa (or Tana’oa or even Ta’aoas as pronounced by Marquesans), or else a recumbent image of the god is attached to the upper and hinder surface of the prow, thereby incorporating the god’s personality with the boat as its divine patron and protector (Plate B, fig. 3).

This Marquesan custom of decorating the prow with several erect coconut-leaf fronds is evidently of similar significance to that recorded by Gill (1880, 104) who states that the fishermen of Mangai in the Cook Islands would never go to sea at the beginning of the fishing season without first placing in the bows of their canoes a palm frond representing their tutelary deity Mokorio.

The placing of palm leaves upright on the prow, now converted into a divine shrine, seems therefore to be a variation of the Hindu practice noted elsewhere (MAN, 1943, 130) of making offerings to the protective deity, ensnared in the prow, of flower garlands on prescribed days, such as at the time of the monthly full moon; in Java a related practice is sometimes seen (Hornell, 1934, Pl. XLII), evidently a survival in Muhammadan surroundings of a pre-Islamic rite originally performed by the Javanese while still adherents of the Hindu Brahmanic faith.

Concerning the sex of the deity charged with the protection of the ancient Egyptian boats, we may infer by analogy that this was feminine for two reasons; first, because in Hindu India and in Europe alike, ships are considered to be female in consequence of being protected in India either by Sakti deities—wives of the chief Hindu gods—or by some local or village goddess, while in Europe there are many instances, particularly in Italy, where the Madonna, "Star of the Sea," has been endowed with the attributes and duties of some old-time pagan goddess, esteemed of great power locally over the safety of those sea-farers who entrust their lives to her care. The second reason is that in Ancient Egypt the great goddesses were commonly associated with the tree-cult and especially so in the case of Hathor, the earliest and most widely worshipped female divinity before the cult of Isis and her husband-brother Osiris made headway in popular estimation.

In Gerzian times, however, no goddess in particular seems to have been honoured throughout the land by fishermen and the seafaring population. The condition of religious belief was at that time fluid and variable from district to district, and was directly comparable with what prevails in many fishing villages in India at the present day, where each village has its own favourite and beneficent local goddess. Rivalry would occur between followers of each, and when special good fortune attended the voyages and operations of boats placed under any one specific deity, her cult would flourish and extend its bounds far and wide. This fluidity of religious belief in the powers of village goddesses is strongly marked in South India. There, if the goddess of one village fails to protect her adherents from an epidemic in spite of elaborate ceremonies and expensive offerings, the villagers have been known to revile the goddess with lack of power or with inattention to her duties, and they may even go so far as to throw away her image outside of the village bounds; in her place they then install the image of a deity honoured of some neighbouring village which the epidemic may have spared or has treated leniently.

It is noteworthy that none of the drawings of predynastic boats bears any suggestion of an eye or oculus on the bow turned toward the observer. This visual symbol of the divine presence aboard appears to be a later expansion of the basic idea whereby the prow of the boat is made into the dwelling shrine of the protecting deity. Probably the first definite example which has come down to us from Egypt occurs on the biped-masted vessel of Sahure of the Fifth Dynasty; in this we see an eye delicately delineated upon the side of the tall sternhead of what appears to be a sea-going ship of considerable size.

The original reason for placing oculi on the bows of boats seems to have been to indicate that the boat was placed under the protection of a deity, normally feminine, with her shrine located in the bows. To the educated priestly class these oculi were symbols of the watchfulness which the divine protectress was bound to exercise by preventing her "vehicle" from incurring serious danger.

In later times, particularly among the illiterate, these eyes took on two alternative meanings. The earlier took the form of a belief that they were
actually functional, able to see and therefore capable of ensuring the avoidance of dangerous rocks and shoals; in this it paralleled the custom of the ancient Egyptians who furnished the sarcophagus of the mummy with eyes on the outer sides, with the magi intention of enabling the occupant to see his way in the after-world. Modern instances are found in China, where sailors say that, if a ship be without eyes, 'How can see?' Another instance is mentioned by Alvice da Cadamosto in his account of his first voyage to West Africa in 1455, where he records that when he arrived at Cayor, the natives 'thought the eyes painted on the prow of the [Portuguese] vessel were real eyes, by which it saw its way through the water.'

This later and debased idea was to consider the oculus as an amulet, pure and simple, just as the owners of motor-cars in Syria and Palestine place button-shaped glass eyes, about the size of a florin, upon the radiators of their cars as protective amulets; here the action is wholly devoid of religious significance.

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Stewart, C. S., A Visit to the South Seas (1829-30), New York, 1831; London, 1832.

FURTHER DIFFICULTIES OF INDIRECT RULE IN THE GOLD COAST. By C. T. Stone, M.A., Curator of the Anthropological Museum, Achimota College, Gold Coast.

In MAN, 1943, 19, was published an account by Dr. M. J. Field of some difficulties of Indirect Rule in the Gold Coast. In this the author showed how the large military confederacies, originally designed to meet wartime needs only, no longer had reality and were thus poor instruments of Indirect Rule; how small land-owning groups had achieved disproportionate political influence; and how changes designed to redress the balance were objectionable either to the administration or to a section of the people. Dr. Field also questioned whether 'Rule through Chiefs'—with the conflict about the source from which chiefs derive their authority, the people or the government—was the most progressive interpretation of Indirect Rule.

It is this latter question which I wish here to consider a little further. One of the most disturbing factors of the political life of the Gold Coast in the past few years has been the large number of 'stool' disputes. In his first address to the Legislative Council, the present Governor, His Excellency Sir Alan Burns, said, 'As a newcomer to this country I have been struck—and struck with dismay—by the large number of interminable stool disputes which disturb the peaceful life of the community. From inquiries I have made, I learn that within the last ten years no less than 22 Paramount Chiefs have been de-stooled, in addition to 22 others who have abdicated in that period—in most cases in order to forestall destoolment; that seven stools of Paramount Chiefs are now vacant, and that in many States no Paramount Chief has succeeded in maintaining his place on the stool for more than a very short time. In the case of subordinate chiefs I understand that the position is as bad or worse, and since my arrival in the Colony rioting has occurred in small villages over stool disputes. Now I want to make it quite clear that such disorders will not be permitted and will be put down with a strong hand. It is intolerable that the peaceful life of the community should be disturbed by irresponsible minorities or by a few irreconcilables who will agree to no reasonable solution of any problem however trifling. The opening sentence of a report on the Administration of the Colony for 1943 reads: 'The Colony has had a quiet year; out of sixty-three Paramount stools, there are disputes in respect of only six.' Thus a 10 per cent. dispute figure is considered good. It is to put it another way, on the average, every paramount stool suffers from a wasteful dispute every eight or nine years; and individual stools very much more frequently. As such disputes were very rare in the old days, obviously there is something wrong. It is to be welcomed that a new Native Authority Bill is shortly to be introduced to speed up, it is hoped, the settlement of stool disputes, but the question cannot be solved on the political plane alone. Not only are the people not to be blamed for all these stool disputes, but social upheavals of this kind are exactly what are to be expected as a result of the rapid change in material culture and economic structure which has taken place in the country over the last few decades.

References has already been made to the conflict

4 Appendix to the Governor's Speech opening the Estimates Session of the Legislative Council, 1943, Government Printer, Accra.
4 'Intensification of faction within communities and jealous rivalry between them are typical social reactions to the economic change where there is little grasp of the nature and long-term effect of the forces involved.' Derryl Forde, Education and the Community in Africa, Nature, Vol. 153, 21 May, 1944.

* MAN, 1943, 69.
between the native theory that chiefs derive their authority from their people, and the Government theory, or at any rate, what works out as the actual practice, that they derive it from the Government. This conflict is all-important, but the matter goes even deeper than this, and here a comparison with the development of the Athenian state out of the Attic clan organization may be helpful.

It is little more than a generation since the African villager lived in a small, practically closed society in which status and obligations were determined by a network of local and personal relations. Two things characterized pre-European society in the Gold Coast—social systems grouped on a kinship basis, and an economy not founded on money: institutions well adapted to deal with conditions then prevailing, but both inadequate to deal with modern conditions.

In considering the social systems of the Gold Coast and comparing them with the growth of Attic society, we see that in both cases the headships of the clans (or 'chiefs') and officeholders came, in course of time, not to be able to be held by anyone in the clan but only by members of certain families within the clan. Two things then happened in the Attic development—to abbreviate and simplify a long series of changes. The clan-heads or chiefs combined against their clans to form a land-owning aristocracy, while the influence of trade and the sale and acquisition of land tended to mix up the members of the different clans to an unprecedented degree. Both factors struck at the clan system, and both called for a central administration. Now in the Gold Coast it is trade which has given rise to the change-over to a centralized form of government. Pre-European trade was not sufficient to demand a central government; the centralizing factor was war, but that was also a dividing factor. The European nations came for trade, and after a time found they had to set up governments to protect it. Furthermore, the central government is territorial in its organization. Its big units are the Colony, Ashanti, and the Northern Territories, and its small units the Districts with Commissioners at their head. Thus this organization by locality and not by kin, imposed by an external power, is an even heavier blow to the clan system than what it would have received had it developed gradually by a series of internal modifications on the Attic model. Until this is realized, it does not become apparent how the central government, by its very existence, automatically strikes at the Chief system as at present organized on a clan basis. There is in any case irreconcilable opposition between gentile (i.e., based on the gens or clan) society and the state.7

At Athens, the clan-heads or chiefs, having combined to form a central administration, became 'estranged' from their people; sometimes they were deposed, but more often, by their control of 'justice,' religion, and the central government, strengthened themselves to keep their position against the will and interests of their people. In the old working of the clan-system there had been no such conflict—as there used not to be in the Gold Coast, or, if it did arise, organization was such that it could be easily dealt with. But in the Gold Coast we have now reached a similar position of conflict between people and chiefs; chiefs are no longer the representatives of clans in the way that they used to be, although that is still the basis on which they are elected; they are the tools of the central government for a certain locality. Naturally, with their changed status, just as with the change in the status of the clan-heads of the Athenians, they are no longer accepted in the same way by the members of the clan. There are even cases where there is a chief gazetted by government but ignored by the people, and an 'unofficial' chief whom they regard. It is notorious how the knowledge of the backing of the government may embolden a chief to do things he would not have dared to do in the old days. At Athens, the conflict was not settled until Cleisthenes based the whole fabric of administration on the territorial unit of the deme instead of on the outworn kinship units, still nominally surviving but useless as political bodies.

The second characteristic of the social systems of the Gold Coast was that they were founded on an economy without money. This meant that there was a definite limit to the amount of wealth anyone could accumulate. Chiefs were forced by economic circumstances to add the enjoyment of munificence to that of wealth. There was no well-developed system of credit. Now at Athens the setting up of the central government came at about the same time as the introduction of money; the coalition of clan-heads or chiefs was able to strengthen its hands yet further by gaining control of the greater part of all the easily negotiable wealth of the country by collecting into its hands most of the actual money. The weapons used were usury and securing the person for debt.

Now it happened that in the Gold Coast the setting up of a central government coincided, as at Athens, with the introduction of money. Many thinking people in the Gold Coast have been worried by the growth of a class-consciousness which was not there before, and by the growth of indebtedness. These are simply direct results of the introduction of a money economy, which makes it so much easier for the

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7 Engels, op. cit.
possessors of wealth to get more and for the poor to grow poorer. Moneylenders in the Gold Coast are still able to charge rates of interest which seem to the modern European as fantastically exorbitant as do the ancient Attic rates. So in the Gold Coast is beginning the growth of classes entirely unconnected with the old kinship system. At Athens, the moneyed classes had their interests directly represented in the government, and the unmoneyed were at their mercy before the time of Solon. In the Gold Coast the moneyed folk have a certain amount of representation in the central Government, and the unmoneyed very little. Yet the unmoneyed are better off than under the pre-Solonian Athenian system, as justice is more impartial, there is no enslavement for debt, and the central government, chiefly through its District Commissioners, regards itself in some measure as a 'protector of the poor.' On the other hand, the financial interest which really is represented in the government, although rarely allowed to become obvious, is the money of foreign investors. There is thus in any case no room left open for a real functioning of the clan system, for money has introduced powerful new influences superseding those of the clan. That some of the older generation have an idea of what is happening can be gathered from remarks like that of the elders who say, 'It is money that is spoiling our towns.' A subsidiary effect of the introduction of money affects the stool question in yet another way. It has turned some stools into profitable speculations and greatly increased the scale and incidence of bribery to secure office—yet another factor striking at the original smooth working of the system.

There is thus a fundamental fact which has been disregarded in the system called 'Indirect Rule'—the most economical and relatively efficient temporary expedient for getting the framework of modern administration of law and order established in areas formerly disturbed or not yet 'opened up,' but which has been sanctified as a system of permanent values in all areas and which on no account must be violated! This fundamental fact is, that government based on a clan system does not, and cannot, work under modern methods of production and exchange. Government based on a clan system works admirably at certain stages of economic development, but to try to perpetuate and develop an administration based on a clan system is to ignore the fact that the corresponding stage of economic development is past. That certain types of social organization are linked with certain types of production and exchange is a fact which seems to have been overlooked. Social organization, Type A, functioning smoothly for production Type A, cannot be made to function smoothly for production Type B. A centralized government, and cash-crop production exchanged for imported manufactures under a money economy, cannot fail to strike at the roots of the clan system: and yet it is the central government which is doing all in its power to bolster up a native administration founded on this tottering clan basis, while by its own very nature it is itself doing most to destroy it. There would thus seem to be an inherent contradiction in a central government supporting a clan-based native administration.

The strengthening and increasing the functions of the native administrations is a laudable attempt to link more centralized government with existing social structures, but it is difficult to see just what is going to be the relationship between the territorial central government and the clan-based native administrations, and whether a struggle between the two can be avoided. Unless the new occupations, rewards, and demands are linked to social forms which can both ensure group benefits and security, and harness individual effort to social ends, the period of adjustment from the old tribal life to a social equilibrium consistent with the new economics will be marred by social conflict. This is just what is happening for the 'social forms' of the clan-based chief and office-holder system are not merely unfitted to give a grasp of the new duties assigned to them, but also they do not harness individual effort to social ends.

From this it would appear that it is necessary for changes in the 'social forms' to take place, and for native administration to be placed, not on a kinship, but on a territorial basis. A move in that direction has already been made in the larger towns by the creation of Town Councils, organizations on a local basis brought into being to run modern municipal machinery, because the still-existing clan-based native administration is not so well fitted to do so. Can such a change, to place native administration on a territorial basis, be initiated by the Government? And is it best made in a manner that will avoid, or create, the duality of authority such as has been brought about by the Town Councils?

On the one hand: 'In certain respects native custom is fluid, and shows a great capacity for adjustment to external influence. Experience has shown that a custom which results from administrative or legislative measures, can in certain conditions be as well established, and as readily accepted, as one which has a deep-seated basis in tradition.'

No. 20  

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[For the method, see Leonard Barnes The Duty of Empire, Gollancz, 1929, and Empire or Democracy, Gollancz, 1936.

8. The gentle (i.e. clan-based) constitution is absolutely irreconcilable with a money economy,' Engels op. cit.


10. Daryll Forde, op. cit.

11. Lord Hailey, Man, 1944, 5.


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On the other hand, to bring about such a change, even if it is an insurance against greater social upheavals in the future, is bound to arouse opposition at first, particularly in those quarters where it strikes at ancient privilege. The kinship basis of the chieftaincy is inseparable from the religious beliefs of the people and the importance of ancestors. These religious beliefs are already being undermined by contemporary conditions, but even so there is considerable difference in this respect between one area and another, and very careful investigations would be needed to gauge the opposition beforehand, and to give the data for framing the change by a series of stages (almost certainly not the same for every area), calculated to give the least offense. A sense of history, a sound ethical code, and a fair mind, on which the British traditions of public administration...

11. It is a matter of the greatest practical importance for any governing authority to learn what principles determine the "hard" or resistant, and the "soft" or yielding points of its own and of alien cultures. They can be discovered only by well-directed and patient team research." Professor F. C. Bartlett, C.B.E., F.R.S., Hurley Memorial Lecture, 23 November, 1943 (summarized in MAN, 1944, 11).

13. Lord Hailey, op. cit.

SOME SURVIVALS OF ANCIENT IBERIA IN MODERN SPAIN. By Luis Araquistain; (cf. Summary, MAN, 1944, 61).

21 A French archaeologist, Déchelette, once wrote that the caves of Altamira were the "Sistine Chapel" of quaternary art. We may also say that a great part of contemporary Spain is an immense and living "British Museum" where countless customs, usages, and institutions dating from the remotest human ages are still exhibited. To complete the sentence of Déchelette we could add that Spain and the South of France were the Riviera of quaternary man. When the north and the centre of Europe became uninhabitable in the periods of glaciation, especially the last, the survivors must have taken refuge on the slopes and valleys of the Pyrenees, where the climate was more temperate. In addition there were natural caverns where the men of Cromagnon and Altamira could also adumbrate the first manifestations of human art, in the rock-paintings in these caves.

In the period following the last glaciation, Spain must have been also an attractive country for men burnt by the high temperatures of Africa, who looked north of the Straits for a milder climate, especially when the Sahara was drying up. Bosch Gimpera believes that the first culture in the South of Spain was Capsian and that it was later overrun by the ruder race which came from the Sahara borders, the men of Almería discovered by the brothers Siret. Spain was, and still is, the paradise of the caveman. The great number of Spanish towns and villages into the names of which the word cueva or cuevas, "caves," enters.

gives an idea how rich Spain was, and is, in natural dwellings. You find those names in almost all provinces, and in many of them they are repeated.

But Spanish prehistoric man did not only live in natural caves. He was also a skilful builder of artificial dens. The most remarkable are those of Bocairente (Valencia) and Perales del Tajñia (Madrid). The caves of Bocairente look like a "skyscraper" of prehistoric architecture, such as their height. Other artificial caves are in Palmella (Portugal), Gandia (Valencia), San Vicente de Pollema (Menorca), Marquinex (Alava) and Salas de los Infantes (Burgos). Generally they are on a rock close to a river, and at a considerable elevation, with the evident purpose of being insulated and protected against wild beasts and wild men. Some of them have different levels or floors which communicate with each other through holes inside the caves, and with the exterior through windows.

This type of prehistoric cave-dwelling survives to-day to a degree unsuspected by those who only know the great urban centres of Spain. In fact, troglodytic life was never interrupted in the Iberian Peninsula. Plutarch, in his Life of Sertorius, says that "the Characitanians... are a people beyond the river Tagus, who inhabit neither cities nor towns, but live in a vast high hill, within the deep dens and...

José Ramón Méhida: Iberia Arqueológica: anti-Romanos. 1908, pp. 29-30, plates ii and iii.
"caves of the rocks." In caves (writes Torres Balbás, a Spanish folklorist) lived people in many districts during the Middle Ages; in caves must have lived the monks of Albeda (Logroño) at the time when that monastery reached its highest splendour. Indeed, many monasteries in Spain, especially in the Pyrenees, were originally caves, and under the name of esta cueva ("this cave") they are referred to in the old histories of the Spanish Church describing the times following the Saracen invasion.

Many thousands of Spaniards live in caves to-day. Of the 30,000 population of Guadix (Granada) one-third at least live in caves and have even a church underground. At the foot of Sierra Nevada, to the south of Granada, there are many lodgings of this kind. British travellers know well the caves of Albaicín, a suburb of Granada inhabited by gipsies. There are inhabited caves in Iznájar (Córdoba). Almería is perhaps the Spanish province with the largest troglodyte population. A whole suburb in the capital, near the port, is underground. Some of the caves, like the Cueva de Vera, are old Arab dwellings. In some places they have not only underground churches but also underground taverns. Contemporary troglodytes enjoy all the gifts of civilized life.

In the province of Valencia there are caves in Burjasot, Godella, Rocafort, Moncada, Bonrepós, Benicarló, Paterna, Ribarroja, Villamarchante, Bétera. In Castellón, to the north of Valencia, are the caves of Aminomá.

In the steppe districts of the province of Toledo the following towns have inhabited caves: Villacauñas, Quero, Romeral, La Guardia, Ontigola. In Villacauñas the sanctuary of the Martyr Child is in an enormous cave.

About Navarre, in the Western Pyrenees, we have exact statistics. In the town of Milagro 35 per cent. of the total dwellings are caves; in Valtierra, 27 per cent.; in Arguedas, 30 per cent.; in Andosilla, 10 per cent.; in Peralta, 20 per cent.; in Azagra, 20 per cent.; in Sotogrande and Caparros, 20 per cent. In the same province Burjel, Lodos, Lerín, Los Arcos, Murillo el Fruto, Funes, Falces, Carcar, and Sosma have inhabited caves.

Another province rich in troglodyte population is Aragón. Calatayud had whole quarters, with 20 per cent. of the total population, until a few years ago; this proportion decreased lately owing to improvement in the peasants' living conditions. There are inhabited caves in Salas del Jálón, Epila, Arias, Aniñon, and in many villages bordering the river Jalón. Many are also found in the basin of the river Ebro, in Cervera, Alfaro, Albalat. Among the remains of a Celtiberian or Roman town, near Cervera del Río Almanzor, there are over thirty artificial caverns.

It is a striking fact that in the troglodytic geography of Spain the provinces which have more inhabited caves are precisely those nearer to the two centres where the first Spanish prehistoric cultures flourished: the Pyrenean and Cantabrian mountains and Almería. Unconsciously the present inhabitants of these provinces continue a dwelling tradition which goes back to the men of Altamura and the men of Gelas and Sahara.

Life in these contemporary caves has of course little in common with the prehistoric. Many of the caves in the South of Spain are clean and gay, decorated with flowers and beautiful well-polished kitchen utensils of copper, as is to be expected from a race endowed with highly artistic feeling. Some of them are even luxurious; one in Guadix cost 25,000 pesetas. But in general they are the expression of extreme poverty and of the amazing capacity which the Spaniards have of falling in and adapting themselves to the most primitive forms of existence.

Another example of relapse into primitivism is in the Jurdas, a barren district in the province of Caceres, in the west. Until a few years ago these people were almost as unknown as the most hidden tribes of Central Africa, Madoz describes the Jurdanos in his Diccionario Geográfico in the following terms: "They know no religion. Their neglected and almost savage customs, the abjectness and the indolence produced by misery, the insufficient number of priests and absolute lack of medical men among them, make them immoral in the highest degree. They live in a state of brutal license, with no guide but their ignorant caprice, boasting in their inordinate passions of a lust without control, and committing the most atrocious crimes, including parricide and polygamy."

The Jurdanos do not know the cart or any kind of wheeled vehicle. They keep very few domestic animals. The man who owns a mule is considered a wealthy person. Hardly a tree is seen in the valleys or in the rocky mountains which surround the villages and isolate them from the rest of the world like a huge natural wall. The Jurdanos suffer from chronic ill-health and misery. Few eat wheat bread. Along the narrow roads beggars are seen with a sack on the back carrying the pieces of brown stale bread which they collect in the neighbouring villages of Las Batuecas, a

* Leopoldo Torres Balbás: La vivienda popular en España en Folklore y Costumbres de España, Barcelona, 1933. III, p. 201.
* Torres Balbás: op. cit., p. 298. The following facts are taken from the same work.

district not so poor, which they sell to the wealthier Jurdanos. These beggars are called 'bakers.' The only products of this distressed territory are rye, chestnuts, wax, and honey. These people seldom leave their country, and when they do, most of them return, as if mysteriously drawn to their miserable land and their rude customs.

Legendre, a Frenchman who has written a voluminous and very scholarly book on the Jurdus, says that this population can only be a population of refugees, of beaten men, of outlaws. That may be true. In a country like Spain which has suffered so many invasions, so many wars, so many racial, political, and religious persecutions, it is only natural that some human groups must remain, isolated by the hatred or fanaticism of the others or by their own fear or love of liberty. In Navarre there is one of these groups called the opotes—a strange race of blond people with blue eyes, perhaps a remainder, as some believe, of the Visigoths after the fall of their monarchy. It is also possible that some of the population living in caves, and others who, like the Jurdanos, cling to distant mountains, are the descendants of men at loggerheads with the law, or of beaten races which preferred poverty and freedom to the golden cage of submission and servitude.

Spanish individualism is often a sort of escape from the conquerors who have dominated the country in all times. Nowhere has the primitive and vanquished population shown a stronger and more constant resistance than in Spain. This may be another sign of primitivism, but it is a fact which must be taken into account. Perhaps in this stubborn primitivism lay also the roots of two phenomena so typical of Spain: Spanish anarchism and Spanish brigandage. Anarchism is powerful in Spain not only because its trade-unions include the poor and unskilled workers, in a country where the majority of the working-men are unskilled and poor, but also because most Spaniards are anarchists at bottom—they hate the State from bitter historical experience. Until a few years ago Spanish bandits were also a very popular institution. The man who se echaba al monte, who took to the mountains, meaning that he became a brigand, was considered as a hero—he was the ideal enemy of a hated State. If Spain had bandits at all times who were always so difficult to suppress, it was due to the great popular favour they enjoyed. Both brigandage and anarchism are most likely survivals of prehistoric and ancient fights and resentments between the numerous races which disputed the territory and dominion of Spain.

To come back to the prehistoric abodes, as there is another type in Spain well worth mentioning. It is apparently the first kind of house which man ever built in the open. These buildings are circular. Many remains of this architecture have been discovered in Portugal, Asturias, Argecilla (Guadalajara), Sabadell (Barcelona), Coruña (Tarragona), Gerace, and Tres Cabañas (Almeria). They are generally found in the Spanish castros and the Portuguese citâns, fortified towns which were erected on a hill or close to a river, in positions chosen for their natural defences, and reinforced in addition by walls and fosse. From time immemorial the Spaniards have built many of their towns with a military design, a first indication of the dangers in which they lived and of the fighting spirit required to survive as free men.

In some parts of Spain, especially in the north-west, such round houses are still being built. In Galicia they call them pellazas or pellugas. There are many in Cebrero, Ancares, and other places in the province of Lugo. The circular base has a diameter from 10 to 20 metres, and they have a very high conical roof of straw. They are excellent shelters in the winter. In Cebrero for instance, which has, an altitude of 1,293 metres above sea-level and is surrounded by mountains covered with almost perpetual snow, the average temperature in winter in the open air is 11° C. Inside the huts the constant temperature is of about 14° C., thanks to the fire which is kept burning and thanks also to the heat-preserving straw and to the very little fresh air entering from outside. The smoke goes out through a small hole in the roof. There are two or three small windows, but most of the time closed. The only ventilation and the only natural light come through the door, which in winter is very seldom open. There, around the common hearth, are piled up men and beasts, enveloped in smoke and among heaps of manure, living happily, though not on a much higher level than their prehistoric ancestors who first invented and used these round houses.

Of all the Spanish survivals perhaps the most enigmatic is represented by the Basques. They are very proud of their old democracy, which, they think, could serve as a model even to nations politically more advanced. There is, however, another peculiarity of which the Basques should feel prouder. A democracy, after all, means the pre-existence of some sort of State, but what differentiates the Basques not only from the rest of the Spaniards but also from the rest of the Europeans is that they are older than any State, much older than what we call democracy. Their history is very short, and their literary civilization is still shorter. Their historical record does not go very far, and they have written and printed very little in Basque. The first Basque book—some poems of devotion—was printed in 1545. There is also a Basque edition of the New Testament published in

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8 Legendre, op. cit., p. 883.

It has even been claimed that some words in European languages were borrowed from Basque, for instance, English axe, German axt, Spanish hacha, French hache, Italian ascia, should all come from the Basque ertz, a pre-Aryan root, which, if the theory were true, would show that the Basques once extended very far from the Pyrenees. Another word quoted is ezpata, both a sword and an agricultural instrument (in some places of the Basque country the scythe is called ezpata), from which the English spade and the German Spaten could be derived. But this sort of philological Pan-Basquism tries perhaps to go too far, and we shall leave it there. The positive fact is that linguistically the Basques are still living in a stone age.

It is only natural that in a language with such a rich stone-vocabulary many words should be missing, to name things less hard. It has, for instance, no abstract names like 'colour', 'body', 'tree', and 'animal'; the words used, kolore, garpatza, arbola, alimaita, are not Basque but Latin. There is no name for 'sister' in general; only arreh, who is the sister of a man, and aizipta, the sister of a woman. There are no Basque words for 'heaven,' 'hell,' 'law,' 'king,' 'queen,' 'count,' or 'marquis.' Nor, of course, for a so belated institution as democracy. Every idea of the State and its organs was strange to the Basques: they did not live in villages, but in isolated houses scattered over the slopes of the hills, and their agricultural population still lives there; their only organized society was the family.

They have no words for 'soul' or 'god'—Jaungoikoa, the nearest name for 'God,' means 'the Lord of above,' probably a late transposition of the earthly lordships in feudal times to the heavenly kingdom. One still hears in the Basque country of an awe-inspiring entity, the Batu-xaus, the 'lord of the forest,' a sort of Hercean devil. Of all Spaniards the Basques remained pagans longest. According to the Life of Saint Amand, written about A.D. 670, they believed at that time in auguries and worshipped idols. The Basque witches, famous in the history of the Spanish and French Inquisition as late as the seventeenth century, were perhaps a survival of this old paganism, and their memory is still kept with more admiration than abhorrence. As a child I well remember an old woman close to the fire, in the long winter evenings, speaking about the aqelarres or assemblies of witches on Saturday nights in Zuggarramurdi, a well-known Basque country place where the devil came to meet his worshippers. The tales were
so exciting and realistic that they used to make my hair stand on end.

There is another survival of prehistoric cults which a year or two ago caused some trouble to a Basque boy who came from South America to fight for Great Britain. When his luggage was inspected at the custom-house, an alarming emblem, embroidered on a piece of underwear, was discovered: it was a swastika. Naturally he was taken for a Nazi or a friend of the Nazis. Asked to explain how he could reconcile the use of a Nazi symbol with his coming to fight for this country, he simply said that the swastika was not Nazi but Basque. He told the truth, as was soon verified after archaeological inquiries. It is a well-known fact that a curved swastika has been found in many places of the Basque country. What is less well known is that one type of the Basque swastika represents perhaps the most primitive form of that mysterious sign. It is a tetraskelio engraved on a stele found in Santacara (Navarre), now in the Pamplona Museum. Another was discovered in Santa Ana de Camañas (Iruñel), a territory of the old Vascones. This is a figure of four human legs bent by the knees and joined together at the base of the thighs. The angles of the knees and of the feet make a perfect swastika. Apparently the coat of arms of the Isle of Man and the coat of arms of the house of Dreifus in Mulhausen, Upper Alsace, have a triskele, a similar figure, but with three legs only. It has been said that the two Spanish tetraskelies with four legs are the only ones known in the whole world. Gandia, an Argentine historian and archeologist, believes that this human swastika is the original form of the linear or schematized swastika—a pre-Aryan symbol belonging to the neolithic people of which the Basques are the only survivors: the Basque boy was fully entitled to say that his swastika was Basque and not Nazi.\(^{13}\)

The Basques still till the land with the laga, a big iron fork with two points. Originally it was probably made of stone or perhaps of wood like the stick for digging used in Peru, called tacele, and the bidens has employed by the Romans. In any case the laga must have preceded the invention of the plough and the domestication of draught-animals. Even to-day most of the Basque peasants prefer to apply their own bodies to the hard job of moving the earth with the laga than to use a pair of oxen or mules to draw a plough. They work in rows of three, four, or five persons, placing the weakest, generally women, in the middle. The Basque etcheo-andria: the woman of the house, is not only the companion of man in all his labours, like most women in all Spain, but also the manager of his business and the keeper of his purse. Basque men are terrible gamblers and the women have

to keep a vigilant eye on them. Contrary to current ideas the Basque country and Spain in general is rather a gynaeocracy, a land ruled by women.

The actual technique of agriculture is still very primitive all over Spain. The English traveller Joseph Townsend describes the ploughs used by the Spaniards at the end of the eighteenth century and gives interesting pictures of them in the third volume of his Journey through Spain. In the province of Granada he found the land tilled with wooden ploughs, as in Egypt some thousands of years ago. We have not advanced much since then. Machinery is still seldom employed in land work. Our methods are more or less the same as those of the prehistoric Iberians in Almeria, very likely the first people who brought agriculture from Africa and perhaps taught it later on to the Pyrenean tribes, the ancestors of the present Basques.

The two most significant Iberian survivals illustrate characteristics of Spanish religion and war. The most striking remains of Iberian devotion are the sanctuaries excavated in the Cerro de los Santos (the 'Hill of the Saints' in Albacete), and in Castellar de Santisteban and Despeñaperros, in Sierra Morena (Jaén). Many more have been found, but these three are the most important: in Castellar de Santisteban over 1,500 statuettes, and in Despeñaperros over 2,000, many of them in bronze. This district was very rich in metals, which explains the countless battles fought there, and also the material of many statuettes.

The opinion expressed in 1906\(^{14}\) by Horace Sanders that these statuettes were not divinities but votive offerings has been accepted by archaeologists. Many of the small sculptures are legs, arms, hands, and female breasts, probably symbols of diseased organs, offered in gratitude for, or in hopes of recovery. We find similar dedications in some modern shrines. And as at Lourdes, close to these Iberian sanctuaries there are also one or more springs to which some curative powers were probably attributed. Many of the bronze statuettes represent armed warriors on foot or on horseback, and we may suppose that such offerings were made to propitiate the deity before a battle, to thank it for a victory, or to ask for the healing of a wound received in battle.

The gods of these sanctuaries are anonymous. In fact till the Roman domination the Iberian Olympus knew very few names. Strabo says that the Galicians had no religion, and that the Celtiberians and their neighbours to the North (perhaps the old Vascones, the Navarrese of to-day) made sacrifices to an unknown divinity on the nights of full moon, in front of their

\(^{13}\) Gandia, pp. 141-2.

\(^{14}\) Horace Sanders, 'Pre-Roman Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros, in the Sierra Morena, Spain,' Archaelogia, 15, p. 91.
doors, and spent whole nights dancing with their families.\textsuperscript{15} Macrobius mentions an Iberian god called Netum, a sort of Mars worshipped by the Acetanis, the old inhabitants of present Cádiz.\textsuperscript{19} Strabo does not name that god, but perhaps he refers to him or to a similar one when he says that the Lusitanians sacrificed to Mars back, prisoners of war, and horses. The soothsayers inspected the entrails of the prisoners, and gave their auguries.\textsuperscript{37} There are some grounds for believing that the Celtiberians also made human sacrifices: a stone was found in the province of Soria which seems to have been used for that purpose. Another Lusitanian god was Endovelleco; he had a sanctuary on the hill of San Miguel de Mota, near the village of Alanduro (Alentejo). The votive offerings found here suggest that he too was a god of healing, like those of Spanish sanctuaries.\textsuperscript{18} But we know very little about the primitive religions of the Spaniards.

The transition from the pre-Roman and Roman cults to Christianity must have been rather slow in Spain, especially in the North and the West. In many cases the old idols and places of worship changed their names, but hardly anything else. Some prehistoric monuments became in time Catholic churches. A dolmen in Sines (Alentejo, Portugal), where it was believed that the body of Saint Torpes lay buried, was transformed later into a church. There are other dolmens which are used for pagan practices, for instance that of Pinhel (Portugal): the Portuguese peasants go to it to burn the first-fruit and predict, through the direction of the smoke, whether the next crop will be good or bad.\textsuperscript{19} In Mellid (Coruña) there was a big stone around which the Galician peasants assembled to appoint a chief for war against the Moors; he was chosen by throwing dice upon the stone. Later, when the church of San Sebastián was built at the entrance of the village, that stone of fortune became its altar. Commenting on this fact, Menéndez y Pelayo, the great Spanish Catholic scholar, says: "That stone must have been consecrated to divination from ancient times, and no doubt to blot out such a memory it was used for the altar of the neighbouring church."\textsuperscript{37}

Father María Sarmiento, a writer of the eighteenth century, reports a most barbarous custom about a rock existing in front of the little church of Saint William, Fincisterre (Coruña). It was (he says) a sort of stone bed where childless husband and wife used to sleep, but the thing was so indecorous that, after a (episcopal) visit, order was given to remove that big stone or bed, the visits also ceasing.\textsuperscript{21}

The majority of contemporary Spanish sanctuaries are erected on top of the mountains and often close to a spring. Some of them are in the same place or not far from old sanctuaries, which would suggest religious continuity. Near the ancient sanctuary of Cerro de los Ángeles stands today the sanctuary of Our Lady of Consolation, very popular in that district. Some years ago the French archaeologist, Pierre Paris, pointed to the connexions between the old and the new cults: "as Our Lady of Consolation has no doubt taken the place of some ancient pagan divinity, all around the old walls of her house still older ones are seen."\textsuperscript{22} In a very curious and rare book, written by Juan de Salazar, a Spanish cardinal of the seventeenth century, to prove that the apostle Saint James went and preached in Spain, he mentions, among several famous sanctuaries of his time, one consecrated to the "Virgin of the Head" in Sierra Morena, the chain of mountains where two Iberian sanctuaries have been found.\textsuperscript{23} I do not find this "Virgin of the Head" among the copious sanctuaries recorded by Valerio Serra y Boldú in his exhaustive work on religious customs.\textsuperscript{24} Perhaps it has decayed or disappeared, but there is no doubt, according to the testimony of Juan de Salazar, that three centuries ago there was a sanctuary in Sierra Morena, perhaps not far from those of Castellar of Santisteban and Despeñaperros.

The Iberian-Roman inscriptions show that there were many local deities (lareae) in Spain. The empirical, realistic mentality of the Spaniard seldom feels at home in the company of an abstract god. He needs concrete, visible, and even palpable representations of divinity. These are the local saints, the equivalent of the Roman-Iberian lareae and of the little-known local gods of the pre-Roman periods. Perhaps the classical writers thought that the Iberians worshipped "unknown gods" because they had no national or general gods, but only local ones, one or two in each village, and as they were so many or so secret Greek and Latin travellers could not detect them or paid no attention to them.

Modern Spaniards are loyal to this tradition. Serra y Boldú records about two hundred Virgins and Saints venerated in Spain at present, but these must be only the most important ones. In the religious geography of Spain there are certainly many more, and I myself remember several not mentioned by that writer. Some old cults have survived. The

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  \item \textsuperscript{15} Strabo, Geography, III, 4, p. 184.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Macrobius, Saturnalia, I, 19, 5.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Strabo, Geography, III, 3, pp. 154-5.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de los habitantes especiales, I (2nd ed.), pp. 344 ff.
  \item \textsuperscript{37} Menéndez y Pelayo, L, p. 108.
  \item \textsuperscript{21} Menéndez y Pelayo, I, p. 122.
  \item \textsuperscript{22} Pierre Paris, Promemoria Arqueológicas en España, 1910, I, p. 96.
  \item \textsuperscript{23} Juan de Salazar, De la vida y predicación de Santiago Zebedeo en España, Madrid, 1617, p. 36.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} In Folcore y Costumbres de España, III.
\end{itemize}
Caliberians held religious dances on full-moon nights (p. 35). There is documentary evidence that Spaniards used to dance in the churches and sometimes in the cemeteries during the Middle Ages and in modern times. The Church authorities tried often to suppress this custom. Two Concilium of the Spanish Church, held in 1365 in Valencia and Salamanca, forbade dancing inside the churches and in front of the saints; the second prohibited every sort of dramatic performance within the churches. These prohibitions must have been quite useless, because as late as 1777 the Government issued a decree ordering the clergy as follows: 'Do not tolerate dancing in the churches, in the porches, in the cemeteries, or in front of the images, when for that purpose they are taken out to other places under the pretext of commemorating their festivities.'

All in vain. In the provinces of Asturias, Segovia, and others the young people still dance to-day with typical Iberian frenzy in front of the saints during the processions. Spaniards do not refrain from dancing even before the dead. In some places of the Eastern provinces, when a child dies, his family and the neighbours dance around the corpse. As once a stranger expressed his astonishment in looking at such a contradictory show, one of the family explained it to him pointing to the dead child: 'He is now with the angels.'

The aims of the prayers have changed a little. The progress and diffusion of medicine have reduced perhaps the number and importance of the healing sanctuaries. On the other hand there are to-day more rain-making sanctuaries than in old times. To the primitive pastoral economy water was not so vital as to husbandry. In many parts of Spain it either rains too little or too torrentially. Both extremes require human or superhuman help. Where no irrigation or dam works exist, men appeal to supernatural powers. When the river Guadalquivir overflows, the Andalusian peasants go in procession to the Virgin of Fuen-
santa (Córdoba) and pray her to bring the waters back to their bed. But drought is a much wider calamity in Spain, and this explains the great number of rain-making sanctuaries.

The procedure is sometimes very complicated. Valerio Serra y Boldú describes as follows the ceremonies practised by the peasants of Riner (Lérida, Catalonia). When the drought has lasted over-long, the town council asks the priest to make public prayers for rain. Prayers take place during three successive holidays, and if unsuccessful, during three more. If this also fails, the resolution is taken to go in procession to the sanctuary of the Miracle, near Riner, and an official letter signed by the priest and the mayor of Riner is sent to four neighbouring towns called the Quatre Castells, asking them to join in the procession. Should there still be no rain after the procession, another resolution is taken called the 'Vote to bring out the Virgin.' The Virgin is then taken down from the altar and undressed by the chief chaplain before four witnesses and the mayor of Quatre Castells. Then all towns and villages in the district are invited to the general procession. On the fixed day all the peasants with their respective clergy meet in the sanctuary and the naked image is carried to a place about three kilometres away, where apparently the Virgin made her first apparition. Half way there is a big stone of three metres long and two metres wide, supported by two columns also of stone, where the image is placed, for all to rest and sing a prayer. This resting stone has all the appearance of being the remains of an old dolmen. When the procession is finished the image is brought back to the sanctuary and replaced on the altar. It is a significant detail that they leave it undressed so long as there is no rain. When at last it rains the chaplain dresses the Virgin again and the long-awaited rain is celebrated with a thanksgiving festival.

I do not know the meaning of this denudation. It may have a compelling purpose. Spaniards are sometimes very exacting with human or superhuman powers in which they lay their hopes. I knew a Spanish woman who had a tutelar saint in her house, and when she asked him for some gift, generally a big lottery prize, and he turned a deaf ear, she used to punish the little lar by putting him head down. The peasants of Riner are not so severe, but hardly more scrupulous in decorum. Anyhow this cult of the rain-making supernatural potencies must also have a long tradition in the Iberian Peninsula, as shown by the fact that some years ago a Portuguese priest destroyed the statue of a Lusitanian warrior in Brielsio, because the peasants flocked in procession to that place and prayed to it for rain. Even Menéndez Pelayo regrets this pious vandalism. With a little tolerance and imagination the zealous priest could have converted the old stone warrior into an excellent rain-making saint.

Spanish bull-fights also have a prehistoric origin as shown by a rock-painting in Navazo (Teruel) where we see an Iberian savage challenging a bull with tremendous horns, in the same attitude as a modern toreador:

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32 Juan Tejada y Ramiro, Colección de cármenes, V, pp. 306 and 325-6.
34 Capmany, II, pp. 321-3.
35 Valerio Serra y Boldú, Folklore y Costumbres de España, III, pp. 591-2 and 599.
36 Menéndez y Pelayo, 1, p. 375.
times a permanent war camp. Every piece of land is a prehistoric armour museum. I have already mentioned the old Iberian fortified towns, the castros and

civitates, which have been found all over the country. The rock-paintings of East and South Spain abound in warriors and scenes of war. The Spanish

sanctuaries, as we saw, were full of votive offerings representing all kinds of warriors. In Spanish tombs few implements of labour have been found, but numer-

ous arms, especially the famous Iberian swords or falcatas. About the nature and rich variety of Spanish panoply, The Weapons of the Iberians by the

British archaeologist Horace Sandars is the best monograph. In Spanish pottery, war is also a favourite subject as shown in the cinerary urn of Marchena (Mureia)

and in the delightful vases of Liria (Valencia).

And history confirms prehistory. Spain is the land of permanent war, either outside or inside the country, either against foreigners or among Spaniards them-

selves. It has always been so and it looks as if it will be so always. Justinian knew well the Spaniards when he wrote that "they prefer war to rest, and if they "have no strange enemy they look for one at home." In fact the Spaniards have fought within their own country much longer than abroad. They fought two centuries against the Romans, while Gaul was domi-

nated in ten years, and almost eight centuries against the Moors, but it is significant that in several cases the invaders were called in by the Spaniards them-

selves. They brought the Romans against the Carthaginians; the Carthaginians were expelled during the second Punic War, but at the same time the Romans conquered Spain and remained there for six centuries. The Arabs came invited by a defeated and resentful political party, and it took eight centuries to throw them back to Africa. Napoleon went to Spain requested by the two parties to a domestic feud which divided the Royal family, as a treacherous ally of both, and it took six years and a European war to force his armies to re-cross the Pyrenees.

After eight centuries of constant wars against the Crescent and among the Christian kingdoms themselves, they went to war for over three centuries almost without a pause to Europe, Africa, and America. When after all this fighting abroad and the Napoleonic war within, Spain seemed to be utterly exhausted, a new cycle of civil wars began, two big ones and countless revolutions in the nineteenth century and again a big one in the twentieth century. The causes of this unparalleled perpetual war are not simple but deep and complicated. They are not, I believe, purely ethnological, although the primitive
love for violence so characteristic of the Spanish temper should be taken into account. Perhaps they are as much sociological, political, geographical, strategic or historical as racial.

Spanish internal strife has often been the prelude to international and decisive wars. Spanish temper and Spain’s geographical position as a strategic key, not to mention her raw materials, have always enticed aggressors and conquerors of all kinds. The ethnological and sociological problems of Spain are also European and world problems.

Some Iberian survivals, then, are not only related to present Spain but may be also related to her future and to the future of the world.

THE STORY OF ZOMBI IN HAITI. By Louis P. Mars, M.D.

The island of Haiti, located in the Caribbean Sea, attracts tourists for many reasons. Perhaps the beliefs and cultural institutions of the Haitian people are of greater interest to visitors than the charm of the physical aspects of the country. Tourists believe that they will be able to see Zombis roaming through the villages and watch the people perform superhuman feats during what are called the vodu dances.

Haiti has often been called the vodu or mysterious island. Many people believe that there are to be found some unusual facts which modern science has not yet been able to explain: for example, the phenomenon of magic and the existence of Zombis.

In Dahomey, West Africa, the word vodu refers to both the worshiping of the spirits and the spirits themselves. In Haiti, the term vodu has the same meaning. In worshipping the vodus the Haitian peasants pay their tribute to those supernatural beings who are the source of good and bad, life and death, disease and health. Those spirits live in the woods, lakes, rivers, and every corner of the earth. They are the intermediaries between God and his creatures. God is too far away to take care of us; he has therefore conferred power upon those spirits to guide us, to give us the spiritual assistance which we want in our everyday life.

Very often it is through the phenomenon of possession that a spirit manifests itself to the devotees during the ceremonies held in the cult-house. Every peasant has a cult-house or an altar in his own home. The ceremonies are performed according to the religious needs of each follower. He consults a priest or hounkan, paying a certain amount of money to the latter. The group is then gathered and the appropriate service takes place.

It is a very serious matter for the Haitian peasant, who sometimes spends more money in the worship of his gods than he does for the necessities of life.

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their masters. Originally these beliefs came from Africa.

I have never met anyone in Haiti who was able to testify to me that he had seen a Zombi. However, I used to hear occasionally that a Zombi was living in a village. In two instances, I discovered afterwards that the hapless persons who were thought to be Zombis were, in fact, insane wanderers who could not identify themselves nor give any information with regard to their past life or their present condition.

The unusual circumstances under which they appeared in the village, their queer behaviour and their unintelligible manner of speech, induced the people, whose minds were already conditioned to superstition, to believe that Zombis were in town.

The following is an account of a specific case which illustrates the observation I have just made.

Early in the morning of 24 October, 1936, in the village of Ennery located in the foothills of the Puybureau mountains near Cap-Haïtien, the entire population was aroused into a tumultuous and frenzied consternation when a woman appeared in the streets clad in ragged clothes. She was old, feeble, and stupified. Her skin was pale and wrinkled and looked like the scales of a fish.

From all appearances, she had been suffering from eye disease for a long time. Her eye-lashes had almost fallen out; she could not bear the glare of sunlight and, to protect her eyes, she had covered her face with a dark dirty rag. This added to the curiosity and superstitions of the people.

A mass hysteria swept through the entire village. Crowds gathered around to see that strange woman. People began to ask questions, to cast suspicions, and to try to identify her with various people who were known to be dead long ago.

One of the families living near Ennery, known as the Mentors, noticed that she bore a close resemblance to one of their members. From that day onward people began to call the strange woman by the name of Felicia Felix Mentor. The Mentors took her to their family home, fed her, and gave her comfortable quarters.

She remained in the Mentor’s home for a few days until the people removed her to a government hospital. She was in the hospital when, a few weeks after, I was sent from the Public Health Department to make an official study of the strange case which by that time was known all over Haiti.

Felicia Felix Mentor, the alleged Zombi under discussion, was not able to give me any information about her name, her age, her birthplace, where she had been previously, where she was going, and how she happened to be in the hospital. All her answers were unintelligible and irrelevant.

Her occasional outbursts of laughter were devoid of emotion, and very frequently she spoke of herself in either the first or the third person without any sense of discrimination. She had lost all sense of time and was quite indifferent to the world of things around her.

Her height was 5 feet 2 inches, and she weighed 90 pounds. She looked like a woman about 60 years old; but after being treated in the asylum for some time under my care, she rejuvenated and looked like a woman of 50.

The evidence which induced the Mentors at first to believe that the strange woman was the member of their family who died long ago became untenable in the light of a scientific study of the case.

At first they had based their belief on the fact that the woman was lame. Before the real Felicia Felix Mentor died, she was lame as a result of a fracture of her left leg.

Her physical appearance and lameness in addition to the deep belief in the country that sometimes the dead come back to life, induced the Mentors to believe that the strange woman was indeed their late sister Felicia.

I made an X-ray examination of both legs at the Central Hospital in Port-au-Prince. There was no evidence of a fracture and the lameness could therefore be attributed to muscular weakness due to undernourishment. This may be said to be the cause since, after she had a normal diet for two months, the lameness disappeared. She also gained weight.

This is evidently a case of schizophrenia and gives us an idea of how cases of similar nature are likely to arouse mass hysteria in a culture where the common people do not usually understand the scientific basis of many natural events which occur in their daily life.

The case under discussion was reported by Miss Zora Neale Hurston in her book Tell My Horse, in which she stated emphatically: ‘I know that there are Zombis in Haiti. People have been called back from the dead.’ This American writer stated specifically that she came back from Haiti with no doubt in regard to popular belief of the Zombi pseudo-science.

In her book, the author described the Felicia Felix Mentor incident as a typical case of a Zombi. Evidently she got her information from the simple village folk, whose minds were conditioned to believing the real existence of a superhuman phenomenon. Miss Hurston herself, unfortunately, did not go beyond the mass hysteria to verify her information, nor in any way attempt to make a scientific explanation of the case.

Evidences from European and other cultures could be found, where whole communities have been aroused into a mass hysteria as a result of the unexpected appearance of queer persons. Such appearances very often rekindled the dying embers of archaic super-
stitions beliefs that were deeply rooted in the traditional culture of a people.

Perhaps extension of the provinces of psychiatry from a study of the individual to a study of the collective behaviour of man may yet reveal to us some of the basic principles underlying the social problems of our time. Certainly, social psychiatry stands a good chance of exploding the ‘Zombi-psychotherapy’ of the untutored Haitian peasant, as well as any similar beliefs entertained in other cultures.

CHANGES IN TRIBAL LIFE IN TRANS-JORDAN.

In Trans-Jordan to-day it is possible to see Arab tribes in every stage of transition from nomadic life to that of settled cultivators. Throughout the centuries of history there has been a constant movement of nomadic tribes from the Arabian peninsula outwards towards the fertile lands which stretch in an arc from the coast of southern Palestine through Trans-Jordan to Syria and then to Iraq where the desert, sea, and sown meet once again at the head of the Persian Gulf.

When these nomads, or bedouin, as they call themselves, first come into contact with cultivators, they prey upon them; next they adopt some of the habits of the despised tillers of the soil, and finally they abandon their roving life and settle on the land, to be replaced in the desert by other tribes which have moved up to fill the void. This process appears to continue indefinitely, to be expedited or retarded by conquests which accompany the rise and fall of empires but never to be stopped entirely.

The following is a brief description of the sequence as seen during the past twenty-six years in Trans-Jordan.

2. The true bedouin lives by raising camels and sheep in a part of the world where nature makes cultivation impossible. He migrates with his herds and flocks in accordance with the existence of water and grazing and, when circumstances permit, he attempts to supplement his income by raiding other tribes or cultivators.

The tribes which frequent areas remote from towns and villages obtain their needs in grain, clothing, coffee, sugar, etc., from itinerant merchants who accept animals or their produce in payment. Other tribes who roam near settled areas themselves market their surplus in the towns and villages and buy their requirements from the cultivators and shopkeepers.

The bedouin, as a rule, despises the villager as being dull, unenterprising, and unwarlike in comparison with himself, but this comparison cannot fail to bring home the realization of the fact that the cultivator lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a diet far beyond the nomad’s standard of feeding. This realization sooner or later gives rise to the question as to why the well fed villagers should not be made to surrender part of their lands so that the bedouin could benefit directly from its produce.

3. The next step is the occupation of cultivable land by the nomadic tribe, forcibly if Government control is weak, by purchase if it is strong. This does not mean any real change in the tribe’s habits, as cultivation is, as yet, only a sideline. The tribesmen may even retain some of the cultivators as partners for the time being.

At that stage the tribesmen are present at harvest time in June and July and, as soon as the threshing is over, they plough and sow next year’s crop and then migrate eastwards with their livestock, not to be seen again until the following spring. This abnormally early sowing has many drawbacks which the nomad soon comes to take into account. If there is early rain, the grain may be germinated only to die of drought before the real rains arrive; even if this does not happen, half of the grain sown will be eaten by birds and insects before it takes root. There is also the possibility that fear of subsequent reprisals will not prevent neighbours from grazing their flocks on the crop when it is still young. Sooner or later the amateur cultivator comes to the conclusion that it will pay him to remain nearer to his land.

4. This entails the first change of habit and means that the radius of the tribe’s migration must be reduced. The restriction of movement means, in turn, that a lesser number of animals can be maintained on the grazing available and, the fewer the animals, the greater the dependence of the tribe on cultivation.

Although it retains its tents and nomadic organization, the tribe soon ceases to move any distance from its lands and it adopts more completely the methods of its sedentary neighbours in the raising of crops. During the first stage any surplus of grain was traded, as soon as the threshing was over, to a local merchant so as to leave the tribe free to move into the desert, but it soon became apparent that these hasty sales were uneconomic. They were made at a time when the price of grain was lowest, and the merchant, who bought so cheaply, insisted on making large profits when it was a question of supplying the tribe with seed and food after a bad year.

5. The tribe then decide that they will store their surplus, both in order to wait for good prices and in order to maintain a reserve under their own control. So they hire builders to erect storehouses near their
There does not appear to be a case of a tribe ever having reversed the process, that is to say, of a tribe which has adopted cultivation reverting to its original mode of life, or of settled people becoming nomads, and it would appear that bedouins who embark on cultivation are taking a road from which there is no return and which will lead ultimately to the termination of their tribal existence.

8. One of the effects of the adoption of cultivation by nomads, which has not yet been mentioned, is the loosening of central authority which becomes evident soon after the tribe commences to change its way of living. True nomads usually acknowledge the authority of a paramount chief who owes his supremacy to his capacity for leadership rather than to descent. This individual authority seems to weaken when the tribe begins to own and till land, and to be replaced by a number of petty chiefs whose jurisdiction over their own followers is anything but unquestioned and who are given to bickering amongst themselves.

9. The reason for this change is evident. As true nomads the tribe moves as a single unit and there is no conflict as between individuals or families in the common quest for water and grazing. The migratory area over which the tribe exercises a shadowy right of ownership could be a matter of contention with a neighbouring tribe, but for the owners its benefits are held in common.

When it comes to owning arable land the position changes. A tribe requires a large area to satisfy its needs, and, that being so, the distances to and from a single camp to the limits of land would be too great. The tendency soon appears to camp in families or sections near conveniently placed cisterns on family holdings. These sub-divisions tend more and more to regulate their own life without regard to the interests of the tribe as a whole. It may often be the case that the requirements of one section clash with those of another and, moreover, it does not follow that the rate of transition from nomadism to cultivation is the same in all sections even if they started together.

The tribal ties, therefore, loosen gradually in so far as the settling of intense and domestic problems are concerned although they may serve to bind the various elements in war politics for long after every other form of tribal co-operation has ceased.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS


The People's Republic of Mongolia has maintained since 1936 a Treaty of Mutual Assistance with the U.S.S.R., has its Ambassador and a permanent Trade Representation in Moscow, and some of the young Mongols have studied in the Universities in the Soviet Far East.

In 1925, Outer Mongolia, officially called the People's Republic of Mongolia, sent a trade delegation to Western Europe, domiciled in Berlin. The delegation consisted of two men: Sampson, an agriculturalist, educated in Russia, and his junior colleague, Shilon Hurlat, who had
received technical training in America. On his return to Mongolia, Sungkhal was for a time Minister of National Economy, until a change in the policy of the regime of the country.

The delegation also visited France and Sweden. In the latter country, some purchases were made and a Swedish engineer was employed to work in Mongolia.

The bulk of the purchases and contracts with specialists were, however, effected in Germany. Most of the purchases were technical, such as complete machinery for a brickwork, textile machinery, haulage tractors, spare parts for ploughs, transmission belts, etc. By the same time, specialists were engaged, a mining engineer for prospecting work in Mongolia, a technician to attend to the tractors, and others. The delegation left for Mongolia in the autumn of 1928.

In May 1925 the Minister of Education of Mongolia, Endreni Bankehan, arrived in Germany, together with a group of thirty-five young Mongols (thirty boys and five girls), sent by the Government to study in Western Europe. These young Mongols, 13–17 years old, were formally attending Mongolian schools and were chosen for their general ability. A few students had arrived earlier, and a small number came after, but this was the only time that a whole group was sent to Germany under the supervision of the Mongolian Government. They arrived at the invitation of the German Government but all the expenses were borne by the Mongolian Ministry of Education.

The young Mongols were kept for about six months in a suburb of Berlin, where the rudiments of the German language and other subjects were taught to them, and then five of them went to Paris (Lyceé Michelet) and the others were distributed among boarding schools of general education or technical schools in the vicinity. Each man or went as apprentices to German firms with whom the Mongolian Government was connected. Among the technical students some received tuition in a tannery school, a textile school, an agricultural college, a mechanical workshop, etc. One was studying the technique of cinematography. Apprentices were sent to learn cartography, book-printing, and brick-manufacturing. An Administration of Mongols studying in Germany and France was formed, and considerable sums were spent.

In 1929 the students, together with their very able supervisor, Ichi-Dordji and his assistant Gombojah, left for a "holiday in their Motherland," from which they did not return.

On the whole, the educational experiment may be regarded as successful. The students learned a good deal, mastered the language to a certain extent, and adopted many of the features of European culture, without losing their national characteristics and independence. Most were rather obstinate, some of them having a very definite code of behaviour, never or extremely seldom transgressed. At first, they were reticent and mistrustful, but after a while this faded away and it seemed that they were happy and made friends with other children of their age.

Being connected with them throughout the whole period of their stay in Europe — as well as with the entire Mongolian activity in Western Europe — I can put on record a feeling of friendship I had developed for these children and the Mongols in general, a proud and generous people, mistrustful towards those they do not know, but hospitable to all, and kind to friends.

During his stay in Berlin, the Minister of Education bought several educational requisites such as cinema projectors, films, dictionaries, and books. He also ordered a number of blocks for the printing of Mongolian text-books in Ulan-Bator Khoto (former Urga). Finally, he ordered the printing of a Mongolian atlas with Mongolian characters from blue-prints bought by him from Mongolia. Ten thousand copies of this atlas, including a historical map of Mongolia, were printed for use in Mongolian schools, and also a thousand each of large wall maps of the hemispheres and of Mongolia (political and physical) also with Mongolian lettering.

A Mongolian typewriter was constructed and a number of such typewriters was ordered and sent to Mongols in Germany. The Mongolian Scientific Committee, headed by the well-known scholar Professor Djumzaran (formerly at the University of Irkutsk) was represented through the administrator of the Mongolian students in Europe. A connexion with German second-hand bookshops and also with firms in France and England, was established, a detailed extensive list of books on Mongolia in all languages was compiled, and many books were purchased.

The paper was discussed by Dr. L. Fritsels, Revd. H. Miller, Miss Kennedy, and Dr. Landgren. Mr. Wolff replied.

**PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES**

**Southwestern Journal of Anthropology**

The following announcement has been received, and is published with cordial good wishes for the success of the new Journal.

The University of New Mexico and the Laboratory of Anthropology (Santa Fe, New Mexico) announce their joint publication of the Southwestern Journal of Anthropology to provide an outlet for articles in anthropology additional to existing periodicals. The new journal is intended to include the whole field of anthropology — ethnology, archaeology, linguistics, folklore, physical anthropology, and anthropogeography — without limitation of area described or point of view. Space will be available for articles of longer than customary length.

Contributions of articles from readers of *MAN* are invited; these should be addressed to the Editor, Dr. Leslie Spier, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

"The *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* will appear as an annual volume of 400 to 600 pages, in quarterly issues. The first number is scheduled to appear in Spring, 1946. Subscriptions, at $4.00 per annum, should be sent to the University of New Mexico Press at Albuquerque."

This new publication will be widely welcomed, and especially its courteous and hospitable offer to the readers of *MAN*, in regard to articles of wider scope than *MAN* can accept.

J. L. M.

Fifty years ago, Thomas Henry Huxley delivered his Romanes Lecture on Evolution and Ethics. It is more than a sentimental courtesy that his grandson should be invited to speak on a similar subject now, for he has already made some contribution both to the general theory of evolution, and to the specifically human aspect of it. The older speaker formulated an antithesis between the ethical and the cosmic process; for the younger "the cosmic process is continued into human affairs. Thus man can impose moral principles upon ever-widening areas of the cosmic process, in whose further slow unfolding he is now the protagonist. He can inject his ethics into the heart of evolution. But does this reconcile the antithesis, any more than our present knowledge of the nature of life reconciles the antithesis between living and inorganic matter? Of one of the earliest and most original of Greek natural philosophers it was said that he made use of "somewhat poetical terms." The same comment may be made on this latest of the evolutionists. What exactly does it mean to "inject ethics into the heart of evolution?" (p. 70). What is a "spiritual notch" which "arises as the result of a special kind of conflict among the shades of unregulated impulses," in an infant's second year? Is a "practical mechanism" really more intelligible than the "primitive super-ego" of Freud? Or how is a "repressed aggression employed as it were as a policeman or goad"? What is the "principle of wrong"? The "emery-like mental structure" (p. 17) is not embryonic, for it is post-natal or hypotensive. These phrases are additional to the florid terminology of Freud.

Conscience develops directly out of the proto-ethical "mutual protection." It could be said that it did not, for it is difficult to distinguish between the "proto-ethical mechanism" and the conscience itself, as described by other moralists. But in what sense is it self-evident that it must be "be better to be realistic in one's ethics than unrealistic"? Is it not just this that somehow needs to be proved?

While individual ethics develop, "social ethics evolve"—we learn—in ways which puzzle anthropologists, their distinctive character having no determinable significance for the particular group. Dr. Huxley compares the non-adaptive variations developed by small and well isolated populations in biology with the emergence of oligarchies in the state. In contrast, the development of human societies, and societies at different levels, ethical relatedness is the rule, with the well-known main stages of social evolution (p. 26). But even within universal ethics, correlated with the emergence of monothecism and of free intellectual interchange, "men have been, and are, moving toward the development of ethical outlooks" (p. 27), which in turn have accelerated social and economic changes, and likewise changes in theological ideas formerly supposed to underlie them: "We are now in the midst of the complete transposition of ethics into dynamic or evolutionary terms. But the question remains unanswered, why is this or that evolutionary process "good"?

Here we get beyond a classification of labels: we need to know what the label itself means; in fact we are back at the beginning of the ethical quest. Does it help us, for example, to say that our ethics are "coarse part of the evolutionary process... and to say that they are 'progressive,' namely in the capacity to attain a higher degree of organization without closing the door (of advances) ? to further advance (but in what direction? With speech and conceptual thought, emancipation, and the pooling of individual mutations by sexual fusion (oh, these postulates and "the result is self-reproducing society", and a term set to biological evolution (p. 38), The connexion is not obvious even with the older Huxley's authority to back it. But how is this revolution "to the good" and would it still be "to the good" if the historians' unanimous testimony was that it had been "to the bad"? Granted that it now become possible to influence (or "inject") more or less into evolution, is this evolution 'the good' and does it not become an "aesthetic, biological breed" becomes aware of good and evil? (p. 40); but once again, what is good that we may "inject" it into events? It is no use for Dr. Huxley to prescribe evolutionary 'M and B' to suffering humanity unless we can deliver the goods—"the good." (p. 45). He admits that these "arduous generalisations" need to be translated into "satisfy forms," and perhaps this is where the evolutionary thinker must give place to the ethical teacher. Social organisation, he says, should be planned "to encourage change;" certitude of ethical belief itself becomes unreal, which makes it the more desirable to be sure that change is in the right direction. It should be at the right rate; it must adjust the claims of the individual and the State, and so forth; in fact the 'M and B' panacea is to be administered quantum sufi—Aristotle said 'as the sensible man would prescribe,' and left it at that. Dr. Huxley does, at long last (p. 48), face up to the phrase 'rigidly developed,' and stumble on the ancient problem of 'the good man' and 'true good citizen.' The 'Golden Rule," he feels, does not provide a real basis on which to build social structure. In the final analysis, he is "not on to discuss that sector of ethics comprised under the head of 'Justice'" (p. 51); but it is not very clear wherein the old conception of justice is modified or 'confirmed' by evolutionary ethics. Similarly, evolutionary ethics are held to be "true. Kant's insistence that all ends be good in themselves is ruled out, not as tools or implements. Some moralists might hold that the 'confirmation' was the other way about. It is also satisfactory to learn that cardinal virtues find their place within this evolutionary scheme. Would it not, however," wreck it if they did not? and if so, why?"

Dr. Huxley anticipates the criticism that 'this elaborate dogma' brings him back to familiar ground, but contends that it is not valid; that the new standards are dynamic instead of static, but he admits that this applies to Marxian and other systems. It applies also to Kant's 'categorical imperative,' and to Aristotle's 'sensible man.' We begin to suspect that the benefit of evolutionary ethics result not because they are evolutionary, but in so far as they are ethical. What is the difference between the 'practical ethics' and the 'ethics of man's evolutionary future' and that 'oldest faith' which was 'the substance of things hoped for'? That 'evolutionary ethical principles' condemn and refute Nazi ethical principles, but do not exist; that evolutionary ethics beyond other ethical systems which do the same. The condemnation of slavery as achievement of evolutionary ethics, but anticipated them; the revolt against want and class-prejudices goes back to early Christianity and beyond it; the social duty of planning ahead of events is the theme of Plato's Republic. General ethical principles are admitted to be necessary, but that does not prove them to be evolutionary; nor does it establish them, if they are. But as the argument comes to the not very exciting or original close, it is the ethical rather than the evolutionary character of ethics that emerges. The biological presumptions and conditions for all life on a self-improving plane that higher form of life with all lower forms; the cosmos in which self-conscious beings live and move is an evolutionary cosmos, and their lives and movements have all that is common with it. But the differentiation of moral life and action remains unmodified in its physical and biological side. When dynamic existence passes into a realm of ends, evolutionary standards become as external as physical standards do when the biological realm is reached. And between the biological and moral worlds, the moral world is a great gulf fixed, which fifty years of evolutionary thought seem unable to reconcile.

JOHN L. MYERS

The publication of this short, but extremely valuable, book is to be welcomed with joy by all. Professor Boerger places most of his apprenticeship in the study of criminal anthropology, and in so doing he has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the relationship between race and crime. His work is based on a careful examination of the literature on the subject, and on a series of field studies conducted in the United States and Europe. The result is a book that is both scholarly and accessible, and that will be of interest to anyone interested in the study of crime and its relationship to race.

Boerger begins his book by defining race as a category of human classification. He argues that race is not a biological category, but a social construct that is based on a variety of criteria, including physical characteristics, cultural practices, and historical events. He then goes on to describe the ways in which race and crime are related, and the ways in which the relationship between the two is shaped by cultural and historical factors.

Boerger's arguments are supported by a wealth of evidence, drawn from a variety of sources. He cites studies from a number of countries, including the United States, Europe, and Africa, and he uses a variety of methods, including statistical analysis, historical analysis, and ethnographic research. The result is a book that is both comprehensive and rigorous, and that will be of great interest to anyone interested in the study of crime and its relationship to race.


There are few anthropologists who have had the extensive field experience, possessed by Professor Horskovits, which would enable them to produce such a comparative study as this. It is a book that has carried him through the U.S.A., Africa, the West Indies, and South America, and he draws on them all, and on an imposing list of other authorities, thus giving a wide background to his work. The volume is the first in a series of studies sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation on the Negro in the U.S.A., and under the general direction of Dr. Myrdal of the University of Stockholm.

Half the book is a review and appraisal of the historical evidence concerning the origin of the Negroes of the Americas, and their arrival and subsequent settlement and assimilation; the rest is an examination of the situation at the present time. The historical section has involved the examination of a vast amount of material, listed in the references and the bibliography, and students of this subject will be grateful to Professor Horskovits for his masterly handling of all this evidence. In his chapter on 'The African Age' he is a severe critic of some earlier writers who have alleged certain 'Africanisms' among the American Negroes, without discriminating between the accounts of life in the different African regions from which the majority of the slaves were drawn.

The sections on 'The Contemporary Scene' are concerned with the survival of African traditions, attitudes, and institutionalized forms of behaviour in secular life, religious life, language, and the arts. Much of the evidence here is taken from contemporary sociological studies of Negro life in towns and rural communities, but Professor Horskovits regards a serious handicap the absence of adequate field reports using a combination of techniques, historical, demographic, and comparative ethnographic.

The basis of the 'myth' is that the Negro in the U.S.A. is a man without a past. Contributing to this myth were four assumptions: (1) that the 'child-like character' of the Negro accounted for his relatively easy adjustment to the conditions of slavery; (2) that the slaves were mainly 'poorer stock,' intellectually and socially; (3) that no tribal identity could be preserved because the slaves came from every part of Africa and spoke a great variety of languages; (4) that the cultures of Africa were 'so savage and so low' that the slaves were very ready to give up their own traditions in order to accept the obviously superior European customs.

Readers who are familiar with similar assumptions made about African contacts with European culture in other areas will be interested in this in which Professor Horskovits deals with these assumptions and explodes the 'myth.' The title perhaps does not do justice to the subject or to its treatment. This masterly handling of an intricate situation is in fact the most important addition to the study of culture contact, and is to be widely recommended to students everywhere.

MARGARET READ

AMERICA


When Bowditch published his book on the Maya calendar in 1910, it was a definite milestone in science as he summarized clearly and explained fully all that was then known on the subject. The present work is a volume of thirty-three short essays, each by an expert in his own subject, and each independent one by Dr. Kroebber. Part I deals with the background of the Maya, Part II with the Maya themselves, Part III with their northern neighbours, and Part IV with...
their southern neighbours. There is an approach from every angle and all the changes are real. Space unfortunately prevents us from mentioning all of them.

The advances in knowledge since 1910 is impressive and so is the change in the point of view. Much progress has been made in Maya chronology and in the Goodman-Thompson controversy. It is true that the #Spinden one has a very bad second, but no longer is the doctrine that the Toltecs were inspired and compelled to adopt the Maya culture, owing to the controls furnished by ceramics and the very important evidence of trade communications throughout Middle America. One is glad to note that the Toltec research has by its traditional data are accepted as historical. Also noteworthy are the identification of Tolu- bauan with Toltec culture, and the evidence furnished by Dr. Lofrov's communication between Guatemala and Peru. Another point is the present tendency to see the origin of agriculture in South America, and in general to emphasize South American influence.

The book opens with a well-deserved tribute to Professor Tozer. Among the papers may be mentioned a very interesting one by Mr. O. G. Richardson, Jr., dealing with ocean currents, geology, and climate; and two by Dr. J. Alden Mason and Mr. Frederick Johnson on linguistics. Dr. A. V. Kidder contributes a valuable study on the relatio of Maya civilization to Middle American culture. Mr. J. Eric Thompson deals with the problem of the lowland Maya and summarizes the most recent advances in the field, many of which are due to his own efforts. The book contains some of the most recent problems, notably the relation of ceramics to dated monuments, on which his remarks are intriguing. One is glad that he now argues against the over-synopsization of Maya history and in favour of a probable horizon between the stelae cult and the Mixtec Period. The question of metals is most interestingly discussed as well as the relations of Highland to Lowland Maya culture, and it is good to see that the myth of the desertion of the Old Empire and mass migration to the New Empire is conclusively exploded. Most interesting of all is the discovery that Toltecism was contemporaneous with the Maya Old Empire. Altogether his paper is very important.

Dr. S. G. Morley gives a useful account of the history of Maya epigraphy to date. Mr. E. Wyllies Andrews has a valuable paper on chronology and astronomy and he does well to call attention to the work of Noll-Husom. There are good papers by Mr. H. E. H. Pollock, Mr. A. Losyuland Smith, Dr. Karl Ruppert, and Mr. Robert Waugh on various aspects of Maya architecture, and by Mr. R. K. Smith, Miss Mary H. Hulme and others.

Dr. Ernest A. Hocton writes an excellent essay on the Codex of Sacrifices. The paper is extremely interesting and though the subject is skeletal it sty is witty. It raises some questions as to race which may have far-reaching implications. It is probable that it, as the writer of the essay of Contes says, "explodes a myth." Some of the skeletons are those of young girls, which confirms the Spanish account, and the fact that others are those of men does not disprove it. Men may also have been heretics at other ceremonies or been drowned for other reasons.

Mr. Oliver La Farge writes on the Sequoyne of Cultures; a subject with which he is peculiarly well fitted to deal, owing to his field work. He outlines the history of the treatment of the Indians of Guatemala from the Conquest to the present day, pointing out how it has produced a mixed culture. One hopes that his unpublished material will soon appear.

드. G. C. Vaillant has an illuminating paper on the basic differences between the cultures of Middle America and those of North and South America, Dr. Philip Phillips on Middle American influences in the South Eastern United States, and Dr. C. E. Guthrie on Sequence of Culture in the Eastern United States. There are several other good papers on North and South America, including Dr. S. K. Lothrop's on South America as seen from Middle America.

The book as a whole represents a careful synthesis of the contents of the whole book. It is a well balanced review but perhaps he is a little too hard on the Maya chronologists. However, he admits that he writes as an outsider on the correlation question.

The book is well illustrated, and has a good bibliography but omits H. Burkitt's papers in Man, 1930, 80, and 1939, 100, on the calendar of Solmas and other Indian towns, and the papers of L. Schulz on Jena, all of which are important for the modern study of the calendar. The book contains an introduction to Martin Meisshausan's "Uber Solmasen und Mondstellungen in der Dresdener Musikhandschrift" (Z. f. Eth. XL, 1913). He was the first to notice that Pts. 31-36 of the Dresden Codex referred to eclipses. Not only is he not mentioned, but it is wrongly stated on p. 140 and 144 of the present volume that it was Forstemann who made this discovery. Forstemann deciphered the plates and showed that they referred to lunar months, but he said nothing about eclipses. These plates would be of little interest if they merely were lists of lunar months, but since they form an accurate table of eclipse seasons they are perhaps the highest intellectual achievements of the Maya: Meisshausan should have been given the credit of this discovery.

RICHARD C. E. LONG

MISCELLANEOUS


This voyage was the sequel to that of Sir James Lancaster, already reprinted by the Hakluyt Society (1826), which replaces the edition of Bolton Cornew, long out of print. With the narrative of Middleton's voyage are printed the "Narrative" and "Neutral Observations" of Thomas Clap- borne, another fragmentary journal, the report of Edmund Scott, resident at Bantam from 1602 to 1605, and several letters and papers of instructions for this voyage.

Though there is not much of ethnological interest, the vivid accounts of the life of a native city and court, and of the business and rivalry of English, Dutch, and Portuguese traders in the East Indies are valuable, and the story of the long-term outlook of European adventurers and merchants, recorded with a dignity and honesty which are impressive. Though there were frequent seizures between mariners and underlings of the rival enterprises, there seems to have been a good understanding among the leaders.

J. L. M.


Dr. Thalbitzer's book contains a collection of Eskimo songs and dances with melodies, some modern due to individual Eskimo composers and poets, some from the transitional epoch (1730-1860) representing a mixture of original Eskimo tunes and songs, and finally original music and songs from East and West Greenland and Spitzbergen. Dr. Thalbitzer has provided each part of the book with short introductions and has translated the songs into Danish. Most of the modern songs were printed shortly by the printing press at Gothenh. The majority of the older ones will be found in Dr. Thalbitzer's earlier ethnological publications, especially in their辣alphabetical order. In this present work there are English translations of the number of the songs and of certain parts of the introductions.

Parts of the Eskimo texts are reproduced, usually the first stanza in connexion with the melody.

[46]

A Selected Bibliography of American Indian Archaeology

East of the Rocky Mountains. By John Ottis Brew.


This useful list was prepared for use in a Harvard course in American archaeology, and contains 484 titles, conveniently classified. It follows the Eastern arc, of Professor Kroethko's classification of North American culture, but omits Eskimo archaeology and most of the archaeology of the Big Bend of western Texas and some other scattered groups occasionally considered to belong to the South-west. There is a special section on "Epistemology" which is evidently a special interest of Dr. Brew.

J. L. M.
CORRESPONDENCE

SIGN LANGUAGE IN ANCIENT CEYLON

Ideas may be expressed or information be conveyed either by sounds of signs, communicated with persons in visible contact or out of sight. A conventional system of sounds can be expressed by means of a conventional system of signs. This then becomes a language which can be written or communicated orally. Long before writing was invented and written languages came to be used, men resorted to various ways of transmitting information. There were the sound-languages and the sign-language, to mention only a few. The Australians employed the message-stick. The Africans used the drum and signs. In civilized society, too, similar signs are employed as the Kamdyak cane, white flag, raising of hands in surrender or greeting, burning of fires on hill-tops, and traders' signs. Birds had been taught such signs in strategy as those Malamanda's taught his parrot. In the case of the Indians the signs were not conveyed through a third party like the Australians who carried the message on a stick. That the sign language had been developed in India and had been used for broadcasting alarms by means of drums and log xylophones is still evident among the primitive tribes of India. Even today, any emergency is announced by the sounding of a drum (happuwa) in most of the Ceylon plantations where the labour-force is Indian.

In Ceylon, too, day, people sometimes resort to the use of sign or sound language. Haska-nodak-bahasa in Sinhalese means such language. There are children who use it for sport, and dumb people who employ it for making themselves understood. Organized bands of people are also using it. Military, naval, scout, and other organized groups of people use flags for signalling and thereby convey messages. These must not, however, be mistaken for the special words used by certain persons for auspicious occasions. Although popularly called secret languages these may be rightly called 'taboo' languages. During agricultural and other forest activities village folk employ a set of special words with the hope of avoiding ill-luck bound to befall them by an indeterminate use of profane speech. Two such languages are called "pani-bahasa" (agricultural speech) and "kalu-bahasa" (forest speech). Yet another form of such speech is the "rikibahasa" speech practised by the Rodyk, a clan of outcasts, who employ it actually as a secret language in order to communicate among themselves, so that others will not understand them.

Further attempts at inventing codes or systems of secret languages for purposes of mutual correspondence or speech have been attempted during later periods when a certain letter or a word or phrase of the language of the word to be expressed. One such system is called "pampasa-bahasa" wherein here a 'wa' is added in front of each letter of a word. The word haka is expressed thus: taw-dha-sa-sukka. Another of these systems is the "Unuka-bahasa" where twelve sets of letters express the alphabet. The letters are arranged in combination: k1, a1, y, a, s, t, d, b, a, g, d, y, m, s, c. j, t, b. The real sign-language is something different from all these, in that it is meant for conversation, or to be used as a code for signalling. It is only possible to use this between two persons who are within sight of each other. There is a sign-language that was once in vogue in ancient Ceylon a system of signalling by means of a lighted torch or a piece of white cloth, just as is the practice among sailors and scouts. This too was a sign-language.

A much more elaborate and precise system has been practised in Ceylon and is described in two fusion verses (sometimes three) which serve as a mnemonic. There are two versions of the mnemonic which are slightly different, viz.: (a) Halahe Sinhalese Nani Nalaka Ratn, ed. M. D. D. Karunaratne Apakule, and (b) Folk Songs of the Sinhalese, ed. W. A. de Silva and G. P. Mahanama, 1935, xvi, 216-218.

1 Compare the log xylophones among the Naga tribes of Assam in India.

Each letter of the pure Sinhalese alphabet together with signs for long and short vowels is expressed by means of touching a part of the body with the hand. Perhaps the particular part of the body has no special significance, although some of the letters seem to be the initial letter of the word used for that part. This is not always so. It may also be guessed that the sounds may be the initial sounds of words that may have been once current in the speech of some remote past, but which have now been replaced by Sinhalese. One is not able to say how old the system is. Some of the later systems give the name of the author, but his does not do so. There is however a systematic order of procedure. Starting with the forehead a series comes to an end with the neck. Then from behind the ear the order is maintained up to the back of the palm. Commencing once again from the middle of the chest the letters are concluded at the upper side of the foot. The tip of the toe is also used. For expressing the long and short vowels the demonstration starts with the head and ends with the sole of the foot. This system arranged according to the order of the pure Sinhalese alphabet is shown below where the part of the body indicative of the letter when touched with the hand is included.

VOWELS

Front (a) : eyehrow (i) : eye (u) : nose (o) : ear (o).

CONSONANTS

Guttural: mouth (ka) : chin (ga) = (na) ※.
Palatal: neck (ka) : back of shoulder (ja) : upper arm.
(Ca) ※.
Cerebral: armpit (ta) : above (ga) = (na) ※.
Dental: palm (la) : back of palm (da) : mid-chest.
(Na) ※.
Nasal: nipple (pa) : mid-stomach (ba) : lip (sa) ※.
Semi-vowels: thigh (ya) : knee (ra) : calf (la) : above ankle (va) : heel (sa) : upper side of foot (ha) ※.
All sounds are expressed by the finger tip.

Particular touch expresses *a* inherent in consonants.

touching head

touching nose

touching side of body

touching side of foot

= (na) ※

1 These letters are sounded very similarly.

2 These letters are sounded very similarly.

Inscriptional evidence definitely establishes the existence of a written language in Ceylon during the third century B.C. This language as it is known today is the result of a systematic arrangement by learned scholars, who may also have made use of the earlier material. Caused the people have made use of this system before writing was known and used in Ceylon and when writing became popular the sign values were equated with the letters*. The writer has not seen the employment of the sign-language but there are people who have seen it being used. We may still find it preserved among dumb people. Further investigation may prove very useful.

The fact that the sign-language is systematically expressed in literary Sinhalese should not deny it an antiquity going back to very early times. The popular tradition may have gained currency whilst the system was in actual practice, but later the practice was given up and the system was preserved in its present form. It may also be inferred that the sign-language, expressed by sounds, signs, or demonstrations (gestures), played some part in the ancient Sinhalese system of communications.

I give below a literal translation of the tradition (A):

Interpret intelligently the letters according to the movements of the hands and the touch of the fingers, as follows:

The forefinger for 'a', the ephah for 'e', the eye for 'í', the nose for 's', the ear for 's', the mouth for 's', the chin for 'ga', the neck for 'ca', the upper shoulder for 'ja', the upper arm for 'na', the armpit for 'ka', the
The Cultivation of the Date-palm in Minoan Crete

Illustrated.

34 Man.—A clay rhyton found at Knossos is of some interest for the light it throws on the culture of the date-palm in Minoan Crete. The vase is dated to the Middle Minoan III period, that is, subsequent to the overthrows of MM II palace, which Sir Arthur Evans dated to about 1700 B.C.

The vase is figured in The Palace of Minos, I, p. 315, fig. 430 C, and described on p. 594. The vessel is almost spherical, and the design consists of palm-trees set schematically, semi-wild, and hanging from a female frond. The mature plant, abundant fertilization by the sun, which is nature is simply carried by the wind. It is, and needs to be, produced in immense abundance, as in many confers; if one shakes a yew tree at the right time the pollen scatters in clouds. The spring of these male flower branches from the ground as shown in the drawing rests on no evidence; this part of the drawing was restored.
A Ceremonial Knife from Bamenda, British Cameroun. Illustrated.

Sir,—The Bamenda Division, which has an area the size of Wales, forms part of the Mandated Territory of the British Cameroons. The Northern part of this Division is very mountainous and in the narrow, forest-valleys of the granite ridges, resides a people of mixed origin.

Because these valleys are rich in oil-palms (Elaeis guineensis) these people go by the name of Mfumbe, or 'the people of the trees.' It is a nickname bestowed on them by surrounding tribes living on the open, grassy uplands.

The Mfumbe hamlet of Menang claims to derive from the Lwimbe tribe of Tikar extinction. These people are more commonly known by the nickname of Nounou or 'the Chatterers'—a sobriquet bestowed on them by another branch of the Tikar tribe, the Nko, their neighbours. The

particular branch of the Lwimbe from which the hamlet of Menang derives is called Woeo or 'the people of Ya.'

The Lwimbe are a part of the great southward migration of the Tikars, most of whom are in the French Mandated territory of the Cameroons. The Lwimbe claim to have originated in the environs of Borno and this claim, as will be shown later on, offers an explanation for the occurrence of this throwing knife, south of the river Dung, a tributary of the Benue. Owing to Fulani pressure in the north the first southward migration of the Tikars took them to a place called variously Relfun; Bembe; Bumkin, in the French territory; Fulani raids caused a second southward migration which brought these Tikar tribes to their present habitat.

Eleven Woeo chief's lie buried in a common grave at Noun and this fact is an indication of the date of the second migration.

One day, while in Menang which is built on an ancient iron slag heap whose origin is unknown to the present people, I found, hung up on the wall of a house, two iron objects. The village Head said that these objects belonged to their ancestors who brought them here when they migrated south but how the used them or for what they were used no one knew to-day.

The owner refused to part with them saying he did not know what the spirit of his ancestor would say if he sold them. When the town was raided by the Fulani, the Fulani threw these things to the ground and the Germans, when later they visited the town, did the same thing.

The hamlet-head of the next village knew a little more. He said that their name for these objects was 'kubap' and that his father had several of them, but in the last Fulani raid the old man hid them and, as he was captured by the Fulani and never returned, the objects have never been found. He said that they were principally used at funerals.

Thus, if the spouse of one's son or daughter died, one took these tools to one's in-laws and placed them on the grave. If one's in-laws did not offer a feast for the removal of the 'kubap,' ill-luck would attend them.

I placed the better of these two tools objects upon a piece of cartridge paper and drew a pencil round it, thus obtaining in outline its natural size and shape. I then inked in the outline and took a photograph of it as shown.

The object combines a sickle, a spear head, a knife, and an axe head, as indicated by the letters A, B, C, D. What E and F represent I do not know.

To-day the object has only a ceremonial use. There is a generic resemblance between it and the Azeende throwing knife illustrated on p. 238 of the British Museum's Handbook to the Ethnological Collections, 2nd edition.

Dr. Schwenfurth gives drawings of five very similar instruments used by the Niam-niam as throwing knives and called 'tremesh' though as he points out the correct term is 'Kall déco.' He also says 'Iron missiles very similar in their shape are found among the tribes of the Tassal basin; and a weapon construction of the same principle but simpler is in use among the Marghy and the Mungo.' (Schwenfurth, G., The Heart of Africa, Vol. I, p. 279, London, 1878.) It seems therefore that the two ceremonial knives in Menang are a carry-over from the time when their remote ancestors lived in the Tassal basin.

The two Menang knives were too light for use as throwing knives, the metal being about the thickness of an ordinary table knife.

I attach copies of Schwenfurth's five throwing knives for comparison.

M. D. W. JEFFRYS,
Senior District Officer
Fig. 1.—A typical exposure of 'Potato' or older gravels of the Vaal River: 30-foot terrace, Vereeniging, Transvaal, South Africa.

Fig. 2.—A typical exposure of 'younger gravels' of the Vaal River: 25-foot terrace, River View Estates, opposite Windsorton, Cape of Good Hope.

Note the great boulder next to the Abbé Breuil. C. van Riit Lane in left.

Fig. 3.—A typical exposure of 'younger gravels' of the Vaal River: 25-foot terrace at River View Estates, opposite Windsorton, Cape of Good Hope.

Proto-Lenclovis core (third horizon Stellenbosch Culture) in situ above the Abbé Breuil's right hand.
The Centenary Number of MAN contains an unusually interesting statement. In the discussion that followed Professor Gordon Childe's contribution on 'The Future of Archaeology,' Mr. M. C. Burkitt is reported to have said that the classification of palaeolithic industries into core- and flake-industries was only a rough and ready distinction, for convenience and without final validity. Professor Gordon Childe agreed that typology and technology were the essential groundwork of archaeological study, but held that there was more scope for interpretative work by those who had mastered them.

In an earlier contribution to MAN, I stressed the importance of the technological rather than the typological approach to all questions relating to possible affinities between assemblages from remote areas. In this I urged the application of terms to describe technical processes as distinct from terms used to describe assemblages, industries, or material cultures, stressing my belief that affinities between assemblages from far-distant sites can often be more easily and readily detected by a close study of underlying technical processes rather than by comparisons between tool types. In other words, typology should not be confined to the tools men made, but needs urgently to be extended to the waste products of human industry of the time; my belief being that it is safer to stress affinities on technological rather than on typological grounds where typology is confined, as it all too frequently is, to the final objects of human industry and excludes the rejects and processes men practised in achieving those objects.

Burkitt's reference to the 'rough and ready distinction' between core- and flake-industries of palaeolithic times and Gordon Childe's statement that there is scope for more interpretative work have prompted me to add a further note. To make myself clear, I have chosen to discuss the evolution of what I have termed the Levallois technique in South Africa and to illustrate my point by a diagram which will, I hope, be of use to my European co-workers (pp. 57-8). [It has been necessary to divide this diagram into sections, but their relations are clear.—Ed.]

The term 'Levallois' is used by European prehistorians to describe a material culture. Let us briefly summarize its status. The Levallois Culture is a so-called 'flake culture.' It has seven divisions, the oldest of which—Levallois I—belongs to the cold spell that preceded the first Riss glaciation, i.e. it is sandwiched in between Acheul III and Acheul IV which are progressive stages in the development of a so-called 'core-culture.'

The final development of this flake-culture, the Levallois VII, has been assigned to a period immediately after the solidification that followed the third Würm glaciation, i.e. post-Acheul VII or Micoquian. European prehistorians separate these contemporaneous cultures, the 'core' or Great Hand Axe Culture of French Abbevillian and Acheulean facies on the one hand, and the flake-culture of the Levallois on the other, by a vertical line because, it is believed, they represent separate entities each of which developed more or less along its own lines and to a great extent independently of the other. There were borrowings and blendings at certain stages and the vertical dividing line is at times a little blurred, but, despite Burkitt's reference to a rough and ready distinction, these two great cultures are generally believed to have enjoyed sufficient independence of each other to have evolved independently from Pre-Riss to Würmian times—i.e. during the first cycle of the Levallois which takes us from Levallois I to Levallois IV on the one side of the dividing line and from Acheul III to Acheul VII on the other.

With the solidification that followed the first Würmian glaciation, the vertical division becomes less clear. Levallois V includes many excellent hand-axes, Levallois VI less and poorer types, and Levallois VII none. The Great Hand Axe Culture as such came to an end before the Würm—so that the vertical division between the so-called 'core' or Great Hand Axe Culture and the 'flake' or Levallois Culture literally disappears after Acheul VII when the Levallois entered its second and final cycle of development.
It is extremely interesting to compare the European position with the South African. No element of the basic technical processes of the European Levallois is absent from South Africa. Every type of European Levallois core and flake has its South African counterpart—with this great and important difference: in South Africa the Levallois, in its inception, is an integral part of the Great Hand Axe Culture and it continues to remain so and to develop integrally with bifaceted tools from an early stage of the Lower Palaeolithic right up to the end of the Middle Palaeolithic or Middle Stone Age, i.e., first with the cultures that include comparatively heavy bifaceted tools such as hand-axes, and later with those that include the lighter and more slender bifaceted lanceolate or Soltsan-type points. In other words, the Levallois is not a separate culture in South Africa, but rather a process or technique which is inseparable from every material culture known to include post-Abbevillian-type bifaceted tools—tools that resemble forms from Chelles, St. Acheul, Combe Capelle, La Micoque, and finally Soltsan, i.e., the South African Levallois elements represent the waste-products of a series of developing cultures which aimed, inter alia, at the production of bifaceted tools from Acheul-type hand axes in the beginning to Soltsan-type lanceolate points at the end.

The oldest recognized Levallois in Europe includes cores which in cross-section vary from the high-backed to markedly asymmetrical biconvex forms. The flakes derived from them have faceted platforms but are comparatively heavy and flake surfaces are often rippled. In South Africa, we find precisely similar cores in intimate association with bifaceted tools of the Great Hand Axe Culture of Upper Stellenbosch of African Acheulean facies, but while these cores represent the beginning of the Levallois in Europe, they are by no means the first of their kind in South Africa. We have a succession of earlier and cruder or prototypes that take us back several stages in the development of the Great Hand Axe Culture. In other words, we see the Levallois developing as a technical process through a period of much greater length than is covered by the development of its European counterpart.

In the accompanying diagram (pages 57-58) I have set out the various stages of the development of a technical process that yields cores and flakes which are exact counterparts of the European Levallois—a process which is inseparable from other processes which were employed by the manufacturers of tools, that characterize at least six successive stages in the development of the Great Hand Axe Culture of Old Palaeolithic times and continues with various refinements into the Middle Stone Age of Middle Palaeolithic facies.

The illustrations are all drawn to the same scale [about eight inches to one inch, as printed on pp. 57-58]; they are more or less diagrammatic and all represent cores that belong to the waste-products or debitage of the material cultures opposite which they are drawn. No illustrations of implements, in the generally accepted sense of the word, are included.

When we examine the development of this most important technical process, we find in the valleys of the Vaal and Limpopo particularly: (1) Formless cores: Crude formless cores with plain striking platforms occur in the earliest division of the Great Hand Axe Culture, i.e., in the core-cum-flake Stellenbosch I of Claeto-Abbevillian facies. The larger flakes struck from these cores were trimmed into hand-axes and cleavers, while the smaller were trimmed into scrapers and possibly borers.

Striking platforms are usually thick and plain and, with very rare exceptions, the angle between the platform and the main flake surface is consistently obtuse (circa 120°). If the flakes and flake-tools were separated from the remaining tools of the culture, European prehistorians inexperienced in the African field would undoubtedly assign them to the Claeto Culture—as they would assign the core-tools to the Abbevillian. As these two principal types are integral parts of a common whole, the culture is best described as 'Claeto-Abbevillian' in form.

(2) No Stellenbosch II site has yet been discovered, but rolled hand-axes, cleavers, flakes, and cores occur in gravels that have yielded unrolled Stellenbosch III types. As these rolled specimens are more refined than are those which belong to the first division and less refined or advanced than those which belong to the third, and invariably of distinct material, they have been assigned to the second division. Among the tools that characterize this group we find occasional cores from at least one of which both flakes and broad blades were struck. The angle between the striking platform and the flake surface is less obtuse than in the typical Claeto, but platforms are still plain and broad. This hypothetical Stellenbosch II group forms a reasonable typological and technical link between Stellenbosch I and Stellenbosch III—about which we know a great deal.

(3) In Stellenbosch III we find the first deliberately shaped cores and flakes with striking platforms prepared in such a way that we are impelled to see in them possible, if not probable, roots of the technique that characterizes the true European Levallois. While many of the cores are immense (some can just be fitted into a box 18 inches x 14 inches x 12 inches), others are small. The larger specimens are not shaped to any particular pattern and must thus be assigned to the category of 'formless'; the smaller conform to a beaked pattern that is known locally as the uncinate or 'hoeanderbek', i.e. beaked Victoria West types. The flakes struck from the larger cores are
invariably broad. They have plain or fortuitously faceted platforms and wide angles between the platforms and flake surfaces, i.e. they are Clacton-like simply because they were struck in the bloc-en-bloc (anvil) manner. Many of these flakes are huge (15 inches long, 8 inches broad, and up to 4 inches in thickness), and weigh as much as a dozen good normal Acheul-type hand-axes. On the other hand, flakes struck from the average Victoria West beaked core would seldom exceed 5 inches in length, 3 inches in breadth, and 1½ inches in maximum thickness. Such flakes are, however, characterized by prepared and therefore faceted striking platforms in a manner which foreshadows the more elaborate and careful preparation that typifies the true or 'normal' Levallois of western Europe.

The flakes struck from the large formless cores were trimmed into hand-axes and cleavers; the cross-section of the typical cleaver of the period being a parallelogram. The flakes from the smaller beaked cores were trimmed into hand-axes and other tools but very rarely into cleavers.

The technical process that gave rise to the typical Victoria West beaked cores, all made to a recognized pattern, has in the past been referred to as Victoria West I or Proto-Levallois I.

(4) In the next stage—the Stellenbosch IV—the typical core is round and high-backed and occasionally indistinguishable to all but the expert from cores of the European Levallois I. The large, long, formless core is now all but replaced by large, more or less polygonal or circular high-backed types and the Victoria West beaked core by the circular or pardhoel (cote: horse-hoof) type. In other words, the Victoria West I or Proto-Levallois I types have evolved into Victoria West II or Proto-Levallois II types [where the two arrows converge on p. 58]. The commonest flake is now a base- or end-flake. It differs markedly from its predecessor, but was still used for conversion into a hand-axe, cleaver, chopping tool, or scraper according to the need or the deliberate choice of the manufacturer.

The most characteristic tool of the time is a cleaver, the cross-section of which is a trapezium. The variety and finish of the tools show great improvement and in technical skill—and true European Levallois forms as they first appear in Europe are about to make their debut;

(5) The Stellenbosch V which follows and incidentally brings us to the closing stages of a most important pluvial period, includes basic technical processes which give rise to true Old Levallois type cores among the waste products of the culture. Many flakes of the period show that striking platforms were not always carefully prepared. Some platforms, for example, are made up of a single scar-bed, the effect of which is a concave or hollow base. Others, however, have carefully prepared and therefore faceted platforms. These and the cores that accompany them are exact counterparts of flakes and cores that typify the Levallois I of Western Europe. They are round, more or less circular when viewed from above, and vary in section from the slightly asymmetrical biconvex to comparatively high-backed pyramidal forms when viewed from the side.

We thus see: (a) that the cores and flakes that typify the Old Levallois of Western Europe, where the culture they are believed to represent is quite distinct from and independent of the contemporaneous Great Hand Axe Culture of Early Acheulian times, are well up in the scale of man's technical and industrial evolution and achievements in South Africa, (b) that the roots of the basic technical processes employed by makers of hand-axes and the tools that accompany them take us through several earlier stages of the development of the Levallois as a technique, and (c) that in South Africa this technique is an integral part of the Great Hand Axe Culture and not a independent, parallel development. Indeed it is often impossible to locate the lithic cultural horizon of a hand-axe when we have none of the waste-products of the industry to which it belongs. In other words, the development of the great core-cum-flake hand-axe culture is measured and appreciated as much by the waste-products of the time, i.e. by the discarded cores and flakes, as by the tools made from these flakes.

(6) The close of the Stellenbosch Culture was heralded by a long arid period, during which man eked out a precarious existence in certain of the more congenial localities only. That he continued to live in the interior—in the valley of the Vaal for example—is proved by sporadic occurrences of hand-axes and other tools and artifacts which characterize the Stellenbosch V Culture. This includes final Acheul, La Micoque, and Old Levallois types still integrally associated in a common whole, which is embedded at the base of and sporadically in a great deposit of highly calcified sands that overlies a series of coarse aggradations or 'gravels' in which we have tools of the IV, III, II, and I and earlier stages.

The increased precipitation of the next pluvial period paved the way for this heavy blanket of calcified sand and soon gave rise to more hospitable conditions. The vegetation revived, animals returned and in their wake, man. The tools of this newcomer lie scattered in profusion on the peenplaneled surface of the calcified sands and represent the beginning of the end of the Great Hand Axe Culture in the Fauresmith Culture. The remarkable thing about this stage of the evolution of the main core-cum-flake culture complex is not the continued presence of hand-axes so much as the integrally associated and now considerably improved
Levallois technique. Striking platforms are now more elaborately prepared and the angles between these and the flake surfaces are much more often right than obtuse. Although many of the Earlier Fauresmith hand-axes are smaller and more refined than are their Stellenbosch proto-types, this group of implements is generally neither so beautifully made nor so varied as a representative group from the final Stellenbosch. The cleavers are smaller and occur on both side- and end- or base-flakes—revealing a continued but strictly limited use of beaked (originally Stellenbosch III) and circular (originally Stellenbosch IV) types of cores. Indeed both these proto-Levallois types of cores occur in situ in the Fauresmith, and in the same physical condition as the remaining tools of the period, but they are now very rare and degenerate. With them we find small circular (tortoise) cores as well as flake- and flake-and-blade cores that resemble the French Levallois III and IV forms. The progress of man’s skill from Stellenbosch to Fauresmith times is thus not so much measured by a series of successive refinements in his hand-axes and cleavers as by an abandonment of old methods and by an improved technical skill revealed in the greater refinement and variety of his waste products in the form of smaller and more elaborately prepared cores and flakes. The accompanying diagram (p. 58) illustrates the refinements that appear at this stage.

It is therefore obvious that man now relied more and more on his smaller flake tools—many of which we do not know. A circular ‘tortoise’ or Moustier-Levallois type core with a diameter of about two inches often could not have yielded a flake much larger than one’s thumb-nail—yet we have none of these flakes. They are possibly amongst the most important and certainly amongst the most tantalizing missing elements of man’s material culture at this stage.

(7) The Fauresmith Culture passed through three stages: the Earlier, the Middle, and the Later, the succession of which we have tentatively measured by typological and technological means simply because we have no satisfactory stratigraphy within the culture. Despite the inadequacy of our method we find this culture can be better appreciated if we make a close study of waste-products rather than of the tools man made from the flakes he struck.

Throughout the Fauresmith we have three principal types of cores, the majority with prepared striking platforms: (a) circular or tortoise cores, (b) triangular flake-cores, and (c) rectangular blade-cores as sketched in the diagram. The circular cores have only slightly asymmetrical bilancine sections and vary from about two to about four inches in diameter. The triangular cores vary from about three to slightly over five inches in length and are usually thick. The rectangular blade-cores are also thick in the early stages but become progressively more slender as we proceed up the scale. The angle between faceted striking platforms and flake surfaces of flakes and blades is seldom more than 90° and occasionally less. In the most developed Fauresmith we have a rare type of conical blade-core of a highly specialized type. This is included in the diagram. Blades struck from such cores are frequently measured less than 2½ inches in length, 1 inch in breadth, and less than ½ inch in maximum thickness. On the other hand we have blades—but unfortunately not the cores from which they were struck—that measure nearly a foot in length, less than 3 inches in maximum breadth, and about 1 inch in thickness with well prepared platforms that make a right angle with the plain flake surface.

Bifaced hand-axes get smaller and more refined as we proceed up the scale, and cleavers tend to disappear. The makers of Fauresmith tools were not only masters of a fully developed Levallois technique, but specialized in flake tools of considerable variety—points, scrapers, and gravers. The hand-axe became less and less important and was gradually superseded and replaced by other types of tools until, in the final Fauresmith we cannot say whether we are at the end of the Earlier or at the beginning of the Middle Stone Age. This final Fauresmith is literally a period of transition and is distinguished only by the presence of hand-axes; the remaining tools and débitage being completely Middle Stone Age in form and fineness of finish.

(8) Beyond remarking that the Levallois technique continued to flourish and develop throughout the Middle Stone Age—a development which is, it is felt, amply illustrated in the diagram—I propose to say very little about this stage. It is a period in which several pure flake cultures and variations of flake- and blade cultures flourished, the remains of which reveal a complete mastery of the preparation of cores and the striking of flakes in the most advanced Levallois manner.

As in the Fauresmith, the cores are of three main types (a) the shallow circular, (b) the triangular flake-, and (c) the rectangular blade-core. In the earlier phases of the Middle Stone Age the shallow circular core is little different from its predecessor in the final Fauresmith. The triangular flake- and rectangular blade-cores are more slender and striking platforms are more carefully and elaborately prepared—so much so that the angle between the platform and the plain surface of the detached flake is acute almost as often as it is right. This increased slenderness in the cores may be due to greater skill in flaking methods, thus giving the core a longer life than in Fauresmith times.

The high backed ovate core makes an early appearance and in the later stages it is followed by smaller ovates and finally by the high-backed pyriform which,
en face, resembles a pointed, almond-shaped Acheulean bifaced hand-axe, as may be seen in the top right-hand corner of the diagram.

Although these cores tend to become progressively smaller as we proceed up the scale during the Middle Stone Age, size is not always an important factor. Man had now become a keen economizer and used his cores again and again—i.e., having struck one flake, he re-trimmed the core to strike another and smaller flake and often continued the process until a core that measured perhaps 6 inches or more in diameter at the start was reduced to 2 inches or less in diameter before it was discarded. Blade-and flake-cores were similarly treated. Except that small cores do not occur in the Stellenbosch but are confined to the Fauresmith and Middle Stone Age, size is thus not necessarily an indication of the cultural horizon—nor always is the extent or manner of preparation of the striking platform. The main feature of these cores is the consistency of the right or slightly acute angle between the striking platforms and the flake surfaces of the flakes struck from them; if this angle was not 'right' on the core itself, the projected striking platform was prepared until it was 'right,' but if the angle was 'right' or slightly acute, further preparation of the core was considered unnecessary and the desired flake was struck without further ado. This accounts for the fact that platforms are plain or merely broadly faceted and that they are well and carefully prepared.

Man seems to have reached a stage where he realized that the slenderess, length, and breadth of a flake or blade and the degree of rippling depended not only on the force and direction of the blow, but also on the angle between the striking platform and the face of the desired flake. In other words, he applied and exercised a finer control over his flaking methods—a control which is best reflected in the waste-products rather than in the tools of his industry.

With the passing of the Middle Stone Age, the Levallois technique is brought to an end; the older flake cultures of this Age are now entirely replaced by flake and blade—principally blade—cultures of the Later Stone Age—cultures which both typologically and technologically reveal affinities first with the Capisio-Aurignacian complex and later with the European microlithic industries.

Summary

The waste-products of the Great Hand Axe Culture of South Africa include in its early stages both Clacton and Pre-Levallois types of flakes and cores. As we follow man's developing genius up the scale, we find two successive Proto-Levallois stages before true European Old Levallois forms appear. These Proto-, Proto-, and true European Levallois I and II forms occur as waste-products of the Great Hand Axe Culture in a natural succession of sealed and stratified geological deposits which leave no room for doubting the general sequence of events in the basins of the Limpopo and Vaal rivers where intensive field-work has been carried out over a number of years. This core-cum-flake evolutionary process in human skill and industry extends possibly from the Lower to the Upper Middle Pleistocene, i.e., from Early Stellenbosch with its Clacto-Abbevillian implement-types to the Early Fauresmith with its Micoquian or Acheul VII and other implement-types in a well-stratified geological sequence.

From the Early to the Late Fauresmith with its European Levallois III and IV core-types, we have no absolute stratification and depend on a sequence established on typological and technological grounds as well as by comparing the physical conditions of the different groups of implements. This is obviously not wholly satisfactory in that it is not absolute, but it does not invalidate this contribution; the main purpose of which is to illustrate and describe the broad evolution of a technical process which yielded waste-products of the Great Hand Axe Culture which are directly comparable with forms that belong to and characterize the European Levallois Culture which in Europe is considered to have developed independently of the Hand Axe Culture.

These great differences between the Old Palaeolithic of Western Europe and Southern Africa demand an explanation. The most obvious explanation and one that has been put forward is that the independent 'flake' and 'core' cultures as found in Europe had already merged into a core-cum-flake cultural whole before they reached South Africa. This may be so, but I have grave doubts. Everything depends on time correlation—which in turn depends on our ability to say that this or that glaciation in the north corresponds to this or that pluviation or wet phase in the south.

When the geo-archaeological survey of the Vaal River Basin was brought to a premature end seven years ago, the geologists had recognized three pluvial periods in the Pleistocene. The 'First' was referred to the three-stage aggradation of the Younger Gravels with included tools of mid- and upper-stellibrach times, the 'Second' to the aggradation of the Youngest Gravels with tools of the Fauresmith Culture and the 'Third' to the aggradation of pebbles and coarse grits and tools of the Middle Stone Age in the subsoil. 8 The Older Gravels were assigned to a pre-pluvial phase that was accompanied by marked earth movements. As a result of considerable work during the years that have since passed, we now know that the lower terraces of Older Gravels—especially the 50 foot terrace of the Vaal at Vereeniging—contain in situ not only
logical correlation still evades us and we must be patient. What of the paleontological? Here again we are faced by difficult problems, but when we weigh every attempt at correlation in the balance, we find we have no reason to suspect such a time-lag between man’s appearance in western Europe and in South Africa as to admit the late-arrival thesis in the south.

There are other interpretations, the most popular of which is that an independent and pure 'Flake Culture' arose in Asia and a 'Core Culture' in Africa; that these cultures reached Europe independently and continued to thrive independently but contemporaneously with slight borrowings and blendings until they finally merged into a core-cum-flake cultural whole toward the end of the Great Hand Axe Culture. While this was going on in Europe the 'Flake Culture' merged with the 'Core Culture' in Africa and spread south in the core-cum-flake Stellenbosch I at the beginning instead of, as in Europe, toward the end of the Great Hand Axe Culture. If this is so then Asia must yield flake industries which are comparable with the African Proto-Levallois forms. Until it does, the interpretation I have quoted must remain completely hypothetical.

Another explanation would be that independent flake and core cultures arose from a core-cum-flake culture by one group concentrating on flake tools and another on core tools and then going their separate ways ultimately to meet elsewhere and to continue living side by side as independent groups before they were reunited into a core-cum-flake cultural whole. Until forms which may be ancestral to the European Levallois I are found in Asia this latter explanation of the extraordinary two-stream development in Europe seems to me to be as tenable as any other.

Burkitt’s statement that the two-stream interpretation for Europe is 'rough and ready' and 'without final validity' encourages me to anticipate a review of the explanation and a final interpretation which will strike a less discordant note with the state of affairs we know existed in Africa during Old Palaeolithic times. Until this comes about, European pre-historians may, I feel, appreciate having at their elbows such a diagram as that which is attached to this essay. After I had prepared it, I submitted it to the Abbe Breuil whose collaboration it is my privilege at present to enjoy, and he expressed complete agreement with its form, but with me realizes that we still have a number of gaps to bridge. Nevertheless, it reflects an evolutionary process of flaking methods which go hand-in-glove with the Great Hand Axe Culture. In their later stages, these flaking methods are indistinguishable from those we have been disciplined to associate with the Levallois—a process which the bridging of gaps will not be able to dissociate from
## TABLE OF POSSIBLE CORRELATION

### NORTH WESTERN EUROPE

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<th>WÜRM</th>
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### SOUTH AFRICA

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<td>Pre- STELLENBOSCH</td>
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### CLIMATE

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the Great Hand Axe Culture of Old Palaeolithic times in Africa

Conclusion

In conclusion I feel that special attention should again be called to the influence of available material, not only from the point of view of its physical properties and therefore its fracturing qualities but also from the point of view of its size. For example, the immense cores we find on the factory sites occupied by man during Old Palaeolithic times in South Africa occur only where there are deposits of water-worn boulders of quartzite or the much more widely distributed and much more common fine-grained lavas. In the Older Gravels of the Vaal we have quartzite boulders that seldom exceed six inches in the longest diameter in a great aggregation of pebbles as big as potatoes. For hundreds of miles along the Vaal, these aggregations are known as 'Potato Gravelites,' Plate C, fig. 1. Implements and waste flakes and cores are therefore generally small. On the other hand, in the three aggregations of the Younger Gravels we have great masses of immense boulders of Ventersdorp diabase as shown in fig. 2. In consequence we frequently find large numbers of immense cores, fig. 3, flakes and other waste products of human industry—material which cannot possibly occur in any other deposits in the country. Because of the influence of available material we find noticeable differences within the core-flake-Stellenbosch Culture as we move from one part of South Africa to another. The Stellenbosch of the Vaal, for example, is quite distinct from that of the Cape. In the former region men first used quartzite. The Older Gravels which are almost exclusively of quartzite, were the main sources of supply during Stellenbosch I and to a great extent during Stellenbosch II times; and the tools and débitage of the period are as distinct from those that follow as is the lithology of the Older Gravels from that of the Younger group of gravels that contain remains of the Stellenbosch III, IV, and V cultures. The makers of Stellenbosch III and IV tools did not always have access to the quartzitic boulders and pebbles of the Older Gravels and turned to the diabase rocks in the Younger. This change from small boulders and pebbles of quartzite to large boulders of lava had a marked effect on human technique and undoubtedly affected flaking methods. It was bound to, in that it is preposterous to imagine a man attempting to reduce a boulder as large possibly as his torso to a hand-axe. Instead, he struck flakes from it and naturally used these flakes as cores—and so gradually improved his flaking methods and technical processes. We see this clearly in the development of the Proto-Levallois I and II techniques of Stellenbosch III and IV times. Meanwhile outcrops of indurated shale in the neigh-

bourhood had attracted his attention and as the boulders in the terraced gravels were buried under silt, he turned more and more to this new fine-grained, flint-like rock until in Stellenbosch V times, when both the Older and Younger Gravels were largely, if not wholly buried under silt and sand, he used it to the almost total exclusion of all other types of rock—and the true Old Levallois forms were among the results. By this time both the Older and Younger Gravels were inaccessible and in concentrating his attention on this new found rock, he found in it the finest material he had yet handled—and he stuck to it to the end of the Fauresmith, to the great benefit of his technical progress in flaking methods.

When we examine the Stellenbosch of the Cape, we find an entirely different state of affairs. In the Southern Mountain Region there is neither indurated shale nor diabase—except in the most unsuitable coarse-grained granites—and man therefore remained faithful to quartzite which was the only suitable material available. There the proto-Levallois and Levallois techniques are all but absent until we reach the Fauresmith horizon—despite the fact that the end-products of human industry, viz. hand-axes and cleavers of the two regions resemble each other closely.

With this evidence of differences before us—on sites less than a thousand miles apart—it is surely natural if not immediately obvious that greater differences in basic technical processes must be expected between sites five thousand miles apart, more especially when we pass from an area of quartzite to an area where flint only is available. In such cases we need to stress the typological rather than the technological ties, but at the same time to make allowances for missing elements, the most important of which may be technological. These missing elements are often our greatest problem. For example, if men who relied on material from an exposure of Older Gravels left no tools on the site where they shaped them, the interpretation of human industry of the time would be very different from that which would be formulated and submitted on material from a home-site. The former would be 'Clacton,' the latter either 'Abbevillian' or 'Clacto-Abbevillian' if many flakes were present—but quite possibly, just 'Abbevillian.'

The greatest difficulty I always feel when one sets out to assess an assemblage, is to know how to allow for missing elements. The most important clues may have gone with them—first on a factory-site, then on a home-site, where it is possible to distinguish one from the other, and finally on a home-and-factory site where little of man's handiwork has survived. I say 'little' designedly, for it is only when one is able to compare the yield of a large number of sites that one is
DIAGRAM
OF THE
EVOLUTION OF THE LEVALLOIS TECHNIQUE
IN
SOUTH AFRICA.

It has been necessary to separate the two groups of types in this diagram, but the period-numerals suffice to correlate them: scale, 1/2 natural.
COMPARABLE EUROPEAN FORMS

LEVALLOIS IV.

LEVALLOIS III.

LEVALLOIS II.

LEVALLOIS I.

WASTE PRODUCTS OF GREAT HAND-AXE CULTURE

FAURESMITH CULTURE

STELLENBOSCH CULTURE

III.

VICTORIA WEST

PROTO-LEVALLOIS

II.

I.
able to fill gaps and so finally feel justified in advancing an interpretation that is reasonable. A single site or a few sites or occurrences may be most misleading. Interpretation is justified only when one has a number of occurrences on which to draw comparisons, fill gaps, and suggest or make allowance for missing elements. I would therefore emphasize Professor Gordon Childe's assertion that there is more scope for interpretative work by those who have mastered not only the typological but also the technological aspects of each particular problem; a mastery which I humbly suggest can only come to those who are so fortunately situated as to have a rich field at their feet.

Finally it is interesting to note that in both Morocco and Portugal we have an Old Paleolithic core-cum-flake cultural whole which appears to have much closer affinities with the South African than with the north-western European fields of comparable times. These extreme north-western African and south-western European occurrences of a core-cum-flake cultural entity of Cacto-Abbevillian facies in the Old Paleolithic on both sides of the Gibraltar Gap is undoubtedly of great significance.

**THE ESTABLISHING OF OSIRIS. By G. D. Horblower, F.S.A.**

In a previous article (Man, 1937, 186, p. 155, col. 2) reference was made to the usually accepted conclusion that Osiris was indeed a king who once ruled in Egypt. This conclusion received support from Egyptian writings and representations of the god in historical times, but there is high likelihood that in far previous ages he was not a definite individual but had developed with the passage of time, in mythological manner, from the great spirit governing vegetation whom we may conveniently call Asari and who in Assyria and Babylonia was made concrete, in the former country as a definite god, supreme in rank, and in the latter as a form of the god Marduk when his rites were specially directed to the sphere of vegetation: see Man, 1943, 16, p. 51, col. 2. Details in confirmation of the equation of Osiris with Asari have been supplied by Sir Ernest Wallis Budge, *From Fetish to God*, pp. 188 ff.

We are not, in this connexion, to figure 'spirit' as an actual form. The Greek-derived *daimon* may be preferred as a general denomination for the class of imaginary being to which Osiris, regarded as above, belonged, because the term 'spirit' is too closely connected in modern usage with entities and ideas differing greatly from those being dealt with here, and 'daimon' has long been made current in the history of ancient religions by the pregnant genius of Jane Harrison. She figured it as a kind of *noumen* born of a psychological *projection* from human desires and hopes, immediately and without the material basis indispensable in all such matters; her interpretation was thus an affair of strictly subjective psychology (see *Themis*, chapter viii, p. 168 and passim). This material basis is probably discoverable in the early workings of animism, the original source of a daimon being the spirit of some great departed ancestor who was specially eminent in the branch of life concerned—in this case the care of crops—and was credited with a superabundant endowment of *mana*; it had become vague and almost impersonal—a fate, be it noted, common to its kind. The ancient daimon here shadowed forth was not the mere intermediary between gods and mortals that was postulated later, as for example, by Hesiod, but was fairly equivalent to the vaguely imagined *noumen* who might be figured as of general character or as controlling a special department of earthly activities. The latter class multiplied exceedingly in some countries, notably ancient Rome and China; they seem, as exemplified, to a considerable extent, in the vague beliefs of the Vedras of Ceylon to have been first imagined as the spirits of dead ancestors traditionally pre-eminent, even though their names were forgotten, in the department of life concerned; they would thus become eventually

1 Described by Professor and Mrs. Seligman on pp. 126-178 of their monograph: Bailey's brief summary on p. 160 is recommended by the authors, who have given another in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, pp. 598 ff.

The difference between *gods*, which may be translated as 'spirit', and *daimon*, or 'god', seems quite slight, just as in Hittite *thesi* and *daimon* are often interchangeable. The *gods* became almost departmental gods, for hunting and against disease, but not nearly as developed as in ancient Rome or China, where such beings carried to great extremes man's universal—and most understandable—tendency to anthropomorphism.

[59]
'departmental gods,' with human characteristics, following man's universal—and most understandable—tendency to anthropomorphism. This subject has been handled with great skill in Professor Nilsson's illuminating *History of Greek Religion*, especially in the fifth chapter; in chapter iv, pp. 108 ff., he illustrates the tendency with the case of Demeter who was evolved from the 'lucky' or *mana* of the standing crop which must be preserved by the Last Sheaf or its equivalent (see *Man*, 1937, 209, p. 177, col. 2, and the confirmation in Dr. Montell's paper on the Torgouts in *J.R.A.I.*, LXX, p. 83).

The great advance made in Egypt at the beginning of the Gerzean period (*Man*, 1941, 71, p. 97, col. 2) should therefore be attributed to the entry into Egypt, not of 'Osiris' but rather of 'the Osirians' who, as we may well conclude, introduced the system of organized irrigation which established the then unparalleled prosperity of the country. The probability of peaceful penetration rather than armed invasion is now clear, the more so that the only wars of predynastic times of which traces are left are those between Horus, joined by Osiris, and Set which were of entirely interior order, tribal in origin. Osiris, as a concrete deity becoming Egyptian, was intimately absorbed into the native cult, becoming mythologically the father of the great tribal god, the Falcon Horus (*Man*, 1937, 186, p. 156, col. 2); he was accordingly figured as having had the chief post in all tribal vices ated. His adoption has parallels elsewhere, a curious case being that of Avalokiteshvara, a Buddhist male saint who, when adopted in China, underwent a strange conversion into the madonna-like goddess Kwan-yin.

This complete adoption of Osiris conferred on him the position of chief actor in the great national hierogamy which was, for the people, the supreme rite of their world, surviving strongly from past centuries—perhaps even millennia—and satisfying the emotional accompanying, as it over does, a really operative religious feeling. Here, if nowhere else, we may find the reason reported by Herodotus (II, 42) why, while the worship of other gods varied in different parts of Egypt, that of Isis and Osiris remained invariable. Here, also, we may find the reason of the very wide extent of the practice of hierogamy, plentifully illustrated in the second volume of Frazer's *Golden Bough*; much has been added to his outlook by later writers, such as Miss B. S. Philpotts in *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* (v. p. 119).

Regarding the supposition that these fructifying elements entered from the north-east of the Delta, attention must be acceded to the peoples to the west, known collectively as 'Libyans.' Sergi, Elliot Smith, and others have shown them to be of the North African branch of the stock to which we may for convenience sake—and that only—apply the name 'Hamitic.' It extended from Somaliland, the Punt or 'Land of the gods' of the ancient Egyptians, and Abyssinia, through the Nile Valley, to all the North African region and, according to Elliot Smith in the second edition of his book on *The Ancient Egyptians*, much further; it was, of course, a mixed stock, but it is not necessary here to take account of possible elements in its composition, such as the Nordic predicated by Professor Raymond Dart in *J.R.A.I.*, LXX, p. 23, Frobenius, in his zeal for the 'Master-folk,' claimed the ancient Egyptians as their ultimate representatives in Africa, nearer ones being the peoples who gave some of the modern Berbers their blue eyes, Professor Frankfort, in the *Griffith Studies*, pp. 450-3, postulates the basis of the Hamitic on an ancient substratum covering all the northern parts of Africa and perceptible not only in beliefs but also in social structure and even in material things.

Turning now from the racial to the climatic aspect of the matter, we find strong evidence of a wetter period in predynastic Egypt than in later times. This has been well demonstrated in Professor Newberry's remarkable Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Liverpool, 1923. There the Nile valley of predynastic times is displayed as exceedingly marshy, like the Delta in its later phase. The Delta itself in the earlier times must have been covered almost entirely with marshes, uncanalized and undrained—even to this day it holds wide expanses of that kind; it was indeed an exceedingly unlikely birthplace for a high civilization. Herodotus (II, 7) describes it as wide, flat, and muddy, in fact a swamp which was used in the Saitic period as a place of exile (II, 152); he holds the view (II, 15), against that of the Ionians (sc., Hecataeus) that the Delta became a place of settled habitation subsequently to Upper Egypt, as the Egyptians, he says, themselves maintained. The tall reeds of the marshland gave Isis concealment for her infant Horus just as they have done in our days—as I have seen—for stolen cattle; a picturesque and accurate account of them and the use of them by robbers has been given by Heliodorus in the early part of his *Anthropica*, of the fourth century A.D.

The 'Libyan' regions west of Egypt, now desert except for the rain-zone on the north, extending from 40 to 60 miles from the sea-coast, was also, in the times under discussion, wetter, and much of it must have had a steppe-like character suitable for grazing large herds. Sure evidence of this condition is to be seen in the fragment of a votive slate palette of the
proto-dynastic 'Scorpion' king, illustrated in fig. 175, p. 236, of Capart's *Primitive Art in Egypt* from the original in Durst and Gaillard's description in the *Revue des Travaux*, xxiv, 1902, p. 48; it shows a land of growing trees—evidently, for the Egyptians, a feature to be remarked—and a great booty of horned cattle, asses and the early *longipes* sheep. Setho discovered on the edge of the fragment the hieroglyphic sign for Libya; the Egyptian king, as falcon, lion, and scorpion, is figured breaking down various walled towns which are distinguished hieroglyphically—perhaps the walls are merely symbols registered under the impress of Egyptian features and not actual, though we may note that it is still the custom in desert Arabia to build walls round even small villages as an aid against the invertebrate custom of raiding (*guzzins*). The strength and pastoral prosperity of the land are clearly proved: they continued several centuries later when, in the Fifth Dynasty, King Sahure's inscriptions record a huge similar booty consisting of 123,440 oxen, 233,400 asses, 232,413 goats, and 243,688 sheep; in the Twelfth Dynasty Senusert I recorded the capture there of 'cattle of all kinds with out number'; see Newberry's *Presidential Address*—he also relates to Libya the great votive mace-head of Narmer now in the Ashmolean Museum. The king is represented as holding a *sed* festival, a kind of reconciliation, in which he has donned the red crown emblematic of the kingship of the Delta; a record of booty is included—120,000 prisoners, 400,000 oxen, and 1,422,000 goats—but in all such enumerations we must presuppose recognize the gross exaggeration usual in early records of oriental courts. For the problems raised by these early reliefs see *C.A.H.*, 1, pp. 244–256 and 268. Much later, in the seventh century B.C., according to Herodotus (IV, 155) the Libyan Cyrenaica was characterized by the Delphic oracle as 'sheep-feeding'—perhaps a kind of stock-epithet of the sort common in Epic poetry; it was also referred to as 'lovely' or 'beloved' (*bd. I 59*) and glowing accounts of it are strewn through the author's fourth book, extolling it for its healthy men, plentiful harvests, and renowned horse-chariots. In modern times, according to Hogarth (*Ecc. Brit.*, 11th ed., VII, 703c) this part of Libya bears millions of sheep; it is to-day an object of the greatest consideration to the Aulad Ali bedouins of the Egyptian western desert, under the name of *el Gebel el Akbar*, meaning 'the Green Desert' or 'Hill', *gebel* meaning either.

The 'Libyans' were not confined to the northern rain-zone of Africa but stretched far southwards, even to the region of the First Cataract and this, in view of their racial connexion, is not surprising. Details establishing this condition have been amply gathered by Orie Bates in *The Western Libyans* (London, 1914) and W. Hölscher in *Liberia and Aegypt* (Glückstadt, 1937); evidence from rock-drawings also has been provided by D. Newbolt in *Antiquity*, September, 1928, pp. 261–291, and J. H. Dunbar in *The Rock Pictures of Lower Nubia*, which contains many apposite references. Account has always been taken of the Libyan character of the north-western portion of the Delta, proved by the report of Herodotus (II, 18) that the inhabitants claimed to be Libyan and actually did not speak the Egyptian language, but the great probability of the wide extent of Libyan settlement seems to have escaped notice. It is readily discernible in the Fayoum whose patron-god, the crocodile Sebek, was declared by the Pyramid Texts (par. 510) to be the son of Neith who was the Libyan avatar of the divine Great Mother, as Hathor, followed by Isis, was in Egypt. Lanzoni has published a representation of her actually suckling two crocodiles (Diz. Mit., Pl. 175); Hölscher has gone so far as to suggest that Libyans originated in the Fayoum (p. 120).

Deductions from records of animal-worship are often valuable and will be useful here in the case of the ram. This creature was worshipped in Libya, as Herodotus has shown in his account of the Oasis of Ammon (II, 42), and the prevalence of the practice in prehistoric times has been proved by the rock-drawings of western Libya which display him crowned and, standing before him, a man in the attitude of worship—the buffalo also shared this honour (see Frobenius and Fox, *African Genesis*, p. 24, fig. 2), not to mention the well-known case in Oran illustrated by Capart (p. 204, fig. 161). Now, Amun of Thebes was also a ram-god and there were others in Egypt such as Khnum who was god of the district round the First Cataract where traces of Libyans have been discovered by both Bates and Hölscher; at Eshu he had as consort the great Libyan goddess, Neith; a close likeness between Egyptians and Libyans is established by these two authors from the evidence of weapons, dress, and decoration— including the phallic-sheath (*qarsata*)—and it seems nearly certain that the Nile valley was occupied not only by immigrants from the south, but also by settlers from the neighbouring steppeland; it is indeed most likely that the latter created the settlements of Merimdeh and Beni-Sallam as well as the site of the Fayoum explored by Miss Caton-Thompson. These migrants were all of the same 'Hamitic' stock and could easily agree together, at least until the increase of population, induced by greatly improved life-conditions, gave rise to mutual aggressiveness. To these we may add the prehistoric 'Saharan civilization' recently discovered in the desert west of Upper Egypt, for which see the report of the Mond–Myers expedition (*The Cemeteries of Arment*, Vol. I, pp. 267–277; also the J. of *Egyptian Archaeology*, XXV, p. 143). In the Delta they could settle wherever cultivable patches arose from the vast
wilderness of reedy marshes and among them we may well reckon the ram-worshippers of Mendes (see MAN, 1937, p. 172, col. 2) who, later, when the cult of Osiris entered their district, welcomed it so warmly that they adopted him as their patron-god in lieu of 'Anjeti and 'made of his image the emblem of their nome' (see Budge, From Fetish to God, pp. 110 and 184); in the Pyramid Texts, par. 614, 'Anjeti is equated with Osiris.

In brief summary Osiris may be considered to have originated with a great 'daimon' introduced to Egypt by peaceful immigrants from Mesopotamian regions where he was known as Asar, or its equivalents. They introduced in the late Amratian period the art of skillful irrigational organization; so great were the resulting benefits that the Osirian cult was readily absorbed by the people who had hitherto worshipped, besides the Great Mother under various names, merely local deities, largely quasi-totemic. The daimon developed into a concrete god as Osiris, becoming the mighty national of the fertility-rite with Isis as consort; she was the avatar of the very ancient and most widely venerated Great Mother who was thus conformed into the Osirian circle just as she had previously been into the tribal Hurian system under her name of Hat-hor, who preceded Isis as her avatar—yet she retained her original high status in such epithets as 'Mistress of Heaven,' 'Beautiful Queen of the goddesses,' 'Ruling all the gods' and so on (Lanzone, Dez. Mit., pp. 875 and 882, etc.). The tribal Horus, too, was similarly ingested, being made the son of Osiris. The fertility-rite was of very ancient origin and firmly rooted in the people's faith; when, therefore, Osiris appeared as supreme cause of the extraordinarily increased surety in life now enjoyed by them, due, as they would necessarily believe, to divine powers, they naturally made of him the protagonist of the ceremony which, from being formerly a local affair, now became the national one which we see displayed in Seti I's temple at Abydos. The position of Osiris in popular faith and affection was unique despite the supremacy officially accorded to Ra; the solemnization of his rites was the occasion of strong public rejoicing and of a special indulgence in lewd songs and antics—commonly relished as they are by human nature (see Herodotus, II, 48, and Plutarch, de Isis, sec. 36, who compares them with the Greek phallephoria). In many countries songs and jokes of this class are still customary at wedding-parties—rude epithalamia; they would be more than usually appropriate at this, the most momentous wedding of all—very likely the Turin papyrus known as the 'Obscene,' when, after these many years, it is accorded publication, will provide useful additions to present knowledge on the subject. In ancient Greece we may note in this connexion the gephyrismoi, those scandals-

ous bridge-jokes thrown at the Eleusinian initiates on their return to Athens from the celebration of their hierogamous mystery; the Dionysiac rites, too, included phallic hymns of which the famous Herakleitos scathingly remarked that they would be branded as 'shameless'; were they not sung in the service of a god (fragments 125 and 127). Songs of this character were widespread in Greek festivals, as we learn from Aristotle (Poetics, Bk. 4, chapter 10), and under official control and in them Professor Cornford found the key to the problem set forth in his work on The Origin of Attic Comedy.

Such are the main features of the coming of Osiris and his establishment in Egypt. Once this process was completed, other high functions were attributed to him in natural theological development; he became King of the Dead and also their judge, like Minos or Rhadamanthus in Greece, and as such presided at the Weighing of Souls which was naturally a favourite subject for funereal papyri, intended as they were to ensure magically a happy issue for the souls of their owners. Further, when the divine Pharaoh died he was believed to retain his earthly state in the Afterworld, a king and consequently an Osiris; later, when the higher courtiers wished in importance, they too were privileged to attain the same honour, probably with the king's authorization when, as the inscriptions put it, he 'gave' them a tomb.

Note 1.—At the end of my last article (MAN, 1943, 16, p. 34) reference was made to a version of the maneros which attributed two mothers to Horus. There is an exact parallel in classical mythology, recorded by Ovid in the Metamorphoses (IV, 12): the glowing encomium applied by the Bacchantes to their god—polyonymous like Osiris or Hathor—includes the unique epithet 'twi-mothered' (solum bimatreum). This epithet was doubtless from the Greek; see Diodorus Siculus, Bk. 4, chapter 4, in which book he also relates that a widespread feature of religious rites was the entry into them of phallic matters, welcomed with laughter and sporting play. A material instance is to be found in the parabasis of Aristophanes' comedy The Clouds.

Note 2.—Completion by Marriage is notably exemplified by the conditions of kingship in Egypt where matrilineal descent was practised; the king, to ensure his complete legitimacy must marry a lady of royal descent. Here, it would seem, we may find the solution of the problem of the personality of Menes, the first king of both Upper and Lower Egypt (see H. R. Hall in the Camb. Anc. Hist., 1, 267). I would suggest that his two predecessors, the 'Scorpion' and Narmer, were the effective conquerors of the Delta, but that the conquest was not recognized throughout the country till their successor, Menes, married a princess of the Delta,
Neith-hotep. His personal name figures in the list of Seti I's temple at Abydos as Mst (vowels are often unsure) but his regnant name was 'The Warrior Horus' (Hor-abu) as Emery has fairly established in his monograph on the tomb at Saqqara (pp. 4-7); he doubtless earned it by his final victories. By his marriage he gained recognition as first Unifier of the Two Lands; of this there is an interesting piece of proof in certain toilet articles found in the Queen's tomb, bearing her name with the epithet 'Uniter of the Two Lordships' (Petrie, Royal Tombs, II, Pl. II, no. 11). Menes seems also to have insisted on his intimate connexion with Horus, for some of his seals bear the epithet 'Son of Isis' (Emery, Hor-abu, pp. 23 ff., and fig. 1 D). It is worthy of remark that nowhere is there mention of Re; the solar cult had not yet risen to its supremacy.

Another parallel, referring to the completion of a man by marriage, comes from a more primitive people of modern West Africa. The sorcerers of the Ovimbundu, the largest tribe of Angola, use a special basket for divining; it is controlled by a spirit which, to ensure its efficacy, must be provided with a female complement. The sorcerer therefore gets a girl to spend the night with him and then poisons her, thus sending her spirit, properly prepared, to join with that of the basket (Mrs. L. S. Tucker in J.R.A., LXX, p. 178).


Anthropology, according to Dr. Marett, is the study of man in evolution. Materials relevant to the anthropologist's work would doubtless be found in more than one department of a large museum, but it is worth noting that in some museums of Northern Europe, and especially in those of Scandinavia, the department of 'Folkliv' or 'Volkskunde' assumes a distinctly anthropological role. Dr. Forwerth Peate, of the National Museum of Wales, has used the term 'Folk Culture' for this study. He is the Keeper of the department of 'Folk Culture and Industries' in the Welsh Museum. At first the department was only part of the archeological section, and it was called 'The Collection of Welsh Bygones,' as in the 1929 guide published by the museum. This guide has for a sub-title: 'A descriptive account of the old-fashioned life in Wales.' In 1930 Dr. (then Mr.) Peate referred to the collection of material dealing with Welsh rural crafts, and in 1935 the museum guide speaks of Welsh Folk Crafts and Industries. Since 1938 the term 'Folk Culture' has been used, and Dr. Peate has made the following statement in support of its use:

Wales, through its museums, has adopted the term 'folk culture' to connote that field of ethnology with which we are concerned. It has done so because the Welsh equivalent of the term (disyllabic guern) is generally used and naturally understood by Welshmen to mean the complete body of spiritual and material culture, 'the way of life' of the nation in general... In museum practice, Folk Culture appears to me to be a more satisfactory term than either ethnography (the scientific description of races of men) or ethnology (the science of races and their relations to one another, and their characteristics).

In the 1934 conference on Folk Museums, the same scholar stated that Wales is a singularly appropriate and compact topographical unit for the study of folk-life. It is this latter term, in the form 'Folkliv,' that has been used by Professor Sigurd Erixon, one of the pioneers of the study. The journal of which he is editor is called Folkliv. There is in Upsala a Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Folk Life Research ('Folklivsforskning'); and Scandinavian museums and university chairs use the same word.

Is 'Folk Culture' a good English equivalent for 'Folkliv'? Does it convey precisely the field of scholarship referred to? If not, what term would appear to be more suitable?

In his foreword to Folkliv, Vol. I (1937), Professor Erixon assigns to his subject a very wide scope. 'Generally,' he says, 'it has been awarded a certain amount of space in archeological, historical, artistic, geographical, or philological publications. He proceeds to explain that 'Folkliv' is concerned with 'the mental or bodily functions and works' of Man. The physiologist, the medical scientist, and the physical anthropologist will however be allowed to retain their special roles, for the student of 'Folkliv' will not encroach on their fields. Man's everyday life will be his proper sphere, and he will concentrate on an objective knowledge of the external material associated with it, and on the concomitant conditions and functions. The aim is to interpret and understand the community behaviour of human beings,' and it is suggested that this is best done by working in each country on the national material, showing its origin and distribution, and its development within the country. Dr. Peate, it should be noted, tends to widen the scope even of this definition. To an exposé...
of Professor Erixon's standpoint he adds: 'In Wales, for instance, we are concerned with the culture of the Welsh people—in its domestic, social, and spiritual aspects.' In a more recent statement he says: 'The student of folk culture must therefore consider all the activities of man. He is an anthropologist in the broadest sense of the word.' While he in practice confines himself to the material expressions of culture, he emphasizes that even language should be considered to take its place naturally with the raw materials of folk culture.

Relevant books and museum departments show that this subject is actually concerned in the main with the material culture of nations in periods more recent than those with which archaeology deals. The word 'folk' is used in 'folk culture' to denote people in general rather than the lower or uneducated classes. Some would question this use. E. P. Barker, writing on folk-dancing, says: 'In its common application, however, to civilizations of the western type (in such compounds as folk-lore, folk-music, etc.) it is narrowed down to include only those who are mainly outside the currents of urban culture and systematic education, the unlettered or little-lettered inhabitants of village and country-side.' W. R. Halliday would like to distinguish between the domains of folk-lore and social anthropology. He notes that 'the general implication of usage is towards restricting the province of folklore to the culture of the backward elements in civilized societies'; and W. J. Thoms, who coined the word in 1846, used it with this reference. In German the word 'Volk' can have the wider or the narrower meaning: one may speak of 'das ganze deutsche Volk,' while in a word like 'Volkskunde,' it refers to the culture of the rural or less educated classes. The Oxford Dictionary supports the wider meaning for the English word, a meaning which is certainly present in the Welsh 'gwerin.' A. H. Fox Strangways argues thus: 'Volk' means 'all human beings.' 'The folk' never meant 'yokel,' these Langland called 'loued men,' as opposed to 'lettered men.' Usage, then, appears to be divided on the point, but as lexicographers agree in ascribing the wider meaning of 'folk,' there is no objection to making it refer, in 'folk culture,' to the people of a nation as a whole.

Is the term 'culture' equally defensible in this connexion? Actual practice, one fears, does not live up to the comprehensiveness of the term. In the National Museum of Wales, for example, we find that the Department of Folk Culture exhibits examples of the arts and crafts of Wales prior to the advent of modern methods of mass production. Architectural woodwork, furniture, and fittings of old Welsh houses are shown. A reconstruction of a typical Welsh kitchen is given special prominence. Objects connected with home and village industries, with the open air life of the people, and with Welsh customs and beliefs are included. The special section devoted to local industries is not really parallel to the work done in the industrial museums of the continent, since the latter embrace also the mechanized methods which followed the Industrial Revolution. Cracow's industrial museum, it is true, emphasizes the arts and crafts; and while the similar museums in Munich and Vienna show full-scale models of mines and industrial plants, they also show period rooms with ancient shoemakers' shops, apothecaries' stores, and old-world industries. One thinks of the museums of industrial art which are (or were) at Berlin and Hamburg. But more directly in line with the idea of 'folk culture' is the Scandinavian enthusiasm for the open-air collection of buildings and objects. The earliest was that at Skansen, in Stockholm, Sweden. A group of peasant cottages, barns, sheds, windmills, belfries of churches, and other pieces of native architecture are there set together on a hillside overlooking the city. Carts and farm implements are suitably placed in the buildings, and the Swedish example probably influenced closely built museums in the direction of the idea of 'habitat groups.' The subsequent development of this study in the Scandinavian countries was not, however, paralleled in England, and Dr. Peate has claimed that his department is the only one of its kind in all the museums of the Empire. Some local museums should perhaps be noted as exceptions; witness the Tolson museum of local history (natural and human) at Huddersfield.

Judging from current practice, one is entitled to say that students of 'folk culture' do not seek to deal in the ordinary way with literature, philology, art, music, folklore, and ethnology. They may touch on the fringes of some of them in that they collect early types of musical instruments or objects of literary curiosity (excluding books) or external manifestations of popular superstitions. But it is clear that 'culture' is too wide a term to denote this study. The restriction to the material side of culture has prompted some to use the name 'material culture.' Thus R. U. Sayce entitles an important contribution to this field: *Primitive Arts and Crafts: an Introduction to the Study of Material Culture.* Even this name, however, when considered in relation to museum practice, is unsatisfactory, as the flourishing departments of Art really belong to 'material culture.' The scope
of folklore, too, would seem to overlap with "material culture" if we agree with Professor Halliday\(^{12}\) that today the scope of folklore includes what was deliberately excluded in the early definition, popular arts and crafts, i.e., the material as well as the intellectual culture of the peasantry.

It is clear that there are strong reasons for re-naming "folk culture." A name which defines with some exactness the field covered by some professors of the subject is "Folk Crafts and Industries." It would be very much in the interests of anthropology if this name, or one like it, were adopted. For the point at issue is not a mere matter of nomenclature. It affects the whole question of clarity of classification with regard to the branches of anthropology.

There are some who would question whether "Folk Crafts and Industries" are not properly to be regarded as a part of the study of archaeology. The same kind of material is certainly dealt with by archaeologists, but the tendency is for them to deal with earlier periods. Indeed Grahame Clark in his book *Archaeology and Society* confines archaeology to pre-historic times, although he acknowledges that this delimitation is not usually employed.\(^{13}\) What is the chronological boundary of archaeological study? The word "antiquary" was once used of one who studied sub-modern archaeology. When does the archaeologist become an antiquary? Is a question asked and answered by H. R. Hall.\(^{14}\) Archaeology takes cognizance of all ancient Man and his works. The boundary between archaeology and antiquarianism is an unreal one, for the scientific antiquary is an archaeologist even if he be dealing with the relics of the sixties, or let us say "Middle Victorian II a."

But for practical purposes the time of division may be placed in England, France, and Germany at the "Renaissance": the middle ages belong to archaeology, whereas the sixteenth century is modern and does not. Even this division might be disputed, and usage does not completely endorse it. The publications, for example, of the Society of Antiquaries often stray into the medieval period. Students of "Folklore" will naturally merge their work, especially as far as origins are concerned, into that of archaeologists, but in general they have to deal with the material of later periods.

The proposal for an English National Folk Museum was considered in 1934 at a Bristol Conference, and Dr. Mortimer Wheeler then suggested that such a museum should include indoor and outdoor parts. The indoor part, he thought, "would include objects illustrating country crafts, folk-lore etc. from all parts of England... In other words, the indoor museum would be a sort of Anthropological Museum "with a localized and restricted purpose."\(^{15}\) The ideas of this conference came to nothing, and perhaps one of the difficulties was the wide scope of the material involved, especially in the projected outdoor part, if the Scandinavian pattern were to be followed. "Material culture" is the name used by MAN. Other names have been used from time to time in articles and books on the subject. Ralph Merrifield writes in the *Museums Journal* 40, on "Cultural anthropology in the museum." Ake Campbell, writing in *Bolleides*, 5, entitles his article "Irish Fields and Houses: A Study of Rural Culture." Of these two terms, the first is too wide, and the second too restricted. There remains "Folklore," of which Professor Halliday states:\(^{16}\)

The word was coined by W. J. Thomas in 1846 to denote the traditions, customs, and superstitions of the uncultured classes in civilized nations. The meaning of words, however, is prescribed not by definition but by usage, and to-day the scope of folklore includes what was deliberately excluded in the early definition, popular arts and crafts, i.e., the material as well as the intellectual culture of the peasantry.

If this is so, "Folklore" might well be advocated instead of "Folk Culture": it would not be so unreasonably comprehensive a term, while it would yet include every side of the subject. "Folklore" is certainly used now in this sense by some writers. Mr. R. U. Sayce, reviewing S. O'Sullivan-Brohan's *Handbook of Irish Folklore* in *Folk-lore*, 54, 312, writes thus of the scope of "Folklore" in this book:

Thirdly, it does not differentiate between folk and non-folk, between rich and poor, educated and uneducated. Nor is there any restriction of period. The investigator is asked to collect information about stone monuments and earthworks, medieval castles and monasteries, invasions and emigrations, and about such things as Sinn Fein and the Great War. Fourthly, it is interested in all sides of lore, including the houses people lived in, the dress they wore, the food they ate, their social dealings with one another, their education, and religious life, their festivals and amusements, birth, marriage, and deaths, together with beliefs about the afterworld as well as innumerable other facets of human life... Folklore thus interpreted becomes Irish or European ethnology.

The same sense is apparent in the use of the German "Volkstrume" which *Der Gross Brockhaus* of 1934 defines as "die Wissenschaft von den althergebrachten dinglichen und geistig-seelischen Gütern eines Volkes, die zusammen sein Volkstum bestimmen." ("The science of a people's material and spiritual possessions which have been handed down from old and which together make up its nationhood.") This broad definition is then restricted thus: "Volkstrume

\(^{13}\) *Archaeology and Society* (Methuen, 1930), p. 4: "The methods of archaeology are inherently the same whether applied to prehistoric or historic times, but the scope of the subject makes it convenient to separate the two fields."
\(^{14}\) *Ercsit Brit.*. (14th ed.)
\(^{16}\) Loc. cit.
in a narrower sense, as contrasted with the comprehensive Volkskunde, contains folk belief and law, custom and poetry, houses and domestic utensils, costume and implements, and so forth.) It is important to note that Folk in this word has the wider meaning.—Brockhaus: A former restriction of Volkskunde to the peasantry is to-day replaced by a consideration of all the social communities.

In spite of the statements quoted from Halliday and Sayce, there is a tendency in England to limit Folklore to the study of customs and superstitions, such as in the published work of the Folklore Society. It is taken in this sense by the Encyclopaedia Italiana (1932, sub. v.): 'Sotto tale aspetto il folklore escludebbe dal suo dominio le pratiche e le costumanze, costituendo quel capitolo della scienza storica che tratta della storia non scritta e della religione non ufficiale.' (R. Corso). Were it not for this, Folklore would be a satisfactory substitute for Folk Culture, and would be exactly parallel to Volkskunde.

It will be remembered that the objection to Folk Culture is that although the wider meaning of Folk may be accepted, the correspondingly wide meaning of Culture obviously does not fall within the limits of the subject. No one would claim, for example, that the literature, music, and art of a whole people belong to this field. Folk Crafts and Industries is a title which accurately describes some museum collections relating to the subject; but it does not properly comprehend also the study denoted by Folklore in its narrower sense—a study which Erixon, Peate, and Sayce include in their work.

Now Erixon's use of Folkliv suggests that this word should also be used in its English form. Folk Life is at once comprehensive enough to meet the claims of the subject's milder enthusiasts and narrow enough to exclude the higher forms of spiritual culture. That these forms often lie behind aspects of Folk Life will be readily admitted, but the study of Folk Life will be mainly concerned with material culture.

Thus viewed and defined, the subject has close affinities with archaeology. But it has a more vital connexion with traditions that are still growing. This is probably why the work in this field is arranged on national lines, for it is good that people should know and study the development of their way of life down to their own times. History, said Mr. O. G. S. Crawford (in Man and His Past, Oxford, 1921, p. 50) like charity begins at home, with the known and familiar, and works outwards; with the present, and works backwards.

It is the connexion with the life around them that gives to museums or departments of Folkliv their freshness and their power of stimulating interest. Indeed, the subject has contributed much to the modern conception of a museum as being not merely a collection of curiosities, but rather, in the words of Sir Frederic Kenyon, 'an engine of research and of popular education.' The idea of a museum as a laboratory for research is perhaps chiefly due to the great archaeological discoveries of recent decades. But popular education has been most successful in connexion with the study of Folkliv, knowledge of which has been spread, not in the passive manner which once characterized museum technique, but with active enthusiasm. This, it may be suggested, is partly due to the nature of the subject.

Is the national emphasis necessary or desirable? That such an emphasis has given new zest to pre-historic archaeology is shown by Grahame Clark, who, writing in 1939, states that it is among the new nations struggling for self-expression and among the authoritarian states striving at once to overawe their neighbours and impose uniformity within their borders, that some of the most startling progress in pre-historic research has been made in recent years.

He also shows, however, that among the authoritarian states scientific impartiality has suffered somewhat owing to this enthusiasm. If the life of society and the study of anthropology are to be correlated seriously, the present moment in history asks for a careful revision of the scholar's Weltanschauung.

A few years after the end of the First World War, Mr. O. G. S. Crawford made an eloquent plea on behalf of the archaeologist as one who is well equipped to extend the boundaries of orthodox history.

If human history is to be taught as one and indivisible, we cannot do without him... If humanity is to be the central figure in the history of the future, everything pertaining to humanity will acquire a new value and a new interest for us. The results of the archaeologist will form part of the raw material out of which the educator of the future will construct his system.... We no longer live from day to day: we take long views. The archaeologist has work to do for the good of the race: he is making bricks for the museums others after him shall build.

The adoption of this standpoint is still more urgent to-day, but the national emphasis of Folkliv is not inconsistent with it. The interpretation of that emphasis by scholars like Erixon, Peate, Estyn Evans, and R. U. Sayce is admirable in every way. While they concentrate on the material of particular countries, they freely use the comparative method and stress the unity of Man in the diversity of his environment and external habits.

15 Cf. E. G. Bowen's remark in The Curiosities of Antiquity, 1942, p. 5 (reviewing Peate's work on Welsh Folk Culture, and Estyn Evans's Irish Heritage). It is clear, therefore, that neither book deals with non-material culture, but both authors realize that it lies behind the story they have to tell.

MAN

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

The Place of China in an Ethnographical Museum.

Summary of a Communication made by Dr. O. W. Stimson: 19 December, 1944.

Our larger museums in illustrating China mainly deal with its art and archaeology. Provincial museums often include oddities such as opium pipes with smoker complete under glass, wooden models of gruesome tortures and maimed feet. There is, of course, a great difference between the excellent, tasteful, and scientifically arranged collections of the former and the provincial side-show in a local museum. They have one thing in common, however; they both represent China nor Chinese culture in its entirety. One realizes that this is not their aim. Where shall it be represented? The only answer seems to be that the ethnographical museum unless one can afford a special museum of China or the Far-East.

Examples taken at random from the wide field of material culture and technology illustrate by pictures from a collection made in northern and Central China, included super culture, handicraft, and street-signs. Theatres, shadow, and puppet shows were chosen as examples of social life that can be exhibited in a museum. Photographs of models of a funeral and wedding procession, made in Peiping, demonstrated the most instructive method of representing a social custom. Apart from Buddhism and Taoism, the gods of every-day life, viz. the kitchen-god, the different money-gods; the special gods of various craftsmen were discussed. The New Year festival, chosen from the great variety of popular celebrations, is especially rich in pictures; posters, lanterns, etc.

Stress is laid on the necessity of depicting the ethnography of China proper (the eighteen provinces) contrary to the view that only indigenous tribes as the Aborigines in Australia or Natives in New Guinea or our own aboriginals are suitable material for ethnographical exhibits.

REVIEWs

EGYPT


This is a general account of the 'Saints' Days' of modern Egypt, neatly all, of course, Mohammedan. "Mosalid, as the word is pronounced, - well faith, is the French rendering, - which 'Mosalid' is the French rendering, - means 'the day of the birth' and here we meet with the first trace of survival from the days of antiquity, for the famous 'Pakeiro Society' of the Sixth Dynasty which purports to chronicle occurrences of national importance from the beginning of the country's history, frequently records the 'birth' of various gods, that is, the feast commemorating their 'birth.' Actual birth dates were of course unknown, as in the case of practically all the modern saints. Another feature, common to both modern and ancient, is the great popular jollification which accompanies religious 'fêtes,' the ancient being clearly reflected in certain Egyptian texts and in the writings of Herodotus and his class. An excellent example is afforded by the well-known festival of Luxor Temple depicting the great popular joy which accompanied the 'Beautiful Festival' of the national god Amun-Re when he sailed in majesty procession from his Northern to his Southern habitation, for his annual hieroglyph. Such rejoicing is a feature common to the whole world; the very name of 'holidays' attests it (the ancient Egyptian equivalent is hke, meaning a religious festival, but conveying also, in certain phrases, the idea of 'rejoicing'). In Egypt, it survives in England, most notably of course for Christmas but in some districts, such as western Cornwall, the old 'Saints' Days' are still commemorated by domestic gatherings and rejoicings by the villagers on the eve of the Day sacred to the Saint to whom the parish church is dedicated (see Miss M. A. Courtenay, 'Cornish Customs and Folklore', from proceedings of the Folk-Lore Society). Here also Corpus Christi is still a day notable for feasts, circuses, and public enjoyment.

The author, who evinces in a markedly personal manner his sympathy for what he describes, laments the falling-off of the old ceremonies. His bias show them to be of much the same kind as those to be seen on Bank Holidays in England or in 'Fun Fairs,' with the addition, of course, of certain oriental features unknown here. The purely religious features naturally remain, especially the feasts, or procession it retains all its old popularity, recalling the people's jubilations at the procession of the 'Beautiful Feast' of ancient Thebes. We need hardly say how universal is this kind of public rejoicing, very evident in European countries where the Roman Church still reigns; it survived even in continental Protestant countries until recent years.

The modern dependence on Egypt due, as was Byzantium and Puritan iconoclasm, to the dominating religious conviction that they had a desecrating character. In some cases, this has been as in that of a statue of a famous saint years ago in the Cairo Museum of Sfek el Far, recorded by me, with the suggestion of its ancient source, in "Further Notes on Phallicism in Ancient Egypt" (Man, 1927, p. 34). Further, even in the very heart of Islam, Mecca, and Medina, age-long customs, such as visits to ancestral or holy tombs, have been freely dealt with by the present Wahabi dynasty in execution of the puritanic tenets of that sect. In Egypt, again, the public performance of the very ancient 'dance du ventre' is now prohibited.

Among coincides are counted the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and others of Christian saints such as St. George, to whom Muslims also have recourse in hope of help in their earthly troubles. This circumstance might seem to result from religious toleration, but that is almost unknown to the general in the Near East for whom, as till recently in Russia, the clearance between communities was that of religion, not nationality. Turkey, however, under the present régime, has enforced the change to the modern idea of nationality. The Egyptian attitude may probably be explained as a survival from ancient times of a simple strong belief in the virtues of all sacred places alike, and of their spiritual inhabitants.

The author makes free use of Arabic words, mostly unnecessary, but has appended a glossary. Arabic script also abounds, the book having been printed in Cairo, hardly a favourable feature for the general English reader. His translations are sometimes too free; one example, on p. 251, is incorrect, 'displaying a stronger religious tinge than the original of which a strict rendering would be, 'O Lord, make them our leaves on our tree, we are still little ones,' but the author, intent on rhyme—though the original is unrhymed—and his own form of sentiment, makes it end: 'we are Thy little kindred.' Amen. This is fairly typical of his very personal style in which formality of all degrees is generally eschewed. He has, however, rendered here a service in drawing attention to children's songs and tags of a folklore nature, of which a full collection would be valuable as displaying the common trend of native thought and, occasionally, its link with antiquity, such as in the following example. On the fall of a child's first milk-tooth the child takes it outside the house, in its open palm, and chants in rhyme: 'O Sun, O Sun, O Sunning, Take the dainty-tooth And bring me the Bride's three. We seem to have an unconscious reminiscence of the old sun-cult. Among other survivals the author mentions two or three 'sacred' trees, connected with saints' shrines, seemingly unaware of their multiplicity throughout the land. The same may be said of the verse on the children's leaves; it refers to the legend, recounted by the author, of the leaves on the sacred lotus-tree on which are written the names of all
unmanned; on a certain night the leaves of those who shall die in the morning fall to the ground. They sing the verse on that night—a pretty custom, but veiling probably, in an inverted way, the old Egyptian notion that the Goddess of Writing, Seshat, on certain occasions, inscribed the name and fate of the king on the leaves of the Tree of Heaven, promising that the king would give immortality to his name, and live eternally. Another element in the modern Egyptian belief may possibly be derived, through Arabia, from the Babylonian annual ceremony connected with the divine Casting of Lots for kings and their followers, reflected in the Jewish Feast of Purim.

While there is no necessity to recall in detail and events which reflect in a simple way the common life of the streets, so often unobserved by writers on the East; besides their human interest, they usually bear on the real and intimate conditions of the country—straws, perhaps, in the social wind. As a random example, one may take the case of the traffic policeman, recounted on pp. 249-50, so eloquent in meaning to one who knows the country and its people.

G. D. HORNBLOWER

SOCIOLOGY


Mr. Stevenson's book appears at an auspicious time, when, in the tropical interior of the State, the problem of the future, which he deals by reason of the war situation, and, secondly, he writes applying the functional anthropological method evolved by Malinowski and Firth in the Pacific area, for the first time to peoples of Upper Burma. The material embodied in his book was collected by Mr. Stevenson during the years 1934-36 in his capacity as Assistant Superintendent, Falam, in the Burma Frontier Service. All the information gathered at various times and in various places has been organized with the greatest thoroughness and accuracy of detail, and has been worked out in relation to economic theory substantiated by first-hand experience. Dealing with a subject that might easily be obscured by the use of technical terms, his style is fortunately clear and direct and, but for the first chapter defining the general precepts of comparative economics, there is never a moment's doubt that it is the practice of the Chin people which hold the centre of the stage, and not an interpretation of economic theory.

Mr. Stevenson necessarily arranges his material in conformity with principles of production, distribution, and consumption. To be sure, the book does not attempt to give the tribe's economic history. The triple distinction he makes of grain as 'a non-grain', 'production good used to produce more grain', and as 'capital invested to produce interest' is as real to the Chin agriculturalist as it is to him. In the main however the Chin point of view is preserved, and the sympathy of his imagination made more real by Mr. Stevenson's energetic refusal to separate social, religious, and economic spheres of life into independent departments. As the title suggests family life, social obligations, justice and material status are interpreted in the light of their economic significance. There is a brief chapter outlining social life and what is known of the history and traditions of the Chins and their neighbours, but this is not a comprehensive monograph and we must go elsewhere for more elaborate descriptions of much that is assumed and for the impression of a third dimension of past events—greatly valued by students of the Chin. The reproduction of the subject inevitably lacks, as well as an analysis of the differing sources which have contributed to the existing form.

Mr. Stevenson sets out systematically and logically details of agricultural practices, techniques, and resources, of the part played economically and ceremonially by livestock, of hunting and fishing customs, and of the exploitation of forest products. He is familiar with the native terms for all these practices and points out the variations between the tribes generally classified under the name of Chin in the Falam Subdivision. That theory, some say, a new name with age, is made apparent by the arbitrary carving up of the country into political divisions after the annexation in 1889 which do not in the last resort correspond to the areas of tribal dispersion. The juxtaposition of tribes with different customs under one chief has now been aggravated by the ease and readiness with which villages or parts of villages migrate from an unenlarged home. A further division of tribes into a Democratic and Autocratic group is assumed and is more fully explained in Mr. Stevenson's article in Man, 1937-38. Unfortunately the respective account is given of systems of Land Tenure and their implications; for the author follows Malinowski in assessing the importance of land tenure in the most comprehensive manner possible. In the Chin Hills the significance of defining existing systems is great, because it is generally the basic conflicts which are disturbing the administrative authorities. What Mr. Stevenson calls the 'tendency towards increased individualism in land tenure' is undermining the older systems in which the right of disposal of occupied or unoccupied land is exercised by the chief or headman on behalf of the village community, this right itself being subject to the consideration of other principles effecting public welfare.

Mr. Stevenson's suggestions on policy, which might well be followed by his successors in the Chin Hills administration, and by all administrative officers where the same situations and tendencies arise, are obviously of great value and have been carefully weighed and formulated during his years of experience. He notes such tendencies as the gradual deterioration of stock through the introduction of goats; cattle, the destruction of good timber through indiscriminate felling of trees; the increase of crop lands and the inevitable soil erosion that follows upon deforestation—all of which disasters could be averted or checked by authoritative measures. The dangers inherent in allowing new systems to undermine old institutions are illustrated by the example of the Chins who, in the face of modernisation from the ancient barter trade, which aimed at supplying the necessities of local economy, to the new cash trade which increasingly took the Chin economy to the markets of the world outside and is potent with danger to the traditional avenues of spending. Similarly the impact of the Indian Penal Code upon the customary law enforced by tribal authorities is represented as cutting right across the basic principles of Chin justice in that the Indian Penal Code entails 'seizure against the offender rather than redress of the economic consequences of offence'. These unlooked-for consequences of annexation caused by irresponsibility or lack of understanding of the structure of native life in themselves speak for the value of Mr. Stevenson's type of work to administrators. He himself states that he has two ends in view, that of the administrator and that of the social scientist, and he has confined his work to the needs of the former; but it is as an anthropologist or comparative economist, too, he has proved himself eminently capable. No fault could be found with his systematic arrangement and presentation of the facts related to the economic implications of the tribal functions. Only it might be argued that such earnest concern with functions, and their relative importance and mutual integration, leaves the reader with very little idea of the functioning, of the human element behind the economic structure.

Mr. Stevenson's book provides a very sound and complete background to the life of the Central Chin villages communities, which we hope his colleagues will undertake to elaborate.

The Times of India Press, even under war conditions, has produced the book in a form which in spite of a few misprints makes it a pleasure to read. The maps and plans add greatly to the clarity of the subject matter, and there are numerous photographs of valuable value which the reproduction of these does seem to have suffered from 'the exigencies of war'. Mr. Li, by the way, an Assamese word, should be spelled with a 'u' in the second syllable, not an 'a'.

JANE McFIE


In this brief but important paper, published in the first number of a new journal, Mr. Li An-cho, who before Yenching University was opened and had to work with the men who were left of its forces at Chungtu in West China, Mr. Li An-cho discusses the present position of the social sciences in China and
outlines a bold programme for the systematic collection of data in the field.

Few will quarrel with Mr. Li's premise that the study of Chinese society and culture has been handicapped by too much book-learning and also by some of the traditional methods of Chinese scholarship, in which the authority plays so conspicuous a part. Modern Chinese scientific enterprise has already given the world a comprehensive study of Land Utilization in China, under Mr. Lii Henk's direction, and it now approaches, in the Social Sciences, a virgin field of vast importance which calls for the thorough work and the wide use of systematic methods. 

Mr. Li proposes a series of comprehensive field-studies of 'communities', which would contribute a sound basis for systematic social science and intelligent social planning in China.

Mr. Li puts forward a reasoned plea for international collaboration and technical assistance in field work in China. Sympathetic scholars and scientific institutions all over the world have a chance to help China in their direct line of interest, either in active participation in field research, or in offering scholarships and fellowships to facilitate these two types of work in China. The accumulation of first-hand findings in social science in China, will give the world picture itself a new and more lasting value to international relations than the cultural propagandas on which so much money has been spent in the course of the wars. It is too much too hope that, when our universities get into their stride again, someone will ponder Mr. Li's words and secure some degree of priority for work in the great open spaces of China as part of our foreign academic relations!

EVERT BARGER


The report of the anthropologist, G. W. Feeney, received full recognition in America in December 1940 with the formation of the Committee on Food Habits. The Committee, under the able leadership of Dr. Lii Henk, has introduced a systematic study of dietary changes in China. The report is packed with information, and it is a credit to the committee that has laid down in separate studies, from different viewpoints, and with varying results. Students of biology, physiology, psychology, anthropology, sociology, public relations, public health, and education have all given attention to these phenomena, have accumulated data, and formulated various conclusions, correlational, deductive, and inductive.

This statement gives a very fair idea of the report. It has been published by the families of Dr. Gath and Dr. Margaret Macalpine, its Executive Secretary, on the title page. The report is packed with information, belabouring its kaleidoscopic variety and the abruptness of its severely condensed papers, many of them no more than the briefest pieces of papers issued separately by the Committee, of which a list will be found attached. This is a most interesting and valuable document for the future of food habits, the law of the land is the law of nature, and the change in food habits is a change in the fundamental law of nature. 

The Paper Would Pick out as of Particular Interest are

K. Lewin on why people eat what they eat, and some experiments in changing food habits;

L. E. Kocq on making use of the friendship pattern in nutrition education; and a study by

H. Pasin and J. N. Donatelli of the relationship between social processes and dietary change, in which the traditional and contemporary diet of certain groups are analyzed in terms of core, secondary core, and peripheral foods or alternatives, the changes found being related to the processes of modernization, urbanization, and contact between groups. Fields could be found offering greater scope than the U.S.A. for comparative work and the public health worker, who desires a comprehensive survey of China, would do well to keep an eye on this work.
Sale of Land in an Ibo Community, Nigeria

Sir,—I hope that this short account of "Sales of Land in an Ibo Community" may be of sufficient interest to publish in MAN as an illustration of the trend of development of Ibo systems of land tenure under the stress of changing economic circumstances. Permission to publish has been given by the Nigerian Government, though the latter is not of course in any way responsible for the accuracy of the facts or the opinions expressed therein.

It is generally held that the outright sale of land is unknown to the Ibo and although this may be accepted as the general rule the following account of outright sales of land at Nnewi in the Enugu Province, Nigeria, may be of interest.

The system of land tenure in Nnewi accords in the main with the general Ibo patterns of land communal to the quarter, land communal to the extended family and individual holdings. Beyond sacred groves and mortuaries there is little land held communally by the quarter and owing to the pressure of population, which is over 1,000 to the square mile, a great deal of the land held communally by extended families has now been divided amongst sub-families and again into individual holdings. For all practical purposes individual holdings are owned outright by the holder. His interest in the land is more than a heritable usufruct for he may alienate it temporarily by letting it out at a rental or by pledging it and may in certain circumstances, as will be shown, alienate it outright by selling it and when so doing he may act on his own without obtaining the consent of, or even consulting his family or anyone in respect of, certain land by the higher land-owning unit now amounts to little more than a vague right to inherit in the event of all nearer heirs failing, a contingency which in an Ibo community is very remote.

Sales of land appear to be confined to individual holdings, infrequent as are the outright sales being whether or not a man was killed on the land. If no goat is killed the transaction is a pledge and the land is re-assignable. If a goat is killed the alienation is complete and the vendor retains no interest. He may, however, sell the land but retain an interest in any economic trees growing on it unless the latter are expressly included in the sale.

The only restriction on sales of this nature, and it is an important one, is that land may not be sold to a stranger, a restriction which does not apply to pledging. Only one case has come to my notice where a stranger claimed to have bought land. In his case there was ample evidence to prove that he had not bought the land but in dismissing his claim the native court saw fit to remark that in any case a sale would have been impossible because the alleged purchaser was not a Nnewi man. The court members could give no definite advice on how the vendor would act if he bought the land, but in dismissing his claim the native court saw fit to remark that in any case a sale would have been impossible because the alleged purchaser was not a Nnewi man. The court members could give no definite advice on how the vendor would act if he bought the land but in dismissing his claim the native court saw fit to remark that in any case a sale would have been impossible because the alleged purchaser was not a Nnewi man. The court members could give no definite advice on how the vendor would act if he bought the land but in dismissing his claim the native court saw fit to remark that in any case a sale would have been impossible because the alleged purchaser was not a Nnewi man. The court members could give no definite advice on how the vendor would act if he bought the land but in dismissing his claim the native court saw fit to remark that in any case a sale would have been impossible because the alleged purchaser was not a Nnewi man.

Although when land is sold the vendor parts with his whole interest, he nevertheless retains a right of pre-emption at double the original purchase price if the purchaser should subsequently wish to re-sell. Moreover, if the land has not been built on the vendor may at any time offer to buy it back at double the purchase price and the general consensus of opinion is that in such case the purchaser should permit him to do so. He cannot, however, be forced to re-sell if he does not wish to do so.

Sales of land are an innovation and it is submitted that such transactions were unknown in the old days. They are, however, now fully recognized and enforced in the native court. The system, in this area, is to inform the Nnewi land and has not been extended to neighboring villages. To custom, has arisen through the importation of alien ideas of land tenure for the Nnewis have had little if any opportunity of coming in contact with such ideas. It appears to be a custom that has arisen spontaneously as a result of economic circumstances. Nnewi is thickly populated and the land is insufficient to support the population. The shortage of land drives an increasing number of men out to seek their fortunes as clerks, traders, or lorry-owners in which pursuits they are as a rule very successful. It is the aim of all successful Nnewi men to return to their homes and build themselves a permanent house with corrugated iron roof, and frequently their own land is insufficient or unsuitable for the purpose and the necessity arises of obtaining land elsewhere. The old system of obtaining land on pledge, redeemable at the will of the pledgee, gave too insecure a title to a man about to invest a large sum of money in a house and although it cannot be said that building is the only purpose for which land is bought, this is undoubtedly the principal factor in developing the system of outright sales.

J. O. FIELD

Colonial Administrative Service, Lagos, Nigeria

NOTES


2 (a) An interesting case occurred recently at the neighboring village of Ukpor where the only surviving member of a sub-family is a girl of about 17 years of age. She inherited all the sub-family land as her individual property. Various straights of connected sub-families to obtain possession of the land were frustrated by the native court. The girl has now chosen a man as her lover by whom she hopes to have a son who will inherit. If the land and title to it pass to the family-allotment, of course, the heir, for marry, far, if onlywed were paid the children, would belong to the husband's group and would not be entitled to inherit.

There was unable to ascertain the exact significance of the kinsman's wishes, but he would beason to insist that the ceremony, and verbal accounts of it were unsatisfactory. The object, however, appears to be to propitiate the ancestors and,
perhaps, to transfer to the goat any spiritual influences in the land which might disturb the new occupier.

What the position would be if the purchaser had made no effort to cultivate the land is not clear. The case, however, is unlikely to arise. No tendency to speculate in land was observed. Land is bought for a specific purpose, usually to build a house, and would only be sold again if circumstances rendered it impossible to use it for the purpose for which it had been acquired.

Freehold tenure, as recognized by English law, is with a few insignificant exceptions unknown in the Protectorate.

Conical Cups with Central Peg. Cf. MAN, 1944, 112.

48 Stu.—We would be interesting to know the distribution in Africa of conical cups or sauce-like bowls with a central peg of which Dr. Monod in MAN, 1944, 112, gives an interesting example that is new to me.

I do not know of anything of the kind in use in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan today, but something similar was in use in central Darfur in what may have been late medieval times. There is in the antiquities collection at Khartoum (Catalogue No. 4177/3) part of a sauce-like object in coarse handmade red-brown pottery which bears with a black fracture, with a flattened peg sticking up in the centre. When complete the sauce must have been approximately 130 mm. in diameter, and the height of the peg above the inside of the sauce approximately 15 mm. The inside of the sauce has been painted with a red slip, which seems to indicate that the purpose of the object was to form the lid or stopper of a large jar.

A fragment of another similar object consists of the peg and base only (Catalogue No. 4177/4). In this the peg is complete, and is 80 mm. high, and decorated with seven slanting incised grooves along the top.

These objects were found by Mr. R. S. Owen of the Sudan Political Service in a stone-walled town on the top of J. Waza in the Sinim hills of central Darfur. A Balhun grass head, a Cuvillier glass head, and a jetton were found at the same time. It is probable that none of these latter objects is earlier in date than the seventeenth century A.D., but it is possible that the stone buildings were constructed at an earlier date, and the pottery lids may therefore not be as late as the seventeenth century.

In the Ashmolean Museum or the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, before the war I noticed similar pottery lids which came from Arabia and were, I believe, thought to be of medieval date.

A. J. ARKELL

Khartoum.

Rekhmiré's Metal-Workers: Corrections and Additions. 

49 Cf. MAN, 1944, 75.

In my article, Rekhmiré's Metal-Workers in MAN, 1944, 75, the caption to fig. 4 reads 'Greek smith with bellows, from a vase painting about 500 B.C.', but, as will be gathered from note 15, it should read 'Greek smith with bellows from the Siphnian Freixo, about 550 B.C.' Again, the name of the place in Mesoopotamia whence comes the pottery fire-pan, fig. 3, i.e., of course, the well-known site Tello, the ancient Lagash, not 'Talla' as given in the caption.

The opportunity may be taken here of adding the following scarp of information. In Conso, 1926, i, p. 394, de Humptinne records that in Kutanga, between the Lumapala and Lusunsha Rivers, the Ba-Yeke copper-casters protect their hands with pads of wet best or raw cotton when holding the crucible to prevent the whole of this material being consumed. The temperature of the crucible is between 1,000 and 1,100 ° centigrade. The Ba-Yeke migrated to Katanga'from east of Lake Tanganyika about 1850.

Thus, they are evidently the same people, or at least from the same culture area, as the Nyanwesí whom Livingstone saw at work a little to the north of Lake Nsongwe in 1868.

It is astonishing how much can be done with wet or green things. It is with a scraper made of fresh bark that the Ba-Yeke smatter the remains of the live coals from the surface of the glowing copper lying in the bottom of the furnace. The smith also manipulates his white-hot piece of copper with tongs consisting of nothing more than a piece of fresh bark bent on itself. It does not burn. Again, the tubes conducting the blast from the bellows to the furnace are made of green bark, and are kept in water until the last moment. So treated, the tubes resist the heat of the furnace for a long time.

Elsewhere in Africa the Mushobwe smiths also make use of back tongs, and in Kissuka, in order to manipulate his red-hot iron, the smith fixes it in a piece of very wet andy bananas stem. Banana stems and leaves seem to be peculiarly resistant to fire. In the original article, to which these notes are an appendix (p. 37), note 15,토 이산을 지키는 것은 쇠의 일종인 the stalk of banana umbrella by the Kissuka for getting the pig of iron out of the furnace. In the Cameroon, incredible though it may seem, the great smelting furnace of the Fans is described as being made entirely of wooden stakes lashed together, as indeed the pictures and drawings show. It is lined with a double layer of plantain leaves, which are definitely said to be put there to prevent the fire from reaching the stakes too quickly and from coming out through the covices. There is no mention of clay. Another observer, Dr. Zeuner, is quoted for the description of the much smaller and rectangular surface of the adjoining Yaunde. He speaks of plantain stalks equally, without any mention of clay. Comparable in a small way to all this is Miss King's remark, 'plantain leaves will stand an amazing lot of heat or fire'. Though, of course, the heat of a fire for smelting, to which she is referring, is very different from that of a smelting furnace forced for some hours with many pairs of bellows.

Perhaps we may guess that the 'large leaves' used by the Abyssinians in their smelting trees are also banana leaves. They are called legume, and cover the layer of iron ore and charcoal at the bottom of the trench. On them are laid the tuyères and the rest of the charcoal. The purpose of leaves is to save the layer of ore and charcoal from disturbances as the tuyères are moved along the trench in the course of operations.

C. A. WAINWRIGHT

The Origin of Indo-European Speakers. Cf. MAN, 1945, 16.

50 Stu.—Mr. Stuart Manning argues that the cradle of the Indo-European speakers was in the Baltic Plain, because these languages have common names for the forest trees. I believe that the appearance of these appeared in his former papers (MAN, 1943, 64). From this we gather that most, though not all, of the forest trees of northern Europe bear similar names in most of the European members of the group. Only two, however, occur in the Asiatic members: the birch in Sanskrit and the willow in Persian. Curiously enough this feature was noted more than half a century ago by O. Schrader. I quote a few lines from the translation by Jevons of The Pithistoric Antiquities of the Argen People, p. 271:

'There are one solitary forest-tree whose name exists identically the same over large surfaces in Europe and as far as India. It is the birch.'
A Swastika from Ancient Egypt. Illustrated

51

Sm.,—In MAN, 1941, 38, Prince Loewenstein in his study of the origin of the swastika stated that the oldest patterns resembling the shape of the swastika come from Mesopotamia in south Russia and that about 4000 B.C. the design appears in the cultures of the Near East, in Samarra, and Susa. He showed that the German view of its being originally an "Aryan" and "solar" symbol is unfounded, since it occurs first in the Near East with funerary and fertility associations.

No examples from Ancient Egypt were cited by Prince Loewenstein, and indeed none have been noted by Egyptologists. It may be well, therefore, to draw attention to a clear example from the Western Desert in Upper Egypt, published by H. A. Winkler, Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt, Vol. II, London, 1939, Pl. IX, No. 2 (Ref. no. 68, M 8290).

A photograph is there given, and reproduced here, of a rock-drawing which depicts two human feet. One bears an indubitable swastika on its sole, and the same sign occurs above the toes of the other. Winkler, p. 13, dates the drawing to dynastic times, and it does not appear that there is concomitant evidence to provide a more precise dating, although the crudeness of the inscription from the same site (Pl. VIII, 1) would suggest early dynastic times. However, this crudeness could be ascribed rather to the unstudied type of epigraphy which characterizes most of these drawings.

Winkler has not drawn attention to the fact that some of the signs are swastikas. In some of these feet one or two signs are inscribed right in the middle of the sole or beside it—p. 15. He goes on, nevertheless, to discuss their purpose, which he thinks was the display of tribal association:

"Every Beduin will recognize his own and his acquaintances' footprint in the sand as we recognize the handwriting of our friends..." So a footprint is to his mind a very individual mark. It is therefore quite natural that he puts his tribal mark on or beside his footprint, exactly as we may put a seal below our letter to state the authorship beyond doubt.

While this explanation is plausible, it may be alternatively suggested that the purpose is magical. The swastika on the back of the drawing is outside the foot itself. Perhaps in each case it was added to invoke protection for a wayfarer's feet, the danger particularly envisaged being that from scorpions and snakes.

Miss Rosalind L. B. Moss draws my attention to a further example, recorded by Petrie, Egyptian Decorative Art, p. 37, fig. 62, where it appears in a geometrical pattern used as a ceiling-decoration. Miss Moss assumes it to be a variation of the Greek key pattern. The same design appears in a curved version of this decorative theme in Petrie's fig. 63. Petrie does not give the source of either design.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS
A Steatite Figure of the K'ang Hsi Period in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford
A STEATITE FIGURE OF THE K'ANG HSI PERIOD IN THE PITT RIVERS MUSEUM AT OXFORD. By T. K. Penniman, M.A., Curator, and Dr. William Cohn.

While working on the Donors' and Regional Catalogues of the Pitt Rivers Museum, my interest was especially attracted by a red and yellow steatite figure labelled 'Chinese Philosopher,' Dr. Rawlinson, '1719.' I recognized the tall bald head, attendant stag, and ceremonial sceptre, as characters of Shou-Lao, the God of Longevity, who also appears with a tortoise and with the flowers of the fabulous peach-tree that blooms once in 3,000 years and bears its fruit 3,000 years afterward. The excellence of the carving, including the gilded and engraved figures on the robe, and the date of the gift, determined me to inquire at the Ashmolean Museum, as its number A.M. 211 indicated that it was a part of the collection of the Old Ashmolean transferred to this Museum in 1886. By the kindness of the Keeper, Mr. E. T. Leeds, and of my pupil Mr. R. J. C. Atkinson, I was given the original entry:

'S Transferred to the Anthropological Museum, March 11, 1886. 211. Carved figure of a Chinese Philosopher, of white, red, and yellow-veined or stained steatite stone, standing on, but detachable from, a pedestal of carved open rock-work of the same material, holding some object in his left hand and resting on his arm [the ceremonial sceptre of longevity], with the figure of a fawn reclining on the pedestal on his right. The drapery is ornamented with numerous faintly etched lines in patterns, and some few characters, the whole of which have been gilt. The right foot of the figure, as well as the head of the fawn, and some other smaller portions, have been broken off and lost. Height off stand, 8-8 inches; or on stand, 12-2 inches. Given by Dr. Rawlinson, St. John's College, 1719.'

Duncan's catalogue of the Ashmolean printed in 1836 describes the gift under 'Eastern Curiosities' on p. 179 as no. 50, 'Figure of a Chinese Philosopher, made of steatite; Dr. Rawlinson, St. John's College.'

With the exception of the missing parts, the figure has been skilfully mended by Mr. H. F. Walters of the Pitt Rivers Museum, and photographed by Mr. H. J. Hambidge of the Department of Geology, and in view of the workmanship and well-authenticated date, I have asked Dr. William Cohn, formerly Curator of Fair Eastern Art in the State Museum of Berlin, to contribute a note for publication.

T. K. PENNIMAN

It is often difficult to date with an appreciable degree of accuracy certain works of Chinese craft of the last centuries, and this because sure starting-points are lacking. In such a case the date of the acquisition of the object can be useful. The steatite figure belonging to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, was, as Mr. Penniman, the Curator of the Museum says, acquired in 1719. There is no doubt that the figure must have been fairly new at that time. In earlier years Europeans were rarely eager to purchase older works of Chinese art, and were, moreover, seldom successful in getting them. When the Chinese wanted to make a present to a foreigner they used to choose contemporary objects. Thus we may assume that in this steatite sculpture we have before us a work executed in the period K'ang Hsi (1662-1722), well known from the porcelains of the so-called 'Famille Verte.' Indeed the piece shows all the subtlety and verisimilitude of the art of those days, which signify the same of the artistic development under the last imperial dynasty in China.

Soapstone (steatite), a cheap material, is the jade of the Chinese middle classes. It is especially suitable for sculptures of small size, being very easy to handle on account of its softness. Varying colour contributes to its charm. In these pieces soapstone has a similar character to porcelain. Chinese wood, bronze, and stone sculpture of the last centuries mostly tried to continue the hieratic style of the past, but seldom with success; the time of deep religious feeling had gone. Soapstone and porcelain have not these ambitions. They furnish pleasing statuettes for the private houses of the middle classes. But it would be quite wrong to consider such figures as ornaments only. All of them are designed to propagate the deities of popular belief, or, quite simply, to bring good luck to the owner.
THE EARLIEST STRUCTURE AT STONEHENGE.

53 Upon no other ancient monument has so much been written as on Stonehenge. The number of books, pamphlets, articles, and newspaper letters published on the subject runs to four figures. Yet the greater part of this vast mass is utterly worthless, since it consists of pure guess-work, unsupported by evidence or sound argument. We may thus dismiss all the material written before the close of the last century, except three items. In 1880 Petrie produced two accurate plans of the monument. In 1887 Mr. Masey, an architect, discussing the earliest use of the mortice and tenon joint, pointed out that the builders of Stonehenge used this device, which is an essentially wooden mode of construction and for stone-work is unique. This was discussed in 1881 by William Cunnington, the geologist, who in 1884 pointed out that the lintels are 'jiggle-jointed' so as to fit into one another endwise.

The first serious work on the monument was done in 1901, when excavations were carried out while re-erecting a fallen trilithon. Though some slight information concerning the monument and its mode of construction was obtained, little if anything was learned as to its age or purpose.

Nearly twenty years were allowed to elapse before the site was explored again, but late in 1919 excavations were started here by Lieut.-Col. W. Hawley, F.S.A., acting for the Society of Antiquaries. They were continued for many months each year until they were brought to an end in September 1926. Each year, except in 1925, Col. Hawley reported very fully to the Society of Antiquaries and most years sent in a brief account of his work to the Wiltsshire Archaeological Society. These reports give a very detailed account of the progress of the work and of what was found beneath the surface of the ground, but the most readable summary, containing all that is of importance, is to be found in a shorter account published in 1929 by Mr. R. S. Newall, F.S.A., who had assisted Col. Hawley throughout.

These excavations started a renewed interest in the monument, and gave rise to a number of papers and letters, mostly of the old guess-work type, but a few making serious attempts to interpret the fresh evidence. Among the papers of this period by far the most important was that by Dr. H. H. Thomas, who showed that the foreign stones, sometimes called the 'blue stones,' must have come from the Prescelly Hills in Pembrokeshire, since nowhere else in these islands could be found all the various kinds of rock of which they were composed. He also noted that a number of stone circles existed on the southern slope of these hills or at their base.

The monument consists of many parts. It is surrounded by a ditch, the spoil from which forms a bank on its inner side. Forty-five feet towards the centre are a series of fifty-six holes, first noticed by John Aubrey in the seventeenth century and rediscovered by Hawley, who called them the Aubrey Holes. Much farther in are two rings of rectangular holes, which do not form accurate circles; these Aubrey called the Y and Z holes. Immediately within the innermost of these rings stands the circle of 'Sarsen' stones with their lintels, and within this a circle of the foreign or 'blue' stones. Both of these circles have been accurately laid out. Within these again stood, in horseshoe formation, seven trilithons, with a 'blue' stone in front of each. These are the main features, but some of the minor details will be discussed later.

The ditch is a perfect circle, or to speak more accurately a many-sided polygon. It would seem that a number of pegs, about twelve feet apart, had been set in an accurate circle by means of a thing attached to a centre peg, and the ditch had been cut in relatively straight lengths between the pegs. Two causeways had been left to serve as entrances, a small one on the south and a much larger one, 374 feet wide, on the north-east.

The bank presents no features of interest, but the Aubrey Holes are set evenly apart, at a distance of sixteen feet from centre to centre, while these centres in their turn lie on an exact circle, with a radius of 144 feet from the centre from which the ditch was laid out.

The Y and Z holes, as has been noted, do not form accurate circles, but the sarsen circle and the blue stones have been accurately laid out from a centre about three feet to the north of that used for the ditch and Aubrey Holes.

While excavating the ditch, Hawley found a considerable mass of debris from both sarsen and blue stones about two-thirds of the way between the
bottom of the ditch and the top of the altar; from this he inferred that the stones had been erected some considerable time after the excavation of the ditch, at the bottom of which he discovered four small potsherds, the true significance of which was not for a time appreciated.

There are some who still believe that the various parts of this monument were erected at one and the same time; Col. Hawley, as we have seen, thought otherwise. Other facts support this view. The centres from which the ditch and the Aubrey Holes on the one hand and the sarsen and blue stone circles on the other were laid out are several feet apart. There is a third reason. The broad entrance on the north-east was at some time made still wider by filling up about thirty feet of the ditch. Since this enabled a line drawn from the centre of the sarsen stones, and passing down the middle of the horse-shoe of trilithons, to bisect this extended entrance and to run down the centre of the avenue, we may reasonably conclude that this alteration in the entrance was made when the stone circles were erected.

There were, therefore, at least two periods in the construction of the monument. To the first belong the ditch, the bank, and the Aubrey Holes, to the second the stone circles, trilithons, extended entrance, and avenue. There may have been a third, since it is difficult to associate the Y and Z holes with either of the other parts.

We are concerned only with the first of these periods, and especially with the Aubrey Holes. When they were first discovered, Col. Hawley was inclined to believe that originally they had held the blue stones. Later he abandoned this view, for the holes were circular and the blue stones rectangular in section. His final view was that they had held wooden posts.

Col. R. H. Cunnington is so convinced of this that he has stated that the posts must have been somewhere about two feet in diameter and twenty feet high, though he cites no evidence in support of these dimensions or the purpose of this timber circle.

A careful comparison between the Aubrey Holes and the two holes excavated at Arminghall shows that their dimensions are almost identical, while the posts still existing on the Norfolk site were almost exactly two feet in diameter. Col. Cunnington, therefore, is correct in his first assumption.

For further information I compared these with the only circle in which remains of wooden posts have survived to our time, the timber circle at Bleasdale, first reported by the late Sir William Boyd Dawkins. This was excavated between 1833 and 1835 by W. J. Varley who found that the main posts were two feet or a little more in diameter and fourteen to sixteen feet apart from centre to centre. This agrees well with the Aubrey Holes, which arc, as we have seen, sixteen feet apart. The resemblance is striking.

At Bleasdale, however, the space between the large posts was filled in with smaller ones, from six to nine inches in diameter, set closely together but only a few inches in the ground. It is obvious that these could not have remained upright unless fixed in some way at the top. To-day bars could be fixed on either side nailed into the larger posts, which were set firmly in the ground. Nails, however, did not exist in early prehistoric times, nor would it have been possible to fix these bars with wooden pegs, since it would have been impossible to bore the holes for them before the advent of bronze gouges, which first appear in this country in the Late Bronze Age. We must seek for some other way by which these smaller posts could have been made secure.

Let us now turn to the sarsen circle with its continuous lintel. We have seen that as early as 1867 Mr. Masey pointed out that the mortice and tenon joint used here was a timber technique. Is it not possible that this stone monument was copied from a timber original and that this original was the structure that we are discussing?

If we are right in this, we must imagine that logs, from one or two feet in diameter and sixteen feet long, were placed with each end attached to the top of an Aubrey Post by a rough mortice and tenon joint, which could easily be constructed with a stone axe; the ends of each log were joggles-jointed to the ends of its neighbours.

How the small upright posts were affixed to this is a greater problem, since we have no direct evidence, either from the sarsen circle or from Bleasdale. I can only imagine that, before these timber lintels were placed in position, a long and narrow V-shaped groove was cut with a stone axe right along the lower side of each. If the small posts had a chisel edge cut at one end and a point made on the other, it would have been a simple matter to stick the point some inches into the ground, then, by slightly bending the post, to spring the chisel-shaped end into the V-shaped slot.

Thus we should have a solid circular fence enclosing a considerable area, but it is obvious that the taller the fence the weaker would be the position of the smaller posts. A fence six feet in height would be sufficient to prevent cattle from entering or leaving the enclosure, nor could any other animal, save such as could climb, enter, except perhaps the Red Deer, and the ditch and bank outside the fence would make this an impossibility.

Entrances and exits could easily be managed when required, since it would only be necessary to remove six or eight of the smaller posts to make a way wide enough for a cow or bull to pass, and these could
rapidly be replaced when the whole band was inside. Thus we have a very serviceable corral, capable of holding a large band of cattle, and provided with entrances and exits that could readily be opened and closed at will. This I believe to have been the purpose for which the ditch, bank, and Aubrey Holes were made, and this, I would suggest, is the main feature of the earliest structure at Stonehenge.

There were, however, a number of minor features that must now claim our attention. Col. Hawley’s excavations disclosed the presence of a number of smaller holes, mostly about six inches in diameter, and these are distributed about the site in a very puzzling manner.

The excavator found a large number of small holes, all but twenty of which were outside the sarsen circle, for it was not possible to expose much of the area within owing to fallen stones. Of these twenty most, in Col. Hawley’s opinion, were of relatively modern date, having been made for booths erected here on Midsuemer Day. Those outside the circle fell into two groups.

The first of these was outside the great north-east entrance, and it is significant that they were opposite the earlier and smaller gap, for none were by the later extension. These holes, set about three or four feet apart, formed lines starting level with the inner side of the ditch and stretching out for some distance beyond it. The lines were about four to six feet apart, and formed a series of narrow approaches to the entrance. If we are right in believing the Aubrey Circle to have been a cattle corral, these posts were evidently so placed as to prevent a band of cattle rushing madly in or out of the enclosure and to cause the beasts to move in a number of single files.

The chief feature in the other group was a double line of posts, starting about fifteen feet within the corral fence, exactly opposite the southern entrance and leading directly towards the centre. Two holes must have held posts to narrow the entrance to this passage to four feet, while the passage itself was twelve feet wide. On the east side of this passage was a small enclosure, just large enough to hold one beast, but its further extension to the centre has been obliterated by the Y and Z holes and the sarsen circle. Between the Y and Z holes are a few more of these holes, but it is impossible to reconstruct the plan from the few left. They suggest, however, that somewhere just outside the sarsen circle there had been a ring of holes containing posts that formed originally a complete enclosure.

The plan of these holes suggests that, after all the cattle had been impounded within the corral, some selected beasts were driven down the passage, either into the small enclosure on the east side, or into the larger enclosure at the centre. It is reasonable to think that a beast was driven into the small enclosure that it might be marked in some way. Branding would appear to have been impossible before the days of metal, but there are other ways of marking animals, such as nicking ears, lopping tails, or making cuts in the dewlap. All of these methods are still used by ranchers, and may well go back to a hoary antiquity.

With so little evidence of post-holes in the centre of the sarsen circle, it may be thought that the problem of the early structure here is insoluble. Still there are other methods of approach. We have seen that within this circle there stood seven trilithons, the lintels of which, like those of the sarsen circle, were attached to their uprights by means of mortice and tenon joints. This suggests timber prototypes and that a number of such erections in wood, which our ultra-scientific colleagues might call tricyles, stood in the central corral. This is possible, may probable, but we need to determine their purpose.

In many parts of the world that are thinly-peopled, large areas of open grassland are given over to cattle raising. On the North American continent the establishments where this business is carried on are called ranches. The customs of these cattle-raising communities differ little in the various regions and they resemble those in use for sheep and ponies, intercommuning on mountains and moors in this country and elsewhere. In their leading features they seem to be of great antiquity. It has been my privilege to pay two prolonged visits to a cattle ranch in British Columbia, and some of the customs that I observed there seem to have a bearing on our problem.

All the ranchers in a valley departure their cattle for the greater part of the year on a mountain side that is known as the range. Late in the spring they all meet on the range, round up all the cattle, and drive them to a great corral that they have jointly erected at no great distance from the range. At this time of the year the calves are still running with their dams, and on this occasion, known as the Spring Round-up, these calves are branded and otherwise marked by their owners, in the presence of all the other ranchers, and the bull calves are castrated. At the Autumn Round-up, each rancher in turn enters the corral on horseback and cuts out his cattle, which he drives back to his ranch for winter feeding. On these two occasions, when all the ranchers are met together, they take the opportunity of discussing their common interests and such common action as they may seem fit to them. Thus the communal corral becomes, as it were, their local place of assembly.

Besides his share in the communal corral each rancher has one of his own, a large farm-yard, close to his log-house, and containing the stables, cow-sheds, and other buildings. Out of this large corral opens another of much smaller dimensions, about twenty

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feet across, and against the fence of this stands an interesting erection. It is composed of two posts, about twelve feet high and one in diameter, standing about six feet apart. On the top of these lies another trunk of the same size and about ten feet long. This is firmly attached to the uprights by pegs running from them through auger-holes in the cross-beam, thus forming mortice and tenon joints. About six feet up one post, inserted in a round hole, is a small drum, to the end of which is attached a wheel, made of four spokes with a raw-hide rope running from one to another. This is a primitive winch.

When the rancher needs to supply his larder he drives a steer into this small corral, and, when it is opposite the erection just described, which is known in British Columbia as a winch, the rancher shoots the beast in the forehead with a rifle. Then, taking a long raw-hide rope with a noose at the end of it, he throws it over the hind legs of the slaughtered animal, using great caution since a dead steer can give a nasty kick for at least an hour after its demise. Having drawn the noose tight he then throws the other end of the rope over the cross-bar and then attaches it to the drum of the winch. Then he turns the wheel and slowly the carcass is raised head downwards until the nose is about a foot from the ground. Then the butchering begins.

If we are right in believing that the trilithons at Stonehenge were copied from wooden prototypes, these must clearly have resembled closely the winches used for butchering in British Columbia and other cattle-raising countries. There is, however, this difference. The actual winch is clearly a later invention, while when the earliest timber predecessor of Stonehenge was flourishing, slaughtering was not an individual but a communal practice.

The evidence from the western ranches seems to indicate that the Aubrey Circle was a communal corral, where the cattle raisers of Salisbury Plain assembled their beasts after the Spring Round-up, and then marked their calves in the small enclosure by the side of the southern passage, and it was used, too, after the Autumn Round-up, when animals were slaughtered in the inner enclosure to provide the winter's supply of beef for the whole community. When and by whom this corral was erected can readily be determined. We have mentioned that Col. Hawley found at the bottom of the ditch some potsherds that he was unable to interpret. In 1936 Stuart Piggott went to the Salisbury Museum and examined them. Among these were two joined potsherds numbered 1610/1611, found in crater No. 2, east of the main entrance, eighteen inches from the bottom and at the side. This potsherd Piggott recognized as being of Woodenge ware, which is identical with that made in Holland by the builders of Megalithic tombs, and is often called 'grooved ware.'

In a previous paper I have pointed out that certain of the 'Beaker folk,' having dwelt for a time in Thuringia with some of the Cordiware folk, proceeded down the Rhine to its mouth, where they settled near the Zuyder Zee with the Megalithic folk. About 1800 B.C. according to Hawkes, some of these landed on the coast of Norfolk, and thence by a well-known way passed southwards to Salisbury Plain, where they erected Woodenge. This potsherd shows that they were responsible, too, for the ditch surrounding Stonehenge, and so for the Aubrey corral and its accessories. Thus we may conclude that it was in the years following 1800 B.C. the Beaker folk erected the first structure on the site of Stonehenge.

Disappointment may be felt in some quarters that the evidence points to a secular nature for this first structure, and not to a temple or place of sacrifice. It is well to remember, however, that among primitive communities religion is not a practice reserved for Sundays, but forms part of every activity of the tribe, while it is not easy to draw a clear distinction between slaughtering and sacrifice.

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LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN POST-WAR EUROPE.

If it is religions that divide India, it is languages that divide Europe. Latin dominated medieval Europe and overrode nationalities, at the same time imposing the Roman Catholic faith. As learning became secularized, people demanded teaching in their own mother tongue. The demand was often regarded as a threat to religious and political authority, especially when the Bible began to be translated into the major tongues of Europe. Hence the persecution, the terrorism, the burning of books and of men that preceded the Renaissance.

Nationalism has proved stronger than religion in Europe. To-day Protestant Britain is fighting Protestant Prussia; Catholic France and Czechoslovakia were until recently fighting Catholic Italy and Hungary; Orthodox Greeks fought Orthodox Bulgars.

There are no strong racial demarcations or colourlines in Europe. The only marked dividing line is language. The Esperantists may be pardoned their optimism for thinking that a common language would end war. It might—in Europe. But Spanish Bolivia fought Spanish Paraguay only a few years ago; Serbs still fight Croats, and Greeks fight Greeks!

Language is nevertheless a potent rallying point for nationalist feeling. It is at once the repository of national literature and the principal vehicle of propaganda. Those who learn to speak the language of a powerful neighbour while forgetting their own may well help to swell that neighbour's fighting potential—or provide an excuse for annexation at the first opportunity. Hence the stress on schools wherever a national majority is trying to assert itself in mixed territory.

At various periods of history powerful centres of government grew up at favoured spots in Europe. The languages of those centres were imposed over a wide area, thus blotting out intermediate languages that mark a transition from one to the other. To-day most linguistic frontiers are sharply defined. Italian no longer merges by dialectical stages into French; German no longer merges gradually into Dutch—officially at least.

The peace treaties of 1919 re-drew Europe more or less in terms of national groups, language being the chief criterion. Not all nationalities secured linguistic autonomy, however. Czechoslovakia, Polen, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Croats, and Slovenes recovered their lost liberty. Other nationalities did not, and were resentful. Will these outstanding groups be given linguistic home-rule after the war?

THE BASK

(Euzkotarak Country: Euzkadi)

The Bask are alleged to be the descendants of the otherwise extinct Mediterranean Europeans. Their kind may have spread over the Alps (as Euloeck thinks), and may even have reached as far as the Carpathians. Ancient Iberian is known to us in a spelling whose sounds can be read, though the meaning remains unknown. This may be the ancestor of the Bask. The problem of ancient Iberian is paralleled in Etruscan, Carian, Lydian, and Cypriot. The strict application of comparative methods may one day reveal Bask kinship with one or other of these extinct Mediterranean languages.

Modern Bask literature begins with Dechepare's Bask Grammar of 1545, followed by Lizarraga's translation of the New Testament in 1571. Of the million or so Bask speakers, 800,000 live in Spain, the rest in Southern France. French Bask is divided into three dialects: Laburdian, Low Navarrese, and Zubero (Souletin); Spanish Bask into Bizkaya (Gernika, Bilbao, etc.) and Gipuzko (the largest group, including the port of Donostia or San Sebastian).

THE CATALANS

(Catalans Country: Catalunya)

The Catalans, a people of six millions, speak a language which is distinct from both Spanish and French. It is of Latin origin and of great age.

The Catalans two ties with England. One is that they set up a democratic Parliament in the same century as did Simon de Montfort (in 1283, under Pere II). The other is that Catalans and English both claim St. George as their patron saint. The Catalan national day is, therefore, the same as ours—23 April.

The Catalan language dates from the second half of the eleventh century, and its literature is contemporary with late Anglo-Saxon. It is extremely rich in poetry. The Homilies d'Orpana (end of the twelfth century) are claimed as the first genuinely literary work. During the thirteenth century the Catalan King Jaume I kept a chronicle of his reign, as
did our own Alfred before him. This is known as the Llibre de les Fets. His century saw the rise of Ramon Llull, the great Catalan poet and philosopher from Majorca. Prose work became abundant—religious, satirical, didactic, and juridical. Metge, Roig, Eiximenis, Ausiàs March, and many other poets and writers, testify to the fulness of Catalan literature in subsequent centuries.

The Catalan language, encouraged under the Republic (the people of Barcelona read and speak no other language), was suppressed by the present regime. The encouragement given to Catalan literature when the Jocs Florals (Eisteddfodau) were revived in 1859 was completely crushed; the Catalan Institute of Studies was put to other uses.

The language is spoken from the Pyrenees to beyond Alacant (Alicante), in the Balearic Islands, in the Perpignan area of France, and in the Algier region of Sardinia. It is the official language of Andorra.

**THE SARDINIANS**

(Sardos = Country: Sardinia)

Laudentum su Creatore
Creatura qui vivimis
Sorbe et nos vivimus
Pro gregis aus
S'animia mi et tus
Amy itum tanti selci
Qui seten dà su Chelu
A la chiaurco.

_Madhai_  
(Eighth-century Sard Poet)

Such is the language spoken in Sardinia. It is the most archaic of all the Romance languages. It is divided into three main dialects, Galluran in the North, Logudorian in the centre, Campidanian in the South. About 500,000 speak Sard.

Sard was probably the first Romance language to break away from Latin domination. Its literature dates back to 1064, the year of the History of Monte Cassino. The language of this interesting document shows a considerable breaking down of Latin grammar. There are only two cases (the accusative, which also does duty for the nominative, and the genitive); the verbs have undergone some changes; initial _v_ has become _b_; _lingua_ is _limba_.

The following centuries are rich in didactic acts to monasteries, as well as laws and statutes, chronicles of abbeys, etc. The martyrdom of the three Sardinian saints Cavinus, Prorus, and Januarius forms the theme of a long poem by Hieronymus Arnaola, greatest Sard poet, who had many imitators. Versed in Vergil, Dante, and Petrarch, he wrote many poems in the medieval Italian style. Lyrical poets are many. Garipa, Cubetdu, Cune, Gambella, Vidali, and Dologu are some of the best known, though Italian influences were steadily becoming stronger. Lives of saints and martyrs, and biblical themes predominate, however. Translations from the Italian abound.

It was not till 1793, the year of the apologia The Triumph of Sardinia that the national spirit asserted itself. This work was followed by others in the same vein, notably Popular Songs of Sardinia (1833). The shining light of the eighteenth century was the lyrical poet Madau, author of the verse cited above, who wanted Sard to be the national language of literature and journalism.

Modern times include such writers as Raspis, Figari, D. Seano, Belleni, Mossa, Satta, Merenu, Pes, Sinigui, Pisanu, Prunus, the novelist Mels, the historian Manno, and many more.

A fine literary record, indeed! The archaic vocabulary and grammar of the Sard language should attract more students in this country. Logudorian is on the whole most archaic with _ipse est_ 'he is,' _ipsum sunt_ 'they are,' etc., but the southern dialect has _esse_, _esse sunt_; verb forms more archaic than Latin itself!

**LOW GERMANS**

(Plattdeutches Country: Plattdeutschland)

In its broadest sense Low German is the German of the first sound-shift. High German encroachments have been so thorough in Prussia, Hanover, and Westphalia, however, that the only purely Low German district remaining is the Low Saxon area stretching from the Gulf of Pomerania to the Zuider Zee. It includes Sleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg, and the cities of Hamburg and Bremen. Low German barely reaches Hanover to the south, while in Berlin it survives merely as suppressed slang.

How distinct Low German is from High German, and how near to English is clear from such examples as _ke spielt_ Football better as _it_ (or spelt Fussball besser wie ich); _af an an_ (ab und zu); _to School_ (in die Schule); _ik how Hickup_ (ich habe Schluckauf) _min baneige Dochter_ (my bonny daughter); _an so furt_ (und so weiter). This only applies to the everyday colloquial speech; the literary language is based (like Dutch) on High German.

The Old Saxon poem _Holland_ ("Life of the Saviour") of the ninth century ranks as the oldest piece of Low Saxon literature. But it is not until the end of the fifteenth century that the language blossoms forth again with _Reineke f Von_ (Reynard the Fox) (1408) and an _Easter Play_. By 1682 Hans Wilmsen Laermberg was bitterly complaining of the domination of his Low German native tongue by High German. J. H. Voss, translator of Homer, and D. G. Babet of Rostock revived the language in the eighteenth century, and wrote much lyrical verse. Klaus Groth, a Sleswig-Holsteinian, continued the work of the revivalists with _Quickborn_ ("Living Source"), an anthology of Low
German poetry, about the middle of the nineteenth century.

The most widely known writer of this period, however, is Fritz Reuter, with a prodigious output of humorous and serious verse, a long tale of family life (Uit mine Stromtid), and some comedies. His work, more than that of any other writer, gave rise to numerous Low German societies, which were later combined under the title De Eckboom ('The Oaktree'). This society until recently published a fortnightly of the same name, Eckboom. An anthology entitled Plattdeutsch Leederbook is one of the society's publications. Most recent Low German writers owe their inspiration to the Eckboom.

Contemporaries of Fritz Reuter include Joachim Mähl, Johann Meyer, John Brinkman, Alwine Wuhenow, Landois, W. Grimme, and W. Schröder. Since their time the number of Low German poets, dramatists, and novelists has increased to a formidable list. Most of them are 'Mekkelnborgers', some are from Sleswig. Recent writers include Bote, E. H. Arndt, L. Giesbrecht, Gorch Fock, R. Tarnow, and H. Volgeman of Hamburg.

Eastern Low German (Mecklenburg) differs in a few details from Western (Hamburg and Bremen), but the two are not irreconcilable. F. Reuter's spelling is no longer in general use; Hamburg spelling is somewhat ambiguous in its treatment of open and closed vowels. Greatest problem of all would be to translate the whole of German literature, including scientific works, into Low German—but the Low German movement is strong and determined.

THE ALLEMANNIC SWISS
(Schwyzer Country: Schwyz)

The Allemannic Swiss have enjoyed independence since 1291. Yet they have never used their language for general literature and educational purposes. The Swiss speak Allemannic, and read and write German.

The tragedy of Schwyzersdutsch is that it is broken up into dozens of dialects, many of which are mutually unintelligible. There is little basis of unity, and the adoption of High German seems to be the only possible solution.

In vain does Pastor Baer of Zürich wrestle with the dialects, trying to combine them into one national speech (cf. his Allemannisch—Reitung der eidgenossischen Seelé, written in German, by the way, not Allemannic!); in vain does the Bernese Rudolf von Tavel try to impose his native Bernese speech on the rest (cf. Ring i der Chetti—Link in the Chain). Useless to battle with the rival claims of say Zschaffhauserdutsch or Baselfriedersdutsch.

1 Till 1848 all lectures at Bern University were given in Bernese. Johann Peter Hebel, the poet, and Simon Gessler, the novelist, have used Allemannic with great success.

The only promising line is that of Otto von Geyrrez, a dialect revivalist who is content to listen and record. And in Switzerland it is the aristocrats who speak with the most pronounced dialect accent!

THE LUXEMBURGERS
(Lëtzebuerger Country: Lëtzebuerg)

This unified democratic people does not seem to want its own language! Unique in Europe, the Luxembourgers all speak their native language; none read or write it. French and German are their literary languages.

THE FRISIANS
(Frieslanders Country: Friesland)

Good bread and good cheese.
Is good English and good Fries.

This oft cited saying shows how close Frisian is to English; it is our nearest linguistic relative on the European mainland. But whereas English has come under Norman influence, Frisian has come under Dutch and German 'influ'd', as they would say. Hence literary English and literary Frisian differ greatly.

Frisian goes back to the eleventh century, but barely survives the twelfth century as a literary language. Nearly all old Frisian documents are laws and decrees.

Modern Frisian speakers inhabit Friesland (Northern Holland) and the Frisian Islands. There are about 300,000 in all. Fries is taught in schools, and at the university college of Stavoren. There are Frisian newspapers at Leeuwarden, though Dutch competition is very strong. Some years ago a Frisian deputy urged that his language be heard in Parliament and be given equal status with Dutch.

THE WENDS (LUSATIANS)
(Serbové Country: Lužica)

The River Spree, on leaving Czechoslovakia, takes a sudden turn northward, passes through two miles of Germany, and back into Slav territory again. South of Budyšín (Bautzen), their cultural capital, begins the land of the Wends (or Serbs, as they call themselves), a people who were joined to Bohemia in 1370.

Since the fourteenth century the story of this tiny Slav community of farmers—100,000 of them clustered round the Upper Spree—has been one of struggle against Germanization.

The earliest known Wendish book is the New Testament, translated by J. Jakubica in 1548. The following century saw the rise of Michal Freund and other writers of religious works and poems. After a long hullo Wendish blossomed forth again at the begin-
ning of the nineteenth century with the poetry of Hendrij Zejler (1804-1872). A newspaper appeared at Budyšin from 1808 to 1812. A weekly paper, first known as Tjedajeska Novina, appeared in 1842. This changed its name to Srbski Novin, and appeared as a daily paper between 1920 and 1937, after which it was suppressed.

During the years 1841-1843 J. A. Smoler published a collection of Lusatian poems on the national theme. His poem Vestiši u kraju is an appeal to Wends to stay in the homeland as poor working men rather than be Germanized in the big cities. Smoler lived through the stirring days of 1848 but avoided participation in the Dresden rising, though he demanded cultural rights for his people as the price of his non-participation. Their rewards were meagre, however, and Wendish instruction was allowed in primary schools for three hours a week only.

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the rise of Michal Horník, the historian, J. B. Čiřinský, the poet of Násť Kniha—Our Speech, and Jurij Winger, political writer. In 1918 the Wends thought their time of liberation had come. Arnošt Bart and Michal Kokla declared the rights of the Wends to freedom. A National Committee was formed as Budyšin headed by: Bart. All Lusatia was agog, and Wilson's Fourteen Points became a byword. A Srbski Sezvaj (Wend Union) was founded. The Štrodny Dom (National House) at Budyšin was the centre of lively demonstrations. On 8 January, 1919, accompanied by Dr. Eduard Beneš and the Czechs, Jan Břil set out for Versailles at the head of a delegation to ask for autonomy for Lusatia. But Versailles turned a deaf ear. Břil, and Bart, who accompanied him, were both jailed by the Germans on their return. German troops marched into Budyšin and suppressed all national institutions, Lusatian nationalism has languished ever since. In 1937 a German teacher flogged his pupils at Ostro for speaking Wendish on their way to school. For singing Wendish songs many were exiled to northern Germany. This Restvolk must be wiped out, say the Nazis.

Wendish ties with Czechoslovakia have always been cordial, and their languages are very similar. Many Wends used to study in Prague, where they had a Centre of their own for many years. Will a place be found for them in Czechoslovakia's evacuated territories?

**THE RUTHENIANS**

(Rusyn Country: Rus)

Užhorod, capital of Ruthenia, is a polyglot town where one can hear Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Hebrew, Romani—and even Ruthenian spoken! For most Ruthenians live on the land—in very primitive conditions. Many build their houses of prehistoric wattle and daub, sometimes of mudbricks; the floor is of trodden-down earth.

Their language differs from that of their northern neighbours, the Ukrainians, only in the treatment of stressed Slavonic o, which they pronounce like oo in English moon, while the Ukrainians turn it into i. Thus the Ruthenian says dom 'house' (pronounced doom), koa 'horse' (pronounced koof); the Ukrainian says dom, koa. Otherwise the language is Ukrainian. With no native literature, and only one newspaper (Ukrainske Slovo), all books and reading matter have to be imported either from Kharkov or Lvov.

Russophil intellectuals in Užhorod tried for a long time to make Ruthenians adopt Russian in their schools, and even circulated a newspaper Góls to emphasize their viewpoint. The Ruthenian secondary school was first run by a headmaster who made Ukrainian the language of instruction. The next headmaster switched the whole school over to Russian! Thus throughout the twenty years of Ruthenia's association with the Czechoslovakia, Russian struggled with Ukrainian for mastery. Even some of the street names were in Russian, others in Ukrainian or Slovak, and Cyrillic characters vied with Latin spelling.

The immediate neighbours of the Ruthenians are not the Slovaks, but the Sotaks, who live in a small cluster of villages, chief of which are Humenné and Medzilaborce. So independent were the Sotaks under the Czechoslovakia that they even printed a newspaper in their own dialect, which is midway between Slovak and Ruthenian. It was printed in Latin characters.

**THE BRETONS**

(Breizh. Country: Breiz.)

Breton is a dying language. It is akin to Cornish and Welsh, and is a survival of the speech of those British refugees who fled before the Anglo-Saxon invaders. This language has never achieved sufficient viritity to become a literary medium. It is not taught in any Breton schools. It possesses almost no literature, though there is indirect testimony of a once blossoming bardic literature in the works of Christian de Troyes, Begmaen, and Robert Wace who borrowed many of their themes from Breton sources. These were mostly Arthurian legends. Bard Gwilkan (about 450 A.D.) is regarded as the earliest Breton writer.

Steunchev advocate of the Breton language was Le Gonidec (1775-1838), who wrote a Grammar, a Dictionary, and a translation of the Bible, and translated a number of French religious treatises, but produced no literary work of his own. After narrowly escaping the guillotines at Brest during the Revolution, he fled to Penzance where he lived for a year. The
Bretons urged him to return and be their leader. Le Gonidec refused, but did eventually return to his native land to become an officer in the army of the Restoration. His literary activities date from this time. His body now lies under a ‘men hir’ at his native village of Conquet—tad ar gwir brézonek (‘father of true Breton speech’).

A. Danzat, when making a survey of Breton speech-areas in 1926 (he counted a bare million of Breton speakers), met the vicar of Plounan, one-time Breton stronghold. The vicar told him he had had to give up preaching in Breton as he was afraid of being no longer understood.

**Conclusion**

The above survey does not exhaust the list of minor languages in Europe. Mazurian, Friulian, Lapp, Macedonian, Galician Spanish, Provençal, Romani, and Scottish Gaelic will probably never become national languages. Economic difficulties apart, there is the problem of suddenly expanding a local speech to express all the terms of science, technology, and philosophy. It is a problem with which Welsh nationalists are continually wrestling. Shall new words be coined—and probably misunderstood—or shall words be borrowed from a powerful neighbouring language? The late Antoine Meillet deplored the multiplication of minor languages, but failed to appreciate the strength of national feeling. One-language at home—another language in public, this makes for divided loyalty, even hypocrisy, among people forced to be bilingual. It is also detrimental to their mental development if they must master a foreign tongue in order to be educated. Yet the alternative is often the infinitely greater task of translating all the major works of a great neighbour into the local vernacular.

**THE CUSTOMS OF SIWA. From an anonymous Arabic MS.** Communicated by G. W. Murray, Director of the Topographical Survey, Survey of Egypt.

Of their customs: the custom of marriage.

They invite the notables of the town to a dinner of lentils and peas. In their dialect this is called isbaq. The food is presented by the family of the bride. Anyone who wishes to stay out late at night may come. The groom dresses himself in his best and perfumes himself and dyes his hands with henna and for this the family of the bride provide a big tray of woven straw holding a kohl-pot and some perfume made into paste and an earthenware censer (majmara) for the groom. He paints his eyes with kohl, dyes himself (his hands ?) with henna and perfumes himself with incense. In the last third of the night the bride is brought in dressed in the best trinkets and clothes obtainable and above all these a woolen robe (jurd) and a sword. She is carried in by a black slave woman who sets her down standing in front of the groom. The slave woman repeats three times, ‘Buy her!’ whereupon the bridgroom answers, ‘I buy her according to her weight!’ After this she is shut (with him) into a room and left there. At the time of dawn prayer the man comes out to his friends, who take him to a spring where he bathes; and later in the morning all the invited used to come to the bridegroom to present him with the crown of a date-palm (al-burnun). The custom of giving the crown of a date-palm has been discontinued and was replaced by gifts of sugar-loaves and peas and in our own time this too has been discontinued and replaced by gifts of cash.

Of their customs: the custom of circumcision of their children.

They distribute bread to the nobles of the town, but the poor give only to their relatives. And on the night of the circumcision, the relatives gather at the house and the boy is exhibited and they paint his eyes with kohl and, before that, the hair of his head has been shaved leaving a tuft, and they dress him in a heavy garment that makes one sweat (moerqiy) over which they hang coloured and painted papers and dye his hands with henna. The other boys remain in his company overnight and, in the morning, they take him to the spring wherein he washes and then bring him back to the house and the circumciser appears and circumcises him. All the relatives and guests are present. On the third day of the festival, all those who were present on the first day come with handkerchiefs full of peas; others with pomegranates and a sort of cucumber (qitbīh, Cucumis sativus). Some relatives give a pair of pigeons, others give money. In our days they serve the gathering with tea.

Of their customs: again.

They used to gather once a year at a place called El-Ada (‘the custom’) where men and women danced, men with men and women with women. They brought their own food, which consisted of bread stuffed with cooked purslane, and beans or purslane with lentils which is called in their dialect sphyarin. The food was put in the keeping of safe people till the time for the feast, when they put all the food together, and the men ate together and the women ate together till night fell, when all dispersed to their homes. Afterwards this custom was discontinued because of a fight caused by treachery.

And then another was invented by the men of the oil presses who on the night of 'Ashura would provide
a quantity of oil, made in big wooden vessels (qvea) and dip in it cloths which they then wrapped on long green sticks, three cubits in length and carried them about the streets of the town for seven nights accompanied by drums and reeds. They used to waste so much on this, spending money on sacrifices and palm- wine, that whatever a man had earned in a year, he came to the end of it in that week. So this also was discontinued.

They had a similar festival on the birthday of Sheikh Suleiman el-Amir with food and drink, but without the staves. Instead of these they lit candles.

Of their customs; the division of water

The springs in use are so far the property of certain people that the water from them is divided among these by shares, halves, quarters, etc. The area to be watered from each spring is reckoned by the force of the spring and the abundance of the water in it. The springs usually have basins and when the spring requires to be cleared out, the people of the area to be watered from it (hatiya) gather and offer bread to the sheikhs who then permit the Bireih to divide the water to the people by turn on certain days and hours so that these people will take their turn and come to clean the basin. An allotted share (awaja) is assessed as twelve hours and a half share six hours, but there is an overscer (raghab) who sits in a shelter called abu agoga and measures out eighth, quarters, halves and so on during night and day. This raghab receives remuneration from the people of the town when the wadi is cut (see below). For each field watered, he gets a big basket containing two sa' of Sa'idi dates. At the time of reaping the corn, he used to receive from the treasury (Beit al-Mal) sixteen sa' of wheat. [A sa' = 3-6 libra.]

But when the 'aqul plant springs up in any abandoned hatiya in all Siwa, anyone desirous of buying the same comes on a certain day when the sheikhs also present themselves and sell all the produce of the 'aqul annually. The proceeds are then expended on the requisites of the town, to the raghab of the watering, the Mosque of Tandi, the Ancient Mosque, the Mosque of Manahiya, to the Bireih, the clerks of the town, the repairs to bridges, and finally the remainder is divided among the sheikhs in equal parts.

The cleaning of springs

On the call of the Bireih the people gather and clean the basin from end to end, and anyone who does not come to this cleaning is to be fined in accordance with the extent of his property which is watered from

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1. To measure their tress, the Siwan use a thorny plant called ‘aqul (which camels like to eat). The ‘aqul is collected in bundles, three of which go to a donkey-load, and then is buried in pits at the roots of the date-palms, receiving water for six days. Silva White, *From Sphinx to Oracle*, 142.

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2. It was the raghab, not the Bireih, who was mentioned as entitled to 16 sa' of wheat.
so the people get their meat. The right leg is always for the mizzin of the minaret of the Old Mosque. The marrow of this leg is used for the lighting of the mosque.

The porter (lauwah) of each family has a special payment due to him from each member of the family above twelve years of age. One so' of Sa'idi dates at harvest and ½ so' of wheat when harvested.

As a rule they call any ground within the town a 'wadi' which they neglect (i.e. do not clean) till the Arabs finish taking the dates, when they gather up the droppings of camels and the agents of the town sell these to the inhabitants for use in manuring the gardens of palm-trees, and the proceeds of this sale are distributed for repairing the bridges by the agents of the town, and what is over is given to the people of Beit Howeit which gets little sun and is situated at the very top of the town, as the Bireh demands, and also for the repairs of the places of ablution in the Mosque of Ghashiya and the Old Mosque, and to the ragqab of watering, and the accountant of the servants' wages, and the clerks of the town; and the rest is divided among the sheikhs and the 'members' (of council). The member gets half of what a sheikh takes, as do the agents of the town. The collection of taxes from those who work in milling or butchering is kept for the funerals of the dead, and they are buried in a special cemetery.

Of their customs; servants

Servants get their clothes from their masters annually, being a jibla of wool made in Siwa and a hemp tob and a jird. The servant only gets a ration (lit. 'sufficiency') of food from his master. During the harvest of corn, the servant gets 32 so' of wheat and barley, half and half. At the cutting of the wadi he gets 40 so' of Sa'idi dates. This is for a full-grown servant, others are given a quarter, a third, or a half-ration at the discretion of the family.

Any servant who abandons the service of his master must report to the sheikh who is appointed over such people, who is to give him a shirt and a jird, if he has none, and food and drink till someone comes up to desire his services when the shirt and the jird given to him shall be taken from him.

Of their customs; choosing a sheikh

The notables gather and whoever does not possess a hundred palm-trees cannot be present at the assembly, and to be nominated as sheikh one must own more than 250 palm-trees. To be nominated as sheikh, one must not have been a dealer in butchery, nor must he buy or build an oil-press (mas'sara), lest he contravene the laws and rules about pressing oil.

The rules about oil are that at the flow of springs for irrigation a so' of olives shall be assessed at a ghaddara and a quarter at the third stage; at the fourth stage it shall be counted at a ghaddara and a half; at the fifth at two ghaddara less a quarter. For all (the measures of) so' and ghaddara, that are found not stamped by the agent of the town, punishment shall be inflicted.

Of their laws

Anyone who is caught drunk within the town shall be taken by the porters of the family to outside the town and there he shall be awarded 80 lashes and a fine of dates, in the time of date-harvest or, of corn, in the corn-harvest. But he who may be caught drunk outside the town shall receive 80 lashes only.

So also with singing inside the town.

Dissolute women who have relatives may either be killed or expelled to Kharga Oasis or Bakariya; but those who have no relatives are to be put to live in the quarter of Manshiya outside the wall and no punishment is to be passed upon them since all who live in that quarter of Manshiya cannot be permitted to give evidence or make a statement. Their jurisdiction is in the hands of their chief.

As to liquors, a special place in the middle of Manshiya is used for drinking, and there people care for nothing and there the dance and drums are constant night and day. And should a noble of the town enter there to see or look on, he is to receive 40 lashes; and whoever dares to enter the Manshiya will not have any money left, for the people there resemble plunderers and he will come out penniless.

A PASSION PLAY STAGED BY INDIAN FISHERMEN. Fisheries to the Government of Madras (Retired)

By James Hornell, F.L.S., F.R.A.I., Director of European societies that his conferees, both English and French, held him in the highest esteem; as an Indian he had been advanced in his Order in a manner almost without precedent.

No man could be more modest and earnest in his work. Thin and of weedy physique, he spoke in tones gentle and dignified and with a disarming earnestness
that caused the hypercritical European to feel that here was a man sincere and honest, devoted to the well-being, material as well as spiritual, of his people.

Many of his flock were professional divers; as several were on the permanent staff of divers retained by the Government for work during the Pearl Bank Inspections which take place twice each year, I had heard much from them about their wonderful pastor, Father Louis. When eventually I did meet him, early in 1914, before the opening of the Pearl Fishery of that year, he gave me great assistance in recruiting a diving force; finding that I should be again in the neighbourhood at Easter, he invited me to be his guest on the occasion of the staging of a Passion Play during the ensuing Holy Week. He told me that it was to be on the lines of the Oberammergau play.

It was a bold experiment and had been conceived and carried through under great handicaps, one of which was that Father Louis knew no German. Determined to succeed he importuned a colleague in Paris to translate into French the German text. When this was received Father Louis set to work to translate it into Tamil, the only language known to his parishioners.

A stage was indispensable but this was perhaps the least of his difficulties. Clay in abundance furnished the raw material; the eagerness of his people to make their village a place of pilgrimage for others of their own faith, inspired them to labour in the making and laying of bricks. In due course a spacious open-air stage arose in the centre of the village; it formed the greater part of one side of a quadrangle. A roomy chettra, a pilgrims' resthouse, occupied two other sides whilst the fourth, in part, was closed in by a resthouse, surrounded by wide verandahs, for the use of visiting priests. The enclosed space formed a vast auditorium bare of shelter save for that given by the spreading branches of a magnificent tamarind tree, on the far side facing the stage.

When I went ashore at sunset on Good Friday I found the audience already gathered and expectant, squatting at their ease on the sandy ground before the stage. All were busily discussing and arguing at the top of their voices as is the Tamil custom whenever even two or three are gathered together.

Three French priests had come to give Father Louis their support and I was invited to join them on the verandah of the priest's house whence a good though rather distant side view of the stage was obtained.

In accordance with the common custom of the East of reversing many European methods of doing things, the curtain was lowered bodily to the footlights instead of being raised, on the opening of the play. The stage machine evidently found it easier to manipulate the curtain if it were let down with a run, or, perhaps Father Louis considered this to be more spectacular, which indeed it was. At the end of each scene the upper margin of this curtain, made of white cotton drill, was hailed up to the ceiling of the stage by four coolies in full view of the audience.

The Oberammergau text was by no means closely adhered to; considerable liberties were taken with it by the stage manager and the actors; even the prompter (who was the Tamil catechist) was a delinquent as was obvious by his occasional loudly spoken asides.

The curtain fell at 7.30 p.m. and rose finally at 5 a.m. the next day.

What had been intended as the most impressive scene was that of the Last Supper. Alas! the effect was marred when stage-fright attacked several of the disciples, causing them to default to their call. Barely half a dozen sat down with our Lord. Among these Peter and Judas made a brave show, their scarlet raiment and strange semi-circular red hats making them conspicuous among the others who appeared in modest white cloaks with just a band or two of red in their neat white caps. Father Louis must have suffered great disappointment when he saw so few of the disciples taking their places at the table. Peter and Judas fortunately were equal to the situation and might well be termed the star performers. Peter, a strapping young fisherman, understood his part well, boldly boastful of the deeds he would perform in defence of his Leader. Judas, on the contrary, might well have been the cringing, hand-wringing Jew of Shakespeare's creation; he was a mean, undersized little fellow who, now and in the succeeding scenes, proved himself the outstanding success of the play, free of the diffident shyness of the others, always excepting Peter. Certainly Peter and Judas enjoyed their parts thoroughly.

A characteristic Indian touch occurred when the time of foot-washing was due. A cary arose, voiced by several of the disciples, of 'Tamil kudum.; ('Bring water!'); a humble servitor duly appeared carrying an enamelled basin and a gaudy coloured bath towel. The actor representing Christ duly washed and wiped the few feet that were somewhat shamefacedly thrust out for attention. Except in this scene where a living actor was necessary because of the action, our Saviour was represented in effigy only, no performer being willing to impersonate Him during the tragic moments of his Passion.

Later, when Christ was arrested by the Roman soldiers, the Centurion and his men supplied, unintentionally, what to Europeans could not be other than a distasteful and inscrutuous element; he strutted on to the stage from the wings, rigged out in a dark blue suit, coat and trousers, his head covered by a top-hat, its age disguised with diagonal stripes of green and gold ribbon. A sun-draped behind was similarly
coloured, and this stirred memory of the headgear of our men in the mutiny days; could it be that here was a survival of someone’s recollection of a British detachment on the march in those far-off grim days?

The Centurion alone was armed; he carried a curved cavalry sabre which he treated as a walking stick, tapping the floor vigorously with it as he walked.

There were not enough uniforms to clothe the soldiers consistently. Some were dressed in what seemed an imitation of a policeman’s tunic and trousers while others wore striped blazer jackets with striped and very tight trousers.

Orders were given in English and before the arrest of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Centurion put his men through a good deal of marching drill. ‘Halt’, ‘march’, and ‘right turn’ were his stock commands. This part was acted with energy and evident appreciation; here the actors had something they could understand.

When Christ was taken and on every possible occasion thereafter, the excited soldiers performed a rictous dance round their prisoner, the signal for this being the Centurion’s order to ‘March’. As Christ was acted in effigy, our fishermen actors showed no reluctance to belabour the dummy figure. ‘Adi Chri’ (‘Beat Christ’) was vociferously shouted in total disregard of the sacred character represented.

This ‘Wild Indian’ dance was, indeed, the most incongruous item in the performance; it jarred obviously upon the sensitive feelings of the French priests but it pleased the multitude immensely.

Pilate or ‘Pilato dori avergot’ (the honourable Mr. Pilate) as he was termed, appeared on the stage mounted on a pony and he was dressed in seedy black coat and trousers, the latter with a white military stripe down the sides. Over the coat was flung a scarlet cloak and on his head was an equally gorgeous red hat. His throne was a rickety wooden armchair.

The Centurion and his guard accompanied Pilate to the Hall of Judgement, their progress enlivened by the strains of a brass band making a brave attempt at the ‘Marseillaise’, evidently intended as a compliment to the French visitors.

Examination of the false witnesses was carried out in full accordance with District Court procedure. Each witness’s name was shouted repeatedly; the witness, say ‘Samsoel’, duly answered ‘Impe’ (‘I, here’), and was sworn on the Bible to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, the words of the oath being administered in short sections to the witness, who repeated the words obediently.

The mechanical triumphs of the stage engineer centred in the way in which angels were enabled to descend through trap-doors in the ceiling of the stage to comfort our Lord; better still were the mechanics of an aerial ropeway along which a winged cherub was drawn from his perch in the big tamarind tree to a point above our Lord’s head. A stout rope running from the tree to the stage had been rigged up together with a line and pulley running on the rope. The youngster who acted ‘cherub’ had a belt round his middle, carrying a stout hook; this, when attached to the pulley, completed the device. Unfortunately the rope sagged a good deal and this prevented smooth working; sometimes for an appreciable interval of time the little cherub, probably much frightened, hung suspended, gyrating violently, above the heads of the audience till, with a jerk, the journey was resumed. It was considered a wonderful contrivance by the multitude who voted this a mighty clever act.

By two o’clock in the morning Judas had worked himself into a very frenzy of remorse. His was the hit of the performance. He let himself go dramatically; had it been a European audience, his acting would have brought down the house; as it was, the most poignant expression of his grief extorted no more than a sharp indrawing of the people’s breath—a murmuring hiss. Actually, the part of Judas was made too prominent; attention was too greatly centred on his remorse; so well acted was it that one had perforce to pity him and even sympathize with his grief. I felt sure that his suicide would be realistic and although I could not keep awake any longer, I resolved to waken in time to see both the crucifixion and the suicide.

But this was not to be, for when the last bars of ‘God save the King’ played by the orchestral brass band, penetrated to my brain, the curtain was being hauled up for the last time.

The actors had their faces painted yellow but the stage manager forgot to disguise the colour of their hands.

The crowd attending the play numbered not less than 3,000, possibly considerably more. Many had come from distant villages, accounting their attendance as a form of pilgrimage whereby somehow or other they would acquire merit. Unlike their behaviour before the beginning of the performance they sat through all the scenes in breathless silence except when they engaged in prayer at the behest of the catechist.

It is impossible to assess what emotional feelings were stirred; Father Louis, however, believed firmly that the effect would be profoundly useful in helping the people to appreciate the true significance of Christ’s sacrifice.

Although to the sophisticated Western mind much of the play as acted was incongruous, verging sometimes on the grotesque, this feeling was absent among the simple Indian villagers who witnessed it. To them it was a faithful representation of the Passion of
our Lord, for had not their revered pastor told them so; the remorse and agony of Judas and his dreadful end were to them visible tokens of the retribution that follows inevitably upon betrayal of their Christian faith; to men forming a minute minority living in the midst of an overwhelming majority who scoff at their beliefs, the feelings aroused by the acting of a Passion Play may be considered as forming an antidote to the scorn of Hindu and Muhammadan.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS


The Bakhtiari are a group of tribes who occupy that section of the great mountain range of S.W. Persia which lies between a line joining the towns of Daffaf, Shahste and Rambahzur on the South, and the districts of Chaharmahal, Farasdan and Kiansar on the North. They live by a combination of pastoralism and agriculture, but it is the needs of their flocks and herds that determine the form and rhythm of their life, and the pursuit of fodder imposes on them a species of nomadism.

The four large main tribes of the Bakhtiari, with their numerous sections and sub-sections, are largely autonomous under their own chiefs and headmen, but all are subject to the supreme control of an aristocratic ruling family, who represent the Bakhtiari to the Persian Government and the outer world. This central control prevents domestic wars between the tribes themselves, and restrains unregulated aggression against their neighbours, and robbery under arms on the caravan routes. As one result, the Bakhtiari present a combination which is much more powerful than the aggregate of the large nomadic tribes of Luristan on their West, each of which pursues its own independent course, often in hostility to its neighbours and rivals, or the lesser Kuhgilau and Mam answered tribes on their East.

The life of the Bakhtiari is alternately focussed on two widely separated areas of very different physical character. In the winter, they camp among the foot-hills fringing the Arabistan plain, where there is grazing at that season, and some cultivable, if poor, land, where they sow winter crops to be harvested in the early summer. The hottest months of the year they spend camped on the high open grazing grounds on the North side of the main range. Between these two areas lie a series of high mountain ranges separated by valleys and rivers. These barriers have twice a year to be crossed by the tribes, with their women and children, their flocks and herds, and all their belongings—once, early in summer, on their way up to the summer grazing-grounds, the yehd, and again in autumn, on their way down to their winter quarters, the garmah.

There is much hardship in toiling on foot, in extremes of heat and cold, by unmade tracks, through narrow-lying valleys and over 9,000-foot passes. There is risk, even danger, in crossing unbridged torrents and rivers by ford or raft-ferry. There is constant anxiety for the precious animals which share these vicissitudes, but have to cross the bigger rivers under their own power by swimming, and may stray in the dark or be spirited away by prowling tribes from other tribes. Every Bakhtiari goes through the same hard school, and grows up tough, and learns to be prompt in the defence of his rights.

Such a life, lived without permanent outside contacts, makes the tribe a world in itself, and breeds a tribal patriotism. The Bakhtiari, and every cousin Lur, looks with contempt on what he would call the slow-witted and unadventurous villager, and the unscrupulous, money-grubbing and cowardly townsman. If the latter ventures into the open on the caravan routes with some part of his wealth, he is surely a fair prey for the tough, hard-living tribesmen.

There is also some family rivalry between brother tribes, which used to express itself in plundering raids and open war, and can still make theft of animals from another community, already referred to, a fair contest of wits, rather than a breach of social morality. Sarcasm can also play its part, and stories are repeated illustrating the simple-mindedness, or stupidity, of certain tribes. In so far as they may be true; the greater the truth the greater the libel—and the more damaging.

Of the individual Bakhtiari tribesman it may be said that he is usually alert, intelligent and interested in all around him, and endowed with a sense of humour. He can be a very good companion. On the other hand, he is often quick-tempered, passionate, and violent in the expression of his passions. But if not slow to anger, he is usually quick to be reconciled.

The main object of the paper was to illustrate some features of the normal life of the tribesmen, and some aspects of their temperament and mental outlook. It was attempted to achieve this by reading selected specimens of narratives and stories obtained from Bakhtiari, and originally recorded in their own dialect of Persian.

The paper was discussed by Mr. Brunnholts, Mrs. Lorimer, Miss de Beer, Mr. Foster, Dr. Samuel, Mr. Burland, Mr. Mann and Mr. Walker. Colonel Lorimer replied.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES

University of Edinburgh: Lecturer in Social Anthropology.

The University of Edinburgh proposes to appoint a Lecturer in Social Anthropology. This new lecturesship (which later may carry the title and status of Reader) with the existing Abercromby professorship in Prehistoric Archaeology and a proposed lectureship in Physical Anthropology in the Department of Anatomy will complete the Staff for the first full School in general Anthropology in Scotland.
Provision is made already in the University Calendar for an Honours B.Sc. in Anthropology, but candidates have been restricted hitherto to the anatomical and archaeological aspects of the subject. Social Anthropology is now to be added to the Honours School (in which it will stand on an equal footing with Physical Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology) and the institution of a post-graduate Diploma in Anthropology is under consideration.

American Association of Physical Anthropologists:

59 Philadelphia 24 March 1945

The American Association of Physical Anthropologists arranged an annual meeting at the Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, Philadelphia, on the 24th and 25th March, 1945, the first annual meeting it has held since war was declared. There were nearly 30 papers, several of which dealt with evidences of correlation of abnormal and diseased conditions, while one, by Dr. S. L. Washburn of Columbia University, dealt with the consequences, in the course of growth of abnormalities induced by operation on new-born rats. A number of papers attacked the importance of constitutional study and emphasized the need for studying the whole individual. Excellent papers gave warning against the weaknesses of statistical methods, however necessary these may be within their limitations. Anthropometry in connection with military service was discussed and so were some problems relating to American Indians. A contribution from Dr. Weidenreich put forward a plea for more funds for excavation and study of sites known to yield early skeletons, and for some international organization to make available for serious students the skeletons already collected. The author thinks that the assumption of the erect posture occurred, in a considerable degree, before several of the characteristically human features of brain and skull had appeared.

Professor Hooton spoke of the need for making the value of the subject in practical life more widely known. He said he was more and more drawn to think constitutional studies important.

Professor Krogman spoke of the importance of following the same individual year after year if growth studies are to be of any value. Large samples of children of successive ages give figures that he thinks of little value.

Drs. Seltzer and Bulkley of Harvard University discussed "physique and personality" in its relation to guidance of undergraduates at Harvard (men) and Radcliffe (women). They indicated that often facts of the physique of a student gave them valuable clues.

The meeting gave a hospitable welcome to R. Ruggles Gates and H. J. Fleure as visitors from Britain.

H. J. FLEURE

Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia: Research Appointments.

The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute invites applications for the following research posts in Northern Rhodesia and neighbouring territories:

1. Social anthropologists or sociologists.
2. Economists.

The general terms of service are:

1. Salary: On scales of £500-£700 in six years, or £450-£700 in nine years according to experience. (Persons of very senior status may be appointed at higher initial salaries.)
2. Period of Appointment: Initial appointments will be for 3 to 4 years, with a strong possibility of extension for another 3 years.
3. Probation: Experienced research workers will not have a probationary period. Inexperienced workers straight from a university will be confirmed in their appointments after eighteen months' service; should an officer not be confirmed he will be required to repay his passage outward and pay his own passage home.
4. Additional provisions:
   (a) Free quarters;
   (b) Free medical services on the same terms and conditions as Northern Rhodesia Government servants;
   (c) Free first-class passages to and from Livingstone;
   (d) Annual local leave, in addition to leave at the expiry of the contract, the latter to amount to five days for each month of completed service;
   (e) The Institute will contribute £70 per annum towards insurance and endowments taken out by officers, while they are in its employ;
   (f) The Board of Trustees will grant sick leave on full pay, for a period not exceeding twelve months, to its officers who fall ill during the course of their duties or due to the tropical climate, and in addition the Board will cover each officer with a £10 yearly accident-illness insurance, which will be taken out in the name of the Board; any payments under this insurance will be allotted as the Board thinks fit.

Applicants are asked to state their age, place of birth, general training, research experience, and to give a list of their publications; they should submit as many testimonials, or names of referees, as they can; and should send a medical certificate stating that they are fit for field research in tropical areas.

Men and women will be considered on equal terms, married couples, both of whom are research workers, will count as two officers if appointed as such. Men and women serving in the national forces are asked to submit their applications, and allowance will be made for the fact that it may be some time before they can take up their posts. However, where possible, applicants are asked to state when they would be free to come to Livingstone, if arrangements can be made for them to travel. Applications should be addressed to the Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, P.O. Box 195, Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia.
REVIEWs.

PACIFIC


The most recent of this interesting series of studies turns again to the Far East and deals with New Guinea. This island has come into the public notice with some force since the landing there of the Japanese. Formerly known vaguely by most people as the haunt of cannibals and birds-of-paradise, it has now emerged from its obscurity and taken its place as a theatre of war. This vast island lying to the north of Australia has a backbone of high mountains, a tropical climate, forests in the interior, and coral-reefs and mud-swamps round the coasts.

The inhabitants also are varied. High in the mountains dwell isolated groups of the little Negritos—pygmy people still in the stone age. They are intelligent, friendly little folk, but greatly feared by the larger Papuan neighbors, on account of their readiness with bow and arrow and with the deadly stone battle-axe. The Papuans, who arrived in New Guinea subsequent to the Negritos, occupy most of the rest of the interior of the island, and the west and south-west coast. From the first, there are two or three distinct groups distinguished by large hooked noses which are usually decorated with nose-sticks. They are warlike and cannibals, responsible for much of the misfortune to which many of them—when met without an unsavory reputation for treachery which may in part be due to early unfortunate encounters with unworshipful whites. Under the wise paternal government from Port Moresby, the natives of Papua have become much more settled, though the isolation under the present war may have been disrupting.

The Melanesian immigrants inhabit the north-east, east, and south-east portions of the island and have become incorporated with the Papuans, and are usually known as Papuan-Melanesians. The author of this study describes them as friendly and as dark as the typical Papuan. Those that I have seen, however, were distinctly lighter-skinned—more robust even than the Papuans, and during their stay in the island.


This series consists of excellent little handbooks, by competent authorities, and are intended to give the citizen the elementary notions which he needs to follow current affairs in his regard to the countries which they describe. In Polynesians, Explorers of the Pacific, Mr. J. E. Wooster, Jr. summarises the history, explorations, and settlements of the Polynesians, the culture of the Polynesian, the impact of European culture on their highly specialized communities, and a short gazetteer of "pertinent facts" about each of the principal groups of islands from Hawaii and Easter Island to New Zealand. The controversial questions of origin and early migrations are treated discreetly, and with due regard for the paucity of archaeological evidence hitherto. The characteristic Polynesian mythology illustrates fundamental aspects of the social structure, and the religious aspect of every social and individual activity, and the religious sanction of customary behaviour. The various political institutions are described and the Polynesians, the reference to differences of external circumstances, in New Zealand, Tahiti, Samoa, and elsewhere.

The disastrous effects of European interference are treated frankly, and justice is done to recent efforts of dominant powers to enable the Polynesians to recover their "will to live." An interesting point is the effect of commercial depression in 1939-35 and of lack of shipping during the war. The book is in three parts, in three other words, one a fund of information, one a fund of material and suggest, one a fund of leisure-interests which forms such a large part of their former life.

J. L. M.


In this charming book the author gives ample evidence of his sympathetic approach to Javanese village life, and of the large amount of information he has collected in recent years, apparently mainly in the Eastern Province. A wide range of topics is covered by chapters entitled "Wedding Days," "More about Marriage," "Birth and Death," "The "Dasa," "Magic," "A Word about Javanese," and "The Glory of the Garden," among others. While such an informal, generalised account of a "typical," rather than a specific, village can scarcely be said to enrich one's detailed ethnographical knowledge of Java, both text and illustrations will certainly assist the general reader in understanding and appreciating one of the most fascinating countries in the world.

The author does not seem to have fully understood the administrative organization, and the consequent complete difference in category between the "Kampung," who is part of the village, and the "Administrative Kampung," who is the Chief of a Sub-District and in the Civil Service (p. 47). More misleading, however, is the confusion between the village (called desa in Javanese, but for which the Malay word kampung is used here) and the Administrative District, which the author sometimes calls desa, whereas it usually comprises from fifty up to a hundred villages. Hence the "central town or village of the desa" is meaningless, and the "Kampung of the kampung" is not a man subordinate member of the "central desa council," as stated (also on p. 82), but the Chief of the desa and the chairman of the desa council. The remark that an "important" institution in most desas is the opium depot (p. 80) must similarly be adjusted to a different perspective. In fact only 0.4 per cent. of the population of fifty million smoke, and it is fairly seldom that a real village (though a kampung has a depot at all).

No "French armies fought in Java in the early nineteenth century against the British" (p. 182); it was towards the end of the eighteenth century that a battalion of about 1,000 men, under Major, later Brigadier, Grosen, was sent as reinforcements to the French troops in the islands off the Île de France (Mauritius). This French colony, being conservative in temper, welcomed the opportunity of dispatching overseas a battalion which had recently arrived from France and consisted mainly of Jacobins.

AUGUST MULHENFELD

Maria Murder and Suicide. By Verrier Elwin, with a foreword by W. V. Graignon. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Bombay, for "Man in India," 1943. Pp. xxv + 256, with maps, plates, and text figures. Rs. 10, English price 15s.

This volume is another important contribution by Verrier Elwin to Indian anthropology, as well as to the penology of aboriginal peoples. The author tabulates 196 cases of homicide and 50 cases of suicide, with a brief history of each case. He treats of crimes among Indian aborigines in general and the Boin-born Maria in particular; he analyzes the details of these murders and suicides in twenty-two tables in the text (they are actually numbered from 1 to 21, but the number '9' is given to two different tables on pp. 43 and 46); he goes into the various causes leading to the commission of criminal acts, treats of the behavior of the homicides after his crime, his dreams and so forth, of the attitudes of tribal
society to the criminal, and of the treatment of the aboriginal prisoner in gaol.

Here, as Mr. Grigg on indicates in his valuable foreword, is applied anthropotography of the first order. Every judge and magistrate who has to deal in crime, and every boy officer by birth working in the Indian outposts, ought to read this book; the recognition of fatigue as a frequent cause of crime, the treatment of extreme and sudden provocation, and the effects of imprisonment on the Maria tribesmen are particularly important, as is the author's recommendation for separate provision for long term aboriginal prisoners in a special gaol for settlement. He attaches a very proper value to Maria panchayats and to the position of the natural leaders of the village (though one may legitimately feel some doubt as to the advisability of entrusting secular authority to a munda or guina—the Maria shaman); to the bachelors' dormitory system and its effect on character, and to premeditation in crime as indicated by tribal customs.

At the same time there is a great deal to interest the historically inclined anthropologist as distinct from the functionally minded. The Maris, though generally spoken of as Gonds, have a polygynous type of the Kolarian-speaking tribes, and their magico-religious and fertility cults have much in common with those of the hill tribes of Assam, with whom they clearly share a belief in the finite and concrete nature of the life principle, perhaps linking up the Naga and Karen conceptions with the beliefs as to manasgi in Western India generally. Many indications appear in Dr. Elwin's account of the Maris of the pre-existence of a matrilineal system of descent, particularly in connexion with the position and function of the Maria woman.

In dealing with the causes of suicide, the author should probably have mentioned an intense belief in a future life, or perhaps rather in a continuation of this life after death, as a contributory factor. Doubt of a future existence probably helps to deter savages from leaving their present one, but among Indian aborigines continued existence is often taken for granted to an extent which an European finds difficult to comprehend. The fact that aborigines in general are apparently untutored by sex, a parallel is possibly to be found in the failure of most wild animals to breed in captivity, even though the opportunity be given.

One or two points for criticism arise in the make-up of the book: the admirable photographs as well as the text-figures are spread through the book without reference to the text—a practice most inconvenient to the serious reader; if they cannot face the appropriate passage they should be collected together at the end. Worse still, there is not even any list of illustrations so that one may search all through the book before finding whether a matter or person is illustrated and where. Thus the phrase and similar uses are mentioned at pp. 48 and 49, but the latter is not quoted at p. 88. There is an index any help in this. There are a few misprints—"Maris" for "Maurs" in the last line but one on p. xx. The Bibliography is incomplete. For instance, Malinowski's Crime and Custom in Savage Society is quoted on p. 36, and Fontain's paper on Iniquity Suicide on the same page, and a number of other works on p. 58, none of which appear in the Bibliography at all.

But these are minor points to set against the excellence and importance of the volume as a whole which for anthropologists and administrators who are interested in India adds much to the store under which they already lie to Dr. Elwin.

J. H. HUTTON

AFRICA

Economics of Detribalization, Part II. By G. Wilson, Price 2s. 6d. Economy of the Central Barotse Plain. By Mary Gluckman, Price 1s. 6d. The Rhodes Livingstone Institute.

These two essays (Nos. VI and VII of the Rhodes Livingstone Papers) present an excellent example of the startling contrasts to be found in Northern Rhodesia at the present time. Dr. Wilson's essay is a continuation of his former one and is applied to the economics of African life in the town of Broken Hill. His first five chapters discuss wage rates and their expenditure on clothes, food, firewood, beer, and capital goods. The next three chapters deal with the economic aspects of marriage in urban life, and the final chapter is on the claims of kinship and friendship in the domestic economy of urban Africans. The facts given by Dr. Wilson are vividly told, and the point is made clearly by Dr. Wilson in his discussion of the Barotse that in any concrete social situation economics form only one element, and must be studied in relation to the legal, moral, conventional, and other elements.

Dr. Gluckman has taken for the central theme of his study the problems connected with transhumance which is maintained by the annual flooding of the Central Barotse plain. His first three chapters discuss the resources of the plain, the demography of the Lozi people, and the cycle of activities determined by the annual flooding of the rivers. He then discusses internal and external trade in the country, and the relation of economic activities to social organization. These two chapters are in part historical. In the final chapter he discusses the sociological problems of modern Lozi economy.

The contrast with Dr. Wilson's essay lies in the fact that whereas one is wholly rural and to a large extent traditional, yet both lie within the present-day economic structure of Northern Rhodesia, dominated by the Copper Belt and its mining activities. Barotse, though perhaps perhaps be described as one of the more fortunate areas of the country in this regard, offers a clear example of a particular point of view. Readers who are acquainted with Mr. Trappell's ecological survey of North Western Rhodesia will be aware of the high standard of traditional agriculture which he reported in the Barotse plain. Nevertheless, the demands for labour in the Copper Belt, Southern Rhodesia, and the Union has drawn young men away from Barotse, and money wages have introduced many new features into the economic life of the territory.

MARGARET READ

AMERICA


To the white man, Santa Ana or Tumay, to give it its Indian name, is a small, somewhat decayed pueblo on the Jumna River, a few miles west of the Rio Grande, New Mexico. To the inhabitants of the Pueblo, it is their home. To the average Englishman, who has never been there, it is a place which is square and flat, the uppermost of four similar worlds. From the lowest the people originally came, and to it they eventually return after they die, with a possible purgatorial interlude on one of the middle ones. There are only about 250 of them left, yet their complex structure of medicine societies, dance groups, kiss organizations, and clans largely survives. Certain aspects of their material culture have not fared so well, however, and both weaving and pottery-making have died out in our own time.

This monograph is a fascinating account of the social life, ceremonies, and organization of these people, and it gives a most interesting picture of their reaction to the impact of modern American civilization. The author acutely observes that one of the most potent forces in weaning the Indians away from their old ways is the modern conception of medicine with which the children come in contact at school; by undermining the influence of the medicine-men, who are also priests, this shakes their whole religious structure. The effects of contact with Spanish culture were very different. It has given the impulse to various ceremonies of the Indian character, of which some of the most interesting are associated with Santiago. The Indians clearly did not become Christians, but they incorporated some Christian features, particularly their patron, St. Anne, and parts of the Easter rites. It is interesting to consider what will happen as the native religion fades away, if it ever inevitably must. The writer's experiences in a remote part of the Pacific coast of S. America, where some measure of
distinction between the old religion and the new seems to have been insisted upon, is that a veneer of Catholicism sur- 

vives in the absence of proper pastoral care, but here, among the Indians of the coast, the true cult has been allowed to vanish altogether. Ill-treatment at the hands of the Spaniards, which culminated in the great revolt of 1808, has perhaps been partly responsible for the preservation of the Indian culture, since it has had the effect of making the Indians extremely reticent about it. They are justly afraid of the indifference of the anthropologist, since his informants will not speak at all about some of their secrets, and can only divulge others in conditions of extreme secrecy and under peril of severe punishment or even death at the hands of their fellows if they are discovered. The result is that, although details of the Indian ceremonial life remain unknown to the author after years of patient research, he was unable to get any female informants, and points out that this must make his account to some extent one-sided.

Besides the old pueblo at Tuñaya, there is a new village at Rancho, where the cultivated lands are, some ten miles away. Formerly the Indians spent most of their time at the old village, but now they live at the new, and only visit the old at certain times of year for ceremonies. This is necessary because the ceremonial houses and kivas are at the old village, but the tendency to spend more time at the new is a cause of concern, as well as a symptom of the breakup of the old cult. Associated too with the decay of the Indian culture is the increasing importance attaching to the "severals" or officers of Spanish origin, as against the "sacred" officers, one of the holiest of whom, the seveta, shows signs of disappearing, and it is probable that the present kivas, still bear a very important part in the life of the people.

On the whole, the Indians of Santa Ana present little difference from those of other Keresan pueblos, but there are a few unique features, such as the former existence of two types of kivas and certain features of the kiva organization, for which the author suggests explanations based on the relatively small size of the pueblo and not on any fundamental difference. He also describes for the first time certain features such as the mohoyo, a sort of rug which has become associated with St. Anne on her feast-day, but which is at the same time an extremely sacred feature of the old religion. Since he saw it at Santa Ana, it has turned up in two neighbour- ing pueblos. An interesting feature is the existence of something closely akin to a potlatch on certain saints days, when goods are thrown from the roofs of houses by the families of those who bear the saint's name.

A strong impression left by this account is that there is a remarkable difference in outlook between those Indians and those of the forests of South America. Numerous authors, particularly, have been impressed by the propitiation of the spiritual elements, the propitiation of whom is the mainspring of most of the ceremonies of these forest Indians. The pueblos on the other hand seem to be seeking a positive gift—rain, fertility or simply suya, a kind of blessing—in the overwhelming of their enemies. While the forests are the open country in which they and their ancestors have lived largely responsible for this difference.

After death, it is believed that the soul lingers about the house for four days, after which ceremony of prayer in the world of souls. This suggests an explanation of a belief which survives among semi-civilized Christian Indians on the coast of Ecuador. During an excavation, in which some of them were employed, they were asked whether the dead men they were digging up gave them any trouble, but they answered "No, not these, they have been dead too long." They only bother us for three or four days after they die. It is possible that this is due to the former existence of some such "laying" ceremony a few days after death.

The book is a mine of interesting information about all sides of pueblo life, and would be a useful addition to any anthropological library. A most valuable feature is an admirable series of drawings of dances and articles of par- phernalia, particularly masks and "altars," most of them by native artists. Physical anthropology is outside its scope so there are no measurements or anthropometric data to illustrate the physical type. The standard of production is on the high level we are accustomed to in this series, and only two misprints were noticed, both of them in references to plates. 4b being printed as 46 on p. 26 and 5b as 56 on p. 45. There is a useful glossary of native terms, and the absence of an index is largely offset by the logical and clear arrangement of the subject matter.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL


Much of the mystery surrounding the Toltec Culture has been due to paucity or lack of excavation on some of its important sites—Tolman, Monte Albán, and above all Tula in the State of Hidalgo. This article gives a very good and concise survey of recent work on these and other sites by Vaillant, Lumbreras, and Arce, and Caso himself, of a culture complex immediately preceding the Aztec, which he associates with the name of Toluca.

Its representatives in Central Mexico, Oaxaca, and the Volcan Nuevo respectively, and all are characterized by the presence of phallic and sun-orange ware, together with certain types of sculpture, which are summerized, and the first appearance of metal. The author ends by giving a summary of various views, based on the chronicles, about the dating of the Toltec Culture. He accepts its duration as 312 years, and while it may have begun as early as A.D. 752, he prefers the later alternative of 856.

We shall look forward to the results of further work in this most promising field.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL


Professor Renfrew has for some years been carrying out rapid reconnaissance in the San Luis Valley in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico, and the present account deals with his work in 1942 in that part of the valley which is known as the Upper Rio Grande. It is preceded by a brief account of his work in previous years.

The bulk of the sites visited had been occupied for a brief space by Pueblo Indians, who left stone implements and shards, to which Dr. Mera, a well-known specialist in Pueblo pottery, assigns dates ranging from c. A.D. 1000 to recent times. Camp sites, rock-shelters, and look-outs were identified, the latter being generally fenced in by the remnants of a stone wall. The sites, which appeared to be transitory, during hunting-trips or journeys through the district.

The most interesting feature of the work was the discovery on a few camp-sites of a characteristic type of point, cruder than the Pueblo implements, and made by percussion flaking, with absence of pressure flaking in most cases. Some of the sites were entirely free from Pueblo artifacts. These points, of which a page of outline drawings is given, consist typically of, a short, broad body marked off by shoulders from a longer, narrower stem with a concave or notched base and sharp edges, often as if ground. The smoothing of the edges is rather a striking feature of implements which are otherwise crudely made. The dimensions vary considerably but a mean length is 4 cm., and breadth 2 cm. The material of most specimens is a dark-coloured volcanic rock, which has not been identified with certainty, since it is variously described as basalt, rhyolite, or even, most improbably, as fine-grained black quartzite. The points, which are accompanied by a few scrapers and crude bifaces implements, are given the name of Rin Grande points.

An indication of their age is given by an excavation carried out by a collaborator of Dr. Renfrew, who found examples, accompanied by any traces of pottery, in a stratum under- lyng an old Pueblo culture, whose exact age is not given. They are, then, older than part at least of the Pueblo culture, but not necessarily of any great antiquity. Professor Renfrew has found some difficulty in discovering any record of similar points elsewhere in N. America, but he points out a possible
The Native Tribes of Eastern Bolivia and Western Mata

Grosso. By Alfred Metraux, Southwestern Institute


Indian Research, Vol. 14, No. 1. [July-August, 1945]

M. Metraux has placed us deeply in his debt by compiling this Bulletin about the Indians of a most important area, which is, to use his own description, roughly bounded by the Cordillera, the Paraguay River, the Green Chaco, and the Paraguari River, that is to say, it lies between the parallel of 31° South, the Andes, and the meridians of 56° and 70° West. Apart from a very brief introduction, the work consists of a purely objective piece of everything of importance that has been written about these Indians from the sixteenth century to the present day, and its value is increased by the fact that much of the literature is rare and inaccessible.

The area is peculiarly rich in linguistic stocks, and for descriptive purposes the tribes are grouped according to their linguistic affiliations, in so far as these have been classified. The account of each tribe is conveniently divided up into a number of headings—Tribal Divisions, History, Subsistence, Houses, Dress and Adornments, Religion, Social and Political Organization, and so on. The varying lengths of time during which the Indians of different tribes have been in touch with the whites make the area one of particular interest for the study of culture contacts. In spite of this, the literature is in most respects deficient, and even Nushenschold, who spent several years in E. Bolivia, was more concerned with the collection of specimens than the comprehensive study of the cultures.

Taken as a whole, the tribes are of tropical forest type, but considerable Andean influences are evident, perhaps the most interesting of which are the Inca traits in the religion of the Tarascan-speaking Aruani. There are a number of traits introduced by the Araucanos from Guiana and the Amazon region, including curare and the blow-gun. In view of a suggestion by M. W. Stirling in a bulletin of the same series on the Jivaro of Ecuador, it would have been interesting to find some indication in the present work as to whether or not the blow-gun is of post-Columbian introduction to S. America, but no evidence is forthcoming.

There is considerable evidence in this work in support of Karsten's hypothesis of a strongly developed animism among South American Indians, many of these customs are, in his book, urged to protest them first, the belief in evil spirits inhabiting natural objects, which are, or originally have been, held by many tribes to be disembodied human souls. The human characteristics of the nature spirits (Idauna) of the Kuxinah and Tumapa, and the great fear of them in the days of the Chaco, is described. This, and the Yurakara custom that a dying man should make definite bequests of his property, anything cut or given away being destroyed lest he return for it and kill people, is a strong indication of similar beliefs. There is little indication of pre-animism, and the 'irritable magical substance' described, among which attention is called to the following. The mention of incisions made for body-painting among the Yurakara reveals certain clay stamps found on archaeological sites in Ecuador by the writer, who has always considered them to be the prototypes of the designs which seem far better on the body than they would on cloth. The Pumapana practises a sort of negative painting on guards, the only mention of a technique ever common among Central and South American Indians. The Manusai are said to have used a special language for sacred purposes, and it would be interesting to know more about it, or if the use of the designs would print far better on the body than they would on cloth. The use of a fully developed harpoon head by the Guato seems to be unique in the area, and this peculiar...
The Problem of the Hiatus in Indian Archaeology. [No. 76, MAN, 1944, 27]

I have read with considerable interest Mr. H. J. E. Peake's article (MAN, 1944, 27) on the subject of the hiatus existing in Indian archaeology. As he rightly remarks, this period is one which marks the arrival and spread of the ancient Aryans in India. This is a period, however, which, though it does remain to a large extent a blank, has received more attention than Mr. Peake would lead one to suppose. I myself published an article in MAN, 1933, 129, in which I sounded a note of warning as regards the mistaken way certain styles of terracotta figurines were being used under classifications such as 'primitive' and 'pre-Mauryan,' to provide material to bridge this archaeological gap. Curiously
enough in this same article I mentioned the gold-leaf figure from Lauriya-Nandangarh and cast doubts on its Vedic period age. A most important article unnoticed not only by Mr. Peake but by most writers on this subject, e.g. Mr. Stuart Piggott in his article in Antiquity— "Dating the Hissar sequence— the Indian evidence," is that by R. Heine-Geldern entitled Archeological Notes on the "Art and Culture of the Oriental Art," in which evidence from India is examined in the light of similar objects from Hissar, Ushak, Transit, Cosmopolis, etc. My wife and I added to this, using and augmenting his material in our article "Sanskrit of the Niasa Culture," which dealt very largely with this hitherto, and has been means for buying the Vedic word. Much water has flowed since Mirza wrote in 1891 and Dr. Bloch in 1908. Much of his thesis is founded on the idea that the mounds of Lauriya Nandangarh (not Nandangarh), originally excavated in 1906-7 by Dr. Bloch (not Block), fall in line with No. 2 of his evolutionary series, which postulates a mound of clay without any sort of brick or stone covering. All this is very unfortunate because, although the derivation of the steps from an earlier form of burial mound as indicated by Mr. Peake and by Mr. Stuart Piggott "The earliest Buddhist SHRINES," (Antiquity) can be regarded as an unassailable fact, at least the mounds of Lauriya Nandangarh do not afford an early Vedic link, as they are themselves stupa, early no doubt, but possibly not even of Mauryan date. When the ancient civilizations of the Indus Valley came to light, it was considered expedient to re-examine the region, and to see whether the site of the town and the character of the mounds might constitute a link with this newly unearthed civilization. Accordingly in 1936 excavations were carried out by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, who excavated four of the mounds and found them to be stupa of an early type. Mound N, which was excavated by Bloch, has a large surface, and the remains of a series of terraces, and a brick paved double terrace, with the outer one a few inches lower than the inner, surrounding the whole structure. It is more than likely that the whole of the stupa originally had a brick covering. It was in a trench dug in the top of this stupa that Bloch found his great treasure and, again, it must be stated that there is nothing in its style that is incompatible with a late Mauryan or early Sunga date. These steps are of considerable extent, mound B being nearly 170 feet in diameter, and from their photographs both steps N and O are not less than half this size. Excavations were also carried out at the neighboring site of Mundagan, a vast mound rising to more than 80 feet above the surrounding plain. The objects recovered mostly of the Sunga period, second century B.C., which makes it probable that the stupa are of the same date, though some may be late third century B.C. which could not be very much further. The shape of Lauriya Nandangarh which would differentiate them from any of the early type of domed steps, having little or nothing in the way of a vertical drum below the dome. The post-hole at the top can, with as great a degree of certainty as is possible under the circumstances, be said to have been the site of the akshara or umbrella. If one or more holes do surround the structure, this would only indicate the presence of a normal railing in wood which must have existed at many stupa, as the stone railings are copies of timber work. Mr. Peake quotes the verse from the Rig-Veda: "If I place this barrier for you, as you are going," this verse appears to be in line with all the other ideas of the magical wall or protection of the burial place which is implicit in all maze designs and ceremonies, Walls of Troy and of Trojan Games, the Swastika both within the maze and as a death symbol, and so on. Considering the long life of this burial custom it is not out of place to mention a number of times in great detail. As for the question of the utilization of burnt and sun-dried bricks we have not progressed sufficiently to be able to be in any way positive or dogmatist about their use. Burnt brick was one of the outstanding culminations of the Vedic peoples of the early period, it reappears again at Hara and in the Taxila period structures at Madhavpur and Brahmanot. Sun-dried bricks were employed at all periods, and it is doubtful whether Northern India was wholly without both of these from 3500 B.C. onwards.

So much for the stupa of Lauriya Nandangarh. There remains Mr. Peake's first alternative, which I modify slightly to read that we should review such dated evidence as we have and that we should see the problem throughly. Clearly the most practicable approach to the problem, and one which I must submit, with all due reserve, is likely to produce much more in the way of useful results than any amount of scientific imagination. Indian archaeology has always suffered from its being conducted generally on the lines of most of the imagination of the future of Indian archaeology is springing up, who value the objective treatment more than the subjective, and who have disciplined themselves to methods of scientific integrity unhissed by considerations of nationalistic boost. Every encouragement should be given to these pioneers of practical archaeology. Hillerio to be regarded as a scholar or archaeologist or what-not had only to study one's dissertation full of Sanskrit words and quotations and add a few tenuously quasi-deductions of a highly speculative nature, and the resulting hotch-potch of muddled and woolly thinking passed for archaeology. This phase is passing, though it died hard. I at any rate have struggled irreconcilably to kill it, and now I am glad to say I find an increasing number of Indians who feel about these matters in the same way as I do, and in whose hands the future of Indian archaeology lies.

What do we know? Nothing, that is obvious! In the Judges' Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, 1937, there is an article by Mr. Peake on 'The Origin of Certain Pot-Forms,' immediately following it is one by Mr. G. E. L. Carter on 'Polished Mounds' also a tribe imaginative in its method, but not to the credit of the distribution of polished mounds which might be well worth following up. As this article deals wholly with the method of building a burial mound, it is strange that Mr. Peake should have left it in his course of speculation and inquiry. There are, however, two points that emerge from the article and I quote Mr. Peake's own article in Max. One is that a Vedic burial mound should normally be four-cornered, and secondly that its dimensions are quite small. How these squares with stupas on the one hand and stupas on the other requires, I feel, a bit more sorting out, also how much the stupa burials owe to earlier forms of burial in Jina and elsewhere.

One statement made in Mr. Carter's article points to a site which calls out loudly for investigation. In a footnote, referring to the four-cornered burial mound, he says—"Such a mound may be seen on the Yendhampur Karezas, Kashmir." A mound may be seen on the Yendhampur Karezas, Kashmir, i.e. the term karezas visited this site twice and not being conscious of having seen a four-cornered burial mound, or anything like one, I have again paid the site a visit. A protracted search showed not the vestige sign of such a mound. In the centre of the Karezas which is a large system of watercourses date back to Cleopatra, the Vale of Kashmir was a vast lake, is the negativism of the monument of Buri Hamsa. This consists of twelve visible stones, those still standing being in a rough semicircle, the fallen ones lying behind them outside their general perimeter. Dr. de Terra dug a small U-shaped trench in the centre of the horseshoe, but his excavation proved nothing, not even at what period of the occupation of the Karezas the stones were erected, and the degree to which they were intrusive as regards the original digging of their erection. The excavation into the occupied strata of previous occupation. The only point made in his report which obtained ready repudiation was that black burnished pottery, as found at Mohenjo-daro, was present at this site. This was enough to set the imagination of scholars who proclaimed Buri Hamsa as an outgrowth of Indian culture. I have noticed the burnished pottery among the finds from Buri Hamsa or from the Indus Valley, that is to say pottery having a black metallic lustre such as one may find in certain Central Indian fabrics of the present day; there is, however, some pottery with a black slip similar to that found all over Northern India which dates back to the late second century B.C. Mohenjo-daro only produced some four small fragments of grey pottery with a highly polished black slip, and their date is very suspect and probably late. At the west end of the Karezas, just north of Yendhampur village,
there is a modern cemetery, and close by, some earlier graves outlined by stones sunk into the ground, of various sizes, mostly about five feet by three.

Though the Vedas, and the early period of Buddhism, may not have a Vedic or Puranic burial mound on it, the whole area is covered with pottery, and occasional ground and polished stone implements may be picked up on the surface. This is a site of great but uncertain antiquity, about which nothing has been done. Though this site seems contemporary with the one which made polished stone axes, there is typical late Buddhist pottery of the early centuries A.D. It is an easy site on which to dig, within easy reach of Simraha, and therefore presenting few administrative difficulties.

The nearest to Srisa, Marlian Dist., N.W.F.P., is a strange monument.* More regular and not so ancient in its appearance as Bhor Hamo it is nevertheless a unique monument which shows no surface remains of its vihara, but which, seeing that it must lie in all probability within the period of the hastra, also calls for excavation. The early culture of Maski and the allied cultures of Madhaypur and Brahmagiri would not call for any comment if it were not for the Kallur swades, found in the Balhar Dist., of Hyderabad State, and allied apparently to the curious medley of artifacts which this region produces. The Kallur swades are of copper with parallel cutting edges, a pronounced midrib, no sort of handle, and stumpy antennae on the pommel. They are not particularly like the Fatahgarh swords which, though they are of copper and have a pronounced midrib, are leaf-shaped with long thin antennae. These swords remain a mystery and much work needs to be done on the tangles of finds found in this South Deccan region. In spite of the microliths and the ground and polished stone celts, the pottery and other indications do not for the most part indicate a earlier dating than the fifth century B.C., though it is probable that some of the remains may well belong to a much later date. Excavation has been renewed lately at Maski, and photographs of the site showing the digging in progress gives indication of a higher standard of technique than was employed in previous attempts seven or eight years ago. Results of this digging will be keenly awaited and it is to be hoped that in this instance the recording has been both complete and systematic.

Finally I agree with Mr. Peake that more research is necessary in the Punjab. Sir Aurel Stein's researches along the dry bed of the Ghaggar have yet to be evaluated, and correlated with adjacent known cultures. The burial mounds of the Vedic Aryans have yet to be found, and I feel that were they as common as long barrows and round barrows in England they would have been found long ago. To begin with, Sir Alexander Cunningham with his nose for a site of any kind would have got wind of them. That the Punjab peasant woman would commit with Europoan can only be described as nonsense. The Punjabi—Sikh, Musalma, and Hindu alike—is a too-mater-of-fact an individual to be much intrigued about antiquities, but, in common with the greater part of the human race, he delights in gossip and talk, and though you cannot expect him to have a store of archeological information ready, it is wonderful what can be elicited after a certain amount of interest has been aroused by preparing the ground. True this is only done to please you, but with A telling B and so on, the word goes round and the results come in. And I may say that more European officials are getting this information than Indian ones who as a rule have no historical interest whatsoever, and again only help as a friendly gesture to some European who is interested. More work has been done in these matters than Mr. Peake's article would suggest, and, if I may say so, the scientific imagination is needed to lead us to the right places in which to dig and, used with considerable caution, to help us to interpret what we find as the result of our digging.

D. H. GORDON, Colonel

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* Antiquity, 1934, pp. 1-10.
* Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute, XI, 1936, p. 4.

Feminine Disabilities

Str.—There is no doubt that there are intellectual and psychological differences between men and women, but exactly what these are it is impossible to say. Whatever they may be, they are due in part to physiological differences and in part to upbringing. In all human communities boys and girls are brought up to have a different outlook on life, and this inevitably affects their intellectual and psychological make-up. Furthermore, it appears that among the apero and some of the lowest savage races the physical differences between the sexes are less marked than among more civilized peoples, and it has been maintained by some writers that certain secondary sexual characteristics, such as the long hair of women and the long beards of men, are artificial to the extent that they are the result not of natural but of sexual selection. However the extent to which this is so is as yet not certain that differences which are often regarded as innate are really artificial. It is regarded by Europeans as natural for women to dress brightly, wear jewels, and use cosmetics, but this phenomenon is confined to the competitive atmosphere of monogamous tribes and the communities in polygynous tribes the costume of the women is in general uniform and drab.

There has been little scientific study of the origins of feminine disabilities because it has been assumed, by both advocates and opponents of feminine emancipation, that these disabilities are due to the intervention of the male. The evidence seems to me to show that this view is completely erroneous, and that feminine disabilities are the result of a system of exaggerated sex symbolism which came into existence in the Middle East perhaps six or seven thousand years ago, and which, to a varying extent, has spread all over the world. This system seems to have originated in a belief that the action of the elements, in fertilising the earth, is analogous to human propagation. The elements, then, that is to say the sun, the rain, and the wind, came to be regarded as masculine, and the earth and its vegetation feminine. And since the elements are always in motion, while the earth and its vegetation are stationary, all violent activities, and those involving motion from place to place, were regarded as masculine, while stationary occupations, and those connected with the earth, were regarded as feminine. The men were warriors, hunters, wrestlers, warriors, and herdsmen of the sheep, goats, and flocks. The women were gardeners, garment-makers, potters, and builders in mud. No man might take part in a feminine art, or woman in a masculine art. It is possible that this system originated from that of men, and eventually everything in the world was divided up into the masculine and the feminine.

All this is, of course, hypothetical, but the correctness of the hypothesis is born out by the facts as we find them to-day. First as to the division of labour between the sexes, the system which I have outlined above prevails over most of the savage world. It is very rare for women to have anything to do with animals; where they do, it becomes women's work. Where there is little hunting or herding, the men take a larger share in agriculture, but as a rule the men clear the ground, and the women do the planting and weeding. This often takes them a long way from home, so that the theory that women's work is conditioned by the fact that their place is the home will not hold. Among many savages water has to be carried for many miles across country and up steep hills, and involves risk of attack by enemies or wild animals, but water-pots are feminine and all water-carrying must be done by women. When these things are purely a matter of convention is shown by the fact that until recently there were no female gardeners in this
country, and that though there are shepherded ones on the continent, the word in this country suggests Africa.

By savages women are not regarded as inferior to men, but merely as different. The sex took, indeed, is often different from those of a man, but equally important. Europeans often fail to realize this, because they are misled by the fact that a woman is paid for with wives. They fail to realize that what is paid for is not the woman herself but her services as a wife. The higher these services are rated, the better she is pleased.

Europeans are also apt to suppose, that among savages most of the work is done by the women. This is largely because the women's work can be easily observed, while that of the men, in hunting, fishing, etc., cannot. An observer may come to an African village and find all the women working in the fields and all the men lying about. He jumps to the conclusion that the men are a set of loafers, though in fact they have been up all night driving elephants and other animals from the crops.

Neither sex is conscious of any disability, since all have been brought up to believe that the division of labour between the sexes is part of the natural order of things, and all regard with horror the idea of taking part in the activities of the other sex. I remember an occasion on which my boat stopped at a village on the Upper Nile, and I went out to see whether I could find anything of interest. No one seemed to be doing anything of interest. I casually asked a woman what she had seen any game. She replied, indignantly: "I am a woman: what should I know about game?"

We find, then, that among savages there are no feminine disabilities. There is nothing that any other human being can do, but which the sexes are not allowed to do. Females disabilities in this sense are the result of certain developments which took place also in the Middle East, probably about 5500 B.C. Of these was the invention of the potter's wheel. The function of the female in this respect was therefore regarded as masculine, and the masculinity of the wheel overcame the femininity of the clay. Potting, within the restricted area of the potter's wheel, became an exclusively masculine occupation. In the very wide area in which the wheel is still unknown, potting has remained an exclusively feminine occupation.

Far more important was the invention of the plough. This was also regarded as masculine, and all ploughing was done by men. Within the area of the plough, which, before a.d. 1500, was like the potter's wheel limited to Southern Asia, Europe, and North Africa, women lost the dominant position in agriculture which they still occupy among the horticulturists. In all societies there is a reluctance to allow men to intrude upon the activities of men, and women upon those of men. Among savages, as we have seen, men and women occupy distinct spheres, and these interests are so general that there can be little restriction upon the women's freedom of occupation. In the civilizations of the Middle East a different state of things came about. The invention of the plough and the introduction of the plough and the growth of cities, which latter made the supply of food a masculine trade, limited the activities of women to those connected with food, clothing, and the care of children, and these could all be performed within the limits of the house. At the same time the activities of the men were not merely continued but expanded. As a result the world came to be divided into two very unequal spheres, one consisting of a number of similar small enclosures, in which the women carried on their activities, and the great world outside, in which the man carried on theirs; and neither sex was admitted, except on sufferance, to the other's sphere. This state of things has continued in India, China, and Arabia to the present day. There is often a whole section of society not allowed to leave their enclosures except to proceed, heavily veiled, to another woman's enclosure, and we also find that men are not allowed in the women's enclosures. Few Europeans realize that a Moslem woman may deny her husband access to her until she has a child. The idea that a woman who may stay indefinitely, is absolutely forbidden to enter. Once, it seems, the world was pretty equally divided between men and women, and we can now see that the exclusion of women is due not to the oppression by men of the weaker sex, but to the fact that new inventions, and the shape which industry took, made it impossible for women to make work which had previously been performed by women.

No such developments took place in connection with dress, and in this the sexes have remained equal. It has often been remarked that whereas in Europe men wear trousers and women wear skirts, in Africa and Asia women have been supposed to illustrate the fundamental difference between East and West. In fact it shows that both alike subscribe to the universal rule that what one sex wears the other must not. It is rare, however, to find a garment which is peculiar to one sex. The turban is usually a muslim garment, but it is worn by many Arab women. The women's turbans are black, whereas those worn by men are white. The veil is usually feminine, but among the Tuareg of North Africa the men wear veils, and the women do not. In Europe till recently there were few garments common to both sexes; they both wear buttons, but on different sides. In general it may be said that dress preserves the idea of total difference between the sexes, but does not suggest a belief in the inferiority of women.

Now to language: we have seen that things of the sky were regarded as masculine and those of the earth as feminine, and this principle was extended till most inanimate objects were regarded as belonging of one or the other sex. Hence grammatical gender, from which the only accident that the Normans took to talking in Latin Saxons have freed us, but which occurs in almost all languages. The only important exception is Chinese, and the Chinese, though they have no grammatical gender, retain the idea of such things as colours and the points of the compass being masculine or feminine. The fact that a French scientist, if he discovers a new chemical, must once set his sest is, shows how long-forgotten beliefs can influence present-day conduct.

A Frenchman, when referring to a woman, must be careful to put his adjectives into the feminine. An Arab must do the same, yet merely with his adjectives but with all his verbs. The result is that foreigners are more sex-conscious than we are, and the greater the grammatical differences, the more difficult it is for women to enter the professions on a footing of equality with the men. Thus a system which once merely marked the supposed total difference between the sexes has come to operate to the detriment of women.

Lastly we come to religion. Early religion, it would seem, consisted chiefly in a cult of the sky god, represented by the divine king and his priests, and of the earth goddess, represented by the divine queen and her priestesses. With the invention of the plough, as we have seen, the leading part in agriculture passed from women to men, and the earth goddess sank in importance and finally disappeared. It has almost always been considered improper for a woman to represent a male deity, so that women are almost universally denied admission to the priesthood. The closest approach from which women have suffered is being believed to possess souls. Whether women had souls or not was disputed by the early Christians, and according to Keyserling, was not decided in the affirmative till the Council of Macon in a.d. 885. Moderns allow women souls, but apparently make no provision for them in heaven. Many savages believe that women have no souls. This belief probably arose from the fact that the sky was masculine, and the soul was closely connected with the sky. It has, however, led to a belief in the religious inferiority of women, which is probably the origin of the belief in their social inferiority, though the other causes which I mentioned have undoubtedly contributed.

Rational as these beliefs may have been in origin, they form the basis of all the social systems of the world, and have influenced profoundly the characters of all men and women. It will not be long before it will be able to penetrate through them and find out what human nature, male and female, is really like.
THE MANUFACTURE OF 'FJUA' IN CELEBES
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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

THE MANUFACTURE OF 'FUJA' IN CELEBS. By Mrs. Bertild Bekker. With Plate E.

79 The remote regions of Central Celebes are inhabited by hill-tribes which, living secluded in the mountains, are least affected by external influences and abide by their old customs and rites, in which they differ greatly from all the other tribes on this island. Also their attire, especially the women's clothes, is entirely different from anything I have seen.

Weaving is not known in these parts and the women make their dresses from fuja (bark-cloth) which they make up into a kind of crinoline. Only recently have Chinese traders ventured into this rugged territory, introducing cheap cotton materials, but the women prefer to retain their bark-cloth crinolines.

There are several trees whose bark can be used for making fuja but the most suitable is the capok tree. First the bark is ripped off in strips and the outer bark put away while the inner bark (bast) is soaked or sometimes boiled to extract the sap (Figs. 1, 2). When the strips have been cooled they are laid on a plank made of hard wood and resting on two props. The strips are laid side by side (Figs. 3, 4) and beaten slightly until they join to form one piece (Fig. 5); then this large piece is rinsed in cool water, wrapped in a leaf of a fan-palm (Fig. 6) and left for one or two days to ferment, after which the beating process begins.

The most important part in the making of fuja is the beating (Figs. 7, 8). This takes place in a special hut outside the natives' homes so that the house spirits will not be disturbed by the noise of pounding. The beating is done first with a club-shaped ebony mallet and then with a stone hammer. The hammers are fastened to rattan handles and are a few inches thick and grooved. The beating must be done with the greatest accuracy, the strokes must be of equal strength and every inch must be covered without ever beating the same area twice in order to keep the material of uniform thickness. When the bast becomes thin and wide, and no more fibre can be seen, the stuff is left to dry in the wind far from the rays of the sun. Before it is quite dry, an extract from some plant is applied to the fuja to render it stronger and almost waterproof. The fuja will only last a few months, and cannot be washed or mended. The women wear one dress every day until it is torn and ragged, when they make a new one. Only on festive occasions do they wear special dresses.

The beating of fuja is hard work. It takes at least a day to finish one yard, and the dresses, which are wide-skirted like crinolines, require several yards. Various dyes are applied to fuja: black and brown are most commonly seen, but green and red are also used. All these dyes are obtained from plants and wild fruits found in the jungle. Various ornaments are painted on the fuja, especially for festive dresses, and for the headdresses of prominent men. In former days, when headhunting flourished, the skilled headhunter had painted headdresses: the more heads he took, the more richly was his fuja headdress painted, all these designs having a symbolic significance connected with the headhunting.

Making fuja is an important part of women's work and is done by married women only after the harvest.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA AND THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE.
By Professor Daryll Forde, Ph.D., Director of the Institute: abridged from the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 93 (5 Jan., 1945), No. 4682.

80 Concern for the social future of the dependent peoples of the world has, in recent years—especially since the political upheaval of the war—spread beyond the limits of the small groups of administrators, scientists and humanitarians hitherto chiefly concerned. However limited may be the immediate possibilities of undoing the past, there is little doubt that peoples of European stock will never again seek to establish stratified societies in which white aristocracies monopolise political and economic power. In their various ways the colonial powers of the world are groping for the means of transforming imposed
administrations into governments which draw their support from the loyalty and enlightened self-interest of politically self-conscious populations. Whether the plan be trusteeship or partnership, civilization or assimilation, the underlying assumption is the same: that somehow, in some not too distant future, and despite all obstacles and setbacks, these peoples shall themselves take over the responsibility for their economic and political destiny.

But the creed of trusteeship, and still more that of partnership, implies the social development of African peoples on a scale hitherto scarcely realized. Life in these territories is now unified and stabilized by European administrations. That there has been, in some areas and in some aspects, remarkable progress in local self-government is a fact not to be minimized, but we should remember that this has taken place within the framework of a central control of legal, financial and economic affairs. The magnitude of the next hurdle must not be underestimated.

Those who press, both from within and without, for popular sovereignty in colonial territories too rarely stop to think what will be needed from the native peoples themselves in terms of civic responsibility, political and administrative experience, and trained personnel before responsible self-government over entire territories can be fully realized. The intention to provide this experience and training has, however, been expressed in concrete measures in an increasing degree during the last four years. Attempts to provide representative Africans with wider political experience are rapidly taking shape in British territories. Provincial Councils, in which representatives of the component districts and tribal groups will sit together to exchange views and to advise the government on the needs and capacities of those they know and represent, have been or are being set up in a number of territories, including the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Kenya. In many cases, too, an African Council for the entire territory is also to be established. In the more advanced territories, such as the Gold Coast, African members have been appointed to the Executive Council, and in a number of others African representation is being increased on the Legislative Council, with the assurance that where, as in Northern Rhodesia, direct African representation is held not to be immediately practicable, it will follow with the least possible delay. A beginning has been made, too, in the recruitment of Africans into the higher ranks of the administrative and technical services.

If such advances are not to be vitiated by particularist views and narrow ambitions, it is now increasingly urgent to foster among the people themselves social developments whereby a more informed public opinion can be developed and its views ascertained.

It is obviously essential that a growing educated elite should participate in government, not as a class divorced from the people as a whole, more substitutes for European administrators and advisers, but as responsible leaders and servants of politically experienced communities.

With growing economic specialization in response to particular geographical opportunities, and the increased division of labour demanded by the advance in productive techniques, new interests will be created finding their expression in new social forms. We must anticipate and encourage the development of the articulate regional and vocational groups that will emerge. Although direct production for local needs is still in some areas preponderant, the old self-sufficiency of African communities has already very largely given way before the inducements and demands of world economy. Cash payments for produce and labour, with the resulting power of purchasing trade goods, and the introduction of new standards in food, housing, dress and recreation are, like the opportunities for learning new trades and techniques, producing new sets of values, and these are dominating the outlook of the more adaptable members of the community.

One of the most striking effects of this process is the growth of individualism. Africans are encountering the new economic opportunities and the cultural values of the outside world as individuals rather than as communities. The opportunity for the individual to secure personal advantages in the open market brings with it greater freedom for personal initiative. A higher degree of mobility results in a wider range of choice as to how and where to live and work. New forms of individual competitiveness arise, and the control and support of the community are weakened from within. The influence of the old norms and values is undermined; often the community itself begins to disintegrate. There is in many parts of Africa grave danger that the transition from the old tribal organization to a new social structure, adapted to the new economic life, may be accompanied by serious conflict and waste of both human capacities and material resources. The great need is for the development of social forms in which the new occupations, needs and rewards can be so organized as to ensure the well-being of the group as a whole, and in which individual effort can again be harnessed to social ends.

It is worthwhile recalling the basic principles which must underlie any successful adaptation of a society to rapid changes. In the first place, there is need to attach new functions and techniques as far as possible to existing social structures, which can thereby both provide continuity and themselves be modified so that they do not become obstructive. Only so can the
activities of the more progressive and energetic be subordinated to the salutary influence of group standards, and social solidarity be preserved. Secondly, it is necessary that the small-scale groups, appropriate to the earlier and simpler closed economies, be effectively integrated into a more comprehensive organization. Economic change may only too easily lead to faction, rivalry and struggles for dominance among kin groups and guilds, among clans, villages and tribes.

The nature and long-term effects of the forces involved are not understood by the people themselves, and the transition to the new social pattern tends to be accomplished in an inefficient and wasteful manner. This can be avoided either by a paternalism which destroys initiative and self-reliance, or by policies designed to promote understanding of the changes and the forces at work, and behaviour which is adjusted to the new situation. It involves not only education in the formal sense, but also the enlightenment of the adult population, and especially of the leaders, concerning the new technical and social conditions of their lives.

In other words, the structure of community life must be progressively adapted to allow for the play of the new forces. The community must be expanded both numerically and in the outlook of its members. This is a problem in applied sociology on a scale that is continent-wide. The difficulties and needs will vary greatly according to existing circumstances. The task may be less difficult where, as in much of Uganda, the Gold Coast and Nigeria, there is substantial continuity from the past, and cash crops grown by the people on their own land have been gradually developed alongside a continuing subsistence economy. More obstinate are the problems where, as over much of the Rhodesias and Nyassaland, the local community is being regularly depleted and disrupted by the departure of its younger adult male population for periods of months and years to remote centres of industrial labour. Often the entire balance of domestic life, home production and local authority is disturbed. Still more serious is the need for social reconstruction in urban mercantile and mining centres where a medley of individuals from many tribal areas has been brought together haphazard by the incentive of wages, and has no other framework for their lives than the regulations of location authorities designed rather to restrict than to develop their social activities.

It is useful to remind ourselves of the obvious but fundamental and easily-forgotten facts of the African situation. Until very near the end of last century, the great majority of the peoples of Africa south of the Sahara were independent. Within the framework of their own cultures they had freedom of action in the economic, political and moral spheres. Modes of government and measures of social control were their own and the implications were accordingly perfectly familiar.

But this indigenous social organization had been developed in relation to small-scale communities, and primitive techniques of production and movement. There were, it is true, centralized political organizations, such as the kingdoms of the Western Sudan and the greater chiefdoms of Eastern Africa, whose subjects were to be numbered in tens and even hundreds of thousands, but these were quasi-feudal in character, states in which political authority was actually much divided, and dependent on the observance of traditional forms of social relations. A head chief depended on the continued support of the leaders of different sections of the people, and the chieftain of a district had continually to balance loyalty and obedience to the paramount chief with the maintenance of his own prestige and leadership in the local community. The local community, largely self-subsistent and self-centred, remained the dominating feature of society.

In a Bemba kraal and a Hausa town, as much as in a cluster of Ibo or Fanti hamlets, personal relations between kinsmen and neighbours and the accepted authority of local headman and chief provided a sufficient framework for orderly and contented living.

As opposed to this, a European administration, just because it is carried out according to standards foreign to the African, and by men who are cut off from membership of the communities whose activities they control, has almost everywhere had one very grave social defect. It may have ended old abuses, cut short local tyrannies and given greater security of life and limb. But it has tended to stunt the spontaneous adaptation of African society to changing conditions. And this has often been apparent, one may add, even where considerable effort has been made, by methods of indirect rule through indigenous institutions, to minimise interference with native social life and even to promote its spontaneous development. Paternalism may reduce the evils of disorder, misery and injustice, but it finds it more than difficult to tolerate inefficient experimentation, to allow peoples to learn by their own mistakes. It tends to value and reward the responsible and obedient rather than the self-reliant and the obstreperous. In a word, it conditions people to dependence.

We must never forget that peoples become dependent by being made so. Dependence is inevitable at the outset, when one people, superior in technical knowledge and political organization, establishes control over the territory of another. But the outcome will depend on subsequent relations. At one extreme there may be virtually complete and mutual assimilation, of the kind that emerged from the Norman conquest of England or from the Hamitic
make him drink. It is necessary to know your horse, and when, what and how he will willingly drink. Such knowledge of habits and values, sentiments and prejudices is universally, if only half-consciously, recognized as indispensable for any form of social action at home. In politics, in industry, and in education, it is a truism that half the battle consists in knowing what will arouse enthusiasm, what will stimulate energy, what will engender suspicion and what will meet with blind obstinacy or even bellicose opposition. Among ourselves, and within any community that is culturally fairly homogeneous, there is general understanding about such things. Knowledge of the emotionally effective symbols, the habits of daily life, the particular prejudices and aspirations of different sections of the community is absorbed piecemeal as we grow up in the world and mix with our fellows. In other words, we learn about our own culture by living in it.

But when, as in Africa, the differences in culture and social structure both between peoples within the continent and still more between Africans and Europeans are so very great, it is clear that the character of every relation between European and African, whatever the object in view, will depend enormously for its effectiveness on the degree of knowledge and skill with which African ideas and habits are taken into account and can be accommodated or adjusted to new conditions. Whether it be the form of implement customarily used in some particular area, the domestic and recreational arrangements to be provided on an estate or mining compound, or the composition and procedure to be adopted for a native council, there is always an existing African pattern which the European trader, manager or administrator will ignore at the cost of needless inefficiency, indifference or even antagonism.

It is no answer to say that we will interfere with African customs as little as possible, that we will not only leave them free to meet economic demands and opportunities in their own way but will let them develop for themselves new political institutions. They too are confronted by a strange culture, they cannot judge the strength and permanence and the repercussions on their own lives of the new forces. Whether we like it or not, it is the European who is compelled to take the initiative and is in the position of greater responsibility. But he is also potentially better able to judge wisely and to avoid mistakes in setting the stage. And this superiority of judgment is in his power because he can avail himself of methods of enquiry which are not open to the African. He can learn more and more quickly about what will be most effective in a given situation, he can often tell better than the African what will best meet the latter’s needs once he knows them.
DEFECTIVE COLOUR VISION IN RELATION TO PIGMENATION OF EYES AND HAIR. PART I. THE OBSERVATIONAL DATA.  

By J. Graive, B.Sc., M.B., Squadron Leader R.A.F.V.R.

81 No definite correlation has so far been shown between defects in colour perception and any physical characteristic of the individual. Bell (1926) stated that colour defects were not more common in albinos than in normal people. Haldersman (1931) confirmed this, but suggested that macular pigmen-
tation changes were associated with defective colour perception. Burt (1944) suggested that there is a group correlation between defective colour vision and dark pigmentation of the iris. In the course of medical examinations for aircrew, many colour defective have been discovered, and at one time the clinical impression was that defective colour vision was more common in red heads. The present study was designed to test the validity of this impression and to examine any possible relation between the colour of the iris and the presence of defective colour perception.

MATERIAL

The material employed may be grouped as follows:
1. Control group A whose pigmentation was examined in artificial light. Mean age of this group was 19-9 years. (Standard deviation 3-7.)
2. Control group B whose pigmentation was examined in daylight. The mean age was 21 years with a standard deviation of 4-3.
3. Colour defective group A whose pigmentation was examined in artificial light. The mean age was 19-8 years. (Standard deviation 3-1.)
4. Colour defective group B whose pigmentation was examined in daylight. The mean age was 21 years. (Standard deviation 4-7.)

Both controls and defectives were young adult males in a limited age group, and in no instance was there any evidence to suggest a toxic cause for the colour defectiveness. In the control and defective groups A the source of light was a simple Lister lamp, while in the control and defective groups B, the source of light was that obtaining in daylight in a room with a northern exposure. All examinations were carried out between 9.30 a.m. and 4.30 p.m.

Method of Testing Colour Vision

Three methods of testing colour vision were employed:
1. Every candidate read the Ishihara plates in good daylight. Those making more than a few slips were further tested with
2. The Giles-Archer Colour Perception Unit (aviation model), and with
3. The Colour Perception Apparatus devised by Squadron Leader R.S. MacLatchey. Details of this apparatus have not yet been published, but the results obtained by this method have been very carefully controlled.

Both lanterns were employed in darkness without any preceding dark adaptation. No individual was classified as colour-defective who did not make a mistake or mistakes on both lanterns.

Method of Classification of Pigmentation

It was not possible to use any standard scale for classification of the pigmentation of the hair and iris. Various methods were tried before the collection of the data here presented was begun. The following procedure was adopted:

Hair

The simplest possible classification would be light, medium or dark brown, fair, black, light, medium or dark red. The objection to this is that with different observers the borderline between the different categories might, and almost certainly would, vary. Provided that a large series of observations is made the resultant probable error would not vitiate the results. Even the use of a standard scale does not eliminate the fallibility of human judgment.

Eye

The blue or blue-grey iris is usually recognized as the non-pigmented one while all other shades are due to the presence of varying amounts of pigment. This was taken as the baseline from which the other observations were made. A close and careful inspection of individual iris shows that no green pigment is present. The green effect is, as Riddell (1942) has suggested, most probably produced by the combined effects of blue and yellow. Working on this assumption the categories became—light, medium or dark blue-grey, light, medium or dark grey, light grey combined with light, medium or dark brown, medium grey combined with light, medium or dark brown, and dark grey combined with light, medium or dark brown.

RESULTS

The results obtained may best be presented in tabular form.

<p>| TABLE I.—COLORED HAIR IN ARTIFICIAL LIGHT |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colours</th>
<th>بوهود</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Red</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Light</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Dark</td>
<td>Light</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results suggest that colour defects are commoner in those with dark brown hair, but in the
course of this work difficulty was experienced in distinguishing dark brown and black.

It was accordingly decided that interpretation would be easier in daylight and a much larger series of controls and defectives gave the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Control (1472)</th>
<th>Per cent.</th>
<th>Defectives (2774)</th>
<th>Per cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Light</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>Pale</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dark</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>Light</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Dark</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Light</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dark</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This second series suggests that colour defectives cannot be detected by the colour of their hair.

**EYES**

Difficulty was also experienced in determining the colour of the iris in artificial light and daylight was used for the main series of examinations.

The following results were obtained:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour of Iris</th>
<th>Control (1509)</th>
<th>Per cent.</th>
<th>Defectives (199)</th>
<th>Per cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>Light</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dark</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>Light</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dark</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DISCUSSION**

The data recorded above were all collected on Baconian lines, and the original objective of four hundred colour defectives was attained before analysis was attempted. The occurrence of macular pigmentary changes in association with defective colour perception was not adequately demonstrated by Halbertasza. He showed that macular pigment changes were independent of albinism, but did not carry his study further to show whether the macular changes were related to the defective colour perception or whether they were merely coincidental. His study was based on three albino families showing macular changes and defective colour perception and a fourth with the macular changes and defective colour vision but no albinism. The clinical impression that colour defectives were commoner in red heads has been shown to be ill-founded.

**SUMMARY**

An attempt has been made to determine whether any relationship exists between poor colour perception and the nature of the pigmentation of the hair and iris. Over four hundred colour defectives have been examined and the results, as analysed by Professor Burt, suggest that while no relationship appears to exist between defective colour vision and the colour of the hair, there seems to be a small but definite relationship between defective colour vision and dark pigmentation of the iris.

I am very much indebted to Professor Ida Mann, Professor Cyril Burt, Professor W. J. B. Riddell, and Dr. Julia Bell for much helpful criticism and encouragement, and to Air-Marshals Sir Harold Whittingham for permission to use the R.A.F. material.

**REFERENCES**

82  During surveys of school children;1 carried out for the London County Council and elsewhere, I was led to suspect some small association between deficiency of colour-vision and pigmentation of eye and hair. The calculated correlations (quoted below) appeared consistent with this assumption; but the numbers were too few for the figures to be statistically significant. More recently, data obtained at naval recruiting-centres with the Ishihara tests were submitted to me for interpretation; these showed remarkable differences between the proportions of colour-defectives at different centres, for which no explanation had been given and which seemed unconnected with any differences in testers or test-conditions. On mapping the percentages according to their geographical distribution, I found that the proportions were highest in districts where dark eye-colour is known to predominate (e.g. 10 per cent. in Mid Wales), and lowest in the area where light eye-colour is more frequent (e.g. 4 per cent. in S.E. Scotland).2 Grouping the figures by counties, and taking the best available estimates for pigmentation, I found a correlation between frequencies of defective colour-vision and dark eye-colour of approximately 0·73, and between frequencies of defective colour-vision and dark hair-colour of 0·62. A correlation of this order based on groups would be produced by correlations between individuals of about 0·20 or rather less. Unfortunately, except for observations made on a few University students or hospital patients, relevant data for individual adults have not hitherto been forthcoming. But the figures now reported by Dr. Grieve provide an admirable opportunity for subjecting the original hypothesis to a more adequate test.

I. EYE-COLOUR

A. Association with Defective Colour Vision.—Observation of visible eye-colour is by no means a sure guide to the amount of pigment present in the iris; but there must be a fairly high correlation between the two features. In the foregoing inquiry eye-colour was classified according to two main characteristics—degree of greyness (light, medium, or dark) and the degree of brownness modifying the greyness.

(1) Taking the latter mode of classification first of all, we can re-group the 15 classes enumerated in Tables III and IV into five main categories as follows: (i) grey-blue, (ii) plain grey, (iii) light brown, (iv) medium brown, (v) dark brown. The blue tint, as

Dr. Grieve points out, is commonly regarded as indicating an exceptional lack of melanin pigment. Hence this arrangement should broadly correspond with the order of increasing pigmentation, though there may be certain amount of overlapping: (e.g. the darkness of 'dark grey' eyes with only a 'light brown' colouring may conceivably imply more pigmentation than 'light grey' with 'medium brown'). To keep the numbers in each group as large as possible, we may, to begin with, pool together the cases examined by daylight and by artificial light respectively. For the present problem both methods have disadvantages as well as advantages; and the pooling may to some extent neutralize the former. With this procedure the numbers in the several categories will be large enough to justify us in calculating the percentage of colour-defectives in each one. If there is no association between pigmentation and defective colour-vision, the percentage of colour-defectives should be approximately the same in each of the five main groups. The figures, thus re-classified, are shown in Table V.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour of Iris</th>
<th>Control group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grey-blue, light</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey-blue, Total</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey, light</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey, Total</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light grey, with light brown</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium grey</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark grey</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light brown, Total</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light grey, with medium brown</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium grey</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark grey</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium brown, Total</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark grey</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium grey, with dark brown</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light grey, with dark brown</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium grey</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark grey</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark brown, Total</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>2,059</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that, among those with dark brown irises, defective colour-vision is nearly half as common again as among those with grey-blue irises, and that between these two extremes there is a steady increase in frequency with increasing darkness of brown eye-colour.

(2) As regards the finer sub-classification according to darkness of the grey eye-colour, the evidence is less

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1 The Huckward Child, p. 217–18.
2 Memorandum to Senior Psychologist's Department, Admiralty, on Local Differences in Defective Colour Vision, August 31, 1943.
consistent. However, within each category defective colour-vision is always more frequent among the dark grey than among the light grey; and on the average, though not in every individual case, its frequency among the medium grey falls midway between the two. If we assume that the darkness of the grey is commonly due to pigment showing through the whiter connective tissue and muscular fibres, this further tendency is in keeping with the general hypothesis.

B. Tests of Significance. Since the association is not high, it is essential to determine whether it is statistically significant. For this purpose, in view of the irregular distributions, a chi-squared test with a simple twofold subdivision will probably yield the most convincing evidence. On physiological grounds the most plausible form of the hypothesis would seem to be, not that the mere presence of pigment is conducive to defective colour-vision, but that an exceptionally high degree may be. Accordingly, the medium and dark shades of grey showing medium or dark brown colouring may be grouped together under the single designation of 'dark-eyed,' and the remainder may, for convenience of reference, be classed as 'light-eyed.' With this broader classification the numbers showing defective colour-vision will be large enough for us to consider cases examined by daylight and by artificial light separately.

I. EYE COLOUR

(a) Classification by Daylight. Among the cases examined for pigmentation by daylight, the twofold classification for colour of iris yields the following frequencies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eye Colour</th>
<th>Control group</th>
<th>Coloured-defective</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage coloured-defective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Light-eyed</td>
<td>1,472</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>1,694</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark-eyed</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,670</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>1,939</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that, among the 'dark-eyed,' the percentage of colour-defectives is 6.2 more than among the 'light-eyed.' Taking the older and more familiar method of testing such a difference, we find that with samples of this size the standard error is ±2.4. The difference observed is therefore 2.6 times its standard error; and, by the mere chances of random sampling, so large a difference would be expected only on 86 occasions out of about 10,000, i.e. less than once in 100.

For technical reasons it is more satisfactory, as well as simpler in practice, to calculate the square contingency (chi-squared) and determine the probability from the published tables. Here we find $\chi^2 = 6.93$, which gives $P = 0.008$ as before.

(b) Classification by Artificial Light. In the groups classified for iris-pigmentation by artificial light, the frequencies observed were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eye colour</th>
<th>Control group</th>
<th>Coloured-defective</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage coloured-defective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Light-eyed</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,033</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark-eyed</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,105</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>1,237</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the difference is 2.99 times its standard error; $\chi^2 = 8.92$, which gives $P = 0.0028$.

Conclusion. In both groups, therefore, the increased frequency of colour-deficiency among the dark-eyed groups is fully significant. It would be quite impossible to attribute either difference to the fluctuations of random sampling, let alone both taken together. It may be added that, if we draw the borderline between the two subgroups (the less pigmented and the more pigmented) at any other reasonable point, the differences are still statistically significant.

II. HAIR-COLOUR

Red Hair Colour. As noted in Part I of this paper, 'at one time a clinical impression was gained that defective colour vision was more common in the red-haired.' The number of red-haired persons in the samples is too few for a satisfactory test to be applied separately to those examined by daylight and by artificial light respectively. Accordingly, in the table below, these two groups have been pooled together. Indeed, the proportions are much the same in either group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hair colour</th>
<th>Control group</th>
<th>Coloured-defective</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage coloured-defective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair, brown or black</td>
<td>2,754</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>3,170</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,851</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>3,275</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Actually, it will be observed, the proportion of colour-defective cases is lower among the red-haired than among the remainder. But the number of red-haired is so small that the difference remains non-significant. Applying the same test as before, we have $\chi^2 = 1.89$, and $P = 0.18$. The odds are nearly 5 to 1 against the difference having arisen by chance; but odds of this amount are too precarious for us to rule out altogether the possibility that the difference may, after all, be a mere accidental consequence of random sampling.

Dark Hair Colour. On the hypothesis that general pigmentation is related to defective colour vision, the natural classification to adopt will be one that distinguishes the dark-haired from the rest. Accordingly, we may begin by grouping together the cases of
'black' and 'dark brown' hair, and contrast these with the remainder. We then obtain the following fourfold tables.

(a) Classification by Daylight

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hair colour</th>
<th>Control group</th>
<th>Colour-defective</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage colour-defective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fair-haired, etc.</td>
<td>1,111</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>1,290</td>
<td>13-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark-haired</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>14-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,673</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>1,947</td>
<td>0-0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We obtain \( \chi^2 = 0-12 \), and \( P = 0-73 \).

(b) Classification by Artificial Light

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hair colour</th>
<th>Control group</th>
<th>Colour-defective</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage colour-defective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fair-haired, etc.</td>
<td>1,666</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>1,836</td>
<td>14-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark-haired</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>10-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>1-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We obtain \( \chi^2 = 0-55 \), and \( P = 0-46 \).

If we throw the two groups together; we still obtain \( P = 0-44 \), so that there is little evidence so far in favour of any association between dark hair colour and defective colour-vision.

Association of Dark Hair and Light Eyes. In the British Isles, and particularly in certain areas, the relation between eye-colour and hair-colour is not unequivocal: although, in general, dark-haired persons have darker eyes than fair-haired, some of the darkest types, especially in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, tend to have blue-grey or other lightish coloured irises. It is therefore of interest to ascertain how the correlation between hair-pigmentation and defective colour-vision would be affected if the darkest types, as judged by hair only, could be omitted from the 'dark-haired' group. In the group inspected by daylight, as many as 29 per cent. were classified as 'dark brown' and only 5 per cent. as 'black'; in the group inspected by artificial light, only 21 per cent. were classified as 'dark brown', and as many as 10 per cent. as 'black'. In the former group, therefore, it would seem that half the very dark types have been grouped with the moderately dark and are consequently indistinguishable. To test the foregoing suggestion, therefore, we seem forced to confine ourselves to the figures from the latter group alone. They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hair colour</th>
<th>Control group</th>
<th>Colour-defective</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage colour-defective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fair-haired, etc.</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>20-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark-haired (not black)</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>17-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,168</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>1,324</td>
<td>DIFF. 3-0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here \( \chi^2 = 3-33 \), and \( P = 0-067 \).

Although, as judged by the usual convention, the difference is not fully significant, nevertheless results such as those observed are far more likely to be due to a small but genuine association between defective colour-vision and the differences of hair-colour as thus re-classified. The results obtained from the daylight observations agree with this inference, although the mode of classification deprives them of any statistical significance.

That being so, we can put the question in a slightly different form: what is the probability of obtaining a difference of this size, and in the expected direction, as a result of merely random sampling ? To answer this question we may adopt the standard error test; and we then find that the difference is 1-83 its standard error, and that the chances of obtaining a positive figure of this size are only 1 in 33.

Conclusion. The natural inference seems to be that there is probably some small association between hair-colour and defective colour-vision, but that this is merely a secondary consequence of the association between hair-colour and eye-colour.

C. Amount of Correlation. Having demonstrated that, at any rate in the case of eye-colour, the greater frequency of colour-deficiency among dark-eyed persons can hardly be an accidental peculiarity of these particular groups, due simply to the inevitable fluctuations in such frequency-figures when limited samples are examined, we may now seek to assess the strength of the correlation between the two. But before attempting such a measurement, it is essential to adopt some workable assumption in regard to the distribution of the two variables with which we are essentially concerned.

(i) No one nowadays, I imagine, would maintain that eye-colour or colour-blindness could be regarded as unit Mendelian characters, due simply to the presence or absence of a single gene; but it might still conceivably be held that the underlying qualities, to which the correlation was chiefly due, should be regarded, not as graded quantities, but as discrete attributes, e.g. presence or absence of some retinal characteristic causing a definite form of colour-blindness, and presence or absence of some related peculiarity leading to a definite excess of pigmentation. In that case we should treat the actual size of the groups showing one attribute or the other as irrelevant or accidental features (due, for example, to migration or prolonged environmental selection in a particular geographical region); and the comparison would be based on hypothetical groups with equalized totals. With these assumptions, the best measure of correlation would be Yule's coefficient of colligation. If we reduce Table V to a fourfold table with the same lines of division as before, and then apply Yule's
formula, we obtain a coefficient of 0.14 (equivalent to one of 0.22 on a normalized scale).

(ii) If we prefer to assume that eye-colour is best treated as a quantitative variable, following approximately a normal rather than a rectilinear (or two-point) distribution, while colour-blindness is a definite characteristic which is either present or absent, then the best measure of correlation would be what I have termed the coefficient of "bisetrial correlation with a point-distribution." For this purpose we can re-group the figures from Table V according to the following rough scale of pigmentation: (i) blue-grey eyes (comprising the 'light' and 'medium grey-blue' of the table); (ii) light grey or mixed eyes (comprising 'light grey' plain, and with 'light' or 'medium brown'); (iii) moderate grey or mixed eyes (comprising 'medium grey' plain or with 'light brown' or 'light grey with dark brown'); (iv) dark grey or mixed eyes (comprising 'dark grey-blue' and 'dark grey plain or with 'light brown'); (v) medium brown eyes; (vi) brown eyes (including in the last two categories only those with 'medium' or 'dark grey' ground). This reduces the two-dimensional classification to a one-dimensional series, conforming fairly well with those adopted by many previous observers, and the frequencies for the six classes yield a reasonable approximation to a normal distribution. If we now regard the proportionate number of colour-defective as irrelevant, we obtain a correlation of 0.13. If we take the numbers into account, it sinks to 0.08.

(iii) If finally we assume that the defective colour-discrimination is also a continuously varying quantity, distributed more or less in accordance with a normal curve, and that the cases picked out as definitely colour-defective may for the most part be treated as instances of extremely poor colour-discrimination, differing in degree amongst themselves, then the best measure of the correlation would be Pearson's tetrahedric coefficient. With the fourfold table for the entire group, this proves to be 0.10.

Conclusion. It would seem, therefore, that, whatever assumption we make about the distribution of the characteristics concerned, for these groups and with these methods of assessment the correlation is somewhere in the neighbourhood of 0.15—certainly not much more than 0.20 and not much less than 0.10.

For hair-colour, at any rate as recorded in the present inquiry, the correlation would seem to be only 0.02 or 0.03.

D. Comparable Studies. The only comparable data for individuals of which I am aware have been obtained from surveys carried out among school children, supplemented by observations on small groups of University students. In earlier investigations on school children 1 found a tetrahedric correlation of 0.17 for colour deficiency and eye pigmentation, and 0.09 for colour deficiency and pigmentation of hair. The number examined was only 649 (525 with normal, and 124 with defective, colour-vision); but for purposes of correlation these proportions were reduced to those obtaining in the general population. With a sample of this size the tetrahedric correlations are not fully significant. But more recent results based on graded measurements obtained with a wider variety of tests would seem to confirm these figures. Thus, with a group of 115 children aged 10-13, we obtained the following product-moment coefficients:

| Eye-colour and defective colour-vision | 0.241 |
| Hair-colour and defective colour-vision | 0.138 |
| Eye-colour and hair-colour | 0.463 |

With this number, any coefficient above 0.180 would be fully significant. But the partial correlation between hair-colour and defective-colour vision, when the correlations of both with eye-colour have been eliminated, falls to 0.027, which is entirely non-significant.

The fact that such correlations are found at a comparatively early age is itself suggestive. Tests for genetic linkage have so far furnished no convincing evidence; but the number of related cases is at present small. The most obvious inference, one that no doubt would have been favoured by the older supporters of the Hering theory, 1 is that the excessive frequency of defective colour discrimination among dark-eyed persons is largely due to a dark colouring of the yellow spot ('starker gefärbte Makula') 2 which might be supposed to be a characteristic of persons with deeply pigmented iris. This was in fact the original suggestion which my earlier experiments were largely undertaken to test. But closer study has made it clear that neither of these interpretations in their simpler shapes will cover all the cases. Defective colour-vision is of many different forms; in my own cases typical red-green blindness, either protanopic or deuteranopic, accounts for less than half. Hence, before any satisfactory explanation can be attempted, it would seem essential to examine each individual case with a variety of tests in the hope of discovering which particular form or forms may be responsible for the apparent correlation. 2

1 C. H. K. Hering, Lotos, VI (1884), p. 142.
2 For full in some of the calculations reported above, and for much suggestive help with the anthropological aspects of the work (distribution of pigmentation, etc.) I have to acknowledge the assistance of Miss A. Crawford, whose unpublished thesis (obtainable from the laboratory) contains a fuller analysis of the racial data and embodies a more detailed discussion of possible explanations.
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS


Music is an anthropological phenomenon. A tune is as much a human fact as a ritual dance or crucial element of custom. It can be collected, recorded and docketed like any other human fact. Music has been a certain extent been studied anthropologically, by von Hornbostel, for instance, in Africa, by Dr. John Layard in Oceania, and by American observers of Red Indian music. This is all of it primitive music and as such is the concern of anthropologists, whether or not they can succeed in correlating it with other facts of social conduct. But if a wider view is taken of the field of anthropology than its main preoccupation with the primitive, if Marett's definition of the science's subject-matter is accepted, i.e., 'man in evolution,' then a great deal of folk-music, products of higher levels of culture than the primitive, is made available for study which will reveal an unsuspected yield of anthropological material.

Three out of many lines of enquiry may be opened, all from folk-music:

(a) the anthropological significance of melodic and rhythmic features in folk-tunes;
(b) the sociological phenomena, such as law, custom, magic, religion, which are to be found in the verbal texts of English folk-song;
(c) the recent use by Curt Sachs of anthropological method for the resolution of long standing problems of musical history.

The first of these topics is most easily presented in the form of questions. Why do Czech folk-songs employ short phrase-lengths of two bars, or only one? What is there especially Russian about the interval of the falling fourth? Why is the 'Scotch snap' rhythm found in Scottish and Hungarian tunes? Why do tunes from the Near East contain the intervals of the augmented second? Why do French tunes often confine themselves to a small compass? And why in Irish tunes is a cadence of three repeated notes common? It is not enough to answer these questions by reference to tradition. These features could only have come into a tradition because they were liked in preference to others by a particular society or race. Language will, of course, account for some of the features, but the melodic and rhythmic features of language have themselves to be accounted for. It is almost like confessing to a belief in witchcraft or superstition to invoke the discredited factor of race nowadays as a determinant of anything. But some ultimate act of choice, very few away and long ago certainly, but still some biologically determined impulse chose these factors in preference to others. The choice once made, tradition and that cultural environment which constitutes inheritance will do the rest. Many of the features of the tunes already discussed can be explained up to a point by distribution of population, by language, perhaps by the possession or otherwise by certain musical instruments. But a more clearly racial influence may be invoked from the negro "spirituals" of America. These tunes are derived melodically from revivalist, European hymn-books, but the negro is obsolete in preserving his own rhythm. Heredity and environment are therefore at war in negro music, "spirituals," work-songs and jazz, and the conflict is resolved in the marriage of white melody (and the accompanying predisposition to harmony) with black rhythm. If race as an ultimate factor determining these musical features is rejected, the question remains how then to account for them.

So such a trouble conception as race enters the next topic, since English folk-song is a homogeneous and intelligible corpus of art. The music, it should be observed, acts as a cement for the texts: the texts have preserved for us the words which we can now study in isolation. Here the field is immense: the texts of English folk-song are full of references to custom, law, religion and social organization; they also involve the deep-seated propensity of the human mind to symbolism. It must suffice, where extended quotation is impossible, to specify the titles of songs in which something like the anthropologists' stratigraphical method layer by layer of human psychology and its workings can be uncovered.

Thus in the ballad 'Edward,' found in a distribution from Finland and Sweden in the east to the Kentucky mountains in the west, there is the story of a quarrel, moving a landmark, the price of blood, and the primitive poetic motif of the impossible return. When the sun sets into yon yew tree, And that shall never be, be, be, be.' Preserving the poetic line, one can take two examples of riddle-songs, one from Dorset, one from Kentucky, in which there is nothing very deep except the impulse of the mind to challenge curiosity by making puzzles, and the impulse to make symbols, the one an exercise in intellect, the other in imagination. Still following the more poetical line one can take ‘The Bold Fisherman’ or ‘Down by the riverside,’ widely distributed in England to a tune in quintuple metre. Here we leave the symbolism of children and come to that of the adult mind which uses it for religious purposes. The clue to the allegory, which dates from the early Church, is fish, which in the sign γατίς was a kind of Masonic password among early Christians, and the bridal is symbol of the mystic union of Christ and the Church, which still survives in the Church of England marriage service.

Another religious song in which the symbols may have been of Masonic religious instruction is the 'Dilly Song.' Love songs provide a similar set of symbols, and in such songs as 'The Seeds of Love' or 'The Sprig of Thyme' the violet stands for the transitoriness, the rose for the constancy, of love, and the willow for unhappy love or desertion. Poetical folk-custom and sympathetic magic are to be found in seasonal songs, such as the numerous ' Wassail Songs' of English tradition. But the most thoroughly going fertility and magic practices are to be found in 'John Barleycorn,' where the whole cycle of agricultural processes from sowing to drinking the 'oil of barley' is traced in a narrative about an English knight. The song would fit comfortably into Frazer's account of agricultural rites given in The Golden Bough (abridged edition) p. 438.

'The Cutty Wren' similarly corresponds exactly to the main theme of The Golden Bough: 'the worshipped animal is killed with special solemnity once a year; before or immediately after death he is pronounced from door to door, that each of his worshippers may receive a portion of the divine virtues that are supposed to emanate from the dying God.' On 20 March only
the two Raddle Songs, 'The Bold Fisherman,' the Gower Wassail Song, and 'John Barleycorn' were sung.

The third topic, more brieflyubrated, is the use of anthropological method by Curt Sachs in solving the problem why polyphony was so late and so sudden in appearing in European music. His method was to tackle the problem of Greek music, which was certainly monodic but otherwise desperately hard to comprehend from the writings of theorists from Plato onwards, by the anthropological method of examining the examples of melody at the same evolutionary stage surviving in the Near East to this day. This yields results comparable to those sought by field archaeology to classical art. He then examines the world's folk-songs from Japan to Northern Europe, and thus by the comparative method is able to sort out what features are universal in the world's music (e.g. pentatonism, the tonic, repetition as a determinant of form) and what is the differentia which distinguishes various epochs or geographical distributions of melodic and rhythmic features. On the specific problem of polyphony, which about the first millennium A.D. started European music on the course of development which has resulted in the astonishingly rich and complex art of to-day, he finds that polyphony of a kind is universal but that the particular kind which proved fruitful for modern music came from a North European song in parts imitating on a Mediterranean monody.

For anthropologists however, the principal conclusions of The Rise of Music in the Ancient World are of less interest than the astonishing success of methods and precepts which anthropologists are accustomed to employ in studying the most mundane subject matter of their science, but which musical historians have hitherto neglected or used half-heartedly.

The paper was discussed by Mr. Gallop, Mr. Mann, Mr. Brahmholz, Miss Howes, Mr. Kwanski, Miss Alford, Mr. Burland and Miss Frankenstein. Mr. Howes replied.

Foods and Dietetics in the 16th and 17th Centuries.


The period under review was the turning point between medieval and modern conditions. Improved methods of agricultural practice allowed supplies of fresh meat and milk to be available all the year round. Horticultural science had reached a high standard of production in Europe and many improvements were introduced into English gardening.

There was a keen desire among all classes to abandon the old classical authorities and to observe or experiment for themselves. Economic and political theories (some of them re-introduced during the past war) were tried and found wanting. These included control of food prices, legal enactments to increase the number of livestock in Britain, propaganda to reduce the amount of food wasted, and futile attempts to control black markets resulting from grandmotherly legislation.

Two outstanding points in the history of nutrition are that the British have always been the best fed in their respective classes of society—better than any other European nation—and that from early times there has been a steady, well marked, resolution to eat the whitest and finest bread obtainable. Standards in the past were, needless to say, very different from those of to-day, although perhaps not as much as is sometimes supposed, but even the lowest class of labourers resented having to eat milk, brown, or legume-mixed bread.

The 16th and 17th centuries saw a great deal of practical food investigation. Bacon experimented with cold storage and Sanatorio worked on the physiology of diets. At least six great writers on nutrition produced textbooks on their subject—Elyot, Crofts, Muffett, Yeoman, Bullein and Boorde. In addition to these Harington published his translation of the Regimen and Balsais—an M.D.—wrote learnedly and humorously on food. Most of these authors retained the old humoral nomenclature, indeed Elyot is the usual source of information on the subject to-day.

Food prices echoed the popular demand but it is very difficult to trace the reasons for the dislike of any food. Fashion has played a considerable part in all periods.

Potatoes were at first costly but later on which the very poor would eat them. Oysters down to the times of Dickens were very cheap, while trips and margarine were only accepted because of food shortage as in the past two wars. Horse flesh is strictly taboo in this country and in Elizabethan times beef was supposed to make the eater stupid and slow. Medical writers on foods lagged behind their professional colleagues in outlook and in knowledge. Their biology was very weak; they mostly followed the humoral theory and were interested in the effects of food on sexual activity. The baramble goose, the puffer, and the turtle were grouped as fish, as were the whale and porpoise, and the last was placed with birds. But, as against these inexcusable errors, the dietic relationship between green stuff and scurvy, sour fruit and diarrhoea, calcium intake and stone in the bladder were either guessed at or definitely known.

The period under review was one of gross over-eating. Dinner, the principal meal, lasted from eleven to four among the wealthy. Foods were rich—twelve eggs or more went into a pudding—and little fruit or butter seems to have been eaten; but salads were used for most of the year and meat was fat so that a fair vitamin intake was maintained. The country people took more milk and cheese than the townsmen and a good deal of extras—rabbits, injured animals, and small birds—were available, then as now, for the country folk.

The paper was discussed by Professor Hutton, Miss Coute-Lake and Mr. Burland. Mr. Newman replied.

PROCEEDINGS OF INSTITUTIONS


In January last I was privileged to attend a meeting at Dakar, Senegal, French West Africa, at which a new research organization for field studies in West Africa was created and inaugurated. The meeting was organized by l'Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) as a Premiere Reunion des Ethnographes, Geographes, et Naturalistes Ouest-Africains. French, British, Portuguese and Spanish authorities and organizations both in West Africa and in their metropolitan countries were invited to send representatives. Facilities were granted through the courtesy of the Colonial Office to enable me to attend as Director of the International African
Institute and I was invited by the President of the Royal Anthropological Institute to convey on its behalf greetings and offers of cooperation as well as to represent the Institute jointly with Mr. Bernard Eagg, A.D.O. Nigeria, in the consideration of a more permanent organization.

As indicated by the title the meeting was not confined in scope to anthropological subjects, and it was agreed that it would be better to avoid narrow academic divisions and to group the material as far as possible under the following broad headings: le milieu physique, le milieu biologique, le milieu humain.

A large number of papers was presented. It is hoped to publish the full texts in a recueil-monde. A preliminary record published by IFAN and including the full list of papers is available in the London Office of the International African Institute.

The meeting was opened by M. Digo, Secrétaire Général du Gouvernement de l'A.O.F., acting for the Gouverneur Général, M. Coirand, who had been delayed in his return from an extensive tour. A number of British visitors from West African Territories were present including Mr. E. W. Duckworth, of the Nigerian Education Department; Mr. K. Murray, Antiquities Officer, Nigeria; Mr. B. Eagg, A.D.O. Nigeria; Mr. A. E. Southern, Textile-Specialist, West African Institute of Arts, Industries and Social Science, and Messrs. C. T. Shaw and D. A. Chapman, Gold Coast Educational Service.

A national committee had been organized in Spain to establish relations with the Congress and this committee was formally represented by Professor Martinez Santa-Olalla of the University of Madrid. Professor Mendes Corrêa was prevented at the last minute from representing a similar organization in Portugal, but transmitted a message and papers on its behalf. Professor Auguste Chevalier, the veteran French biologist of the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle, who had come from Paris, was nominated President of the Congress and Professor Monod, Professor Santa-Olalla and Professor Darryl Forde served as Vice-Presidents.

At the close of the opening session, Professor Monod delivered a most scholarly and moving address, Au pays de Koyara, autour d’un conte symbolique africain, in which he analysed, with a wealth of allusion to the ethnography and prehistory of Northern Africa and the Ancient World, both the cultural background of this West African myth and its significance as an expression of basic human values.

Invited to deliver an address on the following evening, Professor Darryl Forde took as his subject The Contribution of Ethnography to African Development and sought to present and illustrate the important role of anthropology in connection with problems of technical and social development, including the self-education of communities still or formerly organized on a tribal basis. An account of the plans of the International African Institute for an Ethnographic Survey of Africa, in which it would collaborate with IFAN with regard to the West African field was included.

At the week-end an excursion was arranged to visit the Sérère, Wolof, and Fulbe, in the country south of Dakar. All the visitors with ethnographic interests were invited to participate in this excursion, which was led by Monsieur C. Dacheux, the head of the Ethnographic Department of IFAN. The economy of the Sérère is of particular interest for those with experience of British Territories in the savanna belt, since it combines the cultivation of millet, and of ground nuts as an important cash crop, with the extensive raising of cattle. In this the Sérère contrast markedly with the Hames and pagan peoples of Northern Nigeria and the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, although it should be pointed out that little deliberate use is made of the cattle for fertilizing and none for draught. Our French colleagues were considerably interested in British experiments for the development of mixed farming by the introduction of draught cattle into agricultural communities, and an early exchange of views between British and French ethnographers and agriculturists, with their different experiences, might be very valuable. M. Dacheux's current researches are being concentrated on the Fulbe (Peul) and he helped us to gain a vivid appreciation of both the similarities and differences between Fulbe of Senegal and the Bororo Fulani of Nigeria.

On resuming sessions in Dakar, each of which occupied a very full day's work, and was currently described as a 'Séance de travail,' two half-days were given to West African ethnology and archaeology, in which there were valuable contributions and exchanges of views on such questions as the significance of ethnological studies in the solution of problems arising from the division of peoples by international boundaries, the need for clearer distinction in field studies and reports between family, household, and lineage groupings, the recording and preservation of rock paintings and the classification and terminology of prehistoric lithic industries.

A half-day was also devoted to consideration of the protection of natural and cultural resources, and to the organization of research in the various fields on the basis of which formal expressions of views were adopted at the concluding session.

The last session also included a full discussion of the value of the meeting, and the question of holding others in the future. On the first point the fruitfulness of the Réunion was unanimously endorsed. None of the British members had been empowered to make any definite offer of invitation for a future session, but they were, I think, unanimous both in desiring a further conference without too great delay, and also in hoping that a British Institution or Territory would offer to act as host. The Réunion then proceeded to constitute itself formally as the Conference Internationale des Anthroposociétés de l'Ouest (C.I.A.O.) and set up an international organizing committee which would approve the publication of the documents of the Dakar meeting and prepare for a forthcoming conference.

This brief account should not be concluded without bringing the anthropological activities of IFAN to the notice of all Africans in the Royal Anthropological Institute. Under its Director, Professor Théodore Monod, it is building up a specialist staff in the various branches of anthropology and its publication Notes Africaines, should be known to all ethnographers concerned with the African field. It is hoped not merely to add further anthropologists to its headquarters staff in the near future, but also to establish local centres with a museum, library, and field equipment in each of the several territories of French West Africa.
OBITUARY

Charles Hill-Tout, 29 September, 1858-1 July, 1944

Charles Hill-Tout of Vancouver, British Columbia, whose death was reported on 1 July, 1944, recently celebrated his eighty-fourth birthday in the city where he was esteemed as one of the most notable and public-spirited of its residents, and an authority, as a result of investigations during the past fifty years, upon the origin, life, and languages of the Indians of British Columbia, among whom he lived during considerable periods of his earlier years. He was the author of several books and many smaller publications. As a result of his observations nearly half a century ago, and the excavations that have been made in recent years at Marpole on the outskirts of Vancouver, discoveries of Indian skeletons and artifacts belonging to a prehistoric race of Indians were made which have added materially to anthropological knowledge. Many of these skeletal remains and artifacts are in the Vancouver Museum, managed by the Art Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, of which Professor Hill-Tout was President and under whose auspices the excavations were made.

A few years ago The Illustrated London News published an elaborately illustrated article from his pen dealing with these "finds," which have been commemorated by the erection of a cairn on the site of the huge Indian midden at Marpole by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Two years ago Vancouver was visited by the Vicomte Gontran de Montaigle de Poncone of Paris, author of Kohoonga, in which are described his remarkable experiences with one of the remotest tribes of Eskimos. Professor Hill-Tout and the Vicomte compared many of the contemporary Eskimo artifacts which the latter had brought out of the Arctic with those found in the Indian graves at the Marpole Midden, in their close similarity confirming the Vancouver University anthropologist's theory which he had long held that the prehistoric coast Indians of B.C. and the Eskimos are of similar origin.

Professor Hill-Tout was born at Tout-Buckland in Devonshire, England, and spent his early boyhood at Oxford, where he had his first schooling. Later he went to school at Weston-super-Mare. Following this he lived with his parents in Somersetshire. Subsequently he lived with a group of clergymen in a Cardiff rectory under the supervision of Father Pullan, one of the Cowley Fathers of Oxford. With Father Pullan the future archaeologist lived at Cowley St. John outside Oxford and remained there until he went to Lincoln to take his theological course, attending lectures at Oxford while there.

It was during this period that he came under the influence of Huxley and Darwin. This resulted in intellectual difficulties and he gave up the idea of ordination. He married while at Lincoln and in 1884, at the age of twenty-five, emigrated with his wife and baby daughter to Canada. Next to archaeology, agriculture has always been his chief interest and he bought a 100-acre farm on the shore of Lake Ontario, which he farmed successfully for some years before selling it. He then decided to return to England, but before doing so resolved to visit the West, with the result that he became impressed with the embryo city of Vancouver and made up his mind to settle there. Prior to doing so he returned to England with his family—now increased by several children—and stayed there for two years before taking up his residence in Vancouver. Here he became the headmaster of the leading private ecclesiastical college and subsequently founded a college of his own which he called Buckland College after his birthplace. Then he bought a farm and much land covered with permanent forest near the little settlement of Abbotsford forty miles away from Vancouver up the Fraser Valley, where he farmed and ran his sawmill along pioneering lines for many years.

It was during the early years of his second farming venture that—remembering the advice given him by Sir Daniel Wilson, president of Toronto University, in relation to the great untouched field for anthropological research in British Columbia—he determined to enter in his spare time upon original research work among the Indian tribes of B.C., apart from the exigencies of making a living this has been his life work.

He was elected to the committee for the Ethnological Survey of Canada appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. A year or two later Dr. George Dawson, most notable of all the geologists of Canada and one of the most distinguished geologists in the world, was appointed organizing secretary of that committee. Unfortunately for the advancement of science he died before his appointment and Professor Hill-Tout was invited by Dr. Zoonk and, of McGill University, to fill this honorary position, a tribute to the progress he had already made along anthropological lines. He accepted and held the office for the next
twenty years. As a result of his activities during this period among the native races of British Columbia reports were published annually in the Proceedings of the British Association and the Royal Anthropological Institute, dealing chiefly with one or other of the tribes with which he was familiar.

In order to get the material for these reports Professor Hill-Tout often went to live among the Indians in order to gather first-hand information about them and their past, customs, habits, and totemic beliefs. The Royal Society of Canada made annual grants for this purpose. There are eleven linguistic divisions of the Salish stock and from time to time as the years went by he visited each of these and gathered all possible information from the oldest of the Indians. If this had not been done at the time much valuable knowledge about these Indians would have been lost, for almost all the old people of that period have now passed away and the young Indians of to-day—with a few exceptions—take no interest in their past.

He devoted much attention to the languages, elaborated their grammar, and collected their vocabularies. In some over 2,000 words were in common use. His method was to go down practically the stories told him, then give interlinear literal translation, and afterwards a free translation.

It was in 1902 that his attention was called to the making of a road at Marpole on the outskirt of Vancouver. Skeletons and curious stone objects were being turned up by the workmen daily. The road was being built through virgin forest and he correctly surmised that this forest had grown out of an ancient and abundant Indian midden heap. He possecd a surveyor friend to survey the extent of the midden and it was found that it covered over four acres and a half of land and averaged a minimum depth of about five feet and a maximum depth of eighteen feet. He estimated that the abandonment of the site took place not less than a thousand years ago and that, if to this period was added another thousand years—the time that it took to form this enormous mass of extraneous matter—it meant that this locality was occupied by a primitive people 2,000 years ago or possibly longer. This discovery led Hill-Tout to enter upon a series of investigations there that covered a long period of years and resulted in the discoveries mentioned at the commencement of this article.

The interesting feature of this midden was the fact that two kinds of skulls were taken from it, long-headed and round-skulled. The Indians of today throughout British Columbia are round-headed people. Who, then, were these long-headed people whose remains were found in the lower layers of the midden? It is impossible to say definitely, but Hill-Tout's conviction is that they were Eskimos, who are long-headed and have a ridge running from the back to the front of the skull, a peculiarity which quite a number of the skulls unearthed from the midden displayed.

Hill-Tout's monograph describing the discovery and the contents of the midden was published by the Royal Society in 1905 with the result that investigators came to the midden from several parts of Europe and the United States and digging was carried on, until many years later, the Vancouver Museum made a systematic investigation. It is one of the oldest and largest in the world.

As a lecturer upon anthropology and eteotope subjects Professor Hill-Tout was in frequent demand for many years past and his lecture tours carried him to many parts of the American continent. He had the happy faculty of being able to appeal in a popular way to a general audience, no matter how complicated and scientific his subject.

In the first World War, three of Hill-Tout's sons went overseas with the Canadian forces, and he himself, though sixty years of age, managed to get as far as Montreal, where his son was discovered and he was not permitted to go further. So he returned to Vancouver and ran his farm during the war.

Apart from his contributions to the scientific and literary life of Vancouver, Professor Hill-Tout took active part in the social life of the city. Various honours were conferred upon him by learned bodies in recognition of his activities in the archæological world.

NOEL ROBINSON

Vancouver, B.C.

REVIEWS.

EGYPT


This is a book full of interest, but almost, as the editor has hinted, belaying its title, unless, indeed, we accept Mr. Robert's definition of legacy as, in this case, the conveyance to us of knowledge of our past (p. 250). Here lies its true success, providing as it does a clear and concise exposition of certain aspects of Egyptian life usually buried in the publications of learned societies, besides the most reliable information on things more generally known. It should help to clear away a number of the misapprehensions still current on ancient Egypt and it provides us with many perps at important parts of the bony structure so far known to us—unaccompanied as it may be—of Egyptian life and thought.

The team of writers is composed of recognized experts and the illustrations are well chosen; the Index, too, is sufficient, but in several chapters we regret the lack of bibliographic notes.

The causes of Egyptian inability to create cultural legacies have been well stated, but deserve rather fuller examination, especially for anthropological purposes. Such causes are, of course, inherent in the peculiar physical conditions of the country which have largely moulded its culture, making it very static. Life in Egypt rests wholly on the richly

fertilizing Nile and has the rhythm and constancy of the river. The Egyptian knows little of the fears and difficulties of other farming communities, dependent on uncertain conditions, the Nile and its vagaries, with consequent troubles, but nothing like those confronting peasant life elsewhere. This happy degree of certainty, together with good natural protection from foreign invasions, at least till the end of the Old Kingdom, bred great confidence in the stability of life and, in consequence, a remarkable measure of conservatism. Again, the complicated system of irrigation, covering every corner of the cultivatable area, makes it a prime necessity to establish strong central control, of which one result is an exaggerated submissiveness to authority, which, in its turn, fosters a supreme turn in mind and industry almost conservatively. Under such conditions absoluteism was hardly to be avoided; it was immensely strengthened by the religious belief—but doubtless carefully nurtured by the ruling powers—that kings were actual gods, a belief so firmly rooted that it survived till Christian times, proving how close to the primitive the Egyptians were throughout their history. As an example of the lengths to which the belief might go, we may note that the king, in the course of his ritual duties, hop-sang to worship himself—worship being in the nature of the Indian jina? rather than the Christian la'oir (see my article on "Temes and Kings" in the J. of the Near Eastern Soci., No. xil, pp. 74-79). It is in this very matter, seeming

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so foreign to our Greek-based culture, that a real legacy can indeed be seen, as Mr. A. H. M. Jones has made clear on p. 291, where he traces the conception through Alexander the Great to its still living, but much watered descent, hardly yet dead. The idealism of the Egyptians to primitive conceptions is of course incompatible with western culture, with its Hellenic base of intellectual activity, and this results in the gulf of deep separation that has made impossible the Egyptian creation of any considerable body of legacies to the West. The same is true of the culture; there the busy trafficking life on the broad Mediterranean gave the Greeks their strong sea-instant and contributed significantly to their intellectual development. In intellectual matters, then, Greece was untouched by Egypt and arguments to the contrary may be reckoned, to quote Dr. Goeringer (p. 63), as "mere moonshine." In material things however, Egypt did undoubtedly extend some influence to Greece and thus, indirectly, to us, notably in art. This was in the adolescence of Hellenes when they readily absorbed the good things coming into their ken, whether from Assyria, Asia Minor or Egypt. The Greek artists such as Paullus barely touched her. The early influence deserves rather greater acknowledgement than it has received (pp. 109 and 115), for the stiff conventional pose of the archaic kouros is of very Egyptian type, and their set grin seems certainly derived from the wearisomely repeated smile on passing through the Saitic period—how otherwise can one account for its strange exaggeration in such sculptures as those from the Egyptian temple now in Munich! Greek architecture, also, was originally trabeal; its transformation into stone was the same as that in Egypt under King Zoser of the Third Dynasty—India also has its examples, but much later and out of the real context.

Chapter III, on "Writing and Literature," comes from Dr. Alan Gardiner, and is treated with his usual skill and learning. The possible origin of alphabetic writing—that precious instrument of the intellect—is a fascinating subject on which final agreement is not yet reached, but the author's conclusions are certainly, for the non-specialist, most persuasive. It is a full and has left but little space for literature, but the sketch given is appreciative and of good guidance; it should send the inexpert reader to authoritative treatises such as Dr. Blackman's after Erman's—it is indeed strange that so little attention has been given to matters of view should have met the fate of "remaining." 

Chapter IV, on "Art," has been entrusted to the practiced pen of M. Capart and displays his historical knowledge and uttering enthusiasm. Not all will agree with some of his assertive findings, but this is their nature. The best is shown in the temple of the gods at Athens (p. 101); they are indeed of exceedingly fine workmanship, smooth and finished, but, unlike some of their predecessors, quite lacking in strength and liveliness. Again, the art displayed in the tomb of Hetepheres (p. 111) may perhaps be characteristic of its period—unique though it so far seems to be—but cannot support the claim made for it of beauty; it is in fact an awkward effort to impose Greek terms on Egyptian—a feature observable in a few statues of the same period, and in late rock-drawings in the Wadi Hammamat (Cynus and Montet, Les Inscriptions de Deir el-Hassan, pl. vi.).

The cornucopia is shown in the marvels of the mighty architecture, so impressive in size and magnificence, but gives no hint of their probable psychological significance; they seem to have once had a very practical purpose, the maintenance of a really religious awe and consequent submissiveness is shown in that they were used in the political-religious system by which he was the focal center. Yet behind all this magnificence were many vises of construction which M. Capart has sunk in silence but are clearly stated in the following Chapter V.

The careful preservation in Egyptian art throughout the ages of the principle of quiddity is discussed on p. 89, but no reference made to its underlying cause based, as much else in Egypt, on religious considerations; human beings must not be portrayed as personalities, as they actually were, but as symbols for the divine, and in the artist's power, in their sacred quality as conceived by the moderns of Egyptian art—a pious body bound by unchangeable rules such as those of the Byzantines in their later period. A slip should be noted in the word "esmoule" on pp. 93 and 97; that art was unknown to the Egyptians; the process referred to is well explained on p. 154.

The kind of mentality disclosed in this art was natural course to stagnation and that fault extended equally to material things, as Mr. Engelbach makes clear in the succeeding chapter on "Materials and Mechanical Processes," where he notes (p. 120): There was the skill of the Third dynasty till nearly Ptolemaic times, and repeats the idea on p. 148. This is a refreshing chapter, dealing with the actual materials accessible to the Egyptians for shaping their culture-body, which they did with extreme ingenuity and almost incredible laboriousness. This, and the words to say on the wilderess of some current statements—some due even to technicians—made in ignorance of actuals (p. 121)—elsewhere he speaks of "the Pyramid Drains"; his treatment is admirably historical and should help much to a sane and balanced view of the "Things of Ancient Egypt.

Due note has been given of the length of the process of evoking a thing culminating in rope and bawn (p. 133), exceeding what our best machines turn out. Pottery was also of the finest in the Babylon age and at Memphis in the very earliest times (pp. 122, f., Fig. 1). It is noteworthy that like quality in early pottery has been found at Susa and Tell Halaf, and may perhaps suggest some similarity in the craft of which was so highly valued that it was reserved for religious use; it was, besides, usually too fragile for common wear. In Egypt many kinds of clay went into pottery and it was traded—so-day—up and down the river (pp. 124 and 125), a warning to archæologists who may sometimes reach too finely drawn conclusions from seven minute differences in clay. "The author's notes on architecture, the master-art of Egypt, are valuable. The architect had to consider, in his plans, political as well as religious requirements and, further, to count on beauty, for the masked rulers, and, for the commoners, taste and impression of some current statements—some due even to technicians—in ignorance of actuals (p. 121)—elsewhere he speaks of "the Pyramid Drains"; his treatment is admirably historical and should help much to a sane and balanced view of the "Things of Ancient Egypt.

In Chapter VI, on "Science," Mr. Soley warns us of the uncritical mentality of the people (p. 171). The section on "Astronomy" presents a useful summary of the rather rudi-mentary knowledge of the Egyptians, as far disovered, and notes the astrological use to which it was put, but not the attractive and very probable suggestion of early star-wardship put forward by Budge in From Fetish to God (p. 41).

An interesting detail which has escaped notice but has bearings on the subject in hand, is the fame of Egyptian hydraulic engineers in the time of Nero for his project of cutting a canal through the isthmus of Corinth—see the amusing account given by Iulianus in his paper on Nero. That fame was, of course, due to the skill acquired through thousands of years of management of the Nile, and the irrigating system; the "measure of land," originated with them since it was their duty, on the subsidence of the flood, to measure out justly the individual plots of cultivable land, using the 6 ft. rod which, like our "pole," has ever since given its name to a common unit of measurement; we also receive in Chapter VII, on "Medicine," by Mr. Warren Davis, is worthy of long and careful study on this difficult subject
For Rome, as Mr. A. H. M. Jones says at the beginning of Chapter XI, Egypt was purely a long-suffering milch-cow, and its peoples of low account. In the framing of the political-constitutional theories of the ancients, it seems certain that the theory of divine kingship already noticed; a slight error occurs on p. 299, where the doctrine is denied for Babylonia, whereas it is nourished there in early times and kingship was held to descend from heaven; it is hardly visible later and the Persians could not, of course, accept a belief inconsistent with their religion.

Chapter XII, on the "Egyptian Contribution to Christianity," has two sections: the first, "Egypt and the Christian Church," discusses the earliest Christian texts which originated in Alexandria; the second deals with the succeeding period of the Coptic church. The late Canon Creed, in his treatment of the characteristics of both periods, has recognized fully the Greek, non-Egyptian, nature of the Alexandrian influences, infused with the scientific Ptolemaic predominance there, which had so large a share in the shaping of the philosophical elements of Christian theology. Under the Coptic church, other elements emerged and are well described in the second section by Dr. de L. O'Searry. The outstanding feature is monasticism, originating in Upper Egypt far from the Hellenistic centre, Alexandria. Here, indeed, we have a true legacy of the first importance and still vigorously alive.

Chapter XIII, "The Rise to Power of the Nubians" (Chapter XIV), links the Nubian legacy to the Byzantine East, as a historian, conveys himself with the thought that there is a kind of legacy rather than to the historian than to the historic process, and in this sense has provided an informing chapter.

For the Egyptian Contribution to Islam, Chapter XIV, Dr. A. J. Arberry holds that its outstanding feature lay in Egypt becoming the central centre for the diffusion of Islamic learning, chiefly through the University of Al Azhar at Cairo—a comparatively modern development, still flourishing; he has conceived Egypt as the link between the East and West in the world of ideas, as it was, to its immense profit, in the world of commerce before the Portuguese discovered the Cape route to India. The chapter consists largely of brief accounts of the Islamic literature of Egypt down to our own time and of her artistic achievements in architecture, ceramics, etc., in the last a small slip is the rejection of Butler's old theory of the origin of lustre-ware in Egypt (p. 366); more recent finds at Samarra show it to have arisen there, probably as a cheap imitation of gilding. On p. 361 the author lauds the lack of good studies of Islamic architecture, being perhaps unaware, at the time of writing, of the great work of Cahun A. K. Government.

The legacy to modern Egypt is, of course, great; it has, unfortunately, not received the close investigation that would be so valuable to the study of ancient Egypt and equally to anthropology. This is the more regrettable that modern influence has greatly changed Egypt, the ancient kingdom from the Nile has almost completely disappeared since most of Upper Egypt, like the Delta, has been put under summer irrigation by dams and canals, replacing, to its great economical advantage, the ancient basin system. This is the most fundamental change but the motor bus, the cinema, and even the ubiquitous gramophone are fast altering the mental outlook, thereby putting an end to many popular practices and traditions. All this was known, of course, to Professor Hocart, who, with his subject, "The Legacy to modern Egypt," thus hampered, has given his chief attention to the religious and religious-architectural aspects, which no longer exist in ancient and modern Egypt alike, thus constituting an "Egypt." In this he has laid much stress on the primitive belief in the godship of kings, adjusting it to theories of kingship of a somewhat transcendential nature, bordering indeed on the mystic, which has in its treatment. He has sometimes applied the theory to matters of very common material nature, as, for example, on p. 371, where the system of administration is figured almost as emanating from the principle of the king's divinity, whereas it was very evidently developed from generations of practical experience, when the country kept its, what has already occurred with the royal status. Practical considerations are clearly reflected in the expression "pr-ss," meaning "the Great House, not the King's House," as on p. 375; in the days of full imperialism this name was applied to the king himself as
local head of the administration and thus avoiding the use of his sacred name in merely civil affairs—it is the origin of the handy Biblical term "Pharaoh." On p. 370, again, the age-long differentiation between Upper and Lower Egypt is referred to; the ancient myth that the king was a king of Upper Egypt and published the保养 of the title of King of Upper and Lower Egypt is of the same commonplace kind as, let us say, our phrase of England and Wales. Polygamy, too, is treated on p. 388 in similar fashion, but we must protest against the charge of obscenity directed at the jellabas, who make no such comment of wives as are allowed by their law in order to obtain as many hands as they can for their tillage farming; thus, if a wife proves barren, she is divorced. In the higher ranks monogamy is now the fashion and polygamy rather condescending—it is in fact too expensive for the present tastes of the majesty.

In modern times, however, is abundantly clear in modern funerary customs. The mortuary temples discussed in p. 375 took the place of chapels for funerary rites originally placed in the tombs themselves. But, when the graves, for fear of the ever active robbers, were hidden in desert depths, the chapels were scattered relatively accessible in places to ensure the regular celebration of the rites, considered as necessary for the welfare of the departed king and consequently of his country. They became the magnificent temples that we know and, for further effectiveness, were placed under the patronage of the highest god—at Thebes, Amun. Till quite recent times there were funerary temples in the same towns, on stated days, principally the two great annual festivals—erected beside their family-graves in the cemeteries, bearing recollections from the Qur'an, offering prayers and giving alms, and those who could afford it erected little houses in which to spend the night. This has been recently prohibited by the government as contrary to the strict regulations of Islam, as did the purest Wahabi dynasty of Arabia long ago, but it may yet linger in remote spots. For like reasons women mourners, often professional, such as the ancient tomb-picture portraiture, are now forbidden.

The Islamic religion being, like the Hebrew, theocratic, has rather naturally been drawn by the author into the circle of his ideas (pp. 372-4), but it has no sacraments and its organization is of an essentially democratic simplicity, far from that region of thought. A proverb instance is the Koranic maxim with which he appeals both to recognize (377), but surely would have accepted if he had taken the word, as modern usage does, as bearing the qualification of 'ordained.' The closest approach to priest lies in the sheikh, a term whose radical meaning is 'an old man,' 'grey-haired,' exactly equivalent to our "presbytery," to which, for lingering usages, its present shortened, as Milton once expounded, to "priest." But in the development of the words lies a very significant difference in thought: the Arabic has been widened to include only persons of venerable age but anyone thought worthy, for any good reason, of venerable Christian usage has narrowed 'priest' to mean an 'elder' sacrementally ordained. In the same category berakat (380), though often a common form of degradation in being used to signify mere luck, maintains for all Muslins its correct sense of the 'blessing' of God on, in Christian parlance, 'grace,' the person repented to possess it enjoys the best regular remuneration.

The funerary practices referred to above show that Islam, like Christianity or other religions of original high purity, has not escapes adulteration by older ideas to which it was essentially opposed but which had root-tot themselves so deeply in popular thought that the new religion failed to extirpate them. It is not thus, in the true Islam that we must look for a 'legacy,' but in the superstitions clinging to it from the old days. In this sphere much remains to be done. Lane gave us a very minute account of the ways of the townspeople, but knew the backward peasants may be squeezed from travelling or visitors' reports, like Lady Duff-Gordon's, and in recent we have had definite researchers, such as Miss Blackman and W. Winkler, who have published valuable, if restricted, material: Professor Hocart, too, had made additions with the wide and minute account required by modern anthropology still lacking and it seems, alas, doubtful if it is not now too late to attempt it.

To come to smaller things, it may be noted that the handprints mentioned on p. 369 are made with red paint, not blood, the stretched hand being one of the commonest of apotropaic symbols; on p. 384 the absence of pigs in ancient papyrus and inscriptions is strongly asserted, for they are well known in hieroglyphs and, though rarely, in pictures; Herodotus records their use as sacred offerings and also for the treading in of seed, as once they did, but Pline says that in his time the latter practice had disappeared.

In conclusion, this is a book of many illustrative facets, very commendable to students of Egyptology and Anthropology alike, as well as to the general reader. Anthropological elements have naturally received greater attention, in a review for Man, but the two disciplines have wide regions of intimate common interest and can assuredly offer great mutual assistance, the more so for the long adherence of the Egyptians to the primitive.

Bibliographie de la Préhistoire Egyptienne (1869-1938).

Egyptian prehistory has attracted scholars working in diverse fields of research. Not only the Egyptologists tried to disentangle the problems posed by the pre-pharaonic history of the valley of the Nile, geologists, anthropologists, and prehistorians have also taken an interest in it. The literature on Egyptian prehistory, therefore, has been published in periodicals and scientific publications, otherwise concerned with subjects widely apart from such other, and not easily found by those unfamiliar with these publications. M. Bachi has gathered in the 77 pages of his bibliography all, or nearly all, the material: published between 1869 and 1938. This will save much time and work to all interested in Egyptian prehistory, and will be very helpful.

E. J. BAUMGARTEN

SOCIIOLOGY

Taboo: A Sociological Study. By Harold Webster, Ph.D.

Professor Webster has given us in this volume an extensive study of the facts of taboo. He does not ignore the elements of diffusion or of human psychology in his treatment of the subject, but has used primarily at demonstrating the role of taboo in the cultural evolution. The author's critical analysis and the accepting attitude as he does in his book illustrate, incidentally, the importance of Frazer's comparative work to any broad functional view of human development, an importance which the functional "school of social anthropologists is itself rather apt to overlook.

In eleven chapters the author deals first of all with the 'Nature of Taboo' and defines taboos as 'prohibitions which, when violated, produce automatically in the offender a state of ritual disability—taboo sickness,—only relieved, when relief is possible, by a ceremony of purification.' The definition is an exact one and, as one might expect, Professor Webster finds some difficulty in adhering to it. Fortunately, in his last chapter he is compelled to draw attention to the fact that besides taboos which conform strictly to such a definition, there are also taboos the infraction of which merely results in some inconvenience to the man who breaks them. Indeed, such an ambiguity in the use of the word follows inevitably from the origin assigned to it, as a necessary association of ideas which underlies sympathetic prohibitions, and from the fact that, while some are purely emotional in origin others are definitely utilitarian; and the punishment involved by a breach of taboo tends to be transferred with the development of social life from the automatic category to that in which the arm of a purely secular authority is required to enforce taboos, which may (and often do) have
a specific economic value for the community observing them. Further, although the law states that the punishment of a breach of taboo is affected without any suggestion of an agent, he points out elsewhere that the Hawaiians recognised a class of spiritual beings who watched for and punished infractions of taboos. In discussing the origin of the word taboo, Prof. Mackenzie might have usefully referred to Evans' note in Man, 1920, 28, p. 307, in which he suggested that the original element in the various Oceanic derivatives from the root represented in Malay by the word bosu or pusu and further east and north by pusu, tenpuu and tubu, is one of uncleanness, hiding, refuge or segregation.

The "Sister of Taboo" is followed by four chapters on "The Reproductive Life," "The Separation of the Sexes," "Sexual Intercourse," and "Death and the Dead." In the third of these chapters the taboo on sexual intercourse inside the house observed by the Kadar and the Oomi of southern India, and probably by the Andamans, might have been mentioned, and the somewhat curious one of the Chang-Naga which forbids the face of a man to be visible to the earth at such a time. As a chapter following, on "Strangers and Strange Phenomena," the effect of collective responsibility in the way of causing persecution and suppression in the case of taboos is pointed out among other things, which include pointing at the belief in the "Ved," of the highest nature of this latter prohibition is indicated in a note, but its occurrence in Europe (e.g. in Brussels and in Bohemia) is not mentioned; the prohibition occurs also even in the Laws of Manu.

Chapters follow on "Sacred Persons," and on "Sacred Things," the conception of taboo as sacredness being described as representing a rather late development of "human thought." The body of the text contains a detailed discussion of the relationship between the totem and the group in some Australian tribes, in that animals and plants which are profane or "social" in that 

northern regions are still being written and published in the New World.


This volume of The History of Economics in its Relation to Social Development is the second of a series of volumes which form a comprehensive survey of the development of economic thought in its relation to social history, with special reference to the growth and significance of economic theories, as the respective stages of the development of economic thought are traced in the history of economic thought.
the objects of perception as the common element which makes them recognizable by our minds and enables us to compare and evaluate them.

An important chapter anticipates Plato's legacy to posterity, illustrated by successive attempts to interpret his writings, both in later antiquity, in the Revival of Learning, and especially since Schleiermacher's appreciation of Plato's mission on the lines traced by G. G. Schrader, as illustrated especially in the earlier Dialogues. Here the numerous mistaken interpretations are firmly criticized and set aside, while their contemporary significance is appreciated, especially during the eighteenth century, when Plato fully comes into general recognition as the founder of political and moral philosophy. Of Plato's training for the 'life', which held such a large place in the Greek view of Man's place in Nature and in Society.

Now this Pollux is gradually revealed in the Platonistic Dialogues is traced in a series of running analyses and commentaries, first the short preparatory pieces, then Politeia, Gorgias and Meno in which larger aspects of the enquiry loom up the Republic, which occupies nearly half of the present volume. Other important pieces, Parmenides, Theaetetus, Timaeus, and the Laws are presumably posthumous to the third volume.

Though the majority of the contemporary and recent writers on Platonistic subjects here cited are not unnaturally German, it is interesting to note the high place accorded to the work of British scholars, notably Lewis Campbell, Burnet, and A. E. Taylor. Jowett, on the other hand, who has filled such large a place in our academic teaching, is not mentioned at all.

It is good news that Volume III dealing with the development of Greek preparation for life in the Hellenistic Age, may be expected before long.

JOHN L. MYRES


He case for recognizing the city, and the village as the Mediterranean type-community is woven from geography and history, anthropology and archaeology, mixed in a general wealth of colour. Man's symbiosis with earth and water, crops and climate, beasts and gods, is reflected from a flashing array of facts; and when once the primary unit of Mediterranean economy has shown itself, the pursuit of human needs or desires beyond its susterly limited régime summons the traffic of brass and ivory, and launches us upon the Mediterranean itself; among the ships and seafarers, thalassocrats and merchants, colonists and pirates, of a hundred generations. Against that wide sweep the Greek pole narrows into sharper focus, and reveals its own limitations—which the great age of 'frontier' venturing threw off only to diffuse more widely, perpetuating the shibboleth of citizens against barbarians in the classical, antonimy of city and country that brought Decline and Fall at last to the one, only to vindicate the fundamental vitality of the other.

But all the way the scene has been joyfully crowded; this is our open-track dissertation, but a cruise past a varied fleet of Hellenistic digressions outward bound, must deny seas-roaming by the lecturer's brief hour, but such on bare roaring一处s—perhaps it be extrapolation—to hang echoing on about one's mind. For the pirate games of

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This little volume is an excellent selection from a series of lectures given to members of H.M. Forces, and is a useful and very readable summary of what is usually thought about the organization of human society at various times and in different parts of the world. Many of the chapters deal with special aspects of the subject, such as 'Marriage', 'The Family', 'Social Organization' and 'The Rise of City States', while others are concerned with the historical outlook, such as 'Early Cultural Stages', 'Early Civilizations' and 'His
tory."

On the whole this book, which is pleasantly and clearly written, will provide guidance with most of the information that they will require on this subject, though at certain points, notably on the Palaeolithic Age, this is not quite up to date.

Two unfortunate misprints may cause perplexity to the unwary. In the middle of page 61 the context shows that should read 'be', against the fourth line of page 73, it seems that 'Yaye' is a misprint for 'Yeha'.

H. J. E. P.

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


A fresh discovery of fossil man compels us, as in the case of recent battles, to add new place-names to our vocabularies. Kellar, which has given its name to the most recently discovered fossil human skull, is a small township situated 10 miles to the north-west of Melbourne on the Maribyrnong or Seafarer, Water River, and about the same distance above the estuary of the river on which it stands. About a mile above Kellar, where the bed of the river is 38 ft. above low-water level, there rise up on its east bank, three terraces, the lowest being 27 ft. above the river-bed, the middle, 36 ft., the highest, 45 ft. The high terrace is worked for sand by Mr. R. Hughes. In October 1940, embedded in the sand at a depth of 18 ft., and therefore 27 ft. above the level of the river-bed, there came to light the Kellar fossil skull. Mr. Hughes brought the skull to Mr. Mahony, a few weeks later, but unfortunately he did not bring it—a fossilized limb bone and several other fragments found near the skull. Such finds should have no commercial value, but they have great scientific value, for we know nothing of the skeletal characters of ancestral Australian aborigines. Some six feet away from the original discovery were found five pieces of a second skull; is it to be hoped that they, too, will be handed over to the safe keeping of Mr. Mahony? Only one artefact has come to light so far, a quartzite flake.

Thus for the first time a fossil human skull has been found in Australia, under circumstances which permit an estimate of its geological antiquity. It is as old as the terrace in which it was found, the problem is: How old is that terrace? Mr. Mahony has brought to bear on the problem artillery of Australian prehistoric geology to bear on the problem and the conclusion which he has reached is that the terrace in which the skull was found should be assigned to the phase of
that Australia was originally populated by Negritos. The theory of remote bi-racial origin of the Australians is independent of recent admixture of races.

Dr. Wundtley thus regards the Keilor Man as a hybrid, the progeny of two hypothetical Australian races, Negrito and Australian. We can never explain the origin of human races by any simple process of degeneration, annihilation, and hybridity; the origin and source of the Negrito and Australian have still to be sought for. On my theory the source of the Keilor and Talga fossil types is at hand; it is in Pleistocene Java. The anatomical resemblance between the Javanese and Australian fossil types make Java the most probable source of the Negrito and Australian.

The real problem we face is to face with is the origin of woolly hair. Man is the only primeval in which hair occurs; we therefore presume it was a mutation which occurred in the human stock after mankind had parted from the anthropoid gene. The woolly gene or genes are widely spread among the races of the southern half of the Old World. Java is situated almost at the centre of the woolly world. We may presume that if the pleistocene inhabitants of Java were not woolly haired, they had in their hereditary make-up the potentiality of becoming so. The peoples of New Guinea, the Malagasy Islands of Australia and of Tasmania are parts of the same problem. The crux is: Why did the natives of Australia retain the more primitive texture of hair, while their peripheral ancestors went woolly?

ARThUR KIETH

ARCHEOLOGIE


This study is inspired by some fifty-three sherds, together with a few flint and obsidian implements and a 'stud' obtained from a trench run through the small mound of Baghoon on the Euphrates near Mar, and just north-west of the Syrian border. Natural little weight could be added to the gathered material, but the remains of the Sammaran type found in the 'stud' would be of the same material in the Baghoon trench and at al'Ubdah were their association with the sherds undeniable—actually the material is unknown. The sherds are, however, typical Sammaran as defined by design, and the authors insist, that should be the taking up.

They accordingly represent the most westerly appearance of the style yet detected. But the authors make these poor sherds on the basis of a complete inventory of Sammaran motives and a critical discussion of the style. The repertory is based mainly on Herzfeld's publication of the material from Wadi Tumilat; it is drawn from Baghoon and Nineveh, only a couple of motives like the wavy line and the little circle being represented only at Baghoon (the latter, No. 171, might therefore be regarded as suspect). The result is a highly conjectural and valuable definition of the contents of a style that in large fragments is quite unmistakable, but on small sherds is liable to be confused with al'Ubdah or even Nineveh 9.

Such confusion has apparently actually occurred at Tepe Gawra, where, Brainwood assures us, no genuine Sammaran occurs in the lower al'Ubdah levels. This classification is now a Professor of Prehistory, and a study of the results Western publication is now in hand. The sherds drawn from Baghoon and Nineveh, only a couple of motives like the wavy line and the little circle being represented only at Baghoon (the latter, No. 171, might therefore be regarded as suspect). The result is a highly conjectural and valuable definition of the contents of a style that in large fragments is quite unmistakable, but on small sherds is liable to be confused with al'Ubdah or even Nineveh 9.

September-October, 1945]
The problems of flint-working were very dear to the heart of General Pitt Rivers. The reviewer remembers how when the first 'kolith' were submitted to the Anthropological Institute, while Sir John Evans and others were sceptical, an typological grounds, Pitt Rivers took up one specimen after another, handled them till he had them comfortably in his grip, and tried them, as scrapers, on his walking-stick, with the verdict: 'This is certainly an implement' of a particular character. It is clear that he enthusiastically commended the development of flint-working, and the Pitt Rivers Museum, under Henry Faitour and his pupils, has taken a leading part in laboratory experiment. Here is the result of much patient work, illustrated by outline drawings, which probably show better than photographs what the worker intends. But it may be noted that the reconstructions in future years may be more coarse and blotchy than here: it is only a matter, as in mapping, of correlating width of line with scale of reduction.

J. L. M.

PACIFIC


Mr. Bradley describes the background of modern African life in Northern Rhodesia in a diary of six tours of inspection of the countryside round Fort Jameson and near the Nyasa and Portuguese East African borders. He tells us about the flowers, trees, and animals, as well as the village life and the peoples of this rugged and inhospitable countryside, and the sketches of the Africans with whom he has to deal are particularly pleasing and vivid. The villagers are ignorant and unimprovident; the villages are deprived of their young men who are away at work on the farms or the mines, and it is difficult to see what future these people have and what prospects, except as a labour reserve for the small local European farming population and the more distant farms and mines in Southern Rhodesia.

Progress takes the form of a general belief in education. The Government attempts to cope with erosion, to provide better village sanitation, and to organize markets, and better water supplies. The people are not always sympathetic to these efforts. Mr. Bradley tells us that the claims made by the Government in one village, to save the women a long walk to get water, was destroyed and the cement sides of the well stolen. But who does not know English villages where the people also resist progress and do not like water being laid down? They do not want to pay all additional rates, and prefer to walk with buckets to wells which often fail them? The Englishman, like the African, often takes the line that what is good enough for his fathers will do for him.

The District Officer is the pivot of our African Colonial administration, and the guide and friend of his people, and readers of this Diary who are keenly interested in African problems and in Colonial administration, but who have no first-hand knowledge of the African background, will get profit and delight from this day to day record of the work and life of the man who actually puts our Colonial policy into effect.

J. L. K.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Irish story may be summarized as follows: At the close of his period of instruction, Tarbell (who was later called Molling) requested a loan from his fosterer, viz., that he be allowed to go on a circuit accompanied by thirty sons of kings to collect alms for the church. He proceeds along the road bearing two wallets and a bowl for the alms and his fosterer's scribes to note his name. He meets the 'Evil Speter' and his worshipped household. The Specter seizes his weapons and enters into a struggle with the saint in which each struggles to destroy the other, e.g.

Specter. 'I will drive this spear through thy side after setting it.'
The predilection of the gods at the beginning of the Hindu myth has no counterpart in the Moling story, but apart from this the parallelism is striking.

During the course of a comparative study of Celtic legendary writings with the non-Christian mythology of the Celtic lands, I have often been puzzled by elements in the former which do not seem to have been derived from Biblical or from pagan Celtic sources. I now find that many of these are paralleled in the Life of Buddha and in other Indian material. A detailed comparison is likely to yield interesting results.

ALWYN D. REES

A Rosette Cylinder of Clay from Uganda. Illustrated.

A cylinder has recently been brought in to the Uganda Museum, which would seem to bear some resemblance to the Rosette Cylinder from Zimbabwe.

The cylinder is 14 cm. high by 8 cm. in diameter. It is of fired clay and is covered on the sides with irregular knobs, at

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4. *Friend Vishnu, stride vasty. Sky give room to fix the thunderbolt.* - Rg-Veda, Ix, vii, Hymn 89.
5. Hocart, op. cit., p. 211.

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Fig. 1.—A Rosette Cylinder from Uganda.

The top and bottom and at places on the sides between the knobs are marks of roulette pattern, apparently made with...
the roulette of plaited reed still used for pottery decoration in this part of the country. At the centre of the top and bottom are two small holes which are only some 2 cm. in depth; eleven similar holes have been bored in the sides in irregular positions to the same depth, entering at a sloping angle: one hole is pierced right through from side to side. The cylinder was inflated with earth, and the neck was left open, in a native workshop cultivating near Nandi, part of a system of ancient workovers in the Masaba district of Uganda. These workovers were discovered in 1909, but have not as yet been investigated with any thoroughness; although the Government Field Geologist made an official report on them in 1922, and Wayland 4 wrote notes on them in 1935. They consist of the Biggo clay Muggegi, a fortified camp with ramparts and ditch extending over 2 miles, with two similar but smaller fortifications some 3 and 4 miles away. There are no middens, or other traces of extensive occupation.

About 4 miles to the south-west of these fortifications are the earthworks of Nandi near which the cylinder was found. The hillside here is covered with middens which contain bones of indigenous game and pottery fragments. There are two large dams and several smaller ones, forming what would appear to be irrigation works, and some curious elliptical mounds. In contrast to the earthworks at Biggo, this site appears to have been a settlement of considerable size.

MARGARET TROWELL


The Study of 'Folkiv,' OJ. MAN, 1945, 39.

The National Folk Collections in the Museum were known as 'The Welsh Bygones Collection' until 1932. This was in accord with the practice of other British museums where folk material is treated as a section of archaeology. In 1932, however, a Sub-Department of Folk Culture and Industries was set up within the Department of Archaeology and in 1936 a separate full Museum Department of Folk Culture and Industries was established. When Mr. Griffiths quotes my reference in 1930 to 'material deposited with the Royal Commission' and to the publication in 1933 of Welsh Folk Crafts and Industries, he mistakes the part for the whole. The 1935 publication is concerned only with crafts and industries, and not with the whole field of folk life. And it appeals to me to see Mr. Griffiths suggest that it would be very much in the interests of anthropology if this name (Folk Crafts and Industries) were adopted for folk-life research.

Mr. Griffiths is ingenious, too, in suggesting that this Department's actual practice, does not live up to the 'comprehensive' of the term 'culture. He bases his statement on the existing exhibits housed in a building only half of the designed plan of which is completed, and in a Department, just three years old when war broke out. If he were a reader of the Museum's Annual Reports he would find that the museum authorities held (Report 1942-43, p. 90), 'the museum is an essential auxiliary to the National Museum' and recommend that financial provision be made for it by the Government. In such a site comprehensive would be possible. If, further, he were to inquire upon what principles the Department collects material, he would find that the Welsh Folk Collections already in this Department cover the whole field of life and culture.

To end my catalogue of complaints, Mr. Griffiths has misunderstood my statement (Disenchantment Cyprus, p. 24) that this Department 'is the only one of its kind in the Empire. No one is more aware of this than I, and I was unable to do so in my former work. The Place of Folk Culture in the Museum (Museum Journal, 1941) will explain the difference between Archaeology and Folk Life research as I intend to make it. In Folk Life the speed is the best possible term for the subject and I hope that it may be universally adopted. I favour it, however, for reasons exactly contrary to those suggested by Mr. Griffiths. Mr. Griffiths suggests that it is (in contrast to Folk Culture) narrow enough to exclude the higher forms of spiritual culture. But Folk Life is more comprehensive than Culture—the whole is greater than any one of its parts—and the term Folk Life is more satisfactory just for that reason. Its use by the Scandinavian scholars should lead to its general adoption. I am convinced that while in museums we are constrained to emphasize the visible material of life and culture, no museum worker can carry out his duties effectively if he ignores the higher forms of spiritual culture. Nor should it be forgotten that modern museums do not exist merely for the sake of exhibits: research is a highly important aspect of their work and in that direction the spiritual bases of Folk Life cannot be overlooked.' DOROTHY C. PEATE

Keeper of the Department of Folk Culture and Industries, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff

Survivals in Spain. OJ. MAN, 1945, 21.

Let us add Las Batuecas to the examples given by Louis Mauquet* Some Survivals of Mithraism in Modern Spain. Las Batuecas is a village situated in a mountainous country, 50 miles south of Salamanca, in the south-west. In it there are several rock shelters full of copper-age paintings somewhat similar though showing certain differences from the well-known groups of Andalucia. There are no other sites known in the vicinity of Las Batuecas where similar primitive pictures are found. In chapter xiii, in the following passage on the 'Mountains to the North': 'What mountains are these, I enquired of a hermit-surgeon who, mounted like myself on a grey steed, joined me about noon. They have many names, the serrene of Placerense; and opposite to Madrid they are termed the Mountains of Guadarrama... Strange tales are told of these hills, and of what they contain in their deep recesses, huge serpents as long as a pine tree, and horses of the flood, which sometimes come out and commit night damage.' One thing is certain, that yonder, far away to the west, in the heart of those hills, there is a wonderful valley, as narrow that only mid-day is the face of the sun to be descried from it. That valley lay undiscovered and unknown for thousands of years; no person dreamed of its existence. But at last, a long time ago, certain hunters entered it by chance, and do you think they found, Caballero? They found a small nation, or tribe of hunters speaking an unknown language, who perhaps had lived there since the creation of the world Caballero, do you never hear of the valley of the Batuecas? Surely, this is a case of survival in modern folk lore of the memories of what must have been a successful Copper Age. These unknown rites and ceremonies were practised by the folk living in that part of Spain in that remote period.

M. C. BURKITT
THE MALAY CHIN

Photographs by Dr. J. P. Kleiman de Zwaan.
It is surprising that up to the present day attention has never been called to the following characteristic of the Malay chin. Perhaps because it is so polyform it has been difficult to grasp the phenomenon as a whole. It gives the impression of a fixed plasmatic condition of the chin muscles around the musculus mentalis, by which a complex of larger and smaller concavities and convexities may be observed. At first we regarded it as an attachment of the skin to the muscles and the bone, showing itself by different wrinkles, whereas in most races the cover of the skin over the muscles is smooth. Sometimes the whole complex has a triangular form with the apex above the upper part of the circular muscle near the lower lip, and the base at the sides of the chin, like the chin of the Sasaks of Lombok (Plate F, 1 and 2). So, during our researches in South Triangalan we were struck by it and by the huge pareotide swelling. We announced it as Mental Triangle later on we named it Adhaerentia mentalis. It does not seem to depend from the symphysion region and to be independent of the bony sinus of wedge well known as the trigonum mental, as it is often much more extensive, but there seems to be some relation with the mouth. It is often well observable in profile. In norma lateralis the centre of the adhaerentia may sometimes be seen as a concavity, less often it is convex, but there are cases in which the central part is concave, with bulbs above and below it. The upper part of the circular muscle often appears pronounced. The more or less horizontal sulcus mentalis in the region of the dental roots and the attachment of the integumental underlip is, however, often found, and presents different forms of depth and dimensions.

The whole intricate phenomenon perhaps revolves around a bulb forming hypertrophy of the upper part of the musculus mentalis without being dependent on it. Between the underlip and this bulb a sulcus can be observed in varying forms and depths, often as a double arch, but sometimes as an S or an E, etc. In the rarer case of hypertrophy of the musculus quadratus labii, the integumental underlip bulges outward, sometimes so much that in norma lateralis a double arch with a concavity in the middle may be observed, or—more often—hypertrophy of the musculus triangularis is seen. The surface of the more receding Malay chin shows a series of wrinkles and other concavities, even resembling scars, especially in lean individuals. Sometimes there are different horizontal sulci and wrinkles one above the other immediately under the lower lip, and another double arch form below the bulb of the upper part of the musculus mentalis. Sometimes it takes the form of converging vertical wrinkles. It appears to be more frequent among men, especially lean men, than

1. Of course reference is made to chins not exhibiting cicatrices or artificial deformations.
among women, but it is not at all uncommon in females. Even young women show it, but not so often children. We noted it among the Prae-Malays, as in Weddoide and Deutero-Malays, but mostly in the more primitive types. Effemimacy is rather common in Bali, but even effeminate individuals show it. Fat individuals seem to show it less, so it has most probably a hormonal correlation. It will perhaps be more frequent among leptosome hyperthyroids. It has, of course, nothing to do with senility.

Though it seems generally more correlated with a more or less receding chin, it can also be observed on a more convex chin. We observed the same phe-

omenon in different hominids in the Sunda Arch as Balah and Redjans or other South Jumutansese, also in the Eastern Melanesian part (photographs in Brouwersaar and Fiedler’s ‘Tinor’) of it; among the peoples of Further India (e.g. the Lao) and of Southern China it is more common. Like the blood groups, the congenital blue birth-spot, and many human characteristics, it seems to have rather a geographical than a racial distribution, which may be explained as a mutation distributing itself first among the population of the same bio-region. Thus this lability of the chin parts is distributed mostly over the Southeast-Asian bioregion. It may be a ‘Malay’ characteristic, but our material has not been sufficiently classified to formulate any conclusion.

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Fig. 6—AMONG THE ANTEATU OF E. MADAGASCAR
A ‘MALAY CHIN’ IS QUITE COMMON: RIGHT-HAND
INDIVIDUAL.

Fig. 7—WEST AFRICAN WITH Adberenicia mandalis
Photo: Nyssen

side, in Madagascar (as well in Negroid Bara, as in Melanesian Botumissaraka and Malay Hova) we observed it, although less frequently, among other primitive peoples (Fig. 6).

So we found it as well amidst the Unyoro of Uganda, the Wadjass from Killmanjaro as among the Masai, the Zuvi, and less among West Africans. Even the wife of Haile Selassie showed an analogous formation of the chin. But it seems more common among Indians of North and South America. It has been observed even amidst the Buristas and Tchermisses. So it seems to be a characteristic of the Malay (or Mongol) races.

In Portugal, where we have often seen rather primitive types, it is rarely observable, whereas Cromagnons are not uncommon. We would ask anatomists to interest themselves in this remarkable phenomenon, as they will be able to give a much better description of it than we can.
CREATION, AND THE BLESSING OR THE CURSE UPON FRUITFULNESS: AN ANTHROPOGEOGRAPHICAL INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS I-III.

By Arthur Geddes, D. & L., Ph.D.

East. This fact reinforces the geographical argument for a common meaning for the same rite when it is found to be recorded in an old tale from the Fertile Crescent, and still practised by primitive agriculturalists dwelling in a region linked to the first, both by terrestrial and maritime routes, and still clad much as were 'the first gardener and his wife' in Eden. In other words, the comparison suggests that Adam and Eve did not choose fig leaves to wear because they were ashamed. Although, as was remarked by Folkard (1884), the fig tree is the only sub-tropical fruit tree (at once real and symbolic) having soft leaves, yet leaves of the bananas and many non-fruitful trees, sewn together, could have served as well as these, when initiation and modest decency first made the young couple shamefast. It would seem that for the first teller (and his hearers), 'our first parents' chose fig leaves because they wanted a baby!

Following the clue, one found that the fig tree, its fruit and leaves, where and still are widely associated with human fruitfulness, both east and west of the Fertile Crescent. In India, where the fig tree is sacred among both animists and Hindus, its branches are described as 'a phallic in Hindu marriage rites' (Dymock, 1885). The image may be suggested by the exudation of milky juice and also by the aural root, thrusting downward from some massive bough into the ground below, from which new, life will spring in turn, in unbroken continuity. The unity of the culture, once prevailing from the Indus to the Euphrates, has only recently been discovered (Marshall, 1931; Mackay, 1935). It brings out the importance of associating not only the later beliefs of Hebraism, Christianity and Islam, from India and Arabia to the Mediterranean, but also the early Hebraic beliefs with those of contemporary Hinduism, a fact to be reckoned with by informed theology.

Similarly, in the Mediterranean lands, it was pointed out more than three centuries ago by Basile, Comte de Tornons (ed. 1846), that the fig was a phallic symbol. In classical antiquity the fig was constantly used in human fertility rites. In all this there lies a natural association of ideas. As was shown by W. R. Paton (quoted by Frazer, 1916), 'asperation,' that is, the custom of tying a wild 'male' fig upon the cultivated fig tree when both are in flower, is necessary to permit of pollination by the particular wasp which acts as agent. It should not be forgotten that there is a strong element of common sense and social foresight in the encouragement of rites of human impregnation along with the pollination of food plants, in so far as the promise of food to come and the labour
given to provide it offer the only honourable condition for starting a family or adding to one; whereas if the year is unfavourable for a good crop, wisdom lies in continence. In addition to this there are, of course, strong elements of 'sympathetic magic.' As the food helps the family to grow, the growth of the family must help the food-growing! Finally, there is a rich crop of beliefs, religious and superstitious, which associate life-giving wisdom, and peace, with the care of fruits such as the fig and other sacramental symbols, including the olive and—until Mohammed's disastrous intervention—the date. Without burdening the essay, let it suffice that a brief list is given of references to typical customs, indexed by Goodland (1931), with additional notes, plotted upon the accompanying map.

The eating by two or more together of some fruit of the earth is one of the oldest and most universal of the symbolic sacraments of life in common, including marriage. It is preserved in the ceremony of the cutting and eating of the bridecake at weddings in our own society. It is linked through ordinary, joyous feasting and toasting to the social sacraments of food and drinks, and to miracles of plenty, as in the wedding feast of Cana in Galilee, in the Passover, and in Christian Communion itself. The fruit of the tree of knowledge, the 'apple' of the medieval and Authorized versions of the story, the banana, date, etc., is popularly taken to be a kind of bait, tempting to disobedience and wrong-doing. Yet without doubt the tree with its fruit is a favourite symbol, associated in the art of India, Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean with the nymph or maiden who shall delight the eye, incite thirst and slake it, as a fruit can do under a sub-tropical sun, and herself find joy in giving, and in bearing fresh fruit in her turn. We may well agree with the evidence collected over sixty years ago by De Gubernatis (1878) to show that 'the symbolism of the tree of Paradise,' if not actually phallic, is sexual, and that the legend, with frankness yet with poetry, glorifies sexual union and its fruitfulness. There is, in fact, nothing in the human side of the story to suggest 'temptation' to 'sin.' It conveys rather, a theme of discovery, initiation, and deep satisfaction, despite the sacrifices found to be involved in parenthesis to follow, and the jealousy of
the gods. How else could the betrothed find that the fruit was 'good for food, a delight to the eyes, and to be desired to make one wise,' and the man, the lover, acclaim his mate by her new name of mother?

As to the association of the tree with life, it has been pointed out that there is nothing to show that a single meal from the tree (of life) would give immortality, even to the gods. The purport is rather that eating of the fruit will maintain life (Cheyne, 1927), in godlike fulness of being.

The last feature of the agricultural allegory to be noticed is its setting, the garden itself. The symbol of the gardener and garden as representing the lover and his beloved is one of the oldest in tradition, one of the most widespread, and one which renews itself in the love poetry of every age. The Song of Songs offers a famous example (Cant. iv. 12.). This symbolism may be implicit in the Eden tale. Another alternative was offered by De Gubernatis (1878), who thought that the fair garden is the body of Adam, whose phallus is the fruitful tree in the centre thereof. Fundamentally, the gardener and garden of the tale shows the occupational setting of garden agriculture in which the previous images take their birth. That is important in itself, for one cannot imagine the birth of this legend in an environmental way of life different from this or opposed to it, such as the pastoralism of the bordering steppe-desert. The two ideas of symbol and setting may not be mutually exclusive, incident and allegory being all of one type in the legend, and the symbols of the entire series fitting into one another to form a whole.

The serpent has offered a puzzle to inquirers into the Eden story, and a variety of possible solutions have been suggested apart, of course, from the exclusive connexion with the Evil One which follows from the theological interpretation of the tale, and which scholars regard as without historical foundation. The part of the serpent is discussed in a recent review of the Eden myth in relation to Babylonian legends and their iconography, which includes what might serve as a perfect illustration of 'the temptation,' a naked man and woman, tree and serpent, though alas, without caption or accompanying text (Langdon, 1931). This review is in broad agreement with an earlier one by Cook (1927). From these two, it emerges that the serpent stands for many different, loosely connected things, the malignant element, with which later Christian and Islamic imagery has connected it, playing a part which, to us may seem surprisingly small. The contrast between the earlier Eurasian attitude to the serpent and that of Hebraic religion is similar to that still seen in India. I can remember seeing, as I walked along a village road in India, a snake slip into a hole in front of me. I was accompanied by a Moslem peasant and (if I recollect aright) by a Hindu village servant, as well as by an educated and observant Hindu friend. Seeing the snake disappear, the Moslem picked up a stick, poked it down the hole, and uttered a malédiction, after which, his duty done, he could pass on; but the Hindu villager merely watched it, un molested. My friend remarked quietly, 'The snake is Shaitan to the Muslim, but to the Hindu it is part of the wonder of life, all of which is to be respected!'

In the first place, in Sumerian mythology there is a clear identification of the snake with water and fertility (Langdon, 1931), a dual image natural where serpentine rivers make the desert fruitful, to feed the children of men. Further, serpent worship was widespread in the Fertile Crescent. A brazen serpent had been worshipped in Jerusalem itself for two hundred and fifty years or more, before the reforming days of Hezekiah (2 Kings, xviii, 4). And although a specific reason (the tradition of Moses' cure from a serpent bite) is given by the writer in Numbers 21, this may be a later explanation (Cook, 1927), in ancient history it is the recorded fact, not an inserted explanation, which is significant. The snake enters into a wide range of associated myths, as the symbol of perpetual youth and immortality, of restoration of life, and of rejuvenation, ideas linked with the shedding of its skin. Its mysterious appearance and movement and the sense of wonder allied to fear, skin to awe, which the serpent may convey, have no doubt led to its being a symbolic ancestor of tribes and kings. Lurking in dark places, and deadly in its bite, it is naturally a guardian of oracles, and—very literally indeed—of buried treasures. In its malignant aspect it is a demon causing illness and the enemy of the sun god, a serpent dragon. But beside and above all this, the snake is most widely connected with women as the mothers of all. The care of sacred snakes, fed upon milk, has been held to require women of perfect purity, virgins. In connexion with its magico-religious powers of bringing fertility in many lands of the domain we are surveying, the serpent enters into various rites practised by barren women who seek to have a child, as in western India, where naked women circumambulate the sacred fig tree and pray to the snake god at its feet. Towards the southern limit of cultural relationships with the Fertile Crescent, among the natives of Nigeria, the snake figures as a phallic symbol in erotic songs and also in characteristic sayings. Thus, houses being mud-walled with a small aperture to allow water to escape, through which only a snake could creep, a harlot may say to a man she is courting, 'Where the water runs out the snake may slip in.' Mr. J. B. L. Mackay (to whom I owe these points) comments that a single phrase must never be used, as evidence of a belief, but the association of such songs and sayings
makes it clear that in Nigeria the snake is used as a phallic symbol.

At the N.W. Mediterranean limit of, Hebraic influence, in Italy in the sixteenth century, we find the combination of serpent and fig tree used with deliberate intent by Michel Angelo. De Gubernatis (1878) writes that in a drawing in the Louvre the phallus of Adam is represented by a serpent between two figs. This trick (malice) of the great artist wholly conforms to what popular tradition had learnt by instinct, and to what the Fathers of the Church were at pains to teach. Agrippa of Cologne (he points out) is explicit: the snake is the phallus. De Gubernatis was not only an international scholar, but a student of his own national Italian folk-lore, and had noted the universality of meaning in these symbols, from his native Italy to India, a country known to him both as a traveller and a Sanskrit scholar. Finally, the name of Eve herself (as already said) may mean mother of life, of clan or children, or of snake (Cheyne, 1927).

If the apparent baldness of these symbols shock us, when explained in cold blood, it must be remembered that the object of a symbol, as of a parable, is to veil a meaning even while embodying it. In other words, it is the explanation which is shocking by its baldness, not the symbol, which has been established on account of modesty.

Here, then, is a variety of associations and beliefs prevailing in regions with which we are concerned, in which the malignant element in the serpent is either secondary or absent.

As to the skin tunics with which Yahweh clothed the pair, this momentarily helpful act of tailoring strikes a note of incongruity, coming as it does between Yahweh's angry curses and his ruthless decision to expel the couple lest worse should befall his supremacy. The skin in question was traditionally assumed to be the hide or fur of an animal, but none is actually named. Has the passage come down to us in a misconstrued form? Was it the pair who changed their own skins—a symbolism discussed in some detail by Fraser (1919) and Briffaut (1927). As the serpent's change of skin was taken to be a symbol of immortality, so it seems that the months changes seen in the lunar cycle were associated with change of skin in serpents, menstruation in women, and sometimes with the eating of the banana by a couple, through which they symbolically accepted parenthood but gave up their possession of immortality. Frazer supposed an early form of the tale, that the serpent, by eating the fruit of the tree of life—a missing incident he 'restored' imaginatively—stole the gift of immortality. As either suggestion alters the Biblical version, and the parallels offered by both authors seem geographically far removed, the question must be left open. Nevertheless it is well to note that if the pair themselves underwent the symbolic transformation of a change of skin, linked in some way to procreation, mortality or immortality, then the incident would bridge the gap between the curse of mortality and the expulsion.

Then Yahweh-God said: 'See, the man is become as one of us,' able to tell what can do good from what can do harm; and now suppose he were to take of the tree of life also and eating it live for ever!' So Yahweh expelled him, to till the ground from which he was taken and to which (according to the curse) he must return. The curse and the doom of expulsion bring a final note of human experience, missing in the cosmic legend. By bringing the bridegroom and bride to the gate of death, they complete the cycle of the Eden drama; the symbolic imagery of the first, idyllic act is left behind, and in the last act death itself is faced.

We may now sum up this statement of the symbols, which is in no wise a catalogue of the evidence, but a sufficient indication, plotted on the map, and verifiable from the references given. The human element of the garden story employs three or four symbols, the meaning of any one of which is either probable or certain even when taken alone, and of which when taken as a sequence the significance is unmistakable. The symbols, of which the use leads up to the naming of the woman by the man as 'the mother of life, clan or children, or snake,' are, in order, as follows: the symbol of 'garden and fruit-trees,' watered by 'a river,' to be 'dressed and kept by the man,' the subtil phallic 'serpent' approaching his 'meet helpmate,' the young maid, and inviting her to the eating, together with her willing lover, of fruit. The fruit is good for food, delightful, and to be desired for knowledge, prudence, wisdom or experience, and also (it seems) for life more abundantly for themselves, life to endure or rather to be renewed for the race of their descendants for ever. This is followed by the putting on of fig leaves, sewed together as an apron worn in modesty or shamefast recognition of the experience acquired and chosen to encourage pregnancy. Finally, the man's acclamation of his mate's motherhood to come is duly followed by the ending of their brief life in Paradise, the 'honeymoon' being at an end! The shock brought by new responsibilities, the certainty of pain in child-birth, and the fears of death for one another (and their children) awakened by new love, are symbolically expressed by the curse of the garden spirits or gods. The pair set forth ready to labour, to suffer pain, and ultimately to meet death.

The next phase or story—it is certainly one of the same Jahvistic series (Genesis iv)—begins by the pair setting up house as a faithful couple may, Adam
delving as before, but harder than had been required until his marriage and its responsibilities, and Eve spinning; this is followed in due course by the birth of a son. That the birth of a second son later, was accompanied, alas, by difficulties and conflict in the careers of the two, does not concern us here, 'for that is another story.' What does concern us is that the two were joined, and if they did not live together 'happily for ever after,' they were happy enough to cleave to one another as their natures would have it; as one flesh, to have sons and (to seek confirmation in the later tale) to live themselves to a good old age. Adam to 930 years or, at the least, 950 moons, that is just three-score-and-ten years, survived by numerous descendants among whom, of course, the writer and the reader of this tale must be included.

II. Gods and Mankind

If there be a true account of the human actors and their action in the drama, and of the symbols by help of which its allegory was made plain—what of the part of the deity (or deities) with which the Eden legend begins, and who acts as the villain (or villains) of the piece? The jealousy or dread of man forms a familiar part for the gods of early legend. It is a motive in the legend of Prometheus, bringer (like another Adam) of a symbol of union, the primitive neolithic kindled from the male and female sticks of cypress or fig wood. In time the sense of man’s conflict with the gods passed away and monotheism won supremacy. Monotheism was crystallized in the grandeur of Grecian thought in the age of Socrates, when the benign fatherhood of Zeus in heaven was supreme in enlightened minds, enriched by noble personification of feminine love and wisdom, and deepened by recognition of the struggle and martyrdom of Orphans or Prometheus for mankind. Monotheism found a long-enduring image in the nobility of Hebraic patriarchalism at its zenith, of Yahweh and of Allah, carried on in Christianity in the image of God the Father, and linked to the transformation of the older demi-god of Jewish tradition, the (Old) Adam, into the New Adam of Paul’s Epistles (Williams, 1927).

At the same time it would be an oversimplification to accept the streams of religious evolution, as exhibited in Genesis, as one simple, linear process. It can no longer be assumed that man advanced from an 'animistic' through a 'polytheistic' to a 'final monotheistic' stage of religious belief. It must be realized that the simple idea of one Being as the maker or origin of the big things, or even of the world, does occur to simple childlike minds in many different ages and races of mankind (Murphy, 1943). Primitive folk may believe in a single creator, all-powerful and benign (like him of Genesis I, of whom Christian missionaries tell them), but who is, most often, too aloof to hear their voices; but the same folk may also believe in local spirits, by no means benign, which they are at pains to appease. They may retain some belief in both, even while beginning to adopt temperamental gods like those of Hindu polytheism—a complex process such as one can see at work among the Santalos on the jungle border of Bengal (Guddes, 1927). Among a deeply cultured people such as the Chinese, different rites, beliefs and philosophies have lived on, side by side, because although no one of these is wholly satisfying to all men at all times, each seems to correspond to some need of the human heart or spirit, at different times of culmination or of crisis.

In our own century, a missionary-philosopher has written that we must be content with the fact that we cannot reconcile the God we see manifested in the world, with its pitiless waste and cruelty, with the God manifested in the heart of man in infinite love and pity (Russell, 1941). Is it not conceivable that in some form the two legends of Creation were born of experience, grew up side by side, and were even incorporated in a single work, the Book of Genesis, because each corresponded to different facets of human life?

All that we can be sure of is that in comparing the two legends of the Creator, we must distinguish god from god, the greater from the lesser, the friend from the enemy, the One from the several. For if we fail to do so, as apologists of the Divine authority of Scriptural compilation have failed, then duty is made to appear disobedience, right a wrong, and faithfulness to wife and child a continuation of sin. Failure here has helped to degrade what is potentially the supreme act, consummation and fruit of human life, and to increase inherent difficulties. Because of this failure, what Niebuhr (1938) called the 'male's sin of arrogance' has been upheld and the just balance of sex and age overthrown, to the loss of all, but most directly to the loss of the physically weaker, the mother and the child. Can any deny that some such state of things is too much the true state of society to-day? If so, is it not conceivable that orthodox theology in the West has been, and may still be in part to blame?

REFERENCES

Note 1. The summary of Genesis I to III is based upon the familiar: Revised Version (as slightly modified by Moule and Modern Reader’s Bible, 1928) with certain corrections or alternatives from The Old Testament, or American Translation (Chicago and Cambridge, 1941), edited by J. M. Powis Smith, in which Genesis was translated by Theophilus J. Meek, who also revised the second edition.

I am deeply indebted to Prof. Norman W. Porson, the University of Edinburgh, both for guidance on questions of Hebrew, with references to commentators such as Gunth, Skinner, and Otto Preuscho, Die Genesis Kommentar zum Alten Testament, Leipzig, 1913, and also for his searching comments on ideas contained in this essay. I am also greatly
THE ENGLISH—ARE THEY AN OLDER RACE?

By Felix Bauer, M.D., formerly Orthopedic Consultant to the Municipality of Vienna and Honorary Consultant to Vienna Children's Hospitals.

In the course of many years' experience in the practice of orthopedics, both abroad and in this country, I have been particularly interested in congenital malformations. It is observed that there are notable differences in the distribution and frequency of congenital malformations on the continent and in this country, and I think there must be a racial factor involved in the causation of these deformities. I am not an anthropologist, but I think it is possible that evolutionary factors may be responsible for differences in the incidence of the different malformations, and the phyletolic age of a race may be important in this connection.

Hippocrates knew that congenital dislocation of the hip (c.d.h.) is caused by unfavourable intrauterine conditions, such as lack of space and pressure on the body of the fetus. This crude, mechanical conception prevailed until in recent times it was discovered that only a very small proportion of all cases of c.d.h.—some 2-3 per cent.—are observed immediately after birth as a gross deformity. All the other cases are diagnosed much later, usually when the child begins to walk. But the hips of these children are also abnormal at birth: their socket is flat and therefore unable to retain the growing head of the femur.

In about one-tenth of these cases there is a slight dislocation, immediately after birth, but it is not marked enough to be recognized by clinical symptoms. This flat hip is also caused by unfavourable intrauterine conditions, but the condition begins later at a stage in which the fetus should use his muscles and move his limbs. The hip needs two favourable conditions for normal development—a normal position in abduction and plenty of movement. If it lacks free space its movements are restricted, and the hips are adducted and contracted. We find after birth this condition of contraction and abduction, the sockets of affected hips are always flat and they are in danger, or in the initial stage, of dislocation. We can easily diagnose the adducted and contracted hip after birth. It can be cured by giving the joint the favourable conditions which failed in intrauterine life, viz., free movement and abduction. If the hip is already dislocated, it is easily manipulated and reduced and cured by the same natural treatment. Clubfoot, the other important congenital malformation, depends on the same cause and identical intra-

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uterine conditions. Again, only a small proportion of the malformations begin early in pregnancy owing to unfavourable intrauterine conditions. These individuals are often the same as those showing early c.d.h. Again, the great majority of clubfoot (cl.) begin much later, when the fetus should use his muscles freely and move his limbs. If this use of the feet is restricted in the narrow space between the abdomen of the fetus and the uterine wall, the muscles of his foot become atrophied and contracted and, in consequence, the clubfoot deformity develops. Denis Browne has proved this origin of clubfoot by dysfunction of the muscles in consequence of an intrauterine cramped posture. And again, as for c.d.h., the experimental proof for this theory is given by the excellent results of Denis Browne's functional treatment of cl., which, after manipulation, gives the joints and bones the favourable conditions which failed in intrauterine life.

We see both deformities develop at the same critical time—about the middle of pregnancy—both being caused by the same cramped posture and the consequent muscular dysfunction, but we never find both deformities acquired in the later stage combined in the same individual. The reason for this surprising fact is that the hip in all cases of clubfoot is abducted and therefore protected against under-development. The fetus in a cramped posture is liable to develop c.d.h. if his hip is abducted, and cl. if his hip is abducted.

The question is: why do some feti show adduction and others abduction of the hips at about the same period of intrauterine life? The foetal development, repeating in ontogenesis the human phylogeny, progresses from low to high stages, passing in the later phases of pregnancy from a quadrupedal to an erect posture. An important part of this development is the stretching of the body. The more the developmental process progresses, the more the body stretches. If we compare the two hip-positions—adducted and adducted—as phases in this progress, the adducted hip, part of a 'frog-position,' corresponds to a less stretched posture than the adducted hip. This consideration provides an answer to the question why one individual develops c.d.h. and another cl.: the more stretched (adducted) develops c.d.h., the less stretched (adducted) cl.

There are also other interesting ways in which these two congenital deformities are opposed to one another. The sex-proportion is about five to one for both, but five out of six cases of c.d.h. are females, and five out of six cases of cl. are male.

I have observed another striking difference by the frequencies of the incidence of c.d.h. and cl. are reversed here and in Vienna. C.d.h. is very common in Vienna, cl. rare; here in England cl. is very often found, c.d.h. rare. This means, following the theory given above, that the average stretching of feti is less here than in Vienna. When I examined young infants in England I found, accordingly, that their hips allowed more abduction than is found for children in Vienna, the average difference being about ten degrees.

May we conclude that races bearing less stretched feti are phylogenetically older? I do not think this single observation is sufficient to provide an answer to the question. But there is that additional evidence provided by other observations on the anatomy and function of English feet and their comparison with Viennese feet, which leads to a similar conclusion.

We can distinguish two types of feet differing in several ways, but most clearly characterized by the formation of the arches: these are called high-arched and low-arched feet. The high-arched is always associated with more bent joints—particularly ankle and toe joints and a more inward rotated hip; the low-arched with more stretched joints and outward rotated hip. Phylogenetically the high-arched foot is the older one, being nearer to the climbing foot and to the gripping hand. I found the proportion of foot-formation here in England much more in favour of the older type than in Vienna. You see here in the streets many more people than in Vienna walking with parallel feet and inward rotated hip, and the normal position of the English soldier is the same, unlike that of the Austrian and German soldier. The extreme forms of flatfoot are found much more frequently in Vienna, the extreme forms of 'cavefoot' in this country. The great majority of seemingly flat feet here are really high-arched feet which got secondarily flat by strain and insufficiency of muscles and ligaments.

Although I am afraid I cannot give exact figures, the difference in the incidence of high- and low-arched feet is a fact. But I can give some figures regarding the incidence of c.d.h. and cl. In Vienna I expect to find among one hundred infants three with the contracted and adducted hip, which I call 'hip in danger.' About one out of twelve of them develops dislocation, while almost all of them remain flatter than normal if the condition is not remedied by functional treatment. Among the Jews and Czechs in Vienna c.d.h. was certainly at least as common as among the Austrian population. In (Czechoslovakia) it seems to be even more common. C.d.h. is very common in Italy. I have no information about c.d.h. in France and Russia; but Calot reports about one million subluxations of the hip in France, which corresponds to what we call flat hips. In Russia three flat hips in a hundred are reported from exact examinations of corpses of adults. There appears to be a very high incidence of c.d.h. in these countries.
On the other hand, when I examined one hundred infants in England, I failed to find a single adducted hip; but I found one clubfoot, which would only be expected once in many thousand cases in Vienna. I am told by an Irish doctor that c.d.h. is extremely rare in Ireland. According to a report of a Viennese doctor, there is almost no c.d.h. in India. It would be very interesting to know what the incidence of c.d.h. is in Ireland and in India.

The position regarding c.d.h. in Germany is of particular interest. There the average incidence is about the same as in Vienna; but if small regions are taken separately, we find that the incidence is higher the nearer the region is to a Slav border. The mixture with Slav blood increases the incidence of c.d.h. I do not know the incidence in the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. It would be interesting to know whether the English or the Slav-Mediterranean pattern prevails in these countries.

Many additional reports regarding the incidence c.d.h.-c.h., and of low-high-arched feet in any country would be welcome. It is particularly important to know if parallelism of the two proportions, as found here in England, is the rule or not. From the U.S.A. I am seeking answers to the question: what are the proportions of the features mentioned among pure English descendants, Negroes, West Indians and mixed people.

It is observed that the English compared with other peoples show high proportions of high-arched to low-arched feet and of clubfeet to congenital dislocation of the hip. These are indications of a closer approach to an archaic fetal condition. If the features in question can be supposed to be of phyletic significance, then the English might be supposed 'older' than most other European peoples. Evidence of other kinds must also be taken into account, however, in discussing that wider issue.

Fragments of an Engraved Metal Bowl from Cyprus. By Sir John Myres, F.B.A. Illustrated.

The drawing published herewith, of two fragments of a metal bowl, were sent to me, in or about 1913 by Mr. Markides, then Keeper of the Cyprus Museum. They were executed for him by a young French artist, J. Des Mousseaux, who also made water-colour drawings of the Phoenician potsherds from the Bambousa site at Larnaca. The fragments were then in private possession in Cyprus, but I have no record of the possessor's name. So far as I know, they have not been published elsewhere. If this record of them infringes any prior claim, I desire to make full apology, and to plead in excuse their great archaeological interest.

The two fragments together measure 5½ inches across. They preserve about 130° of the surface of a shallow bowl, at least 10 inches in diameter, and probably rather more, as no part of the rim is preserved. There does not, however, seem to have been any outer zone of ornament beyond the border of chevrons and dots which bounds the principal scene. Within the narrower zone with frieze of ducks, there is no trace of a centre-ornament.

The engraving is on the concave surface of the bowl. The principal figures are embossed from outside, like those of the Amathus Bowl (J.H.S., L.III, p. 30) and their outlines and details are incised; but there is very little detail except on the trees and ducks.
OBITUARIES

Lord Lugard, 22 January, 1858-11 April, 1945

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Colonel the Right Honourable Sir Frederick John Dyaltry Lugard, G.C.M.C., C.B., D.S.O., Baron Lugard of Abinger, Surrey, was educated at Rossall and Sandhurst, and went to India in the Norfolk Regiment in 1878. He served in the Afghan campaign of 1879-80, in the Sudan in 1884-5, and then in Burma. Though of strong constitution he was allowed to go on temporary half-pay, on medical grounds, and applied, in vain, for employment with the Italian forces in Abyssinia; thus passed on to Mozambique, and found his opportunity to do something “if possible in the suppression of the slave-trade,” in defence of the British settlers in Nyasaland against the Arab slavers. Here in 1888 he was wounded, but achieved his objects.

In 1889 Lugard took service with the East Africa Company, and was sent to open the Sahabi river route from Mombasa towards Uganda. In 1890 the Anglo-German agreement assigned Uganda to Britain, and he was sent to take possession, reached the capital, Mengo, on 18 December, and in face of difficulties of every kind, brought the country under control; only to be faced with the Company’s decision to abandon it. By vigorous personal effort at home, and the help of the Church Missionary Society, a year’s delay was secured, and Uganda’s future as a British dependency was secured.

After this apprenticeship Lugard joined Sir George Goldie, the founder of Nigeria, who sent him in haste in 1894 to anticipate French and German aspirants to the dominion of Borgo and conclude treaties on behalf of the Niger Company. In 1896 Cecil Rhodes commissioned him to cross the Kalahari Desert to Lake Ngami, but in 1897 he was reclaimed for West African work by the Colonial Office, and raised the West African Frontier Force, with the temporary rank of brigadier-general. Two years of delicate handling of a difficult situation resulted in the Anglo-French treaty of 1899, the resumption of Nigeria from the Company, and the appointment of Lugard himself, on 1 January, 1900, as High Commissioner and commander-in-chief of Northern Nigeria. In three years he established British rule over most of the new colony, and in 1903 he felt strong enough to enforce the treaty obligations of the Fulani princes of Sokoto, Kano, and other districts, though their forces were far larger than his own. He suppressed the slave-trade, prohibited liquor traffic, built roads, and encouraged trade; but he governed through the native swires, with British residents, and this system of “indirect rule” is the achievement most widely connected with his name. His object was to train both chiefs and people in self-government, without disorganizing their tribal institutions till they should be prepared for self-government on European lines.

Lugard retired from the army in 1905, and from the Commissionership in 1906; and in 1907 he became Governor and Commander-in-chief of Hong Kong, where his main achievement was the foundation of the University. But this was an interlude. In 1912 he returned to
West Africa, as Governor General of Nigeria which now included both Northern and Southern regions, and the old colony of Lagos, was given a single administration in 1914; the largest British dependency of varied natural resources and native populations. The war of 1914-18 rewarded but did not divert its development on the lines he had already formulated, developing railways, coal and tin mining, and tropical agriculture, and educating the people towards self-government. The war only confirmed the loyalty of them all, and Nigerian contingents did good service in the Cameroons, and in East Africa, and were even accepted (though not used) in Palestine.

In 1919 Lugard retired, and was admitted to the Privy Council. He already held many public and academic distinctions, and was raised to the peerage in 1928. His wide experience, and boundless energy, kept him ever in public employment. He was a member of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations from 1922 to 1936. He had already published The Rise of our East African Empire in 1893, and in 1922 The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, in which his administrative ideas are set forth; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit can be made reciprocal; and that it is the aim and desire of civilized administration to fulfill this dual mandate. But he wrote and published continuously; his last letter to the Times on "A World Colonial Charter" appeared only on 15 January, 1945.

P. G. Harris: 1894-1945

By the death of P. G. Harris, Nigeria has lost one of its most distinguished administrative officers, and the Institute one of its best known Fellows. He had served continuously in Nigeria since 1919 and was due to retire shortly, but was taken ill suddenly in February and died after a few days' illness at Bamenda in the British Cameroons, while holding the post of Resident in charge of the Province.

Percy Graham Harris was born in 1894 and educated at St. Bee's School. During the last war he served with the King's Liverpool Regiment and with the Nigeria Regiment. In 1919 he joined the Nigerian Administrative Service and by 1934 he had reached the rank of Resident. He was promoted to the Staff grade in 1938 and awarded the C.M.G. in 1945.

"P. G.'s" attraction to anthropology began in his student days with the Nigeria Regiment. He became a Fellow of the Institute in 1927 and in 1932 took the Diploma in Anthropology in London University. On the sociological side he contributed to the Journal articles on the Dakarkari and other peoples of Sokoto Province, where he had spent so many years of service. But his interest in music and art attracted him especially to the technological side of anthropology and readers of the Journal will recall many drawings and engravings of Nigerian musical instruments and agricultural implements. His latest contribution was a well-illustrated article on the fishing methods of the people of Kobhi, which has just been published in the Journal. Deep sympathy will be felt for his widow and family by his many friends.

C. K. MEKK

The Earl of Onslow: 21 Aug., 1876-9 June, 1945

Educated at Eton and New College, Oxford, the fifth Earl of Onslow entered the Diplomatic Service in 1901, but returned in 1909 to the Foreign Office. In 1914-18 he rose to be Assistant-Director of Staff Duties in France, received three mentions in despatches, and received the O.B.E. and the Legion of Honour. Thereafter his public career included several important offices before he became Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords, in 1931. His keen interest in animal life made him an invaluable President of the Royal Zoological Society (1936-44) and of Conferences on the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire and of Africa. He was a trustee of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and President of the first International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology (London, 1934), where his wide and ready knowledge of languages was fully appreciated. He will be remembered not only as an able and devoted public servant, but as a very lovable man, courteous and helpful to all who shared any of his many interests.

J. L. M.
REVIEWS

GENERAL


This is an ideal retrospective of the outlook of Man on the Universe which is his habitat, tracing successive advances and changes of hypothesis, in their historical contexts, as stages towards the present phase of thought, illustrated by the work of Bergson, Alexander, and Whitehead. Thence Collingwood selects among contemporary philosophers as having contributed most to make future advances possible. Consequently there is nothing here about ancient cosmologies—though it would be an instructive study to collect the points where these anticipate Western ideas—or about the Oriental—and the story begins with the Incan physicists of early Greece, with their universe, earth-centred and illustrated at many points by daily experience of land and sea, weather and vegetation, on the shores and coastal islands of the Aegean Sea. This universe was deemed organic, indeed alive, with an inherent growth-process rather than life-stuff—a conception on which there is a good deal more to be said, for Collingwood does not go far beyond the technical meaning of life among the philosophers, whereas the word never lost in ordinary speech its purely verbal sense which it has in Homer, Herodotus, and the tragedians. However, this physical world was knowable at all, and what it really is that is known, was a subsequent problem, and was completely solved with the invention of Pythagoras, elaborated by the theorem that what we know is not the material but the formal aspect of things: dimensions, proportions, patterns, apprehended by observation and reason in a mental or ideal universe more truly real and existent than the things we see and handle. This technical meaning of life was moreover applicable also to immaterial things such as human conduct and motives, which the 'physicists' had ignored in their interest in external and physical nature; and a 'moral' and 'political' philosophy emerged alongside the physical, but connected with it as one aspect of reality with many others—All this 'idea of nature' fell into oblivion as the general culture of the Graeco-Roman world decayed; and its place was taken in Christian culture by older, oriental, and essentially Jewish beliefs in 'nature' as a symbol and mechanism, the work of an external and eternal 'creator' or architect, whose most manifest effect in its 'creation' was also maintainer, and turned the handle, so to speak, which made wheels go round.

Obviously a mechanism like this consisted of parts made to a plan, and it was therefore possible (when people began again to think about the matter) that the whole machinery (of centuries) to make a plan or diagram of it all, according to measure and calculation, and to assemble its parts so as to perform other movements and processes. From this simple discovery arose the one characteristic 'idea of nature' to which we owe our physical sciences and their applications. But not only was life and its processes ignored, or misinterpreted as an extremely complicated mechanism, but all human activities ceased to be operative in 'nature' and—again under Jewish interpretation and Christian, based on Jewish—human sciences parted company with the physical—again except in so far as the attempt was made to explain them—mechanically as a 'rule of force' 'operated by an external and superhuman creator,' more or less completely over-riding human individuality, initiative, and free-will. The lamentable results persist in totalitarian theories and practices to-day, treating human nature as a calculable mechanism, and government as the device for keeping it 'wound up to go' by planning and 'direction.' Who the directors may be it would be idle to enquire: let us call them the Ducé or the Father.

A third phase of the 'idea of nature' opens with evolutionary biology. After all this something which varies infinitely, and is essentially self-determined, and self-expressing: what Bergson called the idem et al.: and we are back at the old Greek spirit, and a physical universe which has not only life, but something we have for a minimum machine or mathematical formula. Each of us is looking out over the world as we know it, this initiative vitality. It has its physical and biological counterparts and aspects, but it is something that physical or biological, anything cannot define or manipulate; it recognizes, as Adam in Eden, a help meet for itself in every other individual, and shares with them not only its knowledge of nature and appreciation of beauty, but its standards of value and right.

The influence of these new—and yet so old—conceptions on physical philosophy has been gradual, but is already profound and as Collingwood believed, is far from fully achieved as yet, though he thinks that among recent philosophers Alexander and Whitehead have made substantial contribution towards what one might venture to describe as a new Platonism, in which physical and moral or human philosophy may be adjusted within a larger outlook. And at this point Collingwood makes the profoundly suggestive observation that all scientific observation and hypothesis fails within the category of historical fact. What we know of the great physicists of the past—Thales, Pythagoras, Galileo, Newton—is historical record of their work. Modern physicists such as Einstein and Weyl, though we have no 'records' of their own discoveries to our archives, for the historical service of posterity. This time-aspect of knowledge into reality, usually regarded as ontological and spatial only, is new, and needs profound thinking; and one regrets the more that this original survey of The Idea of Nature, is not more human.

JOHN L. MYERS


Although some notable achievements in the conquest of epidemic disease have been made, they are of recent date in the history of mankind, and it is with this perspective that Professor Winslow's book is concerned. It sets out to trace the development of ideas about the nature of disease and of doctrines held concerning the causes and control of epidemics, rather than to relate the progress made in any particular field. The sub-title is 'A chapter in the History of Ideas' and in the preface the author states: 'To me, however, the most fascinating objective has been the history of ideas, the slow and gradual evolution of human thought.' How did the 'leaders of science really visualize a given problem in a given field, and why did it come to them at the time it did, and what were the reasons which dictated that solution?'

Disease and pestilence have always presented one of the deepest problems affecting human welfare and one which has influenced the social conduct and customs of man at all stages of his development. Its attitude towards this problem is inseparably related to his other concepts and attainments, and as the general level of his knowledge and mastery has grown, so has he come by gradual stages to the possibility of controlling one of his greatest scourges. Beginning in the realm of demonology the story is traced through other concepts, until the disease caused by the wrath of an essentially righteous and animated by an innate necessity for the punishment of sin, and the operations of pursuit forces: including astrology. With Greek medicine, natural laws were formulated and the method of observation and deduction practised. From these advances there arose the doctrine of mismos and the epidemical constitution, culled with much theory and speculation about contagion, beyond which this further progress was made for centuries. Only in much later times did these ideas gradually give place to the acceptance of micro-organisms as the cause of epidemic disease, and all that follows from this fundamental discovery.

Thus the book is indeed a true historical history, biography, history of epidemics or sociology, though it touches on all,
It is perhaps best described as a history of epidemiological doctrine, and as such it reflects the personal development of many years of a man peculiarly qualified in this sphere of knowledge. It has sweep and breadth, filled in with much fascinating detail. One is again impressed with the achievements of man in formulating customs or practices which were of value in tending to mitigate some of the worst evils of epidemics. But here, as generally true, such knowledge waits upon method. Not until the establishment of experimental science was progress in the conquest of disease attainable with any certainty.

It is also necessary to reflect on the stammering and gradual progress towards the truth, even when it was prematurely proclaimed by the great masters. In any civilization (p. 67), there is a dominant prevailing stage of thought, below which are survivals of past attitudes, and above which are mutations which anticipate the future.

The process is no doubt the same today. The author ends at 1810 with the application of bacteriological discoveries in elucidating the sources and modes of infection.

Certainly that will not be the end. It is already possible to discern other directions of approach to the general problem. That the quality of the best-populated civilization is a herd of individuals of prime importance, in relation to disease prevalence, is now well recognized. The principle of increasing the resistance of a population by immunization has achieved a remarkable reduction, or even virtual abolition, of some infectious diseases both in civil and military life. From the purely biological aspect this method of controlling infection is of the greatest interest, as it utilizes deliberately and quantitatively natural processes which occur at random. The method is old in medicine and was used empirically centuries before its rationale was understood. Its modern inception in Western medicine dates from Jenner, and the principles upon which it is based were first elucidated by Pasteur. The whole conception would seem to merit the status of one of the main doctrines of modern epidemiology and, though the author may have felt it necessary to limit the scope of his discussion (p. 207), its inclusion would have rounded off a survey of epidemiological history which nevertheless is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, not too technical to be enjoyed by the general reader.

H. J. MATTLAND


In a series of essays, many of which had been previously published in medical historical journals, Friedewald has traced the history of Jewish physicians in a consecutive way. This history is rich in interesting and original observations about the conditions of life of the physicians whose biographies are contained in the book, of their experiences, their hopes, their illusions, and their often tragic end. It gives a vivid picture of the evolution of the medical thought among the Jews, influenced by the use of many documents of biographical anecdotes and of historical chronography. Friedewald's experience and his learned bibliographic appears in the pages of the Hebrew medical manuscripts and innumerable.

Single figures of great physicians are outlined in masterly fashion, e.g., Moses Maimonides, Amatus Linzamata, Zacutus Levita, da Canto, Montalto, Ribeiro Sanchez. The most important parts of the book are those dedicated to the Jewish physicians of Spain, Portugal and South-Eastern France. There are amenable to tolerance in sixteenth century Italy; the shapers dealing with the Jews and the old universities, Montpellier, Vichy, Bologna, are interesting.

Friedewald outlines the practice of medicine among the Jews, the history of Jewish hospitals, diseases of the Jews, the history of Jewish medicine. It is not only a contribution to the history of medicine practiced by Jewish physicians but also to the history of medicine and to the history of learning at large.

MAX NEUBURGER
Dr. Craik believes strongly that philosophy should be studied by observing natural phenomena and analyzing experimental results. Clearly therefore in outlying his hypothesis on the nature of thought he is not claiming to have answered fundamental questions by discussion, but is challenging himself and other philosophers to use the experimental method to settle some of the most outstanding philosophical problems.

The opening chapters attack the alternatives to an experimental approach. These include a-priorism, which asserts certain facts and principles to be so self-evident as to need no proving; and a posteriorism, which relies on inductive methods; scepticism which questions the belief in an external world and caused interaction; and descriptive and relational theories which either avoid discussing the causes of events at all or remain satisfied with estimating the probability with which events are associated without considering whether causal action is taking place.

A-priorism is criticized because its endeavour to obtain the greatest certainty about experience involves the inaccurate method of introspection (especially misleading when used to analyze particular instances of perception) and also because this emphasises objects and events entirely unreal in precision in words. A-priorism logically ends in scepticism and eventually reduces itself to silence by doubting the ability of words to symbolize events. Similarly the relational theories are found to be self-contradictory because they allow the association of definite probabilities with events based on a theory which itself depends on causal ideas. Causal theories are more convincing and the dependability of results achieved by experiment justifies the assumption that events are the consequence of the interaction of external objects according to definite and certain rules.

The author then points out that one of the most fundamental properties of thought is its power of predicting events. Three stages can be recognized in thinking — the translation of some external event into verbal or numerical symbols, the arrival at other symbols by a process of reasoning, and finally the translation of these symbols into external events. The mechanical theory of thought is based on the relations between this process and the methods used by calculating machine to solve arithmetical or algebraic problems. He suggests that the brain solves problems by paralleling or imitating external events in symbols. Just as the calculating machine performs problems by changing its gear settings or the simple game of draughts by altering its color, so the brain symbolizes reality, and reacts to future situations by modifying neural patterns.

Few people can have had more experience than Dr. Craik of the relative abilities of machines and men in fighting a war at break-neck efficiency. He rightly emphasizes the achievements of modern machinery — but one imagines that experiment will prove him wrong in suggesting that the flexible human brain differs only in complexity and not in nature from the mechanical problem-solver with its rigidly stereotyped behaviour.

In human affairs a problem usually presents itself to a group of people rather than to one person, and a solution is found by all these people thinking together. Many times a day the same person may contribute towards the solution of a large number of simple everyday problems each of which arises in an entirely different social group. The greater problems of life are also considered by groups of people not only simultaneously but also serially in time. The machine is the supreme individualist and therefore fails to achieve the fertility of aggregates. The flexibility of human thought and this adaptability is co-operation explains why man always needs an external order to live the reproductive stage in the life history of the machine.

One agrees, however, entirely with the author when he suggests that experimental studies should be made of various mechanical and electrical processes which imitate brain behaviour. He recognizes that the chief difficulty in devising analogies is that (though better than man at registering the absolute magnitudes of particular aspects of a situation) the machine is much weaker at making relational observations such as, for example, the all-important judgements of relative size and brightness. Clear perception often demands that change should be abstracted from some absolute opacity, and an electrical set-up already exists which can differentiate rapid rates of change from a situation in which both slow waves and rapid oscillations are occurring. More difficult to construct, however, is the apparatus which can recognize shapes presented at unusual angles. Neglecting the absolute direction of the outline in space, this device must acquire some kind of habit in scanning a straight part of the line so that any bend in that line acts as a stimulus.

These and other similar investigations are certain to be of interest not only in themselves but because a fresh outlook on such problems may give rise to new ideas for human experiment. This belief in the value of coming to grips with facts is an attractive feature of an original book.

N. H. MACKWORTH

Smithsonian Institution: War Background Studies. Washington, 1942.


These additional to an established series maintain the customary high standard of concise utility. Within the general plan, the volumes naturally vary somewhat in scope and amount of detail, but are well supplied with books of reference, and excellent photographs.

J. L. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Average Length of an African Ruler’s Reign

The average length of the reign of an African ruler is often of interest in dating, for instance, tribal migrations. Mr. B. Struck (by taking into consideration all the written and unwritten chronicles of African dynasties) has made a calculation on the average duration of the reign of an African ruler. The number of years this reign lasted is between 13 and 14 for each king.1

This piece of research by Mr. Struck must have been completed before 1912 because in that year Woodman in his book The Shiluok People quoted Struck. Since then much more material has been available and recently wishing to make some estimations as to dates of tribal migrations I examined some of the documents myself, in the archives, and in the hands of the local people.

Now give the results of my research. I have excluded all reigns of a hundred years and more and also chronicles which are obviously fictitious such as that of the Zagwe kings of Abyssinia.2 Sir Wallis Budge discussing the reign of the Nubian kings of the Nebaenian kingdom writes: “We may say then that the first six kings of the dynasty founded by Kashsa, i.e. the First Dynasty of Nubia, lasted for about 190 years, i.e. from 760 B.C. to 550 B.C._constructor: error, the average length of their reigns being 16 years... Reiner makes the average reign to be 17 years.3

Further on in the book Sir Wallis Budge shows from Brit. Mus. MSS. Oriental No. 821 that 22 kings of Assam reigned 226 years.4 This gives an average of 10-5 years for a reign. Another list gives 52 rulers for 441 years or an average reign of 13-8 years.

Sir Richard Palmer in his Miss Vibes of Bees gives the names of 60 rulers between a.d. 1900 and 1810,5 as an average reign of 13-8 years, while in his Nabambe Memori he gives an average of 56 rulers from a.d. 1908 to 1806,6 which gives an average length of reign of 13-3 years and in another place a list of 32 rulers from a.d. 1355 to 1807,7 which gives an average of 14-2 years. In his Borini Sahus and Sudan he gives 30
The author compares the average reigns of various rulers to estimate the reign of an ancient Egyptian pharaoh. The calculations are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authority</th>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strick</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reiner</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rouge</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodge</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>972</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elphine</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average reign is approximately 14.3 years.

These calculations provide a basis for understanding the duration of rule in ancient Egypt and highlight the significance of these figures in historical context.

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**References**

3. Ibid., p. 145.
4. Ibid., p. 147.
5. Ibid., p. 148.
8. Ibid., pp. 49-52.
12. Ibid., p. 120.

---

**Toborism**

Toborism is a term used to describe a practice observed by some peoples, particularly in the Middle East and North Africa. It involves the belief that certain objects or actions are cursed or bring bad luck. The text suggests that the practice is widespread among savages and that it is potentially injurious. It concludes with a warning about the significance of these practices.

---

**Arch-building without Centering in Cyprus. Illustrated.**

In Cyprus, as in many other Mediterranean lands, the roofs of the ordinary houses are supported by arches. These arches are usually built from a single block of stone or a combination of stones. The photograph shows a typical example of such construction. The architect of this arch is standing on the unfinished arch. A light balance beam is used to ensure the correct alignment of the arch. The photograph illustrates how the arch is constructed and how it is intended to be supported.

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**John L. Myres**

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